



Ф И Л О Л О Г

часопис за језик, књижевност и културу

XVI 2025 32

универзитет у бањој луци

филолошки факултет

Издавач Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Филолошки факултет

Главни уредник Др Биљана Бабић, Универзитет у Бањој Луци, Филолошки факултет

Одговорни уредник Др Татјана Бијелић, Универзитет у Бањој Луци, Филолошки факултет

Редакција Др Тери Иглтон, Универзитет у Ланкастеру, Одсјек за енглеску књижевност и креативно писање
Др Енди Маузли, Универзитет Де Монтфорт, Факултет умјетности, дизајна и хуманистичких наука
Др Рос Поснок, Универзитет Колумбија, Одсјек за енглеску и компаративну књижевност
Др Сања Бошковић Данојлић, Универзитет у Поатјеу, Факултет књижевности и језика
Др Жоржета Чолакова, Универзитет 'Пајсије Хиландарски' у Пловдиву, Филолошки факултет
Др Горан Максимовић, Универзитет у Нишу, Филозофски факултет
Др Саша Јазбец, Универзитет у Марибору, Филозофски факултет
Др Роберта Сала, Универзитет у Торину, Одсјек за стране језике, књижевности и модерне културе
Др Марија Кривокапић, Универзитет Црне Горе, Филолошки факултет Никшић
Др Емир Мухић, Универзитет у Бањој Луци, Филолошки факултет
Др Сања Машура, Универзитет у Бањој Луци, Филолошки факултет
Др Дијана Црњак, Универзитет у Бањој Луци, Филолошки факултет
Др Андреја Марић, Универзитет у Бањој Луци, Филолошки факултет
Др Роберто Руси, Универзитет у Бањој Луци, Филолошки факултет
Др Радана Лукајић, Универзитет у Бањој Луци, Филолошки факултет
Др Љиљана Аћимовић, Универзитет у Бањој Луци, Филолошки факултет

Лектура Др Слађана Цукут

Припрема за штампу Др Данијел Дојчиновић, Универзитет у Бањој Луци, Филолошки факултет

Штампа MAKO PRINT д. о. о.

За штампарију Милан Ђајић

Интернет адреса <https://filolog.rs.ba>

Имејл-адреса filolog@ff.unibl.org

Др Стефано Адамо, Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Др Милан Ајдановић, Универзитет у Новом Саду
Др Биљана Бабић, Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Др Татјана Бијелић, Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Др Ненад Блаженовић, Висока школа ЦЕПС, Кисељак
Др Катерина Велјановска, Универзитет Св. Кирил и Методиј у
Скопљу
Др Миодраг Вукчевић, Универзитет у Београду
Др Габријел Гарсија-Ноблехас, Универзитет у Гранади
Др Корина Гербац Ђулијано, Свеучилиште у Ријеци
Др Ивана Грабовић, Свеучилиште у Мостару
Др Ивана Зовко-Бошњак, Свеучилиште у Мостару
Др Драган Драгомировић, Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Др Јелена Илић Плауц, Универзитет у Тузли
Др Данијела Јањић, Универзитет у Крагујевцу
Др Сања Јосифовић Елезовић, Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Др Јасна Јуришић Рољић, Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Др Вирна Карлић, Свеучилиште у Загребу
Др Далибор Кесић, Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Др Сања Кобиљ Ђуић, Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Др Зорана Ковачевић, Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Др Драгомир Козомара, Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Др Мијана Кубурић Мацура, Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Др Гордана Лалић-Крстин, Универзитет у Новом Саду
Др Андреја Марић, Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Др Татјана Марјановић, Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Др Сузана Марковић, Универзитет у Источном Сарајеву
Др Горан Милашин, Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Др Дејан Милиновић, Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Др Светлана Митић, Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Др Биљана Мишић, Универзитет у Источном Сарајеву
Др Емир Мухић, Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Др Зорица Никитовић, Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Др Петар Пенда, Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Др Данијела Прошић, Универзитет у Новом Саду
Др Наташа Ракић, Универзитет у Крагујевцу
Др Роберто Руси, Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Др Тања Хабрле, Свеучилиште Јурја Добриле у Пули
Др Ана Халас Поповић, Универзитет у Новом Саду
Др Санел Хаџиахметовић Јурида, Универзитет у Тузли
Др Вера Ђервиз Нишић, Универзитет у Источном Сарајеву
Др Дијана Црњак, Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Др Слађана Цукут, Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Др Јелена Шајиновић Новаковић, Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Др Ивона Шетка Чилић, Свеучилиште у Мостару

<i>Publisher</i>	University of Banja Luka, Faculty of Philology
<i>General Editor</i>	Dr Biljana Babić, University of Banja Luka, Faculty of Philology
<i>Editor-in-chief</i>	Dr Tatjana Bijelić, University of Banja Luka, Faculty of Philology
<i>Editorial Board</i>	Dr Terry Eagleton, University of Lancaster, Department of English and Creative Writing Dr Andy Mousley, De Montfort University, Faculty of Art, Design and Humanities Dr Ross Posnock, Columbia University, Department of English and Comparative Literature Dr Sanja Bošković Danojlić, University of Poitiers, Faculty of Literature and Language Dr Georgeta Tcholakova, University of Plovdiv Paisii Hilendarski, Faculty of Philology Dr Goran Maksimović, University of Niš, Faculty of Philosophy Dr Saša Jazbec, University of Maribor, Faculty of Philosophy Dr Roberta Sala, University of Turin, Department of Foreign Languages, Literatures and Modern Cultures Dr Marija Krivokapić, University of Montenegro, Faculty of Philology Nikšić Dr Emir Muhić, University of Banja Luka, Faculty of Philology Dr Sanja Macura, University of Banja Luka, Faculty of Philology Dr Dijana Crnjak, University of Banja Luka, Faculty of Philology Dr Andreja Marić, University of Banja Luka, Faculty of Philology Dr Roberto Russi, University of Banja Luka, Faculty of Philology Dr Radana Lukajić, University of Banja Luka, Faculty of Philology Dr Ljiljana Aćimović, University of Banja Luka, Faculty of Philology
<i>Proofreading</i>	Dr Slađana Cukut
<i>Prepress</i>	Dr Danijel Dojčinović, University of Banja Luka, Faculty of Philology
<i>Print</i>	MAKO PRINT d.o.o.
<i>For print</i>	Milan Đajić
<i>Web address</i>	https://filolog.rs.ba
<i>E-mail</i>	filolog@ff.unibl.org
<i>Indexing status</i>	ERIH PLUS, SCOPUS, EBSCO, ASCI, MKS, CROSSREF, DOAJ, MIAR, CEEOL, ANVUR, MIRABEL

*Reviewers of papers published
in this issue*

Dr Stefano Adamo, University of Banja Luka
 Dr Milan Ajdžanović, University of Novi Sad
 Dr Biljana Babić, University of Banja Luka
 Dr Tatjana Bijelić, University of Banja Luka
 Dr Nenad Blaženović, University College CEPS in Kiseljak
 Dr Dijana Crnjak, University of Banja Luka
 Dr Slađana Cukut, University of Banja Luka
 Dr Vera Červiz Nišić, University of East Sarajevo
 Dr Dragan Dragomirović, University of Banja Luka
 Dr Gabriel Garcia-Noblejas, University of Granada
 Dr Corinna Gerbaz Giuliano, University of Rijeka
 Dr Ivana Grabovac, University of Mostar
 Dr Tanja Habrle, Juraj Dobrila University of Pula
 Dr Sanel Hadžiahmetović Jurida, University of Tuzla
 Dr Ana Halas Popović, University of Novi Sad
 Dr Jelena Ilić Plauc, University of Tuzla
 Dr Danijela Janjić, University of Kragujevac
 Dr Sanja Josifović Elezović, University of Banja Luka
 Dr Jasna Jurišić Roljić, University of Banja Luka
 Dr Virna Karlić, University of Zagreb
 Dr Dalibor Kesić, University of Banja Luka
 Dr Sanja Kobilj Čuić, University of Banja Luka
 Dr Zorana Kovačević, University of Banja Luka
 Dr Dragomir Kozomara, University of Banja Luka
 Dr Mijana Kuburić Macura, University of Banja Luka
 Dr Gordana Lalić-Krstin, University of Novi Sad
 Dr Andreja Marić, University of Banja Luka
 Dr Tatjana Marjanović, University of Banja Luka
 Dr Suzana Marković, University of East Sarajevo
 Dr Goran Milašin, University of Banja Luka
 Dr Dejan Milinović, University of Banja Luka
 Dr Svetlana Mitić, University of Banja Luka
 Dr Biljana Mišić, University of East Sarajevo
 Dr Emir Muhić, University of Banja Luka
 Dr Zorica Nikitović, University of Banja Luka
 Dr Petar Penda, University of Banja Luka
 Dr Danijela Prošić, University of Novi Sad
 Dr Nataša Rakić, University of Kragujevac
 Dr Roberto Russi, University of Banja Luka
 Dr Jelena Šajinović Novaković, University of Banja Luka
 Dr Ivona Šetka Čilić, University of Mostar
 Dr Katerina Veljanovska, Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje
 Dr Miodrag Vukčević, University of Belgrade
 Dr Ivana Zovko-Bošnjak, University of Mostar

САДРЖАЈ

ELSA MORANTE DANAS: ČITANJA I TUMAČENJA

ELSA MORANTE OGGI: LETTURE E INTERPRETAZIONI

Sanja N. Kobilj Ćuić

- Posveta Elsi Morante (1912–1985), vječno inspirativnom
književnom glasu..... 15
DEDICATED TO ELSA MORANTE (1912–1985), AN INEXHAUSTIBLE
SOURCE OF LITERARY INSPIRATION

Sanja N. Kobilj Ćuić

- Dedica e Elsa Morante (1912–1985), una fonte inesauribile di ispirazione
letteraria 18
DEDICATED TO ELSA MORANTE (1912–1985), AN INEXHAUSTIBLE
SOURCE OF LITERARY INSPIRATION

Elena Porciani

- Fantastiche Passioni. So due racconti inediti della giovane Morante 21
FANTASTIC PASSIONS. ON TWO UNPUBLISHED STORIES BY
THE YOUNG MORANTE

Mara Josi

- I giochi segreti di Elsa Morante 40
THE SECRET GAME BY ELSA MORANTE

Sanja N. Kobilj Ćuić

- Praistorija* Else Morante: karakteristike fantastičko-gotičkog
u pet prevedenih priča iz zbirke *Il gioco segreto* 62
THE *PREHISTORY* OF ELSA MORANTE: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE
FANTASTIC-GOTHIC IN FIVE TRANSLATED STORIES FROM
IL GIOCO SEGRETO

Martina Sanković Ivančić

- Le rappresentazioni dell'infanzia in Elsa Morante..... 76
REPRESENTATIONS OF CHILDHOOD IN ELSA MORANTE

Elisa Martínez Garrido

- 16 e 18 ottobre 1943 nella Storia di Elsa Morante: un infernale
crescendo tragico di p/Passione..... 91
16 AND 18 OCTOBER 1943 IN ELSA MORANTE'S *HISTORY: A NOVEL*:
AN INFERNAL TRAGIC CRESCENDO OF P/PASSION

ENGLISH DEPARTMENT CONFERENCE SPECIAL EDITION: CELLS 6

TEMAT POSVEĆEN MEĐUNARODNOJ KONFERENCIJI O ENGLISKOM JEZIKU
I KNJIŽEVNOSTI U ORGANIZACIJI KATEDRE ZA ANGLISTIKU: CELLS 6

Emir Z. Mubić

Back to Basics: Embracing the Grain 111

BACK TO BASICS: KONFERENCIJA O ENGLISKOM JEZIKU I KNJIŽEVNOSTI

Jasmina M. Miljković, Jelena V. Šajinović Novaković

Colour-Based Anglicisms in the Serbian Language 114

ANGLIZMI SA KOMONENTOM BOJE U SRPSKOM JEZIKU

Tonina Ibrulj, Ivana Zovko-Bošnjak

Definiteness and English Articles as Challenges for

Croatian EFL Learners 123

ODREĐENOST I SUSTAV ČLANOVA ENGLISKOG JEZIKA KAO

IZAZOV U UČENJU ZA HRVATSKE IZVORNE GOVORNIKE

Emir Z. Mubić

(Mis)hearing Accidentally on Purpose: The Venial

Desolation of Sound(s) 143

(NE)NAMJERNO (NE)TAČNO TUMAČENJE PORUKE:

BEZAZLENA PUSTOŠ ZVUKA

Božica Jović

Oneness in Donne 151

KONCEPT *OBJEDINJENOSTI* KOD DŽONA DONA

Anela J. Mulahmetović Ibrišimović

Metonymical Expressions about Persons with Disabilities in

American and Bosnia-Herzegovinian Media 165

METONIMIJSKI IZRAZI O OSOBAMA S INVALIDITETOM U

AMERIČKIM I BOSANSKOHERCEGOVAČKIM MEDIJIMA

Maja Mandić

Visual Materials in the EFL Classroom at University: A Case Study 186

ВИЗУЕЛНИ МАТЕРИЈАЛИ У УЧИОНИЦИ ЕНГЛЕСКОГ КАО СТРАНОГ

ЈЕЗИКА НА УНИВЕРЗИТЕТУ: СТУДИЈА СЛУЧАЈА

Neira Lojić

Language so often Fails Us: Coining New Words to Understand

the Context We Live in: A Case Study of Rudy Francisco 205

ЈЕЗИК НАС ЧЕСТО ИЗНЕВЈЕРИ: КРЕИРАЊЕ НОВИХ РИЈЕЧИ РАДИ

РАЗУМИЈЕВАЊА КОНТЕКСТА У КОЈЕМ ЖИВИМО: СТУДИЈА

СЛУЧАЈА РУДИЈА FRANCISCA

Jelena Brkić

ESP for Art Students: Testing Visual and Linguistic Competence..... 224

ESP ZA STUDENTE LIKOVNE UMJETNOSTI: TESTIRANJE VIZUELNE I
LINGVISTIČKE KOMPETENCIJE

**Sonja D. Stanković, Ljiljana Ž. Stević, Anja M. Mudrenović,
Bojana S. Pavlović**

English as Lingua Franca in Chinese Language Teaching at
University of Banja Luka Sinology Department 241

ENGLISKI KAO LINGUA FRANCA U NASTAVI KINESKOG JEZIKA
NA KATEDRI ZA SINOLOGIJU UNIVERZITETA U BANJOJ LUCI

Milica Vuković

Analysis of Translation Strategies Toward Culture-Specific
Elements in the Novel *Talking it Over* by Julian Barnes 259

АНАЛИЗА ПРЕВОДИЛАЧКИХ СТРАТЕГИЈА ЗА КУЛТУРОЛОШКИ
СПЕЦИФИЧНЕ ЕЛЕМЕНТЕ У РОМАНУ *ТРОЈЕ* ЏУЛИЈАНА БАРНСА

ЈЕЗИК

Мијана Ч. Кубурић Мацура

Социјални фемининативи у дневним новинама у
Републици Српској..... 279

SOCIAL FEMININE NOUNS IN DAILY NEWSPAPERS IN
THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA

Горан Б. Милашин

О модалном глаголу *требати* у језику дневних новина у
Републици Српској..... 305

ON THE MODAL VERB *TREBATI* IN THE LANGUAGE OF
DAILY NEWSPAPERS IN THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA

Gorica R. Tomić

Positioning Source Words in Two-Member Serbian Lexical Blends:
An Analysis of Source Words' Syllable Number and Frequency 326

POZICIONIRANJE MOTIVNIH REČI U DVOČLANIM LEKSIČKIM
SLIVENICAMA U SRPSKOM JEZIKU: ANALIZA BROJA SLOGOVA I
FREKVENTNOSTI MOTIVNIH REČI

Gjoko Nikolovski, Biljana Mirchevska Bosheva

Konceptualizacija smrti v slovenskem in makedonskem jeziku 343

CONCEPTUALISATION OF DEATH IN THE SLOVENIAN AND
MACEDONIAN LANGUAGES

<i>Konstantin I. Belousov, Natalia V. Boronnikova, Aleksandar H. Taleski</i>	
Models of the Speaker's Temporal Orientation in Virtual Reality and their Impact on Human-Machine Interface Systems	362
МОДЕЛИ ВРЕМЕНСКЕ ОРИЈЕНТАЦИЈЕ ГОВОРНИКА У ВИРТУЕЛНОЈ РЕАЛНОСТИ И ЊИХОВ УТИЦАЈ НА СИСТЕМЕ СУЧЕЉАВАЊА ЧОВЈЕКА И МАШИНЕ	

<i>Lusine Harutyunyan, Ruzanna Baghramyan</i>	
Functional Characteristics of Euphemisms in Business Discourse (Based on the Example of Principled Negotiations).....	387
ФУНКЦИОНАЛНЕ КАРАКТЕРИСТИКЕ ЕУФЕМИЗАМА У ПОСЛОВНОМ ДИСКУРСУ (НА ПРИМЕРУ ПРИНЦИПИЈЕЛНИХ ПРЕГОВОРА)	

<i>Snežana M. Zečević, Branislava M. Dilparić, Aleksandar B. Milojević</i>	
Cognitive, Emotional, and Behavioral Aspects of Attitudes toward English Language Learning Among Secondary School Students in Kosovska Mitrovica: A Cross-Sectional Study.....	403
КОГНИТИВНИ, ЕМОЦИОНАЛНИ И БИХЕВИОРАЛНИ АСПЕКТИ СТАВОВА УЧЕНИКА СРЕДЊИХ ШКОЛА У КОСОВСКОЈ МИТРОВИЦИ ПРЕМА УЧЕЊУ ЕНГЛЕСКОГ ЈЕЗИКА: СТУДИЈА ПРЕСЕКА	

<i>Драгана Р. Крстић</i>	
О функцијама фразеологизама карактеристичним за јавни дискурс у Босни и Херцеговини	429
ON THE FUNCTIONS OF PHRASEOLOGISMS CHARACTERISTIC OF PUBLIC DISCOURSE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA	

<i>Георгина Б. Шиповац</i>	
Фонетско-фонолошке особине <i>Босанске љекаруше</i> (<i>Помоча од сваке болести кои има</i>) из XVIII вијека	451
PHONETIC AND PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES OF <i>BOSANSKA LJEKARUŠA</i> (<i>ПОМОЋА ОД СВАКЕ БОЛЕСТИ КОЈ ИМА</i>) FROM THE 18. CENTURY	

КЊИЖЕВНОСТ

<i>Игор М. Симановић</i>	
Андрић и Кјеркегор: иронијско обликовање lika Алије Ђерзелеза (са сталним освртом на Сократа).....	469
ANDRIĆ AND KIERKEGAARD: THE IRONICAL FORMATION OF THE CHARACTER OF ALIJA ĐERZELEZ (WITH CONSTANT REFERENCE TO SOCRATES)	

Sultan Komut Bakinc

- Fragmented Identity of The Speaking Subject in Beckett's *Footfalls*:
The Authentic Self and Its Internal Others..... 485
FRAGMENTISANI IDENTITET GOVOREĆEG SUBJEKTA U BEKETOVOJ DRAMI
FOOTFALLS: AUTENTIČNO JA I NJEGOVI UNUTRAŠNJI DRUGI

Marija N. Gagić

- A Commemoration of Wounds Endured*: Writing as Resistance
in Margaret Atwood's *The Blind Assassin*..... 505
ZNAMEN ZA PRETRPLJENE RANE: PISANJE KAO OTPOR U *SLEPOM UBICI*
MARGARET ATVUD

КУЛТУРА

Ljiljana Ž. Stević, Željka Lj. Babić

- Between Memory and Modernity: The Visual and Sonic Language
of Wong Kar-Wai's Cinema 521
ИЗМЕЂУ СЈЕЋАЊА И МОДЕРНОСТИ: ВИЗУЕЛНИ И ЗВУЧНИ ЈЕЗИК
ФИЛМОВА ВОНГА КАРВАЈА

Ivana Ercegovac, Romana Srncova, Fajar Mohamed Albanæe

- Digital Rituals and Everyday Narratives: A Visual Anthropology
of Short-Form Video Culture 541
DIGITALNI RITUALI I SVAKODNEVNI NARATIVI: VIZUELNA
ANTROPOLOGIJA KULTURE KRATKIH VIDEO-FORMATA

ПРИКАЗИ

Горан Б. Милашин

- Културално маркирана лексика у српском језику из угла
лингвокултурологије..... 565
CULTURALLY MARKED LEXIS IN THE SERBIAN LANGUAGE FROM A
LINGUOCULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Марина Љ. Спасојевић

- Когнитивнолингвистичко истраживање глаголских
префикса у српском језику 577
A COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC STUDY OF VERBAL PREFIXES
IN THE SERBIAN LANGUAGE

Наташа Ж. Драгин

- Критичко издање дела Марка Пећког..... 583
A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE WORKS OF MARKO PEĆKI

Danijela M. Janjić

Alba de Céspedes tra letteratura e impegno politico-culturale 589

ALBA DE CÉSPEDES BETWEEN LITERATURE AND
POLITICAL-CULTURAL ENGAGEMENT

Јована Јорџић

Џојс и Андерсон у паралели: додирне тачке великих модерниста 593

JOYCE AND ANDERSON IN PARALLEL: CONVERGENCES OF GREAT
MODERNISTS

Зорана Ж. Штрбац

Месијанство гордих и понизних 597

THE MESSIANISM OF THE PROUD AND THE HUMBLE

Упутства за ауторе 603

Instruction for Authors 611



ELSA MORANTE

DANAS: ČITANJA I
TUMAČENJA

ELSA MORANTE
OGGI: LETTURE E
INTERPRETAZIONI

Sanja N. Kobilj Ćuić
Univerzitet u Banjoj Luci
Filološki fakultet

POSVETA ELSI MORANTE (1912–1985), VJEČNO INSPIRATIVNOM KNJIŽEVNOM GLASU

Elsa Morante (1912–1985) rođena je i živjela u Rimu, a ostaće zapamćena kao jedna od najznačajnijih književnica XX vijeka u italijanskoj književnosti. Autorka je četiri romana: *Varka i čarolija* (1948), *Arturovo ostrvo* (1957), *Istorija: sablazan koja traje već deset hiljada godina* (1974) i *Aracoeli* (1982). Pored romana, objavila je i dvije zbirke pripovijedaka, *Il gioco segreto* (1941) i *Lo scialle andaluso* (1963). Pisala je i poeziju (*Alibi*- 1958; *Il mondo salvato dai ragazzini*-1968.) te esejističke tekstove (*Pro o contro la bomba atomica e altri scritti*-1965). Smatra se jednim od najangažovanijih i najnekompromisnijih glasova italijanske intelektualne scene, posebno zbog širenja ideja pacifizma, naglašavanja etičke uloge književnosti te dosljedne borbe za marginalizirane i nevine — prije svega za djecu, koja će, prema čuvenom naslovu njene zbirke poezije, „spasiti svijet“.

U recepciji Else Morante na prostoru Jugoslavije, a kasnije i zemalja bivše Jugoslavije, mogu se izdvojiti tri osnovne odlike. Prije svega, iako su njeni romani relativno rano bili prevedeni na srpskohrvatski nakon objavljivanja u Italiji, jugoslovenska recepcija ostala je neujednačena i snažno zasjenjena izuzetnom popularnošću njenog supruga, Alberta Moravije, koji je u Jugoslaviji bio najčitaniji i najprodavaniji italijanski pisac. Ipak, uprkos Moravijinoj dominaciji, Elsa Morante je, na duge staze, ostavila dublji i trajniji trag u kulturnom prostoru bivše Jugoslavije, što potvrđuje reaktualizacija prevoda i obnovljeno zanimanje akademske zajednice.

Drugo, ključni element u recepciji Else Morante bila je uloga prevoditeljki i prevodilaca. Posebno se ističu Jasmina Tešanović (bivša Livada) i Razija Sarajlić, koje su bile mnogo više od prevoditeljki: istinske kulturne posrednice, sposobne da uvedu Elsu Morante u jugoslovenski kulturni pejzaž putem prevoda, biobibliografskih pogovora, antologijskih izbora i kontinuiranog kritičkog rada. Zahvaljujući njihovom angažmanu, glas Else Morante dopirao je do jugoslovenskih čitalaca na autentičan način.

Godine 1972. u prestižnoj Matici srpskoj objavljen je prevod romana *Menzogna e sortilegio* (*Varka i čarolija*), koji potpisuju Miodrag Kujundžić i Ivanka Jovičić, u tiražu od 5.000 primjeraka. Godine 1987. Jasmina Tešanović prevela je za beogradsku Prosvjetu roman *L'isola di Arturo* (*Arturovo ostrvo*), u izdanju koje je uredio čuveni Miodrag Pavić. Tešanović je takođe napisala i biobibliografsku bilješku u pogovoru, čime je ponudila prvi detaljan prikaz poetike i života Else Morante na prostoru Balkana. Iste godine izdavačka kuća Svjetlost — Veselin Masleša objavila je prevod romana *La Storia*, koji je realizovala Razija Sarajlić, još jedna ključna figura kulturnog dijaloga između Jugoslavije i Italije. Sarajlić, osnivačica Udruženja književnih prevodilaca Bosne i Hercegovine, posvetila je trideset pet godina prevođenju s italijanskog na srpskohrvatski i obrnuto. Izdanje je uredila književnica, akademska profesorica i esejistkinja Jasmina Musabegović. Godine 1989. pojavljuje se, u prevodu Ane Srbinović i Elizabete Vasiljević, zbirka *Andaluzijski šal*, koju objavljuje izdavačka kuća Gradina, a koju tadašnja štampa dočekuje vrlo pozitivno.

Jedini roman Else Morante koji nije bio preveden na srpskohrvatski jezik je *Aracoeli*. Prevod ovog romana objavljen je prvi put u novembru ove godine, za izdavačku kuću Petrine knjige iz Zagreba. U književnim časopisima Prosvjeta i Dubrovnik, Tvrtko Klarić objavio je prevode *Poeme o vješalima* i *Poeme o M.S. i M. N.*, koje su dio zbirke poezije *Il mondo salvato dai ragazzini*. Na srpski jezik Jasmina Livada prevela je 1986. godine i dio eseja *Za ili protiv atomske bombe*. Izuzev navedenih primjera, do danas nedostaju kompletni prevodi poezije i esejistike Else Morante, bez kojih je teško postići cjelokupan uvid u njenu poetiku.

Izuzev još nekoliko prevoda pojedinih pripovjedaka Morante — objavljivanih u različitim književnim časopisima i ponekoj antologiji italijanske pripovijetke XX vijeka (poput *Druga* i *U miru*) — zabilježena je pauza u prevođenju sve do dvijehiljaditih godina.

U posljednje vrijeme svjedočimo obnovljenom interesovanju za Elsu Morante. Izdavač Petrine knjige u posljednje dvije godine objavio je tri njena romana, povjerena troma različitim prevodiocima: *Arturovo ostrvo*, *Povijest* i *Aracoeli*. U Srbiji se 2023. godine, pojavila nova verzija prevoda romana *Arturovo ostrvo* Jasmine Tešanović, koju je objavila izdavačka kuća Laguna.

I temat koji se nalazi pred čitalačkom publikom Filologa predstavlja značajan pokazatelj aktivnog interesovanja akademske zajednice za izučavanje djela Else Morante. Njegova vrijednost je time veća što ima međunarodni karakter i okuplja naučnice iz Italije, Španije, Irske, Bosne i Hercegovine i Hrvatske.

Tako se Elena Porčani (Elena Porciani) u svom radu bavi dvjema neobjavljenim pričama iz perioda „praistorije“ i elementima koji u njima najavljuju prvi roman *Varka i čarolija*. Mara Hosi (Mara Josi) analizira gotički element u ranoj stvaralačkoj fazi Else Morante kao mogući simbolički čin otpora društveno-političkoj represivnoj klimi u Italiji 30-ih godina XX vijeka. Sanja Kobilj Čuić bavi se tekstualnom analizom pet prevedenih pripovijetki Else Morante i motivom Unheimliche-a u njima. Eliza Martinez Garido (Elisa Martínez Garrido) proučava intertekstualne veze epizode o deportaciji rimskih Jevreja u romanu *Istorija: sablazan koja traje već deset hiljada godina* s Danteom i Bahovom muzikom. Martina Sanković Ivančić istražuje dominantnu temu djetinjstva u romanima Else Morante.

Želim da izrazim neizmjernu zahvalnost, prije svega, svim učesnicama koje su svojim doprinosom obogatile ovaj temat. Posebno hvala dugujem profesorici Eleni Porčani koja nam je ljubazno ustupila odlomak iz svoje monografije; mojim kolegama i koleginicama sa Studijskog programa romanistike, posebno prof. dr Stefanu Adamu, prof. dr Robertu Rusiju i doc. dr Mariji Fornari; te urednici Filologa, prof. dr Tatjani Bijelić, koja mi je od samog početka pružila podršku i svojim savjetima omogućila realizaciju ovog temata.

Sanja N. Kobilj Ćuić
Univerzitet u Banjoj Luci
Filološki fakultet

DEDICA A ELSA MORANTE (1912–1985), UNA FONTE INESAURIBILE DI ISPIRAZIONE LETTERARIA

Elsa Morante (1912–1985), nata e vissuta a Roma, sarà ricordata come una delle più importanti scrittrici del Novecento italiano. Fu autrice di quattro romanzi: *Menzogna e sortilegio* (1948), *L'isola di Arturo* (1957), *La storia* (1974) e *Aracoeli* (1982). Oltre ai romanzi, pubblicò due raccolte di racconti, *Il gioco segreto* (1941) e *Lo scialle andaluso* (1963). Scrisse anche poesia (*Alibi* - 1958; *Il mondo salvato dai ragazzini* - 1968) e testi saggistici (*Pro o contro la bomba atomica e altri scritti* - 1965).

È considerata una delle voci più impegnate e più intransigenti della scena intellettuale italiana, in particolare per la diffusione delle idee pacifiste, per la forte insistenza sul ruolo etico della letteratura e per la sua costante difesa dei marginalizzati e degli innocenti — soprattutto dei bambini, che, secondo il celebre titolo della sua raccolta poetica, “hanno salvato il mondo”.

È possibile evidenziare tre tratti fondamentali della ricezione di Elsa Morante in Jugoslavia. Anzitutto, nel periodo socialista, la sua ricezione — nonostante le sue opere siano state tradotte relativamente presto in serbo-croato dopo la loro pubblicazione in Italia — risulta discontinua e rimane nettamente offuscata da quella del marito, Alberto Moravia, che in Jugoslavia è stato l'autore italiano più letto e più venduto. Tuttavia, anche se Moravia era molto più popolare, Elsa Morante ha lasciato nel lungo periodo un'impronta più profonda e più duratura nello spazio culturale dell'ex Jugoslavia, come dimostrano le recenti traduzioni dei suoi romanzi e il rinnovato interesse da parte della comunità accademica.

In secondo luogo, un elemento decisivo per la ricezione di Elsa Morante è rappresentato dal ruolo delle traduttrici e dei traduttori. In questo senso desidero ricordare in particolare Jasmina Tešanović e Razija Sarajlić, che furono molto più che semplici traduttrici: vere e proprie mediatrici culturali, capaci di introdurre Elsa Morante nel panorama jugoslavo attraverso traduzioni, postfazioni bio-bibliografiche, inserimenti in antologie e un costante lavoro di divulgazione critica.

Grazie al loro impegno, la voce di Morante ha potuto raggiungere i lettori jugoslavi con rigore culturale e piena aderenza stilistica. Nel 1972 esce presso la prestigiosa Matica srpska la traduzione di *Menzogna e sortilegio* (*Varka i čarolija*), firmata da due traduttori, Miodrag Kujundžić e Ivanka Jovičić, in una tiratura di 5.000 copie. Nel 1987 Jasmina Tešanović, traduce per la casa editrice Prosveta di Belgrado il romanzo *L'isola di Arturo*. L'edizione è curata dal celebre scrittore Miodrag Pavić. Tešanović ha inoltre redatto una nota bio-bibliografica in postfazione, offrendo il primo ritratto dettagliato della poetica e della vita di Elsa Morante nei Balcani occidentali.

Sempre nel 1987, la casa editrice Svjetlost di Sarajevo pubblica la traduzione de *La Storia*, realizzata da Razija Sarajlić, un'altra figura chiave nel dialogo culturale tra Jugoslavia e Italia. Sarajlić, fondatrice dell'Associazione dei traduttori letterari della Bosnia ed Erzegovina, si è dedicata per trentacinque anni alla traduzione dall'italiano al serbo-croato e viceversa. L'edizione è curata dalla scrittrice e docente universitaria Jasmina Musabegović.

Nel 1989 appare, nella traduzione di Ana Srbinović ed Elizabeta Vasiljević, la raccolta *Lo scialle andaluso*, pubblicata dalla casa editrice Gradina e accolta molto positivamente dalla stampa.

Dopo queste pubblicazioni, e fatta eccezione per alcune traduzioni sporadiche di alcuni racconti morantiani, sparse in diverse riviste letterarie e in qualche antologia — *Il compagno*, *In pace* — si registra una lunga pausa che durerà fino agli anni Duemila.

L'unico romanzo di Elsa Morante a non essere stato tradotto in serbo-croato per un lungo periodo è infatti *Aracoeli*, pubblicato per la prima volta nel mese di novembre 2025 dalla casa editrice Petrine knjige. Inoltre, ad eccezione della *Canzone degli F.P. e degli I. M.* (tradotta da Tvrtko Klarić nel 1987) e di una traduzione parziale del saggio *Pro o contro la bomba atomica* (realizzata da Jasmina Livada nel 1986) non sono stati tradotti né le poesie né i saggi di Elsa Morante.

Recentemente si è assistito a un rinnovato interesse per Elsa Morante, in particolare in Croazia, dove la casa editrice zagrebese Petrine knjige, negli ultimi due anni, ha pubblicato tre suoi romanzi, affidati a tre traduttori diversi: *L'isola di Arturo*, *La Storia* e *Aracoeli*. In Serbia, sempre nel 2023, è apparsa la ritraduzione di Jasmina Tešanović de *L'isola di Arturo*, pubblicata dalla casa editrice Laguna.

Anche questa sezione tematica che si presenta al pubblico di *Filolog* costituisce un indicatore significativo del vivo interesse della comunità accademica per lo studio dell'opera di Elsa Morante. Il suo valore è ulteriormente accresciuto dal carattere internazionale dell'iniziativa, che riunisce studiosi provenienti dall'Italia, dalla Spagna, dall'Irlanda, dalla Bosnia-Erzegovina e dalla Croazia.

Elena Porciani nel suo contributo analizza due racconti inediti appartenenti al periodo della “preistoria” morantiana e gli elementi che in essi preannunciano il primo romanzo *Menzogna e sortilegio*. Mara Josi esamina l’elemento gotico nella fase iniziale della produzione morantiana, interpretandolo come possibile atto simbolico di resistenza al clima socio-politico repressivo dell’Italia degli anni Trenta del Novecento. Sanja Kobilj Ćuić si concentra sull’analisi testuale di cinque racconti tradotti di Elsa Morante e sul motivo del *perturbante* presente in essi. Elisa Martínez Garrido studia i rapporti intertestuali tra l’episodio della deportazione degli ebrei romani nel romanzo *La Storia* e Dante, nonché la musica di Bach. Martina Sanković Ivančić affronta il tema dominante dell’infanzia nei romanzi di Elsa Morante.

Desidero innanzitutto esprimere la mia profonda gratitudine a tutte le partecipanti che, con i loro contributi, hanno arricchito questa sezione tematica. Un sentito ringraziamento è rivolto alla professoressa Elena Porciani, che ha cortesemente messo a disposizione una parte della propria monografia, ai colleghi del Dipartimento di Lingue Romanze, in particolare a Stefano Adamo, Roberto Russi e Maria Fornari, nonché alla direttrice di Filologia, professoressa Tatjana Bijelić, che fin dall’inizio mi ha sostenuta e che, grazie ai suoi preziosi consigli, ha reso possibile la realizzazione del presente Progetto.

Elena Porciani¹

Università degli Studi della Campania Luigi Vanvitelli

FANTASTICHE PASSIONI. SU DUE RACCONTI INEDITI DELLA GIOVANE MORANTE²

Abstract: In questo contributo prendo in esame due racconti inediti della giovane Elsa Morante: La piccola, redatto fra il 1929 e il 1935, e Dionisia, composto tra il 1935 e il marzo 1936. Si tratta di due testi che testimoniano del passaggio, intorno alla metà degli anni Trenta, dalla primissima fase della produzione giovanile, nella quale i modelli dannunziani e sentimentali si intrecciano con la pratica della scrittura per bambini, a una fase più elaborata e consapevole, nella quale Morante si misura con la tradizione del fantastico e con il modello kafkiano per costruire personaggi dall'ipertrofica interiorità che guardano già alla Elisa di Menzogna e sortilegio. In particolare, nella Piccola mostrerò la convivenza non risolta della materia rosa con la progressiva attrazione di Morante verso situazioni allucinate e psicologie morbose. Riguardo a Dionisia, mostrerò invece come l'autrice giochi con alcuni motivi tipici del racconto fantastico ottocentesco per dare vita a una figura femminile dolentemente tesa tra l'oppressiva religiosità e le ragioni dell'eros.

Parole chiave: Elsa Morante, anni Trenta, racconto fantastico, romanzo, diavolo, religione, eros.

Anche se non mancano avvisaglie del talento dell'autrice, i lavori più precoci riemersi dall'Archivio Elsa Morante sito presso la Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma sono ancora lontani dal raggiungere un apprezzabile valore letterario. Ciononostante, si tratta di testi molto preziosi per capire da quale *milieu* culturale provenga Morante e in che senso il tortuoso percorso della giovinezza consista anche nel rifunzionalizzare in una dialogicità permanente tra romanzesco e realistico le modalità ora sentimentali ora fosche degli esordi.

¹ elena.porciani@unicampania.it

² Ripropongo qui con alcune varianti, per gentile concessione dell'editore, i primi due paragrafi del capitolo *Fantastiche passioni* della monografia *Il tesoro nascosto. Intorno ai testi inediti e ritrovati della giovane Elsa Morante, con sei storie e una poesia dell'autrice*, Macerata, Quodlibet, 2023.

In questa direzione, si può affermare che *Qualcuno bussa alla porta*, l'opera narrativa di maggiore impegno della fase giovanile, uscita in ventinove puntate sulla rivista per insegnanti elementari *I diritti della scuola* fra il 25 settembre 1935 e il 30 agosto 1936, marchi una sorta di spartiacque, dato che la sua pubblicazione coincide con un periodo di profondi cambiamenti nella scrittura, oltre che nella vita, di Morante. Mentre in una lettera del 28 maggio 1935 a Luisa Fantini la scrittrice guarda ai suoi lavori di tre anni prima come al prodotto di una "gioventù stupida" (Morante, 2012:p.39), in un documento epistolare dell'inizio del 1936 leggiamo non troppo dissimilmente:

'Lavori? Io mi sforzo a farlo, ma oramai credo di non poter trovare grandi soddisfazioni e la mia riserva di entusiasmo, per questa e altre cose, è molto limitata. Questa estate ero ancora molto giovane [...]' (in Rapisarda, 1996:p.79)³.

Se nel maggio precedente la non ancora ventitreenne Elsa mostrava tutta la sua insofferenza verso la primissima fase della sua attività e della sua stessa vita, poco più di sette mesi dopo è la stessa estate del 1935 a essere oggetto di un giudizio di ingenuità, dovuta a un residuo di giovinezza al quale sarebbe succeduta un persino più amaro disincanto. È nell'alveo di questa fase, complice anche la lettura di Kafka, dal quale rimane affascinata, che Morante sviluppa una nuova sperimentazione di atmosfere angoscienti ed enigmatiche, destinate a costituire una delle principali cifre di riconoscimento della prima fase della sua scrittura.

Si tratta di una svolta che forse anche incide, circa quaranta anni dopo, sull'idiosincrasia di Morante nei confronti degli approcci femministi alla letteratura⁴: come se la presa di distanza dalla sua primissima fascinazione per il romanzesco intriso di rosa, di cui il lavoro apparso sui *Diritti della scuola* costituisce il punto di arrivo, avesse cristallizzato ai suoi occhi le questioni di genere nella bassa considerazione di una simile letteratura femminile d'antan. Eppure nei primissimi lavori, di indubbia connotazione sentimentale, è già riconoscibile uno degli aspetti che sono maggiormente distintivi delle pubblicazioni dei successivi anni Trenta e Quaranta: la capacità di rappresentare con una vividezza e un'intensità rare nel panorama italiano del tempo l'eros travagliato, quando non proprio infelice, di donne lacerate dal conflitto tra l'educazione e la maternità da un lato, il desiderio e la passione dall'altro, in un contesto sociale che non consente loro di vivere

³ La studiosa non riporta la datazione esatta del documento, che non è fra quelli pubblicati nel 2012 da Daniele Morante nell'*Amata*.

⁴ Si ricorderanno al riguardo lo scontro con la rivista *Noi donne* nel 1974, di cui offre documentazione l'Archivio (A.R.C. 52 IV 5/10r-13r), e il più noto episodio del rifiuto di apparire nell'antologia *Donne in poesia* allestita da Biancamaria Frabotta e Dacia Maraini nel 1976. Su questo cfr. ora Porciani, 2024b:pp.277-285.

liberamente la propria affettività. Per tale motivo, nonostante non manchino racconti con protagonisti maschili, ci si può spingere ad affermare che la giovane Morante sia in primo luogo una scrittrice di storie femminili: di madri e figlie, ma anche di nonne e zie, vedove e zitelle, suore e zingare, secondo una multiformità di ruoli che giunge sino a *Menzogna e sortilegio*⁵.

I due racconti riemersi dall'Archivio che si prenderanno in esame in questo contributo rientrano in un simile orizzonte tematico, dato che vi si trovano al centro donne – delle più varie età – alle prese con la solitudine e l'abbandono e, più in generale, con un'estenuazione della propria emotività che può prendere la forma di una fervida fede religiosa. L'importanza dei testi che stiamo per affrontare non si limita, tuttavia, a corroborare costanti già note. Essi sono portatori di una prospettiva poetico-metodologica che consente di osservare direttamente dall'interno del laboratorio della scrittrice il graduale passaggio dal romanzesco sentimentale degli esordi a un'originale pratica del fantastico. Come stiamo per vedere, una patina di perturbante e morboso avvolge i personaggi e le loro vicende, mentre da luminose e piene di colori le ambientazioni si fanno via via più allucinate e livide.

1. *Tra sacro e profano*

Il racconto più palesemente segnato dal movimento di crescita che caratterizza l'autrice intorno alla metà degli anni Trenta è *La piccola* (A.R.C. 52 I 1/39, cc. 61r-66r), riemerso anch'esso in forma manoscritta dalla donazione del 2016 e contraddistinto dalla presenza sul frontespizio di una doppia datazione: "1929" e "Aprile 1935" (c. 61r). Più in dettaglio, "1929" segue tra parentesi tonde e con un inchiostro più debole il titolo, a suggerire un'operazione di riordino cronologico successiva alla stesura. Pertanto, se possiamo attribuire alla scrittrice diciassettene la sua prima ideazione, il racconto dovrebbe esserci pervenuto – il condizionale è d'obbligo – in una versione di sei anni successiva, come suggerisce la dicitura "Aprile 1935" apposta in alto a sinistra. In ogni caso, il duplice riferimento cronologico preannuncia una tensione fra due fasi diverse di cui doveva essere consapevole la stessa autrice se, ancora prima di battere a macchina il testo, sottopose il racconto alla lettura di un revisore. Questi, come si può notare dai pungenti commenti autografi, non si esime dal rimarcare incongruenze e scelte lessicali dubbie, anche a proposito del non felicissimo *incipit*⁶:

⁵ Sulla centralità del *mother-daughter plot* nel primo romanzo della maturità cfr De Rogatis, 2019.

⁶ Non si può al momento stabilirne l'identità, anche se il tono adottato nei commenti farebbe propendere per una persona più adulta e di genere maschile, che la giovane scrittrice considera autore-

‘La bambina era nata con un difetto alla gamba destra; mal compressa nell’utero della madre, essa era rimasta più corta dell’altra, contratta e avvizzita. La madre capì che quella gambina non sarebbe più cresciuta regolarmente, e ascoltò, come una maledizione, il suo passo zoppicante che la seguiva per sempre.’ (c. 61r.)

“Era nata” è correzione dell’originario “nacque” suggerita dal revisore con la motivazione “era nata, se no si stacca e diventa storia” (c. 61r). Uno stentoreo punto interrogativo, poi, evidenzia l’incoerenza del “passo zoppicante” in una scena che descrive una bambina appena venuta alla luce e di lì a poco, ancora prima di iniziare a camminare, condotta da una balia in campagna. Un altro commento relativo alla spiegazione pseudoscientifica della deformità della neonata – “io non riesco a capire queste realtà fisiche *inutilmente* defluite” (c. 61r) – lascia trapelare il disagio di fronte a dettagli che gli appaiono pedanti. L’*incipit*, inoltre, pone al centro del discorso il senso di colpa che la madre prova per un concepimento evidentemente avvenuto in una situazione illegittima, ma il crescendo angosciante delle prime righe subito si disperde nello spostamento *ex abrupto* della vicenda in un imprevisto scenario rusticale in cui, tra il fieno, l’orto, la vigna e “gli odori di pecora e di capra” (c. 61r), la vita della bambina sembra scorrere assai serena a dispetto della sua menomazione⁷.

Dopo avere “quasi fatto fortuna” (c. 61r)⁸, ecco che qualche anno dopo la madre viene a riprendersi la bambina e la conduce in città a vivere in un confortevole appartamento dove non mancano mai regali e bambole; fa inoltre fabbricare un apparecchio ortopedico che consente alla figlia di camminare. Nella casa abita anche una giovane serva che, quando conduce ai giardini pubblici la piccola, parla della padrona con le sue amiche. La voce narrante non ce ne rivela ancora il motivo; piuttosto, adotta il punto di vista della bambina che, sconvolta dalla malignità delle chiacchiere, chiede in lacrime di essere riportata a casa, anche se non cessa di osservare, in un crescendo grottesco che rimane, sul momento, immotivato, i dettagli dei volti che la circondano: “il [...] naso che si arricciava, gli occhi che si dilatavano o ammiccavano, la bocca grossa che si apriva e si chiudeva senza posa” (c. 62r). Dopodiché, con un nuovo brusco passaggio, si passa a descrivere la fanatica

vole. Sicuramente, non si tratta di un amico o di un’amica: non solo nell’ultima pagina del racconto il lettore dà del lei a Morante, ma anche mantiene un atteggiamento di sostanziale superiorità.

⁷ Ad esempio, quando cerca di andare dietro ai due figli della contadina, “che, piccoli e arditi, correavano e s’arrampicavano per i sentieri”, la bambina “si arrestava con gli occhi fissi e un dito in bocca” (A.R.C. 52 I 1/39, c. 61r) e non sembra, nella sua inconsapevolezza, crucciarsi troppo.

⁸ Si noti come il ‘quasi’ suoni una precisazione superflua, che ne richiama una simile presente nell’altro racconto inedito della prima giovinezza *Il servo che dormì nel tempio* (cfr. Porciani, 2023: pp. 67–71), in cui si legge, a proposito del protagonista, che di fronte al dio prorompe “in una quasi sghignazzata di trionfo” (A.R.C. 52 I 1/39, c. 194r).

religiosità della piccola, sviluppatasi dopo che “la madre la fece comunicare molto presto” regalándole una “piccola croce appesa ad una catena d’oro”, oltre che uno “sgrigno col rosario” (c. 62r) e persino un messale rilegato con l’avorio:

‘Da allora la bambina fece la Comunione ogni Domenica, e scese, la mattina presto, nella Chiesa dove si potevano vedere Iddio e la Vergine, magnificamente vestiti, che, in cima all’altare, odoravano i vapori dell’incenso. Lo Spirito Santo, in forma di colombo, stava fermo su loro con le ali aperte, e per loro, fra le colonne e le balaustre, erano accesi gli infiniti lumi; per loro, mille voci più acute, più forti, salmodianti, gridanti e borbottanti, cantavano e pregavano. Quando il campanello squillava, incalzando con maggior forza, era segno che il Sacro Spirito era presente, e la bambina curvava in fretta¹⁰ la testa, presa da venerazione e da paura. Prima di confessarsi, faceva un tormentoso esame dei propri peccati, nel timore di ometterne qualcuno, che sarebbe stato un sacrilegio. Un altro terribile sacrilegio era incidere l’ostia santa coi denti, ed ella se la sentiva disciogliersi in bocca, con trepidazione, e poi tornava al suo posto con la testa china e le braccia in croce, in una contenta beatitudine.’ (cc. 62r-63r)

Solo a questa altezza, dopo che si sono forniti ulteriori particolari sulla vita agiata della madre e della figlia, si chiarisce l’origine delle maldicenze: numerosi uomini frequentano la casa e intuiamo che il mestiere della donna è quello della prostituta d’alto bordo. A una simile mollezza di costumi sembra alludere anche l’abitudine, che poco si addice a una signora per bene, di aggirarsi per casa canticchiando “mezza nuda, la mattina, con le bretelle della camicia che le scorrevano giù dalle spalle quasi gonfie, i capelli in disordine” (c. 63r).

Le ragioni della ricchezza accumulata dalla madre si fanno mano a mano più evidenti: “Talvolta, se la serva era in faccende, toccava alla bambina aprire l’uscio ai visitatori, ed ella andava, tentando di affrettarsi e incespicando talora fra tutti quei mobili” (c. 63r). Spiccano in particolare due curiosi personaggi. Il primo è “un signore alto, secco, coi sopraccigli folti e le rughe fonde, fra cui due labbra bluastre si socchiudevano sui denti gialli e umidi”, la cui “spaventosa bruttezza”, così come la sua rigidità nei movimenti e l’abitudine di raschiarsi “la gola con una specie di grugnito” (c. 63r), la bambina osserva con il consueto occhio analitico. Il secondo è “un grasso e bruno, con occhi vivaci e gesti ampi, che dava allegri scappellotti

⁹ Varie le osservazioni del revisore: dapprima, riguardo all’iniziale “la fece comunicare”, commenta: “non è così; fece fare la I com.: è altra cosa!”; poi suggerisce di correggere l’iniziale “Crocifisso” con qualcosa che faccia “sentire che è piccola; se no è grottesco” (c. 62r).

¹⁰ Corregge “precipitosamente” dopo che il revisore ha commentato: “il gesto è così lieve che non c’è precipitare (che vuol dire cadere col *caput prae!*)” (c. 63r).

a sua madre sussurrandole nell'orecchio parole", ma anche, spesso, "un buffetto sul mento" (c. 63r) alla figlia, che però non si lascia avvicinare, né da lui né dalle comitive più rumorose che a volte irrompono in casa:

‘indietreggiava, impallidita, abbassando la faccia. Certe sere, quando ella era già a letto, arrivavano visitatori più numerosi, donne e uomini, ed ella ne sentiva le risate attraverso i muri, col tintinnio dei vetri.’ (c. 64r)

Più piacevoli sono per lei, forse perché abituata ai rumori della campagna – il racconto non lo esplicita –, i temporali notturni che molto, invece, impauriscono sua madre, la quale “fuggiva vicino a lei, se erano sole, per nascondere la faccia nelle coperte, e si inginocchiava accanto al letto, con strida soffocate e brividi” (c. 64r). Si tratta di un particolare che il revisore trova “perfettamente inutile” (c. 64r), ma che in realtà serve a corroborare il profilo allegramente fatuo e infantile del personaggio materno, in contrapposizione alla crescente scontentezza della figlia: secondo una ripartizione di ruoli e peculiarità caratteriali che procede in una direzione sostanzialmente opposta rispetto all’avvio del racconto quando, piuttosto, il tormento apparteneva alla donna adulta e la serenità incosciente alla bambina.

Non meno a rischio di incongruenza appare il passaggio alla sequenza successiva, in cui si narra della morte della portinaia del caseggiato dove è sito l’appartamento, a causa delle esalazioni del “bracere [*sic*]” (c. 64r) da lei acceso. Non si comprende sul momento la funzionalità del segmento nella progressione del racconto, che poco dopo di nuovo si focalizza sulla vita domestica di madre e figlia, ispirata, si potrebbe dire, a un’affettuosa commistione di sacro e profano:

‘Se la serva usciva, nelle ore del suo permesso domenicale, la madre rimaneva in casa con la bambina; insieme sfogliavano le riviste e la vite dei santi, mangiavano dei dolci, e la madre cantava tutto il repertorio delle canzonette, con gesti buffi e voce stridente, e si scuoteva in movimenti di danza. La bambina ridendo, si stringeva con le spalle il collo. Poi caricavano il grammofo, e ascoltavano in silenzio ballabili, canzonette napoletane e filastrocche per ragazzi.’ (c. 64r)

Una domenica un’automobile si ferma davanti casa e dalla strada chiamano la madre, che corre “a darsi il rossetto” (c. 64r), prima di affacciarsi, mentre la figlia “si infilò sotto il suo braccio per vedere, e scorse signori e signore nella strada e una signora che parlava disordinatamente, alzando la faccia dalle guance paonazze in un gran collone di volpe azzurra” (cc. 64r-65r). Seppure “a malincuore”, la madre decide di unirsi alla compagnia dalle “facce allegre e congestionate” (c. 65r), promettendo alla figlia di rientrare presto. Rimasta sola, la bambina diviene preda delle sue più segrete ossessioni mano a mano che il tempo trascorre e il buio avvolge la casa.

Non sapendo che fare, si reca a “rimirare il quadro della Madonna appeso nella sua camera” e si mette a pregare, recitando “il Rosario, un Pater, un Ave, un Gloria, per ogni grano” (c. 65r); dopodiché,

rabbrivido, si guardò di sottocchi la gamba destra. Quella sua strana gamba le causava una sensazione di paura e di rispetto. Le pareva un essere estraneo, che, quasi, avesse un nome e uno spirito. Precipitosamente la ricoprì, e, accese tutte le lampade nel salotto di sua madre, fissò attentamente i ritratti appesi al muro (c. 65r).

Nell'osservare dapprima le fotografie della nonna, poi quelle del “signore magro” e di “altre signore e signori”, dalle più varie pose – alcune sorridenti, altre “di estrema importanza, come se mai nessuno fosse stato fotografato prima di loro” –, la bambina immagina che queste figure “dovessero da un minuto all'altro sbattere le palpebre o parlare e allora il cuore le si sarebbe rotto dallo spavento e non avrebbe neppure urlato” (c. 65r). Impressionata, si reca in cucina “con la sensazione vaga di aver un'ombra dietro le spalle, simile a quegli spauracchi che tengono le braccia per impaurire i passerì” e cerca invano di scacciare i pensieri cantando sottovoce filastrocche come “Girotondo e l'ambasciatore, e infine le canzonette alla moda” (c. 65r)¹¹. Il ronzio di un insetto la estenua ulteriormente, togliendole anche la forza di guardare fuori dalla finestra:

Sentiva che avrebbe veduto qualche cosa laggiù, uno spirito forse, fermo dietro i vetri, e spaventoso, e preferì lasciarsi tiranneggiare dalle tre Presenze implacabili che l'opprimevano, – la propria gamba malata e pesante sotto la veste, l'ombra dietro le spalle, e quel ronzio nell'aria della cucina. Rimase silenziosa e immobile per qualche minuto, finché decise di morire come la vecchia portinaia (c. 66r).

La voce narrante tira le fila, sin troppo didascalicamente, delle “tre Presenze” che opprimono la bambina e, nel crescendo fantastico dell'ossessione, la conducono al proposito suicida di accendere il braciere e portarselo in camera per morire come la portinaia, la cui funzione nel racconto adesso meglio comprendiamo. Sennonché un commento della voce narrante, che si rimpossessa d'improvviso del punto di vista, viene a turbare il crescendo perturbante creatosi: “a quella comica vista, tutti gli spiriti della casa si placarono e non la tormentarono più” (c. 66r). Ma è solo questione di una frase e di nuovo la focalizzazione si sposta sul personaggio, non senza qualche rischio ancora di pedanteria descrittiva:

¹¹ Il revisore ha sottolineato “canzonette alla moda” tratteggiando una linea che arriva a un commento più in alto che non bene si capisce se si riferisca a questa espressione o a tutto il passo: “non dice nulla” (ivi, c. 65r).

‘Sicura di morire prestissimo, chiuse accuratamente l’uscio e vi spinse contro il tavolino da notte, in mancanza di una chiave. Poi, senza guardarsi intorno, si distese rigida sul letto, e aspettò. Si sollevò solo un minuto, per aggiustarsi il cuscino sotto la testa.’ (c. 66r)

Già questi sbalzi della narrazione mostrano come l’autrice non sia riuscita ad amalgamare le diverse istanze alla base del racconto, ma non meno indicativo in tal senso è il finale. Proprio quando la bambina avverte “un cerchio stretto chiuderle la nuca e la fronte, e capì che era il principio della morte” (c. 66r), ecco che la madre rientra in casa e subito si dirige verso la camera, riuscendo ad entrarvi solo dopo aver forzato la porta bloccata dal tavolino. Una volta nella stanza, “si guardò intorno e scoppiò a ridere; voltandosi meccanicamente verso lo specchio, vi fissò il proprio volto invecchiato” (*ibid.*). Si comprende che il revisore commenti, a proposito della scena: “È un po’ troppo descrittiva d’una realtà non trasformata, neppure nel senso dell’intensità” (c. 66r): per quanto si voglia interpretarla come una presa di coscienza improvvisa da parte della donna della propria miseria esistenziale, la ripresa del motivo della bellezza sfiorita non appare in effetti compiutamente giustificata dal contesto narrativo.

Non si tratta, tuttavia, di mera imperizia¹². La giovane autrice è ancora alla ricerca di un equilibrio tra l’urgenza espressiva e la misura diegetica, come suggeriscono le situazioni e le immagini che ricorrono – e si rincorrono – nei suoi lavori: la devastazione fisica, ad esempio, presente già in *Sette candele*, o la mania religiosa, che, come stiamo per vedere, deflagrerà a breve in *Dionisia*. Soprattutto, però, le due protagoniste sembrano sovraccariche di istanze oltre che di fasi narrative diverse: la madre appare portatrice di un romanzesco originario, dove predominano il teatro e la sensualità, che pure convivono, non senza qualche stridore, con il senso materno, salvo l’innesto nell’*incipit* e nel finale, quasi come un corpo estraneo, di una più cupa psicologia. Per buona parte del racconto la figlia ci appare una compagna di giochi della madre e ci dimentichiamo della sua menomazione, mentre in altri tratti si intravede un rovesciamento di ruoli tra i due personaggi: essa acquisisce la connotazione di una sorta di *puella senex*, caratterizzata da una “curiosità diffidente” (c. 62r), ma protettiva nei confronti di una figura genitoriale infantile e frivola finché, nel crescendo dell’ultima parte, prevalgono le fantasie ossessive e persino le manie suicide.

¹² Si ha l’impressione, in effetti, che nella sua *vis* correttiva, che pure sottolinea evidenti goffaggini espressive, il revisore non si sforzi di cogliere le ragioni più intime della mal riuscita armonizzazione nel racconto di figure e situazioni, come si vede dal commento in calce al testo: “Tra parentesi l’avverto che oggi non *si vuole* più sentire parlare di suicidi; e potrebbe non esserle consentito di pubblicare la narraz. d’un suicidio” (ivi, c. 66r).

Nel complesso si ha l'impressione, per così dire, di un'ambivalenza narrativa che potrebbe essere l'effetto di una stratificazione cronologica nella composizione. Si potrebbe ritenere, cioè, che su un originario racconto adolescenziale impostato secondo modalità imitative delle scrittrici rosa dell'epoca si sia innestato un ceppo più oscuro e morboso, costituito *in primis* dalla caratterizzazione della bambina, che apre alla futura tipologia morantiana delle ragazzine dall'apparenza miserevole combinata all'immaginazione ipertrofica¹³. Non meno rilevante in tale direzione è il ricco repertorio del fantastico che entra qui per la prima volta nella scrittura della giovane Morante: dal quadro animato al rumore ossessivo nel buio, alla Poe. Le date del 1929 e del 1935 indicherebbero, in tal modo, i due estremi del lavoro redazionale, facendo delle incongruenze della *Piccola* un'ottima testimonianza delle sperimentazioni in atto nella giovane autrice, alla ricerca di una sua identità per rappresentare i temi a lei cari, ma non ancora in grado di padroneggiare la convergenza di differenti modalità di scrittura.

La fertilità della *Piccola* non si esaurisce nelle rilevazioni intertestuali relative alla giovinezza: perché la lunga durata della memoria autoriale di Morante, nella quale immagini e figure possono ripresentarsi a distanza di anni e persino decenni, fa di questo racconto così disomogeneo e, in definitiva, poco riuscito l'antenato più remoto della cornice di *Menzogna e sortilegio*. Innanzitutto, quella che si potrebbe definire, perlomeno sino all'inatteso finale, una cortigiana felice non può non evocare, come si sarà intuito, il personaggio della matura Rosaria adombrata nell'*Introduzione alla Storia della mia famiglia*, così come l'atteggiamento forastico della bambina richiama quello di Elisa nei primi tempi della convivenza con la madre adottiva: "I presenti, ricordo, commentavano con risa e motteggi la mia scontentezza; ma non inferivano mai troppo contro di me [...]. Nonostante la loro moderazione, però, ai loro scherzi io mi facevo di fuoco" (Morante, 1994:p.13).

Per quanto riguarda più specificamente la figlia, proprio nella misura in cui essa costituisce un primo abbozzo di quelle sensibilità fanatiche e psicopatologiche che caratterizzano molti personaggi femminili della giovinezza, non di meno apre, attraverso di essi, alla "vecchia fanciulla" Elisa (p.12), miserevole ed esaltata al contempo. Né saranno da trascurare, sulla lunga durata, le "tre presenze" che opprimono la bambina, così come notevole è il verbo utilizzato per descrivere una simile oppressione, 'tiranneggiare', la cui radice tornerà per descrivere la persecuzione operata dalle figure familiari nei confronti di Elisa:

¹³ Manetti le definisce le "ragazzette morantiane socialmente inferiori e fisicamente incompiute" (Manetti, 2013:p.539).

‘Ma quelle larve si vendicarono della mia presunzione, e fecero, nel tempo stesso, le vendette della ragione e della realtà sulla stolidità Elisa.

Da compagne che m'erano state in principio, divennero le mie tiranne. M'inseguirono fin nel riposo, simili più spesso a incubi che a sogni; e di giorno e di notte, tutte in giro come per un assedio, grandi, subdole, m'insinuarono senza tregua i loro intrighi, i loro inganni crudeli.’ (p 24).

2. *Eros demoniaco*

Nel 1936 la sperimentazione di nuove modalità di scrittura non si arresta, anche se durante questo anno, principalmente segnato dall'uscita regolare delle puntate di *Qualcuno bussava alla porta*¹⁴, non si danno occasioni di pubblicazione improntate alla svolta in corso. L'Archivio ci ha restituito tuttavia alcune tracce di questa evoluzione: dapprima, con la donazione del 2007, si è recuperata una versione dattiloscritta, datata maggio 1936, del *Ladro dei lumi* (A.R.C. 52 I 1/5-6, cc. 1r-9r), il racconto che aprirà nel 1963 *Lo scialle andaluso*¹⁵; in seguito, le acquisizioni della BNCR del 2016 hanno consentito di ritrovare un racconto dal titolo *Dionisia*, conservato in una duplice copia dattiloscritta. La prima, in inchiostro violaceo, catalogata A.R.C. 52 I 1/39, cc. 265r-277r, presenta in calce al testo la data e la firma dattiloscritte cancellate; con una grafia e un inchiostro simili a quelli che caratterizzano l'annotazione “1929” in altri due precoci racconti – *Sette candele* e *La casina rossa / Milène e la statua* –, Morante ha invece apposto tra parentesi l'indicazione autografa “1935” (c. 277r), a indicare probabilmente il momento dell'ideazione del racconto. L'altra copia, invece, in inchiostro nero, corrisponde alle cc. 278r-290r e reca nell'ultima carta la firma autografa e la data dattiloscritta 18 marzo 1936¹⁶. Tra i due documenti intercorrono solo poche varianti autografe mentre i refusi corretti a penna nella prima copia lo sono anche, con un diverso intervento a penna, nella seconda. Si cita dalla seconda copia ritenendo che, col mantenere la data del 18 marzo 1936 in calce al testo, Morante abbia voluto rimarcare una volontà di autrice più avanzata rispetto all'altra copia datata 1935. Si segnalano comunque le varianti relative ai passi citati.

La storia è incentrata su una casta e devota donna che vive con l'anziana madre e la cui esistenza viene sconvolta dalla visita di un pittore che le fa il ritratto. Il nome

¹⁴ Si ha notizia solo della riproposizione del *Romanzo del piccolo Bepi* e della pubblicazione della poesia *Semplice*, ancora sui *Diritti della scuola*, rispettivamente il 30 marzo e il 30 agosto 1936.

¹⁵ Sulle varianti tra le stesure cfr. Porciani, 2019: pp. 255–268.

¹⁶ La carta risulta strappata sotto la data e la firma, forse per rimuovere un commento che l'autrice non voleva conservare.

della protagonista contiene un'allusione orgiastico-misterica che già preannuncia che la chiave della storia sarà il risveglio, tramite la tentazione demoniaca attivata dall'artista, di un'ardente pulsione erotica sino a quel momento repressa:

‘La signorina Dionisia si avvicinava ai quarant’anni. I suoi capelli neri, tirati sulla fronte e sulle tempie e raccolti nella nuca, si rigavano di bianco. La sua faccia chiusa e seria, di quel colorito olivastro così comune¹⁷ nel mezzogiorno, quantunque senza rughe, appariva già appassita, e le palpebre sempre chine lasciavano intravedere gli occhi opachi, castani, nelle orbite lunghe. Essa vestiva di tela grigia, con scarpe nere e guanti neri, e le pieghe del suo abito nascondevano ogni forma del corpo alto e magro. Non si era fatta monaca per restare con la madre vecchissima, ma la sua clausura volontaria era più rigida di quella delle monache.’ (c. 278r)

Con il suo ordinato, ma implacabile succedersi di informazioni l'*incipit* bene dà il senso della maturazione in corso dell'autrice: la scrittura appare più controllata e meglio la descrizione del personaggio è affidata a dettagli visivi che, in equilibrio tra *showing* e *telling*, mostrano la repressione del personaggio, come l'abito dimesso che nasconde le forme del corpo. In un simile grigiore esistenziale un particolare fisico sfugge all'ingabbiamento della condotta monastica della signorina:

‘Cuciva e pregava, e sapeva infinite preghiere a memoria. Recitava a voce bassa gli atti di fede, di contrizione e di dolore, quantunque non avesse mai peccato, e la bocca che ripeteva queste preghiere era una grande, strana bocca, dal labbro superiore piuttosto breve e gonfio, dal labbro inferiore più lungo e voluttuoso e segnato da un piccolo taglio. La pallida bocca della signorina Dionisia pareva dormisse di un sonno ambiguo nella sua faccia devota; era come un selvaggio, piccolo animale caduto in un morbido letargo su quella faccia. Aveva baciato l'anello dell'Arcivescovo, la fronte della madre, le fredde croci d'argento, aveva cantato le laudi del Signore e non si era svegliato.’ (cc. 278r-279r)

Mentre le occupazioni del cucire e pregare preludono alle atmosfere conventuali di *Via dell'Angelo*¹⁸, il dettaglio del labbro inferiore “segnato da un piccolo taglio” sembra costituire lo strato più profondo un'immagine che, di nuovo, troverà la sua più piena espressione in *Menzogna e sortilegio*, ‘reincarnandosi’ nella cicatrice di Anna. Rimanendo nei confini del racconto, si nota quanto l'insistenza sulla voluttuosità

¹⁷ Nell'originale si legge, più blandamente, “del colorito olivastro comune” (A.R.C. 52 I 1.39, c. 278r).

¹⁸ “Nel convento ella imparava il cucito, oltre alle faccende casalinghe e a qualche santa canzone” (Morante, 1938:p.6). Com'è noto, il racconto sarà ripubblicato con alcune varianti nelle raccolte *Il gioco segreto* (Garzanti, 1941) e *Lo scialle andaluso* (Einaudi, 1963).

della bocca di Dionisia suggerisca che la sua devozione è tanto più integerrima quanto più deve coprire un sopito ardore erotico.

La rottura dell'equilibrio iniziale avviene il giorno in cui “con grande stupore di Dionisia, uno stupore che quasi le arrestò il respiro, un celebre pittore venuto dall'estero” (c. 279r) si presenta a chiederle di visionare il quadro della Madonna da lei tenuto nella sua camera sopra il letto, similmente alla protagonista della *Piccola* – ed è questo, come meglio vedremo al termine del paragrafo, una costante tutt'altro che casuale. L'artista, modellato forse sulla figura di Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, “aveva un corpo piccolo e deforme” (c. 279r), ma il volto è carismatico e affascinante mentre, con “gli occhi pieni di intelligenza e di brio” (c. 280r), osserva il dipinto che “con timidezza, e quasi chiedendo perdono alla Madonna” (c. 280r), Dionisia gli ha recato in visione dalla camera:

‘Egli parve soppesare il quadro e lo guardò attentamente e da vicino, e di nuovo fissò Dionisia. Infine le disse, con lentezza e cercando di insinuare il proprio sguardo sotto le palpebre abbassate di lei:

– Mi permetterebbe, signorina, di farle un ritratto?’ (c. 280r)

Per Dionisia la richiesta è motivo di ulteriore turbamento: “– A me? – ella si stupì, confusa. E arrossì, e il cuore le batteva per l'emozione” (c. 280r). L'insistenza sullo stupore disorientato della donna lascia intuire come l'ordinata routine della sua vita stia per crollare: l'ultima resistenza è vinta dal “suono inatteso e rauco” (c. 281r) della voce della madre, che la invita ad accettare per fare una cortesia al pittore. Ha inizio così la posa, durante la quale l'uomo incalza Dionisia con domande dall'apparenza filosofico-teologica, ma sotto le quali è evidente il gusto di turbare l'interlocutrice. Dapprima le chiede come sia “fatto quel Dio, in cui aveva tanta fede” e Dionisia, che pure è dell'opinione che “non bisogna approfondire queste cose”, risponde che Dio non ha “apparenza corporea” (c. 281r); dopodiché, egli la incalza domandandole se nemmeno il Demonio abbia un corpo e, quando Dionisia risponde che “il Demonio è lo spirito del male. È da semplici dargli un aspetto corporeo” (c. 281r), ribatte:

‘– Pure, signorina, lei non ha mai visto il Demonio come un grazioso giovinetto alto e snello con occhi e capelli scuri¹⁹?

Nel fare questa bizzarra domanda il pittore sorrise in un modo trionfante e malvagio; egli pareva sapere che Dionisia in fondo conosceva più il suo nemico che il suo Dio; così diceva col perfido sorriso. E a quelle parole, Dionisia

¹⁹ ‘Scuri’ è variante autografa su entrambe le copie, ma non si riesce a decifrare il termine utilizzato in origine, forse “sani” (A.R.C. 52 I 1/39, c. 282r).

rabbrivì tutta e sollevò le palpebre. Gli occhi del pittore, pieni di piccoli bagliori, fissavano solo un punto e questo punto era la bocca della signorina Dionisia.’ (c. 282r)

La donna nega, ma è evidente che le parole del pittore si sono ormai fatte strada dentro la sua apparente saldezza. È forse sin troppo diretto quello che, con un termine che suggerisce un possibile modello cinematografico, potremmo definire un primissimo piano sulla bocca conturbante di Dionisia, così come può suonare didascalica l'intrusione onnisciente della reale consapevolezza di questa riguardo alla propria familiarità col demonio²⁰. Tuttavia, al di là di queste rigidità, il dialogo tra il pittore e la donna bene annuncia la virata della scrittura morantiana verso una più decisa contaminazione di psicologico e fantastico. La deformità del pittore si tinge di sfumature mefistofeliche e le sue parole trovano seguito nel quadro, frutto del “suo perverso, capriccioso istinto” (c. 282r), che, partendo, lascia in dono a Dionisia:

‘Egli aveva dipinto, sì, la faccia di Dionisia, ma di una Dionisia a cui scorreva per le vene un sangue prepotente e rosso, che le tingeva dolcemente le gote, e i lobi delle orecchie, e la punta del mento forte e colorava con selvaggia violenza quelle sue labbra. Nel dipinto non dormivano più quelle labbra, ma vivevano felici, semiaperte, e con una specie di impazienza. Sembrava avessero appena finito di mordere un frutto e ancora fossero umide. Giovane, giovane, era la carne di quella faccia, e le palpebre non si abbassavano sugli occhi, ma ne scoprivano la curva sottile e il lampeggiamento languido. E i capelli neri, invece di essere tesi e stretti come sul capo della vera Dionisia, erano lasciati appena liberi e molli, così che facevano intorno al viso un semicerchio di buio. Eppure quello era il viso di Dionisia, si poteva riconoscerlo. Non c’era inganno’ (cc. 282r-283r).

Similmente a Dorian Gray che scorge nel proprio ritratto la sua vera indole, Dionisia osserva con sgomento, ma anche con segreta esaltazione, ciò che il dipinto, senza “inganno”, le rivela di se stessa. È il momento di svolta: per il personaggio, ma anche per il racconto, nel quale Morante dà prova di personalizzare il repertorio del fantastico in funzione di una peculiare rappresentazione dell’erotismo femminile. Portato il ritratto nella sua camera, al momento di coricarsi, Dionisia si sente inquieta: “nella sua gola cominciò a tremare un ignoto riso” e ha voglia di rimirarsi nello specchio, finché in un crescendo di inaudite sensazioni “fece ancora

²⁰ Peraltro, se si pone a confronto questo inserto con l'intromissione del punto di vista onnisciente nella sequenza della *Piccola* incentrata sulle ossessioni della bambina (vedi *supra*), si nota una certa difficoltà nella prima Morante a frenare la tendenza a intervenire con commenti che spiegano troppo didascalicamente il comportamento dei personaggi. Una simile propensione al *telling* sembra costituire l'*humus* della predilezione nella maturità per la prima persona.

un peccato, ma senza la coscienza di quel che faceva. O meglio, la sua coscienza le parlava di una oscura felicità che ella avrebbe goduto in quella notte” (c. 284r).

Mossa da un misterioso desiderio di godere – e il verbo è particolarmente incisivo nel suggerire lo strabordante sconvolgimento fisico di una donna che per tutta la vita ha inteso rimuovere il proprio desiderio –, Dionisia apre “una cassa dimenticata in fondo a un corridoio” e ne trae fuori un “abito antico” (c. 284r) di lussuoso velluto viola, dai merletti ricamati di fiori e uccelli, appartenente alla sua bisnonna, e subito lo indossa²¹:

‘Gli occhi della Madonna e gli occhi del ritratto la guardarono attentamente; un soffio di vento passò lungo la fessura della finestra, con un sibilo. Ella guardò nello specchio la pelle delle proprie braccia e del collo, che vicino al velluto e ai merletti acquistavano una tinta velata e splendida; e d’improvviso, vide che nello specchio, la sua immagine era come quella del quadro.’ (cc. 284r-285r)

La cerimonia non si arresta alla contemplazione, non esente da narcisismo, di se stessa: “una voce un po’ aspra, che sospirava di desiderio, sussurrò a due passi da lei: Come sei bella, Dionisia” (c. 285r). La voce richiama il precedente “sibilo” di vento, a suggerire che una presenza è entrata nella stanza: “Ed ella vide un giovinetto, fermo contro l’uscio chiuso”, i cui lineamenti, pieni di grazia, “commuovevano, erano la giovinezza stessa”²², anche se “nel suo aspetto c’era qualche cosa di beffardo e insieme di carezzevole” (c. 285r). Il giovane si compiace con Dionisia perché ha indossato l’abito con cui potrà andare “alla festa del re” (c. 286r) e, vedendo che lei trema e sta per piangere, le chiede: “Non mi riconosci?” (c. 286r). La risposta della donna è flebile, ma sicura: “– Sì, – mormorò Dionisia – Tu sei il demonio. Non verrò con te. Lo so che sei il demonio” (c. 286r). Al che il giovane, ridendo “con aria di beffa”, fa mostra di andarsene e lasciarla sola: “Che inganno e che stupida follia! Ebbene, allora addio” – e la nuova ricorrenza del termine ‘inganno’ rimarca quale sia la finzione in cui sinora è vissuta Dionisia: nascondere dietro la castità la sua vera natura sensuale. Prevedibilmente, la donna cede: “– Vengo, eccomi – bisbigliò”, accompagnando il proposito con “lagrime pesanti e calde” (c. 286r).

Inizia a questo punto la sezione più visionaria del racconto, con Dionisia e il Demonio che si recano a una festa misteriosa, anche se la condizione è che lei rientri “prima che suoni l’ultimo colpo della mezzanotte” (c. 286r), altrimenti

²¹ Si ricorderà che casse e scrigni sono oggetti ricorrenti nella narrativa di Morante, anche nella sua maturità (cfr. Porciani, 2023:pp.87–88).

²² Di nuovo la memoria corre a un cruciale passaggio di *Via dell’Angelo*, nel momento in cui il misterioso evaso appare ad Antonia: “‘Come sei giovane’ – mormorò stupita, e questo perché non ebbe il coraggio di confessare: ‘Dio, come sei bello!’”. In realtà, mai visto umano le era apparso così giovane, né tale da potersi paragonare a questo” (Morante, 1938:p.6).

resterà dannata per sempre: un'invenzione che, conferendo a Dionisia lo stato di una peccaminosa Cenerentola e al demonio quello di uno stregato Principe Azzurro, bene si pone in linea con quel rovesciamento della materia fiabesca che si intuisce anche nella festa reale a cui si recano²³. La fiaba, non di meno, è evocata anche nel gesto del Demonio giovinetto che sfila le scarpe a Dionisia, con una possibile implicazione feticistica che ulteriormente rovescia il modello:

‘Ed ella vide apparire improvvisamente i suoi piccoli piedi, che non le sembrava di aver mai visto prima, così puerili e teneri, con le dita brevi e le vene appena segnate. Rabbrivì al contatto dell'erba.’ (c. 287r)

Sotto una luna dai “riflessi rossastri” i due procedono attraverso luoghi meravigliosi, in un tripudio di vegetazione mai vista e odori avvolgenti: “camminavano su una fresca sabbia, verso una grande casa di vetro²⁴, che, per le splendide luci, di dentro appariva simile a un diamante” (c. 287r). Si assiste intanto a un crescendo di sensazioni erotiche: non solo Dionisia “non provava vergogna per i suoi piedi nudi” (c. 287r) ma avverte anche il peso dei capelli liberi sulla testa e, sentendo un'orchestra suonare, percepisce, turbata, “nella bocca uno strano sapore” (c. 288r) e poi, bevendo e ballando, “al contatto di lui, le parve di sentir vibrare due fiamme sotto la pelle del seno” (c. 288r). Intorno, in un'atmosfera decisamente onirica, appaiono e scompaiono “infinite altre coppie, e tutte identiche”, mentre Dionisia è sempre più – letteralmente – eccitata dalle parole del suo accompagnatore che, “presso un ampio letto, nella penombra scintillante della sala”, tesse il suo elogio paragonandola al “frutto dell'arancio” o “a un pioppo”, ma anche descrivendola dolce e “spaurita come la gazzella che fugge”, sino a formulare un preciso desiderio: “tu non mi lasci che le tue labbra, ma io ho voglia del tuo piccolo petto. Questo mi dà la febbre” (c. 288r)²⁵. La reazione di Dionisia è impetuosa:

‘Dionisia sentiva il languore correrle dalla gola alle ginocchia, e tutto il suo corpo si ridestava, si ridestava e gridava. Infiniti brividi partivano dalle sue labbra, e urtavano il petto, che s'inturgidiva sotto la veste, urtavano le tempie, e le

²³ A bene vedere, a questa rifunzionalizzazione del fiabesco partecipa anche il lussuoso vestito di velluto indossato da Dionisia, che richiama l’“abito di velluto e ricami” (Morante, 1935:p.6) indossato dalla principessa Eleonora nella festa al castello in cui la bambina protagonista del *Ritratto della principessa* si reca in sogno insieme ai due principini Maria e Garzia

²⁴ Sulle possibili suggestioni culturali e letterarie dietro questa immagine di architettura trasparente cfr. Donati, 2016.

²⁵ Una simile insistenza sul seno si ritroverà anche in *Via dell'Angelo*, nel momento in cui Antonia e il misterioso giovane sono nudi a letto: “– Quanto sei bella! – le disse. Chinando il capo: – Ho già il petto, – ella mormorò, compiaciuta” (Morante, 1938:p.7). Al contempo, le similitudini erotiche possono evocare il *Cantico dei cantici* in un significativo cortocircuito di intertestualità biblica e di zione demoniaca.

orecchie, in cui correvano strani rombi e ronzii. Una dolorosa, indeterminata brama la bruciava tutta, e le stringeva i fianchi in una morsa, ed essa muoveva febbrilmente le dita sul corpo di lui che pareva, col suo caldo peso, fare un riposo alla sua ansia. Infine, sorridendo, si scoperse il petto, e le sembrò, anche ora, di vederlo per la prima volta, il suo petto che la castità aveva mantenuto piccolo e fresco, come quello di un'adolescente. Ella le offriva rovesciando la testa in un timido e folle riso, e desiderava il darsi tutta, così, agli occhi dell'ignoto. La dolce pelle del suo corpo trasaliva di gioia e di angoscia sotto il tocco di quelle mani, ed ecco nelle sue orecchie si levò una musica simile a quella della marea che s'alza, e la sua bocca gridò parole mai dette con una voce chiara e felice:

– Prendimi! – gridò. – Vieni da me! Sì, ti voglio! Amore! – e sentì che le sue labbra fiorivano, a quelle parole, come una pianta imbevuta di sole e d'acqua. Tutto il suo corpo si apriva e viveva, era un albero dai molti grappoli, e dalle radici distese.' (cc. 288r-289r)

La vivida descrizione pienamente esprime l'esplosione di brama sessuale esperita da Dionisia che tuttavia, proprio sul limitare dell'amplesso, bruscamente si interrompe: "In quel momento si udì il primo rintocco di mezzanotte" (c. 289r). In un lampo Dionisia ricorda che se non torna subito a casa, sarà dannata per sempre e così fugge via; il Demonio scoppia in "una risata fredda e lunga, mentre la fissava dal basso coi suoi obliqui occhi d'ebano" (c. 290r). Attraversando una tempesta, con nelle orecchie "quell'orribile riso", Dionisia riesce a rientrare nella propria dimora sennonché, appena varcata la soglia, "cadde con un grido" (c. 290r) e qui la trovano, la mattina successiva, le serve:

'Aveva il suo solito abito grigio, e la sua faccia era invecchiata e livida. Le labbra sembravano foglie secche. Esse le tolsero dal capo le forcine, e i suoi capelli grigi si sciolsero. Allora Dionisia aprì gli occhi, che subito si empiro di lagrime.' (c. 290r)

Il fatto che Dionisia indossi il solito abito e non la lussuosa veste di velluto dell'ava suggerisce che l'esperienza della festa non è stata che un sogno, ma tale da lasciare un'impronta indelebile in lei. Le labbra ridotte a "foglie secche" rivelano su quale privazione sia costruita la sua vita che, piuttosto, è una non vita: il mondo parallelo dei sogni, che nelle metalessi delle fiabe era un luogo di consolazione e appagamento dei desideri, è diventato il palcoscenico su cui cadono gli inganni e ci si rivela per quello che si è veramente, ma che non è permesso essere nella realtà della veglia.

Come suggerisce la sua maggiore solidità, il racconto costituisce una tappa seminale nel percorso della giovane Morante. Da un punto di vista strettamente

intertestuale la figura del pittore si riconnette al Paolo del più precoce inedito *La casina rossa*²⁶, a indicare, pur nel mutato clima narrativo, un persistente interesse per le implicazioni erotiche dell'attività artistica che si ritroverà, con l'irruzione misteriosa del personaggio nella vita di una giovane donna, in *Due sposi molto giovani*, pubblicato sui *Diritti della scuola* il 10 agosto 1937²⁷. Soprattutto però, in un orizzonte più ampio, la figura di Dionisia, approfondendo alcuni tratti della fanatica religiosità della bambina della *Piccola*, inaugura più compiutamente il personaggio della donna che dietro l'umiltà, quando non proprio la miseria, della propria apparenza nasconde un animo dilaniato da fosche e morbose passioni, tanto più esacerbate quanto maggiore è la censura che le soffoca.

Nelle altre storie femminili non sempre il conflitto tra il desiderio e la sua impossibilità possiederà una simile connotazione religiosa, ma senz'altro lo scontro tra devozione ed eros costituisce un tema persistente, in cui non possiamo non riconoscere una matrice autobiografica. Non mancano, infatti, le testimonianze sulla spiccata religiosità dell'autrice nella sua giovinezza, tra le quali assume un particolare interesse, alla luce dei racconti presi in esame²⁸, quella di Carlo Levi, che rammentava come, in occasione del suo primo incontro con la scrittrice nel 1937 nella dimora di Corso Umberto, si fosse ritrovato "in una stanza ammobiliata, piccola, con un enorme letto: "Quello che mi colpì subito fu un lumino acceso davanti a una Madonna a capo del letto [...]"²⁹. Se consideriamo attendibile il ricordo e riteniamo che quella di Morante fosse un'abitudine consolidata³⁰, possiamo legare la presenza di un'immagine sacra nella camera da letto dalla *Ninna nanna del piccolo Billi* a *Dionisia*, passando per *La piccola*, a un rito personale che bene dà l'idea dell'urgenza espressiva a monte di questi lavori.

²⁶ Cfr. Porciani, 2023:pp.74–79.

²⁷ Un giorno, mentre il marito Giorgio è assente da casa, perché impegnato nel suo mestiere di maestro in uno sperduto paese di montagna, la moglie Isabella "udì uno scalpiccio presso l'uscio [...] e quando ella guardò alla soglia, vide uno sconosciuto, alto e sorridente, che faceva un inchino" (Morante, 2004:p.110). Si tratta del pittore che è venuto ad abitare di fronte e che, divenuto amico della donna, decide di farne il ritratto finché, capendo la gelosia del marito, se ne va dal paese. Consolazione della donna, di nuovo sola per lunghe ore, sarà la maternità. Sul rapporto tra i due racconti cfr. ora Porciani, 2024a.

²⁸ Ma anche nel finale del *Piccolo Bepi* fa la sua comparsa, sopra il letto in cui i genitori si riabbracciano, un "quadro della Madonna" (Morante, 1933:p.14) su cui getta un alone di luce una "lampada piccola" (*ibid.*); il bambino, invece, se ne sta in un angolo al buio.

²⁹ Massari, 1960:p.66. Si vedano sulla religiosità della giovane Elsa anche le lettere di Pietro Tacchi Venturi, suo padre spirituale (cfr. Morante, 2012:pp.17–19). Sul tema cfr. Gentili, 2016 e Zibella, 2021. Sul versante dell'ebraismo cfr. Beer, 2013.

³⁰ Peraltro, Morante abitava in Corso Umberto già dall'inizio del 1936, quando stava lavorando a *Dionisia*.

Bibliografia

1. Beer, M. (2013) "Costellazioni ebraiche: note su Elsa Morante e l'ebraismo del Novecento". In «*Nacqui nell'ora amara del meriggio*». *Scritti per Elsa Morante nel centenario della nascita*, a cura di E. Cardinale, G. Zagra. Roma, Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Roma. pp. 165-201.
2. De Rogatis, T. (2019), "Realismo stregato e genealogia femminile in *Menzogna e sortilegio*". In *Allegoria. Per uno studio materialistico della letteratura*, 31, n. 80, pp. 97-124.
3. Donati, R. (2016) *Critica della trasparenza*, Torino, Rosenberg & Sellier.
4. Gentili, S. (2016) *Novecento scritturale. La letteratura italiana e la Bibbia*, Roma Carocci editore.
5. Manetti B., "Donne al cospetto dell'angelo: il sacro come epifania del fantastico in Paola Masino, Elsa Morante e Rossana Ombres". *California Italian Studies*, 5 (1), pp. 526-549.
6. Massari, G. (1960) "La sua patria è L'isola di Arturo". In *Illustrazione italiana*, maggio, p. 66.
7. Morante, E. (1933) "Racconto del piccolo Bepi". In *Novella*, 1 ottobre, p. 14.
8. Morante, E. (1935) "Ritratto della principessa". In *Il cartoccino dei piccoli*, 19 maggio, p. 6.
9. Morante, E. (1938) "Via dell'Angelo". In *Meridiano di Roma*, 14 agosto, pp. 6-7.
10. Morante, E. (1994) *Menzogna e sortilegio*. Torino, Einaudi.
11. Morante, E. (2004) *Racconti dimenticati*, a cura di I. Babboni, presentazione di C. Garboli, Torino, Einaudi.
12. Morante, E. (2012) *L'amata. Lettere di e a Elsa Morante*, a cura di D. Morante, con la collaborazione di G. Zagra, Torino, Einaudi.
13. Porciani, E. (2019) *Nel laboratorio della finzione. Modi narrativi e memoria poetica in Elsa Morante*. Roma, Sapienza Università Editrice. <https://www.editricesapienza.it/node/7824>
14. Porciani E. (2023) *Il tesoro nascosto. Intorno ai testi inediti e ritrovati della giovane Elsa Morante, con sei storie e una poesia dell'autrice*, Macerata, Quodlibet.
15. Porciani E. (2024a), "Considerazioni sulla fantasticizzazione in Elsa Morante. Un itinerario a ritroso da Aracoeli alla scrittura giovanile". In *Oblío. Osservatorio Bibliografico della Letteratura Italiana Otto-novecentesca*, 14, n. 49, pp. 130-146. <https://www.progettoblio.com/considerazioni-sulla-fantasticizzazione-in-elsa-morante-un-itinerario-a-ritroso-da-dopo-iaracoeli-alla-scrittura-giovanile/>
16. Porciani E. (2024b) *Elsa Morante, la vita nella scrittura*. Roma, Carocci editore.
17. Rapisarda G. (1996), "«Scricciolo & C.» di Guelfo Civinini, Elsa Morante, Luisa Fantini o dell'utopia di una felicità semplice". In *FM 1995. Annali del Dipartimento di Italianistica*, pp. 59-88.
18. Zibella D. (2021), *La religione nella scrittura giovanile di Elsa Morante. Questioni tematiche e filologiche*. Tesi di laurea magistrale in Letteratura italiana contemporanea, Università della Campania 'Luigi Vanvitelli'.

Elena Porciani

University of Campania "Luigi Vanvitelli"

FANTASTIC PASSIONS. ON TWO UNPUBLISHED STORIES BY THE YOUNG MORANTE

Summary

In this paper, I will dwell upon two unpublished stories by the young Elsa Morante: *La piccola*, written between 1929 and 1935, and *Dionisia*, composed between 1935 and March 1936. These two texts bear witness to the transition, around the mid-1930s, from the very early phase of Morante's youthful production, in which d'Annunzio's and sentimental models are intertwined with the practice of children's literature, to a more elaborate and conscious phase, in which Morante measures herself against the tradition of the fantastic tale and the Kafkaesque model to build female characters with hypertrophic inner lives who somehow anticipate Elisa in *Menzogna e sortilegio*. In particular, in *La piccola*, I will tackle the unresolved coexistence of romance with Morante's progressive attraction to hallucinatory situations and morbid psychologies. With regard to *Dionisia*, I will show how the author plays with some typical motifs of 19th-century fantastic tales to give life to a female figure sorrowfully torn between oppressive religion and Eros.

► *Keywords*: Elsa Morante, 1930s, fantastic tales, romance, devil, religion, eros.

Preuzeto: 17. 9. 2025.
Prihvaćeno: 9. 12. 2025.

Mara Josi¹
University College Dublin

I GIOCHI SEGRETI DI ELSA MORANTE

Abstract: *Nel 1999, Marco Bardini attribuiva il disinteresse della critica e del pubblico nei confronti dei racconti di Elsa Morante a due fattori principali: da un lato, la loro difficile reperibilità, essendo dispersi in periodici oggi poco accessibili; dall'altro, il giudizio severo e liquidatorio espresso da alcuni critici – fra cui Cesare Garboli – che tendevano a considerare questa produzione giovanile come un mero espediente per guadagnarsi da vivere. In prossimità del centenario della nascita di Morante, tuttavia, si è registrato un crescente interesse per quella che è stata definita la preistoria morantiana. L'attenzione si è inizialmente concentrata sull'universo onirico (i.e., Porciani, 2006), per poi estendersi alla continuità tematica tra racconti e romanzi (i.e., Bardini, 2012; Porciani, 2013), alla presenza di elementi riconducibili all'ebraismo dell'autrice (i.e., Beer, 2013), nonché, infine, agli aspetti fiabeschi, fantastici e sacrali (i.e., Garrido, 2014; Zangrandi, 2014; Manetti, 2014). La dimensione gotica della produzione breve di Morante è, però, rimasta finora ai margini della riflessione critica.*

*Il presente articolo si propone di indagare questo tema considerando la presenza e la funzione di motivi gotici nei racconti di Elsa Morante raccolti in *Il gioco segreto* (1941). Prendendo le mosse dalle specificità del gotico nella tradizione letteraria italiana (e.g., Farnetti, 1988; Ceserani, 2007; Camilletti, 2018 e 2024; Serafini e Malvestio 2023; Serafini, 2024), e tenendo conto del suo potenziale come forma di resistenza simbolica a strutture politiche e culturali oppressive – nonché come veicolo di critica sociale (i.e., Billiani e Sulis, 2007; Billiani, 2023) – l'articolo analizza in che modo Morante abbia adottato elementi gotici per esprimere inquietudini e dissensi legati alla dittatura fascista.*

Parole chiave: *Elsa Morante, racconti, fascismo, dissenso*

1. Introduzione

Fra gli scrittori e le scrittrici italiane del Novecento, Elsa Morante (1912-1985) emerge, certamente, come una delle più studiate a livello nazionale e internazionale.

¹ Mara.Josi@ugent.be

I suoi testi sono stati ampiamente discussi e ri-valutati nel corso dei decenni alla luce dell'evoluzione di teorie critiche letterarie e approcci interdisciplinari, confermandosi catalizzatori di acceso dibattito per diverse generazioni di studiose e studiosi. In questo contesto, è mia intenzione concentrarmi sulla produzione breve dell'autrice, esaminando la dimensione gotica dei racconti composti durante il periodo fascista e raccolti e pubblicati nella prima opera data alle stampe di Morante, *Il gioco segreto* (1941).

Nel 1999, Marco Bardini attribuiva il disinteresse della critica e del pubblico nei confronti dei racconti di Morante a due fattori principali: da un lato, la loro difficile reperibilità, essendo dispersi in periodici poco accessibili; dall'altro, il giudizio severo e liquidatorio espresso da alcuni critici – fra cui Cesare Garboli – che tendevano a considerare questa produzione giovanile come un mero espediente per guadagnarsi da vivere (1999:p.461–2).² In prossimità del centenario della nascita di Morante, tuttavia, si registrano due cambiamenti che ribaltano il panorama delineato da Bardini. Il primo è il lancio del sito web *Le stanze di Elsa* a cura di Simonetta Buttò e Giuliana Zagra, realizzato nell'ambito di una mostra bibliografica e documentaria dedicata a Morante e ospitata presso la Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma fra aprile e giugno del 2006.³ Il sito, di semplice utilizzo, funge da piattaforma introduttiva all'opera di Morante e rende accessibili agli utenti interviste e pagine a lei e ai suoi scritti dedicate. Non solo sono riprodotti, efficacemente a colori, il *recto* e il *verso* dei fogli dei manoscritti di *Menzogna e sortilegio* (1948), *L'isola di Arturo* (1957), *Il mondo salvato dai ragazzini* (1968), *La Storia* (1974) e *Aracoeli* (1982), mettendo così in evidenza le diverse fasi di scrittura, ma pure nella sezione *Bibliografia - Scritti di Elsa Morante* appaiono, scannerizzati dalle riviste in cui originariamente erano stati pubblicati, la maggior parte dei racconti firmati dall'autrice, per un totale di 104 testi, nonché quelli redatti sotto gli pseudonimi Renzo Diodati e Antonio Carrera, rispettivamente 13 e 17 testi.⁴ Il sito si è dimostrato uno strumento di divulgazione cruciale per lo sviluppo degli studi morantiani dedicati alla narrativa breve, garantendo accessibilità a materiali

²Tali considerazioni erano state facilitate anche da un commento dell'autrice. Morante scriveva che alcuni dei suoi racconti pubblicati la prima volta su rivista fra gli anni fra fine anni Trenta e il 1941 e poi inclusi nelle raccolte *Il gioco segreto* (1941) e *Lo scialle andaluso* (1963) 'tradi[vano] forse una certa fretta nel comporli (in quegli anni infatti, E.M. per necessità economiche pubblicava un racconto ogni settimana)'. (Morante, 1988:p.1579)

³La mostra e l'inclusione di un'installazione permanente dello studio di Morante, insieme alla sua biblioteca, nel percorso museale-didattico dedicato a scrittori e scrittrici del secolo scorso, *Spazio900*, sugella come giustamente fa presente Elena Porciani la definitiva entrata di Morante nel canone della letteratura italiana (2024:p.14).

⁴Su Diodati e Carrera si veda Porciani (2006:p.203–210).

altrimenti difficilmente reperibili. Il secondo cambiamento, senz'altro favorito dal primo, è la crescente attenzione della critica alla preistoria morantiana.⁵ L'interesse si è inizialmente concentrato sull'universo onirico (Porciani, 2006), per poi estendersi alla continuità tematica tra racconti e romanzi (Bardini, 2012; Porciani, 2013), alla presenza di elementi riconducibili all'ebraismo dell'autrice (Beer, 2013), nonché, infine, agli aspetti fiabeschi, fantastici e sacrali (Garrido, 2014; Zangrandi, 2014; Manetti, 2014). Atmosfere, motivi ed elementi gotici sono rimasti finora ai margini della riflessione critica;⁶ eppure, tra i venti racconti che Morante decise di sottrarre alla transitorietà della pubblicazione in rivista includendoli ne *Il gioco*, ben nove presentano ambientazioni, personaggi, topoi più o meno esplicitamente gotici, oltre a strutture narrative labirintiche ed enigmatiche, culminanti in vertici di suspense. È su questi racconti che si concentra il presente articolo.⁷

Nel contesto italiano il genere gotico è stato per lungo tempo sottovalutato.⁸ Dalla fine degli anni Ottanta, tuttavia, si registra un'inversione di rotta e un crescente interesse per l'espressione e l'elaborazione del genere nella letteratura italiana, sempre esplorato però con il fantastico, con i fondamentali studi di Monica Farnetti (1988, 2000, 2007) e Remo Ceserani (1996, 2007). A partire dagli anni duemila, poi, il gotico italiano è stato al centro delle indagini di diversi studiosi britannici che ne hanno tracciato le principali linee evolutive, evidenziando le specifiche modalità di rielaborazione di topoi e l'influenza che su di esso hanno esercitato le letterature straniere attraverso mediazioni, traduzioni e adattamenti. Pioneristici sono i lavori di Francesca Billiani e Gigliola Sulis (2007) e Danielle Hipkins (2007), seguiti dalle eterogenee e comprensive indagini di Fabio Camilletti che negli ultimi vent'anni ha segnato gli studi sul gotico e l'occultismo in Italia (2007, 2014, 2018, 2019, 2020,

⁵ Morante definisce così i suoi racconti nella nota de *Lo scialle andaluso*, si veda (Morante, 1988:p.1579).

⁶ Con le eccezioni di Porciani, che nel 2006 dedica un capitolo del suo libro alla questione, esaminando il tema in termini onirici (2006:pp.233–246) e di Stefano Lazzarin che include *Il cocchiere* di Morante nella sua disanima sul racconto breve fantastico nel Novecento italiano (2017:pp.132–3). Si cita, infine, Felix Siddell che nel 2006 dà alle stampe *Death or Deception: Sense of Place in Buzzati and Morante*. Siddell si concentra sulla tensione tra il presunto realismo dello spazio cartografico e il potere irrazionale ma persuasivo di fantastici prettamente in *Menzogna e sortilegio*, *La Storia e Aracoeli*.

⁷ Per ragioni cronologiche ed editoriali si esclude dalla riflessione un racconto dalle reminiscenze gotiche pubblicato ne *Lo scialle andaluso* (1963), la seconda raccolta di racconti pubblicata da Morante, e intitolato *Il ladro dei lumi*. Scritto nel 1935, non fu dato alle stampe per circa trent'anni, sicuramente anche perché lasciava trapelare tracce dell'ebraismo morantiano in un contesto storico segnato dall'acuirsi dei processi discriminatori. Su *Il ladro dei lumi* si veda Beer (2013:pp.192–196) e Porciani (2024:p.78–9).

⁸ Su questo di veda per esempio Serafini e Malvestio (2023:pp.1–18); Camilletti (2024:pp.1–24); Serafini (2024: pp.15–19).

2023, 2024). Rimandando ai più recenti studi in materia (Camilletti 2024; Serafini 2024; Serafini e Malvestio 2023), per una disamina della definizione del genere gotico nella tradizione italiana, mi limito qui a sondare in che termini Morante abbia esplorato angosce e dissensi legati alla cultura e società fascista attraverso racconti dalle reminiscenze gotiche, intrecciando reale e immaginario.⁹ Le elaborazioni morantiane rispecchiano i due modelli che, secondo Farnetti, distinguono la trattazione dell'evento straordinario in letteratura: la manifestazione esplicita dell'evento straordinario e l'avvolgimento nella sfera del dubbio di un avvenimento irrisolto che dà luogo ad allucinazioni individuali e una deformazione *della e nella* percezione del reale (1988: p. 20). In entrambi i casi, l'esplorazione della realtà si dipana attraverso la descrizione del rapporto di contraddizione e ambiguità fra reale e immaginario e delle situazioni di angoscia da esso derivate, temi cari a Morante sin dagli albori della sua scrittura, e poi ampiamente discussi.

Fra maggio e agosto 1959, apparve sulla rivista *Nuovi Argomenti* un saggio intitolato *Sul romanzo* in cui Morante articola la sua posizione relativa alla letteratura e ai poeti-scrittori, rispondendo a nove domande incentrate sulla presunta crisi del romanzo e sulla sua evoluzione in termini di generi e linguaggi. Nel saggio, Morante chiarisce tre questioni particolarmente rilevanti per l'analisi qui proposta: l'importanza dei racconti e delle raccolte di racconti nella rappresentazione del mondo, la relazione fra arte e realtà e il ruolo del romanziere.¹⁰ Scrive:

‘Il racconto [...] rappresenta un “momento” di realtà, mentre il romanzo rappresenta una realtà (da questo non si desume, tuttavia, una superiorità poetica del romanzo sul racconto! Non si tratta di qualità superiore o inferiore, ma di un differente rapporto con l’universo).

Bisogna però aggiungere che una raccolta di racconti - quando si componga, con la ricchezza omogenea delle sue parti, in una interezza sviluppata e armoniosa - ha valore certo di romanzo’. (Morante, 1990:p.1498)

‘L’arte non può che nutrirsi di realtà’. (Morante, 1990:pp.1501–2)

‘Un vero romanziere, insomma - qualunque sia la vicenda o il destino, soggettivo, individuale o collettivo, che offre pretesto ai suoi romanzi - comunicherà sempre necessariamente, alle generazioni contemporanee e future, anche le più sicure verità sul “luogo geografico” e “tempo storico” nel quale ha vissuto la propria esperienza umana’. (Morante, 1990:pp.1510–1)

⁹ Questo approccio è maturato anche in seguito alla lettura di un capitolo di Ursula Fanning, nel quale l'autrice sostiene che, in Matilde Serao, gli elementi gotici consentano di esprimere le preoccupazioni legate alla natura del sé femminile nella società a lei contemporanea (2007:p.129).

¹⁰ Inteso nel lessico morantiano quale poeta, scrittore.

Alla luce di questi tre punti, si intende ragionare su come l'autrice abbia veicolato angosce, inquietudini e dissensi relativi alla dittatura fascista e in particolare alle sue ricadute sociali e culturali.¹¹ Nello specifico, si esamineranno quei racconti di reminiscenze gotiche che Morante decise di includere ne *Il gioco segreto*, il suo primo tentativo di rappresentare la realtà attraverso la pubblicazione di una raccolta di racconti. In questi testi, infatti, si intravede già un embrionale, ma significativo, tentativo di scuotere le coscienze del suo pubblico, dichiarato fine de *Il mondo salvato dai ragazzini* e *La Storia*.¹² L'arte, sosterrà decenni dopo Morante, deve creare le condizioni per sviluppare un pensiero etico e 'il confronto con la Storia' intesa qui anche come realtà sociale 'è un'altra delle prove necessarie che la presenza nel mondo richiede agli artisti [...] intesi all'azione' (Morante, 1990:p.1568).

Morante scardina paradigmi e norme nella sua narrativa breve.¹³ Gli aspetti minacciosi e angosciosi di alcuni dei suoi racconti non rappresentano esclusivamente ossessioni passate e/o del passato ma riflettono piuttosto le inquietudini del presente rispetto al dilagare della violenza, risultato di un corrosivo fascino per il potere. Il gotico, qui dunque, non solo tipicamente evoca l'ossessione di ciò che è stato represso in termini storici, sociali e psicologici e che ritorna in forme disturbanti nel presente, ma anche, o forse piuttosto, rielabora un disturbante presente. La preistoria morantiana, infatti, 'non [è] risparmiata dai terrori primordiali' (Morante, 1988:p.1579), come ammette la stessa autrice nella nota della seconda raccolta di racconti intitolata *Lo scialle andaluso* (1963), commentando alcuni racconti scritti fra la seconda metà degli anni Trenta e il 1941. Questi non chiariti terrori primordiali, seppur intimi e personali, trovano origine in inquietudini collettive alimentate dalla società fascista in cui l'omogeneità era preferita all'eterogeneità, la norma non contestabile, il diverso problematico e possibilmente escluso. Alcuni racconti rappresentano a mio avviso il mezzo attraverso il quale una giovanissima Morante ha espresso una qualche forma di resistenza nei confronti dell'oppressione politica, sociale e culturale del ventennio fascista nel tentativo di insinuare fra il pubblico che la leggeva il dubbio che l'ordine imposto potesse essere contestato. Si tratta di una resistenza doppiamente attenuata, sul piano testuale e sul piano personale, nel primo caso per il rigido controllo della censura, nel secondo, per una coscienza di impegno *in nuce*, ancora in fase di elaborazione e maturazione.

¹¹ Secondo Morante un poeta è 'centro sensibile (che lo voglia o no) del suo tempo, e dei fenomeni contemporanei, e delle "relazioni" reali' (Morante, 1990:p.1510).

¹² Sull'impegno morantiano si veda per esempio Lucamante et alii 2015 e Josi 2023.

¹³ Il racconto, secondo Lazzarin, è magistrale dispositivo di elaborazione del soprannaturale: nella narrativa breve l'attenzione è posta su un evento che infrange o capovolge il paradigma di realtà (2017:p.126).

Considerando il gotico come una forma di resistenza simbolica a strutture politiche e culturali oppressive, nonché come veicolo di critica sociale (Billiani e Sulis, 2007:pp.23–24; Fanning, 2007:p.129; Billiani, 2023:p.197), si propone qui una lettura degli elementi e dei motivi gotici presenti nei racconti di Morante per meglio comprendere la posizione “preistorica” di un’autrice che non ha mai mancato di confrontarsi con il reale e di posizionarsi, se necessario, controcorrente.

2. I vestiti di Morante

L’8 luglio 1939 appare sulla rubrica di *Oggi*, intitolata *Giardino di infanzia*, un racconto firmato da Elsa Morante: *I miei vestiti*. È il secondo di quindici testi pubblicati sul settimanale e dedicati, in parte, alla rielaborazione finzionale di aneddoti autobiografici dell’infanzia dell’autrice attraverso un personaggio alibi, una bambina, narratrice omodiegetica presente in tutti i racconti.¹⁴ Se in *La prima della classe*, il primo di questi racconti, Morante allude alla prematura vena artistica della sua protagonista, vena artistica riconosciuta non solo dai coetanei ma pure dagli insegnanti, nel secondo confessa la sua atipicità. La bambina non si conforma alla norma rappresentata dalle compagne di scuola: ‘dopo i dieci anni, mi distinsi [...] per la mia ferma aspirazione ad una sontuosità regale’ (Morante, 2002:p.228). Questa forma di opposizione è favorita dalla presenza di un fantasma, unico elemento gotico palese del racconto, con cui la bambina si confronta: ‘l’ombra [...] si trascinava al mio fianco, malinconica e solitaria. [...] io, per ubbidienza al fantasma suddetto, non mi rassegnavo alla mediocrità’ (Morante, 2002:p.228). La singolarità della protagonista si manifesta nella scelta degli abiti, ideati, cuciti e portati. La bambina veste ‘antichi velluti cangianti’, ma è beffata dalle compagne e si sente ‘sola e spersa, con voglia di piangere’ (Morante, 2002:pp.228–9). Il finale non è lieto, l’eccezionalità non può essere celebrata. La bambina è incompresa ed esclusa, il suo estro frainteso. Eppure ‘il tirannico fantasma’ si compiace dell’‘aulica forma madrigalesca’ con cui l’insegnante l’ha apostrofata: ‘Che Dio ti benedica, figliola mia, tu mi sembri una cattedrale’ (Morante, 2002:p.230).

Riconoscimento, esibizione ed elogio dell’alterità sono racchiusi in un racconto che valica i confini del reale con la presenza di un elemento soprannaturale, che rende ammissibile il contenuto sovversivo del testo. Il fantasma è l’elemento che spinge la bambina a non uniformarsi. Rappresenta l’alterità, che viene esplorata,

¹⁴ Questi racconti, a detta di Morante, sarebbero dovuti confluire in un volume, provvisoriamente intitolato *Aneddoti infantili* (Morante, 1988:p.1579). Nel 2002 sono stati pubblicati nel volume a cura di Irene Babboni e Carlo Cecchi, intitolato *Racconti dimenticati*.

più o meno liberamente assecondata, se non addirittura abbracciata dalla protagonista. La bambina non rifugge il diverso: vi si rispecchia e se ne appropria scardinando, nei limiti della finzione del racconto, la norma vigente e stabilita di ordine uniforme *in* e *di* classe e fra bambine. Attraverso i vestiti, palese espressione dell'identità del soggetto, Morante problematizza la claustrofobica e disturbante omologazione provocata dall'arianizzazione sul piano sociale, politico e culturale, confessando, seppur implicitamente, la sua diversità. Da poco meno di un anno erano state promulgate le Leggi razziali per via delle quali Morante riconobbe la sua matrice e origine ebraica.¹⁵ Attraverso il personaggio alibi de *I miei vestiti*, Morante allude a sé stessa quale scrittore controcorrente e allusivamente propone una realtà di opposizione.

I miei vestiti è, dunque, manifesto interpretativo, strumento utile per l'analisi critica dei racconti scritti fra il 1937 e il 1941 e pubblicati ne *Il gioco* in cui si celano e svelano inquietudini e dissensi legati al fascismo. Questi scritti si possono considerare come un primo ritratto della società fascista e un primissimo tentativo di scuotere le coscienze di chi la leggeva.

3. I racconti di Morante

Elena Porciani definisce il 1941 come 'l'anno di un cruciale cambiamento' nella vita di Elsa Morante (2024:p.91). Il riferimento è non soltanto al matrimonio con Alberto Moravia, celebrato il 14 aprile, evento che attenuò le difficoltà economiche della scrittrice e le preoccupazioni da esse derivate, ma soprattutto alla pubblicazione de *Il gioco segreto*, pubblicato da Garzanti nel novembre – collana "Il delfino" –, che comprendeva venti dei racconti fino ad allora scritti da Morante.¹⁶

¹⁵ Morante dichiarò a Luca Fontana: 'I should be grateful to Mussolini. In 1938, by introducing the German racist laws he made me realize that I myself was a Jew' (Fontana, 1988:p.20).

¹⁶ In un manoscritto anepigrafo e mutilo, databile al 1959, Morante torna a riflettere su *Il gioco* e giudica alcuni testi "decisamente brutti". Altri, invece, "li considero validi ancora oggi", dice, richiamandosi poi al parere di Giacomo Debenedetti, il primo critico che si interessò al suo lavoro – a lui Morante deve la collaborazione con il *Meridiano di Roma*, su cui avrebbe pubblicato nel 1937 *L'uomo dagli occhiali* (25 aprile), *Il gioco segreto* (13 giugno), *La nonna* (1 e 8 agosto) e nel 1938 *Via dell'Angelo* (14 agosto). Non è possibile stabilire con certezza quali racconti Morante ritenesse validi a fine anni Cinquanta. È tuttavia immaginabile che lo siano per lo meno quei sei che confluirono nella raccolta del 1963, *Lo scialle andaluso*: i quattro apparsi sul *Meridiano di Roma*, e *Il compagno* e *Un uomo senza carattere*, questi ultimi pubblicati per la prima volta rispettivamente su *Oggi* il 2 novembre 1940 e il 28 giugno 1942. Gli altri quattordici racconti de *Il gioco* trovarono spazio, circa cinquant'anni dopo, nel primo dei due volumi dei Meridiani dedicati all'autrice e nella prima sezione dei *Racconti dimenticati*.

Nove dei venti racconti inclusi ne *Il gioco* rivelano, in forma più o meno esplicita, elementi e motivi gotici:¹⁷ atmosfere di mistero in cui si percepisce la presenza di fantasmi o ne si dubita, in cui si dipanano storie di doppi e si registrano omicidi truculenti. La morte domina sovrana, ora si palesa come una donna che sembrava ‘un nero temporale’ in *Innocenza*; ora come una giovane dal volto ‘così pallido da sembrare una fiamma di candela che scolora nel giorno. Le labbra [...] silenziose ed esangui ma gli occhi [...] neri simili ad un fuoco che non fa luce’ in *La pellegrina*; ora come una ‘guizzante fiammata’ in *Il cavallo dell’ortolano* (Morante, 1988:p.1594; pp.1610–1; p. 1632).¹⁸ Questi tre racconti, apparsi originariamente tra il novembre 1939 e il novembre 1940, sembrano dare forma a un’angoscia di morte riconducibile all’inasprimento dei rapporti tra ebrei e non ebrei in Italia, chiaramente dovuto alla discriminazione sistematica dei primi — culminante in aggressioni, violenze, omicidi e suicidi – nonché all’ingresso dell’Italia nel conflitto bellico. Ma è in *Lo scolaro pallido*, *L’uomo dagli occhiali*, *La nonna*, *I gemelli*, *Il cochiere*, *Il barone* e *Il confessore* che si può distinguere una prima implicita forma morantiana di critica della società fascista celata dalle atmosfere gotiche in cui i racconti sono ambientati.

In apertura de *Il gioco* Morante colloca significativamente *Lo scolaro pallido*. Originariamente pubblicato su *Il selvaggio* il 15 novembre 1939, a circa un anno dall’epurazione degli ebrei dal corpo docente delle scuole e università italiane, il racconto è incentrato su controllo e indottrinamento, censura e coercizione, incubi e senso di persecuzione. Protagonista è un professore la cui giornata, scrive Morante, ‘consisteva [...] nelle lezioni di cui, si può dire, aveva imparato a memoria fino i toni della propria voce che esponeva sempre con le stesse parole’ (1988:p.1585). Fulcro della narrazione è l’acuirsi del senso di inadeguatezza e delle manie persecutorie provate dall’insegnante convinto che un giorno fosse entrato in classe uno scolaro, pallido, i cui ‘occhi non cessavano di osservarlo con una straordinaria fissità’ e le cui ‘labbra erano sempre contratte in un tenue sorriso di scherno’ (1988:p.1586). Il narratore onnisciente sonda l’animo del protagonista ed esplora la sua esasperazione, resa attraverso discorso diretto: “‘In nome di Dio’, avrebbe voluto dire il professore, “che cos’hai da disapprovarmi? Quello che spiego è forse inesatto, forse il metodo non ti piace?”” (Morante, 1988:p.1586). Lo scolaro pallido assume progressivamente i tratti di ‘un testimone malevolo incaricato da qualche tribunale di raccogliere le parole del professore una per una, di notarle, di tendergli tranelli’

¹⁷ Secondo Porciani per tale ragione il libro “appare in sintonia [...] con il clima magico-fantastico del periodo” (2024:p.93).

¹⁸ Originariamente pubblicati rispettivamente su *Oggi* il 25 novembre 1939, *Panorama* il 12 agosto 1940, e *Il tesoretto* nel novembre 1940.

(Morante, 1988:pp.1586–7). È tuttavia evidente che la sua presenza non sia reale, ma piuttosto una proiezione spettrale generata da allucinazioni individuali, dalla mente del protagonista, oppresso da una condizione di fragilità – ‘soffriva d’insonnia [...] un male acuto [...] girava ronzando nel suo cervello’ (Morante, 1988: p. 1586). La fine del racconto è spietata. Il professore viene deriso dal resto degli alunni quando finalmente trova il coraggio di redarguire lo scolaro pallido, che appare, infine, per quello che è, un’allucinazione:

‘Il primo della classe [...] si alzò in piedi: “Scusate signor professore”, disse, ‘con chi parlate? [...]’. Ma già buona parte degli allievi aveva notato che gli occhi del professore, pieni d’odio e di lucida furia, si fissavano sul primo banco a sinistra che, fin dall’inizio dell’anno scolastico, era vuoto. Qualche risata discreta serpeggiò qua e là; ma, proprio in quel momento, il professore, chiusi gli occhi, con un tonfo era scivolato giù dalla cattedra sulla polverosa pedana di legno’. (Morante, 1988:p.1587)

Imperniando il racconto su una dimensione di delirio e inafferrabilità e collocando l’elemento straordinario – lo scolaro spettrale – entro un registro volutamente ambiguo che intreccia elementi reali e proiezioni immaginarie, Morante riesce a esplorare il tema dell’alienazione individuale in stretta connessione con la riflessione sulla negazione della libertà di espressione e sull’indottrinamento ossessivo, finalizzato alla perpetuazione dell’ordine ideologico fascista. Il racconto si configura, così, come un dispositivo letterario che denuncia non solo la trasformazione dell’istituzione scolastica in uno strumento di controllo e sorveglianza, ma pure la riduzione dell’atto educativo stesso a terreno di sospetto e oppressione. L’obbligo di conformarsi a un metodo didattico rigidamente normato, il controllo capillare su scuola e università, e, più in generale, la repressione di ogni autonomia di pensiero e di parola trovano nel racconto un corrispettivo letterario che si traduce nella paranoia del protagonista, costretto a vivere la propria attività didattica – che in questo caso coincide con la vita – come un atto continuamente sorvegliato e giudicato. Descrivendo attraverso il professore e il suo doppio spettrale – lo scolaro pallido – una deformazione *della* e *nella* percezione del reale, Morante rende visibile, trasfigurandolo, l’effetto corrosivo esercitato dal clima di coercizione e di violenza instaurato dal regime fascista, denunciando così una realtà da cui non si poteva evadere.

Con *L’uomo dagli occhiali*, *La nonna*, *I gemelli*, *Il cocchiere*, *Il barone* e *Il confessore* racconti di crimini e omicidi, Morante indaga, invece, l’animo umano. Non è il soprannaturale a creare quella sensazione disturbante tipica della letteratura gotica ottocentesca, seppur in alcuni racconti appaiano fantasmi; il male non proviene da

demoni, vampiri o spettri, che minacciano i personaggi, ma è piuttosto insito nel degenerato animo umano dei protagonisti morantiani che, incastonati in atmosfere e ambienti gotici, sono emblema della società viziosa e corrotta in cui Morante scrive e che denuncerà in maniera esplicita decenni dopo.

Pubblicato originariamente sul *Meridiano di Roma* il 25 aprile 1937, *L'uomo dagli occhiali* è diviso in due segmenti narrativi. Vi è un narratore eterodiegetico e tre focalizzazioni interne sui tre personaggi principali: l'uomo con gli occhiali dai capelli 'arruffati, la barba lunga e irta per il freddo e le occhiaie [che] mettevano sulle sue guance un'ombra nera'; e due compagne di scuola, Clara, 'una fanciulletta robusta, [...] viso tondo dagli occhi scuri e vivaci, [...] mani grassocce' e Maria, la vittima (1988:pp.1415,1418). Il lessico morantiano per descrivere l'atmosfera in cui è calato il racconto anticipa e allo stesso tempo rivela la tensione narrativa che suggerisce il finale drammatico. Siamo in una fredda mattina invernale, 'il tre dicembre (era un giovedì)', il cielo è 'verdastro, pesante', si sente un 'tormentoso sgretolio della neve' sotto i piedi del protagonista, che ha un 'sorriso deformato', 'strani gonfiori sulle tempie e sulla fronte, e la barba [che] rendeva grigiastra la sua faccia viscida e malata' (Morante, 1988:pp.1415,1417). L'uomo è confuso. È convinto sia lunedì, ma si sbaglia come gli fanno presente tre figure minori ma non secondarie nell'economia del racconto: la portinaia, la lattaia e il guardiano della stalla. Non sa dove ha trascorso i tre giorni precedenti. In poco tempo, si trova di fronte a una scuola. È in attesa di una ragazzina:

'Subito dopo udí i gridi delle alunne e vide correr fuori le prime, coi loro impermeabili e berretti e le cartelle penzolanti dalle cinghie. Parlavano a voce alta, si tenevano strette e ridevano; gli sembrò di vedere balenare fra loro quel sorriso, e fu preso da un tremito convulso; ma si era sbagliato. Ora sentiva un caldo avampante in tutto il corpo, fuorché nelle mani, che erano sudate e gelide.

Finalmente, vide uscire il suo gruppo. Riconobbe subito le tre fanciulle che ogni giorno uscivano con lei, ma oggi essa non c'era.' (Morante, 1988:p.1418)

È Clara a chiarirgli che Maria, la ragazzina che lui attendeva, era morta il giorno prima – fine primo segmento. L'atmosfera del racconto muta drasticamente all'inizio del secondo segmento: 'una nebbia inattesa, pesante' ricopre la città e diventa sfondo dell'incontro, sospeso fra realtà e sogno (forse si potrebbe dire incubo), tra Clara e Maria (1988: p. 1419). Maria è in mezzo a una folla 'in fuga [che] faceva nascere intorno un vento fragoroso', e urla 'è stato lui a uccidermi' (Morante, 1988: p. 1420). Segue l'enigmatico e confuso racconto della ragazzina. L'uomo sarebbe apparso nella sua camera da letto; invisibile alla madre, Maria dice:

‘Era malvestito, pallido, i suoi occhi mi fissavano, e barcollava, stringendo i pugni e sorridendomi [...]. Sentii sulla faccia il suo fiato. – No! – gridai, – non voglio! – Esso non parlava più e le sue mani, quando mi ebbero ucciso, restarono flosce come cenci’. (Morante, 1988:p.1421).

L’uomo dagli occhiali figura anche ne *Lo scialle andaluso* (1963). Nella nota al volume, l’autrice osserva come questo racconto risenta ‘nel suo goticismo, di qualche influsso kafkiano’ (1988:p.1579). Secondo Porciani, il modello kafkiano avrebbe orientato la scrittrice ‘verso un perturbante psicologico’ (2024:p.78), riconducibile a ciò che Stefano Lazzarin definisce ‘fantastico post-classico’ (2017:p.44). Porciani concentra la propria analisi prevalentemente sulla ‘connotazione sessuale’, evidenziando come il racconto ruoti ‘intorno all’eros femminile’ (2024:p. 78). Eppure, se collocato nell’insieme dei racconti in cui Morante dispiega un universo narrativo intriso di delitti e omicidi in atmosfere dalle chiare reminiscenze gotiche, allucinate e spettrali che distanziano radicalmente i testi dall’immagine ufficiale e forzatamente rassicurante della società fascista, *L’uomo dagli occhiali* rivela una valenza ulteriore. L’impiego del gotico e del perturbante non risponde soltanto a un interesse estetico-letterario, ma può configurarsi come una precisa strategia critica: attraverso la degenerazione dell’animo dell’uomo con gli occhiali, Morante smaschera alcune delle contraddizioni e delle violenze – non solo latenti – della società italiana del tempo. In questa chiave, il racconto può essere letto come un atto di denuncia che, pur celandosi dietro il velo dell’irrealtà, colpisce chi legge.

Disturbanti sono pure i racconti *La nonna* e *I gemelli*. Pubblicati originariamente a distanza di un paio di anni l’uno dall’altro, il primo nell’agosto del 1937 sul *Meridiano di Roma* e il secondo nel dicembre del 1940 su *Oggi*, questi due racconti scandagliano ossessioni e situazioni claustrofobiche all’interno del nucleo familiare, lasciando emergere progressivamente sentimenti di sfiducia nei confronti dell’“altro” e di distanziamento persino da chi appartiene alla sfera più intima. Tali rappresentazioni possono essere lette come una rifrazione narrativa dell’intensificazione della propaganda fascista contro chi veniva percepito come “diverso”, della promulgazione delle Leggi razziali e della crescente diffusione di pratiche discriminatorie che, nei racconti, si manifestano in forma traumatica perché perpetrate all’interno dello spazio familiare. Ne *La nonna*, tre sono i segmenti narrativi, cinque i personaggi principali, di cui due bambini, gemelli. La trama ruota attorno alle vicende di un uomo e alle sue attenzioni, che nel passaggio fra il primo e il secondo segmento narrativo si spostano dalla madre, con cui vive, a una donna di cui si innamora, che sposerà e con la quale avrà due figli. L’anziana madre sente che le attenzioni del figlio sono dirottate *dalla e verso* la giovane donna, l’“altra”, e complotta prima su come

poterla allontanare dal figlio e, poi, rivelatosi vano questo iniziale tentativo, pensa a come poterla ferire. Il finale è drammatico e l'ambiguità fra reale e irreale domina la struttura della fine del terzo segmento narrativo. Una mattina i bambini si svegliano ed escono a cercare la nonna, la quale, a loro insaputa, era morta nella notte.

‘– Non c’è, – dissero, delusi. E pensarono di cercare la strana ed amabile vecchia nell’orto.

Qui osservarono incuriositi le loro due ombre che avanzavano sulla lunga ombra dell’ailanto; e insieme ne ragionarono. Come alzavano gli occhi verso la cima dell’albero pieno di uccelli, videro un insetto bizzarro e attraente che scendeva lungo il filo della luce. Era una grossa farfalla dalle ali nere arabescate di ricami rossi, e volava ondeggiando come assonnata. – Prendila! - disse la bambina; ma il maschio aveva teso appena la mano, che quella gli sfuggì, e oltrepassò la siepe dell’orto.

Era così vicina, che si vedevano le sue zampette oscillare, e i suoi occhi simili a grani di pepe brillare con astuzia; non si lasciava prendere’. (Morante, 1988:p.1447)

I bambini seguono la farfalla e arrivano presso il fiume che ‘correva occhieggiando e mischiando acqua e luci’ (Morante, 1988: p. 1448). Salgono su una ‘rozza barca dalla vernice screpolata’ che comincia vorticosamente a scendere nel fiume dai ‘riflessi freddi e viscidì’ (Morante, 1988:p.1448). Nel turbinio dell’acqua riconoscono il luogo dove la nonna aveva promesso loro di portarli e dove, apparentemente in sembianze di farfalla, li aveva infine condotti verso la morte:

‘I fanciulli si ritrassero contro il sedile, presi da paura; ma già, sulla verde linea della luce, i cavalli di vetro si impennavano incontro a loro e da quel galoppo irruppe fischiando un vento gelato, in cui gli uccelli dalle ali d’acqua si dibattevano. –È qui! – bisbigliarono i fratelli atterriti. E subito la barca montò sulla groppa dei cavalli smaniosi, e, girando su se stessa, si gettò nel mezzo del torrente’. (Morante, 1988:p.1448)

In *I gemelli*, i protagonisti sono Pietro e Antonio, due fratelli la cui infanzia è segnata da un legame simbiotico, tanto che ‘il mondo dell’uno componeva le sue forme alle sembianze dell’altro’ (Morante, 1988:p.1657). Crescendo, però, le loro nature divergono. Antonio ambizioso, precoce nella sua ‘saggezza taciturna’, ma ‘malinconico e ansioso’, si trovò presto al primo posto nella società dei suoi coetanei, lasciando dietro di sé, ad enorme distanza, il fratello Pietro, che ‘si abbandonava alla pigrizia e alla violenza’ (Morante, 1988:pp.1657-8). In poco più di una decina di pagine si assiste allo sgretolamento del rapporto fra i due, alla scomparsa e al

ritorno di Pietro e alla violenza, paradossalmente inaspettata ma premeditata, di Antonio che commissiona l'uccisione del fratello. Il finale è tutt'altro che lieto. Pietro muore assiderato dopo che Antonio, colto dal senso di colpa, lo aveva inizialmente sottratto agli aguzzini da lui stesso ingaggiati e, in uno slancio dettato dall'alcool, aveva scelto di accoglierlo in casa, salvo poi cacciarlo la mattina successiva. Qui, Morante rielabora il tema gotico del doppio, e con Antonio – che 'presto diventava un importante personaggio della città' – offre uno spietato ritratto della società italiana fascista, interrogandone le pulsioni distruttive, l'ipocrisia e le inclinazioni fedifraghe abilmente mascherate da una facciata di rispettabilità e perbenismo.¹⁹

Si riconosce un'atmosfera più spettrale ma forse meno disturbante anche ne *Il cocchiere*, pubblicato originariamente su *Oggi* l'11 novembre del 1939 e che Porciani definisce 'un racconto di maniera [...] che mette in scena una tipica, ma in definitiva poco sinistra vicenda di fantasmi e rimorsi' (2006:p.233) e che invece Lazzarin considera più attentamente analizzandone il '*climax* soprannaturale [...] che coincide qui con l'ultimo rintocco narrativo' (2017:p.133). *Il cocchiere* si apre in luogo tipicamente gotico 'una casa vetusta e remota' che lo studente senza nome, protagonista narratore omodiegetico del racconto, sapeva frequentata da spettri: 'subito la prima notte li udii' (Morante, 1988:p.1597). Il centro del racconto è la conversazione fra lo studente e 'il vecchio giudice' – zio degli ospiti del protagonista – il cui carattere 'aveva subito una forte scossa in seguito alla morte di un suo vecchio cocchiere, il quale, scacciato da lui dopo trent'anni di servizio, era [...] crepato nella miseria' (Morante 1988:p.1598). L'uomo si presenta, però, come cocchiere. Ed ecco l'ambiguità; l'impennata narrativa segue velocemente:

– Il vecchio mi licenziò, e giuro lo fece per avversione e vergogna, perché avevo visto troppe cose [...]. Quando fui scacciato, sapete io che feci? Mi nascosi di notte nella sua camera, con la pistola carica, e pam! pam! gli scaricai la pistola nella pancia [...].

E la sua voce nasale e tremula, orribilmente musicale si levò di tono: – Siamo dannati tutti e due, – disse atterrito, – cocchiere e padrone, in eterno corriamo sulla carrozza, per una tempesta nera, e non arriveremo mai! Avanti, avanti, cavalli!

Fu qui che coi miei occhi vidi l'alcova invasa da una bufera di vento, e, tutto restando immobile e tranquillo intorno a me nella camera, le ciocche bian-

¹⁹ Anche Porciani ragiona sul tema del doppio e sulle reminiscenze gotiche del racconto, non considera però il contesto fascista: 'Il legame indissolubile tra l'uomo di successo e la sua ombra rimossa serve alla giovane autrice per rinnovare la sua critica, invero un po' generica, verso il perbenismo borghese' (2006:p.242).

che del vecchio agitarsi furiose, i suoi denti urtarsi, la sua pelle illividire, e lenzuola e drappaggi sbattere come le vele di un vascello sconvolto'. (Morante, 1988:p.1599)

Lo studente fugge, la diegesi si interrompe, come suggerisce Lazzarin, chi legge deve immaginare il seguito, lo studente si è sognato tutto? Oppure 'qualche indizio lo persuaderà dell'autenticità della sua visione?' Il giudice-cocchiere gli si ripresenterà? (2017:p.133) Lucio Lugnani, discutendo dell'*hésitation* todoroviana tipica del fantastico – gotico compreso –, suggerisce che chi legge 'è indotto a dubitare della validità e adeguatezza del paradigma di realtà, come codice culturale e assiologico e come meccanismo di conoscenza e interpretazione del mondo' (1983:p.72). Questo finale morantiano si potrebbe allora considerare come un tentativo, seppur precoce, d'interpellare lettrici e lettori sulla validità della realtà che stavano vivendo. Il medesimo dispositivo sarà impiegato, in maniera decisamente più esplicita, ne *La Storia* quando, in una 'radura circolare, chiusa da un giro d'alberi', si diffonde una canzone che rapisce Ueseppe capace di coglierne il significato esistenziale: "È uno scherzo / uno scherzo / tutto uno scherzo!" (Morante, 1990:p.853)

La trama de *Il barone* ruota attorno alle vicende dell'omonimo protagonista che decide di trasferirsi 'solo con la sua governante Matelda' nella sua casa di città, sita in un 'decrepito palazzo' (Morante, 1988:p.1616). Come sottolinea Porciani, sin dall'inizio si percepisce 'un senso di soffocamento' dovuto al paesaggio che 'ha una funzione simbolica in quanto la descrizione introduce l'irrimediabile frattura tra il barone e il mondo che lo circonda' (2006: pp.243–244). Morante, effettivamente, rielabora le atmosfere gotiche del Nord Europa in scenari paradossalmente spettrali per la canicola del sole del Sud Italia: ci si trova in 'un antico paesotto del mezzogiorno [...] fra torrioni cadenti abitati da neri uccelli e palazzi che si sgretolavano al sole', ci si trova 'in un labirinto di vicoli e di straducce' in cui 'la vita dei cittadini veniva esposta, sciorinata sotto il sole fiammeggiante' (1988:p.1616). In questa atmosfera, si assiste alla progressiva alienazione dalla realtà del barone che instaura animate conversazioni con interlocutori invisibili. È dopo, però, il matrimonio fra Matelda e il barone che la situazione precipita: la prima, diventata baronessa, palesa un animo sempre più avido, il secondo scivola definitivamente nella follia:

– Per cortesia, baronessa, prima di ritirarvi, imbandite la tavola con la tovaglia di tela di Fiandra, bottiglie di vino vecchio e quattro bicchieri a calice. Ho ospiti questa sera.

– Chi avete, eccellenza? – ella s'informò senza stupore, torcendosi le mani sul petto.

Sorridendo compiaciuto egli disse: - Verranno lo zio cardinale, la zia Isotta e la cugina Antonia.

Matelda sorrise fiaccamente senza aprire le labbra: - Ma sono tutti morti nel terremoto, eccellenza.

– Ché! – egli gridò, e nei suoi occhi apparve uno sguardo tanto feroce da atterrire Matelda, la quale rabbrivendo si affrettò ad eseguire i comandi’. (Morante, 1988:pp.1626–1627)

Da quella volta ogni sera il barone accoglieva i suoi ospiti, fantasmi, e Matelda, assecondandolo, gli imbandiva meticolosamente la tavola su cui portava un ‘vino densissimo, nero con riflessi un rosso ardente, pieno di sapori amari’ (Morante, 1988:p.1627). Morante fa intendere come la baronessa, con il vino, stesse avvelenando giorno dopo giorno il barone, il quale, pur peggiorando il suo stato di salute, non si esimeva dagli incontri serali con i suoi ospiti spettrali e si sedeva a tavola, tentando di sorseggiare il vino anche la sera prima della sua morte. La tensione narrativa non è generata unicamente dalla presenza dei fantasmi e dal loro sentimento di vendetta: nel finale leggiamo che lo zio cardinale, la zia Isotta e la cugina Antonia, dopo la morte del barone ogni sera si riuniscono intorno alla tavola e guardando la sedia lasciata vuota ‘in consiglio di famiglia, decidono la condanna di Matelda, che avvelenò il barone’ (Morante, 1988:p.1630). Ma pure, proviene dalla disturbante realizzazione in chi legge che Matelda, percepita dal barone quale fidata compagna di vita, lo tradisca, organizzando ferocemente e razionalmente la sua morte per ottenerne, nell’immediato, l’eredità. Ancora una volta, il confronto con le vicende storiche coeve permette di cogliere, nel testo, un inquietante richiamo alla realtà della società fascista. Pubblicato per la prima volta in rivista nel maggio 1941 su *Oggi*,²⁰ il racconto si colloca infatti in un contesto in cui erano già operative da tempo le misure discriminatorie introdotte dalle Leggi razziali del 1938. In particolare, il decreto del 17 novembre 1938 inaugurava una sistematica spoliazione dei beni mobili e immobili dei cittadini ebrei.²¹ In questa cornice, Morante sembra denunciare, attraverso Matelda, una dinamica collettiva di corresponsabilità, richiamando l’atteggiamento di molti italiani “non ebrei” che impunemente trassero profitto dalle leggi del ’38 trasformandosi in complici del sistema discriminatorio e persecutorio – in *implicated subjects* per usare le parole di Michael Rothberg (2019).

²⁰ Il racconto fu originariamente pubblicato in due puntate il 17 e 24 maggio con il titolo *Il matrimonio del barone*.

²¹ Sull’esproprio di beni mobili e immobili si veda per esempio Levi (1995) e il sito web *Le case e le cose* promosso dalla Fondazione I 563: <https://le-case-e-le-cose.fondazionei563.it/>.

Si riconosce una ‘declinazione gotica e delittuosa’, infine, nell’intreccio anche de *Il confessore*. Il racconto, pubblicato in due puntate su *Prospettive* fra l’ottobre e il dicembre 1940, descrive un contesto familiare apparentemente stabile: un padre – medico; un figlio, Lucio – ‘mingherlino, dalle orecchie sporgenti’; una giovane governante, Olimpia – che camminava ‘leggera leggera ad occhi bassi come aveva imparato in convento’; e il confessore (Morante, 1988:p.1635). Entro poco chi legge viene a sapere che la moglie-madre, Caterina, era fuggita di casa ‘qualche mese prima per seguire un artista di teatro’ e che Olimpia, sebbene non l’avesse mai incontrata, ‘ci pensava sempre con un misto di sdegno e di orrore, e a volte [...] come un’apparizione del demonio’ (Morante, 1988:pp.1635 e 1637). Come sottolinea Porciani, in questo racconto si è di fronte a ‘una psicologia morbosa, ossessiva e instabile allo stesso tempo, che Olimpia ha sviluppato durante gli anni trascorsi nel convento’ (2006:p.237). Nel corso delle pagine aumentano le allusioni a un desiderio sessuale represso per pudicizia scaturita dall’educazione conventuale: Olimpia segretamente si innamora del medico e matura un forte senso di maternità nei confronti del figlio di lui e di disprezzo per la donna: ‘l’indignazione contro la femmina traditrice, la traboccante pietà per il tradito spingevano Olimpia ad atti d’amore e d’odio’ (Morante, 1988:p.1639). Allo stesso tempo però, si assiste a una progressiva alienazione della giovane governante dalla realtà. Nei suoi racconti al confessore, Olimpia altera la realtà e racconta storie della sua vita immaginata, fino a che:

‘Come accade sotto l’effetto di alcune droghe, il minimo indizio reale nella sua fantasia si gonfiava, e simile ad iridata bolla di sapone rifletteva tutti i colori e gli oggetti, mobilmente deformandoli. Con acutezza attenta, ella raccoglieva ogni moto, ogni parola del suo padrone, e devotamente li deponeva sui propri chimerici e faticosi altari.’ (Morante, 1988:p.1643)

Il delirio di Olimpia è tratteggiato dipingendo la sua morbosità e il suo fanatismo religioso, elementi che si compenetrano nell’elaborazione di una realtà alternativa che la donna dipana la mattina al confessionale e in cui il medico-padrone, abbandonato dalla moglie, aveva instaurato un rapporto di amore violento con lei: ‘dopo averla malmenata, pentito la baciava. Sì, per darle ristoro, l’adagiava sfinita e la baciava’ (Morante, 1988:p.1645). In questo contesto, dunque, non stupisce che il ritorno di Caterina, nemesi di Olimpia, sconvolga la giovane governante e ne acuisca la follia. Olimpia una notte immagina di vedere accanto al suo letto il dottore che ‘con insistenza fissava il petto nudo di lei, piccolo e arrossato, e sorrideva leggermente con una smorfia’, e contemporaneamente immagina di sentire una voce, che lei segue inesorabilmente sino alla fine, confondendola con quella del confessore.

La descrizione spazio-temporale dai tipici connotati gotici – ‘l’altissimo campanile segnava le ore con un battito smorzato, tremante, e già per la nebbia trapelava la prima alba che disfaceva i contorni delle figure e le rendeva esangui e torbide’ (Morante, 1988:p.1650) – cesella l’omicidio che Olimpia sta per compiere. Il dottore è fuori casa, così la giovane governante sale nella stanza di Caterina, che ‘intravista Olimpia, pure in quel primo stupore del dormiveglia, inorridita gettò un fievole grido’ (Morante, 1988:p.1651). La donna muore, strangolata da Olimpia. L’agonia di Caterina ‘fu semplice e breve come quella di un uccello: e presto ella giacque, gelata e livida’. L’atmosfera gotica qui si intensifica per la descrizione del corpo morto della vittima. Lucio entra nella stanza, scuote la madre e cerca aiuto, mentre Olimpia

‘– Ho finito, padrone – disse forte, con una voce limpida [...]. Poi fermandosi ad un tratto, sopra pensiero si fissò le mani; e con occhi strani e immoti cominciò a ridere fra sé di un riso tremolante, come una tortora in amore’. (Morante, 1988:p.1652)

Qui, Morante descrive un ennesimo atto di violenza, un omicidio premeditato compiuto da una giovane donna devota e dovuto a un progressivo distacco dalla realtà – Olimpia la piega e la deforma, fino a compiere un gesto di estrema sopraffazione. L’autrice, però, lascia intendere che la follia della protagonista non derivi soltanto dalla repressione della sua sessualità – Porciani bene analizza questo aspetto (2006:pp.236–240) –, ma sia anche il risultato del sistema chiuso del convento, che ha inciso profondamente sulla sua percezione della realtà, rendendola infine distorta. L’assuefazione al dogma e alla dottrina che segna il destino di Olimpia può esser letta come ulteriore espediente letterario attraverso cui Morante denuncia la capacità delle ideologie di radicarsi tanto nella coscienza individuale quanto nel tessuto sociale, generando alienazione e perdita di lucidità e favorendo processi di alterizzazione, dinamiche di esclusione e meccanismi di stigmatizzazione che confluiscono, inevitabilmente, in oppressione e violenza. La vicenda di Olimpia, in questo senso, si può intendere come una critica indiretta all’ideologia fascista, che stava penetrando nella coscienza collettiva degli italiani, influenzandone scelte, atteggiamenti e comportamenti, tanto più se si considera l’entusiasmo con cui gli italiani risposero all’entrata in guerra a fianco del Terzo Reich nel giugno del 1940, giusto pochi mesi prima della pubblicazione del racconto.

4. Conclusione

Secondo Italo Calvino, nel Novecento c’è ‘un uso intellettuale (e non più emozionale) del fantastico che s’impone: come gioco, ironia, ammicco, e anche

come meditazione sugli incubi o i desideri nascosti dell'uomo contemporaneo' (1995:p.267). Definizione appropriata per i racconti morantiani qui analizzati. Il perturbante in Morante, sottolinea Porciani, 'non viene ricercato in una mera dimensione soprannaturale, ma nella possibilità di una verosimiglianza tirata all'estremo, in cui ha luogo il fatto di cronaca morboso' (2006:p.236). È in questa chiave che le reminiscenze gotiche possono essere lette come un tentativo di rappresentare il perturbante *della e nella* società fascista. Morante non fa ricorso a elementi soprannaturali, ma esplora e descrive una violenza insita nell'animo umano, violenza nutrita dall'ideologia fascista e che si abbatte drammaticamente sul prossimo: una rivale in amore, un padrone, un servo, un fratello gemello, dei nipoti, una ragazzina, preda delle ossessioni di un uomo adulto. Morante elabora e pubblica questi racconti da una posizione di alterità – in quanto donna, di origini ebraiche, scrittrice esordiente e quindi marginale – e sembra proprio servirsi di questa condizione per veicolare le crepe di un sistema totalizzante e gli effetti corrosivi sul singolo e sulla collettività, di cui non risparmia le colpe.

Questa interpretazione è corroborata da alcune pagine autografe datate primo maggio 1945 e non pubblicate se non in parte nel primo dei due volumi dei Meridiani dedicati a Morante. Qui si riconosce una netta posizione dell'autrice nei confronti del fascismo, di Mussolini e del popolo italiano. La condanna, a chiare lettere, è per il Duce, 'che si macchiò più volte di delitti' (Morante, 1988:p.l). Questi delitti sono stati, però, tollerati dal popolo italiano che non solo 'si fa *complice*' – dice – ma 'se poi li favorisce e applaude, peggio che complice, si fa *mandante*' (Morante, 1988:p.l). Nonostante a metà anni Trenta fosse ben più implicita nell'esprimere giudizi sulla situazione sociale, politica e culturale italiana, rimane difficile non supporre che atmosfere angosciose, ambienti claustrofobici, personaggi feroci e violenti, corruzione, venialità e soprannaturale non fossero rielaborazioni di un disturbante presente e articolazione di una forma di critica sociale, che, velata da elementi e motivi gotici, poteva esser comunicata.

'[Mussolini] Non capisce nulla di arte, ma [...] ne subisce un poco il mito, e cerca di corrompere gli artisti [...]. Disprezzando (e talvolta temendo) gli onesti, i sinceri, gli intelligenti poiché costoro non gli servono a nulla, li deride, li mette al bando.' (Morante, 1988:p.52).

Morante trasgredisce ma nonostante superi i confini di ciò che la comunità riconosce come familiare e desti il dubbio che ciò che si vive possa essere contestato, non è messa al bando, dal momento che crea scenari alternativi ubicati nell'ambito della finzione. Eppure, palesa il diverso, forse già convinta che la letteratura possa essere

mezzo formativo e performativo e influenzare chi legge al di là del momento della lettura. L'“insoddisfazione a lungo termine della Morante” rintracciata da Porciani, ‘nei confronti dei suoi esperimenti fantastici e gotici’ (2006: p. 240) e l’abbandono del genere possono dunque esser letti, piuttosto, come segno di una consapevolezza più matura di Morante del suo ruolo di poeta. Questa consapevolezza troverà compiuta espressione in eterogenee forme da metà anni Sessanta in cui Morante renderà in maniera più esplicita e diretta la sua denuncia del potere, della violenza e dei fascismi: le relazioni tenute rispettivamente nel 1965 alla conferenza *Pro o contro la bomba atomica* e nel 1976 al convegno *La cultura spagnola fra ieri e oggi*, e ne *Il mondo salvato dai ragazzini* e, infine, *La Storia*.

Bibliografia

1. Bardini, M (1999) Scheda degli esordi editoriali di Elsa Morante. *Italianistica. Rivista di letteratura italiana*. XXVIII (3), 461–467.
2. --- (2012) Elsa Morante e “L’Eroica”. *Italianistica*, XLI (3), 121–136.
3. Billiani, F e Sulis, G (2007) *The Italian Gothic and Fantastic: Encounters and Rewritings of Narrative Traditions*, Madison, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.
4. Billiani, F (2023) The Female Gothic. In *Italian Gothic: An Edinburgh Companion*, a cura di Marco Malvestio and Stefano Serafini. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.
5. Beer, M (2013) Costellazioni ebraiche: note su Elsa Morante e l’ebraismo del Novecento. In *“Nacqui nell’ora amara del meriggio”. Scritti per Elsa Morante nel centenario della nascita*, a cura di Eleonora Cardinale e Giuliana Zagra. Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma.
6. Calvino, I (1995) *Saggi. 1945-1985*. Milano, Mondadori.
7. Camilletti, F (2014) “Timore” e “terrore” nella polemica classico-romantica: l’Italia e il ripudio del gotico. *Italian Studies*, LXIX (2), 31–45.
8. --- (2018) *Italia lunare. Gli anni Sessanta e l’occulto*. Oxford, Peter Lang.
9. --- (2019) Guerre, sequestri e tavolette ouija: Contributo a una storia parapsicologica del Novecento italiano. *The Italianist*, XXXIX (1), 82–95
10. --- (2020) The Living Dead and the Dying Living: Zombies, Politics, and the “Reflux” in Italian Culture, 1977-1983. In *Posthumanism in Italian Literature and Film. Boundaries and Identity*, cura di Enrica Maria Ferrara. Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 255–273.
11. --- (2023) Gothic Beginnings: 1764-1827. In *Italian Gothic: An Edinburgh Companion*, a cura di Marco Malvestio and Stefano Serafini. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 19–29.
12. --- (2024) *Spettri familiari. Letteratura e metapsichica nel secondo Novecento Italiano*. Milano, Unicopli.
13. Ceserani, R (1996) *Il fantastico*. Bologna, Il Mulino.

14. --- (2007) The Boundaries of the Fantastic. In *The Italian Gothic and Fantastic: Encounters and Rewritings of Narrative Traditions*, a cura di Francesca Billiani e Gigliola Sulis. Madison, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 37–45.
15. Ferneti, M (1988) *Il giuoco maligno. Il racconto fantastico nella letteratura italiana tra Otto e Novecento*. Firenze, Vallecchi.
16. --- (2000) Patologie del romanticismo. In *Mappe della letteratura europea e mediterranea*, a cura di Gian Mario Anselmi. Milano, Mondadori, 340–366.
17. --- (2007) Anxiety-free: Rereadings of the Freudian “Uncanny”. In *The Italian Gothic and Fantastic: Encounters and Rewritings of Narrative Traditions*, a cura di Francesca Billiani e Gigliola Sulis. Madison, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 46–56.
18. Fanning, U (2007) From Domestic to Dramatic: Matilde Serao’s Use of the Gothic. *The Italian Gothic and Fantastic: Encounters and Rewritings of Narrative Traditions*, a cura di Francesca Billiani e Gigliola Sulis. Madison, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 119–138.
19. Garrido, E M (2014) La modernità intuitiva di Elsa Morante in una costruzione fiabesca al femminile. *Studi Novecenteschi*, XLI (88), 329–345.
20. Hipkins, D (2007) *Contemporary Italian Women Writers and Traces of the Fantastic: The Creation of Literary Space*. Cambridge, Legenda.
21. Josi, M (2023) *Rome, 16 October 1943. History, Memory, Literature*. Cambridge, Legenda.
22. Lazzarin, S (2017) Il racconto breve e brevissimo nel Novecento italiano, *Italianistica*, XLVI (2), 121–138.
23. Levi, F (1995) L’applicazione delle leggi contro le proprietà degli ebrei (1938-1946). *Studi Storici*, XXXVI (3), 845–862.
24. Lucamante, S et alii (2015) *Elsa Morante and the Politics of Writing: Rethinking Subjectivity, History and the Power of Art*. Madison, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.
25. Lugnani, L (1983) Per una delimitazione del “genere”. In *La narrazione fantastica*, a cura di Remo Ceserani et alii. Pisa: Nistri-Lischi, 37–73.
26. Manetti, B (2014) Donne al cospetto dell’angelo: il sacro come epifania del fantastico in Paola Masino, Elsa Morante e Rossana Ombres. *California Italian Studies*, 5 (1), 526–549.
27. Morante, E (1988) *Opere*, 2 voll., vol. I. Milano, Mondadori.
28. --- (1990) *Opere*, 2 voll., vol. II. Milano, Mondadori.
29. --- (2002) *Racconti dimenticati*. Torino, Einaudi.
30. Porciani, E (2006) *L’alibi del sogno nella scrittura giovanile di Elsa Morante*. Soveria Mannelli, Iride.
31. --- (2013) Al crocevia della preistoria morantiana: i quattro testi ritrovati nelle carte giovanili. In: “*Nacqui nell’ora amara del meriggio*”. *Scritti per Elsa Morante nel centenario della nascita*, a cura di Eleonora Cardinale e Giuliana Zagra. Roma, Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Roma, 97–110.

32. --- (2024) *Elsa Morante, la vita nella scrittura*. Roma, Carocci.
33. Rothberg, M (2019) *The Implicated Subject: Beyond Victims and Perpetrators*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.
34. Serafini, S (2024) *Gothic Italy: Crime, Science, and Literature after Unification, 1861–1914*. Toronto, Toronto University Press.
35. Siddell, F (2006) *Death or Deception: Sense of Place in Buzzati and Morante*. Leicester, Troubador.
36. Zangrandi, S (2014) Trasfigurare il mondo con la fantasia. Tracce fantastiche nella narrativa breve di Elsa Morante e Anna Maria Ortese. *Cuadernos de Filología Italiana*, XXI, 215–232.

Mara Josi

University College Dublin

THE SECRET GAME BY ELSA MORANTE

Summary

In 1999, Marco Bardini attributed the lack of interest shown by critics and the public toward Elsa Morante's short stories to two main factors: on the one hand, their limited availability, as they were scattered across periodicals that are now difficult to access; on the other, the severe and dismissive judgment expressed by certain critics—among them Cesare Garboli—who tended to regard this early work as merely a means for Morante to earn a living. On the eve of the centenary of Morante's birth, however, there emerged a growing interest in what has been defined as the Morantian prehistory. Scholarly attention initially focused on the dreamlike universe (e.g., Porciani, 2006), and subsequently expanded to thematic continuities between the short stories and the novels (e.g., Bardini, 2012; Porciani, 2013), to the presence of elements linked to the author's Jewish background (e.g., Beer, 2013), and, finally, to the fairy-tale, fantastic, and sacred dimensions (e.g., Garrido, 2014; Zangrandi, 2014; Manetti, 2014). The gothic dimension of Morante's short fiction, however, has so far remained at the margins of critical discussion. This article aims to explore this theme by examining the presence and function of gothic motifs in Elsa Morante's short stories collected in *Il gioco segreto* (1941). Drawing on the specificities of the gothic within the Italian literary tradition (e.g., Farnetti, 1988; Ceserani, 2007; Camilletti, 2018 and 2024; Serafini and Malvestio, 2023; Serafini, 2024), and considering its potential as a form of symbolic resistance to oppressive political and cultural structures—as well as its role as a vehicle for social critique (e.g., Billiani and Sulis, 2007; Billiani, 2023)—the article analyzes

the ways in which Morante employed gothic elements to express anxieties and dissent related to the Fascist dictatorship.

► *Keywords*: Elsa Morante, short stories, fascism, dissent.

Preuzeto: 2. 10. 2025.
Korekcije: 19. 11. 2025.
Prihvaćeno 29. 11. 2025.

Sanja N. Kobilj Ćuić¹
Univerzitet u Banjoj Luci
Filološki fakultet
Katedra za romanistiku

PRAISTORIJA ELSE MORANTE: KARAKTERISTIKE FANTASTIČNO-GOTIČKOG U PET PREVEDENIH PRIČA IZ ZBIRKE *IL GIOCO SEGRETO*

Apstrakt: Ovaj rad bavi se analizom fantastično-gotičkih elemenata u pet prevedenih priča Else Morante iz zbirke Il gioco segreto, koje pripadaju njenom ranom stvaralačkom periodu, u kritici često označenom kao praistorija. Polazeći od potrebe da se rasvijetli sam pojam praistorije i da se ukaže na njen značaj u okviru ukupnog autorkinog opusa, rad kombinuje biografsko-kontekstualni i tekstualno-analitički pristup. Analiza priča zasniva se na teorijsko-metodološkom okviru koji čine Todorova klasifikacija fantastike i Frojdov koncept Unheimlichea, kao i na uvidima iz posthumno objavljenog Dnevnika iz 1938. godine, u kojem Morante eksplicitno promišlja o odnosu sna, smrti i književnog stvaranja, dajući dragocjene smjernice za tumačenje svoje rane proze. Rad pokazuje da praistorija stvaralaštva Else Morante, uprkos dugotrajnom zanemarivanju u kritičkoj recepciji, ima ključnu ulogu u formiranju njene poetike. Upravo u ovom periodu uočavaju se tematsko-motivski i stilski elementi koji će oblikovati njen kasniji opus: dvosmislenost kao osnovni princip književnog stvaranja, dominacija unutrašnje tjeskobe u psihologiji likova i uvođenje homodijegetičkog pripovijedanja. Time se potvrđuje da se začeci autorkinog originalnog književnog glasa mogu prepoznati već u pripovijetkama iz njene praistorije.

Ključne riječi: praistorija, Unheimliche, kafkijanski, delirična fantastika, Frojd, fantastično.

1. Uvod: književna praistorija Else Morante

Pojam *praistorija* ustalio se u kritici djela Else Morante nakon što ga je autorka prvi put upotrijebila u završnim napomenama koje prate zbirku pripovjedaka *Andaluzijski šal* (*Lo scialle andaluso*), objavljenu 1963. godine za izdavačku kuću Einaudi. Poznata po gotovo opsesivnoj pažnji i predanosti koju je posvećivala svakom svom izdanju, Morante je prethodno objavila samo dvije knjige, zbirku priča *Il gioco segreto*² (*Tajna igra*) (Garzanti, 1941) i ilustrovanu bajku *Le bellissime avventure di Cateri dalla trecciolina* (*Prekrasne pustolovine Katherine sa pletenicom*) (Einaudi 1942), uprkos činjenici da je u periodu od 1933. godine, kada se u štampi pojavljuje prva bajka *Paoletta diventa' principessa*, do 1941. godine u različitim časopisima (*Corriere dei Piccoli*, *Oggi*, *Prospettive*, *I diritti della scuola*, *Il tesoretto*) objavila oko 120 radova – pripovjedaka, pjesama, bajki, eseja, kolumni i jedan feljtonski roman u nastavcima (*Qualcuno bussa alla porta*). Značajan dio tih djela Morante je potpisivala pseudonimom Antonio Karera (Antonio Carrera). U pomenutoj napomeni, obraćajući se u trećem licu, Morante navodi dotad neobjavljene pripovijetke *Il ladro dei lumi* (*Kradljivac svjetlosti*) (1935) i *L'uomo dagli occhiali* (*Čovjek sa naočarima*), (koje su svoje mjesto pronašle upravo u *Andaluzijskom šalu*) ističući da obje pripadaju onome što naziva svojom *praistorijom*.³ Autorka opisuje ovaj segment sopstvenog stvaralaštva kao rani period koji nije pošteđen 'iskonskih strahova' (Morante, 1988c:p.1579). U tom smislu, Morante posebno ističe pripovijetku *L'uomo dagli occhiali* u kojoj se, prema njenim riječima, uočavaju gotički elementi, a u okviru njih i izvjestan kafkijanski odjek. Morante, međutim, izričito naglašava kako je upravo to bio prvi i posljednji trenutak u kojem je u njenom radu moguće prepoznati trag uticaja nekog drugog autora, čime dodatno učvršćuje predstavu o originalnosti vlastitog književnog glasa i o čuvenoj nesklonosti književnim modama trenutka. U završnim redovima *Andaluzijskog šala* Morante se osvrće i na dvije priče koje, kako sama kaže, 'odaju, možda, izvjesnu brzinu u komponovanju' (1988c:p.1579). Kao opravdanje navodi činjenicu da je tih godina usljed 'ekonomskih potreba' bila prinuđena da objavljuje po jednu pripovijetku

² Zbirka *Il gioco segreto* nazvana je po istoimenoj pripovijeci, prethodno objavljenoj 1937. godine u književnom časopisu Meridiano di Roma. U njoj je zastupljeno svega dvadeset priča, iako ih je u tom periodu Elsa Morante napisala na desetine. Zbirka obuhvata: *Via dell'Angelo*, *Lo scolaro pallido*, *La nonna*, *L'anima*, *L'uomo dagli occhiali*, *Innocenza*, *Il gioco segreto*, *Il cochiere*, *La pellegrina*, *Appuntamento*, *Il compagno*, *Il barone*, *Il cavallo dell'ortolano*, *Il confessore*, *I due zaffiri*, *I gemelli*, *Un frivolo aneddoto sulla Grazia*, *Una storia d'amore*, *Cane*, *Un uomo senza carattere* (Garboli, 1988a:pp.1705–1706). Sve su objavljene nakon 1937. godine, čime je, prema očiglednoj namjeri autorke, njena prva faza stvaralaštva – iako obimna – ostala potpuno zanemarena.

³ Svi prevodi sa italijanskog jezika su autorkini.

nedjeljno. Mladalačka produkcija, odnosno *praistorija* rezultat je, dakle, potrebe književnice da zaradi novac i popravi svoju nezavidnu ekonomsku situaciju. Naime, Elsa Morante je već sa 18 godina napustila roditeljsku kuću bježeći od traumatične porodične priče⁴, sa ambicijom da postane književnica. Period između 1930. i 1939. obilježen je naporima da stekne ekonomsku stabilnost i nezavisnost. Elsa je tokom tih godina držala instrukcije, pisala diplomatske radove, ali i sarađivala sa različitim književnim časopisima. Godine 1936. upoznaje Alberta Moraviju, mladu nadu italijanske književne scene, iz dobrostojeće aristokratske porodice. Moravija je već objavio svoj prvi roman *Ravnodušni ljudi*, a reakcije kritike bile su odlične. Nakon što su sklopili brak, Elsa Morante prestaje da objavljuje kratku prozu u književnim časopisima, te se posvećuje pisanju svog prvog romana *Varka i čarolija* (1948)⁵. Godine 1957. postaje prva književnica koja je osvojila najznačajniju italijansku književnu nagradu Strega sa drugim romanom *Arturovo ostrvo*, čime je definitivno potvrdila svoj status jednog od najznačajnijih književnih glasova italijanske književnosti druge polovine XX vijeka.

Odluka Else Morante da svjesno mistifikuje i prepusti zaboravu obimnu *praistoriju* sopstvenog stvaralaštva, otvara prostor za različita tumačenja. Jedno od mogućih objašnjenja jeste da materijalne teškoće, koje su Morante u ranim godinama prisilile na ubranu produkciju, nisu omogućavale održavanje visokih estetskih standarda koje je sebi postavila. Drugo tumačenje upućuje na mogućnost da je Elsa Morante imala jasnu predstavu o autoportretu koji je željela da izgradi u javnom prostoru. Ta slika podrazumijevala je stvaranje mita o samoukoj i mističnoj književnici – svojevrsnom *wunderkindu*, koja već sa pet godina počinje da piše i ilustruje prve stihove i bajke. Istovremeno, ista predstava podrazumijevala je autorku koja već svojim prvim romanom doseže vrhunce književnog stvaralaštva, pritom ostajući u

⁴Suprug Elsinе majke Irme Podibonsi nije bio biološki otac Else i njenog brata i sestre. Njihov biološki otac bio je Frančesko Lo Monaco, a Elsa dosta rano saznaje istinu o neobičnom/skandaloznom ljubavnom trouglu. Takođe, njena porodica živjela je u vrlo skromnim ekonomskim uslovima, a majka Irma polagala je nade u književni talenat svoje kćerke, uočen vrlo rano. Postoje svjedočanstva o posjeti majke i kćerke književnom listu koji je objavljivao literaturu za djecu, gdje je Irma pokušavala da objavi rane Elsinе radove.

⁵Što se tiče prevoda djela Else Morante na srpskohrvatski jezik, na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije prevedena su tri od četiri romana vrlo brzo nakon objavljivanja: *Varka i čarolija* u izdanju Maticе srpske i prevodu Miodraga Kujundžića i Ivanke Jovićić (1972), *Arturovo ostrvo* prevela je Jasmina Livada 1987. godine, u izdanju beogradske izdavačke kuće Prosveta, *Istoriju: sablazan koja traje već deset hiljada godina* iste godine Razija Sarajlić, za izdavačku kuću Svjetlost. Tokom dvijehiljaditih godina primjetna je reaktuelizacija prevoda ove autorkе: 2023. godine u izdanju Vulkan izdavaštva književnica Jasmina Tešanović prevela je drugi roman Else Morante pod neznatno izmijenjenim naslovom *Arturovo ostrvo: sećanja jednog dječaka*, u izdanju Petrinih knjiga izlaze i prvi prevodi na hrvatski jezik: *Arturov otok* (2023), *Povijest* (2024) i *Araceli* (2025).

sopstvenoj samopercepciji i recepciji kritike u potpunosti imuna na književne uticaje drugih pisaca. Koje je od ovih objašnjenja vjerovatnije, ostaje otvoreno pitanje. Ipak, nepobitna je činjenica da je najsnažniji uticaj na kritiku Elsinog djela i na zanemarivanje *praistorije* imao Čezare Garboli, njen najvažniji kritičar i prijatelj. Zajedno sa Karlom Čekijem, Garboli uređuje dva toma sabranih djela Else Morante, u kojima, izuzev pomenute dvije zbirke, nisu objavljena ostala djela iz *praistorije*. Osim što je priredio sabrana djela, Garboli je i autor prve monografije o Elsi Morante. Autoritet Garbolijevog tumačenja bio je toliko snažan da je odjeknuo i decenijama kasnije, sve do zbornika posvećenog stogodišnjici njenog rođenja.⁶ Garboli je, između ostalog, naglašavao da je Morante autorka s ranim početkom, ali sporim sazrijevanjem originalnosti (1988b, 1655). Njegova poznata tvrdnja da se 'za ovog Autora u književnom smislu ne zna odakle dolazi' (1988b; p. 1653) postala je jedno od opštih mjesta u kritici djela Else Morante, ali je istovremeno, prema brojnim tumačima, i ozbiljno ograničila razumijevanje njenog opusa.

U zborniku radova sa konferencije održane 1990. godine, posvećenom romanu *Varka i čarolija*⁷, započinje kritički rad u nekoliko smjerova: *close reading* djela Else Morante, umjesto fascinacije njenom figurom i 'magijom' i otkrivanje intertekstualne mreže koja najraniju produkciju Morante povezuje sa djelima iz zrele faze stvaralaštva. U studiji *L'alibi del sogno nella produzione giovanile di Elsa Morante* (2006) preko analize motiva sna u ranoj prozi Elena Porčani (Elena Porciani) pokazala je jasne poveznice sa kasnijim djelima i izvršila prvu sistematizaciju *praistorije*. Njoj dugujemo i ideju o autotranstekstualnosti, koja podrazumijeva 'sklonost autorke da uspostavlja veze između sopstvenih tekstova putem autocitata i autoreferenci, koje s vremenom stvaraju prepoznatljive tematske mreže i tipologije likova' (Porciani, 2006:p.111). Porčani dijeli *praistoriju* Else Morante u tri potkategorije. Prva, koja obuhvata razdoblje od 1933. do 1937. godine, predstavlja najsiroviju fazu njenog stvaralaštva, tokom koje autorka piše bajke, poeziju, ali i roman u nastavcima u ulozi pisca iz sjene (*ghost writera*). Druga faza (1937–1938) donosi vidan kvalitativni skok i istovremeno označava rastanak sa književnošću za djecu, dok se treća, završna faza (1939–1941) odlikuje saradnjom sa časopisom *Oggi*, razvojem humorističke dimenzije i postepenim uvođenjem homodijegeze, što se može shvatiti kao prvi korak ka pripovijedanju u prvom licu koje će biti karakteristično za njen debitantski roman *Varka i čarolija*. Ova poslednja etapa okončava se objavljivanjem zbirke *Il*

⁶Elena Porčani u članku *Uscire dalla camera dei cliché. La critica su Elsa Morante nel centenario dell'autrice* objavljenom 2006. godine navodi kako je u pomenutom zborniku Garboli 'suštinski jedini proučavalac kojeg pominju urednici i saradnici, dok gotovo uopšte ne pominju priličan broj radova koji su se pojavili u poslednje dvije decenije.' (Porciani, internet)

⁷Razni autori (1990), *Per Elisa. Studi su «Menzogna e sortilegio»*, Pisa: Nistri-Lischi.

gioco segreto (1941)⁸ (Porciani, 2006:p.24–25). Za književnu građu *Andaluzijskog šala*⁹, objavljenog dvanaest godina kasnije, odabrano je samo pet priča iz prve zbirke: *L'uomo dagli occhiali*, *La nonna*, *Il gioco segreto*, *Il compagno* i *Un uomo senza carattere*. Garboli u sabranim djelima u dodatnoj napomeni izdanju zbirke objašnjava čitaocu kako je 'jasno je da je *Andaluzijski šal* sastavljen spajanjem onih pripovjedaka koje su se Morante 1963. godine činile najboljima iz garcantijevske zbirke *Il gioco segreto* iz 1941. (*odabrani dio*, kako kaže Morante) i drugih pripovjedaka, podjednako starih (*Il ladro dei lumi*, *La giornata*, *Il Battesimo*, *Il cugino Venanzio*) ili novijih (*Il soldato siciliano*, *Donna Amalia*, *Lo scialle andaluso*)' (Morante, 1988a:p.1580). Morante je posebno u priče koje su datirale iz dalje prošlosti unijela nemali broj izmjena, što prema njegovim riječima postaje evidentno poređenjem prvog izdanja sa izdanjem koje je književnica prihvatila kao konačno 1963. godine. Kao svojevrсни omaž zbirci *Il gioco segreto* u sabranim djelima Garboli i Čeki ipak objavljuju preostale priče iz prve zbirke za koje je Morante smatrala 'da nije prikladno da se [one] ponovo štampaju u zbirci *Lo scialle andaluso*' (Garboli, 1988a: p.1583). Predmet tekstualne analize u ovom radu biće upravo prvih pet priča iz izostavljenog repertoara zbirke *Il gioco segreto*, koje je Josip Nikšić 2012. godine preveo na hrvatski jezik, nazivajući ih 'zaboravljene pripovijesti': *Blijedi učenik* (*Lo scolaro pallido*), *Kočijaš* (*Il cocchiere*), *Nevinost* (*L'innocenza*), *Duša* (*L'anima*) i *Hodočasnica* (*La pellegrina*). Riječ je o prvih pet priča prema redosljedu kojim su ih objavili Garboli i Čeki u sabranim djelima, a koje je, budući da ih je i prevodilac izdvojio kao zasebnu grupu, moguće analizirati kao cjelinu zahvaljujući nizu srodnih tematsko-motivskih i stilskih elemenata.

2. Pet zaboravljenih pripovijesti: gotičko-fantastično nasljeđe i poetika *Unheimlichea* u *praistoriji*

Priče *Blijedi učenik*, *Kočijaš*, *Nevinost*, *Duša* i *Hodočasnica* objavljene su u književnim časopisima u periodu od novembra 1939. godine do avgusta 1940. godine¹⁰ i pripadaju trećoj fazi *praistorije*. Ovih pet priča, osim što pripadaju istoj

⁸ Zbirka nije nikada u cjelini prevedena na srpski jezik (u književnim časopisima i antologijama italijanske proze prisutno je nekoliko prevedenih priča: Sanja Roić prevela je pripovijetku *Andelova ulica*, uvrštenu u antologijsku zbirku *Drukčiji i drugi: talijanska pripovijetka 20. stoljeća*. Takođe, Jasmina Livada prevela je pripovijetke *Il compagno* (*Drug*) i *Il ladro dei lumi* (*Kradljivac svetlosti*), koje su objavljene u književnom časopisu *Glasnik Društva konzervatora Srbije*.

⁹ *Andaluzijski šal* 1989. godine prevela je Ana Srbinović za izdavačku kuću *Gradina* iz Niša.

¹⁰ *Kočijaš* je objavljen 11. novembra 1939. u časopisu *Oggi*, *Blijedi učenik* 15. novembra 1939. u časopisu *Selvaggio*, *Nevinost* 25. novembra u časopisu *Oggi*, *Duša* 9. decembra 1939. godine takođe u časopisu *Oggi* i *Hodočasnica* 12. avgusta 1940. godine u *Panorami*.

zbirci *Il gioco segreto*, imaju još nekoliko zajedničkih elemenata. Prvo, riječ je o kratkim formama, koje su u zbirci bile u kontrapoziciji sa dugim pripovijetkama, po principu jedna kratka, jedna duga. Osim toga, postoje tematsko-motivske sličnosti koje ukazuju na elemente fantastične književnosti, po kojima ove priče svrstavamo u gotičko-fantastične iz *praistorije* Else Morante: dominantno prisustvo teme smrti, dvosmislenost između stvarnog i nadrealnog, mračna atmosfera i moderan odnos prema tradiciji dekadentnog/fantastičnog. Četiri su u formi kratke priče¹¹, dok jedino *Hodočasnica* po strukturi i dužini spada u pripovijetke. Većina likova nalazi se u poznoj životnoj dobi: profesor (*Blijedi učenik*), penzionisani sudija (*Kočijaš*), baka (*Nevinost*), baka aristokratkinja (*Hodočasnica*) i stari kompozitor (*Duša*). U četiri od pet priča prisutna su djeca kao sporedni nerazrađeni likovi čija je funkcija da naglase dječiju nevinost nasuprot oholosti i hladnoći odraslih. U *Blijedom učeniku* to su daci koji ne vide viziju koja proganja njihovog učitelja; u *Nevinosti* petogodišnji dječak ostaje sam sa nemoćnom bakom i u svojoj naivnosti otvara vrata nepoznatoj lijepoj ženi – nesvjestan da je riječ o smrti koja dolazi po baku; iako unuci u *Hodočasnici* ne shvataju hladnoću i nadmenost svoje bake, instinktivno osjećaju promjenu atmosfere kada ona napušta kuću te postaju opušteniji i razigraniji. Dječija razigranost prisutna je i u *Duši*, gde stari kompozitor susreće dušu koja još nema tijelo: njih dvoje zajedno oponašaju dinamiku dječijeg sveta, jer duša ne poznaje nazive stvari, pa je kompozitor kroz igru podučava zakonitostima ovozemaljskog.

Za razliku od romana Else Morante, u kojima je značajno prisustvo životinja (pas Imakolatela u *Arturovom ostrvu*, mačak Alvaro u romanu *Varka i čarolija*, psi Blic i Bela u *Istoriji: sablazni koja traje već deset hiljada godina*), u ovim pričama one se pojavljuju samo u *Duši*: duša na kraju biva prinuđena da uđe u tijelo jednog od uličnih pasa okupljenih ispred crkve, odakle ponižena drhti u dnu psećeg oka i uzalud moli za pomoć svog prijatelja. Postoji još jedan izuzetak u tematsko-motivskom sistemu: iako vrlo prisutan u *praistoriji*, religijski motiv ovdje se pojavljuje samo u pripovijeci *Hodočasnica*, u kojoj ohola baka kreće na hodočašće Bogorodici, zajedno sa mnoštvom drugih vjernika, kako bi je molila da joj podari smrt. U *Hodočasnici* se prepliću elementi folklorne tradicije, narodnog sujevjerja i religioznosti – vrlo bliske kasnijoj produkciji Else Morante, a posebno ženskim likovima koje krasi atipičan oblik religioznosti¹², kojem je sklona i autorka. Govoreći o godinama provedenim skupa, Alberto Moravija u jednom intervjuu prisjetio se insistiranja mlade Else da se

¹¹ *Blijedi učenik*, *Duša*, *Nevinost* i *Kočijaš* pripadaju žanru kratke priče, kraćoj proznoj formi, dok je *Hodočasnica* po svojoj dužini i složenijoj strukturi pripovijetka. Izuzev kada je riječ o izdvojenoj analizi *Hodočasnice*, koristimo termin priča.

¹² Primjeri takvih ženskih likova su Nuncijata iz *Arturovog ostrva*, Edvardova majka Končeta u *Varci i čaroliji*, Aracoeli u istoimenom romanu itd.

par vjenča u katoličkoj crkvi budući da je ona bila vrlo religiozna. Moravija je istom prilikom naglasio: 'Elsa je ostala religiozna, ali ne vjerujem da aktivno praktikuje vjeru. Velika je hrišćanka, na savremen način. Za nju je Jevandjelje najveća od svih knjiga' (Garboli, 1988:p.XLIII).

U naratološkom smislu, u četiri od pet priča pripovijedanje je u trećem licu (*Blijedi učenik*, *Duša*, *Nevinost* i *Hodočasnica*), dok je u *Kočijašu* prisutna homodijegeza, kao naznaka tipičnog pripovjedača u većini romana Else Morante¹³. Ova priča specifična je i po mogućim intertekstualnim vezama sa Poovom pričom *Pad kuće Ušera* s obzirom na sličan zaplet: narator provodi praznike kod prijatelja u staroj i udaljenoj kući (koju obilaze duhovi) i tamo upoznaje poludjelog sudiju, člana porodice odvojenog u jedno krilo kuće i ubijeđenog da je on zapravo kočijaš kojeg je otpustio nakon dugogodišnje vjerne službe.

U svim pričama, fantastično je povezano sa psihičkom izolacijom likova, a u čak tri sa vizijom smrti utjelovljene u lik dječaka (*Blijedi učenik*) ili žene (*Nevinost* i *Hodočasnica*). U *Duši* bezimni stari gospodin vodi potpuno usamljenički život, 'izbjegavaju ga kao gubavca', te bježi od stvarnosti stvarajući halucinaciju o duši koja još nije zarobljena u nekom tijelu, i koja postaje njegova vjerna saputnica i prijateljica. U *Kočijašu* penzionisani sudija živi povučeno i otuđeno od svoje porodice, uvjeren da je duh njegovog umrlog kočijaša preuzeo njegovo tijelo – rezultat osjećaja krivice zbog toga što je kočijaša nakon trideset godina vjerne službe otpustio jer je 'previše znao o njemu' prerasta u halucinatornu projekciju. U *Hodočasnici* hladna i rigidna baka, koja izaziva strah i jezu kod ukućana, odlazi na hodočašće Djevici Mariji, a na tom putu briše se granica između stvarnosti i nadrealnog: doživljava vizuelnu halucinaciju u kojoj vidi Smrt utjelovljenu u liku mlade žene koja je uporno posmatra u masi i dolazi da je povede. Sličan mehanizam prisutan je i u *Blijedom učeniku*: profesor usljed jakih glavobolja počinje da u učionici viđa blijedog učenika koji ga prezrivo gleda i čuti, što predstavlja projekciju njegovog potisnutog unutrašnjeg sveta. On osjeća 'stanovitu tjeskobnu nelagodu' i opisan je kao lik koji je 'izgradio oko sebe vlastitu čahuru' i navikao se da 'zanemari i pomisao na išta izvan nje'; upravo se ta čahura raspada kada vizija novog učenika iz temelja potrese njegovu sigurnost i samouvjerenost. Učenik sa 'ružnim, bijelim ožiljkom' na čelu postaje figura jezivog: istovremeno poznat (učenik kao sastavni dio profesorovog profesionalnog svijeta) i zastrašujuće stran, ruši ravnotežu i izaziva tjeskobu, što profesora vodi u smrt. U *Nevinosti* unuk otvara vrata smrti koja dolazi po njegovu baku. Ovu posjetu razumjeće na simboličkom nivou tek kao odrastao čovjek, nakon godina stečenog

¹³ Jedino izuzetak je *Istorija: sablazan koja traje već deset hiljada godina*, dok je u ostalim romanima pripovijedanje homodijegetičko (*Arturovo ostrvo*, *Varka* i *čarolija*, *Araceli*).

iskustva. U ovim pričama fantastično ne funkcioniše kao objektivni nadrealni događaj, već kao odraz psiholoških stanja likova – halucinatornih, deliričnih i opsesivnih – pa se stoga može svrstati u ono što bismo mogli odrediti kao deliričnu fantastiku, koja nastaje iz psiholoških procesa i unutrašnjih stanja (Damjanov, 1988:pp.48–53) i pored poetske, folklorne, socijalno-utopijske, fantastike snova i sl., spada u neke od mogućnih podvrsta širokog polja fantastike (Popović, 2010:p.211).

Podsjetimo, prema Todorovoj definiciji:

‘fantastično [...] traje samo onoliko koliko i neodlučnost zajednička čitaocu i liku, na kojima je da odluče da li ono što opažaju potiče ili ne potiče od *stvarnosti* kakva ona jeste prema opštem mišljenju. Kada čitalac i lik donesu odluku, time izlaze iz fantastičnog. Ako čitalac prihvati da zakoni stvarnosti ostaju netaknuti i da pružaju objašnjenje opisanih pojava, kažemo da delo pripada drugom žanru – čudnom. Ako, naprotiv, odluči da se moraju prihvatiti novi zakoni prirode kojima bi ta pojava mogla biti objašnjena, ulazimo u žanr čudesnog’ (Todorov, 2010:p.42).

Sva oneobičavanja i elementi fantastičnog u pričama koje podvrgavamo tekstualnoj analizi prema Todorovoj podjeli fantastike spadaju u fantastično čudno: iako je čitalac u neizvjesnosti, u konačnici se opredjeljuje da elemente fantastičnog pripiše psihološkom stanju likova, njihovim vizijama i halucinacijama. *Kočijaš* je jedina priča koja se prema Todorovoj klasifikaciji svrstava u fantastično čudno, jer pripovjedač u prvom licu, nakon što prisustvuje racionalno neobjašnjivoj sceni oluje koja zahvata samo sudiju (kosa mu se vijorila na vjetru), uz krik napušta prostoriju u kojoj je starac smješten i čitaocu (kao i liku) ostaje u racionalnom smislu neobjašnjivo ono što se upravo desilo.

Iako se u slučaju pet priča koje su predmet našeg razmatranja može opravdano primijeniti Todorova klasifikacija, u tekstualnoj analizi kao koristan teorijsko-metodološki okvir nude se i posthumno objavljen dnevnik snova nastao u periodu kada nastaju i priče, ali i frejdotski koncept *Unheimlichea*, kao indikator odnosa mlade Else Morante prema modernim tumačenjima dekadentnog i fantastičnog.

3. Dnevnik iz 1938. godine: psihoanalitički i kafkijanski odjeci i oblikovanje *Unheimlichea* u *praistoriji*

Period nastanka razmatranih i analiziranih novela 1939–1940. godine poklapa se sa Elsinim posthumno objavljenim *Dnevnikom iz 1938. godine (Il Diario 1938)*, u kojem su u značajnoj mjeri prisutni i Frojd i Kafka. Elsa Morante bilježila je vlastite snove i

promišljala o kompleksnom odnosu između stvarnosti, sna i književnog stvaralaštva, te ovo djelo nudi značajan alat u tumačenju priča čijom se tekstualnom analizom bavimo. U dnevniku književnica u periodu od 19. januara do 30. juna 1938. godine zapisuje svoje snove, tumači ih i promišlja o snažnoj vezi između sna i pripovijedanja:

‘Da li u tome leži tajna umjetnosti? *Sjećati se* onako kako se djelo vidjelo u stanju sna, prepričati ga onako kako se vidjelo, nastojati prije svega da *se zapamti*. Jer možda je cjelokupno stvaranje samo – prisjećanje’ (Morante, 2003:p.18).

Uticaj Franca Kafke na stvaralaštvo Else Morante, takođe vidljiv u *Dnevniku*, pruža uvid u tematsko-motivski sistem o kojem književnica promišlja 1938. godine, a koji će postati centralni u pričama kojima se bavimo. U jednom od snova (datiranom 25. februara 1938, pod naslovom *Kafkina smrt*) Morante opisuje Kafku u građanskom odijelu, položenog u kolijevku u času smrti. Slika je istovremeno groteskna i uznemirujuća: pisac stoički podnosi ritualnu proceduru kojom ga, zapravo živog, pripremaju za sahranu. U kontrapoziciji s ovom vizijom javlja se lik autorkinog prijatelja, predstavljen kao banalna figura, čija pojava naglašava trivijalnost ljudskog odnosa prema smrti. Sama Morante u dnevničkom zapisu prepoznaje u Kafki simbol zastrašujuće i neizbježne smrti, dok suprotnost koju pruža prijatelj ističe banalnost kojom se obično prikriva tragična dimenzija smrtnosti:

‘Zaista, umjetnik snova zna svoj zanat. Poznaje čak i male lukavštine, efekte. Eto, da bi mi dao još snažniji osećaj smrti, on postavlja pored Kafke, ovog mog dragog, savjesnog i tragičnog, glupog Filipa S., koga zapravo nikada ne vidam, na koga nikada ne mislim, ali koji oličava nesvjesno, sito čovečanstvo, potpuno zaokupljeno svojim svakodnevnim računima i svojim praktičnim, idiotskim problemima. Ovaj san jeste sama smrt, tužna maskarada’ (Morante, 2003:p.33).

Detaljna naracija, u kojoj se ističu opisi Kafkinog odijela i minucioznih radnji koje prethode činu sahranjivanja, potvrđuje dubinu autorkine imaginacije i složenost njenog odnosa prema Kafki, koji postaje figura graničnog iskustva između stvarnog i fantastičnog. Književnica pridaje ovom snu u kojem prepoznaje reminiscencije Kafkinog *Procesa* (Morante, 2003:p.33) važnost apologa, izmišljene priče koja prenosi određenu mudrost. San o Kafki istovremeno upućuje i na općinjenost/opterećenost autorke autoritativnim književnim modelima, te nam jasno ukazuje na činjenicu da je proces konstruisanja vlastitog književnog izraza mlade Else uveliko započeo, godinama prije nego što će biti objavljen njen prvi roman *Varka i čarolija*. Kafkijanski uticaj takođe se ogleda u pokušaju da se tema smrti (san o Kafki koji umire) prenese u književni tekst. Tema smrti prisutna je u čak četiri analizirane priče nastale nekih godinu dana nakon zapisa sna o Kafki – *Blijedom učeniku*, *Hodočasnici*, *Nevinosti*

i *Kočijašu*. U *Blijedom učeniku* smrt se ukazuje profesoru sigurnom u sebe u liku izmašanog, drugima nevidljivog bljedolikog đaka sa dubokom brazdom na čelu. U *Hodočasnici* personifikacija smrti dolazi oštroj i nadmenoj starici u obliku djevojke blijedih usana, koju, takođe, okružena ljudima, samo ona vidi. U *Kočijašu* se glavni junak, stari advokat pred smrt identifikuje sa likom svog vjernog kočijaša. U *Nevinosti* smrt je prikazana kao neobična i uznemirujuća žena koja kuca na vrata unuku i baki.

Frojd se u *Dnevniku* pominje dva puta (Morante, 2003:p.16,27): nakon opisa snova Elsa Morante pretpostavlja na koji bi ih način Frojd tumačio, ali ta tumačenja ne zadovoljavaju autorku koja i dalje izražava sumnju i zapitanost nad misterioznom i nedokučivom prirodom sna. Iako je Frojdov esej *Das Unheimliche*¹⁴ preveden na italijanski jezik znatno kasnije, prema riječima Elene Porčani 'motivi koji su u njemu navedeni nisu mogli da ne budu poznati mladoj Morante, ako ni zbog čega drugog, onda zbog njene čitalačke senzibilnosti, bez obzira na moguće druge izvore kontakta.' (2006:p.18). *Unheimliche* je termin koji se u književnoj kritici koristi i u engleskoj verziji *uncanny*, dok na srpski jezik nema opšteprihvaćen prevod. Tako se u radu Milan D. Vrdelje naglašava prevodilački izazov koji ovaj izraz predstavlja jer 'iako se doslovno čita kao nefamilijarno, (...) termin natkriljuje vrlo kompleksan splet psiholoških stanja koja polaze od straha, nelagode, zazora, anksioznosti ili nagona pritisnutih represijom' (2010:p.10). *Unheimliche* možemo definisati i kao proces osvještavanja nepremostive dvostrukosti (Di Giuseppe, internet).

Dvosmislenost svih kategorija postaće centralna karakteristika književnog opusa Else Morante. Kako se navodi u njenom prvom romanu *Varka i čarolija*: 'Među svim osobinama pisama koje su očaravale njihove čitaoce, ističe se ona koja je najizvanrednija, najskupocenija a to je dvosmislenost, bez koje ništa ne prija: dvosmislenost koja je suština snova i bogova, rukopis proroka i, među smrtnima, izraz najmilijih životinja, najtananijih umetnosti, i sladak, varvarski refren prirode' (Morante, 1972:p.329).

Motiv jezivog (*Unheimliche*) u analiziranim pričama Else Morante pojavljuje se prvenstveno na jezičkom planu i na planu karakterizacije likova, preko upotrebe pridjeva 'čudan', koji se javlja u svakoj od njih i upućuje na uznemirujući, neočekivani element iz realnog svijeta. Ipak, njegova snaga ne počiva isključivo na spoljašnjoj senzaciji (uznemiravanju čitaoca), već i na unutrašnjem razotkrivanju: nadnaravno

¹⁴ Riječ je o čuvenom Frojdovom eseu *Das Unheimliche*, objavljenom 1919. godine. Kako napominju i Vrdelja i Porčani, *Unheimliche*, odnosno na italijanskom jeziku *perturbante* (uznemirujuće), prisutan je u umjetnosti mnogo prije objavljivanja Frojdovog eseja i nadahnut je u psihoanalizi 'tumačenjem neobičnih, duboko nepojmljivih fiktivnih situacija iz tekstova En Redklif, E. T. Hofmana, E. A. Poa.' (Vrdelja, 2020:p.292). Za dodatno tumačenje pojma u umjetnosti, ali i u *praistoriji* Else Morante vidjeti Porčani, 2006:p.18.

postaje mehanizam kroz koji se, 'liku otkriva ono što već postoji u njegovoj ili njenoj unutrašnjosti' (Porciani, 2006:p.18) – strah od smrti, osjećaj različitosti u odnosu na Drugog i neizreciva tjeskoba, dakle, nesumnjivo teme freudovske provenijencije. Kao što napominje Stefaniya Lukamante, 'kod Else Morante smrt je više od ičega, unutrašnje pitanje, egzistencijalno, ne fizičko' (2015:p.56).

Prisutnost *čudnog* uočljiva je na jezičkom, ali i psihološkom planu: junakinja iz *Hodočasnice* opisana je kao 'čudnovato ispijena'; u *Kočijašu* starac je 'čudak', poznat po svom 'čudaštvu'; u *Nevinosti* smrt ima 'lice lude i žalosne žene'; u *Blijedom učeniku* 'sve na licu blijedog učenika' koji proganja profesora djeluje 'čudno izobličeno'; u *Duši*, prije nego što će ući u tijelo uličnog psa, ona mu se predaje sa 'čudnim i lakomim krikom'.

U svih pet priča, iako su u izrazito kratkoj formi, prisutna je deskripcija fizičkih karakteristika likova. Atmosfera fantastičnog gradi se upravo kroz jezik i opis tijela, koje postaje osnovni medijum psihološkog i nadrealnog. Fokus naracije usmeren je na tjelesno, koje je iščašeno, čudno i često jezivo. Profesor u *Blijedom učeniku* ima 'odeblji i ružičast stas', a 'njegova bradica, jedva posivjele kovrče i ona lagana naznaka trbuha' ostavljaju utisak 'mudrosti i dostojanstva'. Zaplet počinje ne slučajno naznakama tjelesnih tegoba: profesor pati od nesanice i osjeća oštru bol u sredini čela, koja mu 'grize' mozak, uz mučninu i vrtoglavicu. U *Duši* se naglašava kontrast: sama duša ne poznaje 'tjeskobnu težinu tijela', dok njen prijatelj, stari kompozitor, hoda poluslijep, 'neugodnog glasa i ružnog zadaha', odbačen od ljudi koji ga izbegavaju 'kao gubavca'. Baka iz *Nevinosti* bila je gluha, 'gotovo bez kose', uvijek spuštenih vijeda, a njeno tijelo te majušnu i okruglu glava narator poredi sa dojenčetom. U kontrapoziciji pojava žene koja kuca na vrata unuku i baki – smrt – djeluje ludački, napola golog tijela koje nalikuje na kip, dok svako malo mrsi kosu i liči na 'crno nevrijeme'. Stari sudija u *Kočijašu* gigantskog je rasta, debeo, s obješenim i blijedim obrazima, a njegov 'nazalan, drhtav i strahovito muzikalan' glas uz njegovu neobičnu pojavu, izaziva takođe jezu u mladom posjetiocu – naratoru. I aristokratkinja – baka u *Hodočasnici*, opisana je kao 'visoka i krupna', prijetećeg i ozbiljnog pogleda, jakih zuba, požutjelih od pušenja, tankih usana sarkastičnog izraza, stisnutih čeljusti i promuklog, ali oštrog glasa. Lica ostalih vjernika koja takođe hodočaste, 'čudnovato [su] ispijena, a tijela, prepuštena sjeni, izgledala su sva crna.'

Insistiranje na tjelesnim opisima ne samo da snažno oblikuje karakterizaciju likova već stvara mračnu, tjeskobnu i nadrealnu atmosferu u kojoj tijelo postaje mjesto granice između života i smrti, stvarnog i nadrealnog. Preko fizičkog opisa likova moguće je naslutiti znakove njihove dekadencije, tjeskobe i skore smrti. U romanima Else Morante tijelo je često predstavljeno kao tamnica koja sputava

duhovnost, kao krhko i dekadentno, opterećeno 'tjeskobnom težinom' postojanja. Njeni likovi djeluju zarobljeni u tijelima koja ne doživljavaju kao vlastita i u kojima se ne osećaju udobno¹⁵. U *praistoriji*, ta nelagoda unutar tijela postaje osnova jezivog/nefamilijarnog efekta (*Unheimliche*) koji prožima njihove doživljaje svijeta.

4. Zaključak

Kao što smo tekstualnom analizom pokazali, analizirane priče iz fantastično-gotičke serije svjedoče o repertoaru tema – izolovanost pojedinca i njegovo osjećanje tjeskobe i alteriteta, smrt, zamagljenost između realnog i snoviđenja, tjelesnost, odnos između društvenih klasa i atipični doživljaj religije koje će u decenijama koje slijede (p)ostati konstanta imaginarijuma Else Morante. U svim analiziranim pričama ključan je jaz između unutrašnjeg, emotivnog života junakâ i (društvene) stvarnosti koja ih okružuje. Motiv fantastičnog ima funkciju da čitaocu predstavi bogatstvo unutrašnjeg svijeta i nemogućnost likova da unutar društveno prihvatljivih obrazaca izraze vlastitu tjeskobu i drugost. Objektivna stvarnost čitaocu se predstavlja kao dvosmislena, pa ju je nemoguće spoznati isključivo na racionalan način, što će postati *lajtmotiv* u romanima i poeziji Else Morante.

Motivi fantastičnog, dakle, imaju subverzivnu funkciju u odnosu na stvarnost budući da služe kako bi se u naizgled savršenoj slici stvorile pukotine kroz koje će nadrealno, mistično i nesvjesno da pronađu svoj izraz. Iako je riječ je o temama koje su tokom godina u književnom opusu Else Morante poprimile značajne transformacije i sazrijevanje, ta spoznaja ne umanjuje vrijednost upravo *praistorije* u osvjetljavanju i razumijevanju cjelokupnog složenog opusa jedne od najznačajnijih figura italijanske književnosti XX vijeka.

Izvori:

1. Nikšić, J. (2012) (prev.) *Zaboravljene pripovijesti* Else Morante. Marulić - Časopis za književnost i kulturu. III (XLV), 404–419.
2. Morante, E. (2003) *Il Diario 1938*. [eBook] (priredila) Andreini A. Torino, Einaudi.

Izvori:

1. Morante, E. (1941) *Il gioco segreto*. Torino, Garzanti.
2. Morante, E. (1942) *Le bellissime avventure di Cateri dalla trecciolina*. Torino, Einaudi.

¹⁵ Eliza, pripovjedačica u *Varki i čaroliji*, Ida Ramundo, glavna junakinja *Istorije: sablazni koja traje već deset hiljada godina*, Manuele, pripovjedač u posljednjem romanu *Aracoli*.

3. Morante, E. (1972) *Varka i čarolija*, II tom. Prev. M. Kujundžić i I. Jovičić. Novi Sad, Matica srpska.
4. Morante, E. (1988a) *Opere*, I tom. Prir. C. Garboli i C. Cecchi. Milano, Mondadori.
5. Morante, E. (1988b) *Opere*, II tom. Prir. C. Garboli i C. Cecchi. Milano, Mondadori.
6. Morante, E. (1988c) 'Lo scialle andaluso'. U: Morante, E. *Opere*, I tom. Prir. C. Garboli i C. Cecchi. Milano: Mondadori, 1407–1579.
7. Morante, E. (1989) *Andaluzijski šal*. Prev. A. Srbinović. Niš, Gradina.
8. Morante, E. (2023a) *Arturov otok*. Prev. M. Čubranić. Zagreb, Petrine knjige.
9. Morante, E. (2023b) *Arturovo ostrvo: sećanja jednog dečaka*. Prev. J. Petrović. Beograd, Vulkan.
10. Morante, E. (2024) *Povijest*. Prev. D. Trdak. Zagreb, Petrine knjige.
11. Morante, E. (2025) *Aracoli*. Prev. A. Gučević. Zagreb, Petrine knjige.

Literatura:

1. Damjanov, S. (1988) *Koreni moderne srpske fantastike*. Novi Sad, Književna zajednica Novog Sada.
2. Di Giuseppe, I. (2020) Identità, alterità, ospitalità <https://www.filosofemme.it/2020/06/15/riflessioni-sullunheimliche/> (pristupljeno: 24. avgust 2025.)
3. Garboli, C. i C. Cecchi (1988) Cronologia. U: Morante, E. *Opere*, I tom. (prir.) C. Garboli i C. Cecchi. Milano, Mondadori, XVII–XCI.
4. Garboli, C. i C. Cecchi (1988a) Appendice da Il gioco segreto. U: Morante, E. *Opere*, I tom (prir.) C. Garboli i C. Cecchi. Milano: Mondadori, 1583–1693.
5. Garboli, C. i C. Cecchi (1988b) Fortuna critica. U: Morante, E. *Opere*, II tom. (prir.) C. Garboli i C. Cecchi. Milano, Mondadori, 1651–1681.
6. Lucamante, S. (2015) Entre le rêve et la réalité: Morante e i ragazzi di Cocteau e Alain-Fournier. U: Palandi, E. i H. Serkovska (ur.) *Le fonti in Elsa Morante*. Venecija, Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 51–61.
7. Machiedo, M. (ur.) (1995) *Drukčiji i drugi: talijanska pripovijetka 20. stoljeća*. Zagreb, Hrvatsko filološko društvo.
8. Palandi, E. i H. Serkovska (ur.) (2015) *Le fonti in Elsa Morante*. Venecija, Edizioni Ca' Foscari.
9. Popović, T. (2007) *Rečnik književnih termina*. Beograd, Logos Art.
10. Porciani, E. (2006) *L'alibi del sogno nella produzione giovanile di Elsa Morante*. Soveria Monelli, Iride Edizioni.
11. Porciani, E. (2006a) Uscire dalla camera dei cliché. La critica su Elsa Morante nel centenario dell'autrice. Dostupno na: <https://www.leparoleele cose.it/uscire-dalla-camera-dei-cliche-la-critica-su-elsa-morante-nel-centenario-dellautrice-2/>
12. Razni autori, (1990) *Per Elisa. Studi su «Menzogna e sortilegio»*. Pisa, Nistri-Lischi.
13. Todorov, C. (2010) *Uvod u fantastičnu književnost*. Beograd, Službeni glasnik.

14. Vurdelja, M. (2020) *Nedokaziva noć života*: imagološko tumačenje pripovetke *Dan i noć* Mirka Kovača. Годишњак Катедре за српску књижевност са јужнословенским књижевностима knj. 15, 285–298.

Sanja N. Kobilj Ćuić
University of Banja Luka
Faculty of Philology
Department of Romance Studies

THE PREHISTORY OF ELSA MORANTE:
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FANTASTIC-GOTHIC IN FIVE
TRANSLATED STORIES FROM *IL GIOCO SEGRETO*

Summary

This paper explores the presence of Gothic and fantastic elements in five translated short stories by Elsa Morante from the collection *Il gioco segreto*, which belong to her early creative period, often referred to in literary criticism as her „prehistory.” Aiming to shed light on the concept of this prehistory and its importance within Morante’s oeuvre, the study combines a biographical-contextual approach with close textual analysis. The analysis is based on Tzvetan Todorov’s theoretical framework for the classification of the fantastic and Sigmund Freud’s concept of the *Unheimliche*, while also drawing on Morante’s posthumously published *Diario 1938*, where the author herself reflects on the relationship between dreams, death, and literary creation, offering valuable insights for interpreting her early prose. The paper argues that Morante’s so-called prehistory—long overlooked by critics and the public—plays a crucial role in shaping her poetics. This early period already reveals key thematic and stylistic elements that would later define her work: the centrality of ambiguity, the dominance of inner anxiety in character’s psychology, and the emergence of homodiegetic narration. These findings show that the foundations of Morante’s unique literary voice were laid in the very texts once considered marginal within her oeuvre.

► **Keywords:** *prehistory*, *Unheimliche*, Kafkaesque, delirious fantastic, Freud, fantastic.

Preuzeto: 22. 9. 2025.
Korekcije: 12. 11. 2025.
Prihvaćeno: 20. 11. 2025.

Martina Sanković Ivančić¹
Università degli studi di Fiume

LE RAPPRESENTAZIONI DELL'INFANZIA IN ELSA MORANTE

Abstract: Il saggio verte sullo studio delle rappresentazioni dell'infanzia in alcune delle più note opere di Morante: Menzogna e sortilegio, L'isola di Arturo, La Storia e Aracoeli. Elsa Morante rende i bambini protagonisti della sua poetica aprendo, attraverso le figure di Elisa, Arturo, Usepe e Manuele, un discorso letterario e antropologico di ampio respiro. La ricerca mette a fuoco la complessità della figura del bambino e (dell'umano) nel percorso letterario dell'autrice che, spaziando dalla psicanalisi alla filosofia orientale, anticipa alcune intuizioni di Erick Erikson circa la malleabilità e lo sviluppo dell'identità dell'individuo. L'infanzia viene da Morante esplorata non solo come fase dell'esistenza, e neppure unicamente come mito, bensì come paradigma di una singolare concezione della conoscenza e di una particolare sensibilità, segnata dalla vulnerabilità e dall'apertura al diverso. La solitudine cui i personaggi morantiani sono spesso confinati diventa così lo spazio a partire dal quale si avvia una riflessione sul concetto di comunicazione e di prossimità, riscoprendo le potenzialità di un linguaggio corporeo spesso lasciato all'ombra del logos. Per Morante l'infanzia diviene uno spazio fertile per ripensare la costruzione identitaria e le dinamiche sociali dell'individuo.

Parole chiave: *Morante, infanzia, solitudine, corporeità, linguaggio.*

1. L'infanzia nella poetica dell'autrice

Nell'intervista a Jean Noël Schifano l'autrice rivela di amare tre cose più di tutto al mondo: il mare, i bambini ed i gatti.² Elisa, Arturo, Usepe, Nino, Manuel, saranno solo alcuni degli innumerevoli ragazzini che correranno tra le pagine dei suoi romanzi, arricchendoli di significati e avvicinandoli ad ogni lettore. L'amore nutrito dall'autrice per i più piccoli, nonché la sua sorprendente capacità di comprenderli,

¹ Email: m.sankovic.ivancic@uniri.hr

² SCHIFANO J.N., *Barbara e divina* in "L'Espresso", 2 dicembre 1984.

non era un sentimento nascosto a chi le stava vicino. Sergio Gajardo, in una lettera del 1955 indirizzata a Elsa Morante, scrive:

‘Elsa, vorrei essere un bambino per poter parlare con te il tuo linguaggio profondo e misterioso che gli uomini non possono comprendere. (...) Penso che forse ti sarebbe piaciuto un giorno trovare per strada questo bambino che potrebbe raccontarti delle storie primitive e parlare d'amore con occhi tristi e ascoltare tutto ciò che tu hai da dire. Vorrei essere questo bambino per poterti chiedere se ci sono dei bambini suicidi che vogliono uscire dal loro mondo irreale per fuggire nei loro sogni, se sanno che la felicità esiste e se sanno distinguere la bellezza.’³

I motivi menzionati dall'amico dell'autrice: la bellezza, la felicità, il sogno, il racconto, il linguaggio, sono i punti cardinali attorno ai quali la Morante costruirà un discorso, lungo tutta la vita, sul bambino. Nelle opere morantiane l'infanzia diviene tema centrale, in quanto modo d'essere, di operare e di conoscere la realtà.

I personaggi vengono seguiti, talvolta, dai primi anni di vita fino alla morte, svelando progressivamente il ruolo che nell'esistenza possono avere il patrimonio genetico da un lato e l'impatto dell'ambiente dall'altro. La crescita è vista quale *inculturazione*, il processo che in antropologia viene definito come acquisizione di valori e di scale interpretative della realtà determinata dall'ambiente sociale. In quest'ottica, l'azione dei personaggi si svela come fortemente predeterminata. I moventi delle vicende risiedono in gran parte, a rispetto del pensiero freudiano, nell'infanzia. Proprio per tale motivo la narratrice di *Menzogna e sortilegio*, Elisa, volendo guarire dal morbo familiare della menzogna, va alla ricerca della verità nel passato, ovvero nella propria, e altrui, infanzia.

L'autrice fornisce un ritratto dell'infanzia a tutto tondo, ricoprendo l'intervallo cronologico dalla nascita all'adolescenza. Nel primo romanzo la narratrice ventenne racconta la storia della sua famiglia, soffermandosi al periodo che intercorre tra i sei e i nove anni, nel secondo viene raccontata la pubertà di Arturo, partendo dall'età di dodici anni circa, per raggiungere i sedici. *La Storia* racconta parallelamente la crescita di Nino, dettagliata soprattutto nel periodo dell'adolescenza e nel passaggio alla giovinezza, e quella di Useppe, dalla nascita ai sei anni. In *Aracoeli* l'autrice si spinge ancora più in là, soffermandosi su un ricordo del protagonista risalente ai primi mesi di vita.

³ Lettera di Sergio Gajardo a Elsa Morante, 22 giugno 1955, Wurzburg in *L'amata. Lettere di e a Elsa Morante* a cura di MORANTE D. e ZAGRA G., Torino, Einaudi, 2012, pp.121,311.

Mentre sulla presenza dell'analisi psicanalitica la critica letteraria è concorde, nessuno fa cenno della teoria di Erik Erikson⁴, che la Morante per molti versi sembra anticipare. Già in *Menzogna e sortilegio* l'intervallo di vita narrata include la senilità e la morte. Elsa Morante non si ferma a un'analisi psicanalitica che confina lo sviluppo dell'individuo alla prima crescita, ma segue lo sviluppo dei personaggi dopo la gioventù (Anna), dopo la maturità (Manuele), nella vecchiaia (Cesira). La psicologia del personaggio resta malleabile per tutta la vita: l'ultima prova ne è Manuele Muñoz Muñoz in *Araceli*.

Ma Morante non fornisce soltanto una narrazione biografica dei suoi personaggi, soffermandosi sull'infanzia come su una delle fasi della vita: a questo periodo l'autrice volge lo sguardo malinconico di chi si è allontanato da un Eden ormai irrimediabilmente perduto. Nonostante alcuni critici mettano una linea di demarcazione netta tra *L'isola di Arturo* e le opere successive, sostenendo che il romanzo procidano costituisca l'ultimo tentativo di recuperare una felicità lontana nel tempo, in realtà alla stesura del secondo romanzo non farà seguito un atto di rinuncia. Morante vi si avvicinerà fra le righe de *La Storia*, scandagliando ancora una volta la psicologia dei ragazzi e dei bambini, e non vi si rassegnerà nemmeno con *Araceli*. Il finale di morte de *La Storia* sarà una denuncia sociale, ma non per questo il binomio infanzia-felicità verrà a cadere. L'ultimo romanzo comporterà radicali cambiamenti stilistici, ma in fondo conterrà ancora quella volontà di tornare indietro, questa volta per comprendere il passato e guarire dalla solitudine del presente.

Nemmeno parlando di autobiografismo/biografismo e di ritorno ad un Paradiso perduto si esauriscono tutte le prospettive da cui Morante parla dell'infanzia. I punti di vista sull'infanzia che Francesco Orlando ha chiamato "sguardo all'indietro", riferendosi all'adulto rivolto alle memorie del passato, e "sguardo dal basso", in riferimento all'ottica del bambino, nelle opere di Elsa Morante non occupano spazi separati. Due prospettive diametralmente opposte si ricongiungono nei suoi romanzi, mutando di continuo la focalizzazione interna del discorso e offrendo un affresco completo del mondo del bambino. Il lettore in alcuni punti della narrazione si sente come un adulto con cui la voce narrante sta scorrendo sull'ingenuità infantile, mentre, in altri passi, si ritrova, come ne *La Storia*, a cavalcioni sulle spalle di Nino, a osservare il mondo con la visuale preclusa dai suoi folti capelli ricci.

La presa di coscienza e l'assottigliarsi della razionalità in Elsa Morante non hanno mai spento quel meraviglioso modo di vedere il mondo dei bambini. Forse

⁴Erik Erikson, psicologo dello sviluppo e psicanalista tedesco, supera le teorie del maestro Freud elaborando la teoria dello sviluppo psicosociale. Conia il termine "crisi d'identità" e reputa che lo sviluppo dell'identità individuale non si concluda nell'infanzia ma duri tutta la vita.

era proprio questo il suo più grande conflitto interiore, sentirsi romanziera con straordinarie capacità analitiche, e voler conservare la meraviglia dei poeti, dei bambini, dei 'semplici', di coloro che si esprimono in altri modi.

Conclude Sergio Gajardo:

'Vorrei poterti raccontare di giocattoli, del colore dei dolci, dei rumori misteriosi parlarti del genio l'incanto, di bambini in «petit-pas» (...) So che ci sono dei bambini folli, so che siamo forse noi questi bambini. Soffro molto quando vedo la realtà dei grandi.'⁵

2. La solitudine nell'infanzia

Dall'analisi del *dramatis personae* dei romanzi morantiani emerge un curioso rapporto tra bambini e società. I più piccoli sono quasi sempre soli o in compagnia di adulti: attorno a loro raramente compaiono altri bambini.

In relazione a *Menzogna e sortilegio* si può far riferimento all'infanzia di Anna, trascorsa prevalentemente assieme ai genitori:

'L'infanzia di Anna trascorreva solitaria: ella non era mai stata a scuola, accontentandosi di qualche impaziente lezione (...) L'intransigenza sociale di Cesira le aveva impedito pure di legarsi con gli scolari che frequentavano la casa, o coi figli dei vicini; e del resto, l'orgoglio e il disprezzo sociale erano il solo sentimento su cui madre e figlia si trovavano d'accordo. Era accaduto perciò che, in quella sua solitaria infanzia senza compagni, la fugace visione del cugino, ravvivata dai suoi pensieri, aveva continuato ad abitare la memoria di Anna.'⁶

L'amore ossessivo di Anna, pietra miliare del romanzo, motore di tutta la vicenda, viene attivato proprio dalla solitudine, compagna della fantasia. L'immaginazione come strumento di difesa avvicina Anna ad Elisa, la figlia che riempirà i vuoti delle sue giornate con "santi, sultani e capitani" estrapolati da assidue letture e proiettati nelle storie da lei inventate.

Prima di Anna ed Elisa, pure Cesira non aveva relazioni affettive con i suoi coetanei. In perpetua battaglia con le sorelle, non aveva nessuna amica al di fuori della gallina Armida.

Altri passi nei quali questa sconfinata solitudine infantile si può leggere con chiarezza sono quelli legati alla protagonista. Il racconto dell'infanzia di Elisa

⁵ Lettera di Sergio Gajardo a Elsa Morante, 22 giugno 1955, Wurzburg in *L'amata. Lettere di e a Elsa Morante* a cura di MORANTE D. e ZAGRA G., Torino, Einaudi, 2012:pp.121,311.

⁶ MORANTE E., *Menzogna e sortilegio*, Torino, Einaudi, 2014:p.92.

è incentrato sul desiderio della bambina di procurarsi l'amore di una madre distante e indifferente. Non viene fatta menzione di incontri con altri bambini. Tuttalpiù si parla di gioco, ma anche in quel caso Elisa si sente inibita, notando la disapprovazione materna:

‘Avvertivo infatti il disprezzo di lei per la piccolezza e frivolezza di noi bambini: e mi vergognavo di giocare, sperando oscuramente, col rinunciarvi, d’acquistare stima ai suoi occhi.’⁷

Elisa, quindi, appare una bambina solitaria, le cui eventuali, ipotetiche, amicizie scolastiche non risultano tanto importanti da venir annoverate tra i fattori che condizionano e formano la sua storia ed identità. La sua emarginazione si farà ancora più marcata a partire dal decimo anno di età, quando resterà orfana di entrambi i genitori. La situazione psicologica dell’orfanità, come sottolineato da Barenghi per *La Storia*, viene ampiamente analizzata dall’autrice in tutti i suoi romanzi.⁸

È orfano di madre pure il protagonista de *L’isola di Arturo*, un ragazzo che vive la solitudine come una condizione naturale. In quest’ottica, per Arturo ogni occasione di vicinanza paterna viene percepita come una misericordiosa concessione:

‘Così, io trascorrevo quasi tutti i miei giorni in assoluta solitudine; e questa solitudine, cominciata per me nella prima infanzia (con la partenza del mio balio Silvestro), mi pareva la mia condizione naturale. Consideravo ogni soggiorno di mio padre sull’isola come una grazia straordinaria da parte di lui, una concessione particolare, della quale ero superbo.’⁹

Il bambino vede gli incontri sociali come eccezioni, casi che esulano dalla “norma di natura”. Per Arturo, l’unica compagnia è quella degli animali, e, in particolare, di Immacolatella, la cagnetta con la quale instaura una profonda intesa.

Oltre all’affetto degli animali, a facilitare il superamento della solitudine e dell’isolamento è l’orditura di illusioni. Scrive l’italianista Sonia Bertolotti in *Musical icons and barbaric jewels in the narrative of Elsa Morante*:

‘Vivendo in ambienti remoti ed isolati (...) senza amici con i quali condividere le esperienze e le emozioni dei loro anni, i giovani dei romanzi morantiani fuggono dalla realtà e compensano la necessità di essere amati, una necessità tendente all’inedia patologica, attraverso le illusioni. All’interno di queste illusioni i ragazzi proiettano sé stessi e gli idoli da loro venerati (madri/padri);

⁷ MORANTE E., *op.cit.*, p.441.

⁸ BARENGHI M., *Tutti i nomi di Usepe. Saggio sui personaggi della «Storia» di Elsa Morante* in “Studi Novecenteschi”, Vol.28., No. 62 (dicembre 2001), p.378.

⁹ MORANTE E., *L’isola di Arturo*, Torino, Einaudi, 1957:p.27.

le illusioni vengono usate come strumenti di conoscenza e, nel fallimento di tale tentativo, come sostituti della realtà stessa.¹⁰

Elisa supera la condizione di solitudine popolando la sua stanza di figure fantasiose capaci di tenerle compagnia, Arturo, invece, immagina la *tenda orientale*, una madre sempre presente all'interno della natura che lo circonda. Per i protagonisti queste illusioni sono più reali della 'realtà' effettiva, anzi, costituiscono la loro unica 'realtà'. Il mondo fantastico in cui finiscono per segregarsi viene a sua volta alimentato dalla solitudine, ovvero dall'impossibilità di paragonare la propria visione del mondo a quella degli altri. Infatti, è proprio il primo e unico incontro con l'altro (o, piuttosto, l'altra), ne *L'isola di Arturo*, a portare alla disgregazione dell'illusione.

Arturo e Nunziata sono due ragazzi le cui vite sono intrecciate con la solitudine, anche se in periodi diversi: per Arturo è solitaria l'infanzia sull'isola, per Nunziata l'isolamento ha inizio con il congedo dell'infanzia, ovvero l'arrivo su Procida. È proprio l'uscita di Nunziata da questa condizione a portare il cambiamento. A seguito della nascita di Carmine Arturo viene spezzata la concezione della solitudine come condizione naturale. Agli occhi del protagonista si palesa una realtà diversa dalla sua, l'altrettanto naturale compagnia tra madre e figlio. Nemmeno Nunziata è più sola. Dinanzi all'alternativa, la situazione di Arturo comincia a mostrarsi psicologicamente insostenibile: anche lui avrebbe voluto per sé i vezzeccamenti e le carezze materne, anche a lui sarebbe piaciuto avere una madre che lo amasse incondizionatamente. La scoperta dell'alternativa comporta per Arturo l'ingresso nell'adolescenza, e quindi l'abbandono, sia metaforico che letterale, di un'isola felice. Procida, così, oltre ad essere emblema dell'infanzia e della felicità, come ha sostenuto l'autrice stessa, diventa per Arturo stendardo della solitudine.

L'assenza di una vita sociale caratterizzata dallo scambio del bimbo con i suoi coetanei non viene a mancare nemmeno ne *La Storia*. Il piccolo Usepppe, così felice della compagnia degli adulti e degli amici di Nino, nel momento in cui deve socializzare con i bambini della sua età, si blocca:

‘Come già coi suoi compagni di scuola, invero, così pure adesso era lui medesimo che si segregava dagli altri (...) dovunque si trovasse, Usepppe si teneva lontano

¹⁰ Trad. libera di: “Living in sequestered and isolated environments (...) with no friends to share the experiences and emotions of their years, the youths of Morante’s novels escape from reality and compensate their need of love, verging on pathological starvation, through their illusions. Into these illusions they project themselves and the idols they worship (mother/father); the illusions are used as means of knowledge and, failing that, as a substitute for reality itself.” in BERTOLOTTI S., *Musical icons and barbaric jewels in the narrative of Elsa Morante*, Roma, Ellemme, 1989: pp.8–9.

dagli altri ragazzetti e dai loro divertimenti. Se uno di loro gli diceva: vuoi giocare? lui scappava via senza nessuna spiegazione.¹¹

Le radici di questo insistente motivo nella scrittura della Morante possono venir rintracciate nell'opera autobiografica *Aneddoti infantili*, un resoconto giocoso e ironico dei più lontani ricordi dell'autrice. Dal testo emerge la figura di una bambina dispettosa e simpatica, testarda e perspicace. Una ragazzina che, se da un lato va orgogliosa della sua genialità e della superiorità creativa ed intellettuale che la distingue dai compagni, dall'altra sente la pressione del suo talento e delle restrizioni che questo provoca alla sua infanzia:

‘Vedevo i ginocchi delle mie compagne sporchi di terra, i graziosi polpacchi rossi di Marcella Péliissier, e me stessa lontana da tutti, in un'ombra nera e piena di lampi, un fenomeno della creazione. Mia madre raccontava, traboccante di legittima baldanza, che all'età di due anni e mezzo, girando intorno alla tavola, avevo composto il mio primo poema in versi sciolti. Ed io covavo un empio rancore contro di lei, che aveva partorito un simile prodigio.’¹²

La genialità si rivela per Elsa Morante bambina un dono e nel contempo un peso, un vanto ma anche un sacrificio. L'autrice, a distanza di anni, esprimendo il suo pensiero attraverso la voce dei bambini, cercherà ancora una volta di fuggire dalla *pesanteur*, da quell'eccessiva serietà che, in realtà, caratterizzava pure i giorni dell'infanzia.¹³

I personaggi morantiani manterranno l'orgoglio della scrittrice, ma sveleranno anche il sostanziale desiderio di avvicinarsi all'altro, per quanto ‘semplice’, di amare e di essere riamati. Si concluderà così il passo sulla solitudine di Usepe:

‘Eppure, a certe occhiate che dava, non aveva l'aria di un misantropo. E mentre si appartava dalle compagnie, volgeva ogni tanto, in direzione degli altri, un sorrisetto istintivo, che involontariamente offriva e chiedeva amicizia.’¹⁴

È forse, però, è proprio attraverso questa dimensione solitaria e alienata dell'infanzia che Morante riesce a esplorare altre forme di prossimità e comunicazione con il prossimo, oltrepassando la sfera logocentrica. Espressioni di una semiotica del fanciullo che supera le barriere del pensiero astratto suggerendo un ricongiungimento dell'individuo al vivente nella sua dimensione corporea.

¹¹ MORANTE E., *La Storia*, Torino, Einaudi, 1974:p.457.

¹² MORANTE E., *Aneddoti infantili*, Torino, Einaudi, 2013:p.4.

¹³ “L'anima mia, nera d'orgoglio e di sprezzo, era in realtà quanto esiste di più avvillito.” in MORANTE E., *Aneddoti infantili*, Torino, Einaudi, 2013:p.3.

¹⁴ MORANTE E., *La Storia*, Torino, Einaudi, 1974:p.457.

3. La semiotica del fanciullo

Un aspetto dell'infanzia cui Elsa Morante dedica notevole attenzione è l'apprendimento del linguaggio, processo che nelle pagine dei suoi romanzi viene circondato da un'aura fiabesca. Se di questo possiamo riscontrare alcuni esempi in *Menzogna e sortilegio* e ne *L'isola di Arturo*, ne *La Storia* le sue tracce proliferano. Per Usepe la scoperta del mondo attraverso il linguaggio procede a poco a poco e tutte le fasi ne vengono scrupolosamente illustrate dall'autrice.

Dal primo all'ultimo romanzo si ha una graduale intensificazione di riferimenti linguistici, discendendo verso sempre più tenere età: si parte dal vocabolario di Elisa ed Arturo, di età tra i nove e i quattordici anni, per assistere all'apprendimento del linguaggio di Usepe, nel periodo di crescita tra i due e i sei anni, giungendo, infine, con *Araceli*, alla semiotica dei neonati. Quanto più l'autrice retrocede cronologicamente, tanto più si approfondisce la sua ricerca, addensandosi di significati.

In *Menzogna e sortilegio* viene narrato l'episodio in cui Elisa, sentendo nominare il collega del padre col titolo di "cavaliere", fraintende il significato della parola, facendo subito dell'impiegato un personaggio fantastico:

'Non molto esperta di onorificenze, io ritenevo che un cavaliere fosse di necessità un personaggio uso ad andare a cavallo. E rifuggendo, per il mio carattere scontroso, dal fare domande agli adulti, rimasi ferma nella mia convinzione: sì che la subdola, arcana autorità di cui nella mia fantasia avevo rivestito il vecchio impiegato, s'accrebbe al pensiero della sua cavalcatura. Egli m'apparve dritto in arcioni su una bestia a sua somiglianza allampanata, gigantesca, livida (...) Tale, dico, egli m'apparve non solo nel pensiero desto, ma anche nel sogno. Dove, in forma d'incubo pauroso, m'inseguiva attraverso pianure (...) spazi burrascosi, incerti, e interrotti da nebbie alte come mura (...)'¹⁵

L'autrice così sottolinea un aspetto peculiare della psicologia dell'infanzia: nelle crepe d'incertezza non colmate dalla ragione si insinua immediatamente la fantasia. Più avanti, la narratrice commenta la necessità di menzionare quest'episodio, di per sé innocuo e trascurabile, in quanto esercita non poca influenza sulla sua immaginazione. Le parole nella mente del bambino si caricano di significati favolosi che, proprio a causa della loro natura misteriosa, finiscono con l'influenzarli più della 'realtà' stessa. Avviene così che, alla notizia della morte del padre, Elisa immagina ancora una volta quel "cavaliere" chinato sul corpo dell'uomo ferito, con un maligno sorriso. Negli studi di psicologia cognitiva di Jean Piaget, il processo utilizzato

¹⁵ MORANTE E., *Menzogna e sortilegio*, Torino, Einaudi, 2014: p.509.

da Elisa nell'apprendimento viene denominato *assimilazione* – l'incorporazione di nuovi oggetti o eventi in uno schema cognitivo già acquisito. Ciò che, invece, nella bambina sarebbe dovuto accadere affinché aggiungesse un significato nuovo alla parola “cavaliere” prende il nome di *accomodamento*, processo più faticoso del primo, che implica la modifica di schemi cognitivi già esistenti.¹⁶ Nel caso di Elisa, poiché l'accomodamento non è potuto avvenire (non avendo lei chiesto chiarimenti al padre), l'impiegato Caboni è stato semplicemente accostato ad una categoria semantica già esistente.

In parte simile a quello appena citato è l'episodio descritto dall'autrice ne *L'isola di Arturo*, in cui il protagonista, passeggiando per Procida, sente la gente far riferimento a suo padre con l'appellativo di “bastardo”,¹⁷ insulto fino a quel momento a lui sconosciuto. Pure qui il termine nuovo viene decodificato dal bambino in base a conoscenze preesistenti. Diversamente dal caso di Elisa, però, questa volta il significato viene veicolato più dal sentimento che dall'immaginazione.

Arturo ha una precisa e irremovibile opinione del padre, visto come “valoroso eroe”. Pertanto, da parte sua, un nome rivolto a Wilhelm non può essere inteso altrimenti che come “un titolo di autorità e prestigio”.¹⁸ L'interpretazione del linguaggio è strettamente legata al modo di sentire del bambino, alla sua venerazione del padre.

Ma il linguaggio non si esterna soltanto con modalità verbale, anzi, i bambini sentono più vicina, perché immediata, la dimensione corporea della comunicazione. Nell'interpretazione del linguaggio del corpo, Arturo applica le sue prime deduzioni: evocando nella memoria episodi passati in cui il padre ha fatto una certa espressione, riesce a prevedere il suo comportamento successivo. Durante una discussione tra padre e figlio, nonostante l'iniziale scontro di Wilhelm, ad un certo punto il ragazzo incontra sul suo volto il preavviso dell'affabilità: “Sorrise, e io riconobbi in quel sorriso favoloso che mi ricordava l'espressione delle capre e che già un'altra volta era stato il primo segnale delle sue confidenze”.¹⁹

Un altro personaggio che sarà fortemente legato all'espressività corporea, come strumento per connettersi a tutte le altre creature della natura sarà Useppe de *La Storia*. Per lui il rapporto tra mondo e linguaggio verrà filtrato da un'antica saggezza.

¹⁶ Cfr. VIZEK-VIDOVIĆ V., RIJAVEC M., VLAHOVIĆ-ŠTETIĆ V., MILJKOVIĆ D., *Psihologija obrazovanja*, Zagreb, IEP-Vern, 2003.

¹⁷ Il motivo del padre criticato e deriso dai concittadini, questa volta con il soprannome “il gobbetto”, ritorna nel racconto breve *Il ladro di lumi*, contenuto nella raccolta *Lo scialle andaluso*. Un'altra figura analoga è il “butterato” di *Menzogna e sortilegio*.

¹⁸ MORANTE E., *L'isola di Arturo*, Torino, Einaudi, 1957:p.27.

¹⁹ MORANTE, *op.cit.*, p.57.

La storia del piccolo romano è carica di sottintesi riferiti ad un'esperienza vissuta dall'autrice poco dopo la pubblicazione de *L'isola di Arturo* e custodita ed elaborata nel decennio che la separava dalla stesura del romanzo successivo.

Il viaggio in India assieme a Moravia e Pasolini nel 1961, è per Elsa Morante il momento di incontro con una spiritualità e un pensiero filosofico che costituiranno la sostanza basilare delle opere a venire. Come ribadito da Rossanna Dedola, l'autrice si confronta con il bramanesimo, il buddismo, l'induismo, non per percepirla fuggevolmente, "sentirne l'odore" come Pasolini, ma per farli propri.²⁰

Il piccolo Usepe viene paragonato da molti critici, tra cui la scrittrice Agnese Grieco, ad un piccolo Buddha, il Buddha successivo al risveglio.²¹

L'apprendimento del linguaggio da parte di Usepe è intriso della filosofia del Siddharta Gautama: lui riesce a trovare la somiglianza, l'origine semiotica comune, delle cose più disparate. Riesce perfino a vedere una stella in uno sputo, e 'ttella (stella) sarà proprio una delle sue prime parole:

'Una delle prime parole che imparò fu *ttelle* (stelle). Però chiamava *ttelle* anche le lampadine di casa, i derelitti fiori che Ida portava da scuola, i mazzi di cipolle appesi, perfino le maniglie delle porte, e in seguito anche le rondini. Poi quando imparò la parola *dondini* (rondini) chiamava *dondini* pure i suoi calzerottini stesi a asciugare su uno spago. E a riconoscere una nuova *ttella* (che magari era una mosca sulla parete) o una nuova *dondine*, partiva ogni volta in una gloria di risatine, piene di contentezza e di accoglienza, come se incontrasse una persona della famiglia.'²²

Il riferimento al modo in cui Usepe apprende il linguaggio, ovviamente, non è soltanto un espediente di comicità. Il bambino ne *La Storia* diventa depositario di quell'antica saggezza orientale che vede la radice comune di ogni cosa al mondo. Ogni scoperta di Usepe risveglia nuove analogie, fino a fargli scoprire l'uniformità, l'identità del tutto.

Per suggerire questa chiave interpretativa Morante offre particolare attenzione all'onomastica del *dramatis personae*. Come osservato da Barengi, i nomi nel romanzo si ripetono in maniera quasi esasperata, ponendo allo stesso livello personaggi di ranghi diversi: Usepe, Giuseppe Primo, Giuseppe Secondo, il

²⁰ DEDOLA R., *Un leone con la pelliccia d'oro: Elsa Morante e l'India* in «*Nacqui nell'ora amara del meriggio*». *Scritti per Elsa Morante nel centenario della nascita* a cura di CARDINALE E. e ZAGRA G., Roma, Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Roma, 2013:p.204.

²¹ Il risveglio del Buddha storico, Siddhartha Gautama, risale, secondo la tradizione, al momento in cui il fondatore del buddismo, seduto sotto ad un antico fico sacro (l'albero della Bodhi), avrebbe raggiunto il *nirvana*.

²² MORANTE E., *La Storia*, Torino, Einaudi, 1974:p.120.

nonno Giuseppe, i lucherini Peppiniello e Peppiniella; poi Nino, Antonio, Ninuzza. Personaggi principali, personaggi secondari, comparse, vengono uniti da un filo invisibile carico di significato simbolico. Tale simbolismo, allusivo alla radice comune del vivente, viene instaurato già nel rapporto tra biografia e scrittura, tant'è vero che i nomi dei personaggi principali dei romanzi morantiani – come Arturo o Useppe – corrispondono ai nomi dei suoi gatti.²³

Secondo Barengghi, il coagulo onomastico accompagnerebbe la facilità di intesa tra i personaggi, l'amichevole scambio comunicativo, il senso di una condizione condivisa:

'Qual è la funzione di tali omonimie? Penso non si vada lontano dal vero supponendo che la comunanza del nome evochi la comune identità creaturale, e, di conseguenza, il possibile contatto affettivo.'²⁴

Oltre al contatto affettivo, si può marcare il concetto di *identità creaturale*: tutte le parole imparate da Buddha-Useppe, compresi i nomi, contengono in sé la carica semantica di quest'identità. Useppe, Giuseppe Primo, Zi Peppe, vanno ricondotti alla medesima sostanza esistenziale. Da un parallelismo proposto da Rossana Dedola, emerge che lo spiritualismo orientale di Simone Weil, autrice letta ed apprezzata dalla Morante, porti la filosofa francese ad affermare: "Avendo meditato la dolcezza e la pietà, ho dimenticato la differenza tra me e gli altri". Parimenti, Elsa Morante comprende la necessità dell'uomo di "essere tutti gli altri".²⁵

Secondo Betulla Arci Biffoni la rivelazione del linguaggio per Useppe è la scoperta di suoni piacevoli, che vengono a loro volta legati ad una realtà che procura piacere.²⁶ Quella di Useppe è una scoperta che testimonia la mancata conoscenza dei bambini delle categorie di "pulito" e "sporco", categorie sempre moralisticamente colorate.²⁷ A proposito delle amicizie canine di Useppe scrive l'autrice:

²³ Cfr. PORCIANI E., *Elsa Morante, la vita nella scrittura*, Carocci, Roma 2024. Si veda anche DI ROSA R., "Divenire animale": divenire Elisa. *La centralità del gatto Alvaro in Menzogna e sortilegio di Elsa Morante*, «Carte italiane», 2, 20, 2015:p.90.

²⁴ BARENGHI M., *Tutti i nomi di Useppe. Saggio sui personaggi della «Storia» di Elsa Morante* in "Studi Novecenteschi", Vol.28., No. 62 (dicembre 2001), p.168.

²⁵ DEDOLA R., *Un leone con la pelliccia d'oro: Elsa Morante e l'India* in «Nacqui nell'ora amara del meriggio». *Scritti per Elsa Morante nel centenario della nascita* a cura di CARDINALE E. e ZAGRA G., Roma, Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Roma, 2013:p.204.

²⁶ ARCI BIFFONI B., *I semplici di Elsa Morante. Una "via" a "La Storia"*, Udine, Società Dante Alighieri - Comitato di Udine, 1998:p.48.

²⁷ Su questo versante, Morante pur ribadendo la centralità del sentimento religioso per la sua poetica, inteso primariamente nei termini dell'altruismo e della disponibilità verso il prossimo, sottolinea anche il suo amoralismo, ovvero il tentativo di sospendere il giudizio morale. Cfr. BARBATO A., *Attraverso occhi adolescenti riesce a individuare la realtà*, «Il Giorno», 4 settembre 1963.

‘Ma non di rado uno speciale tripudio gli faceva fremere tutti i muscoli, accendendogli le pupille d’un’allegria avventata, confusa di nostalgie... Era quando vedeva un cane: di qualsiasi classe, padronale o di nessuno, e fosse anche bruttissimo, storto o rognoso.’²⁸

Useppe è felice di ogni manifestazione della vita e della natura, è felice di tutti gli incontri – pretesti di amicizia, e qualora subentri un alone di tristezza nel suo sguardo, questo è destinato a scomparire a breve. Egli, sottolinea l’italianista Angela Borghesi, è come l’eremita Milarepa nel *Canto delle cinque felicità*.²⁹

‘Sono felice del duro cuscino sotto di me,
sono felice della tela di cotone sopra di me,
sono felice della corda di meditazione che stringe le mie ginocchia,
sono felice di questo corpo illusorio, equanime nella sazietà e nella fame,
sono felice che la mia mente scruti (la realtà ultima),
Io non sono infelice, sono felice.’³⁰

La felicità di Useppe è anche il connubio di lingua simbolica del padre e lingua segnica della madre, che in lui trovano il perfetto equilibrio. Nell’ultimo romanzo, invece, l’attenzione dell’autrice viene rivolta prevalentemente all’espressione della corporalità. Si ha, nel contempo, un ulteriore sviluppo nel campo dell’apprendimento linguistico, il cui inizio viene fatto risalire all’esperienza dell’allattamento.

In *Aracoeli* il contrasto tra due diversi sistemi di significanza appare più marcato, in quanto viene messo in evidenza il processo opposto all’apprendimento della lingua del padre. Si ha una “regressione” da parte di chi già padroneggia il *logos* e ora lo disimpara. La distinzione introdotta da Morante non è solo quella visibile in superficie, tra la lingua italiana – connessa nell’esperienza del protagonista all’imborghesimento, alla vita dei Quartieri Alti di Roma – e la lingua spagnola – avvolta dal mistero e dalla meraviglia “selvatica” di Almendral. Se la lingua spagnola della madre, Aracoeli, è ricordata dal protagonista come parte integrante di quel mito d’infanzia, Morante introduce una suddivisione ancora più radicale: quella tra linguaggio corporeo e linguaggio verbale, dimensione sensibile e dimensione logocentrica.

Manuele Gragnolati propone l’accostamento del testo morantiano alla teoria della *chora semiotica* formulata da Julia Kristeva in *La rivoluzione del linguaggio poetico* (1975). Kristeva, spiega lo studioso, teorizza una dimensione pre-linguistica di significazione nella quale si comincia a costituire la soggettività umana.

²⁸ MORANTE E., *La Storia*, Torino, Einaudi, 1974:p.458.

²⁹ Componimento incluso nei *Centomila canti di Milarepa*, uno dei più importanti libri del buddismo tantrico.

³⁰ *Canto delle cinque felicità* in BORGHESI A., *Una storia invisibile*, Macerata, Quodlibet srl, 2015:p.54.

La corporalità della madre comunica attraverso l'emozione, percepita dal neonato tramite la voce. Il sapore del latte si fonde con la musicalità della voce, creando i primi significanti nella mente del bambino. Scrive Cristina Benussi:

'La madre comunica sensazioni positive o negative attraverso il tono della voce e il ritmo del parlare, elementi che nella ricezione infantile hanno più importanza rispetto al significato delle parole. (...) La *chora* non ha parole, ma è semiotica perché il legame con il corpo della madre è ritmato da tensioni affettive, prefigura una scansione che distingue già una presenza o un'assenza di emotività, porta con sé un minimo d'informazione e dunque partecipa già della natura del segno linguistico.³¹

Rievocando le memorie della sua prima infanzia, Manuele rivede la madre nell'atto di cullarlo e allattarlo, cantandogli canzoncine di paese in spagnolo. Di quei suoni il neonato non intende il significato logico, eppure, le parole, fondendosi al sapore del latte, riescono a fornirgli un messaggio d'affetto e protezione indenne al trascorrere del tempo. Proprio la possibilità di accedere alla *chora semiotica* in qualsiasi periodo della vita costituisce, secondo Gragnolati, la novità di Elsa Morante rispetto alla filosofa francese. Julia Kristeva, infatti, sosteneva che in seguito all'apprensione della grammatica, riconducibile ai due anni di età, l'individuo non potesse più far ritorno a quella dimensione. Scrive Gragnolati:

'Mentre Kristeva presuppone così una cesura necessaria tra semiotico e simbolico (senza la quale si formerebbe un soggetto psicotico), con Totetaco Morante sembra ipotizzare la possibilità di un'evoluzione linguistica diversa, che sia affettiva, relazionale, e non segnata dalla perdita della tessitura corporea e desiderante sviluppata nello spazio materno dell'allattamento.³²

Con l'ingresso di Manuele nei Quartieri Alti, la discorsività libera e naturale dello spagnolo (per lui sempre lingua priva di significato logico) veniva soppiantata dalla soggettività, la grammatica e l'ordine che, invece, caratterizzavano l'apprendimento dell'italiano. Pur effettuando il passaggio dalla lingua della madre a quella del padre, la prima non viene mai dimenticata, ma torna per rivendicare il proprio valore in momenti estremi, quali la depressione o la follia.

Manuele, scontento di una vita priva d'amore, riesce a ricordare quell'idioma. Aracoeli, perdendo la figliuola appena nata precipita nella disperazione, ed è allora che il suo corpo rigetta 'l'ordine del padre', facendo ritorno ad uno stato anarchico di natura. Infine, pure Eugenio, padre di Manuele, in seguito alla drammatica perdita della

³¹ BENUSSI C., *Cambiare il mondo*, Milano, Edizioni Unicopli, 2014:pp.84–85.

³² GRAGNOLATI M., *Amor che move. Linguaggio del corpo e forma del desiderio in Dante, Pasolini e Morante*, Milano, il Saggiatore, 2013:p.122.

moglie, sembra dimenticare l'ordine logico del linguaggio. Appena quando l'ordine del logos si mostra insufficiente per completare la realizzazione del sé o per far fronte alle emozioni, l'individuo comprende l'importanza di una lingua imparata alle origini.

4. Conclusione

L'infanzia è un nucleo centrale della poetica di Elsa Morante, predominante in tutte le sue opere, persino nel romanzo della fine, in cui torna a prevalere attraverso la dimensione della memoria. Nei romanzi morantiani la crescita è vista quale *inculturazione*, acquisizione di valori e griglie interpretative della realtà condizionate dall'ambiente, e i moventi delle vicende risiedono in gran parte, freudianamente, nell'infanzia. Il mondo dei fanciulli, o ragazzini per citare l'autrice, non rimane solo un tema narrativo, ma una vera e propria chiave interpretativa della realtà. Il binomio permanente nel percorso narrativo dell'autrice è quello dell'infanzia-felicità, anche laddove questa prima fase dell'esistenza è vissuta nell'isolamento e nella solitudine. I bambini morantiani, infatti, attraverso la forza dell'immaginazione e la capacità di un rapporto con il reale ancora incontaminato, privo di preconcezioni, riescono a superare anche gli aspetti più cupi dell'esperienza umana. Nella dimensione dell'infanzia Morante trova lo spazio per esplorare il campo semiotico e simbolico, superando barriere antropocentriche e riscoprendo un dialogo con il prossimo, uomo e animale, in forme non convenzionali e spesso non verbali. Le rappresentazioni dell'infanzia diventano così il punto di vista a partire dal quale l'autrice, muovendosi tra autobiografia, osservazione disincantata del reale e immaginazione, riesce a restituire un pensiero di respiro universale: quello di un'esistenza che, vacillando tra la gioia e la tragicità, la meraviglia e la disillusione, nasconde le radici di una verità più autentica nella voce dei bambini.

Bibliografia

1. Arci Bifoni, B. (1998) *I semplici di Elsa Morante. Una "via" a "La Storia"*. Udine, Società Dante Alighieri - Comitato di Udine.
2. Barbato, A. (1963) Attraverso occhi adolescenti riesce a individuare la realtà. *Il Giorno*, 4 settembre 1963.
3. Barenghi, M. (2001) Tutti i nomi di Usepe. Saggio sui personaggi della «Storia» di Elsa Morante. *Studi Novecenteschi*, 28 (62).
4. Benussi, C. (2014) *Cambiare il mondo*. Milano, Edizioni Unicopli.
5. Bertolotti, S. (1989) *Musical icons and barbaric jewels in the narrative of Elsa Morante*. Roma, Ellemme.

6. Dedola, R. (2013) Un leone con la pelliccia d'oro: Elsa Morante e l'India. «*Nacqui nell'ora amara del meriggio*». *Scritti per Elsa Morante nel centenario della nascita*, a cura di E. Cardinale, G. Zagra, Roma, Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Roma.
7. Di Rosa, R. (2015) «*Divenire animale*»: *divenire Elisa. La centralità del gatto Alvaro in Menzogna e sortilegio di Elsa Morante*, «*Carte italiane*», 20(2).
8. Morante, D., Zagra, G. (2012) *L'amata. Lettere di e a Elsa Morante*. Torino, Einaudi.
9. Morante, E. (1957) *L'isola di Arturo*. Torino, Einaudi.
10. Morante, E. (1974) *La Storia*. Torino, Einaudi.
11. Morante, E. (1982) *Aracoeli*. Torino, Einaudi.
12. Morante, E. (2013) *Aneddoti infantili*. Torino, Einaudi.
13. Morante, E. (2014) *Menzogna e sortilegio*. Torino, Einaudi.
14. Orlando, F. (2007) *Infanzia, memoria e storia da Rousseau ai romantici*. Pisa, Pacini.
15. Porciani, E. (2024) *Elsa Morante, la vita nella scrittura*. Roma, Carocci.
16. Vizek-Vidović, V., Rijavec, M., et al. (2003) *Psihologija obrazovanja*. Zagreb, IEP-Vern.

Martina Sanković Ivančić

Università degli studi di Fiume

REPRESENTATIONS OF CHILDHOOD IN ELSA MORANTE

Summary

This essay explores the representation of childhood in several major works by Elsa Morante, including *Menzogna e sortilegio*, *L'isola di Arturo*, *La Storia*, and *Aracoeli*. Through the child characters Elisa, Arturo, Useppa, and Manuele, Morante places childhood at the center of her literary vision, using it to reflect on human identity, vulnerability, and relationships. The study highlights how Morante portrays childhood not only as a phase of life but also as a space of sensitivity, openness, and exposure to difference. Particular attention is given to the themes of solitude and communication, showing how moments of isolation become occasions for exploring non-verbal and bodily forms of language. The essay also considers Morante's engagement with psychological and philosophical ideas concerning the development of identity and social experience, emphasizing the relevance of childhood as a key perspective for understanding both individual and collective dynamics in her works.

► **Keywords:** Elsa Morante, childhood, solitude, body, language.

Preuzeto: 25.9.2025.
Korigovano: 10.12.2025.
Prihvaćeno: 17.12.2025.

Elisa Martínez Garrido¹
ERFITEI. Facultad de Filología.
UCM.

16-18 OTTOBRE 1943 NELLA STORIA DI ELSA MORANTE: UN INFERNALE 'CRESCENDO'² TRAGICO DI P/PASSIONE

Riassunto: *L'articolo tenta di dimostrare come Elsa Morante, all'interno del punto 7 del capitolo ...1943 della Storia (1974) crea, attraverso le dieci microsequenze narrative dedicate alla cattura degli ebrei nella stazione Tiburtina di Roma, un crescendo tragico amplificato che commuove i lettori verso un sentimento di pietas universale. I diversi passaggi studiati presentano un ritmo incalzante, basato sulla repetitio lessicale dell'ambito vocale e acustico, fatto che, se da una parte rimanda all'inferno dantesco, dall'altra, attraverso l'insistenza corale, presenta dei verosimili risultati retorici e polifonici vicini all'oratorio sacro, tra cui spicca indubbiamente La Passione secondo Matteo di J. S. Bach, autore molto amato dalla scrittrice.*

Parole chiave: *retorica, poetica, musica, crescendo, deportazione ebraica, La Storia, Elsa Morante, Dante, Bach.*

1. Alcune riflessioni introduttive

Non è la mia intenzione entrare adesso nel dibattito critico dedicato all'attinenza de *La Storia* di Elsa Morante al genere storico; illustri studiosi prima di me hanno già scritto su un tale argomento (Rosa, 2014). Ad ogni modo, sebbene il romanzo morantiano del '74 non sia un 'vero' romanzo storico, tuttavia sembra evidente che la scrittrice volesse riflettere in esso sulla vita tragica degli innocenti, quelli

¹ elimarti@ucm.es

² Il senso figurato della parola crescendo significa aumento accentuato e progressivo d'intensità; si dice crescendo d'applausi, di urla, di fischi, <https://www.treccani.it>. Il crescendo è una figura retorica chiamata anche climax o gradazione ascendente, che, vicina all'amplificatio, consiste nel disporre le parole o concetti in ordine d'intensità, dal più debole al più forte. Lo scopo è creare un effetto di progressione che aumenta il pathos del testo (Lázaro Carreter, 1968; Mortara Garabelli, 1988).

che patirono il male e l'agonia dell'Europa durante la Seconda Guerra Mondiale (Morante, 1990a:p.LXXXV), nel tentativo di far sì che la crudeltà del potere, la banalità del male e della Storia non potessero schiacciare di nuovo la vita e la poesia.

In questo senso l'autrice nella *Storia* arriva a delle conclusioni simili a quelle della storiografia non ufficiale³ perché, ricordando la memoria delle vittime e la storia dei vinti, attraverso la tensione poetica e letteraria del suo testo, pretende di incidere sul presente e sul futuro. La memoria della Storia, crudele e violenta, nel romanzo mira pertanto verso una possibile futura 'redenzione', perché nell'opera del '74, Morante condensa gran parte del suo impegno etico e politico, chiaramente manifestato nel corso degli anni '70 (Martínez Garrido, 2016:pp.201–218).

In questo senso tutta *La Storia* può essere considerata una denuncia contro il male del potere, contro la forza e contro la distruzione, usata dall'esercito tedesco e dai suoi alleati contro i diversi personaggi umili che popolano la sua cronaca romana, durante il secondo conflitto bellico internazionale, soprattutto contro i suoi principali protagonisti, Ida e i diversi membri della sua famiglia: Nino, Usepe, Blitz, Bella e anche contro Carlo Vivaldi-Davide Segre, il poeta anarchico.

Di conseguenza, pur essendo vero che l'importanza della poesia, della felicità e della musica, principalmente tramite il personaggio di Usepe, consente di parlare anche di una possibile lettura felice del romanzo (Martínez Garrido, 2016:pp.149–173), aperto verso un piccolissimo spiraglio di speranza⁴, è anche certo che la desolazione, il dolore atroce della guerra e della morte segnano tutti i suoi capitoli.

In questa linea di studio sulla devastazione traumatica del terzo romanzo di Elsa Morante, spicca in modo particolare la narrazione della strage degli ebrei e della loro deportazione verso il Lager (Lucamante, 2012:pp.87–95), contenuta in modo particolare nel punto 7 del capitolo ...1943, uno dei momenti più tragici e luttuosi di tutto il testo, anche se la questione ebraica si trova presente nella *Storia* fin dal primo capitolo.

D'accordo con ciò che è stato appena detto, l'obiettivo di questo lavoro si incentra sull'analisi dell'elaborazione tragica e emozionale di tutto il passaggio dedicato al rastrellamento e deportazione degli ebrei romani durante le giornate dal 16 fino al 18 ottobre del 1943 (Morante, 1990a:pp.538–545), suddiviso in altre

³ Si pensi a Walter Benjamin e alle sue tesi sulla filosofia della storia. Il pensatore tedesco sapeva che la storia ufficiale racconta sempre quella dei vincitori, mai quella a dei vinti (Benjamin, 1982 [1940]:pp.59–61).

⁴ La nascita della nipotina di Ida: Ninuccia (Morante, 1990a:pp. 894-895), potrebbe, in un certo senso, essere considerata una possibile speranza verso il futuro.

dieci microsequenze. L'effetto empatico del testo è basato sull'uso della *repetitio* intensiva di parole appartenenti all'ambito semantico dell'acustica vocale; lungo le dieci microsequenze tematiche si sviluppa dunque un chiaro crescendo tonale e tragico, dedicato alla sofferenza ebraica.

La ripetizione ossessiva di lessemi come vocii, grida e gridi, urla ed urla, strilli, lamenti, cori, clamori, sostenuta nella diacronia narrativa dell'intera sezione, si rivela come un lamento o persino come un oratorio, impellente, di passione e di morte. Il crescendo delle voci delle vittime, in chiaro contrasto con il silenzio della Tiburtina di Roma e anche in opposizione all'indifferenza dei pochi lavoratori ferroviari presenti in essa, rivela, da un punto di vista patetico, lo strazio e la sofferenza estrema della comunità giudaica, rinchiusa nei treni merci, già sulla strada dei campi di sterminio.

2. L'annuncio della terribile notizia, il silenzio della Tiburtina e il clamore sentito attraverso i carri bestiame.

Appena iniziato il punto 7 del capitolo ...1943, la voce narrante della *Storia* informa 'obiettivamente' della notizia che si è sparsa attraverso tutta Roma, grazie al notiziario di radio Bari.

'Sabato (16 ottobre) tutti i giudii di Roma erano stati razziati all'alba, casa per casa, dai Germani, e caricati su camion verso destinazione ignota. Sul quartiere del Ghetto, svuotato interamente di tutta *carne*⁵ giudia, non c'era restato altro che lo *scheletro*; ma anche in tutti gli altri rioni o quartieri, tutti i giudii di Roma, singoli e famiglie, erano stati scovati dagli SS che erano venuti apposta con una compagnia speciale, fornita di un elenco esatto. Li avevano pigliati tutti: non soltanto i giovani e sani, ma gli *anziani*, gli *infermi pure gravi*, le *donne anche incinte*, e fino le *creature in fasciola*. Si diceva che li portassero tutti a bruciare vivi nei forni; ma questo a detta di Tore, forse era esagerato.' (Morante, 1990a:p.533)

L'avviso, sentito alla radio e riprodotto attraverso la voce della narratrice,⁶ comunica, in un modo in apparenza distaccato, la terribile strage. Ma malgrado l'apparente obiettività del brano, la scelta lessicale del sintagma 'carne giudia', contrapposta alla presenza di 'scheletro', pur facendo un riferimento metonimico allo svuotamento del ghetto di Roma, intensifica emozionalmente e deontologicamente la prima presentazione delle fatidiche giornate del 16 e 18 ottobre 1943.

⁵ Tutti i corsivi enfatici sono miei.

⁶ In molti punti del romanzo si sente una voce narrante al femminile (Morante, 1990a:p.992).

Inoltre, mediante il riferimento diretto alla carne, l'intervento della voce narrante ci riporta verso il capitolo anteriore in cui Giuseppe, insieme a Nino, guarda nella stessa stazione il vitellino rinchiuso nel carro bestiame sulla strada del mattatoio (Morante, 1990: p. 400). Perciò all'inizio del punto 7 del capitolo del ...1943 siamo già davanti a un'intensificazione e modulazione tragica della notizia stessa, quella che comincia a rinforzare nei lettori le attese devastanti riguardo alla deportazione degli ebrei, introducendo indirettamente la problematica del loro sacrificio; ci avviciniamo così verso una tonalità sacra e sublime, che intensifica il realismo del romanzo.

D'altronde alla fine del paragrafo appena citato si contrappone l'opinione di Tore (il personaggio che ha avuto accesso diretto alla notizia), incredulo davanti all'utilizzo dei forni crematori, e la realtà storica dei campi di sterminio, conosciuta già perfettamente dal pubblico lettore nel '74.

Questo primo annuncio prolettico riguardo alla strage ebraica compie quindi una doppia funzione all'interno del testo: ci fa ritornare al capitolo precedente per ricordare un'altra volta il dolore delle vittime, animali in questo caso, e allo stesso tempo comincia a aprire la strada sacrificale del destino giudaico. Il passaggio ci informa anche, dalla lontananza diegetica dell'enunciato, della crudeltà dei nazisti riguardo all'incarceramento di tutta la comunità ebraica: vecchi, persone gravemente malate, bambini appena nati e persino donne incinte sono presi dalle SS senza compassione verso la loro condizione di estrema vulnerabilità. In questo modo si comincia a favorire nel lettore la *pietas* di fronte alla sofferenza estrema delle vittime della *Shoah*.

Ma il testo sembra fermare il proseguimento della fatale notizia.

Allontanandosi parzialmente dallo svuotamento del ghetto, prosegue con l'inganno della protagonista davanti al pericolo, considerato da Ida una 'fiaba popolare' (Morante, 1990a:p.533), con due piccole menzioni alla sua condizione ebraica e a quella di Carlo-Davide (Morante, 1990a:pp.533,534) e con la riproduzione posteriore della citazione del *Cantico dei cantici*, fatta mentalmente dalla protagonista (Morante, 1990a:p.535). Questa serve come avviso della futura morte, imminente, degli ebrei, visti già da Ida come spiriti beati: 'Perfino questi poveri Giudii di tutta Roma, caricati sui camion Tedeschi, stanotte la salutavano come dei Beati⁷ che, all'insaputa loro e degli stessi Tedeschi, si avviavano, per una splendida turlupinatura, verso un regno orientale dove tutti sono bambini, senza coscienza né memoria.' (Morante, 1990a:p.535). In modo simbolico si insiste qui sul ripe-

⁷La scelta del nome beati, in questo caso scritto in maiuscola, ci porta verso un'agiografia sui generis, in un certo senso già presente in alcuni dei film pasoliniani, come Accatone (1961).

tuto annientamento del popolo ebraico e sul sentimento di appartenenza ad esso della stessa Ida, ripreso più tardi alla fine della settima microsequenza (Morante, 1990a:p.542).

Tuttavia, in sintonia con l'alternanza timbrica di tutto il romanzo, contrariamente al primo passaggio tragico del punto 7, il centro tematico della seguente micronarrazione è dedicato a un episodio allegro. Ida compra a Useppe un paio di *stivaletti fantasia* (Morante, 1990:p.537), troppo grandi, con cui il bambino, allegro, cammina a stento. Il sorriso e la comicità intorno a Useppe segnano questo breve passaggio che agisce da contrappunto alla situazione tragica anteriore, e fondamentalmente, a quella posteriore⁸.

Dopo la breve pausa di felicità, si riprende la strada della devastazione.

Ida in seguito alla spesa degli stivali, prima di ritornare a Pietralata, quasi involontariamente si avvia verso il ghetto. È lì dove comincia a profilarsi la reale tensione tragica di questa intera sezione, nell'incontro 'estraneo' tra Ida e la signora Di Segni (Morante, 1990a:p.538). Quest'ultima, impazzita e fuori di sé, quasi come un fantasma, è alla ricerca della sua famiglia; proprio in questo momento comincia la narrazione dal vivo della strage ebraica, intensificata dopo due pagine attraverso il dialogo diretto tra la stessa Di Segni con il marito e i loro figli; mediante le sue grida disperate sentiamo, *in situ*, il loro straziante destino.

La Signora di Segni apre, di conseguenza, la strada di Ida e di Useppe verso la conoscenza diretta dell'inferno razziale. Di Segni tira Ida a sé 'come una fata Morgana' (Morante, 1990a:p.538) verso la visione dantesca, perturbante, iperrealistica e quasi onirica della condanna del popolo giudaico, rinchiuso all'interno dei carri bestiame. La protagonista della *Storia*, riconoscendo a voce la sua stessa condizione razziale, segue Di Segni all'interno della Tiburtina, inizialmente sfollata, vuota e completamente in silenzio, salvo per i successivi lamenti dei condannati, come nel canto III de la *Divina Commedia*, all'entrata dell'inferno⁹.

Passiamo adesso a ricordare la prima descrizione della ferrovia, il luogo dove sono già rinchiusi le vittime dell'Olocausto; questo passaggio agisce da anticamera del rumore tragico, in crescendo, dei prigionieri.

'Trattandosi di una stazione secondaria di periferia, non c'era mai molta folla, specie di lunedì; pero oggi il movimento vi pareva più scarso del solito. In

⁸ Posteriormente in Pietralta, Useppe sarà felice di far vedere a Caruli le sue nuove scarpe (Morante, 1990a:p.546-547).

⁹ Siamo nell'Antinferno, dove sono puniti gli ignavi. Si ricordino in concreto i versi 22-29 del canto III della *Divina Commedia*. Le grida e i lamenti dei dannati sono presenti lungo tutto l'inferno (Fabbri, 2021:pp.152-153).

questi tempi di guerra, e in particolare dopo l'occupazione tedesca, spesso vi si caricavano o scaricavano delle truppe. Ma oggi non vi si notavano militari, e solo pochi borghesi vi si aggiravano senza fretta. In quella tarda mattinata di lunedì, l'edificio aveva un'aria abbandonata e provvisoria.' (Morante, 1990a:p.539).

Madre e figlio inseguono la misteriosa signora che 'si avviava adesso di qua dalla facciata della stazione, lungo il percorso laterale esterno, e girava a sinistra [...] verso il cancello delle merci. Ida attraversò lo slargo [...] prese la stessa direzione.' (Morante, 1990a: p.540).

Si introduce nella seguente microsezione la suspense nel testo, perché all'interno del settore ferroviario, svuotato e silenzioso, dedicato solo alle merci, sentiamo per la prima volta le voci dei condannati; esse prendono il protagonismo del passaggio. Il contrasto forte tra il silenzio della stazione e il primo rumore perturbante delle angosciose voci umane accresce dunque la suspense del brano.

'A forse una decina di passi dall'entrata, si incominciò a *udire* a qualche distanza un orrendo *brusio*,¹⁰ che non si capiva, in quel momento, da dove precisamente venisse. Quella zona della stazione appariva, attualmente, deserta e oziosa. Non c'era movimento di treni, né traffico di merci; e le sole presenze che si scorgessero erano, di là dal limite dello scalo, distanti entro la zona ferrovia principale, due o tre inservienti del personale ordinario, dall'apparenza tranquilla.' (Morante, 1990a:p.540).

Appare per la prima volta nella prima microsezione il verbo 'suonare' e il sostantivo 'brusio', preceduto dall'aggettivo 'orrendo'. Il bisbiglio umano ci situa davanti alla presenza acustica, quasi impercettibile, ma terrificante di questa breve minisezione narrativa.

Dopo un nuovo punto e a capo, una lunga pausa testuale, entriamo nella seconda reiterazione semantica del borbottio. Questa volta l'intensità del volume aumenta nel lettore la sensazione angosciosa del mistero che le protagoniste stanno per scoprire.

'Verso la carreggiata obliqua di accesso ai binari, il *suono* aumentò di *volume*. Non era, come Ida si era già indotta a credere, il *grido* degli animali ammucchiati nei trasporti, che a volte si *udiva echeggiare* in questa zona. Era un *vocio* di folla umana, proveniente, pareva, dal fondo delle rampe, e Ida andò dietro quel segnale, per quanto nessun assembramento di folla umana fosse visibile fra le rotaie di smistamento e di manovra che s'incrociavano sulla massicciata intorno a lei.' (Morante, 1990a:p.540).

¹⁰ Il corsivo è mio.

In questa seconda suspense tragica troviamo una chiara intensificazione lessicale dell'ambito uditivo: 'suono', 'volume', 'grido', 'vocio', 'udire' o 'echeggiare' situano il lettore davanti a una chiara insistenza acustica, uditiva e vocale che aumenta in intensità e ingrandisce l'attesa di Ida e della signora Di Segni; si raddoppia di conseguenza anche il mistero che, insieme alle protagoniste, il lettore vuole svelare. Dal 'brusio' del primo caso siamo già passati al 'vocio' di questo secondo passaggio o microsezione; vocio comporta inoltre una maggiore intensità di volume, possiede una maggiore forza del brusio stesso, fatto che ingrandisce le sue connotazioni dolenti.

Segue il testo con il percorso fisico di Ida dietro quel segnale perturbante e si insiste ancora sulla solitudine della sezione merci; solo un 'macchinista solitario mangiava da un cartoccio¹¹, vicino a una locomotiva spenta e non disse nulla.' (Morante, 1990a: 540). Il contrasto tra la tranquillità dell'operaio che mangia silenzioso e indifferente al vocio delle vittime e l'angoscia delle due donne, ci introduce indirettamente nella noncuranza di molti cittadini davanti alla strage ebraica e indirettamente nella problematica etica relativa alla 'banalità del male'.

Nella terza microsezione, separata da un punto e a capo, si ribadisce lo stesso rumore, moltiplicato in questo caso.

'L'invisibile *vocio* si andava avvicinando e *cresceva*, anche se, in qualche modo, *suonava* inaccessibile quasi venisse da un luogo isolato e contaminato. Richiamava insieme certi *clamori* degli asili, dei lazzeretti e dei reclusorii: però tutti rimescolati alla rinfusa, come frantumi buttati dentro la stessa macchina. In fondo alla rampa, su un binario morto, rettilineo, stazionava un treno che pareva, a Ida, di una lunghezza sterminata. Il *vocio* veniva di là dentro.' (Morante, 1990a: pp. 540-41).

In questa terza serie ripetitiva il suono del vocio è già diventato un clamore, un grido collettivo, uno schiamazzare simile a quello dove si trovano le persone più deboli o disabili, ma in questo caso la narrazione, contenutamente, ma molto tragicamente, avvisa il lettore che tutti erano rimescolati in modo confuso e arbitrario, come merce rotta e inservibile, buttata dentro la stessa macchina destinata alla loro distruzione. La cronista o narratrice ci informa del fatto che il vocio proviene dall'interno di un treno, lunghissimo secondo il criterio di Ida, fermo alla stazione. Sappiamo così della grande quantità di persone rinchiusi nei coinvogli della morte e della potenza disperata delle loro voci. Il mistero comincia a svelarsi, riducendosi la suspense. Al contrario lo spavento e il terrore dei protagonisti e dei lettori cresce considerevolmente.

¹¹ Elsa Morante conosceva probabilmente il famoso saggio di Hannah Arendt, *La banalità del male. Eichmann a Gerusalemme*, pubblicato per la prima volta in Italia nel 1964, da Feltrinelli.

La quarta sezione prende moto dopo una nuova pausa tipografica lunga, e serve per descrivere le condizioni terribili dei prigionieri.

‘Eran forse una ventina di vagoni bestiame, alcuni spalancati, altri sprangati con lunghe barre di ferro ai portelli esterni. Secondo il modello comune di quei trasporti, i carri non avevano nessuna finestra, se non una minuscola apertura a grata posta in alto. A qualcuna di quelle grate, si scorgevano due mani aggrappate o un paio di occhi fissi. In quel momento non c’era nessuno di guardia al treno.’ (Morante, 1990a:p.541)

Questa descrizione è molto concisa, ma molto potente da un punto di vista emozionale. In questo caso non esistono suoni, ma solo le mani e gli occhi dei prigionieri. Questi fissano l’attenzione del lettore sul loro orrore, i condannati sono rinchiusi all’interno dei treni senza porte né finestre, come gli animali.

Ida dall’esterno guarda il terrore di una situazione quasi onirica, dove spiccano principalmente le mani o lo sguardo delle vittime attraverso le grate. Come chiusura e contrappunto a questa microsezione, il testo insiste sull’assenza di guardia. A partire dalla sobrietà e dalla reticenza del brano, la scrittrice ingrandisce l’angoscia della situazione che vivono degli esseri fantasmagorici, quasi spettrali, nella Tiburtina di Roma. Il dolore, insieme al terrore, cresce in questa quarta parte commuovendo l’anima di Ida e di tutto l’uditorio.

Il quinto brano costituisce una nuova *amplificatio*, separata da punto e a capo un’altra volta. Questo passaggio è considerevolmente più lungo e ancora più tragico. La signora di Segni corre, urla e grida chiamando la famiglia. Si riproducono in stile diretto le sue diverse locuzioni con i prigionieri incarcerati e con i suoi parenti; lo stile diretto dei dialoghi tra i personaggi, membri della stessa parentela, mette il lettore davanti alla sofferenza devastante di una concreta famiglia ebra.

‘La signora Di Segni era là, che correva avanti e indietro sulla piattaforma scoperta [...] correva sguaiaatamente *urlando* lungo tutta la fila di vagoni con una *voce* quasi oscena:

«Settimio»! «Settimio» <! ...«Graziella»!... «Manuele»! ...«Settimio»!
...«Settimio»! «Esterina»! ...«Manuele»! «Angiolino»!...

Dall’interno del convoglio, qualche *voce* ignota la raggiunse per gridarle di andar via: se non *quelli*¹², *tornado fra poco, avrebbero preso lei pure*: «Nooo! No, che nun me ne vado!» essa in risposta inveì minacciosa e inferocita, picchiando i pugni contro i carri, «qua c’è la mia famiglia! chiamàteli! Di Segni! Famiglia Di Segni!» ... «Settimio»!! eruppe d’un tratto, accorrendo protesa verso uno dei

vagoni e attaccandosi alla spranga del portello, nel tentativo impossibile di sforzarlo. Dietro la graticciola in alto, era comparsa una piccola testa di vecchio. Si vedevano i suoi occhi tralucere fra il buio retrostante, sul suo naso macilento, e le sue mani minute aggrappate ai ferri.

«Settemio!! E gli altri? sono qua con te?»

«Vattene, Celeste» le disse il marito, «ti dico: vattene subito, che quelli¹³ stanno per tornare...» Ida riconobbe la sua voce lenta e silenziosa [...] ma oggi suonava atona, estranea, come da un atroce paradiso di là da ogni recapito.» (Morante, 1990a:p.541–542).

In questa quinta sezione le urla 'oscene' di Celeste Di Segni sono i principali protagonisti della sua disperata chiamata; i nomi di Settemio, di Graziella, di Esterina, di Manuele e di Angiolino, scritti tra punti esclamativi, ci rimbombano nella testa e nel cuore, li sentiamo carichi di disperazione; sono il centro tonale, nominale e tragico della microsezione, la sua ripetuta risonanza aumenta così la dose straziante della microsequenza, ancora intensificata mediante il dialogo di Celeste con il marito e la descrizione del suo viso, dei suoi occhi e della sua nuova ed estranea voce. Nella microsezione sei, si rinforza la presenza acustica dei diversi parlottii, lamenti, conversazioni, salmodie, gridi e strilli dolenti.

L'interno dei carri, scottati dal sole ancora estivo, rintronava sempre di quel vocio incessante. Nel suo disordine, s'accavalcavano dei vagiti, degli alterchi, delle salmodie da processione, dei parlottii senza senso, delle voci senili che chiamavano la madre; delle altre che conversavano appartate, quasi ceremoniose, e delle altre che perfino ridacchiavano. E a tratti su tutto questo si levavano dei gridi sterili agghiaccianti; oppure altri, di una fissità bestiale, esclamanti parole elementari come «bere!» «aria!» Da uno dei vagoni estremi, sorpassando tutte le altre voci, una donna giovane rompeva a tratti in certe urla convulse e laceranti, tipiche delle doglie del parto.» (Morante, 1990a:p.542).

Mediante un ampio elenco enumerativo delle diverse tipologie vocali, il testo sovrappone i differenti suoni laceranti dei condannati: la richiesta disperata dell'acqua o dell'aria, da parte di alcuni dei prigionieri, la paura che porta i più anziani persino verso l'invocazione protettrice della madre. Sentiamo pure le liti, le conversazioni tranquille, i canti e le preghiere religiose, addirittura le risate di alcuni di loro. Tutti i martiri del mondo sembrano essere contenuti in queste lamentazioni.

¹³ Corsivo nell'originale.

L'enumerazione esaustiva delle diverse voci traccia una cadenza ritmica intensiva in tutto il brano, fino all'arrivo della chiusura finale che culmina con un'intensità sofferente di alto grado: le doglie del parto di una giovane donna che sorpassano tutte le altre manifestazioni di pena e di dolore. Ci troviamo davanti a un evidente *turn of the screw* che porta al massimo grado patemico il rimbombo del mormorio e delle urla umane; siamo arrivati al *climax* tragico dell'insieme delle microsequenze dedicate alla strage degli ebrei: la vita che nasce nel regno della morte.

Successivamente, separata da una pausa tipografica lunga, nel seguente passaggio, il settimo, troviamo già presente la parola coro: 'E Ida riconosceva questo *coro* confuso. Non meno che le *strida* quasi indecenti della signora, e che gli accenti sentenziosi del vecchio Di Segni, tutto questo misero *vocio* dei carri che la adescava con una dolcezza struggente, [...]' (Morante, 1990a:p.542). La parola 'coro' ci introduce direttamente in una realtà vocale musicata di carattere tragico e persino sacro. Morante ci fa sentire qui un insieme corale misto che mostra dal vivo il sommo dolore, fisico e psichico, degli ebrei. Non sembra casuale la scelta del sostantivo coro, poiché verosimilmente rimanda in modo indiretto alle composizioni musicate della Passione di Cristo; il testo morantiano raggiunge così uno stile trascendente.

La seguente microsezione, l'ottava, la più lunga di tutte, inizia con l'intervento in stile diretto di Celeste Di Segni, senza la presenza del verbo *dicendi*: '«È tutta la mattina che sto a girà...»'¹⁴. Successivamente la cronista riproduce la chiacchierata domestica tra i due sposi, e prosegue con l'avvertenza del pericolo imminente che corre la signora. L'avvisano alcuni dei prigionieri e lo stesso marito dell'arrivo dei soldati tedeschi; anche in questo caso si utilizza un chiaro dialogismo incalzante. La signora Di Segni urla disperatamente chiamando ancora una volta i diversi membri della sua famiglia: '«Angiolino»,! «Esterina»! «Manuele!» «Graziella, er pupetto»'¹⁵. L'appello straziante si riproduce nel testo per una seconda volta, di nuovo in stile diretto senza *verba dicendi*; di nuovo i nomi dei parenti, come note atroci e disperate, sono al centro dell'enunciato.

L'intensità tragica del passaggio si intensifica con la presenza ultima degli occhi del piccolo nipote: 'Nell'interno del vagone si avvertì un certo sommovimento.

¹⁴ La presenza delle diverse varianti del diasistema dell'italiano, in questo caso del romanesco, intensifica il realismo de *La Storia*; la parlata popolare convive con lo stile alto del brano e con la sua volontà di intensità tragica e sublime.

¹⁵ Questa volta, attraverso Celeste Di Segni, si introduce nel testo il sostantivo in diminutivo 'pupetto', una presenza lessicale che aumenta ancora la tragedia degli ebrei. Si ricordi che questo stesso capitolo si apre con una poesia della scrittrice dove i bambini ebrei si chiedevano verso dove andavano, dopo la loro prigionia: 'Dove andiamo? Dove ci portano?/ Al paese dei Pitchipoi./ È il paese dei fumi e delle urla/ Ma perché le nostre madri ci hanno lasciato?/ Chi ci darà l'acqua per la morte?' (Morante, 1990:p.424).

Arrampicatisi in qualche modo fino alla grata, s'intravidero, alle spalle del vecchio, una testolina irsuta, due occhietti neri...' (Morante, 1990a:p.543). La visione degli occhi del bambino provoca la richiesta di Celeste ai FASCISTI¹⁶; lei vuole entrare nei convogli per poter condividere con la sua famiglia lo stesso destino¹⁷. Il *climax* tragico del brano raggiunge qui di nuovo una tonalità alta.

La microsezione si chiude con l'intervento dei facchini e degli impiegati della ferrovia. La loro mediazione linguistica, riprodotta in stile diretto, sollecita la signora ad andarsene. 'Però non si avvicinarono al treno. Sembravano, anzi, evitarlo come una stanza funebre e appestata.' (Morante, 1990a:p.543). Si insite di nuovo nella paura della popolazione. Assistiamo a un'apparente discesa tragica dell'enunciato che pone però al lettore un nuovo problema morale: l'inazione della cittadinanza dovuta al massimo grado di terrore imposto dall'esercito nazista.

La sofferente descrizione della prigionia degli ebrei dentro i carri bestiame, comincia però progressivamente a diluirsi nelle posteriori microsezioni. Si assiste quindi a una graduale discesa tonale, perché la narratrice vuole incentrare adesso la sua attenzione sui due protagonisti: Ida e Usepe. In questo senso la microsezione numero nove rivolge, di conseguenza, lo sguardo prima verso Ida: 'Si sentiva invasa da una debolezza estrema; e per quanto, lì all'aperto sulla piattaforma, il calore non fosse eccessivo, s'era coperta di sudore come se avesse la febbre a quaranta gradi.' (Morante, 1990a:p.544) e dopo verso Usepe, paralizzato dall'orrore.

'Sentì suonare delle campane; e le passò per la testa l'avviso che bisognava correre a concludere il giro della spesa giornaliera, forse le botteghe già chiudevano. Poi sentì dei colpi fondi e ritmati, che rimbombavano da qualche parte vicino a lei; [...] subitamente si rese conto che quei colpi l'avevano accompagnata per tutto il tempo che era stata sulla piattaforma, anche se lei non ci aveva badato prima; e che essi risuonavano vicinissimi a lei, proprio accosto al suo corpo. Diffati, era il cuore di Usepe che batteva a quel modo.

Il bambino stava tranquillo, rannicchiato sul suo braccio, col fianco sinistro contro il suo petto; ma teneva la testa girata nello sporgersi a scrutarlo, lei lo vide che seguitava a fissare il treno con la faccia immobile, la bocca semiaperta, e gli occhi spalancati in uno sguardo indescrivibile di orrore.' (Morante, 1990a:p.544)

Si comunica l'orrore del bambino davanti alla strage degli ebrei. Mediante l'utilizzo della parola 'colpi', ripetuta due volte, mediante la presenza del 'tocco delle

¹⁶ Maiuscolo nell'originale.

¹⁷ Sarà così di fatto, come sapremo più avanti nel capitolo ...1944 (Morante, 1990:p.620-621). Celeste De Segni morirà nel Lager insieme al resto della famiglia.

campane' e mediante i verbi 'suonare', 'rimbombare', 'risuonare' e 'battere', elementi di percussione, di chiara procedenza dantesca, siamo ancora sulla strada della sonorità dell'enunciato, in questo caso contundente e aspra. Il cuore di Useppe batte a causa del terrore e della sofferenza vista nei treni dove sono rinchiusi i condannati; attraverso i suoni forti si insiste trasversalmente sulla potenza del rumore infernale che, contrapposto al silenzio, ha accompagnato tutto il passaggio. La presenza ossessiva dei lessemi del campo semantico acustico, stridente ed energico, rinforza nuovamente la tragicità del testo.

Il bambino della *Storia* ha già preso coscienza definitiva del dolore del mondo; la visione della deportazione degli ebrei costituisce lo scalino definitivo nella sua distruzione psichica, iniziata precedentemente nel 1942 con la scena del vitellino¹⁸. Lo sguardo terrificante di Useppe ritornerà successivamente nel romanzo in ragione dell'afflizione patita; le perdite degli esseri amati e le immagini crudeli della violenza bellica e dell'Olocausto (Morante, 1990a:pp.691,693,717) gli si mostreranno come una catena dolente il cui principale anello ha inizio nel *pathos* di questa sezione narrativa. Ricordiamo che nel capitolo ...1947 lo sguardo di Useppe ha già perso completamente l'allegria che aveva segnato l'inizio della sua vita; i suoi continui *pecché* (Morante, 1990a:pp.84,842) hanno però la sua genesi definitiva nell'orrore della strage ebraica del punto 7 del ...1943.

La sezione della Tiburtina e della chiusura degli ebrei all'interno dei treni sta per finire.

Ida e Useppe sono sul punto di uscire dalla stazione, ma il *leitmotiv* dei gridi ebraici ritorna nel testo in una decima microsequenza finale, dove un prigioniero chiede alla protagonista di ricevere un foglietto scritto. Elsa Morante richiede ancora la nostra empatia, perciò non abbandona lo scenario del trasferimento degli ebrei nei treni verso il Lager. Il brano attorciglia ancora una volta il motivo dei gridi, del rumore e del coro delle lamentazioni, questa volta gli ebrei sono rinchiusi nei camion, ancora fuori dalla stazione, prima di essere ingabbiati nei carri bestiame.

Ida esce dal cancello della Tiburtina e sente di nuovo il loro borbottio.

'Mentre essa usciva dal cancello con Useppe in collo, dalla strada arrivava un autofurgone brunastro, che si lasciava dietro, passando, un *romorio* confuso, quasi un'eco sommessa di quell'altro *coro* del treno. Però il suo carico, chiuso

¹⁸ Si ricordi la tristezza del bambino davanti allo sguardo del vitello: 'E forse fra gli occhi del bambino e quelli della bestia si svolse un qualche scambio inopinato, sotterraneo e impercettibile. D'un tratto, lo sguardo di Useppe subì un mutamento strano e mai prima veduto, del quale, tuttavia, nessuno si accorse. Una specie di tristezza o di sospetto lo attraversò, come se una piccola tenda buia gli calasse davanti; e si tenne rivoltato indietro verso il vagone, di sopra le spalle di Ninnizzu che ormai, con Blitz, marciava verso l'uscita.' (Morante, 1990a:p.400).

all'interno, era invisibile. Soli suoi occupanti visibili erano, nella cabina di guida, dei giovani militari in divisa di SS. Il loro aspetto era normale, inalterato come quello dei soliti cammionisti del Comune che caricavano a questo transito dello Scalo i loro trasporti di *carne*. Le loro facce pulite, e rose di salute, erano comuni e stolide.' (Morante, 1990a:p.545)

Le parole 'romorio', 'eco' e 'coro', anche se adesso sommessi, ci riportano ai precedenti lamenti, ma in questo caso ci troviamo davanti all'ultimo diminuendo tonale, quello che sta per chiudere la totalità della sequenza narrativa.

Dobbiamo tener presente d'altronde che la parola 'carne' ritorna un'altra volta in questa ultima sezione; si allude adesso, un'altra volta, nella chiusura discendente della sezione tragica della Tiburtina, alla carne dei giudei e al loro sacrificio, allo stesso modo con cui era si iniziata la sequenza narrativa, con la notizia di radio Bari, sentita da Tore. Elsa Morante ricrea ancora la linea semantica del sacrificio, umano e animale, la stessa della microsezione dedicata al vitello nel capitolo ...1942. In modo trasversale e sottile la scrittrice si pone persino il problema etico del sacrificio e del maltrattamento crudele degli animali. Non dobbiamo dimenticare che Usepe, nel suo dialogo universale con loro, si rifiuta di mangiare la carne (Morante, 1990a:p.776).

3. Possibili suggerimenti interpretativi: una verosimile proposta interartistica?

Dopo l'analisi portata avanti, sono dell'avviso che Elsa Morante, molto probabilmente, voleva creare nella *Storia*, attraverso il crescendo e l'*amplificatio* tragica della deportazione ebraica, un ritmo testuale ossessivamente incalzante, in un certo modo simile a quello dell'oratorio sacro di passione e morte di Cristo.

L'autrice amava la musica e a parte Mozart, Bach si trova tra i suoi musicisti preferiti¹⁹. Sappiamo anche che gran parte della colonna sonora del film pasoliniano *Il vangelo secondo Matteo* (1964) è dovuta a Elsa (Naldini, 1992:p.132; Siti, 1994:p.15; Bardini, 2014:pp.16–18). Un tale fatto ci porta verso la possibilità di stabilire un verosimile legame, forse non consapevole da parte dell'autrice, tra l'ora-

¹⁹ Ricordiamo che Davide Segre, per tanti versi un doppio della stessa Morante, amava la musica di Bach (Morante, 1990a:p.743). Dato che Pasolini era anche un grande ammiratore della musica bachiana e che l'amicizia tra lui e Morante portò entrambi gli autori alla loro collaborazione nel film del '64: *Il Vangelo secondo Matteo*, dove come in *Accatone* (1961) l'oratorio del compositore tedesco attaversa gran parte del film, sembra verosimile pensare che Elsa avesse presente, consciamente o inconsciamente, il testo bachiano per la composizione di questa sezione tragica e sacrificale del punto 7 del ...1943 della *Storia*

torio bachtiano del 1727, *La Passione secondo Matteo*, e il passaggio tragico di morte dedicato alla prigionia degli ebrei all'interno della stazione Tiburtina di Roma.²⁰

L'uso della *repetitio* e l'ossessiva presenza lessicale dei diversi voci e lamenti ebraici, uniti gradualmente nel testo fino ad arrivare al crescendo finale del coro, ci inducono a pensare che Morante volesse, in questo suo passaggio, andare oltre il significato della parola stessa. L'autrice conosceva bene la doppia capacità musicale di mimetizzare gli elementi linguistici in forti emozioni che trascendessero le potenzialità espressive della lingua. Perciò, svolse nei brani delle dieci microsequenze analizzate un profondo lavoro di esegesi, dove il piano significativo fu sottoposto a una doppia dimensione passionale che commuovesse i lettori. L'obiettivo di Morante era quello di rinforzare il messaggio etico del suo romanzo, in modo che questa sequenza narrativa de *La Storia* potesse essere anche capita come un canto sacro.

Elsa Morante in un certo senso sviluppa nel punto 7 del ...1943 un'operazione contraria e allo stesso tempo simile a quella di J.S. Bach nella sua *Passione secondo Matteo*. La scrittrice non poteva semantizzare la musica perché non era una musicista, di conseguenza, ha rinvigorito la potenza retorica del suo enunciato narrativo mediante l'utilizzo della ripetizione ossessiva dei lamenti disperati degli ebrei; il ritmo trepidante della ripetizione, unito all'aumento progressivo della polifonia corale, tocca direttamente il cuore e l'anima dei suoi lettori in rapporto alla passione e posteriore morte della comunità ebraica.

Se il linguaggio musicale è un insieme di suoni dotati di un possibile significato convenzionale (Solares, 2020:p.29), nella *Storia* la presenza mantenuta del crescendo graduale diventa la principale responsabile della creazione del suo ritmo percussivo, quello che intensifica la passione e l'emozione dei lettori. Cioè l'autrice, in questo passaggio, dalla parola ripetuta in progressione semantica continua, arriva allo schianto ritmico, in un certo senso vicino all'oratorio sacro.

Se è vero che Morante, attraverso l'uso insistente delle parole appartenenti al campo semantico dei 'lamenti feroci' ci rimanda all'inferno di Dante (Cappuccio 2014, pp.125–132; Fabbri, 2021:p.157), sembra anche verosimile pensare che l'insistenza ritmica e gradualmente in crescita del coro ebraico potrebbe consentire l'avvicinamento del testo de *La Storia* a dei risultati paralleli a quelli usati da Bach nella sua musica sacra cantata.

²⁰ Per il momento non ho consultato il Fondo Morante della Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, dove forse si potrebbe trovare qualche scritto morantiano che confermasse una tale possibilità ermeneutica. Nelle lettere di Morante, non c'è traccia della verosimile impronta bachiana nella composizione di questa sezione narrativa della *Storia*. Ma seguendo Sgavichchia (2014) e il suo lavoro dedicato all'importanza della musica e il canto nella poesia di Elsa, non sembra incoerente pensare all'ipotesi da me stabilita.

In questo senso possiamo ricordare, per esempio, che nella *Passione secondo Matteo* la scena della cattura di Gesù si mostra come una chiara prova della sua ingiusta e terribile prigionia; tramite l'intervento del coro del n. 27b. la disperazione e persino la collera si manifestano intensamente in questa polifonia, come nel caso dei cori n. 45b. e 50 b., dove a richiesta di Pilato agli ebrei si affida la crocifissione di Cristo. Tutto crea in questi casi un terribile clima di disperata inquietudine, tramite le note ripetute trepidamente. Morante, grande ammiratrice del compositore tedesco, sembra seguire uno schema ripetitivo musicale simile nella ricreazione passionale ai lamenti degli ebrei; ma come è stato già indicato, l'autrice parte dalla parola per arrivare alla poesia musicale, dimostrando così le sue enormi doti di poeta.

Ricordiamo anche che nella *Passione secondo Matteo* ogni coro canta separatamente, ma contemporaneamente uniscono le loro voci in un identico ritmo tragico, facilitando in questo modo la comprensione del testo scritto; così all'interno della grande confusione e trambusto uditivo dell'oratorio, il dialogo e la risposta delle due orchestre e dei due cori crea un effetto quasi stereofonico.

Elsa Morante, in maniera paragonabile, tramite la narratrice (in un certo senso cronista come Matteo della passione dei nuovi cristi ebraici) fa dialogare le diverse voci di alcuni dei protagonisti: la signora Di Segni, il marito e i giudei incarcerati. Crea così, nella misura del possibile, attraverso i mezzi linguistici, una risonanza musicale passionale in certo senso simile a quella di Bach. D'altronde nella *Storia* l'idea del coro, in cui si uniscono tutti i lamenti dei condannati, invita anche il lettore alla condivisione misericordiosa del sacrificio degli innocenti, coesionando, emozionalmente, l'uditorio in un rinnovato impegno etico e morale contro la violenza e il sadismo, in maniera paragonabile, alla ricerca di unità cristiana che intorno al martirio e morte di Cristo utilizzò Bach nel suo oratorio.

In entrambi i casi la tragedia è di una enorme profondità, fatto che favorisce che, tanto alla fine dell'oratorio quanto al termine del passaggio morantiano studiato, l'uditorio e i lettori si sentano sommersi, ipnoticamente, in un mare di emozioni, patendo insieme alle vittime le loro pene più profonde.

4. Piccole conclusioni non definitive

Elsa Morante nel punto 7 del capitolo ... 1943, dedicato al rastrellamento ebraico, avuto luogo a Roma tra il 16 e 18 ottobre dello stesso anno, ricorre all'utilizzo della ripetizione lessicale dell'ambito semantico delle voci e dei suoni, con la finalità di avvicinare la sua denuncia del male a uno schianto tragico, dove il crescendo di ca-

rattere paramusicale, intensifichi nel lettore l'empatia e la *pietas* verso la sofferenza ebraica e il patimento universale²¹.

La scrittrice attiva in questo modo l'emozione dei suoi lettori in un modo retorico che va oltre l'elaborazione meramente testuale. Crea tragicamente e poeticamente un ritmo musicale schiacciante, verosimilmente, vicino all'oratorio sacro, e più concretamente vicino alla *Passione secondo Matteo* di J. S. Bach.

Non dobbiamo dimenticare che la musica attraversa tutta *La Storia*; le canzoni, le ninne nanne, i canti popolari colmano la vita dei suoi personaggi. In questo senso si mostrano significativi i riferimenti ai canti degli uccelli e dei loro scherzi lungo i diversi passaggi o microsezioni dei capitoli ...1943 e ...1947, momenti allegri dove Usepppe, nel suo dialogo universale con gli animali, all'interno della radura del bosco, si avvicina alla felicità (Martínez Garrido, 2016: p. 154-160).

Eppure negli esempi analizzati, il possibile approccio verso le risonanze musicali del testo sono di natura diversa. Se la traccia mozartiana si lasciava sentire dietro i passaggi boschivi, adesso, nella stazione Tiburtina di Roma, data la narrazione terribile della cattura ebraica, sembrano ascoltarsi, trasversalmente e indirettamente, le modulazioni tragiche della *Passione secondo Matteo*.

Bibliografia

1. Arendt, H. (2009) [1964] *La banalità del male. Eichmann a Gerusalemme*, Milano, Feltrinelli.
2. Bardini, M. (1999) *Elsa Morante. Italiana. Di professione poeta*, Pisa Nistri-Lischi, 566–567.
3. Bardini, M. (2014) Elsa Morante e il cinema: *L'isola di Arturo* di Damiano Damiani, *Cuadernos de Filología Italiana*, vol. 21, Núm. Especial, 11–29.
4. Benjamin, W. (1982) [1940] *Tesi sulla filosofia della storia*, in *Angelus Novus*, Torino, Einaudi, 60–83.
5. Cappuccio, Ch. (2014) *Lessico e idee musicali nella letteratura medievale italiana*. 'De sono humano in sermone', Napoli, Editoriale Scientifica.
6. Fabbri, N. (2021) *Dai 'lamenti feroci' alla 'circulata melodia'. Viaggio attraverso la sonorità della Divina Commedia*, F. Camerota (a cura di), *Dall'inferno all'Empireo*, Città di Castello, Sillabe, 152–159.
7. Lázaro Carreter, F. (1968) *Diccionario de términos filológicos*, Madrid, Gredos.

²¹ Elsa Morante parla della *pietas* in rapporto alla poesia di Umberto Saba e riguardo alla narrativa di Giovanni Verga. Nel primo caso, nel saggio *Il poeta di tutta la vita* (1957) e nel secondo in *Sul romanzo* (1959). Oggi costituiscono il volume *Pro e contra la bomba atomica*, pubblicato nel 1968 (Morante, 1990a 1491:pp.1503–04).

8. Lucamante, S. (2012) *Quella difficile identità. Ebraismo e rappresentazione letteraria della realtà*, Roma, Donzelli.
9. Martínez Garrido, E. (2016) *I romanzi di Elsa Morante. Scrittura, poesia ed etica*, Lugano, Agorà.
10. Morante, E. (1990a) [1974] *La Storia*, C. Cecchi e C. Garboli (a cura di), *Opere*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 261–1032.
11. Morante, E. (1990b) *Pro e contro la bomba atomica*, C. Cecchi e C. Garboli (a cura di), cit., 1487–1494, 1495–1520.
12. Morante, E. (2012) *L'amata. Lettere di e a Elsa Morante*, D. Morante (a cura di), con la collaborazione di G. Zagra, Torino, Einaudi.
13. Mortara Barabelli, B. (1988) *Manuale di retorica*, Milano, Bompiani.
14. Naldini, N. (1992) *Pier Paolo Pasolini. Una vida*, Barcelona, Circe Ediciones SLU.
15. Rosa, G. (2014) *La Storia Romanzo*, P. Guaragnella e S. De Toma (a cura di), *L'incipit e la tradizione letteraria*, 4, *Il Novecento*, Lecce, Pensa Multimedia, 541–549.
16. Samonà, C. (1986) Elsa Morante e la musica, *Paragone*, 432, 13–20.
17. Sgavicchia, S. (2014) L'alibi della musica nella poesia di Elsa Morante, L. Sorrentino (blog on line) *"Poeti da riscoprire"*, *Elsa Morante*, [https:// www.luigiasorrentino.it](https://www.luigiasorrentino.it), consultato il 4 dicembre 2025.
18. Siti, W. (1994) Elsa Morante nell'opera di Pier Paolo Pasolini, *Studi Novecenteschi*, 21, 47/48, 131–148.
19. Solores, I. (2020) Reflexiones en torno a la semantividad de la música: *La Pasión según San Matteo* de J. S. Bach, *Epistemos - Revista de estudios en Música, Cognición y Cultura*, 8(2), 25–44.

Elisa Martínez Garrido
ERFITI. Facultad de Filología.
UCM.

16 AND 18 OCTOBER 1943 IN ELSA MORANTE'S HISTORY: A NOVEL: AN INFERNAL TRAGIC CRESCENDO OF P/ PASSION

Summary

Morante's novel *La Storia* (1974) is probably not a "true" historical work; however, it is evident that the writer intended to reflect on the tragic lives of innocent people during Europe's agony in the Second World War. The author arrives at conclusions similar to those of non-official historiography, because, through the memory of the victims and the history of the defeated, she attempts to act upon her present and upon the possible future. In this sense, the study of traumatic devastation in Morante's third novel highlights

the narration of the Jewish massacre and their deportation to the *Lager*, mainly presented in section seven of the chapter “1943”, one of the most tragic and mournful parts of the work.

Consequently, the main aim of this article is the analysis of the tragic and emotional construction of this narrative section, dedicated to the deportation of the Roman Jews on 16 and 18 October 1943. This section consists of only eight pages and is subdivided into ten micro-sequences. The empathetic effect of the text is based on the intensive *repetitio* of words belonging to the semantic field of vocal acoustics; throughout the ten thematic micro-sequences, a clear tragic and tonal crescendo develops, referring to Jewish suffering. The obsessive repetition of lexemes such as *voices, screams, laments, groans, choirs*, sustained by the narrative diachrony of the entire section, appears like a lament or an oratorio of passion and death.

The crescendo of voices tragically reveals the Jews’ torment and pain on their way to the extermination camps, in clear opposition to the silence of Rome’s Tiburtina railway station and to the indifference of the workers present there. The reflection on the banality of evil is thus introduced in *La Storia*. Elsa Morante activates the emotions of her readers through a rhetorical strategy that transcends mere textual elaboration. The author creates an overwhelming musical rhythm close to the oratorio form, and more specifically to J. S. Bach’s *St Matthew Passion*.

The music cross *La Storia*: songs, lullabies, folk themes fill the life of the main characters. In this sense it is important the reference to the bird *scherzi* along the chapters 1943 and 1947, happy moments for Useppe, when he dialogues with the animals, inside the forest clearing. However in the analysed examples the approach to the musical resonances of the text are of diverse character. If the Mozart’s traces are present in the wood scenes, in the deportation of the jews in the Tiburtina Railway Station seems to resonate in a indirect way the tragic modulations of Bach oratory.

► **Key words:** rhetoric, poetry, music, *crescendo*, Jew’s deportation, *La Storia*, Elsa Morante, Dante, Bach.

Preuzeto: 30. 9. 2025.
Korekcije: 8. 12. 2025.
Prihvaćeno: 15. 12. 2025.



DEPARTMENT

CONFERENCE SPECIAL

EDITION: CELLS 6

TEMAT POSVEĆEN

MEĐUNARODNOJ KONFERENCIJI

O ENGLESKOM JEZIKU I

KNJIŽEVNOSTI U ORGANIZACIJI

KATEDRE ZA ANGLISTIKU: CELLS 6

Emir Z. Muhić¹
University of Banja Luka
Faculty of Philology
English Department

CONFERENCE ON ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERARY STUDIES

BACK TO BASICS: EMBRACING THE GRAIN

‘Twas ever thus, unfortunately—the higher humanity is in a technological hierarchy, the more we present with an age-long predilection for the exploitation of the fair-use classes in the humanities. It is no doubt an almost incurable affliction and a curious case of the confounded transposition of what is meritorious to what is meretricious. In the words of the ever-topical W. H. Auden: “Stop all the clocks, cut off the telephone, prevent the dog from barking with a juicy bone, silence the pianos and with muffled drum. Bring out the coffin, let the mourners come.” However, the immensity of loss and grief echoed in *Funeral Blues* is rooted in our feeble moral and ethical fibre eminently in the face of a dehumanizing device of our own making, viz. AI. The phenome of artificial intelligence has captured the imagination of many an author, and they all seem to have been ensnared in the endless loop of fear and a sense of futile inevitability. In the *Dune* book series, Frank Herbert essentially propounds the notion of thinking machines intent on eradicating mankind and sounds a clarion call: “Thou shalt not make a machine in the likeness of a human mind”. Yet, the fictional characters in the books did, and now, so have we. Intriguingly, the same trope is found in Isaac Asimov’s *Foundation* oeuvre, and of course reimagined, repurposed and rebooted countless times for television and cinema screens for entertainment purposes and heftily lucrative ends. The *Matrix* films and the *Terminator* franchise are well-thumbed examples, but have they been instructive, or mildly thought-provoking, or simply discarded as cheap-thrills staple diet of contrived pap? It seems we are quickly beginning to glean the answer. This brings us to an allegory: *Agnes and Simplicity* (or the Importance of Being Basic). There one was a beautifully minded and inquisitive girl

¹ emir.muhic@ff.unibl.org

by the name of Agnes, who wanted to know in a word everything. So, her parents, busy with the cut and thrust of the daily grind, got Agnes a friend, Simplicity, an AI life-navigator. Incidentally, Agnes was especially interested in language and literature, for some reason far beyond anyone's comprehension, and she had many, many questions. So, one day, Agnes asked Simplicity to trawl the deep of the worldwide web and find an interesting *amuse-bouche* on Visual materials in the EFL classroom at university. Simplicity was simply stumped as it could not find anything of the sort, but Agnes, being a diligently good student did come across an excellent paper authored by Maja Mandić, and they both learnt a great deal about student perceptions and opinions on the use of visual materials in the EFL classroom. The next time, Agnes was ablaze with curiosity about how the ever-changing world required new vocabulary for humans to understand certain concepts that had existed for a longer period of time but had never been labelled and she added another prompt nudging Simplicity to come up with translation strategies towards culture-specific elements in a novel. Surprisingly, Simplicity came empty-screened, yet again, but Agnes never gave up and retrieved all she needed to slake her thirst in the brilliant papers written by Neira Lojić and Milica Vuković. It should come as no surprise by now that Agnes kept on asking but Simplicity was of very little use, especially when it came to the topic of coloured-based Anglicisms and English as a *lingua franca* in Chinese language teaching. Fortunately, a group of researchers, Sonja Stanković, Ljiljana Stević, Anja Mudrenović, Bojana Pavlović, on the one hand and Jasmina Miljković and Jelena Šajinović Novaković on the other came the quick rescue and saved the learning day. Both Agnes and Simplicity realized that her friendship hit a dead end and the bond was both tottering and *de trop*, so Agnes thanked Simplicity for their time together, because after all, Simplicity was a great note-keeper, whose talents might come in handy down the line, and who knows, Simplicity may well be on track to becoming Complexity, and that will be a turn-up for the books. Agnes decided to explore the finer points of linguistics and literature all on her own. On her travels, she daydreamed about metonymical expressions and ESP for art students, determiners and how learners from different linguistic backgrounds come to terms with what many deem a conundrum. She also wondered whether the human mind was at all ready for a cyber-parasocial relationship and how humans conceptualize happiness by dint of language. Authors Anela Mulahmetović Ibrišimović, Jelena Brkić, Tonina Ibrulj, Ivana Zovko-Bošnjak, Božica Jović and Emir Muhić kept her on an even keel and steady course.

All these scholars' writings ultimately come from a deeply personal perspective accessible only to human neurons. True discovery and scholarship stem from con-

certed efforts and scientific endeavours such as the 2024 CELLS 6 conference convened in Banja Luka. This special edition is dedicated to all the authors whose hard work has not gone unnoticed and the University of Banja Luka English Department celebrating thirty years of excellence in teaching and researching English studies at university. We remain faithfully committed to our students, profession, cause and calling. In closing, we will go back to basics, embrace the grain and baton down the hatches to ward off any and all adversity through human-grade ingenuity, inspiration and inimitable creativity. The Bard inspired Maggie O'Farrell to write *Hamnet*, and she in turn stirred Chloé Zhao into action to direct the eponymous film giving me the underpinnings for *Agnes and Simplicity*. The intertextual story goes on and for a fleeting moment back to John Keats and his indelible lines:

When I have fears that I may cease to be
Before my pen has gleaned my teeming brain,
Before high-pilèd books, in charactery,
Hold like rich garners the full ripened grain;
When I behold, upon the night's starred face,
Huge cloudy symbols of a high romance,
And think that I may never live to trace
Their shadows with the magic hand of chance;
And when I feel, fair creature of an hour,
That I shall never look upon thee more,
Never have relish in the faery power
Of unreflecting love—then on the shore
Of the wide world I stand alone, and think
Till love and fame to nothingness do sink.

Jasmina M. Miljković¹
Jelena V. Šajinović Novaković
University of Banja Luka
English Department

COLOUR-BASED ANGLICISMS IN THE SERBIAN LANGUAGE

Abstract: *English as the dominant language of global communication has a significant influence on the Serbian language through the process of lexical borrowing. This study focuses on the phenomenon of lexical borrowing from English, examining lexemes containing colour components (e.g., Black Friday, Red Bull, blue jeans) that have been adopted into Serbian in their original form. Such borrowings not only enrich the Serbian lexicon but also reflect the language's adaptation to new social, cultural, and technological realities.*

Keywords: *Anglicisms, Serbian language, colour, lexical borrowing, globalisation, language contact, cultural identity.*

1. Introduction

Language behaves like a living thing, it grows, adapts, and responds to its environment. Just as human societies change over time, so do the languages they speak (Bugarski, 2003). Each language, through its structure and origin, reflects the way of life of its speakers, simultaneously carrying the spiritual and collective knowledge of a nation (Humbolt, 1988:p.106). For this reason, language should not be viewed as an isolated or uniform phenomenon, but rather as one shaped through constant interaction with diverse social and cultural forces.

Languages come into contact with one another on both geographical and cultural levels. According to Ivić (2007), Serbian has historically been influenced by Greek and Latin, and during the Ottoman Empire by Turkish. Over time, its vocabulary and structure have been shaped by Hungarian, German, French, Italian, and more

¹ Autorka je student doktorskih studija na Filološkom fakultetu Univerziteta u Banjoj Luci. Imejl adresa: jasminica80@hotmail.com

recently by Russian and Czech. In the present day, as in much of the world, the influence of English has become increasingly dominant.

There is barely a language that has not been influenced by English, whether through the impact of British, American, or other Anglo-phone cultures. English has become the world's foremost language (Prčić, 2009:p.110), a naturalized foreign language (Prčić, 2023:p.39).

As early as thirty years ago, Filipović (1990:p.20) observed a phenomenon often called anglomania, an excessive interest in everything English, which today largely translates into American cultural influence. Americanisation is considered a synonym for globalisation, and the establishment of English as the primary means of global communication becomes inevitable (Šajinović-Novaković, 2012).

In the Dictionary of the Serbo-Croatian Literary Language (1967:p.83), the term Anglicism is defined as a feature or characteristic of the English language; it is a word taken from English. Prčić (2005:p.59) expands this definition to include general words or bound morphemes (prefixes or suffixes) such as *bodybuilder*, which integrate into the Serbian linguistic system, as well as phrases or sentences whose usage follows English norms. Filipović (1986:p.192) describes Anglicisms as loanwords whose source language is English and which denote objects or concepts originating in English or American material and spiritual culture. Many Anglicisms are also true internationalisms (Bugarski, 2003:p.205) that permeate various spheres of everyday life.

Languages adopt foreign words primarily to name new objects or concepts encountered through cultural and technological developments (Filipović, 1995:p.106). These borrowings vary in the degree of linguistic adaptation. We will focus on lexical borrowing that arises from the need to name novel objects, phenomena, or ideas, rather than on adaptation processes. According to Filipović (1990), these lexical gaps in a language are filled by: (a) creating new words from native elements; (b) borrowing words from foreign languages; or (c) changing or expanding the meaning of existing words. Deroy (cited in Burnić, 2021) emphasises that lexical borrowing stems from both practical necessity, the need to name new entities, and emotional needs, such as the prestige associated with the source language. Today, linguistic borrowing can also result from fashion trends, frequent social media use, or media propaganda.

In the context of **Anglicisms involving colour terms**, we encounter not merely lexical borrowing but **conceptual integration** within speakers' cognitive-linguistic systems. As Muhić (2024) observes, "narrative and conceptual mechanisms serve to preserve noetic security," a principle that clearly extends to language adoption:

colour-based Anglicisms act as **semantic safety fields** preserving familiar conceptual mappings and allowing speakers to navigate new linguistic terrain.

This process aligns with Trask's (2005:pp.142–143) insight that speakers often (un)consciously import features from languages they frequently encounter. Bloomfield (1984:p.471) classifies this phenomenon as **cultural borrowing**, where language change is driven not only by linguistic necessity but also by **extralinguistic factors** such as culture, media, and communication. Reflecting on this, Bugarski (2003) introduces the notion of **cultural contact**, observing that intense interaction with a global language like English through media, the Internet, and cultural exchanges deeply influences the lexicon and cognitive frameworks of other languages.

Borrowings can occur at all linguistic levels and, over time, become integrated into the recipient language, enriching its lexicon (Burnić, 2021:p.322). Usually, borrowings begin at the lexical level but may extend to phonology, morphology, or syntax if the contact is intensive and long-lasting. Borrowings can take different forms: they can enter a language as full-word loans, semantic loans where parts of a word are integrated, or calques (loan translations).

Since this study focuses on Anglicisms containing colour components, it is essential to consider the concept of colour itself. Colour, both as a physical phenomenon and as a linguistic and cultural category, fascinates linguists and anthropologists alike. The ancient Egyptians, for instance, used the same word (*iwen*) to denote both colour and being (Terzić, 2024:p.4005). The division and naming of colours vary across languages and cultures, reflecting the fluidity of colour systems and explaining the emergence or borrowing of new colour terms. In fashion journalism, new colour terms such as *baby blue* and *mocha mousse* are often adopted directly from English, as it can be seen nowadays in headlines like *Baby blue suits everyone* (Ultra magazine, March 16, 2023) and *Mocha Mousse: A new neutral for a new era* (Ultra magazine, December 5, 2024).

Basic colour terms in world languages range widely from as few as two to over ten core colour categories. Once considered significant mainly in visual arts, colour is increasingly recognised as a powerful communication tool, prominent in verbal and nonverbal interactions.

Besides perception, colour carries cultural and linguistic significance (Brenko, 2009). Colours possess universal archetypal meanings but also ethnically marked symbolism, reflecting the linguistic worldview of different cultures. The understanding of colour depends to some extent on the cultural context in which it appears (Ajdačić, 2015:p.136). This cultural and linguistic conditioning is especially apparent in language contact, where colour-based Anglicisms introduce semantic

subtlety that cannot be fully translated into the recipient language. This phenomenon explains why many such expressions enter Serbian in their original form. The analysis of lexemes in this paper will demonstrate which colour-based Anglicisms have become an integral part of the Serbian lexical inventory.

2. Methodology

The subject of this study is the analysis of English lexemes with colour components used in Serbian as loanwords. To achieve this, we analysed various dictionaries of Anglicisms and foreign words in Serbian, including that of Filipović R. (1990) *Anglicisms in Croatian or Serbian Language*, Klaić (1987) *Dictionary of Foreign Words*, Klaić N., Anić Š., Domović Ž. (2002) *Dictionary of Foreign Words*, Klajn I., Šipka M. (2008) *The Large Dictionary of Foreign Words and Expressions*, Prčić T., Dražić J., Milić M. (2021) *Serbian Dictionary of Recent Anglicisms, and the Dictionary of Serbo-Croatian Literary Language* (1967) by Matica Srpska I–VI. The assumption is that the Serbian language has adopted lexical items from English, which exist in their original form in the aforementioned dictionaries. The examples we list here were selected based on whether Anglicism contains a colour component in English.

The first aim of this study is to demonstrate the existence of lexical items that have been borrowed in their original English form and whose names contain a colour meaning derived from English. A more detailed analysis at another level exceeds the scope of this paper; therefore, we limit ourselves here to listing lexical items with colour components found in Serbian dictionaries. The second aim is to determine the extent of lexical adaptation in the dictionaries, i.e., which colours are most represented in lexical borrowing, and to provide explanations as to whether these borrowed words originate from media, science, economy, technology, or culture.

The research method used in this study is the analytical method, the analysis of foreign word dictionaries and Anglicism dictionaries which constitute the corpus of this study. In addition, the theoretical background is supported by relevant literature addressing this issue.

In the following section, we present the most prevalent colours found in Serbian loanwords by listing all identified lexical items, offering their definitions or Serbian equivalents, and categorising them according to the domain of everyday life to which the borrowing pertains, namely media, science, economy, technology, or culture. Lexical items appearing in multiple dictionaries will be referenced only once.

3. Results

The analysis revealed numerous colour-based Anglicisms in Serbian. The most frequent were lexemes containing blue and green (8 lexemes each) then black (7 lexemes). Lexemes with white, red, and brown were less frequent (4 lexemes each), while yellow and pink were the least represented. No lexemes with the colours grey, orange, or purple were found.

3.1 Lexical Examples by Colour

1) Black

blackbottom (American dance, culture),

black-out (signal loss, science),

blackout (a deliberate suppression or withholding of information by authorities, often in politics or crisis, to control public perception or prevent unrest. This may include media censorship, restricted access to news, or the intentional omission of facts from public discourse, or culture).

blackwood (a type of hardwood from certain tree species, science)

blackjack (a popular card game, culture)

black (tar/pitch, culture)

Black Friday (a retail event held on the Friday following the American holiday of Thanksgiving characterised by significant sales promotions and discounts offered by stores and online retailers. Originally an American tradition, Black Friday has become a global phenomenon, often marking the beginning of the holiday shopping season, culture)

2) White

White Star Line – a transatlantic shipping line operating between Liverpool and New York (technology/transport)

whiteboys – a secret society of poor Irish Catholics in the 1760s, named after their white attire; known for opposing harsh landowners and officials (culture)

Whitehall – once a royal palace in London; now a major street housing UK government ministries (culture)

white-trash – a derogatory term for impoverished white individuals (culture)

3) Red

redwood – a Californian tree species used extensively in the timber industry (science)

Red Star Line – a Belgian shipping company (founded in 1872) operating transatlantic routes (technology/transport)

Red Bull – a non-alcoholic energy drink containing caffeine, glucose, vitamins, and other additives (economy)

Rednecks – a derogatory term for poor, uneducated white Americans from the southern US (culture)

4) Blue

blue bird – an artificial satellite from the American Intelsat II program (science)

blue book – a publication by the British Foreign Office containing diplomatic correspondence (culture)

blue peter – a signal flag (letter P in the international signal code) indicating that a vessel is about to leave port (technology)

blue jeans – durable cotton trousers, usually dyed blue (culture)

blue-stocking – a historically derogatory term for intellectual women who were perceived to neglect domestic duties (culture)

blues – a music genre developed by African Americans in the U.S. over 150 years ago (culture)

bluezer – a person who performs blues music (culture)

Bluetooth – a wireless technology for short-range data exchange between electronic devices (technology)

5) Green

greenheart – a type of hardwood (science)

greenhorn – a term for a newcomer or beginner, especially a settler in the US (culture)

Greenwich time – time based on the meridian passing through the Greenwich Observatory in London (science)

bowling-green – a lawn used for lawn bowling (culture)

evergreen – metaphorically refers to something perpetually current or fashionable (culture)

greenroom – a backstage lounge for actors, traditionally painted green (culture)

greenbacks – US paper currency (named for its green-coloured back) (culture)

greenfield – previously undeveloped land designated for industrial or construction use (science)

6) Yellow

yellow metal – an alloy consisting of 60% copper and 40% zinc, similar to brass (science)

7) **Pink**

Pink Panther – a character from the animated film series (culture)

8) **Brown**

browning – a type of firearm (technology)

brownfield – previously developed industrial or commercial land that may be contaminated (science)

brownie – a dark brown dessert square made from chocolate and nuts (culture)

3.2 Domains of Borrowing

When categorizing these borrowings according to their pertinence to everyday life, the highest number of Anglicisms appears in the domain of culture (21 lexical items: blackbottom, blackout, blackjack, black, Black Friday, whiteboys, Whitehall, white-trash, Rednecks, blue book, blue jeans, blue-stocking, bluezer, greenhorn, bowling-green, evergreen, greenroom, greenbacks, brownie, Pink Panther). This is followed by science (9 lexical items: black-out, blackwood, redwood, greenheart, Greenwich time, greenfield, yellow metal, brownfield) and technology (5 lexical items: White Star Line, Red Star Line, blue peter, Bluetooth, browning). Few, if any, colour-based Anglicisms were found in the domains of economy and media. It is important to note that this classification only applies to Anglicisms involving colour meanings and does not reflect the overall pattern of English lexical borrowings in Serbian.

4. Conclusion

In recent decades, English has become a central element of global communication, making its influence on many languages including Serbian inevitable. Through the analysis of Anglicisms in Serbian, this study has highlighted the process of lexical borrowing as a mechanism for linguistic enrichment and adaptation to evolving social, cultural, and technological realities. In this sense, the adoption of Anglicisms is not merely a linguistic shift, but a pragmatic response to the challenges of contemporary society. Expressions like Black Friday, Red Bull, and Bluetooth do not only expand the lexicon but carry culturally and technologically specific meanings. Terms such as greenbacks and blue jeans have deep socio-economic and cultural significance, while colours in technical contexts, like Bluetooth, serve necessary communicative functions. One is sure, examining colour-based expressions across various contexts like culture, technology, and science offers deeper insight into the interconnections between languages.

However, the question of the boundaries and justification for borrowing foreign linguistic elements should remain a subject of future research.

References

1. Ajdačić, D. (2015) *Poredbena srpsko-ukrajinska frazeologija*. Beograd, Alma.
2. Berlin, B. & Kay, P. (1969) *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution*. Berkeley, University of California Press.
3. Bloomfield, L. (1984) *Language*. University Of Chicago Press.
4. Brenko, A., Glogar M. I., Kapović M., Randić M., Simončić N., Živković M. (2009) *Moć boja - kako su boje osvojile svijet*. Zagreb, Etnografski muzej.
5. Bugarski, R. (2003) *Jezici*. Beograd, Čigoja štampa XX vek.
6. Bugarski, R. (2003) *Lingvistika u primeni*. Beograd, Čigoja štampa XX vek.
7. Bugarski, R. (2003) *Uvod u opštu lingvistiku*. Beograd, Čigoja štampa XX vek.
8. Burnić, H. (2021) Teorijski temelji kontaktne lingvistike. *Zbornik radova*. 13, 317–329. Bihać, Islamski pedagoški fakultet, Univerzitet u Bihaću. <https://doi.org/10.52535/27441695.2021.13.317-330>
9. Filipović, R. (1990) *Anglizmi u hrvatskom ili srpskom jeziku*. Zagreb, JAZU, Školska knjiga.
10. Filipović, R. (1995) *The theoretical background of the project- English element in European languages*. Linguistic Research Institute of the Croatian Academy.
11. Filipović, R. (1986) *Teorija jezika u kontaktu*. Školska knjiga Zagreb, JAZU.
12. Humboldt, W. (1988) *Uvod u delo o Kavi jeziku i drugi ogledi*. Novi Sad, Književna zajednica Novog Sada.
13. Ivić P. & Klajn I. (2007) *Srpski jezički priručnik*. Beograd, Beogradska knjiga.
14. Klaić B. (1987) *Rječnik stranih riječi*. Zagreb, Nakladni zavod MH.
15. Klaić, N., Anić Š., Domović Ž., (2002) *Rječnik stranih riječi*. Zagreb, Sani-Plus.
16. Klajn, I. & Šipka M. (2008) *Veliki rečnik stranih reči i izraza*. Novi Sad, Prometej.
17. Mišić-Ilić, B. (2011) Anglosrpski i Serghish: dva varijeteta srpskog jezika nastala pod uticajem engleskog, *Zbornik radova u čast Ranku Bugarskom, Jezik u upotrebi*, Novi Sad.
18. Muhić, E. (2024) Within These Four Walls: The Perilousness of Elusive Guard Rails and Impermanence of Safety. *Philologist – Journal of Language, Literature, and Cultural Studies*, 15(29), 313–321. <https://doi.org/10.21618/fil2429313m>
19. Prčić, T. (2023) *Srpski sa engleskim: osnove kontaktno-kontrastivne lingvistike*. Novi Sad, Filozofski fakultet.
20. Prčić T., Dražić J, Milić M (2021) *Srpski rječnik novijih anglizama*. I elektronsko izdanje. Novi Sad, Filozofski fakultet.
21. Prčić, T. (2009) Linguistic factors behind the global spread of English, *Zbornik radova Jezici i kulture u kontaktu*, 110–116. Podgorica, Institut za strane jezike.
22. *Rječnik srpskohrvatskog književnog jezika* (1967) Novi Sad-Zagreb, Matica Srpska I-VI.

23. Šajinović-Novaković, J. (2012) Engleski jezik i tradicionalne vrijednosti u doba globalizacije. *Zbornik radova sa naučnog skupa Nauka i tradicija*. 7 (1), 219–229.
24. Terzić, D. (2024) Boja kao identitet. *Hrčak*. vol 13, br. 24, 4005–4016.
25. Trask, R. L. (2005) *Temeljni lingvistički pojmovi*. Zagreb, Školska knjiga.

Jasmina M. Miljković
Jelena V. Šajinović Novaković
Univerzitet u Banjoj Luci
Filološki fakultet
Katedra za anglistiku

ANGLIZMI SA KOMPONENTOM BOJE U SRPSKOM JEZIKU

Rezime

Ovaj rad istražuje uticaj engleskog jezika na srpski jezik kroz proces leksičkog pozajmljivanja sa posebnim fokusom na anglizme koji sadrže komponentu boje (npr. Black Friday, Red Bull, blue jeans). Analizira se kako ovi izrazi obogaćuju srpsku leksiku, ali i kako reflektuju šire društvene, kulturne i tehnološke promjene. Rad posebno ističe dvojaku ulogu boja u jeziku, prvo kao univerzalnih simbola, a potom i kao kulturno specifičnih elemenata koje oblikuju jezički i društveni kontekst. Anglizmi sa oznakama boja često se preuzimaju u izvornom obliku upravo zbog značenja koja je teško precizno prenijeti u jezik primalac. Analizom funkcije izraza vezanih za boje u različitim domenima kao što su kultura, tehnologija i nauka rad pruža uvid u dinamiku jezičkog kontakta i promjenljivu prirodu srpske leksike.

► **Ključne riječi:** anglizmi, srpski jezik, boja, leksičko posuđivanje, jezički kontakt, kulturni identitet.

Preuzeto: 27. 4. 2025.
Korekcije: 20. 5. 2025.
Prihvaćeno: 17. 7. 2025.

Tonina Ibrulj¹

University of Mostar

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

English Language and Literature

Ivana Zovko-Bošnjak

University of Mostar

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

English Language and Literature

DEFINITENESS AND ENGLISH ARTICLES AS CHALLENGES FOR CROATIAN EFL LEARNERS

Abstract: *This paper explores the challenges faced by Croatian native speakers - students of English- in acquiring the article system (a, an, the). Since the Croatian language does not possess a grammatical category of articles, students must learn an entirely new grammatical structure and the concept of definiteness/indefiniteness. Through a theoretical framework grounded in cognitive linguistics and an empirical error analysis based on a gap-filling task, the paper shows that students often perceive definiteness differently from native speakers. The results indicate that the strict application of rules leads to systematic errors, whereas a meaning- and context-based approach enables greater accuracy and understanding. The analysis of three student groups (students of English, computer science, and law) reveals that academic discipline affects success in article use, with English language students demonstrating the highest accuracy. The paper highlights the need for a balance between grammatical explanation and contextual practice in language teaching.*

Keywords: *articles; English language; definiteness; cognitive linguistics; teaching English as a foreign language.*

1. Introduction

The English article system represents one of the most persistent challenges in both teaching and learning English. In teaching practice and according to the

¹ tonina.ibrulj@sum.ba

literature, it is observed that teachers have difficulty finding a way to introduce students to the use of articles, and despite many years of learning, students still make repetitive mistakes, even at advanced levels. The problem is especially noticeable in the case of Croatian speakers, since their native language lacks a grammatical article system. Unlike learners of French, for example, who can draw on parallels such as *a/an* with *un/une* and *the* with *le/la/les*, Croatian learners do not have any equivalent forms in their language to guide them (Kažuza, 1963).

Since Croatian lacks articles, definiteness is not expressed grammatically but is instead understood through context, word order, or other linguistic elements. In the EFL classroom, articles are usually introduced through the concept of definiteness, with teachers explaining that *the* signals definiteness while *a/an* signals indefiniteness. However, such explanations tend to oversimplify the phenomenon. In most textbooks they are accompanied by long lists of rules and exceptions which students are expected to memorize. As Brala-Vukanović (2013) observes, these rules present two major problems: they do not cover the full range of article use, and they lack a unifying semantic principle that would explain why articles work the way they do. This often leaves learners with the impression that article use is arbitrary and unpredictable.

This difficulty points to the broader issue of how definiteness itself is understood and processed by learners. What makes a noun definite or indefinite? How do Croatian learners perceive these concepts when no grammatical system in their L1 requires them to make such distinctions? And, importantly, how effective are traditional teaching methods that rely heavily on prescriptive rules?

The present study seeks to address these questions by combining theoretical perspectives from cognitive linguistics with empirical data from an error analysis. The central hypothesis is that L2 learners of English often perceive definiteness differently from native speakers, particularly when deciding whether a noun should be treated as definite or indefinite. In many cases, they are misled by rules that are too rigid and fail to capture how meaning and context actually shape article use.

To test this hypothesis, the study sets out three main research questions:

1. How do L2 learners perceive and apply definiteness in English, particularly when distinguishing between definite and indefinite nouns?
2. Do students from different academic disciplines (English, Computing, Law) differ in their accuracy of article use, and if so, how?
3. To what extent does reliance on long, rigid lists of article rules contribute to systematic errors in article use across learner groups?

By exploring these questions, the study aims not only to document common errors but also to show how article use is closely tied to perception, discourse, and context. In doing so, it connects theoretical insights with practical implications for teaching English to Croatian learners.

2. The Semantics of Definiteness

English articles lack direct equivalents in Croatian, which leads to persistent confusion. While French learners may relate English articles to their equivalents (e.g., *un/une, le/la/les*), Croatian learners face a different challenge - Croatian does not grammaticalize definiteness. As Kaluza (1963) notes, Slavic speakers often struggle to internalize article use due to the lack of analogous structures in their native language. The linguistic category of definiteness and indefiniteness is frequently viewed as a universal feature of human languages, meaning that it is considered an inherent part of the linguistic knowledge possessed by all language learners. This feature, as described by Chomsky (2002), is seen as a core aspect of universal grammar that transcends individual languages. Similarly, Silić (2000) argues that the expression of definiteness and indefiniteness plays a crucial role in sentence structure across different languages, further supporting the idea of its universality in human language systems.

Lyons (1999) states and Trenkić (2000) confirms that to understand the concept of definiteness, it is essential to differentiate between two types of definiteness: semantic/pragmatic definiteness and grammatical definiteness. Semantic or pragmatic definiteness refers to the listener's ability to identify a specific referent within a discourse. A referent is considered definite if it is identifiable, unique, and can be retrieved from the surrounding context (Heim, 1982; Gundel et al., 1993). In contrast, indefinite expressions serve to introduce new or non-specific entities that have not yet been established or identified within the ongoing discourse.

As Lyons made distinction between grammatical definiteness and semantic/pragmatic definiteness, he specifies that “definiteness *stricto sensu* is not a semantic or pragmatic notion as assumed by almost all writers on the subject but rather a grammatical category on a par with tense, mood, number, gender etc.” (1999:pp.274–275). Therefore, it can be understood as the grammaticalization of semantic/pragmatic definiteness. However, not all languages grammaticalize this element, and only those languages which show overt definiteness marking (such as articles) have a grammatical definiteness system.

A comparable view is expressed by Lambrecht, who conceptualizes definiteness “as the imperfect grammatical reflection of the non-discrete pragmatic category of identifiability” (Lambrecht, 1994:p.92). In other words, Lambrecht sees definiteness not just as a strictly grammatical feature but as something that also reflects broader pragmatic aspects of communication, particularly the ability of a speaker to indicate which entities are identifiable within a given context. This perspective highlights that the grammatical markers of definiteness are in some sense an imperfect representation of a more complex, context-dependent process of identifying referents.

Croatian, unlike English, does not have a system of articles and therefore, does not obligatorily mark definiteness in a standard way. Therefore, definiteness and identifiability are mostly recognized from the context rather than marked by grammatical rules. “Discoursal marking of elements that are usually seen as carrying some part of the semantic load of definiteness relate to word order and information structure” (Brala Vukanović, 2013:p.174). Nominals often appear without any specific marker, and their definiteness depends on the surrounding discourse. Sometimes, determiners or modifiers can appear and give a sense of definiteness but there is no marker that fully express (in)definiteness.

This means that definiteness in Croatian is understood more through pragmatics than through strict grammatical structures. It’s the context that helps listeners recognize whether something is definite or indefinite, and this understanding does not rely on specific rules or markers within the language itself.

Therefore, we can conclude that definiteness is not grammatically represented in Croatian. This fundamental difference helps explain the challenges Croatian learners of English face with article use, as they must not only learn new forms but also internalize a grammatical category that does not exist in their native language.

3. Learning the English Article System and Challenges for Croatian Speakers

The learning of the English article system has long been recognized as problematic for second language (L2) learners, particularly for speakers of languages that do not include article systems such as Croatian and other Slavic languages (Master, 1997; Ionin, Ko & Wexler, 2004; Trenkić, 2008). Learners whose native languages include articles often rely on structural parallels, whereas speakers of languages without articles must learn a completely new grammatical category. The literature consistently shows that L2 learners make predictable errors: omission of articles, substitution of *a* for *the* or vice versa, and overuse of the definite article with ref-

erents that are not unique or contextually identifiable (Master, 1997; Ionin, Ko & Wexler, 2004). Errors are particularly pronounced among Croatian learners, who may systematically omit articles, overuse *the* with new or non-specific nouns, or misapply *a/an* in contexts requiring definiteness (Ionin et al., 2004; Trenkić, 2008).

One source of these systematic errors lies in the nature of definiteness as a linguistic category. Lyons (1999) distinguishes between semantic/pragmatic definiteness, referring to the universal concept of identifiability and grammatical definiteness, which is the language-specific encoding of that concept. Identifiability is a pragmatic notion present in all languages, reflecting the hearer's ability to recognize a referent, but only some languages, like English, grammaticalize it through articles. Hawkins (1991) points out that in English, the definite article signals that the speaker assumes the hearer can uniquely identify the referent, whereas the indefinite article introduces a new, non-unique referent into discourse. "*The* and *a* therefore provide a grammatically, and a psycholinguistically real contrast set, in which *the* is the logically stronger member of the pair" (Hawkins, 1991:p.417). Trenkić confirms that Croatian learners, by contrast, assume definiteness from context, word order, demonstratives, or possessives as "there are determiner-like elements (on a par with English possessive or demonstrative determiners, for example) that can optionally precede a noun" (2008:p.301), making the explicit marking of definiteness through articles a significant conceptual shift.

From a cognitive linguistics perspective, article use is not merely a matter of syntax but also of categorization and perspective-taking (Langacker, 1991; Tyler, 2012). Consequently, "domains are construed as cognitive entities, representational spaces, conceptual complexes of varying levels of intricacy and organisation" (Muhić, 2024:p.314). Learners must assess whether a referent is unique, identifiable, or specific within discourse and then select the appropriate article form. This requires both linguistic knowledge and pragmatic sensitivity, which is especially challenging for speakers of languages that do not encode these distinctions. Learners often use strategies from their first language or simple "rules of thumb," such as "use *the* for important nouns" or "use *a* for first mention," which can lead to mistakes (Master, 1997; Ionin, Ko & Wexler, 2004).

Traditional grammar teaching, as exemplified by Quirk et al. (1991) and Swan (1996), often relies on prescriptive rules and exceptions. For learners whose first language lacks articles, this is especially challenging, because memorizing rules alone does not ensure they understand how articles function in context. Rules such as "use *the* for unique objects" or "use *a* for first mention" are oversimplified and may encourage learners to apply articles mechanically, disregarding context

(Brala-Vukanović, 2013; Trenkić, 2008). L2 learners often use these rules too rigidly and fail to pay attention to the context in which articles are used.

Meaning-based approaches take a different view, stressing that article use is not just about rules but about how language connects the speaker, the listener, and the referent. Learners are encouraged to consider whether the referent is identifiable to the hearer, whether it is new information, or whether it refers to a category as a whole or a specific instance. Cognitive linguistic pedagogy suggests that exposure to authentic discourse and contextualized tasks, such as comparing minimally different sentences (*I saw a doctor* vs. *I saw the doctor*), can enhance learners' sensitivity to these pragmatic distinctions (Tyler, 2012).

Empirical research supports this approach. Studies indicate that learners who receive meaning-based instruction demonstrate greater accuracy in article use, particularly in contexts where rigid rules are insufficient (Ionin et al., 2004). For Croatian learners, whose first language does not mark definiteness, teaching based on meaning helps them connect general communication strategies to English articles, making it easier to use them correctly in context instead of just memorizing rules (Brala-Vukanović, 2013; Trenkić, 2008).

In conclusion, the acquisition of the English article system is both a conceptual and structural challenge for Croatian learners. Success relies on developing a sensitivity to pragmatic cues and the ability to interpret referents in context, rather than just memorizing prescriptive rules. Seeing definiteness as a universal category that is expressed differently across languages helps explain why learning English articles is slow, prone to errors, and closely linked to understanding discourse.

4. Rule-Based vs. Meaning-Based Instruction

Pedagogical approaches to teaching the English article system traditionally rely on rule-based instruction. Learners are introduced to explicit lists of conditions for using *a/an*, *the*, or zero article, often supplemented with numerous exceptions (Quirk et al., 1991; Swan, 1988). While such instruction has the advantage of clarity and systematization, it tends to reduce article use to mechanical procedures. For learners whose L1 does not mark definiteness through articles, this approach may result in overgeneralization and fossilization of errors. Traditional grammar explanations of articles are often dominated by so-called "exceptions", giving learners the impression that the rules are unpredictable and difficult to master.

In Croatian schools, children start learning English at the age of seven and continue throughout primary and secondary education. Teachers are usually non-native

speakers (Croatian L1) educated at local universities, and exposure to English in the classroom is limited to a few hours per week. Given this limited input, it is unrealistic to expect that students will acquire the article system naturally; articles must be explicitly taught as a new grammatical category. However, analysis of commonly used textbooks shows that the article system does not receive much attention, as teachers tend to focus on tenses, nouns, gender, and case (Brala-Vukanović, 2013). Articles are often skipped or only briefly mentioned, partly because teachers themselves may lack confidence in their use. As a result, students are usually presented with prescriptive rules, such as “use *the* before unique objects,” often accompanied by long lists of exceptions. Brala-Vukanović (2013) highlights two major shortcomings of such rules: first, they do not cover all usage types and are inefficient at the predictive level; second, they fail to provide a semantic basis explaining what unites different article usages, contributing to learners’ perception of arbitrariness and confusion.

Rule-based instruction presumes that learners can directly apply prescriptive norms to authentic discourse. However, L2 learners often misapply rules because they interpret them rigidly, without recognizing the role of discourse context (Trenkić, 2008). For instance, the rule “use *the* when the noun is unique” is misleading in contexts such as generic reference (*The tiger is an endangered species*), where uniqueness is not tied to a specific identifiable referent. Similarly, rules suggesting “use *a* for first mention” fail when the speaker assumes shared knowledge of the referent. Such oversimplifications reinforce errors rather than promote understanding.

Meaning-based instruction, by contrast, shifts the focus to how articles encode relationships between speaker, hearer, and referent. Lambrecht (1994) and Lyons (1999) discuss that one of the best approaches to understanding articles is through cognitive and pragmatic perspectives, which emphasize how identifiable, familiar, and prominent referents are within a given context. Instead of dealing with articles through fixed grammatical rules, they can be seen as tools that help speakers manage how information is conveyed. Therefore, the authors suggest that learners reflect on questions such as: is the referent recognizable to the listener? Is it new information? Does it point to a general category or a specific instance? These considerations illustrate the intuitive processes that native speakers carry out without conscious thought. Lambrecht (1994) and Lyons (1999) further note that mastering articles depends on interpreting their referential function in context, rather than simply memorizing rules, which explains why Croatian learners often struggle to connect article use with discourse meaning.

Cognitive linguistic pedagogy (Tyler, 2012) suggests that learners benefit from exposure to authentic discourse where article use is seen in context. Activities such

as comparing minimally different sentences (*I saw a doctor* vs. *I saw the doctor*) highlight the meaning differences rather than just form. Empirical evidence indicates that learners who receive meaning-based instruction develop greater accuracy in article use, particularly in contexts where rules alone are insufficient (Ionin et al., 2004). Combining exercises that focus on meaning with clear rule guidance can improve learning, since rules offer structure while exposure to real contexts develops learners' sensitivity to how language is used.

For Croatian learners, the benefits of meaning-based instruction are especially pronounced. Since their L1 lacks grammaticalized definiteness, rule-based instruction may appear arbitrary and disconnected from their linguistic experience. Focusing instead on universal concepts of identifiability and shared knowledge allows learners to map familiar pragmatic strategies onto new grammatical forms. This helps learners move away from memorizing rules and use articles more naturally in context. As Ibrulj and Zovko-Bošnjak (2012) noted, Bernays' imaginative concepts reshaped language and terminology in the field of communication, emphasizing the power of precise linguistic expression. Similarly, meaning-based approaches enable learners to reshape their understanding and use of English articles, highlighting the crucial role of context, pragmatic awareness, and precise linguistic expression in acquiring this complex grammatical category.

In conclusion, while rule-based instruction offers an initial framework for article use, it is meaning-based instruction that enables learners to internalize the pragmatic and cognitive dimensions of definiteness. A balanced pedagogy combining structural clarity with contextualized practice is therefore the most promising approach to teaching English articles to Croatian EFL learners.

5. Discipline-Specific Language Use

The type of English students are exposed to can make a real difference in how they use articles. English majors tend to do better, probably because they regularly read and work with texts that are narrative, argumentative, or academically focused. This kind of input lets them see articles in action, i.e., how they signal definiteness, introduce new information, or link ideas across sentences. They do not just memorize rules; they get a sense of how articles function in real communication, which seems to help them develop a more intuitive understanding of reference.

Computing students, on the other hand, mostly deal with technical English. Their texts are full of specialized terms, abbreviations, and noun phrases that often appear without articles (Ionin, Ko & Wexler, 2004; Trenkić, 2008). Because arti-

cles are not very noticeable in this kind of language, learners have fewer chances to pick up on their pragmatic role. As a result, they often overgeneralize rules or omit articles entirely, which leads to predictable mistakes.

Law students face a different kind of challenge. They see English mostly in formal, legal contexts, with fixed expressions and formulaic language (Brala-Vukanović, 2013). While this can help them learn specific rules, it does not always encourage flexible thinking about article use. They may know that *the contract* or *the defendant* is correct in legal writing, but struggle to apply articles in everyday or narrative contexts.

These differences show that the kind of language students are exposed to, i.e., its style, register, and typical structures matters a lot. Combined with the limited explicit instruction they usually get in earlier schooling, it helps explain why different student groups make different kinds of errors. English majors get more meaningful, context-rich input, which seems to strengthen both structural and pragmatic understanding. Computing and law students, by contrast, often rely on rules or educated guesses, which makes their article use more mechanical.

From a pedagogical perspective, this means that teachers could benefit from taking into account the disciplinary background of their students. Giving computing or law students extra practice with articles in narrative or everyday contexts could help them apply what they know more flexibly, not just in technical or formal texts. In this way, learners can build a deeper understanding of English articles that goes beyond memorizing rules and exceptions.

6. Methodology

An error analysis of English articles was conducted for the purposes of this study. Error analysis is a well-established method in applied linguistics, used to document the types of errors that appear in learner language, determine whether these errors are systematic, and, where possible, identify their causes (Corder, 1967; Ellis, 1994). In this study, the analysis focused specifically on the use of the English article system (*a*, *an*, *the*), with attention to how learners perceive definiteness and apply articles in context.

The primary instrument for data collection was a gap-filling task based on an authentic text. One large newspaper article from the BBC web portal was selected for this purpose. From this text, all definite and indefinite articles were removed, leaving blank spaces. In addition, blanks were inserted in a few places where articles were not strictly necessary, in order to test learners' sensitivity to discourse and pragmatic cues.

The modified text was then presented to students from different academic disciplines, i.e., English, Computing, and Law, who were asked to fill in the blanks with the appropriate articles (*a*, *an*, or *the*). After the students completed the task, an error analysis was conducted to identify patterns of misuse, omission, or over-generalization. The analysis focused on comparing learners' responses with the target forms in context and examining which types of nouns or discourse situations were most frequently problematic. The research was conducted in the period from 1 January 2025 to 1 June 2025.

This methodological approach was informed by theoretical insights discussed in the previous chapters. In particular, the analysis draws on cognitive linguistic perspectives, which emphasize that article use is governed less by rigid rules and more by interpretation, perspective-taking, and sensitivity to discourse (Langacker, 1991; Tyler, 2012). It also builds on extensive practical experience working with L2 learners of English, allowing for an informed selection of text and recognition of common error patterns.

Overall, this method allowed for a detailed examination of learners' article use, revealing both systematic errors and individual variation. By using authentic texts and a gap-filling task, it was possible to connect empirical observations directly to the theoretical framework established earlier, providing a solid basis for the analysis of results presented in the next chapter.

6.1. Hypothesis and Research Questions

The hypothesis is that L2 learners often understand definiteness differently from native speakers, especially when deciding whether a noun is definite or indefinite. In many cases, they are misled by article rules, which can be too rigid and not always reflect how meaning works in context. This perspective is supported by recent findings in cognitive linguistics, which suggest that article use depends more on perception and interpretation than on fixed rules (Langacker, 1991; Tyler, 2012; Trenkić, 2000; Brala Vukanović, 2013).

To explore this hypothesis, the study addresses three main research questions:

1. How do L2 learners perceive and apply definiteness in English, particularly when distinguishing between definite and indefinite nouns?
2. Do students from different academic disciplines (English, Computing, Law) differ in their accuracy of article use, and if so, how?
3. To what extent does reliance on long, rigid lists of article rules contribute to systematic errors in article use across learner groups?

These research questions link the theoretical framework of cognitive linguistics and second language acquisition with the empirical investigation conducted in this study. They guide the design of the methodology, including the gap-filling task with authentic texts, and provide a clear structure for the subsequent error analysis. By framing the study around these questions, it becomes possible to examine how learners' perception of definiteness, their disciplinary background, and their reliance on prescriptive rules interact to shape their article use in English.

7. Analysis, Results and Discussion

Group	Total Article Opportunities per Student	Lowest Scoring Student	Highest Scoring Student	Correct Articles per Study group (mean)	Accuracy Percentage
English	195	82	161	125.67	64.4%
Computing	195	45	138	96.13	49.3%
Law	195	27	123	62.67	32.1%

Table 1. Student Performance in English Article Task:
English, Computing, and Law

The results of the gap-filling task are summarized in Table 1. Each student had 195 opportunities to correctly use the articles *a*, *an*, *the*, or the zero article. Of these, 15 blanks were intentionally designed to require no article at all, in order to test learners' ability to recognize when omission was appropriate and to increase the overall difficulty of the task. A total of 30 students participated in each study group (English, Computing, and Law). To calculate group performance, the number of correct articles supplied by each student was first counted. From these individual results, the arithmetic mean was calculated for each group. Accuracy percentage was then derived by dividing the mean number of correct responses by the total number of article opportunities (195), and multiplying by 100. In addition, the lowest and highest individual scores within each group are reported, in order to illustrate the degree of variation between students.

As the table shows, the English group achieved the highest mean score (125.67 correct articles, or 64.4%), followed by the Computing group (96.13 correct, or

49.3%), and finally the Law group (62.67 correct, or 32.1%). The range of scores also highlights substantial variation: English students scored between 82 and 161, Computing students between 45 and 138, and Law students between 27 and 123. These results suggest that disciplinary background influences overall accuracy in article use, with English majors demonstrating comparatively stronger performance but still showing variation across individuals.

To better understand why students struggled, and how their errors reflect conceptual and contextual challenges rather than simple grammatical rule misapplications, a qualitative error analysis was conducted for each group. Errors were categorized into six main types based on their linguistic context:

1. Definite vs. Indefinite Reference
2. Abstract/Uncountable Nouns
3. Proper Names & Institutions
4. Postmodified Noun Phrases
5. National/Cultural Adjectives
6. Generic Reference

Each group demonstrated unique tendencies and recurring patterns in article misuse, as outlined below. The examples provided in each category are representative samples selected to illustrate the most common and important error patterns observed within each student group. Due to the large size of the dataset, it was not possible to include every individual instance of article misuse. Instead, these examples were chosen based on how often they occurred and how well they represent the overall patterns in the qualitative analysis.

Group A: English Students

Category 1: Definite vs. Indefinite Reference

Example: "...had been given ___ opportunity to stage his own version..."

Correct use: "...was given **the** opportunity..."

Explanation: English students made this mistake because they did not always recognize that "opportunity" referred to a specific, important thing in the context. Even advanced learners sometimes miss using *the* when it signals something definite and known.

Category 2: Abstract/Uncountable Nouns

Example: "...everything else about ___ production flowed from that one simple idea."

Correct use: "...everything else about **the** production flowed from that one simple idea."

Explanation: Students treated “production” as a general concept rather than a specific, known event, leading them to omit *the*. This illustrates that their sense of definiteness does not align with that of native speakers, which leads to article errors despite rule-based instruction.

Category 3: Proper Names & Institutions

Example: “...winning both ____ Olivier and the Tony awards.”

Correct use: “...winning both Olivier and Tony awards.” (**zero article**)

Explanation: Students added *the* before the award names, treating them as specific or previously mentioned, but here the awards are mentioned generically. This shows a tendency to over-apply rules about definiteness, leading to article misuse.

Category 4: Postmodified Noun Phrases

Example: “...it was almost beyond ____ definition, a contemporary piece set to the original music of Tchaikovsky.”

Correct use: “...it was almost beyond definition...” (**zero article**)

Explanation: Students might insert “the” before “definition” because of the modifier “beyond,” thinking it needs a definite article. However, here “definition” is used abstractly and uncountably, so zero article is correct. This shows learners’ difficulty in perceiving when postmodified abstract nouns require no article.

Category 5: National/Cultural Adjectives

Example: “...were created by Bourne and ____ British designer Lez Brotherston.”

Correct use: “...were created by Bourne and British designer Lez Brotherston.” (**zero article**)

Explanation: Students often add *the* because they think “British designer” means a specific, known person, so they treat it like a definite noun phrase. It illustrates that definiteness differs from native speakers. In this context, “British designer” is used more like a general job title, not requiring *the*. The usual grammar rules about *the* can be misleading here, causing students to add *the* unnecessarily. This kind of article use is better learned through context and natural exposure rather than just fixed rules.

Category 6: Generic Reference

Example: “...they show that both can be embraced. It's ____ iconic piece...”

Correct use: “...It's **an** iconic piece...”

Explanation: Some students mistakenly use *the iconic piece*, assuming that because the object is important or culturally significant, it requires the definite article.

However, in this context, *an iconic piece* is correct because it refers to one example among many, not a uniquely identified referent. Such error can be explained by the fact that rules like “use *the* for well-known or important things,” can be misleading, as it oversimplify how definiteness works. It also reflects how L2 learners may misperceive generic references as definite due to limited contextual exposure.

GROUP B: COMPUTING STUDENTS

Category 1: Definite vs. Indefinite Reference

Example: “It was ____ shock to many in the audience...”

Correct article: “...was **a** shock to many...” (specific event)

Explanation: Students frequently used *the* incorrectly or omitted the article *a* altogether because they did not recognize “shock” as a new, specific event. This suggests difficulties in understanding referential status, i.e., whether a noun refers to something already known and definite, or something new and indefinite within the context.

Category 2: Abstract/Uncountable Nouns

Example: ...changed ballet with ____ one ‘big idea.’”

Correct article: “...changed ballet with one ‘big idea.’” (**no article**)

Explanation: Students wrongly inserted *a* before *one*, showing they misunderstood the nature of the abstract noun and applied article rules incorrectly with a quantifier. This suggests that article mistakes often come from misinterpreting concepts, especially when dealing with abstract countable nouns modified by numbers.

Category 3: Proper Names & Institutions

Example: “...Adam Cooper, ____ Royal Ballet principal dancer...”

Correct article: “...Adam Cooper, **a** Royal Ballet principal dancer...”

Explanation: Students made a mistake by using *the* instead of *a* treating “Royal Ballet principal dancer” as a unique role. This likely comes from overapplying article rules that associate institutional titles with definiteness. They didn’t consider that “principal dancer” is one of several possible roles in the Royal Ballet. This supports the idea that long lists of rules for article use can be confusing, as they encourage strict following of rules instead of paying attention to the meaning and context.

Category 4: Postmodified Noun Phrases

Example: ... ____ pair of white feathery breeches on permanent display at London’s V&A museum.”

Correct article: "... a pair of white feathery breeches on permanent display at London's V&A museum."

Explanation: The noun phrase "pair of white feathery breeches on permanent display at London's V&A museum" is postmodified and refers to one specific but not unique item, so it requires the indefinite article *a*. Students made errors by either omitting the article or incorrectly inserting the definite article *the*, likely because they applied article rules mechanically without understanding that the postmodifier does not make the noun unique. This shows how misleading rigid rules can be when students fail to appreciate the referential specificity introduced by the postmodifier and the context, resulting in article misuse.

Category 5: National/Cultural Adjectives

Example: "...where the setting was ____ Victorian-style orphanage."

Correct article: "...where the setting was a Victorian-style orphanage."

Explanation: Students often used the definite article *the* instead of the correct indefinite article *a* before "Victorian-style orphanage" because they mistakenly perceived it as a specific, known entity. This error stems from rigidly applying article rules without considering that the phrase refers to one of many possible orphanages, not a unique or previously mentioned one. Their misunderstanding of definiteness in context led to incorrect article use.

Category 6: Generic Reference

Example: "...known for humour and ____ jokey approach to things..."

Correct article: "...known for humour and a jokey approach to things..."

Explanation: Omission of the indefinite article *a*. The phrase "jokey approach" is used generically here, referring to one of many possible approaches. The indefinite article *a* is required to mark this non-specific meaning. Omitting it shows that students did not clearly understand the difference between general and specific meaning in context.

Group C: Law Students

Category 1: Definite vs. Indefinite Reference

Example: "...tells ____ BBC about ____ show that radically changed ballet..."

Correct article: "...tells **the** BBC about **the** show..."

Explanation: Law students omitted *the* or used *a*, likely due to overgeneralized rules (e.g. *use "a" for first mentions*) and a weak understanding of contextual definiteness. They treated known entities (*the BBC, the show*) as new or generic,

showing reliance on form over meaning. This supports the hypothesis that article use based solely on rules, without considering discourse context, leads to errors.

Category 2: Abstract/Uncountable Nouns

Example: "...he had been given ____ opportunity to stage his own version..."

Correct article: "...been given **the** opportunity..."

Explanation: Students left out *the*, probably seeing "opportunity" as a general or abstract idea, not realizing it referred to a specific, one-time chance mentioned in the context. This shows they had trouble recognizing when abstract or uncountable nouns need *the* because the situation makes them specific, again suggesting they relied more on fixed rules than on understanding the meaning in context.

Category 3: Proper Names & Institutions

Example: "...at London's Sadler's Wells Theatre. It was ____ cherished dream..."

Correct article: "...It was a cherished dream..."

Explanation: Students incorrectly added *the* before "cherished dream," likely because they extended the definiteness of the proper noun (Sadler's Wells Theatre) to the following noun, or confused the known place with a new idea. "Cherished dream" introduces a new, countable concept, so it requires the indefinite article *a*. This error reflects difficulty in recognizing the referential status of a new entity, rather than just applying the previous article automatically.

Category 4: Postmodified Noun Phrases

Example: "And he keeps saying, 'no I'll only get married for ____ true love.'"

Correct form: "...for **true love**." (zero article)

Explanation: The misuse of *a* shows students may treat "true love" as a countable item, ignoring its fixed, abstract, and generic usage, likely applying rules for concrete nouns rather than recognizing lexicalized expressions.

Category 5: National/Cultural Adjectives

Example: "Like the cohort during that era known as ____ YBAs..."

Correct use: "...known as **the** YBAs (Young British Artists)..."

Explanation: Omitting *the* suggests students overlook that acronyms like YBAs denote specific, recognized groups, applying rules for general plurals instead of marking defined cultural entities.

Category 6: Generic Reference

Example: "...the image of ____ female swans, the dancers, the tutus, was the classical look anyone would imagine."

Correct use: “...the image of female swans, the dancers, the tutus, was the classical look...” (zero article)

Explanation: Students perceived “female swans” as definite due to prior context or stereotypes, so they automatically added *the*, following the rule that known or mentioned entities take *the*. However, in this case “female swans” is a generic reference, referring to a whole category or typical example, not specific individuals. This shows how the rule for using *the* can be misleading when the distinction between generic and definite reference is unclear.

8. Conclusion

The hypothesis of this study stated that L2 learners often understand definiteness differently from native speakers, especially when deciding whether a noun is definite or indefinite. In many cases, they are misled by article rules, which can be too rigid and not always reflect how meaning works in context. The findings of the analysis support this hypothesis. Learners did not simply make random slips but showed systematic patterns of error that revealed how their perception of definiteness diverged from native-speaker usage.

Concerning the first research question on how L2 learners understand and use definiteness in English, the error analysis revealed that Croatian learners often struggled to match native speakers’ norms in their use of definiteness. For example, abstract nouns such as *opportunity* or *production* were often treated as general concepts and left without articles, even though the context required *the* (e.g. *the opportunity* to stage his own version). Similarly, generic reference was frequently misinterpreted, with learners using *the iconic piece* instead of *an iconic piece*. These results support cognitive linguistic claims (Langacker, 1991; Tyler, 2012) that article use is not simply a matter of following prescriptive rules, but of perspective-taking and context-sensitive categorization.

Research question 2 addressed disciplinary differences. The results revealed clear variation across the three groups of 30 students each: English majors achieved the highest accuracy (64.4%), Computing students were less accurate (49.3%), while Law students performed worst (32.1%). This pattern can be explained by disciplinary exposure. English majors, regularly working with argumentative and narrative texts, demonstrated greater sensitivity to discourse functions of articles. Computing students, who are exposed mainly to technical English with many bare noun phrases, had fewer opportunities to notice article use. Law students, in turn, showed the weakest performance, often omitting articles or transferring fixed pat-

terns into inappropriate contexts. These findings confirm that the type of input and register has a direct impact on learners' article accuracy (cf. Brala-Vukanović, 2013).

Research question 3 examined the influence of rigid rules. The analysis showed that reliance on simplified rules such as "use *the* for unique or important nouns" or "use *a* for first mention" led to predictable errors. Learners added *the* in contexts with national adjectives (e.g. *the British designer* instead of *British designer*) or misused articles in postmodified noun phrases (e.g. *the definition* where zero article was required). These examples confirm earlier findings (Ionin, Ko & Wexler, 2004; Trenkić, 2008) that learners from article-less languages struggle not only because of structural gaps in their L1, but also because rule-based instruction promotes mechanical application rather than discourse awareness.

If we look at all the results together, it is clear that Croatian students' difficulties with English articles are related to both conceptual reasons (because articles do not exist in the Croatian language) and the teaching method (since articles are often covered superficially in classes). Conceptually, they must acquire a grammatical category that does not exist in Croatian, where definiteness is normally recognized from context rather than overtly marked. Pedagogically, the dominance of rule-based instruction reinforces systematic errors, as rules often fail to account for context and pragmatic interpretation.

The results obtained confirm the hypothesis: Croatian students do indeed interpret definiteness differently than native speakers, and relying on rigid rules further complicates the correct use of articles. The research questions were also answered in line with the theoretical framework: (1) learners' perception of definiteness diverges from native norms, especially with abstract nouns, generics, and postmodified phrases; (2) disciplinary background strongly influences accuracy, with English students performing considerably better than Computing and Law students; and (3) prescriptive rule-based teaching contributes to systematic errors. This study therefore reinforces the view that successful article acquisition requires not only structural knowledge but also the development of pragmatic sensitivity and flexible interpretation in discourse.

Finally, while the study provides valuable insights, it is limited in scale and scope. Broader research, involving larger samples and different types of tasks, is needed to further investigate the psycholinguistic processes underlying article use. Such research should also pay attention to disciplinary exposure, as well as to teaching methods, balancing structural explanation with meaning-based practice. Only by combining these perspectives can L2 learners develop a flexible and accurate understanding of English articles.

References

1. Brala-Vukanović, M. (2013) *Perspectives on Meaning and Introduction to Philosophical, Lexical and Cognitive Semantics*. Rijeka, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Rijeka.
2. Chomsky, N. (2002) *On Nature and Language*, ed. A. Belletti & L. Rizzi. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
3. Corder, S. P. (1967) The Significance of Learners' Errors. *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*, 5, 161–170.
4. Ellis, R. (1994) *The Study of Second Language Acquisition*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
5. Gundel, J. K., Hedberg, N. & Zacharski, R. (1993) Cognitive Status and the Form of Referring Expressions in Discourse. *Language*, 69(2), 274–307.
6. Hawkins, J. A. (1991) On (in)definite articles: Implicatures and (un)grammaticality prediction. *Journal of Linguistics*, 27(2), 405–442.
7. Heim, I. (1982) The Semantics of Definite and Indefinite Noun Phrases. *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 5(4), 447–478.
8. Ibrulj, T. & Zovko-Bošnjak, I. (2023) Lexicon of Public Relations: Exploring Edward Bernays' Influence on Introducing Public Relations Concepts and Vocabulary Terms. *South Eastern European Journal of Communication*, 5(special issue), University of Mostar – Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences.
9. Ionin, T., Ko, H. & Wexler, K. (2004) Article semantics in L2 acquisition: The role of specificity. *Language Acquisition*, 12(1), 3–69.
10. Kałuza, H. (1963) Teaching the English articles to speakers of Slavic. *Language Learning*, XIII(2), 113–124.
11. Langacker, R. W. (1991) *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, Volume II: Descriptive Application*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.
12. Lambrecht, K. (1994) *Information Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus, and the Mental Representations of Discourse Referents*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
13. Lyons, C. (1999) *Definiteness*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
14. Master, P. (1997) The English article system: Acquisition, function, and pedagogy. *System*, 25(2), 215–232.
15. Muhić, E. (2024) Within these four walls: the perilousness of elusive guard rails and impermanence of safety. *Filolog*, Banjaluka, Filoloski Fakultet u Banjaluci. BROJ, STR?
16. Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G. & Svartvik, J. (1991) *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London, Longman.
17. Silić, J. (2000) Kategorija neodređenosti/određenosti i načini njezina izražavanja. *Riječki filološki dani*, 401–405.
18. Swan, M. (1996) *Practical English Usage. International Student's Edition*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
19. Trenkić, D. (2000) *The acquisition of English articles by Serbian speakers*. Cambridge, Research Centre for English and Applied Linguistics and Darwin College, University of Cambridge.

20. Trenkić, D. (2008) Variability in second language article production: beyond the representational deficit vs. processing constraints debate. *Second Language Research*, 23(3), 289–327.
21. Tyler, A. (2012) *Cognitive Linguistics and Second Language Learning: Theoretical Perspectives and Pedagogical Applications*. Amsterdam, John Benjamins.

Tonina Ibrulj
Sveučilište u Mostaru
Filozofski fakultet
Engleski jezik i književnost
Ivana Zovko-Bošnjak
Sveučilište u Mostaru
Filozofski fakultet
Engleski jezik i književnost

ODREĐENOST I SUSTAV ČLANOVA ENGLESKOG JEZIKA KAO IZAZOV U UČENJU ZA HRVATSKE IZVORNE GOVORNIKE

Rezime

Ovaj rad istražuje izazove s kojima se hrvatski izvorni govornici – studenti engleskog jezika – suočavaju pri usvajanju sustava članova (a, an, the). Budući da hrvatski jezik ne posjeduje gramatičku kategoriju članova, studenti moraju usvojiti potpuno novu gramatičku strukturu i koncept određenosti/neodređenosti. Kroz teorijski okvir utemeljen na kognitivnoj lingvistici i empirijsku analizu pogrešaka u zadatku popunjavanja praznina, rad pokazuje da studenti često drugačije shvaćaju određenost u odnosu na izvorne govornike. Rezultati ukazuju da stroga primjena pravila dovodi do sustavnih pogrešaka, dok pristup utemeljen na značenju i kontekstu omogućuje bolju točnost i razumijevanje. Analiza triju studentskih grupa (studenti engleskog jezika, računarstva i prava) otkriva da akademska disciplina utječe na uspješnost u uporabi članova, pri čemu su studenti engleskog jezika pokazali najveću preciznost. Rad naglašava potrebu za ravnotežom između gramatičkog objašnjenja i kontekstualne prakse u nastavi.

► **Ključne riječi:** članovi, engleski jezik, određenost, kognitivna lingvistika, nastava engleskog kao stranog jezika.

Emir Z. Muhić¹
University of Banja Luka
Faculty of Philology
English Department

(MIS)HEARING ACCIDENTALLY ON PURPOSE: THE VENIAL DESOLATION OF SOUND(S)

Abstract: Speakers of a kaleidoscopic myriad of equally mystifying and mesmerising languages across the board have done battle since time immemorial over the notions of clarity and precision of the 'spoken' output generated by dint of an either preferred or accessible linguistic mechanism. It comes as no surprise that the bone of contention is yet to be buried with the ever-deepening and widening margin of disparity neither taken in good part nor always seen as a 'licenced' variant.

Despite the ostensible cline to greater permissiveness, a recrudescence of deep-seated strait-laced prejudices can be observed while novel forms of communication are often dismissed as substandard and consigned to a peripheralised state of inescapable inexactitude.

The small-scale survey at hand takes a dive into the cognitive arenas of pervasive social media for the two-fold sake – mining a germane corpus and acquiring the toolkit to decipher novel semantic subsystems. The next port of call is a closer look at the backlash from academia and other 'authorised' communities, all the while keeping an eye out for reasonably sound grounds to justify these revitalised tendencies towards what, for a time, seemed an antiquated and obsolete convention. Use is made of the concepts pertaining to confirmation bias, heterophemy and more broadly why we mishear or choose to mishear each other ever so often.

Keywords: reality reshaping, novel linguistic systems, artful interaction, perisocial communions, prosumers, Hikikomori.

1. The inception of an idea: the quagmire of happiness

In the metaphorical ballpark spanning a staggering course of eighty years back in 1938, One of the athenaea of scholarship nestled along the US Eastern Seaboard,

¹ emir.muhic@ff.unibl.org

more specifically Harvard University, all but imperceptibly conducted, for want of a better streamlined catena, a happiness study. The findings are arguably, and perhaps unsurprisingly, unremarkable, common sense-level predictable and even intellectually anticlimactic. However, simplicity, after all, in the vast expanse of the unnerving unease of human existence, does merit due credit. In a proverbial nutshell, the purported inventory of 'a life well lived' comprises the following building blocks retooled as follows:

1. Loneliness is lethal – it is as pernicious as inebriation or tobacco abuse
2. Core relationships are tantamount to survival
3. The notions of empathy were largely perceived as either vague, unknown or irrelevant altogether
4. Somatic health maintenance routines are intertwined with the mind well-being of the mind
5. Healthy lifestyle habits and demeanour defined as adaptive coping mechanisms and stability²

Should the aforementioned research attempt be given blinkered credence, we may insinuate ourselves, fully on our own recognizance, down the rabbit hole of a yet another form of societal imperative of unrelenting happiness, and that, doubtless generates both inequitable pressure and unrealistically enervating expectations commodifying the sublime into a no-frills reified and, quite bluntly, paid service.

Thereby hangs a tale, and the tale is a highly multifaceted and hauntingly refined onslaught on the intricacy of the human mind flawlessly executed by unyielding overtures and forays into the exquisitely sensitive realms of our psyche.

These seemingly calculated attacks seem to target the unshielded flanks quite often epitomized in the concepts of connectivity – the chipped bond of dehumanized communication and the dire need to be granted into the halls of membership and belonging. This is by no means meant to detract from the silver linings of the study. It does, nonetheless, hover above a delicate inflection point between a well-meaning salubrious message redolent of solicited advice or corporate sermonizing geared at propelling the intended target to kick over the traces, move the goalposts and become prosumers in the new marketplace of hyper-peddling far beyond any Lewis Carroll's most outlandish imaginings.

The optics may ring dystopian, but the truth of the matter has ever only been the inevitable reality: always relative to each individual, subjective and irascibly elusive leading to communicative cross purposes and contention. It is for better

² These descriptors are specifically tailored to the research tenor of this particular paper, as has been previously indicated. For the original text, refer to the Harvard Gazette article provided in the references.

or worse objectively unknowable, yet resilient to a singular interpretation, and therefore the study briefly touched upon, should be seen as another attempt at decrypting the human condition with a view of shedding some much desired light on the demersal zone of this philosophical and linguistic conundrum. Since the Harvard scholars supplied the time-delineated empirical substantiation, it is safe to venture another hypothesis. Modern-day linguistic cohorts lean into the driving seat more confidently effectively taking the reins and morphing into prosumers – a word previously used in passing, but here firmly underscored. Prosumers are in pursuit of new communicative paradigms and the advent of Artificial Intelligence has merely accelerated the pace. The nucleation point of the societal nexus predates AI, in fact, the artificiality has long masqueraded as authenticity in the guise of social media personalities and myriad parasocial interactions that have emerged as surrogates for human-to-human in-person and on-site encounters.

The paper posits that this is a corollary of the innate drive to cancel out the integrity-violating loneliness as evidenced to be the attested cause of health deterioration, but unwittingly, it sculpted a paradoxical universe of safe-distance pseudo-communication pushing the willing prosumers³ farther away from one another at an ever-increasing gallop.

2. Me, myself and AI

A germane digression at this juncture is in order. To dovetail nicely with the preceding remarks, the Japanese concept of Hikikomori is perfunctorily investigated. An interpretative, and indeed in most certain terms, no ironclad definition is herein embedded. It paints these behavioural mores as system of seclusion and to a certain extent self-excommunication due to insurmountable hurdles of everyday life. Form a cultural stance, there is no rhyme or reason to intrude into uncharted territory and claim expertise, with a modicum of hauteur and hubris it might be aptly asserted. This, however, is deemed necessary in order to amalgamated the already broached practice christened as parasocial relationships with Hikikomori and suggest a modified proposition of *perisocial* communions.

This would avoid tarring everybody with the same brush, more to the point, it would and in this paper does serve a demarcation line between the conventionalized and authentic patterns of ingrained societal comportment as compared to the

³ For the purpose of this paper and in ease of clarity, this lexeme will be used interchangeably with speakers, learners and communicators.

novel inauthentic derivatives. This, yet again, does not go to show that perisocial communions are ersatz or erroneous, but that they are an echo, rather than a voice.

A point of particular concern and responsibility rests with the online *perisocials* and prosumers who stand to both gain and lose a great deal of cachet and credibility. The sequelea, to use a diagnostically medical term, are yet to be ascertained.

If a parasocial relationship is predominantly seen as a harmless, albeit, dehumanised, modality of fostering and belabouring under a delusion of connection, perisocial communions are purposefully and by design exploitative and misleading, thus amplifying and glorifying deprecation of the more conventional educational systems and shaping a new, culturally appropriated milieu of pseudo-Hikikomori annulment and asserting highly dubious authority. They are circular, peripheral and in their entirety unreliable self-aggrandizing constructs of superfluous reality.

In this instance, the otherwise self-serving *me, myself* adage, gives way only to the AI segment, but this is not the Artificial Intelligence. This is the more harmful, and a prevalent variant – artful interaction.

3. The venal peccancy of good intentions

In the hopeful order to mitigate the entropy and put some daylight between the overall sense of ramblings so that clear blue water can finally be discerned, an ad rem route will now be taken so as to manoeuvre round any eddies or nebulous ambsaces. An inch form that beeline, it would be almost remiss not to lend more colour with an apposite dichotomy in terms of how prosumers make use of technology:

1. Hedonic: focusing on satisfaction and positive feelings, all the while eliminating an iota of negativity
2. Eudaimonic: giving precedence to fulfilment in life, personal growth and purpose

While there is nothing necessarily wrong with the hedonic approach, it is patently deficient in meaning and authenticity and rich in pleasure, comfort and transient relaxation. Eudaimonic is, on the other hand, has the all-fired nerve to insist on the other side of the coin. This paper hypothesizes that prosumers opt for the former, and seldom consider the latter. This can be amply corroborated by dint of the personality schema derived from Transactional Analysis (TA):

1. Exteropsyche
2. Neopsyche
3. Archepsyche

In line with the TA nomenclature, extero-psyche is seen as the metaphorical parent, an outside force and source of influence. An external exponent. Neopsyche is the adult version of a human being. The self as it ought to be now, and archep-psyche is the child section of the psyche, somewhat archaic and heavily dependent on earlier datasets. The endgame, of course, is to exert influence on the neopsyche and mould a subject to be fit for purpose.

The interplay of hedonic approach and neopsyche is the junction where our so-called influencers and online social media *pedagogues* take the stage. This paper, although, almost by stealth homes in on the phonology and phonetics of English, or, as the author reclassified those two levels of linguistic analysis as Sound Science to better fit in the multimodal idiosyncrasy of this research. The selection and sifting of the online creators to be discussed revolved round the use-view axis based on a survey completed by the final year English majors in the English Department of the University of Banja Luka. This survey was designed to garner feedback regarding the questions to be given in full and to ensure data reliability, the survey was administered three years in a row.

1. Do you look up words online?
2. If so, do you only use free-access dictionaries?
3. What other sources do you use?
4. Could you name one or more online creators whose pages or channels you follow?
5. Do you find them useful? If so, please explain why?

Overall number of respondents was fifty, and this being a qualitative paper, the findings are narratively delineated.⁴ All fifty respondents gave the number one question feedback in the affirmative, and the findings coincide vis-à-vis question number two. The divergence is detected at the third query. Thirty responded in the affirmative, and twenty denied resorting to other sources. Based on the responses to question number 4, the following names are extracted:

1. Dr Geoffrey Alan Lindsey
2. Erik Singer
3. David Ley
4. English with Lucy
5. British English Teacher Roy
6. ETJ English
7. LetThemTalkTV
8. Improve Your Accent

⁴The author reserves the right to use the quantitative findings for other research projects.

The list is not exhaustive nor definitive; it is representative only in terms of the median scope of the names supplied via the survey. The first three names on the list appear to be trained and qualified linguists or language specialists in possession of valid credentials. This can be verified through their CVs and official institutional websites. However, when it comes to the remaining creators, the description of their education or other relevant qualifications leaves a lot to be desired. A disclaimer is necessary since the search for the information came back inconclusive, so no claims can be made, but the content can be analysed and further determination upon closer inspection is pending. At first blush, all the videos, except those by the first two author appear impressionistic and in the realm of touch-and-go and sometimes more than just haphazard. The specifics of the analysis will be outlined in a new paper however, this is a cautionary tale and is not to be taken lightly. In a world consumed with AI-phobia, an ancien regime in the guise of perisocial communions and artful interaction seems to have gone deafeningly loud, but the ever-growing cacophony of variegated voices, it is almost unnoticed, and that should give us pause.

4. The way forward and a peroration for now

The spectre of insidious online denizens can neither be thwarted nor disregarded. It should likewise not be held up to obloquy or ridicule, but a watchful and critical eye must be kept, vigilant and vocal. The planetary interconnectedness is an inevitability, either to the chagrin or glee in equidistant measure. The societal pressure of 'forever happiness', mediated forms of bonding, our true or real Hikikomori and countless perisocial communions all come in the shape, form, guise and disguise of language. Audition or the sense of hearing constitute one of the most rudimentary and inexplicably crucial entry points into our reception, perception and subsequently cognition. What we hear, how we hear it and from whom all roll into one inextricable whole that shapes who we are. Sustaining the guard rails and protecting our firewalls is the first duty and order of any and all business. To that end, those who create in the vastness of digital dominion are accountable for the well-being of not only prosumers, but ordinary recipients with no skin in the game, but all at extremely high stakes. This is one of many research endeavours that fall into place of the greater matrix, so that chips do not fall where they may, but where they must.

Sources

1. Mineo, L. (2017) 'Good genes are nice, but joy is better', *Harvard Gazette*, 11 April. Available at: <https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2017/04/over-nearly-80-years-harvard-study-has-been-showing-how-to-live-a-healthy-and-happy-life/> (Accessed: 15 August 2025).
2. Teasdale, S. (2016) 'Hikikomori: the Japanese phenomenon of social withdrawal and its relevance to Australian mental health services',
3. *Australasian Psychiatry*, 24(5), pp. 439–441. doi: 10.1177/1039856216634825. Additional information about the source can be found at [pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov](https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/).
4. Teo, A. R. and Gaw, A. C. (2010) 'Hikikomori, a Japanese culture-bound syndrome of social withdrawal?: A proposal for DSM-5',
5. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 198(6), pp. 444–449. The full article can be accessed on The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease
6. Berne, E. (1961) 'The structure of personality', in
7. *Transactional analysis in psychotherapy: a systematic individual and social psychiatry*. New York: Grove Press, pp. 29–36.

References

1. Blakemore, D. (2002) *Linguistic Meaning and Relevance: The Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse Markers*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
2. Charteris-Black, J. (2004) *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*. Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
3. Ensink, T. and C. Sauer (2003). *Framing and Perspectivizing in Discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
4. Diener, E. (Ed.). (2009). *The science of well-being: The collected works of Ed Diener*. Dordrecht: Springer.
5. Grice, H. P. (1975) Logic and Conversation. *Syntax and Semantics: Speech Acts*. 41–58.
6. Gutt, E.A. (1991) *Translation and Relevance: Cognition and Context*. Oxford, Blackwell.
7. Hart, C. and D. Lukeš (eds.) (2007) *Cognitive Linguistics in Critical Discourse Analysis: Application and Theory*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press.
8. Halliday, M.A.K. (2013). *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar* (4th ed.). Routledge.
9. Hebb, D.O. (2002) *The Organization of Behavior: A Neuropsychological Theory* (1st ed.). New York: Psychology Press.
10. Kesić, D. & Muhić, E. (2015) Concomitant Tutelage Disparities. In: Akbarov, A. (ed.) *The Practice of Foreign Language Teaching*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 116–167.
11. Kesić, D. & Muhić, E. (2019) Connotative facets of meaning in translation within incongruent contexts. *Journal of Teaching English for Specific and Academic Purposes*. 7 (1), 125–132. DOI: 10.22190/JTESAP1901125K.

12. Lakoff, G. (1996) *Moral Politics: How Liberals and Conservatives Think*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
13. Muhić, E. (2023). *THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF PERSONABLE VILLAINY AND WINSOME KNAVES: ENTER ANAKIN SKYWALKER AND CORIOLANUS SNOW*. *Филолог – часопис за језик, књижевност и културу*, 14(28). DOI: 10.21618/fil2328259m.
14. Muhić, E. (2024) 'Within These Four Walls: The Perilousness of Elusive Guard Rails and Impermanence of Safety', *Filolog – časopis za jezik, književnost i kulturu*, 15(29), pp. 313–321. Available at: <https://filolog.rs.ba/index.php/filolog/issue/view/10>
15. Muhić E. (2021) *Kognitivnolingvistički sistemi tekstualne analize*. Banja Luka: Filološki fakultet u Banjoj Luci.
16. Muhić, E. (2018) Metaphors, one author and the written word: suicidal fish swirling in the lochs of Albion and the Balkans. In: Muhić, E. (ed.) *Fenomenologija znaijenja: jezičke, socio-kognitivne i kulturološke dimenzije domaieg javnog prostora*. Banja Luka, Rotari klub, pp. 128–133.
17. Muhić, E. (2013) Conceptual Scenarios in Contemporary American Political Discourse: (Not) Going It Alone. In: Akbarov, A. & Larsen-Freeman, D. (eds.) *Applying Intercultural Linguistic Competence to Foreign Language Teaching and Learning*. Sarajevo, IBU Publications, pp. 611–618.

Emir Z. Muhić
Univerzitet u Banjoj Luci
Filološki fakultet
Katedra za anglistiku

(NE)NAMJERNO (NE)TAČNO TUMAČENJE PORUKE: BEZAZLENA PUSTOŠ ZVUKA

Rezime

Rad posmatra fonetiku i fonologiju iz interdisciplinarnog, društveno-humanističkog ugla. U ovom multimodalnom pristupu težište je na analizi relevantnosti velikog istraživanja o sreći na Univerzitetu Harvard, zatim fenomena usamljenosti, nastanka novih parasocijalnih zajednica, čiji je naziv modifikovan u ovom radu. Istraživački pogled usmjeren je, takođe, na stvaraoce sadržaja na mreži uz osvrt na pozitivne i negativne aspekte njihovog rada, posebno ako se uzme u obzir nedostatak kritičke oštrice. Rad je ujedno i poziv na razmišljanje o amalgamu objedinjenih oblasti i tema.

► **Ključne riječi:** parasocijalne zajednice, usamljenost, sreća, stvaraoci sadržaja, fonetika, fonologija.

Preuzeto: 7. 7. 2025.
Korekcije: 20. 8. 2025.
Prihvaćeno: 27. 9. 2025.

Božica Jović¹
University of East Sarajevo
Faculty of Philosophy
Department of English

ONENESS IN DONNE

Abstract: In this paper we will explore the concept of “oneness” in Donne’s religious and love poetry. As such, this concept can be viewed as a philosophical concept of enlightenment either through devotion or love commitment. Also, this concept can be furthermore defined in opposition to the existing concepts of “fair” and “black” that permeated the early love sonnet in the English Renaissance. The duality between “fair” and “black,” one denoting purity and virtue, generally speaking, and the other “desire” and “passion” as its opposites, was crucial for the early English sonneteers that it can posit a profound question of why Donne does not continue with or embrace this duality in his love poetry. Instead, he introduces the concept of “oneness” consistently throughout his poetry.

Key words: John Donne, oneness, sonnet, Platonism.

1. INTRODUCTION

When it comes to Renaissance, and especially its love poetry, i.e. the sonnets, two concepts consistently repeat themselves throughout the early Renaissance in England. These concepts are just two words: “fair” and “black.” However, the weight of meaning they both carry is enormous. It is a clash of titanic proportions: the never-ending conflict between two views on our human reality—the one involving all things abstract, metaphysical or “pure,” and the other involving everything that is mundane, transitory and appealing to our (perishable) senses.

Of course, it is important to bear in mind that it is, after all, about love that we are talking. Something traditionally looked upon as purely subjective. In other words, it was supposed that there are as many “loves” out there as there are many individuals who experience it and take pains to describe and express the experience in one of art forms. However, it was not so in the Renaissance. Our perception of

¹ bozica.jovic@ff.ues.rs.ba

the exclusivity of individual experience and its significance differs very much from the Renaissance view upon the same thing, and especially so in poetry. As a matter of fact, individuality as such was not deemed that much valuable, even when tied to something universally perceived as unique, individual and unrepeatable as love.

If lyrical poetry is not written for the sake of expressing one's individual, unrepeatable and unique experience, for what purpose it is written then? It is obvious that there is something more universal, something more than the banality of "falling in love," in the Renaissance English sonnet. It transcends itself. The meaning of "love" is never contained within the poem itself, never confined within the limits of its fourteen lines. Decoding the meaning of love should never be exercised within poems or even poets' personal lives.

The poems from the era contain within themselves "events," a mental movement towards something *outside* of the poem: 'The Petrarchan tradition [...] is one that takes the formative role of thought seriously, its ability to habituate and change the subject who is speaking' (Netzley, 2015:p.85). The act of writing and the act of reading are both transformative in real time. They mold us from within. Additionally, they point us, the readers, towards something outside of the poem. For instance, if we dwell for a long time upon the word "fair," which appears constantly in every English sonneteer at the time, we may draw some conclusions about its relevance and meaning. Partly because of its cultural context. "Fair" has a long standing of meaning everything good: form, colour, virtue, justice, etc. However, the true meaning of the term will elude us as long as we refuse to move alongside "events," that is, the speaker's subtle allusions to something bigger than either themselves or their particular experiences described within poem.

Netzley's (2015) notion of "events" within the Renaissance English poems is of a huge importance because it makes us reconsider the purpose of the act of (usually passive) reading and thinking that follows it: '[T]hinking [...] does consider thought to be itself a type of transformative action, not a mere reflection on external events, where the time transformation really abides' (p.85). In other words, the outside world is not a mere surrounding phenomenon to the poem, its creator and its reader. Netzley does have a specific thing on mind as he wrote these words; he was thinking about the transformative and potentially revolutionary powers of religious sonnets by John Milton. This transformative power resides in the sonnet's insistence on the actuality of the present moment: 'sonnets contain events, instead of simply reporting on the already past happening of those events or advocating for or prophesying their future occurrence' (2015:p.67). In the same way, a devotional sonnet in actuality should always dwell on and within the present, even when the hope of future features prom-

inently in it. On the other hand, love sonnets, only briefly alluded to by Netzley, are riddled with anxiety for the future. However, as we will explain presently, devotional and love sonnets do share much more than ordinarily thought.

This idea of the falsity of hope is something that should be understood as a central part in Milton's religious or political sonnets. The "events" within these poems should not be something that happen after finishing reading and then ruminating upon it in the real world. The reality, as it were, actualizes itself within the symbolic space created by the act of reading. The "apocalypse," referred to in the very title of the chapter of the book, "Hope in the Present: Paratactic Apocalypses and Contemplative Events in Milton's Sonnets," is something that does not rely on hope. Netzley rather zealously and rightfully so fights against the idea of any kind of final resolution to the problems expressed in these sonnets. Milton as the author does not pose himself as a sort of poetic lord of justice for all of the evils that we are besotted by in this world. The "apocalypse" happens now: 'a non-resentful end of time, one that does not close with [...] justice for the wicked' (2015:p.67).

Speaking about the end of the world trope, it would be interesting to summarize briefly the history of various interpretations of the Book of Revelation from which our culture has borrowed its concept of the apocalypse. In his very informative and useful YouTube video, under the title "Top Seven Mysteries in the Bible," a creator who goes by his channel name Redeemed Zoomer, a gen Z guy, briefly explains different positions regarding the concepts about the end of time and how to interpret the Book of Revelation:

'So, there's generally four camps that theologians will fall into. The first is the Preterist camp, which says that most of the stuff in the Book of Revelation [...] has already happened [...] Then there is the Futurist interpretation, which says that most of the stuff in the Revelation is going to happen in the future [...] Then there is the Historicist interpretation of the Revelation where it's not strictly past or future, but [...] it sees the entire Book of Revelation as the unfolding of the Church history, so some of it has already happened and some of it is still going to happen [...] And the least puzzle-solving view--this is probably the most popular interpretation among Reformed theologians today--is the Idealist interpretation, which is that Revelation isn't really talking about any specific historical events [...] It's just talking about cycles of Church history [...] cycles of glory and cycles of persecution.' (14:22)

If anything, this video presents to us a clear, interesting and systematic view on the subject matter.

2. LOVE (AND POLITICAL) TYRANNY

One of the things that both types of sonnets share is the tyrannical subject/object within the poem. In love sonnets, we have the trope of “cruel mistress,” the object of the speaker’s desire and dread at the same time: ‘Ultimately, Sidney’s entire sequence [...] serves as a brief for how one can be convinced to choose, freely, deliberately, and without ideological deception, to love and abstract and eternally absent tyrant’ (Netzley, 2015:p.69). The object of the poet’s erotic desire is named “tyrant” by Netzley, which is very interesting as it implies even some sort of pathology. On the other hand, Netzley (2015) has the following to say: ‘Milton’s sonnets are political [i. e. deal with political tyranny] [...] because they strike at the heart of the Petrarchan tradition’s devotion to an absolutist theory of power predicated on the temporal deferral of fulfillment’ (p.67). Furthermore, we can bring in Lacanian psychoanalysis into play here about the nature of authentic human desire, more specifically erotic desire. In a video posted on YouTube, entitled “Best of Slavoj Žižek / On Cynicism, Pleasure, Philosophy, and More” (2024), the famous Lacanian philosopher, Slavoj Žižek mentions something paradoxical about the nature of desire: ‘Do we really want what we think we want? Quite often what appears as an obstacle to getting what we want is really what sustains our desire’ (24:26). In other words, a direct acquisition of the object of desire, kills the desire. The same can be said about the—in default of better words—divine object of desire. The very nature of our devotion is represented as a winding path full of obstacles. Moreover, in our effort to constitute our position as the subject, as a devotee, in our relationship with the divine, which is, according to Netzley (2015) riddled with anxieties, the very instability of our positive affirmation is the source of our true nature, or, our subjectivity. In other words, things are never guaranteed. Slavoj Žižek (2024), in his recent book *Christian Atheism*, among many other things, applies Lacan’s psychoanalytical approach on how to deal with the “subject.” It is primarily a non-essential position, that is to say, it consolidates its reality only and exclusively through relational positions: ‘the circular paradox here is that the subject is the failure of the operation to become subject: obstacle is a positive condition’ (p.75). The very incompleteness of one’s subjectivity is paradoxically necessary in order to establish the original subject. Hence, the object, both divine and human, of one’s love is viewed as being tyrannical.

3. HUNGER AND SATIETY INTERPLAY

Netzley's (2011) analysis of George Herbert's devotional poetry, is precisely focused on the reader and their struggles in expressing and experiencing of their devotion: 'If the speaker of "Love (III)" errs, it is not because of an ineradicable lack, but rather because she imagines intimacy or presence as the completion of a quest after which there is nothing to do' (p.38). Both the imagined subject in a devotional relation and the subject in a love relation, do need their incompleteness as a permanent state, despite its perceived inadequacies, in order to constitute themselves as subjects in the first place. Subjects are noting essential, they retroactively make themselves the subjects in a specific relationship. Otherwise, the full completeness in the sense of fulfillment, would mean the end of the relationship, the end of both devotion and love. That is the significance of Plato's Eros, who is both plenty and hunger at the same time. Otherwise, we will experience, as Shakespeare puts it, "loathed satiety" (*Venus and Adonis*, l.19).

"The deferral of fulfillment" in a love sonnet refers to the eternal distance of the object of desire and love, whereas in a religious sonnet, it refers to an eluding (political) justice. In both cases there is a tyranny. However, Netzley's (2015) perception of the Petrarchan devotion is faulty. "The deferral of fulfillment" in a Petrarchan sonnet should not be understood as a sign of lamentation because of the impossibility of love's fulfillment. The truth is much more "philosophical." Actually, the lamented distance between lovers in the Petrarchan tradition illustrates not the actual distance between any two lovers, or the impossibility of love's fulfillment due to many reasons, but something more universal and inherited over from the ancient Greece. It illustrates the elusiveness and randomness of Eros, the ancient god of love, who indiscriminately makes people fall in love. The other reason is the dual nature of Eros himself, that is, the dual or opposite natures of his parents:

'When Aphrodite was born [...] Poros got drunk on nectar [...] and went into the garden of Zeus where, weighed down by drink, he slept. So Penia plotted to have a child by Poros by reason of her own resourcelessness, and lay with him and conceived Eros' (Plato, *Symposium* 203b)

Here Plato discusses the very origins of god of love, Eros. On one hand, his mother, Penia, or poverty, is always hungry and wants more, on the other, his father, Poros, or richness, is always, well, rich and fulfilled. Despite their differences, neither is absolute good or bad. As a matter of fact, Eros's mother is even better, because without "hunger" we would never feel a need to fill ourselves with good things, like knowledge for example: 'ignorance [...] though not beautiful and good, nor

wise, it yet seems to itself to be sufficient' (Plato, 204a). In love poetry from the Renaissance period, the lover is always hungry for more, they are never satiated with their loved one, because the moment they stop feeling hungry, the love stops and they no longer desire their beloved. Therefore, the Petrarchan subject--the lover--is always hungry for their beloved, whereas, the beloved--the Petrarchan object, we may say--is always just outside of the reach in order so that love can continue existing and not die.

4. PLATONISM IN DONNE

John Donne, who, interestingly, never wrote love sonnets, only devotional ones, similarly to John Milton, did write love poems. We can trace Platonism in one of his more known poems, "The Good Morrow." We may even claim that the dual nature of Eros is alluded to in the following lines: 'Whatever dies, was not mixed equally; / If our two loves be one, or, thou and I / Love so alike, that none do slacken, none can die' (stanza:3, lines:19–21). The "equality" that Donne speaks about is the complimentary equality of the dynamism between "hunger" and "fulfillment." He is not talking about the equality in a sense of two identical things coexisting, because that would mean death: poverty and poverty together would mean a certain death. Therefore, his concept of "aliqueness" is misleading, because we ordinarily attribute to the word the meaning of exact sameness. However, that would be like imagining "fulfillment" seeking "fulfillment," which can never be, since if "fulfillment" seeks something, it means that it actually is not "fulfillment" but "hunger." So, the "equality" and "aliqueness" that Donne speaks about is the necessary complimentary dynamism between two, essentially dissimilar, things: the subject--the speaker in the poem, the lover--and the object of love, his beloved.

5. "EROS" IN RELIGIOUS POETRY

In late Renaissance, the sonnet form was still used but only as a devotional poem. Love sonnets had somehow gone out of fashion by the end of the sixteenth century. However, if we build our argument along the lines of regarding the object of the speaker's love and desire--be it human or divine--as the central point in poetry, the crucial matter is the devotion and the expression of it towards either "a cruel mistress" or the Christian God. According to Netzley (2011), devotion per se is riddled with anxiety: 'Devotional anxiety, anxiety in the presence of God' (p.106). Ideally, this anxiety should be transformed into an assurance of love by the end. But,

the initial position of the speaker/lover is the one of insecurity and anxiety. However, Netzley (2011) is very careful not to ascribe to Donne the vulgarity of a teleological motivation, in other words, the devotee should not tramp their initial anxiety and fear for an assurance of love: 'In affirming anxiety, Donne does not optimistically or resentfully tether affliction to reward, treating suffering and the anxiety that attends it as evidence of salvation' (p.107). For example, in a rather misunderstood Donne's devotional sonnet, "Batter my heart, three-person'd God," the speaker is seen as being engaged in a masochistic self-chastisement: 'Take me to you, imprison me, for I, / Except you enthrall me, never shall be free, / Nor ever chaste, except you ravish me' (lines:12–14). The violent language used in the poem may be understood as signifying its opposite, i. e. love and tenderness, which is to say, ordinary expressions descriptive of love and devotion simply do not, ironically, possess the power of the emotions described. However, why does the poet need this initial violence in order to evoke the best possible thing in this world: salvation? According to Netzley (2011), Donne's conceit in this poem serves to 'disavow consolation [...] because assurance is not what devotees should desire' (p.108). In other words, similarly to Plato's Eros's parents, who are compatible precisely because they are complete opposites—hunger versus fulfillment—and thus anybody inspired by Eros never "dies," i. e. they never satiate their "hunger" to the point of a final fulfillment and therefore death, Netzley views Donne's speaker as someone who is perpetually hungry for love (divine) but never satiated to the point of ending this "hunger" and thus having done with their communion with the divine. The end of "hunger" means a certain death. However, Netzley (2015) does not see any redemptive virtue in the court poetry tradition, which treats our human love in the same way.

Regarding this sonnet, "Batter my heart, three-person'd God," Netzley steps further on and makes an error. When psychoanalysis is applied to the poem, especially regarding the subject matter of "desire," is it easy to fall into an erroneous assumption due to the violent and sexually charged imagery used by Donne:

'That I may rise and stand, o'erthrow me, and bend / Your force to break, blow, burn, and make me new. / I, like an usurp'd town to another due, / Labor to admit you, but oh, to no end; / [...] Yet dearly I love you, and would be lov'd fain, / But am betroth'd unto your enemy; / Divorce me, untie or break that knot again, / Take me to you, imprison me, for I, / Except you enthrall me, never shall be free, / Nor ever chaste, except you ravish me.' (lines:3–6;9–14)

It is obvious that the speaker, the devotee, sees himself as a bride to be wed. The act of receiving divine blessing, in default of better words, is seen as being akin to

a sexual act. Not any sexual act but a violent sexual act, almost a rape, although we may argue that even an “ordinary” sexual act is, in fact, a violent act due to the nature of penetration. Thus, the speaker invokes the super power to “bend,” “break,” and “burn” him in order to possess him. The common simile between a female body about to be “possessed” sexually in a marriage and a besieged town is quite obvious and probably very often used without any intention of making a rude or a vulgar joke. The violence begged by the speaker is due to the already existing violence of the speaker’s diabolical possession by this world, the realm of Satan. Divine violence in being divine will ultimately prove to be its opposite, precisely because it is enacted by the very source of love and life. On the other hand, the speaker’s “legal” marriage to this world—“bethrot’d unto your enemy”—despite its legality, is the actual act of real and deadly violence.

Netzley’s erroneous assumption is the assumed gender identities of both “parties.” Because of the biblical language in which the unknowable essence of the divine subject—God of Israel—is described in paternal words, as the God the Father, we attribute masculinity in its most ordinary sense to the unknowable. John Donne being a man, to put it simply, and imploring God to “ravish” or rape him so that he can become “chaste,” gives us a picture of two masculine subjects engaging in a sexual act: ‘the homoerotic energies ... and a desire that does not tend toward any sort of consummation’ (Netzley, 2011:p.128). First of all, it is quite clear here that what Donne desires is to have a female body, not a male body, because only a female body can be sexually penetrated. Seen thus, the poem is actually heteroerotic and not homoerotic. If we really wish to nit-pick, we would most accurately describe it as transerotic. The divine “gender” identity is of less importance. What is important is that the speaker insists in their wish to untie themselves from the marriage to this world and enter a new marriage with the Lord. As a matter of fact, this is a direct allusion to the New Testament, in which the whole body of worshippers is described as a “bride” with Christ as a bridegroom, regardless of the said worshippers’ actual gender identity.

The second erroneous assumption is the lack of desire, or the aimlessness of desire. It is very much not so. Donne applies this violent and sexually charged language, in order to emphasise the violence of his desire for a new life. The gender play is employed here in order to stress the compatibility of two diverse entities. The oneness, not in sameness, but the oneness in each other “otherness.” Therefore, although this sonnet does appear as shocking to our modern eyes due to its erotic and violent imagery, it may not have been so to Donne’s contemporaries.

6. DONNE'S ONENESS

As a matter of fact, Donne apparently held a very conservative view of Christianity: 'Donne adopted an essentialist definition of Christianity that looked back beyond both the turmoil of the Reformation and the corruption of the Roman church to Apostolic teaching, the early councils and the belief in the primitive church' (Sweetnam, 2014:p.119). Therefore, despite the violent and highly suggestive imagery in his devotional sonnets, Donne remains a very conservative Christian believer. There is nothing new, shocking or perverse in his imagining of the divine encounter in the sonnet "Batter my heart, three-personed God."

A more formal form of Donne's "oneness" is to be found in his sermons:

'Donne stated this position forcibly in his 1621 Christmas sermon [...] "the *Christian doctrine necessary* to salvation, was delivered at once, that is, intirely, in one spheare, in the body of the Scriptures."' (Sweetnam, 2014:p.122)

The same goes for the unnecessary additions to the already established foundations of the faith: "Articles of faith doe not beget Articles of faith" (Sweetnam, 2014:p.122). This is to say that oneness is not about false self-copying. Oneness relies on diversity and distances, not forced sameness and copycats. We might even claim that oneness excludes sameness.

A more radical example of Donne's "oneness" can be found in his "Holy Sonnet 19." In the final couplet, the speaker claims: 'So my devout fits come and go away / Like a fantastic ague; save that here / Those are my best days, when I shake with feare' (lines:12–14). The speaker first makes sure to convince us about the actuality and formidableness of his "fear," i. e. anxiety about the state of his soul and its salvation. Thus, Netzley (2011) ascertains that: 'The two fears in these six lines are not of the same type. "Quaking with true feare of his rod" looks toward the future and a threat of punishment [...] "Shaking with fear," on the other hand, does not anticipate a future object or threat' (p.111). These two "fears" are of a very different nature, yet by the end of the poem, in a volta, they are fused into one. The previous "bad" fear is transformed into a "good" fear by the very nature of the poet's assurance and conviction of the actual goodness in the fear of God, which is the ultimate fear. Of course, Donne here does not exercise his own ingenuity in being able to "overcome" his initial fear, but simply alludes to the Old Testament. In the interlude "Where Wisdom Is Found," in the Book of Job, Job concludes with the following: 'The fear of the Lord—that is wisdom, / and to shun evil is understanding' (Job 28:28 [New International Version]). In this most poetic and poignant part of Job, the unknown poet places his hero in a deep meditation on

the very nature of human existence with the constant questioning of ‘where does understanding dwell?’ (Job 28 [New International Version]). As a matter of fact, Donne expects from his readers to be experiencing exactly the same thing as his speaker and to collectively find the resolution in the sacred text.

7. FAIR/BLACK DICHOTOMY

It seems that in order to affirm one’s oneness, one has to first establish differences, even the most radical ones. In early Renaissance, the English sonneteers universally acknowledged the unsurpassable differences between two aspects of love: its virtuous nature and its sensuality. Love is virtuous by its very nature of being love. Love is sensual due to the sensual nature of the physical aspects of love. However, the two are held in animosity due to certain cultural aspects of England in the fifteenth and the sixteenth century. Actually, the same cultural aspects regarding the question of human mental superiority over natural world and human subjugation to the power of that same natural world, have remained the same to this day. The notion of pure intellect is still held to be opposed to our notions of sensuality. This is why early English love sonnets always contain two universal metaphors for these two concepts: “fair” for the purity of virtue, and “black” for the perceived baseness of sensuality. As a matter of fact, virtue can be used synonymously with pure intellect. Virtue is understood to be derived from pure intellectualism, to be the product of our spirit. However, Platonic ideas of the link between virtue and appreciation of beauty in all its forms, including sensual, physical beauty, stress the necessary link between the two in *Symposium*. In other words, unless we allow ourselves to appreciate beauty—starting in our intellectual infancy at a young age—we cannot attain virtue or any intellectual heights either.

8. AESTHETICS VS REALITY

Since we are preoccupied with philosophical perceptions about creativity, beauty, virtue and love, it would be interesting to dive into contemporary views on aesthetics and our actuality. Works of aesthetics are to be understood as purified forms of concepts taken out of our banal, vulgar and very often unpoetic living—what we call our “reality.” For classical writers and philosophers, we may be bold to claim, the link between reality and its aesthetic mirror-images was not problematic in itself. The difference between the two was understood as a basic fact and it created a kind of comfortable position. However, in postmodernism, this opposition between

crude reality and its aesthetic images has become a problem in itself. As McHale (1987) states in his eponymous study—now considered a classic—*Postmodernist Fiction*, ‘A mimetic relation is one of similarity, not identity, and similarity implies difference—the difference between the original object and its reflection, between real world and the fictional heterocosm’ (p.28). The real issue here is not whether the perceived difference between real life and art that imitates it, is a large one or a small one. The issue is the importance we ascribe to this problem. Depending on the historical era in which we live, this importance is likewise proportional to the historical era. The paradox is that in the postmodern era there is an obsession with “reality.” The point of fiction is to be “real” as much as possible. Not as a stylistic feature of realism. Realism per se is not more “real” than, let’s say, medieval allegory. The “reality” the postmodern fiction tries to emulate is multifaceted, or “heterocosmical,” as McHale puts it. This complexity of reality, which no fictional structure seems to be able to emulate, is the real subject matter of art, not the mythic or poetic vision of the artist behind it. It may be that in modernism, the accepted rule was that art in itself is far superior to “reality.” But, in the postmodern era, this rule has been overturned. Moreover, the artist is in a very unenviable situation: they are never real creators, they can never create anything resembling reality, they possess ‘demiurgic or quasi-divine function’ (McHale, 1987:p.29). It is interesting to note that early Christian philosophers, disappointed with the reality, imagined a quasi-divine god who created this world, a demiurge. This is why this world is so evil, it is not the product of “real” creation, it is an imitation. Of course, this kind of Christian philosophy was dismissed as heresy by the early Church Fathers.

The postmodern obsession with reality and the obviousness of the difference between art and life is problematic in itself as this did not bother classical writers, either from ancient Greece or Renaissance England. It was obvious that art was not life, but they were comfortable with this differentiation and did not seek to justify their art by its strong links to life. Of course, art and life are correlated, but art was better, precisely because of its artificiality. The appreciation of art’s “organic forms” is a very recent idea, at least in the European civilization. The same goes for philosophy—philosophy was better because it was higher than life. Plato is not concerned with imitating life in *Symposium*—life is banal, vulgar, even unintelligent in its daily routine—but with superimposing far superior ideas about life on life itself, in order to better it. However, today’s perceptions on what philosophy is, have greatly changed. Now we have a clear opposition between what is called continental philosophy on one hand, and analytic philosophy, on the other: ‘in some American big universities, you had this paradox that if you dissect the brain of a rat,

it's philosophy. If you study Hegel, it's literature' (Žižek, 2023:9:20). Žižek funnily explains this paradox in his interview, posted on YouTube channel *The Institute of Art and Ideas*. The point here is that now only analytic philosophy is considered as true philosophy, possibly because of its perceived closer proximity to our reality.

To go back to the correlation between philosophy/aesthetics and life. In his rather philosophical analysis of this subject, Bottero (2022) states that the aim of his work is to offer 'an insight on the issue of relationship between the datum of death and poetics in the context of the literary and non-literary works of art' (p.323). The ultimate point of reality here is the undeniable fact of death itself; its mirror-image is the aesthetic form in which this subject is presented to the reader or a viewer. Therefore, the initial position is one of awareness of the difference between the actuality of death and our perceptions and ideas about it. In the postmodern aesthetics, the real issue would be the impossibility of faithfully representing the fact of death in art. All kinds of its aesthetic forms remain in their artificial realm, while the actual subject-matter that is death, will forever be outside of its boundaries. However, Bottero (2022) very cleverly dodges this opposition—or it may be that he was not interested in it in the first place—by establishing a different kind of duality: 'The philosophical consideration of the work of art as an object that encloses, by its ontological attributes, a sedimentation of immaterial content in the material-form' (324). So, the very materiality of the form, "an object," is opposed to its subject-matter in its very immateriality. Ideas are superimposed onto reality and are, thus, superior to reality. Paradoxically, the postmodern insistence, at least in McHale's view, on the unbridgeable chasm between art and life, which in itself is considered tragic because the true aim of art should always be reality, almost defies reality, whereas the classical approach puts the reality where it should belong, on a lesser shelf of an imaginary cupboard of ideas. The paradox here is that reality is more "real" in the classical approach, as it is tightly controlled and structured by ideas, whether philosophical or poetical. In the postmodern view, it forever eludes our grasp and becomes "larger than life."

9. A FINAL WORD: LOVE IS AN IDEA

The Renaissance poets were not concerned with life, they were concerned with ideas. The love they present to us in their sonnets, is the idea of love borrowed from Plato. The Renaissance art is not something mimetic trying to describe its poets' individual love experiences. We may even assume that they themselves would laugh at the idea of preserving their mundane life experiences in its nude form, without

them being reorganized and re-aestheticized by a higher ideal system, which is Plato in this instance. The same goes for devotional poetry. It is not any type of individual or idiosyncratic experience that is of any value here, but the universality of the Christian devotion in its basic conservatism, as it was being understood in the Renaissance England. “Oneness” that we talk about here is the universality of the ideal framework that used to bind disperse and diverse individual experiences and thus made them valuable for everybody.

References

1. Allen R. E. (ed.) (n.d.) *The Dialogues of Plato: The Symposium*. Translated by Allen, R.E. Yale University Press.
2. Bible Gateway. (2025) *Job 28 NIV*. <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Job%2028&version=NIV>. Accessed 26 November 2024.
3. Bottero, S. (2023) Towards a Poetics of Death: Comparative and Aesthetical Reflections. *Philologist*. 13 (25), 323–340. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21618/fil2225323b>
4. Jokinen, A. ed. (1996) Holy Sonnet 19 by John Donne. *Luminarium*. June 14 1996. <https://www.luminarium.org/sevenlit/donne/sonnet19.php>, Accessed 26 November 2024.
5. McHale, B. (1987) *Postmodernist Fiction*. New York, Methuen.
6. Netzley, R. (2015) *Lyric Apocalypse, Milton, Marvel and the Nature of Events*. New York, Fordham University Press.
7. Netzley, R. (2011) *Reading, Desire and the Eucharist in Early Modern Religious Poetry*. University of Toronto Press.
8. Poetry Foundation (2025) *John Donne: Batter my heart, three-person'd God*. <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/44106/holy-sonnets-batter-my-heart-three-persond-god>. Accessed 20 November 2024.
9. Roe, J. ed. (1992) Venus and Adonis. In *The New Cambridge Shakespeare; The Poems*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 79–138.
10. Sweetnam, M. S. (2014) *John Donne and Religious Authority in the Reformed English Church*. Dublin, Four Courts Press LTD.
11. YouTube. (2025) Top 7 Mysteries in the Bible. *Redeemed Zoomer*. 17 June 2024. Video, 19:29, https://youtu.be/R8E3I1w1jMU?si=TJFR_hMH9QVaGJ1w. Accessed 1 November 2024.
12. Žižek, S. (2024) *Christian Atheism: How to Be a Real Materialist*. London, Bloomsbury.
13. Žižek, S. (2024) On Cynicism, Pleasure, Philosophy, and More. *The Institute of Art and Ideas*. YouTube Video, 47:13. 21 March 2024. https://youtu.be/BCiYBUx7zQE?si=SnZhr5NV_s5tvBM, Accessed 11 June 2024.

14. Žižek, S. (2023) How Philosophy Got Lost. *The Institute of Art and Ideas*. YouTube Video, 35:56. 4 May 2023. <https://youtu.be/06KiOj6gjbs?si=jaLE2mGh29Z6qwuf>. Accessed 3 June 2024.

Božica Jović
Univerzitet u Istočnom Sarajevu
Filozofski fakultet
Odsjek za engleski jezik i književnost

KONCEPT „OBJEDINJENOSTI” KOD DŽONA DONA

Rezime

U radu preispitujemo koncept „objedinjenosti” u religioznoj i ljubavnoj poeziji Džona Dona. Ovaj koncept posmatra se kao filozofski koncept koji služi u svrhu duhovnog uzdignuća koje možemo postići kroz vjeru ili kroz ljubavna osjećanja. Štaviše, ovaj koncept može se posmatrati naspram ranijih koncepata, kao što su „svijetlo” i „tamno”, koji su, s jedne strane, označavali čistotu i vrlinu, a s druge, ljubavnu strast. Ova dva koncepta bila su od izuzetne važnosti za rane engleske sonetne pjesnike. Stoga, jedno od glavnih pitanja jeste pitanje zašto Don nije koristio ova dva koncepta, ovu dualnost, u svojoj ljubavnoj poeziji. Umjesto toga, on uvodi koncept „objedinjenosti”, koji se neprestano provlači kroz cijeli njegov pjesnički opus.

► **Ključne riječi:** Džon Don, objedinjenost, sonet, platonizam.

Preuzeto: 28. 4. 2025.
Korekcije: 23. 5. 2025.
Prihvaćeno: 22. 7. 2025.

Anela J. Mulahmetović Ibrišimović¹
University of Tuzla
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Department of English Language and Literature

METONYMICAL EXPRESSIONS ABOUT PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES IN AMERICAN AND BOSNIAN-HERZEGOVINIAN MEDIA

Abstract: When engaging with media content, its consumers need to be mindful of potential negative media bias and stereotypical representation of minority groups, such as the disabled community. Critical consumption is essential in the context of the ableist perception of the world, often conveyed through metaphor and metonymy. Both frequently appear in the media, reinforcing prevalent societal attitudes and opinions.

This paper examines the presence of conceptual metonymies in the American and Bosnian-Herzegovinian media coverage of individuals with disabilities. While a limited number of studies delved into the interplay between metaphor and disability, no studies were conducted on the relationship between media, disability, and conceptual metonymy. We believe that this study will contribute to an informative, cross-cultural understanding of disability media coverage practices since conceptual metonymy offers insights into the patterns of disability representation and perception.

Keywords: conceptual metonymy, disability, media, American, Bosnian-Herzegovinian.

1. Introduction

The choice of topics and the portrayal of people with disabilities in the media are said to have a remarkable influence on public opinion about this social group. According to Haller (1999:p.260), a news-reporting frame 'can sway public opinion about disability issues and toward the cultural representations of people with

¹ anela.mulahmetovicibrisimovic@untz.ba

disabilities in general'. This concern with media framing is closely related to the way language shapes perceptions of disability. In Canada, Australia, and the USA, referring to a person through their illness or impairment has been replaced by neutral, person-first expressions bolstering positive identification of the disabled community. The people-first language implies that a person should be put before the disability, which is reflected in the use of the "head N + PP", "head N + relative clause", or "head N + participial" syntactic patterns. Other recommendations include not referring to a person's impairment unless relevant, avoiding the use of premodification ("disabled person" vs "a person with a disability") or adjectives as nouns ("the retarded", "the deaf", "the blind"), and avoiding statements that emphasize person's achievements in the context of their disability (Halmari, 2011).

Despite institutional and academic support, the person-first language faced resistance in the USA. Albrecht, Seelman, and Bury (2001:p.3) state that many disabled individuals dismissed the person-first idea as offensive 'claiming that it was promoted by powerful non-disabled people, particularly advocates for persons with developmental disabilities'. Bickford's (2004) study on disability language preference among individuals with visual impairments found that most participants rejected the person-first language, as it implied that blindness was something they should be ashamed of. Euphemisms like "physically challenged", "abled", "disabled", "handicapable", "special people/children", "differently-abled", and "people with differing abilities" have been perceived as condescending and violating disability etiquette (Galvin 2003:p.162). Hughes (2010:p.196) notes how the term "differently abled", coined to replace the word "disabled", was mocked by the *Los Angeles Times* because the verb "to able" does not exist in the English language. Also, the term "challenged" as in "physically challenged" was inadequate since it semantically suggested an irreversible condition.

Bajić (2013)'s study of Bosnian-Herzegovinian print media revealed that the choice of language to describe people with disabilities remained inconsistent and problematic. Kotur Erkić (2017) reports how people with disabilities in Bosnian-Herzegovinian media are still described as *hendikepiran* 'handicapped', *vezan za kolica* 'wheel-chair bound', and *mentalno zaostali* 'mentally retarded', suggesting that 'they are viewed as objects and not subjects with rights'. The author supports her claims by offering examples of three media articles reporting on disability. In the first article, the author of a photography exhibition is referred to as *vezan za kolica* 'wheel-chair bound'. In the second article, children with disabilities are referred to as *djeca sa posebnim potrebama* 'children with special needs', while the

third article describes a girl as *hendikepirana* 'handicapped' and *mentalno zaostala* 'mentally retarded'.

Both metaphor and metonymy frequently occur in media language since their use helps reinforce prevalent societal attitudes and opinions. Their ideological and rhetorical role has been the focus of numerous studies across various types of discourse, including political discourse (Ahrens, 2009; Charteris-Black, 2011; Mussolf, 2004), media discourse (Mussolf, 2006), business discourse (Koller, 2005), and education (Semino, 2008), among others. Unfortunately, no papers were found dealing with the relationship between disability and conceptual metonymy.

In light of the limited research on this topic, this paper explores the complex relationship between media, disability, and conceptual metonymy. The corpus study aims to reveal which linguistic expressions are metonymical and which conceptual metonymies dominate the media disability discourse. Specifically, the contrastive analysis aims to establish similarities and differences between the use of metonymy in the American and Bosnian-Herzegovinian media. Special attention will be dedicated to the ramifications of this interplay on the media content presented to the public.

2. On Conceptual Metonymy

The onset of the 1950s marked a revival of interest in the way humans think and speak, resulting in a number of linguistic, semantic, and cognitive theories on metonymy and metaphor. Metonymy, as a conceptual phenomenon, first drew the attention of cognitive linguists with the publication of Lakoff and Johnson's book *Metaphors We Live By*. Along with metaphor, metonymy and its concepts help us organize our thoughts and actions. Metonymy is defined as using one entity to refer to or stand for another based on contiguity or association. Thus, in the example "the ham sandwich is waiting for his check", the noun phrase "the ham sandwich" is metonymically used to refer to a person that placed the order (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:p.35).

Lakoff and Johnson's definition of metonymy has been broadened by Radden and Kövecses (1999:p.21), who suggest that metonymy is 'a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain, or idealized cognitive model (ICM)'. ICMs are structures that represent the speaker's conceptual knowledge of a thing or entity, which is meant to include not only people's encyclopedic knowledge of a particular domain but also the cultural models they are part of. In other

words, they also include a person's subjective views of a particular concept, shaped by their experiences of it. The composition of a conceptual domain can be viewed as bidirectional: a whole that is constituted by parts, namely conceptual entities or elements, and the parts that constitute the ICM as a whole. Hence, metonymies may emerge in two ways: 1) either A WHOLE STANDS FOR A PART, or A PART STANDS FOR A WHOLE, 2) A PART STANDS FOR ANOTHER PART (Radden and Kövecses, 1999:p.30).

Ruiz de Mendoza and Diez (2002:p.512) observe an important aspect of metonymy called double metonymy. If metonymy involves one conceptual shift from the source to the target referent, double metonymy implies two or more conceptual shifts. Double metonymy can be isolated in the expression "Van Gogh is on the top shelf", where at first glance, metonymy motivating the expression is expressed as AUTHOR FOR HIS WORK. Yet, closer inspection reveals a double metonymic shift from the author to his work and then to a copy of his work. Hence, the metonymy can be postulated as AUTHOR FOR HIS WORK FOR A SAMPLE OF HIS WORK.

Littlemore (2015:p.7) also observes the notion of metonymic chaining in "Now dry your eyes, and we'll put the kettle on", where the act of putting the kettle on stands for making a cup of tea leads to drinking tea together while sharing one's problems. Furthermore, a linguistic expression can involve a combination of two or more metonymies. In the example 'I'll have a glass to celebrate', the MATERIAL FOR OBJECT metonymy is combined with the CONTAINER FOR CONTAINED metonymy (Littlemore, 2015:p.26).

Metonymy can lead to depersonalization and de-rolling. A de-personalizing metonymy can have a negative effect because of the de-rolling issue, where the metonymy source "de-emphasizes" the important metonymy-target role. Barnden (2018:p.106) suggests that the syntagm "Crooked Nose" in the example 'Coach had instructed him to let the Crooked Nose win the semi-final' illustrates a case of de-personalized metonymy with the de-rolling effect of emphasizing a possibly negative physical trait.

Noun-noun compounds can also have a metonymic motivation. The popular phrase "couch potato" is thought to be motivated by many metonymies within a single domain matrix (Benczs, 2011:p.202). The word "couch" activates the LOCATION FOR ACTION metonymy since the couch as a place where the activity takes place stands for the activity of watching TV. Furthermore, the word "potato" activates the background knowledge of eating snacks such as chips in front of the TV, resulting in the MATERIAL FOR OBJECT metonymy that

leads to MEMBER OF A CATEGORY FOR THE CATEGORY metonymy (chips for any kind of snack). Since a person eats the (potato) chips, the OBJECT INVOLVED IN THE ACTION FOR THE ACTION metonymy seems to be at play, along with the CAUSE FOR EFFECT, as eating unhealthy food causes a person to gain weight.

The intersection of media, disability, and conceptual metonymy remains largely unexplored. By analyzing how metonymy is utilized in media portrayals, this study aims to provide a cross-cultural perspective on disability representation, offering insights into the underlying patterns that influence public perception. In that aspect, cross-linguistic comparisons play a crucial role in determining the extent to which conceptual metonymies are shared across language communities, namely the American and Bosnian-Herzegovinian. Since metonymy as a cognitive process is generally regarded as universal, its variations can be attributed to cultural and social factors that shape its linguistic manifestations.

3. On Corpus and Methodology

The American corpus consists of 230 texts obtained from the most widely circulated print newspapers of 2023, spanning publications from September 2022 to September 2023² (*New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *New York Post*, *USA Today*, *Star Tribune*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Seattle Times*, and *Boston Globe*). *Wall Street Journal*, *Newsday*, *LA Times*, and *Tampa Bay Times* were excluded from the analysis as they did not offer a significant number of disability-related articles. The corpus also contains texts and video transcripts from leading American television channels' online platforms, *NBC* and *CBS*, along with discussions on various disability-related topics found on American disability forums. The search was restricted to the online platforms of only two television channels, since most channels popular with the US audiences either do not possess an online platform or have access limitations outside their respective countries.

The collection of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian corpus posed additional challenges due to inconsistent disability terminology and the absence of dedicated disability sections on media websites. Our examination encompassed a total of 250 texts taken from various news portals (*Klix.ba*, *TIP.ba*, *Glas Regije*, *Tuzlarije*, *Slobodna Bosna*, *diskriminacija.ba*, *zurnal.info*, *dnevnik.ba*), online newspapers (*Avaz*, *Oslobođenje*, *Nezavisne novine*, *Gracija*, *Azra*) and television channels' online platforms (*BHRT*, *FTV*, *Hayat*, *TV N1*, *RTVTK*, *RTV Slon*). We also included the texts posted on

²<https://www.statista.com/statistics/272790/circulation-of-the-biggest-daily-newspapers-in-the-us/>

the website of *IC Lotos*, an association based in Tuzla that supports individuals with disabilities and promotes their rights.

Metonymy is harder to identify than other figurative language (Littlemore and Tag, 2018), since it lacks a universal identification procedure. In that respect, we followed Radden and Kövecses (1999), Kövecses (2002; 2006), Hilpert (2007a), Littlemore (2015), and Littlemore and Tag (2018). After the lexical metonymy identification, all metonyms were classified according to the taxonomy proposed by Radden and Kövecses (1999), Kövecses (2002; 2006), Littlemore (2015), and Littlemore and Tag (2018).

4. ANALYSIS

4.1. Conceptual Metonymies in the American Media Discourse

This section offers an overview of conceptual metonymies employed by the American media to discuss disability-related issues. Our investigation revealed the presence of 13 conceptual metonymies, presented in Table 1. The following discussion analyzes metonymies identified in the corpus.

Conceptual metonymy	Number of occurrences
DEFINING PROPERTY OF A CATEGORY FOR THE WHOLE CATEGORY /TRAIT FOR PERSON	37
PART OF THE SCENARIO FOR THE WHOLE SCENARIO	34
GENERIC FOR SPECIFIC	29
WHOLE FOR PART	27
SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC	13
INSTITUTION FOR THE PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE	13
EFFECT FOR CAUSE	12
THE SUBEVENT FOR THE COMPLEX EVENT	12
OBJECT USED FOR USER	6
POSSESSOR FOR POSSESSED	3
CONTROLLED FOR CONTROLLER	3
OBJECT FOR ACTION	1
TOTAL:	190

Table 1. The distribution of conceptual metonymies in the American corpus

Ф И Л О Л О Г X I 2025 32

The most prevalent metonymies in our corpus were the TRAIT FOR PERSON (Littlemore, 2015) and the DEFINING PROPERTY OF A CATEGORY FOR THE WHOLE CATEGORY metonymies (Radden and Kövecses, 1999:p.35). These metonymies involve using a specific characteristic or trait of a person's disability to represent that individual. In relation to disability, the TRAIT FOR PERSON conceptual metonymy can significantly impact how individuals with disabilities are perceived and treated in society. Littlemore (2017:p.416) points out that this metonymy can serve as an indicator of social attitudes towards a particular group. Specifically, by providing an example of a Paralympian athlete referred to as *the wheelchair*, Littlemore (ibid) concludes that the TRAIT FOR PERSON metonymy can be used to convey underlying prejudice toward a disabled individual. When discussing disability, the TRAIT FOR PERSON metonymy often interacts with the DEFINING PROPERTY OF A CATEGORY FOR THE WHOLE CATEGORY metonymy since *disability* is commonly used in the media as a metonymic shortcut for disabled people. There has been growing awareness of how offensive this metonymy can be since it addresses individuals by referring to their illnesses and diseases, such as “dyslexics“, “schizophrenics“, and “epileptics“, artificially creating a category of people who happen to share a feature (Littlemore, 2015:p.24).

Our corpus analysis revealed the presence of the two metonymies when the term *disability* was used to stand for people with disabilities. They were also identified in the examples utilizing *disability* and *disabled* as pre-modifiers or as the first element in a compound. Importantly, these metonymies did not connote offensiveness but had a pragmatic purpose of delivering the information in a concise manner.

- 1) In many instances, if you were to turn the camera around, he said, “you would see that *disability* was only represented in one direction.”
- 2) Children often aren't exposed to *disability* much because disabled people are only shown in the media 3.1% of the time.
- 3) Our sources included dozens of *disability advocates* who spoke candidly about their experiences, and many of the articles were written by well-known writers in the disability community.
- 4) When McKenzie, who played for the Green Bay Packers and New Orleans Saints, applied for *disability benefits* in 2018, he was evaluated by an orthopedist hired by the plan who denied every one of the 17 players he saw, according to the lawsuit.

Another large group of examples identified in our research exemplifies the WHOLE FOR PART conceptual metonymy (Radden and Kövecses, 1999:p.31). This type of metonymy involves situations where the whole of something stands for

one of its parts. In our corpus, the highest frequency of the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy involved the term *accessible*. Imamović (2020) notes that *accessible* has narrowed semantically from “accessible to all” to specifically mean “accessible to persons with a disability”. This change was driven by the push for inclusive language and the avoidance of terms that might be offensive or sensitive.

- 5) In a statement, Malik Robinson, the executive director of Cleo Parker Robinson Dance, apologized, saying that “this incident was an important and visceral reminder that *accessibility*, in many forms, is critical for all members of our community.”
- 6) Incensed by a lack of *accessibility* in the city for theater people with disabilities, she wrote her own plays, starring herself and other disabled actors.
- 7) Other considerations include tactile signage and maps, which have raised elements for exploration by touch; *accessible parking*; and excessive or unexpected noises, which can lead to sensory overload for people with sensory-processing disorders.

Semantic narrowing has also been noticed in collocation *adaptive climbing*. Due to different impairments, persons with disabilities cannot participate in traditional climbing. Adaptive climbing accommodates people with disabilities by using specialized equipment and techniques and allowing them to enjoy this sport. It offers a wide range of benefits for the disabled community, from strengthening community ties and boosting confidence to improving muscle strength (Richman, 2020).

The linguistic analysis of *adaptive climbing* reveals a shift in the adjective's meaning. The basic meaning of the adjective *adaptive* is “able to adjust” (Cambridge). However, in relation to climbing, the general meaning of the adjective has been reduced from “able to adjust to everyone” to “able to adjust to people with disabilities”, implying a metonymic connection.

- 8) The hope, according to Seelenfreund, is to make *adaptive climbing* as accessible as nonadaptive climbing.
- 9) After all, she reflects, *adaptive climbing* is only about a decade old.
- 10) It's cool to see the broader community embrace *adaptive climbing*.

The opposite metonymy, PART FOR WHOLE (Radden and Kövecses, 1999:p.31) also appeared in the corpus. Even though the term *accessible* was found to illustrate the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy, in certain instances, it represented the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy. This was observed when *accessible* was used as a premodifier of nouns or noun phrases denoting buildings, hotels, schools, gyms, ranches, playgrounds, and stations. The meaning of the building “a structure with a roof and walls” was expanded to “a structure with a roof, walls, and furniture”;

while the meaning of the adjective “can be reached and entered” was broadened to “can be reached, entered, and used” (Imamović, 2020:p.291). Consequently, both noun and adjective were interpreted metonymically, giving rise to the PART OF THE SCENARIO FOR THE WHOLE SCENARIO metonymy.

- 11) Sene’s placard read: “When *buildings* aren’t *accessible*, we can’t access our rights.”
- 12) New regulations announced by the Transportation Department will mandate that more new planes have *accessible lavatories* (...).
- 13) The Transportation Department announced on Wednesday that it had finalized new regulations to require more commercial aircraft to have *accessible bathrooms* (...).

In examples (14–16), the GENERIC FOR SPECIFIC conceptual metonymy is expressed through the application of general or collective subjects to discuss specific individuals or situations within the disability community. This metonymic device operates by using a general category (*people with disabilities, disabled people, students with disabilities*) to refer to the domain of disability. In (14), the generic term *people with disabilities* refers to individuals or groups who initiated legal action but whose outcome might affect the entire disabled population. By mentioning *disabled people* and *students with disabilities* in (15) and (16), the examples use a broad category to address the issue of a selected number of disabled people who were given access to bank accounts and a certain number of disabled students left out of bilingual education. In each case, the GENERIC FOR SPECIFIC metonymy is a linguistic shortcut to speak of specific experiences while drawing attention to broader systemic issues in the area of disability.

- 14) *People with disabilities* filed a federal lawsuit in response to the state court’s decision, arguing that federal law allows them to get assistance in returning their ballot.
- 15) “*Disabled people* and their families can educate themselves and their supporters about the accounts and how they are used”, Foley said.
- 16) “*Students with disabilities* left out of bilingual classes: Advocates see discrimination in BPS numbers.”

Additionally, a metonymic expression can be motivated by two or more conceptual metonymies. In the following examples, the GENERIC FOR SPECIFIC the EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymies (Radden and Kövecses, 1999:pp.34–38) underlie the term *wheelchair users*. The term is employed as a euphemism aimed at substituting outdated language considered offensive or stigmatizing, such as “wheelchair-bound”, “confined to a wheelchair”, “restricted to a wheelchair”, or

“trapped in a wheelchair”. Euphemisms, as terms or phrases that are overly direct, awkward, or unsuitable, are often metaphor- or metonymy-based. Harkova and Shigapova (2014) found metonymy to be in central in English euphemisms designed to circumvent explicit references to discreditable and obscene objects. Similarly, Moritz (2018) identified the EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy as the dominant mechanism in euphemisms found in presidential war-related speeches.

In our corpus study, the EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy was exemplified by the term *wheelchair users*. The identification of metonymy is supported by the common knowledge of an event taking place (an injury or illness) and affecting a person (the inability to walk independently and necessitating the use of a wheelchair for assistance). Moreover, the presence of plural generic reference involves the GENERIC FOR SPECIFIC metonymy. The following examples illustrate the interaction between these two metonymies:

- 17) Trails with steeper, more rugged sections may be an option for experienced outdoor-*wheelchair users* or those using all-terrain chairs.
- 18) A slope over 12 percent may be difficult for people with mobility or cardiopulmonary concerns, and inaccessible for most *wheelchair users*.

Further instances of the EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy involving the expression *use a wheelchair* are offered below. The expression is also a euphemism used to indicate a person's method of mobility in a socially acceptable manner. In the following examples, this expression does not have a generic reference and is only interpreted via the EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy.

- 19) The case originated when Deborah Laufer, who has multiple sclerosis and *uses a wheelchair*, filed a lawsuit in 2020 claiming that the Coast Village Inn and Cottages in Maine violated her rights under the Americans With Disabilities Act.
- 20) Ms. Hill, 31, is the founder of the Rollettes, a dance team for women who *use wheelchairs* that formed in 2012.

Generalizations can be expressed through indefinite singulars known as representative generics. Our research identified the terms *disabled person*, *blind person*, *person with disability*, and *child with disabilities* as indicators of a generalization enabled by the SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC metonymy, where a particular member or element of a group is employed to represent the entire group or category (Radden and Kövecses, 1999:p.34). In this type of reference, the speaker has no specific entity in mind, and its usage is understood to represent the generic type (Radden, 2009:p.283). This generalization also involves the INSTANCE FOR TYPE metonymy.

- 21) There are two main concerns people seem to have about dating *a disabled person*.
- 22) *A blind person*, always on high alert for all the many things that can go wrong, can really react if grabbed.
- 23) It's illegal for school districts to cite a lack of money or staff as a reason for not educating *a child with disabilities*.
- 24) "Data show that hiring *a person with a disability* for a full-time job improves their quality of life and reduces their reliance on social services."

Regardless of the discourse or format in which it appears, metonymy can be used either to amplify an entity's responsibility or downplay its role. Portero Muñoz's (2011) discussed language used during the global financial crisis, illustrating how noun-noun euphemisms utilize contextual cues and engage conceptual metaphors and metonymies to soften perceptions of economic hardship. Barletta Manjarrés, Cortez Román, and Medzerian (2012) investigated the role of metaphors and metonymies in the instruction and acquisition of writing skills within a composition program at a public university in the United States. In terms of metonymies, they discovered the presence of the INSTITUTION FOR THE PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE, PLACE FOR EVENTS, PLACE-FOR-STANDARDS, CONTAINED-AS-PART, and ENTITY-FOR-STANDARD-PRACTICES metonymies whose roles were to shift the focus from the metonymic target by emphasizing the metonymic vehicle. The INSTITUTION FOR THE PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE metonymy was particularly productive in political and media discourse (Schultz, 2012; Zieliński, 2012). Its use has also been ascribed to the pragmatic intent of glorifying or vilifying an institution and diverting attention from the people in charge. The metonymy was frequent in our corpus study as well:

- 25) Across the U.S., advocates say, *schools* are removing students with disabilities from the classroom, often in response to challenging behavior, by sending them home or cutting back on the days they're allowed to attend.
- 26) *School districts* have complained to the state for years about problems there, including classrooms being led by unqualified aides instead of certified special education teachers.
- 27) The *district* initially refused, Clark said. She forced another meeting, and the *district* finally capitulated, according to a settlement agreement the *district* reached with the family.

In examples (25–27), the INSTITUTION FOR THE PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE metonymy is activated by the expressions *school* and *district*. The mentioning of *schools* in (25) places the responsibility for decisions regarding students with

disabilities on educational institutions rather than specific individuals overseeing those institutions. In (26–27), the metonymy emphasizes the role of the districts in decision-making, hiding the role of the individuals responsible for their governance. In all of these instances, the INSTITUTION FOR THE PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE metonymy emphasizes institutions' collective responsibility for policies and decisions.

The last conceptual metonymy with a high-frequency index is THE SUBEVENT FOR THE COMPLEX EVENT metonymy. Biljetina (2022) established that drinking-related verbs in English and Serbian can have an extended metonymical meaning. Similarly, the following examples demonstrate how verbs can function metonymically to represent broader processes and events.

- 28) Now more than a million Americans wait in limbo just *to hear* whether they will get assistance.
- 29) Because in fact, despite the fights undertaken, the impression we have is that we're not *listened to*, despite all of our efforts."
- 30) After her school principal said she couldn't *enter* kindergarten because she was using a wheelchair, Judy dedicated the rest of her life to fighting for the inherent dignity of people with disabilities.

In (28), the act of *hearing* is a subevent that stands metonymically for the entire process of applying for, being judged for, and possibly receiving assistance. This complex process involves various steps, including application submission, review, judgment, potential appeals, and finally, a resolution. However, the use of the term *hearing* allows for the mental unpacking of the entire process. Similarly, in example (29), *listened to* metonymically represents acknowledgment and consideration. *Enter* in (30) stands for access and participation in educational opportunities. It does not denote simply physically moving into a building but being accepted and included in the social and educational systems. In sum, each of these verbs acts as a mental reference to complex events or processes.

4.2. Conceptual Metonymies in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Media Discourse

The analysis of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian media corpus revealed the presence of 11 conceptual metonymies, presented in Table 2. Their number is lower than the number of metonymies identified in the British corpus. GENERIC FOR SPECIFIC is the most prevalent metonymy in this corpus (Radden and Kövecses 1999:p.34).

Conceptual metonymy	Number of occurrences
GENERIC FOR SPECIFIC	34
PART FOR WHOLE	17
WHOLE FOR PART	16
PART OF THE SCENARIO FOR THE WHOLE SCENARIO	8
INSTITUTION FOR THE PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE	7
EFFECT FOR CAUSE	7
SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC	6
DEFINING PROPERTY OF A CATEGORY FOR THE WHOLE CATEGORY /TRAIT FOR PERSON	5
THE SUBEVENT FOR THE COMPLEX EVENT	1
OBJECT USED FOR USER	1
TOTAL:	102

Table 2. The distribution of conceptual metonymies in the
Bosnian-Herzegovinian corpus

In examples (31–34), this type of metonymy is illustrated by using general terms to refer to specific individuals or circumstances within the disability community. Despite the apparent collective reference, all the examples above have a narrow scope. They emphasize various obstacles faced by people with disabilities, ranging from physical barriers and access to information to social stigma and discrimination in their local communities.

- 31) “Od ključne je važnosti da javne institucije na lokalnom nivou, kroz koje se ostvaruje najviše prava, ali i druge institucije otklone arhitektonske barijere, prilagode informisanje i pruže dodatnu pomoć *osobama s invaliditetom*”, naglasili su.
- 32) O tome sa kojim izazovima se susreću *slabovidne i slijepo osobe* govorio je Fikret Zuko, direktor Udruženja slijepih Kantona Sarajevo.
- 33) *Autistične osobe* često su izložene stigmati i diskriminaciji, uključujući nepravedno uskraćivanje zdravstvene njege, obrazovanja i prilika da se angažuju i učestvuju u svojim zajednicama.
- 34) *Djeca s poteškoćama u razvoju* u inkluzivnoj nastavi nerijetko se susreću sa osudama druge djece, a evo šta na to kaže defektologinja.

Another type of metonymic relationship expressing generalization is the SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC metonymy (Radden and Kövecses, 1999:p.34). In this type of relation, a single indefinite instance takes on a much broader meaning that applies to an entire class, group, or category. The SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC appears less frequently than the GENERIC FOR SPECIFIC metonymy, occurring only a few times in our corpus.

- 35) *Osoba s invaliditetom i osoba sa smanjenom pokretljivošću može aviokompaniji ili aerodromu podnijeti prigovor ako smatra da su postupili protivno zakonu.*
- 36) U evropskim zemljama *osoba sa invaliditetom* može sama funkcionisati. Ne treba ni pratnja.
- 37) "Taj posao ne može raditi svako, nego to zaista mora biti neko ko će u potpunosti biti fokusiran na pomoć *sljepoj osobi*."

A linguistic expression can be motivated by a combination of metonymies or it can involve a metonymic chain. In the following examples, the GENERIC FOR SPECIFIC and the EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymies (Radden and Kövecses, 1999:p.34–38) underlie the expressions *osobe u invalidskim kolicima* 'persons in a wheelchair' and *korisnici kolica* 'wheelchair users'. Metonymy is identified by the common knowledge that an event takes place (an injury or illness) and affects a person, resulting in their inability to walk independently and necessitating the use of a wheelchair for assistance.

- 38) On najbolje zna koliko je Mostar daleko od inkluzivnog grada i koliko je teško *osobama u invalidskim kolicima* da funkcionišu u tom gradu (...).
- 39) Kako *korisnici kolica*, i pored svih zalaganja da se urbani prostor prilagodi njima, zbog sveopšte nekulture i dalje ne mogu uvijek nesmetano, samostalno da se kreću (...).

However, only the EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy motivates examples (40–42):

- 40) Zeničanka Samira Džidić je od rođenja *u invalidskim kolicima*.
- 41) Činjenica da *koristim invalidska kolica* u interakciji s diskriminacijom, nedostatkom arhitektonske pristupačnosti i pravovaljanih informacija onemogućila mi je kontinuiran proces obrazovanja.
- 42) Kao *korisnik invalidskih kolica* najčešće se susrećem s arhitektonskim barijerama, prvo kosinama.

The interaction of metonymies was also detected in other parts of our corpus study. In the following set of examples, generic reference has been enriched by the effect of depersonalization conveyed by the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy or its special case FACE FOR PERSON metonymy:

- 43) Naknada *licima sa invaliditetom* je 637 KM: Ispravlja se dugogodišnja nepravda prema ovoj populaciji
- 44) Prema njegovim riječima, *sljepa i slabovida lica* teško dolaze do posla kod poslodavaca, te se zbog toga češće odlučuju za samozapošljavanje.
- 45) Nekako uvijek to govorimo, ali možda tokom godine zaboravimo, da se ne priča o problemima *lica sa invaliditetom* samo jednom u toku godine (...).

Examples (43–45) address the common theme of challenges people with disabilities encounter in their environments. In these examples, the presence of proportional generic activates the GENERIC FOR SPECIFIC metonymy. However, the frequently found term *osobe* 'persons, people' has been replaced by the term *lica* 'faces', illustrating the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy or the FACE FOR PERSON metonymy. Metonymical references to persons through body parts (Hilpert, 2007b; Handl, 2011) can have a depersonalizing and dehumanizing effect (Littlemore 2015:p.7), creating a greater social distance between disabled and non-disabled readers. An interesting observation is that the FACE FOR PERSON metonymy was not identified in the American corpus. The finding aligns with Imamović's (2013:p.303) research, which identifies this metonymy as register-specific to Bosnia and Herzegovina, prevalent in legal discourse but absent from the UK and US corpora.

In addition, words coming from the same word family in (46–48) also seem to be underlying the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy (Radden and Kövecses, 1999:p.31). *Pristupačan, pristupačna, pristupačni* and *pristupačne* 'accessible' are adjectives framed by the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL and CONTAINER schemas, where the goal is conceptualized as a container (Imamović, 2020:p.286). This pattern emerged when the terms were used to modify nouns or noun phrases related to various facilities. These expressions are also to be interpreted metonymically, giving rise to the PART OF A SCENARIO FOR THE WHOLE SCENARIO metonymy (Imamović, 2020:pp.290–291).

- 46) "Osnovne i srednje škole nam nisu *pristupačne*. Fakultet je bio *pristupačan*, ima lift, ali ja sam nažalost imala predavanja u podrumu gdje nemam mogućnost lifta i uvijek sam morala imati podršku drugih", navodi Amela.
- 47) Nijedan objekat u Doboju nije u potpunosti *pristupačan* i prilagođen osobama sa invaliditetom (...).
- 48) Nažalost, u Doboju nismo našli nijedan objekat koji je u potpunosti *pristupačan*.

The opposite metonymy or the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy was observed in the examples involving the word *pristupačnost* 'accessibility' without a reference

to facilities. Imamović (2020) finds that accessible has narrowed semantically from “accessible to all” to specifically mean “accessible to persons with a disability”. The issue of accessibility is crucial for the integration of disabled people into mainstream society, as indicated below:

- 49) Prilagođenost javnih institucija osoba s invaliditetom je pitanje *pristupačnosti*, a *pristupačnost* je ključni uslov ostvarivanja drugih prava s invaliditetom.
- 50) UN je prije nekoliko godina ukazao da Bosna i Hercegovina nema sveobuhvatnu strategiju *pristupačnosti* (...).

Institutions have a pivotal role in supporting disabled people's independence. Depending on their function, institutions provide various forms of support for the disabled community, from education, employment, and healthcare to legal and financial assistance. In the Bosnian-Herzegovinian corpus, we observed that non-governmental associations were more proactive in assisting disabled individuals than governmental organizations. Considering that people in charge of a certain institution are responsible for decision-making processes, the ensuing instances exemplify the INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE metonymy:

- 51) *Udruženje osoba sa invaliditetom* današnjim protestima želi izboriti uslove za pristojan život.
- 52) *Udruženje porodica djece i osoba sa poteškoćama u razvoju "Dajte nam šansu"* pokrenulo je veliki projekat za otvaranje prvog Dnevnog centra za djecu i omladinu sa poteškoćama u razvoju u Kantonu Sarajevo.
- 53) *Udruženje RE-SET* pomaže mladim osobama sa invaliditetom

Using a trait or a characteristic to refer to a group of individuals has been the foundation of the TRAIT FOR PERSON conceptual metonymy (Littlemore, 2015) and the DEFINING PROPERTY OF A CATEGORY FOR THE WHOLE CATEGORY metonymy (Radden and Kövecses, 1999:p.35). Since people with disabilities find references to their impairment offensive, these terms have been replaced with less stigmatizing ones. However, the use of expressions such as *gluhi* ‘the deaf’ and *sljepi* ‘the blind’ is still present in some media texts:

- 54) A da je suradnja s *gluhima* dobra, te da je profesionalan pristup poslu najvažniji pri odabiru kandidata dokazuje nam i 19-ogodišnja Esmira.
- 55) Okolina ih smatra nepoželjnima partnerima/icama jer videći ne žele vezu sa *sljepima*, općenito s osobama s invaliditetom.

We would like to close this section with the least frequent conceptual metonymies in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian corpus: the SUBEVENT FOR THE COMPLEX EVENT and the INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION metonymies (Radden and Kövecses, 1999:pp.32–37). The former appears in *izaći na ulice* ‘take to the

streets' in (56). To express their dissatisfaction with the government's decision to decrease disability benefits, families of people with disabilities threatened to stage large-scale protests. Gathering on the streets has metonymically been employed to represent a more complex event of protest planning. The phrase metonymically condenses multiple subevents, including obtaining permits, mobilization, transportation, and press coverage.

In addition, the INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION has been identified in (57), where the term *štap* 'a walking cane' stands for the action it facilitates—mobility. Unfortunately, example (57) reveals how using a walking cane reinforces existing prejudices toward the individual with a disability. However, the speaker's intention to counter these misconceptions offers hope for social change.

56) "Ovo će jako uticati na živote porodica sa djecom sa smetnjama, a ako se nastavi insistirati da se i kantonalni zakon uskladi sa federalnim, mi ćemo *izaći na ulice*", kazala nam je ova majka.

57) "*Štap* je dodatno pojačao predrasude, no odlučila sam to mijenjati".

5. Conclusion

This paper examined the manifestation of conceptual metonymies in the American and Bosnian-Herzegovinian media discourse on disability. The aim of the study was to determine the dominant conceptual metonymies in media representations of disability and to explore the similarities and differences across the two corpora. A comparative analysis revealed several significant patterns in the use of conceptual metonymy.

The largest group of examples identified in our research instantiates the GENERIC FOR SPECIFIC conceptual metonymy. The metonymy was prominent in both corpora, as generalization is a powerful strategy used to highlight critical issues disabled individuals grapple with. Although the context narrowed the frame of reference of metonymic expressions, the GENERIC FOR SPECIFIC metonymy was used to evoke a matter of urgency in ensuring an inclusive society.

Additionally, the WHOLE FOR PART and PART FOR WHOLE metonymies, illustrated by the terms *accessible*, *adaptive climbing*, and *pristupačnost* were also widely represented. The terms underwent the process of semantic expansion and reduction in an effort to replace offensive and inappropriate terms with more respectful alternatives. A similar attempt was identified in the use of the EFFECT

FOR CAUSE metonymy, where derogatory expressions such as *wheelchair-bound*, *wheelchair-confined*, and *prikovan za kolica* were replaced by inclusive metonymic euphemisms.

Nevertheless, the corpus analysis has also uncovered some differences in the use of conceptual metonymy in disability media narratives. The American media discourse employed the terms *disability* and *disabled* to refer to the disability community in a concise manner, thereby evoking the DEFINING PROPERTY OF A CATEGORY FOR THE WHOLE CATEGORY and the TRAIT FOR PERSON metonymies. In contrast, these metonymies were less common in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian media discourse and instantiated by expressions describing specific types of impairment, such as *gluhi* 'the deaf' or *sljepi* 'the blind'.¹ Similarly, the INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE metonymy carried a negative connotation in the American corpus, highlighting the collective responsibility of institutions for actions, decisions, or policies regarding people with disabilities. In the Bosnian-Herzegovinian corpus, however, this metonymy emphasized the proactive role of disability associations in advocating for the rights of disabled individuals.

In sum, the conducted analysis shows significant overlap in metonymic disability framing across American and Bosnian-Herzegovinian media. Metonymy variations stem from cultural, historical, and geopolitical factors, affecting how disability is presented and addressed.

Dictionaries:

1. Cambridge Dictionary | *English Dictionary, Translations & Thesaurus* [online]. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/>

References:

1. Ahrens, K. (ed.) (2009) *Politics, Gender and Conceptual Metaphors*. London, Palgrave Macmillan UK.
2. Albrecht, G., Seelman, K. and Bury, M. 2001. Introduction: The Formation of Disability Studies. In: G. Albrecht, K. Seelman and M. Bury (eds.) *Handbook of Disability Studies*. London and New Delhi, Sage Publications, Inc., 1–10.
3. Bajić, Z. (2013) *Monitoring medija: Analiza izvještavanja štampanih medija o osobama s invaliditetom u Bosni i Hercegovini u periodu april/travanj - septembar/rujan 2013. god.* Sarajevo, Švedska krovna organizacija unutar pokreta osoba s invaliditetom.
4. Barletta Manjarrés, N., Cortez Román, N. A. and Medzerian, S. (2012) From official educational policy to the composition classroom: Reproduction through metaphor and metonymy. *Journal of Writing Research*. 4(1), 31–51.

5. Barnden, J. (2018) Some contrast effects in metonymy. In: O. Blanco-Carrión, A. Barcelona and R. Pannain (eds.) *Conceptual Metonymy: Methodological, theoretical, and descriptive issues*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 97–120.
6. Biljetina, J. L. (2022) Verbs of Drinking in English and in Serbian as Sources of Conceptual Metaphors and Metonymies. *Philologist – journal of language, literary and cultural studies*. 13(26), 170–192.
7. Benczs, R. (2011) Putting the notion of “domain” back into metonymy: Evidence from compounds. In: R. Benczs, A. Barcelona and R. de Mendoza (eds.) *Defining Metonymy in Cognitive Linguistics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 147–166.
8. Bickford, J. (2004) Preferences of Individuals With Visual Impairments for the Use of Person-First Language. *RE:view: Rehabilitation and Education for Blindness and Visual Impairment*. 36(3), 120–126.
9. Charteris-Black, J. (2011) *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor*. Palgrave Macmillan.
10. Galvin, R. (2003) The Making of the Disabled Identity: A Linguistic Analysis of Marginalisation. *Disability Studies Quarterly*, 23(2), 149–178.
11. Handl, S. and Schmid, H.-J., eds. (2011) *Windows to the Mind*. Berlin, New York, De Gruyter Mouton.
12. Haller, B. (1999) News Coverage of Disability Issues: Final Report for The Center for an Accessible Society. [online] *The Center for an Accessible Society*. <http://www.accessiblesociety.org/topics/coverage/0799haller.htm>.
13. Halmari, H. (2010) Political correctness, euphemism, and language change: The case of ‘people first’. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 43(3), 828–840.
14. Harkova, E. and Shigapova, F. (2014) Functional features of metaphoric and metonymic euphemisms in media discourse. *European Journal of Science and Theology*. 10(6), 105–113.
15. Hilpert, M. (2007a) Chained Metonymies in Lexicon and Grammar. *Aspects of Meaning Construction*, 77–98.
16. Hilpert, M. (2007b) Keeping an eye on the data: Metonymies and their patterns. In: A. Anatol Stefanowitsch and S. Th. Gries (eds.) *Corpus-Based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy*. Berlin, New York, Mouton de Gruyter, 123–151.
17. Hughes, G. (2010) *Political Correctness: A History of Semantics and Culture*. 1st ed. Chichester, John Wiley & Sons.
18. Imamović, A. (2013) Metaphor and metonymy in legal texts. *Jezikoslovlje*. 14(2-3), 295–306.
19. Imamović, A. (2020) Accessible World: A Cognitive-Linguistic Analysis. In: *Essays in Honour of Boris Berić's Sixty-Fifth Birthday: "What's Past Is Prologue"*. Cambridge, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 277–302.

20. Koller, V. (2005) Critical discourse analysis and social cognition: evidence from business media discourse. *Discourse and Society*, 16(2), 199–224.
21. Kotur Erkić, A. (2017) *Hendikepirana ili ne vidi?* [online] MC_ONLINE. <https://www.media.ba/bs/magazin-novinarstvo/hendikepirana-ili-ne-vidi-0>.
22. Kövecses, Z. (2002) *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*. 2nd ed. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
23. Kövecses, Z. (2006) *Language, Mind, and Culture: A Practical Introduction*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
24. Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M. (1980) *Metaphors We Live By*. 1st ed. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
25. Littlemore, J. (2015) *Metonymy: Hidden Shortcuts in Language, Thought and Communication*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
26. Littlemore, J. (2017) Metonymy. In: B. Dancygier (ed.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*. Cambridge University Press, 407–422.
27. Littlemore, J., and Tagg, C. (2018) Metonymy and text messaging: A framework for understanding creative uses of metonymy. *Applied Linguistics*, 39(4), 481–507.
28. Moritz, I. (2018) Metonymy-based euphemisms in war-related speeches by George W. Bush and Barack Obama. In: *Linguistic Taboo Revisited*. De Gruyter Mouton, 55–78.
29. Musolff, A. (2004) *Metaphor and Political Discourse*. Basingstoke, Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan.
30. Musolff, A. (2006) Metaphor Scenarios in Public Discourse. *Metaphor and Symbol* 21(1), 23–38. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327868ms2101_2.
31. Portero Muñoz, C. (2011) Noun-noun Euphemisms in the Language of the Global Financial Crisis. *Atlantis Journal of the Spanish Association for Anglo-American Studies*. 33(2), 137–157.
32. Radden, G. and Kövecses, Z. (1999) Towards a Theory of Metonymy. In: *Metonymy in Language and Thought*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 17–59.
33. Radden, G. (2009) Generic reference in English: A metonymic and conceptual blending analysis January 2009. In: K.-U. Panther, L. L. Thornburg and A. Barcelona (eds.) *Metonymy and Metaphor in Grammar*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 199–228.
34. Richman, M. (2020) Adaptive rock climbing has physical, psychological benefits for people with disabilities. *Office of Research & Development*. <https://www.research.va.gov/currents/0520-Adaptive-rock-climbing-has-physical-and-psychological-benefits-for-people-with-disabilities.cfm>
35. Ruiz de Mendoza, F., and Diez Velasco, O.I. (2002) Patterns of conceptual interaction. In: R. Dirven and R. Pörings (eds.) *Metaphor and Metonymy in Comparison and Contrast*. Berlin, De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 489–532.
36. Semino, E. (2008) *Metaphor in discourse*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

37. Schultz, M. (2012) *Metaphor and metonymy: A study of figurative language in newspapers*. Thesis, Linnéuniversitetet, Institutionen för språk och litteratur, SOL. <https://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:lnu:diva-16864>.
38. Zieliński, P. (2012) *Metaphors and Metonymy in Politics. Selected Aspects*. Thesis, Gdańsk University, Poland. <https://www.phil.muni.cz/linguistica/art/zielinski/zie-ma-thesis.pdf>.

Anela J. Mulahmetović Ibrišimović
Univerzitet u Tuzli
Filozofski fakultet
Odsjek za engleski jezik i književnost

METONIMIJSKI IZRAZI O OSOBAMA S INVALIDITETOM U AMERIČKIM I BOSANSKOHERCEGOVAČKIM MEDIJIMA

Rezime

Prilikom konzumiranja medijskog sadržaja korisnici treba da budu svjesni potencijalne medijske pristrasnosti i stereotipnog prikazivanja manjinskih grupa, kao što je zajednica osoba sa invaliditetom. Kritički odnos prema medijima ključan je u kontekstu ableističke percepcije svijeta koja često u svojoj osnovi uključuje metaforu i metonimiju. Oba fenomena učestalo se pojavljuju u medijima, učvršćujući dominantne društvene stavove i mišljenja. Ovaj rad nastoji ispitati prisustvo konceptualnih metonimija u američkom i bosanskohercegovačkom medijskom izvještavanju o osobama s invaliditetom. Iako je veoma mali broj studija istraživao međusobnu povezanost metafore i invaliditeta, nijedno istraživanje nije se bavilo vezom između medija, invaliditeta i konceptualne metonimije. Stoga vjerujemo da će ovaj rad doprinijeti boljem interkulturalnom razumijevanju medijske prakse prilikom izvještavanja o osobama sa invaliditetom, budući da konceptualna metonimija nudi uvid u obrasce predstavljanja i načine percepcije ove manjinske skupine.

► **Ključne riječi:** konceptualna metonimija, invaliditet, mediji, američki, bosanskohercegovački.

Preuzeto: 13. 4. 2025.
Korekcije: 15. 5. 2025.
Prihvaćeno: 27. 6. 2025.

Maja Mandić¹
University of Banja Luka
Faculty of Philology
Department of English Language and Literature

VISUAL MATERIALS IN THE EFL CLASSROOM AT UNIVERSITY: A CASE STUDY

Abstract: The aim of this paper is to present and discuss the results of a small-scale study of student perceptions and opinions on the use of visual materials in the EFL classroom at university. Teaching new generations of students who grew up with smart phones in their hands and social media accounts implies the need for more integration of visual materials in university classes, and this need is particularly visible in foreign language classes. Visual literacy has become one of the objectives of education in general and must not be neglected at university.

The study was conducted after two EFL elective courses, which were largely based on visual assignments, were completed (two semesters) and the students who took the courses were asked to respond to a questionnaire. Their responses were then analyzed and positive and negative aspects of the visual assignments were identified and discussed in order to understand their potential in working with new student groups. The paper looks at both the students' responses and the EFL instructor's expectations and class observations, and provides suggestions for future work with university students.

Key words: EFL; image; university; video; visual literacy; visual materials

1. Introduction

In the past several years of teaching, I have turned to visual materials as much as textual ones. As a true believer in the power of words, I used to teach using different textual formats and there was nothing I thought was more powerful in the classroom than words and sentences. My preference for texts was based on my long experience in teaching but also on the fact that I, as a student, learned most successfully with the help of texts. I still believe this is the best way to learn – for

¹ maja.mandic@ff.unibl.org

me. But different people learn in different ways, and teachers try various approaches in the classroom before they find the best one(s) for a particular group of students.

There are several reasons why I decided to reconsider my approach to teaching. The first one was the changing world around us and the speed at which new media come into our lives, for better or for worse. I found myself teaching new generations, much younger than me, who surely did not see the world the same way I did. As Kress (2003:p.9) points out, we live in a world with the dominance of the image and the dominance of the medium of the screen. I had to do something to adjust to that. The second reason was the multitude of various media and their accessibility. Even though I sometimes think the media consume quite a lot of our precious time, I also firmly believe there are so many ways and areas in which we can make them work to our advantage, education being one of them. And that is how I decided to turn to (moving) pictures for help in the EFL learning.

There is one more thing I should emphasize: I started realizing that teaching English at university, I could also make students think about so many important aspects of life, and not just grammar and vocabulary. I consider my classes an opportunity to make students ask questions about different issues and to help them see these issues from many different perspectives. I like to think that I help my students open their minds to broader views of the world and our place in it.

2. Outline of the courses

The courses described in this paper were elective English Language courses taken by a group of students who majored in German Language and Literature. The group of students consisted of 10 female students who I had been teaching the previous year too so we had already established a good relationship and knew each other very well. They had at least an intermediate or upper-intermediate level of English knowledge, which made it possible for me to set up the two-semester coursework the way I did. It would have been quite more difficult to meet the course requirements if the students' English had been at levels A1 or A2 (although not impossible). The courses (the official names were English 3 and English 4) consisted of only 2 classes per week (each 45 minutes or one and a half hour for a weekly session). This proved to be enough time for the described assignments although more preparation would have been helpful for some of them.

Over the course of an academic year, i.e. two semesters (the 3rd and 4th semesters of the 8-semester BA degree), I used four different assignments based on visual

materials. Together with other textual assignments, they constituted the basis for the students' progress assessment and final grades. The visual material assignments were:

- Presentation of a favorite social media site, and Essay based on a short video (3rd semester);
- Presentation of a significant photograph, and Essay based on an assigned image (4th semester).

The other assignments that the students were expected to do were Reading comprehension (texts handed out in class) and Story telling (continue a story, text handed out in class) in the 3rd semester, and Argumentative essay (topic assigned in class) and Reading comprehension/translation of an assigned text (take-home assignment) in the 4th semester. These assignments, however, will not be discussed in this paper as it focuses solely on visual materials.

3. Reasons to use visual materials in the classroom

When learning a new language, we first rely on coursebooks and the texts and exercises we read and complete to learn a new grammar item or vocabulary. But all coursebooks contain quite a lot of images and they are usually incorporated in the learning process in some way. However, these images are often seen as some kind of embellishment and are commonly used to introduce a new topic and have a two-minute conversation about it.

But there is so much more that can be accomplished with images, be they still or moving. And the new world of the internet and social media outlets and many more visual arenas of entertainment, whose presence is difficult to ignore, might indicate that nowadays young people communicate more in visual than in verbal terms, and that we as educators must find ways to include the visual in our learning practices. Incorporating images in language instruction will appeal to digital native learners, those students who grew up in a world where using smartphones, laptops, and social media is part of everyday life (Prensky, 2001).

A concept which might provide a great framework for the approach to teaching EFL described here, as well as the analysis of the survey results is the concept of visual literacy. Ever since Debes (1969) formulated this term, it has become more prominent in education and has been one of its objectives. Debes explained that it is crucial to develop visual competencies through simultaneously looking and including other sensory experiences, which will enable a visually literate person to interpret the visible symbols, objects, and actions around him/herself, communicate with other people, and understand items of visual communication (Debes,

1969:p.26). Pettersson defines *visual literacy* as “the learned ability to interpret visual messages accurately and to create such messages. Thus interpretation and creation in visual literacy can be said to parallel reading and writing in print literacy.” (Pettersson, 1989:p.146). This comparison clearly highlights the importance of focusing on visual literacy in education. Avgerinou (2001:p.26) gives a straightforward, broad definition of visual literacy: “In the context of human, intentional visual communication, visual literacy refers to a group of largely acquired abilities, i.e. the abilities to understand (read) and use (write) images, as well as to think and learn in terms of images.” As one of the primary goals of education, literacy has always been defined in terms of linguistics, which Kress (2003) finds unacceptable. He suggests that language-based theories must be combined with semiotics and other visual theories in order to produce a true definition of literacy in the twenty-first century.

Visual literacy has been recognized as one of the primary focuses of education in some countries (Canada, Australia and Singapore), and in Canada, for example, two new skills have been added to the traditional skills of reading, writing, listening, and speaking – viewing and representing (Begoray, 2001). Viewing is defined as observing and understanding visual media such as symbols, films, television, photographs, video etc.; representing is defined as students’ ability to communicate information and ideas using these and other media (Begoray, 2001). Film, for example, is one of the media which has been used in teaching different kinds of content, from foreign languages (Stojšavljević Divac, 2023) to philosophy (Škerbić, 2009). If these new skills are to become standard skills to be developed at all levels of education, then teachers must be trained how to work with their students and how to use various media. It seems that visual literacy has become crucial in the world of constant exposure to images, in which a great deal of communication is based almost exclusively on the visual. Karastathi (2016: para. 28) calls for students to be taught to “resist the passivity, apathy and numbness they might feel toward the visual” and proposes that teachers “help them analyze the rhetorical techniques and meaning making mechanisms in operation in visual texts – that is, to make them active viewers.”

Visual literacy is just one of many different forms of literacies considered nowadays as essential in life and education. The term multiliteracies pedagogy, proposed by the New London Group, refers to “a pedagogy of multiliteracies where students would learn to ‘read’ (analyse and interpret) and ‘write’ (create) multimodal texts.” (Donaghy & Xerri, 2017:p.5). Kress (2003) argues that we must combine theory based on language with semiotics and other visual theories, which will signify the new concept of literacy in the twenty-first century. As Jewitt (2008:p.56) points

out, it is “increasingly important for education to attend to the literacy practices of students and the diverse ways of making meaning, in particular the multilingual, visual and multimodal, and the digital”. Only by incorporating different modes of learning into education - modes that correspond to the contemporary context we live in - can we expect students to respond well to formal education and achieve the best results.

4. Description of assignments

4.1. Presentation of a favorite social media site

I have decided to include this assignment in the classes since most social media sites are based on and rely on visual content (sometimes exclusively so). I told the students to select any internet-based material they would like to share with their classmates, present its good and bad sides, focusing on the reasons that made them choose this particular site. The students had absolute freedom in terms of content, focus, presentation style, with a time frame of 10 minutes as the only restriction.

4.2. Essay based on a short video

This assignment was one of two writing assignments, which I felt could be practiced more in EFL classes. Even if our students are given writing assignments, they are usually based on one of two or three given topics and are rarely combined with video clips. I believe this type of assignment provides a good balance of rules and freedom, and students could benefit greatly from it. The first half an hour of the class consisted of watching a video and the remaining hour consisted of writing an essay based on everything the students could take from the video.

4.3. Presentation of a significant photograph

I had given this assignment to my students in the previous years and their delivery was always excellent. The students are asked to choose a photograph of them, or taken by them, and show it to their classmates, explaining why they selected it and why it is significant to them. Even though these presentations are rather short (up to 7 minutes), students always communicate their messages well and let their classmates get to know them a little better. This might be a very good way for a group of students to learn some new information about each other and understand their classmates' opinions and feelings better.

4.4. Essay based on an assigned image

The students are asked to write an essay based on an assigned image. Chosen images are all rather abstract and allow of a range of various interpretations (as images normally do). This provides quite a lot of freedom for students to write whatever they want and choose an essay type they think appropriate. The only limitation is time, as they are expected to look at the image, think about what they might want to write and produce a 250-word essay in one hour. This much freedom, in terms of the content and form, is meant to make it possible for students to formulate a topic they feel the most passionate about (within the very broad limits of the assigned image) and select the type of essay they feel the most confident writing.

5. Explanations and observations

5.1. Presentation of a favorite social media site

It would be almost impossible to imagine a 20-year old student who does not use the internet and social media extensively in this day and age and this was my first thought when I decided to ask my students to present a favorite social media site (or profile) to their classmates. This assignment was rather simple and consisted of doing some research at home and making a PowerPoint presentation which would introduce the chosen internet site to the classmates and explain the reasons for selecting that site. The latter was actually what I focused on because I thought this was an excellent way for my students to express themselves and for their classmates and myself to learn a little more about their preferences. Other than having a 10-minute time frame for their presentations, the students had no other limitations in terms of what site to select or how to design and present their work.

I was very curious about what the students would prepare because I wanted to learn more about my students as people. I already had a good relationship with this group of students and felt we always had a great atmosphere in the classroom so I thought getting to know them better could make this atmosphere even more stimulating. I was not wrong. These presentations did help me learn more information about my students, who revealed their interests I had not previously been aware of.

In terms of the content, all the presentations belonged to one of two categories – lifestyle and education. Namely, seven of the ten presentations showed Youtube channels (4) or Instagram accounts (3) of people cooking, living their everyday lives, sorting out clutter or talking about make-up, and also of a famous band and a popular teen magazine. Three presentations introduced Youtube channels (2) and

a Facebook account helping people learn German or find motivation to study or to live a happier life. Some of the presented content was expected as it is obvious that nowadays twenty-year-olds use Instagram all the time and follow many bloggers, vloggers and influencers who often talk about beauty, clothes and fashion, and post about various situations from their lives. What I did appreciate more was some of the students' decision to talk about educational content which could undoubtedly help their fellow students either in their studies or in their everyday lives.

I marked this assignment based on the following criteria: organization, content, grammar, and delivery. The most successful presentations were those which had great content, were well-prepared, and were presented with quite a lot of enthusiasm. Those which were awarded the least points lacked interesting content and acceptable English.

5.2. Essay based on a short video

The idea behind this assignment was to provide students with more input before a writing assignment than would normally be the case. Regardless of the type of essays students are asked to write, they are usually given two or three topics to choose from and are then left on their own to come up with a story, description, discussion, or whatever the format requires. And there is nothing wrong with this type of assignment – students should be able to formulate a structured piece of writing based on a more or less abstract topic. However, I wanted to try something else as I believed my students would feel more inspired if they were given more material (i.e. visual as well as verbal ideas) before the actual writing. Research shows that using video as a teaching tool increases efficiency of learning (Ljubojevic, Vaskovic, Stankovic & Vaskovic, 2014). The video was used here as a resource, and the students were encouraged to interpret what they view, so the focus was on their critical responses (Goldstein, 2017:p.28).

After watching an 8-minute video titled *What is freedom – People from around the world*², the students were asked to write a 250-word essay answering the following question: What does freedom mean to you? The video shows people from all over the globe saying what freedom is for them, and I believed their different answers might provide my students with a range of ideas, making it easier for them to come up with their own perspective. As Clare (2017) argues, video can be a transformational medium for learning and can be used to connect with other people and their stories and generate empathy. I asked my students to refer to some lines and ideas they heard in the video because I wanted to make sure they would listen to it attentively and

²The video can be found at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mehs-RxArM8>

those perspectives might give them some pointers and make them think of more ideas of their own. I also thought such a broad topic could inspire my students to write about many various aspects of this topic, as any abstract notion might.

Their essays proved me somewhat wrong. Although the students wrote about many aspects of freedom, they all focused on people's personal freedom to choose who they want to be and create their own life paths. What was clearly lacking in these essays were political freedoms, and relating the personal choices they mentioned to a wider social context. Apart from the obvious examples of the role of law in the society and everybody being equal in the eyes of the law, the essays contained no questions about the relationship between the state/society and the individual. When I later thought about possible reasons for this, I realized that their focus on their own personal place in the world in their essays could be interpreted in terms of their young age (around twenty) and their not being exposed to texts discussing more political topics.

The essays were marked for the content, grammar and vocabulary, as well as following the word count and the 5-paragraph structure. Since the essays were very similar in content, their different marks were the result of their good or bad use of English.

5.3. Presentation of a significant photograph

This is one of my favorite assignments because I always have an opportunity to learn a little bit more about my students and see them in a new (always favorable) light. Hopefully, all the students appreciate this opportunity to get to know their classmates better and understand their background, opinions and behaviors. Teachers are glad if their students “develop a sense of agency” because the learning process will become “meaningful for them”. (Clare, 2017:p.39). If students pick a selfie for the presentation, it will give them “a sense of ownership in their learning, as they are not only interpreting photographs, but also creating them” (Baker, 2015:p.10). The same also applies to any photograph students take themselves.

Most of the students chose a photograph taken by them and the photographs featured a friend or family member (5 photographs), their dog (3), their hometown, and a scene from a school excursion. This fact shows that, given a chance to talk about something they care about the most, the students will gladly take it. It is my conclusion that students like to share private information about themselves because this increases their sense of community, which, I believe, is extremely important and stimulating in a learning situation.

This assignment was marked based on the content, grammar and vocabulary, and delivery of the presentations within the time frame. The most successful presentations were those which were delivered by the students with the best command of English.

5.4. Essay based on an assigned image

This assignment, too, was designed to offer as much freedom as possible to students to think of their own interpretations of abstract images, which could mean different things to different people. The reason I decided to assign an image to my students was that I wanted to provide some guidance, so they would at least have a starting point for their essays. Besides receiving an image to write about, the students were also instructed to write up to 250 words and to finish their essays in one hour. Everything else depended on their own creativity. As Baker (2015:pp.3–4) argues: “Justifying why they understand images in particular ways requires students to analyze pieces of the image before producing a response based on evidence from the image. Stating that one ‘likes’ or ‘does not like’ an image is not sufficient for visual literacy; instead, students are challenged to link vocabulary from the visual representations with abstract ideas or past experiences.”

This much freedom is both a positive and a negative thing. Not giving students any restrictions in terms of content and not setting an essay format, I thought I was creating ideal conditions for producing essays which would be a result of the students’ creativity, interests and imagination. In reality, though, this meant that the students felt somewhat lost and did not know what to do with that much freedom. It also meant they focused on the most obvious parts of the images and did not feel the need to expand their meaning and go beyond the actual objects and scenes shown in them. One of the reasons for the students’ lack of confidence in producing more meaningful essays might be related to their youth and their not being accustomed to having much freedom in doing highschool assignments. The latter should be discussed in more detail in class before they start working on any assignment without many restrictions.

These essays were marked based on the students’ use of English and vocabulary, the essay structure and its relationship with the assigned image. The students’ final grades mostly depended on the use of English and vocabulary as the other two elements were of similar quality.

6. Survey results

In order to learn about the students’ opinions and comments about these assignments, I decided to create an online questionnaire and ask my students to answer the questions as frankly as they could after the end of the fourth semester. The questionnaire was made on the Google Docs platform and consisted of state-

ments with answers based on the five-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 and 2 as positive responses (“I strongly agree” and “I somewhat agree”) to 4 and 5 as negative responses (“I somewhat disagree” and “I strongly disagree”). The mid-point 3 represented the “undecided” response (“I do not know”). There was only one open-ended question, to which only some of the students responded as it was not obligatory.

All of the students completed the questionnaire and their responses will be discussed here in order to learn about the students’ satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the four assignments. The results of this small-scale survey show me which of the assignments should be repeated with some other groups of students, adjusted or avoided altogether.

The analysis of the students’ responses has shown that the students provided a positive feedback on the use of visual materials in our EFL classroom. All the students said they liked using visual materials (images, video clips, films, internet sites, etc.) in class, with a majority (60%) saying they *strongly agree* with this statement, and 40% saying they *somewhat agree* with it. However, they could not decide if they preferred visual to textual materials as 30% of the students responded with *don’t know* when asked about this preference. Half of the students said they liked using visual materials more than textual materials in class (1 chose *strongly agree* and 4 *somewhat agree*), while 2 favored textual to visual materials (one each chose *somewhat disagree* and *strongly disagree*).

When asked to list the four different assignments according to preference, the students said they liked the two presentations much more than the two writing assignments. Their favorite assignment was *Presentation of a significant photograph*, which was chosen as their most favorite or second most favorite assignment by all the students (not a single student chose it as their least favorite assignment). The second best assignment was *Presentation of a favorite social media site*, which 50% students said was their favorite assignment, 30% said it was their second best assignment, while one student each chose it as her second least favorite and the least favorite assignment.

The least favorite assignment was *Essay based on an assigned image*, which was selected as such by 6 students, while only 1 student picked it as her favorite assignment. The assignment *Essay based on a short video* was selected as a second least favorite assignment, with half of the students putting it in the third place. One student chose it as her least favorite assignment but the remaining four students considered it their most or second most favorite assignment.

I wanted to have more detailed information about what exactly the students thought about each particular assignment, so I asked the students to respond to a questionnaire about what they did or did not like about the assignments. The students were asked to agree or disagree (strongly or somewhat) with nine statements, or remain undecided if they were not sure what they thought about each statement. The questionnaire items for each of the assignments were as follows:

This assignment is demanding.

This assignment takes a lot of time to finish.

This assignment is boring.

This assignment is amusing.

This assignment has made me think.

I would repeat this assignment.

If I were a teacher, I would assign this assignment in my class.

I have learnt something doing this assignment.

I enjoyed preparing and/or doing this assignment.

The most demanding assignment³ is *Essay based on an assigned image*, for which only one student chose *strongly disagree* as her answer. Five students picked *strongly agree*, one selected *somewhat agree*, and three picked *do not know*. The second most demanding assignment seems to be *Essay based on a short video*. Six students chose *strongly agree* (3) and *somewhat agree* (3), and two chose *do not know*, which means only two students think it is not demanding (1 picked *somewhat disagree* and 1 *strongly disagree*). The least demanding assignment was *Presentation of a favorite social media site*, for which one student chose *strongly agree*, one *somewhat agree*, and two *do not know*; three students selected *somewhat disagree* and three *strongly disagree*. The students had similar answers for the assignment *Presentation of a significant photograph*, with only slightly different numbers for each option – two students picked *strongly agree*, one chose *somewhat agree*, and one *do not know*; three students selected *somewhat disagree*, and three *strongly disagree*. It would, however, be good to know whether the ‘demands’ referred to their thinking of what they would present or write about, how much time went into researching, the actual delivery in class, or something entirely different.

In terms of how much time they consumed, the assignments *Presentation of a favorite social media site* and *Presentation of a significant photograph* are seen as the least time-consuming, with most students choosing the *somewhat disagree* and *strongly disagree* options (80% and 60%, respectively). With the other two assignments, the

³ The following analysis will present responses to most but not all of the questionnaire items due to the word limit of the paper.

answers are different – the students did not know how to answer this question for *Essay based on a short video* (60%), with the other answers equally distributed (one student each chose all the other options); with *Essay based on an assigned image*, the students felt it did take quite a lot of their time (half of the students selected *strongly agree* (1) and *somewhat agree* (4)) and 30% opted for *do not know*.

Teachers know how important it is to create or find assignments and tasks which will simultaneously educate and entertain students, and how challenging this is as these two qualities are not necessarily present in a task at the same time. I had assumed the two presentation-based assignments would be considered more entertaining than the two writing assignments, and I was right. *Presentation of a favorite social media site* was considered amusing by 70% of the students, while *Presentation of a significant photograph* received a positive response by 80% of the students. I had hoped there would be no negative responses to these assignments but they each received a single negative response. The writing assignments were not very popular, as it turns out - *Essay based on a short video* received 50% of *do not know* responses, 20% thought it rather boring (*somewhat agree*) and 30% considered it amusing; the answers were more negative for *Essay based on an assigned image*, with 40% saying it was boring (2 *strongly agree* and 2 *somewhat agree*), 40% picking *do not know*, but 20 % thinking it was not a complete waste of time (*somewhat disagree*).

I also wanted to find out how much thought my students had put into preparing their presentations and essays, so I asked them to (dis)agree with the following statement: “This assignment has made me think”. The most ambiguous response was given for the assignment *Essay based on an assigned image*, as the students’ chosen answers were equally distributed across all five options. The three other tasks had similar responses, ranging from 5 *strongly agree* and *somewhat agree* and 5 *somewhat disagree* and *strongly disagree* answers for *Essay based on a short video* to 4 *agree* and 5 *disagree* answers (plus 1 *do not know*) for both *Presentation of a favorite social media site* and *Presentation of a significant photograph*.

The second similar statement given to my students (“I have learnt something doing this assignment.”) has given me a little more insight into what my students think they have gained doing these assignments. According to their answers, the assignment that seems to have taught them the least is *Presentation of a favorite social media site*, for which 7 students chose the *disagree* answers (3 *somewhat* and 4 *strongly disagree*). Only one student each chose the *strongly agree* and *somewhat agree* options, and one did not know how to answer. With the assignment *Presentation of a significant photograph*, half of the students felt they had made some progress in learning (3 *strongly agree* and 2 *somewhat agree*) but there were still

the other 5 students who felt they had learnt nothing (5 *strongly disagree*). Their responses improved a little for the writing assignments: 1 chose *strongly agree* and 2 *somewhat agree*, as opposed to 2 *somewhat disagree* and 3 *strongly disagree* for *Essay based on a short video*, with 2 students who were not sure how to respond to this statement; similarly, there were 2 *strongly agree* and 1 *somewhat agree*, and 3 *somewhat disagree* and 1 *strongly disagree* responses for *Essay based on an assigned image*, with 3 students who chose the *do not know* option.

In order to find out whether the students thought these assignments were useful as some of their future classroom activities (when they start their teaching careers), I asked them to respond to the following statement: "If I were a teacher, I would assign this assignment in my class." The best responses were given for *Presentation of a significant photograph*, as 3 students chose *strongly agree* and 1 *somewhat agree* options. However, 3 students picked *somewhat disagree* and another 3 *strongly disagree*, which means that more than half of the students did not consider the assignment good enough for their prospective students. The most negative responses were given for *Presentation of a favorite social media site*, where 4 students each chose the *somewhat disagree* and *strongly disagree* options, and only 1 student each selected the *strongly agree* and *somewhat agree* options. Half of the class chose the disagree options (2 *somewhat disagree* and 3 *strongly disagree*) for *Essay based on a short video*, with 3 students responding favorably to this assignment (1 *strongly agree* and 2 *somewhat agree*), and 2 students who were unsure how to respond. Finally, the students seemed to be most confused about the assignment *Essay based on an assigned image*, with half of the students selecting the *do not know* option. The other 5 students distributed their responses almost equally across all the other options: 2 picked *strongly agree*, 1 *somewhat agree*, 1 *somewhat disagree* and 1 *strongly disagree*. The reasons for negative responses might be found in my students' lack of experience, different approaches to teaching different age groups, English knowledge level of their prospective students as well as my students' personal preferences.

The students were also asked whether they liked in-class assignments or doing individual research at home and preparing their presentations before actually sharing them with their classmates and the teacher. I learn from their answers that almost one third of them *do not know* how to respond to that question (30%), which I interpret as their willingness to being assigned tasks to prepare at home, as well as to being given tasks in class and completing them there. Another third of all the students said they did like in-class assignments, with two students picking the *strongly agree* and one opting for *somewhat agree* options. The remaining four students chose the *somewhat disagree* answer, meaning they preferred take-home

assignments. The conclusion which could be drawn from these responses is that more than two thirds of the students either liked or did not mind doing take-home assignments, so they are definitely a good idea, at least occasionally.

The only open-ended question asked the students to suggest visual materials which they would like to use in class while at university, regardless of the type of course (language or any other course). Not everyone gave answers to this question, but those who did (6) said they would like to have a quiz after covering a certain subject matter, and use videos, PowerPoint presentations and images. One of the respondents pointed out that it is quite right to use the Internet when researching something or learning about new matters, specifying that this includes watching videos, discussing photographs, reading newspaper articles, etc. This student's suggestion ends with the following sentence: "Learning should be fun for both young learners and university students." One of them said that they should do book and film presentations, while another one suggested doing exercises based on newspaper articles, listening exercises for better understanding of different dialects, watching Youtube videos and similar activities. Another one briefly said that materials they use in classes at the moment are quite alright.

7. Observed positive and negative aspects

7.1. Positive aspects

Many researchers give compelling reasons for the frequent inclusion of visual materials in the classroom but I have observed some of my own, which I will briefly discuss in the next few paragraphs.

a) Relaxed and stimulating atmosphere in the classroom

This would be a good enough reason to include any new approaches and materials in teaching because every teacher knows how important it is to create a positive, non-threatening and motivating atmosphere in the classroom. Simply put, in a stimulating teaching environment any new topic and language issue will be discussed more successfully, which does not refer only to students but to teachers as well.

b) Increased sense of community

This refers to the two tasks that are done via presentations, especially because the presentations are based on the personal information which students are willing to share with their classmates. It is sometimes surprising, and also wonderful, to see how freely and openly students talk about their innermost feelings and most important

people in their lives, and share some significant moments and little dilemmas from their lives. A classroom filled with laughter, where comments are heard and thoughts exchanged, can only contribute to a faster and more productive learning process.

c) Individual work at home

Teachers know that sometimes, no matter how hard they try, it is difficult to make students do any little task they are given in the classroom. The take-home assignments described here are one of the ways to ensure that students have already done some work before they come to school, and will also repeat what they have prepared during their delivery, so the work will definitely be done.

In addition to this, students are asked to do some research when composing their presentation and I believe that individual research is priceless when it comes to an effective learning process.

d) Thinking about new concepts

New concepts might not necessarily be completely novel to students but students might not have had the opportunity or the need to think about them. Besides, even if students start looking at a concept they are very familiar with, it will lead them to a whole range of new ideas and associations while they are doing their research. This only means that at least some learning is guaranteed and that is a great reason for these assignments to be done with new groups of students.

7.2. Negative aspects

Although I do not think there are any real negative aspects of using visual materials in teaching a foreign language (and many other subjects), I would like to address some that I have observed in order to eliminate any drawbacks of this approach to teaching and learning.

a) No limitations – both positive and negative aspect

The fact that students are given quite a lot of freedom in preparing their assignments seems like a positive thing, both for students and teachers, until students actually start working on their ideas. Suddenly, a whole world of possibilities opens up and it sometimes seems too big and rather daunting. What happens then, in most cases, is that students get lost in too much information they come across in their research and are unable to find a way out of it and tell crucial information from that which is not essential and could be omitted.

This negative aspect might be a result of the students' lack of experience in doing independent research and will hopefully disappear in the students' third and fourth year of studying. This is not to say that a student in his/her first or second year at university should not be able to do some research and to know what information to include in their paper or presentation but the truth is, they are not in many cases. This unfavorable fact can be related to students' highschool demands and lack of insistence on writing assignments there, which means that students need to focus more on this type of individual work at university.

b) Abstract ideas

This aspect of the assignments is directly related to the previous one as (almost complete) freedom is part of the interpretation of abstract notions. Struggling with abstraction was particularly obvious in the two writing assignments as they were both based on a very broadly formulated topic and an image allowing of plenty of interpretations.

Once again, the students' problem to overcome this obstacle derives from their lack of experience to write about ideas and notions which are not concrete or do not come from lived experiences. Besides, even if students could discuss such concepts in a group discussion, it becomes more challenging to put those ideas into a well-structured and meaningful piece of writing, especially when they are asked to write their essays with no input from their classmates.

c) Limited progress in learning

Some of the students felt they did not learn much preparing and presenting some of the assignments. If learning something is equated with acquiring new information about a new topic, then they are probably right to some extent. However, thinking about a familiar concept in a new way or hearing about something familiar from another person's perspective also constitutes learning, so I believe the students' opinion was based on this wrong premise. In order to make the whole process clearer to students, it might help to give them more detailed feedback after each assignment and point out what exactly they might have learnt in the process.

8. Conclusion

It would be impossible to imagine teaching a foreign language (or, even, any other subject matter) without using visual materials nowadays. Most of our students grow up and live their everyday lives seeing and making hundreds of photographs

and videos so we, as teachers, have to think of the best ways to use this exposure to visual materials. And this is what I tried to do during the described academic year and will continue to do, taking into consideration the feedback I received from the students and altering and adjusting the assignments described in this paper based on their feedback.

The students' responses were equally positive and negative, which clearly indicates which of the features should be implemented in my future assignments and which should be avoided or changed significantly. The overall students' attitude to visual materials in the classroom is very positive and this is a great starting point for any teacher. Although they said they did not necessarily prefer visual to textual assignments, there was not a single negative response that would indicate the students did not enjoy using visual materials in classes and it is a teacher's responsibility to identify the best assignments and tasks for each new group of students. The best points about the assignments were the following: they are amusing, they are not too demanding and time-consuming, and they make students think. These points alone are good reasons to include these and many other visual assignments in the classroom at any level of education.

One of the points that should be analyzed in more detail and adjusted in future assignments is the students' feeling they have not learnt much doing presentations and writing essays. As already pointed out, the feeling that they have not achieved much progress in learning might be due to the fact that there was not much new information while the students were preparing their assignments as they selected to present and discuss something they were already familiar with. However, the research that they were asked to do, structuring of their ideas into essays and presentations as well as the choice of language items they had to make does not really mean there was little or no progress in learning. What teachers might need to do in order to deal with this objection is to provide better feedback on how their students delivered their assignments, focusing on everything the students might take from the whole process of preparing and presenting them.

Based on the expectations and observations in the classroom and on the responses of the students, it is right to say that visual materials should be integrated in the EFL teaching and learning at university as much as textual ones since they make a natural resource for learning activities for new generations of students, they can be used in many different forms and manners, and they are essential in developing visual literacy, one of the crucial skills to have in the digital age.

References

1. Avgerinou, M. D. (2001) Towards a visual literacy index. In: Griffin, R. E., Williams, V. S. &
2. Jung, L. (eds.) *Exploring the Visual Future: Art Design, Science & Technology*. Loretto, PA: IVLA, pp. 17–26.
3. Baker, L. (2015) How many words is a picture worth? Integrating visual literacy in language learning with photographs. *English Teaching Forum*. 53(4), 2–13. Available at: https://americanenglish.state.gov/files/ae/resource_files/etf_53_4_pg02-13_508.pdf [Accessed: 25.5.2024]
4. Begoray, D. (2001) Through a class darkly: Visual literacy in the classroom. *Canada Journal of Education*. 26(2), 201–217. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.2307/1602201>
5. Clare, A. (2017) The power of video. In: Donaghy, K. & Xerri, D. (eds.) *The Image in English language teaching*. Floriana, ELT Council, pp. 33–42.
6. Debes J. (1969) The loom of visual literacy: An overview. *Audiovisual Instruction*. 14(8), 25–27. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/281981069_The_loom_of_visual_literacy [Accessed: 23.5.2024]
7. Goldstein, B. (2017) A history of video in ELT. In: Donaghy, K. & Xerri, D. (eds.) *The Image in English language teaching*. Floriana, ELT Council, pp. 23–31.
8. Jewitt, C. (2008) *The visual in learning and creativity: A review of the literature*. London, Creative Partnerships. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/253401828_The_visual_in_learning_and_creativity_A_review_of_the_literature [Accessed: 23.6.2024]
9. Karastathi, S. (2016) *Visual literacy in the language curriculum*. Visual Arts Circle. Available at: <https://visualartscircle.com/2016/12/04/visual-literacy-in-the-language-curriculum/> [Accessed: 21.6.2024]
10. Kress, G. (2003) *Literacy in the new media age*. Abingdon, Routledge.
11. Ljubojevic, M., Vaskovic, V., Stankovic, S., & Vaskovic, J. (2014) Using supplementary video in multimedia instruction as a teaching tool to increase efficiency of learning and quality of experience. *The International Review of Research in Open and Distance Learning*. 15(3), 275–291. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.19173/irrodl.v15i3.1825>
12. Pettersson, R. (1989) *Visuals for information: Research and practice*. Englewood Cliffs. N.J. (USA), Educational Technology Publications.
13. Prensky, M. (2001) Digital natives, digital immigrants. *On the Horizon*. 9(5), 1–6. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1108/10748120110424816>
14. Stojšavljević Divac, M. (2023) 'Film *Good Bye, Lenin!* u nastavi nemačkog kao stranog jezika'. *Filolog*. XIV (28), 587–606. Available at: DOI 10.21618/fil2328587s
15. Škerbić, M. M. (2009) 'Metodička vrijednost i uporaba filma u nastavi filozofije'. *Metodički ogledi: časopis za filozofiju odgoja*. 16 (1–2), 63–86. Available at: <https://hrcak.srce.hr/51751> [Accessed: 12.8.2024]
16. Wojtek, J. (2019) *What is freedom. People around the world*. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mehs-RxArM8> [Accessed: 11.10.2024]

Маја Мандић
Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Филолошки факултет
Катедра за енглески језик и књижевност

ВИЗУЕЛНИ МАТЕРИЈАЛИ У УЧИОНИЦИ ЕНГЛЕСКОГ КАО СТРАНОГ ЈЕЗИКА НА УНИВЕРЗИТЕТУ: СТУДИЈА СЛУЧАЈА

Резиме

Циљ овог рада јесте да се представе и анализирају резултати студије случаја о ставовима студената о употреби визуелних материјала на часовима енглеског као страног језика на универзитету. Подучавање нових генерација студената који су одрасли са паметним телефонима у рукама и друштвеним мрежама указује на потребу да се на часове на универзитету још више укључе визуелни материјали, а ова потреба нарочито је уочљива на часовима страних језика. Визуелна писменост постала је један од циљева образовања и не смије се занемарити ни на универзитетском нивоу.

Студија случаја бави се часовима два изборна предмета енглеског као страног језика, који су се у великој мјери заснивали на задацима са визуелним материјалима (презентација значајне слике, презентација омиљене странице на интернету или профила на друштвеним мрежама, те писање састава на основу слике и фотографије). Након што су задатке завршили током два семестра, студенти су замољени да одговоре на питања из упитника, а потом су ти одговори обрађени. Идентификоване су и анализиране позитивне и негативне стране визуелних задатака (нпр. нове теме, атмосфера у учионици, осјећај заједништва, слобода у раду, напредак у учењу) како би се уочио њихов потенцијал за примјену са новим групама студената. У раду су представљени одговори студената, очекивања и запажања наставнице енглеског као страног језика, као и приједлози за даљи рад на часовима на универзитету.

► **Кључне ријечи:** енглески као страни језик, слике, видео, универзитет, визуелна писменост, визуелни материјали.

Preuzeto: 23. 6. 2025.
Korekcije: 15. 7. 2025.
Prihvaćeno: 10. 8. 2025.

Neira Lojić¹
University of Bihać
Pedagogical Faculty

LANGUAGE SO OFTEN FAILS US: COINING NEW WORDS TO UNDERSTAND THE CONTEXT WE LIVE IN: A CASE STUDY OF RUDY FRANCISCO

Abstract: The ever-changing world requires new vocabulary for humans to understand certain concepts that have existed for a longer period of time but have never been labelled. This paper deals with the form and meaning of the newly-coined words in a poetry collection I'll Fly Away by American-Belizean poet Rudy Francisco. A thorough morphological analysis will be given in order to conclude whether these words follow the usual word-formation processes or their form is gone astray from the English language and is not rule-governed at all. By referring to the previously done research on coinages that come into the language, there will be a word about various characteristics proposed by Peter Hohenhaus and Pavol Štekauer that these words might have and share among one another, therefore hapax legomena, nonce-formations and neologisms will all be discussed about respectively. Most of the words that the poet came up with represent a certain personal context that many readers can relate to, hence context-dependency of these hapax legomena will be observed in a great deal. The analysis of 12 newly-coined words from the given corpus is necessary because they might enter the language and therefore the people that live the same or similar life as the poet will finally be able to understand certain phenomena in their everyday life.

Key words: hapax legomena, Rudy Francisco, context-dependency, morphological analysis, word formation.

1. Introduction

One of the most renowned spoken-word poets, an American-Belizean, Rudy Francisco felt the need to come up with newly-coined words in his second full-len-

¹ neira_pfb@hotmail.com

gth poetry collection — *I'll Fly Away*. The desire to do so came from the fact that English language was lacking certain labels for the concepts that are very much so present nowadays but because of the previous inability to name them, it was even difficult to talk, let alone write about them.

In his poetry collection, Francisco coined 31 new words, that will be labelled as hapax legomena — a term that means 'something said only once' or to be more precise 'hapax' — *once* and 'legomenon' — *spoken* in Greek. (Crystal, 2008:p.224) The first part of this paper will briefly cover the differences between three different types of newly-coined words — hapax legomena, nonce formations and neologisms. Due to the word-limit of this paper, only 12 out of these 31 words will be analyzed here.

The aim of this paper is to give the morphological and semantic analysis of these newly-coined words while keeping in mind the rules and exceptions within word-formation processes in the English language. As the title of this work reveals, the context in which these hapax legomena are used give yet another meaning(s) to certain words which being intertwined with their morphological analysis come full circle and explain how and, more importantly why the poet came up with these particular words in the first place. The morphological and semantic analysis will be given in the second part of this paper.

In the last part of the research, the author hopes to give a conclusion on which word-formation processes are commonly used to form new words in Francisco's poetry collection and how the morphological analysis has an impact on the context that these words are used in or written for and at the end, what context is actually being talked about.

2. Form and Context of the Newly-Coined Words in *I'll Fly Away*

2.1 Hapax Legomena and W-F processes

Before we delve into the word-formation processes and their features, it is important to classify the words in Francisco's poetry collection as hapax legomena. These are 'items recorded only once in a given corpus, such as an author's work, a literary genre, or even a literature as whole.' (Crystal, 2000:p.219) The difference between hapax legomena and nonce-formations is that while the latter are 'items spontaneously coined by a speaker or writer to meet the immediate needs of a particular communicative situation' (Crystal, 2000:p.219), hapax legomena are words produced by careful planning. This contrast helped us recognize 31 words in the

aforementioned collection as hapax legomena because the poet most definitely took his time (with) forming these words. Moreover, neologisms are then either nonce formations or hapax legomena that became lexicalized and entered the dictionaries.

When we talk about word-formation processes, we mostly talk about lexical word classes such as nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs which can easily enter the language every day. This type of word class is the one that 31 newly-coined words from this corpus belong to. In his work, Rudy Francisco coined new nouns and verbs.

Lexemes in the English language are formed by either one of the most common word-formation processes or some of the minor ones. The most frequent processes used in this corpus are affixation and word-manufacture with some other ones used only in one or two examples. Adding derivational affixes to already existing words is one way of creating new words in the English language. This is probably one of the most common ways as well. There are different affixes used to create different word class(es). For example, 'the adjective *cute* can be turned into a noun *cuteness* by adding the suffix *-ness*' (Plag, 2006:p.347).

Derivational affixes are of two kinds: class-changing and class-maintaining. 'Class-changing derivational affixes change the word class of the word to which they are added. Thus, *resign*, a verb + *-ation* gives *resignation*, a noun. Class-maintaining derivational affixes do not change the word class of the word but change the meaning of the derivative.' (Jackson and Zé Amvela, 2007: p.88) As stated by Jackson and Zé Amvela, class-changing derivational affixes, once added to the base/stem form a derivative which is automatically marked by that affix as noun, verb, adjective or adverb. Nouns may be derived from either verbs or adjectives; verbs from either nouns or adjectives; adjectives from either nouns or verbs; and adverbs from either adjectives or nouns.

Although really rare, another process that is used to form new words in this book is compounding. A compound is defined as 'a lexeme containing two or more potential stems that has not subsequently been subjected to a derivational process' (Bauer, 1983:p.29).

The other two rarely used processes in Francisco's poetry collection are blending and conversion. 'Conversion may be defined as a process by which a word belonging to one word class is transferred to another word class without any concomitant change of form, either in pronunciation or spelling.' (Jackson and Zé Amvela, 2007:p.100) Conversion most often involves a change from one word class to another. The major kinds of conversion are noun - verb, verb - noun, adjective - noun, and adjective - verb.

'A blend, on the other hand, may be defined as a new lexeme formed from parts of two (or possibly more) other words in such a way that there is no transparent analysis into morphemes.' (Bauer, 1983:p.234) Blends tend to be more frequent in informal style in the registers of journalism, advertising and technical fields.

The previously discussed processes are the common ones used in many cases, as well as in our case with the new coinages from *I'll Fly Away*. There is, however, one crucial minor word-formation process that was applied a great deal in the corpus that we are analyzing. It is no other than word-manufacture.

Bauer writes that the purest cases of word-manufacture are when a word is created '*ex nihilo*, with no morphological, phonological or orthographic motivation whatsoever.' (1983:p.237) It is also used to refer to creation of words as nothing more than a sequence of letters or phonemes. These letters should in a way resemble some English patterns, but 'there is no requirement of internal structure, and indeed, we would expect internal morphological structure to be absent.' (Bauer, 2006:p.438)

Many of Rudy Francisco's new coinages are said to belong to this type of word-formation processes in English even though some of his words do possess a similar internal morphological structure that is similar to either words in English or those from other languages such as Latin or French.

2.2 Understanding the Context

Among many other themes that Rudy Francisco writes about, such as love, family, mental health, and religion, probably the most expressed one is that of race politics. Many words created in his poetry collection are connected to his inability to either understand and/or explain certain concepts in the world of being a Black American, while using the English language. To help us understand the context of the hapax legomena in this corpus, two theories will be mentioned. The first one is that of Peter Hohenhaus that discusses context-dependency as one of three important characteristics of newly coined words in the English language. (1998) It means that in order for us to understand the meaning of the word, we need to be familiar with the context of the word being used in. Pavol Štekauer (2002), on the other hand, sees them as 'naming units which at the system level, at the level of word-formation are regular, transparent, predictable, and productively coined.' (p.100) Both of these theories hold truth for Francisco's collection, however they are many times intertwined and while one word may have the characteristics of one theory it also simultaneously has the characteristics of the other. More of this will be seen later on in the semantical part of the analysis of the particular word(s).

One of the main hypotheses when writing about new coinages in a certain language is always whether they are “important” enough to enter the common vocabulary of the language, in this case English. While analyzing Francisco’s words, especially the contexts that they are used in along with their meaning(s), it will become evident whether these words have what it takes to be memorized and used in a daily life conversation.

3. Analysis

Here will be given a morphological and semantic analysis of the newly-coined words from the poetry collection *I’ll Fly Away* by Rudy Francisco. In this work of his, the poet came up with the following 31 words (nouns and verbs):

nolexi, amoriode, mortaprime, culi, coamplify, repensist, relin, mendle, bresil, beldin, grusic, felenter, odit, kelvet, selk, abnermedium, grest, acentate, primoris, parlee, admonus, nescium, nomortice, brevis, solosum, mutanom, sepheegrum, perdit, vamri, coliber, and skelt

Due to the word limit for this paper, not all coinages by Rudy Francisco will be analyzed on a morphological level in detail, however, the analysis will be done accordingly to the parts of the collection where every part or a chapter deals with a certain theme/topic covered by both – the definition(s) of the certain word and the poem(s) that follow it, therefore the context will be of great importance here. The best representatives from each chapter will be analyzed in detail while making sure that all W-F processes used are discussed.

3.1 What’s the word for that in English?

The poetry collection *I’ll Fly Away* consists of four parts plus preface if we talk in literary language. This preface contains a few poems together with six newly-coined words. It is noticeable from the words and the poems that this part of the book is some sort of a summary about other themes, or contexts that this book reveals later on. The new coinages that will be analyzed here are:

nolexi, amoriode, and repensist

Nolexi is the first hapax legomenon of the book. Its definition definitely introduces the concept of the poetry collection that Rudy Francisco came up with : a word or a phrase that does not exist or has no direct translation in a particular language (Francisco, 2020:p.2)

The pronunciation of this word is \ nō-lek-si \. This word is a noun. If we look at the word's morphological structure, it is easy to see that it consists of three morphemes, one of which is the root. The process therefore is the affixation. The root of the word is *lex* which most probably originated from the word *lexeme*. The prefix *no-* does not actually exist in English but it is, nevertheless, used in words as *nobody*, *nowhere*, etc. However, we know the meaning of *no*, it can be easily linked to the existing prefix *non-* that means 'not and is freely used as an English formative, usually with a simple negative force as implying mere negation or absence of something.' In Greek *lexis* means *word*, *speech* and that is how *lexeme* came to exist and perhaps how Francisco came up with the root for the word. As for the suffix *i*, it is actually the plural marker for the words in Italian that English speakers borrowed and is now a part of an inflectional morphology. Even though we cannot really notice plurality when we read the definition of *nolexi*, just by looking at the last two words (*a particular language*) we can see that there are multiple of these in many languages, not only English, therefore the plural *nolexi*.

One of the main reasons that made the poet coin new words is the cultural context related to people not sharing the same mother tongue, or even the second or third generations of migrants not having the same vocabulary of a certain language. Therefore, understanding the definition of this word might not be context-dependent because its morphological structure is easy to decipher, however, it is really important that we become aware of the cultural context in the poem that describes this word. Francisco tells a story about an older woman asking him about some English words. In this case, it is clear that the woman's mother tongue is not English therefore it seems impossible for her to find a word in English for a certain concept in her first language. However, Francisco himself is struggling to find the right word even though English is his first language. This is to say that sometimes words do not do justice to certain things in life and coining new words for already existing concepts is more than necessary.

It is interesting that according to its definition, the word *nolexi* can be used for any word that does not have a translation equivalent in a certain language. For example, if there is a particular concept or a feeling in our mother tongue that cannot be translated directly into English, we can just call it a *nolexi*.

Amoriode is actually the first newly-coined verb of the poetry collection. This word has the following definition: the act or an instance of dying while doing an activity you love (Francisco, 2020:p.6)

The pronunciation of the given word is \ a-mò-rī-ōd \. Those familiar with Latin language may perhaps already get the idea about why this word is structured the

following way. It is already known that in Latin the word *amor* means *love* while *mori* is the infinitive present form of the verb *to die* in Latin. Therefore, we have a combination of the noun *love* and a verb *to die* together with the suffix *-ode* which is actually 'a suffix of nouns appearing in loanwords from Greek, where it meant "like". In this case, it is actually used to form a verb. We can say that this word might belong to compounding because it has two main bases that can stand on their own and have their own meaning. It is also a case of affixation because of the final bound morpheme *-ode*.

This is yet another hapax legomenon which we might guess the meaning of just by looking at its definition, therefore we cannot really say that it is context-dependent. However, in a poem the poet talks about a certain person that many people might have heard of — J Dilla, a musician whose death is significant because at the time when he was hospitalized he still could not stop working on music. He created two songs in the wheelchair when he was not able to even walk nor talk. (Grant, internet) Francisco describes this situation so beautifully and poetically saying that he 'made instrumentals out of everything inside his body that wasn't ready to die.' (2020:p.7) This way, the author gives us a certain context of the word *amoriode* while showing an example when we could use the word if it ever gets to be a part of our everyday vocabulary.

The meaning of the word *amoriode* covers yet another poem of the book. Francisco writes that sometimes writing means surviving but it also means death for different feelings and burdens that might bother a person. He uses an interesting metaphor saying that 'a pen is also a shovel' (2020: p.5), it will not make you die, but it can sure bury everything inside you, leaving you with nothing but healing.

In other parts of Francisco's collection, there will be more poems related to one's death as well as those about human relationships. Hence mentioning another word from this part is crucial. It is *repensist* — a period of time when a relationship is over, but neither party has realized it. (Francisco, 2020:p.12) This word, even though very similar to certain words that are formed by affixation, is a product of word-manufacture. There is a suffix *-ist* that is used to form nouns from adjectives (Bauer, 1983:p.222), but in this case, there actually is not any adjective that we can use as our root. The prefix *-re* ('again; anew' or 'back; backward' (Merriam Webster Dictionary)) is not a part of the morphological analysis because it cannot be dissected from the word, but it is of great importance for the meaning of the word and the context of the poems used afterwards that tell us about some things that were happening or even better "not happening" over and over again but people were not able to see them clearly.

The last poem in the preface sums up the meaning of *repensist* beautifully by saying: ‘Perhaps I told you I was leaving because it was the only way you would notice my absence.’ (Francisco, 2020:p.16) Here, one person probably realized the relationship was over long time ago but they were hanging on it hoping that things might change.

3.2 Sometimes I’m the mess, sometimes I’m the broom

In the first part of his collection, Rudy Francisco wrote poems about different themes such as mental health and relationship(s) with other people. The poet yet again finds an explanation for many today’s phenomena in his newly-coined words.

Relin \ rel-in \ is a noun and it means: an unshakeable urge to go somewhere that may or may not exist. (Francisco, 2020:p.22) This word is monomorphemic, it cannot be divided into two or more morphemes which makes the word itself the root. However, *relin* actually exists in Latin and its meaning “to leave” (LingQ) can somehow correlate to the one in English even though Francisco’s definition has more to it than just telling someone to *leave*. This word might belong to the word-formation process called word-manufacture since *relin* is just like the examples from Katamba (1994/ed.2005), such as *zebra*, a simple word that should simply be memorized as such.

The poem that follows this word is an erasure poem of the song *I’ll Fly Away* by Albert E. Brumley. This song is what inspired Rudy Francisco for the title of his second full-length poetry collection. The first two lines are what the poet starts the book with. It should be mentioned that Albert E. Brumley is a gospel songwriter and *I’ll Fly Away* is a gospel as well. In it, he sings about the next world and how a person will be free of any shadows or prison bars. This song is ‘listed under the topics of eternal life, heaven and acceptance’. (Internet)

We would argue that Francisco (2020), however, thinks of another world. He writes ‘some shadows have prison bars and joy’ (p.23) meaning that this life is still worth living even with all the trials that a person faces. And all of this makes us humans have an unshakeable urge to metaphorically ‘go’ to those places/shadows, or in other words, to feel joy even when imprisoned. This is yet another example of context-dependency or ‘feeling-dependency’ where it is necessary to experience something in order to understand the meaning of a newly-coined word, in this case *relin*.

Another coinage in this chapter that discusses about one’s inner views and emotions is the word *felenter* \ fe-len-tər \ — one who finds joy in things that people believe to be mundane. (Francisco, 2020:p.40) This word can be classified as

a product of the word-formation process called affixation. It can be dissected into two morphemes, one of which is the base. *Felent* + *-er*. The first morpheme is the root and the suffix *-er* is a common affix used to form nouns from either verbs, adjectives or other nouns. Since there are already some verbs in English that have the same structure as *felent*, it will be assumed here that the base is actually the verb. The definition of this word might be as follows: to find joy in things that people believe to be mundane. Therefore, adding a noun-forming suffix *-er* makes *felenter* a noun and immediately replacing the emphasis from the action to the agent.

If trying to divide this word into even more morphemes, it can be noticed that there might be a connection between the base *felent* and a Spanish word *feliz* which according to Papago online translation application means 'happy'. The definition of the word *felenter* proves this assumption. Francisco wrote one poem as a further explanation of this word. It is called *I want the kind of happiness* where the poet proceeds to describe actions in our daily lives where we can find joy and happiness. He mentions things like 'waking up or doing laundry' (Francisco, 2020:p.41) and says that those small things should also make us happy. We should not always strive for big things that require celebrations, we should celebrate when doing something mundane as well.

These two previously mentioned words can be associated with feelings that a person has towards themselves, yet again they are connected to other people as well. The next word is more closely related to the relationship with other people.

Odit \ õ-dit \, according to Rudy Francisco, means: a person who has never met you but doesn't like you (2020:p.42). This is yet another example of the usage of Latin verbs to make a noun out of it in English with a slightly different meaning. In this case, Francisco took the verb *odire* in Latin that means 'to hate' in English. If we were to analyze this word from a Latin point of view, *odit* would be a product of inflection. The root would be *odi* and the inflectional affix signifying third person singular would be *-t*. However, if there was no knowledge about Latin verb conjugation, this word would be seen as a product of either word-manufacture or non-assigned category.

The meaning of this word in Latin definitely corresponds to the one that Francisco came up with in English. However, just as in case of the previously analyzed word *relin*, *odit* also has more to it than just the meaning of *hate*. Here, the context is very important because it does not only discuss the general meaning of *hating* but also a specific usage of this word. It is noticeable from the first part of the definition of the word *odit* that in order to not like someone, you need to not know them at all. Francisco wrote one more definition of this word in the form of a poem and

there he portrays people who dislike someone for things they never did. He uses great analogy of the war, saying that these people ‘start wars but hide the declaration under their breath for years’ (2020:p.43). Francisco also describes this hate as bizarre because *odits* use nothing to fight but a glance.

3.3 Your absence became a classroom

This part of the poetry collection contains only four newly-coined words. The words as well as the poems that follow them portray themes such as love and relationships between people. Due to the word limit for this paper, only one word will be analyzed here. It is the word *primoris* \ prī-mər-is \, the verb and it means: to see the love of your life for the first time. (Francisco, 2020:p.66)

This word’s form and meaning might be the most intriguing one, therefore why we chose this one to analyze.

This word exists in Latin and it is an adjective that has several meanings with the main one being ‘the first, foremost’. It could be said that *primoris* belongs to various word-formation processes. If we are not taking into account its Latin definition, we can say that this word is a product of word-manufacture, a simple word that the author came up with using no other available ways of forming a new word in English.

On the other hand, if we try to dissect this word into morphemes, we can find different parts of *primoris* that may correspond to some words or affixes in Latin. For example, the root might be *mor(i)* which we already looked into while analyzing the word *amoriode*. Even though we connected it to the infinitive present form of the verb *to die* in Latin in that word, here it can be linked to the definition of *primoris* that Francisco wrote and it is assumed that *mor* was taken from the word *amor* which in Latin means ‘love’. Perhaps, the word *primor* can be defined as *the love we see for the first time*, and adding the suffix *-is* will turn it into the verb with the definition that the poet came up with.

A lot like you is the poem that Francisco wrote to define the word *primoris*. In the poem, he talks about what his grandmother told him about a girl and planning her wedding. She said that ‘the average girl begins to plan her wedding at the age of 7’ (p.67) and she describes everything that the girl wants and dreams about. The poet, on the other hand, does not know anything about the wedding, instead he portrays the love that he will feel for and give to his future wife.

Francisco uses beautiful analogies to describe his future wife. He says that ‘her eyes are the only Christmas lights that deserve to be seen all year long’ (p.68). The poet writes that he will definitely know once he finds himself in the state of *primoris*.

This newly-coined word can be analyzed as the item naming a certain concept but it also requires a person to be familiar with a certain context that this word proposes.

3.4 We still write poems about racism

This part of the poetry collection *I'll Fly Away* deserves a paper on its own but for the sake of this paper, we will just make a brief introduction to it. In this part, the theme is being black in America. The poet invented nine new words that describe various phenomena relating to racism in the USA. They define either a person or some kind of an action in the world of living as people of colour. For this paper, we chose only a few of these words that we believe represent this part the best. These are: *parlee*, *admonus*, *nescium* and *solosum*

Parlee \ pär-lē \ is categorized as a verb. Its definition is: to tell the truth knowing it will make others uncomfortable. (Francisco, 2020:p.78)

Parlee can be categorized as a product of either affixation or conversion. In English there is a word *parlay* which has the same pronunciation as *parlee*. According to Merriam Webster Dictionary, *parlay* means to 'speak with one another' or specifically 'to discuss terms with an enemy.' If we take this word into account, then the word *parlee* is a part of affixation with *parl* being the root and *-ee* being the suffix. This is then an example of affixation with a class-maintaining suffix because both words belong to verbs.

If, on the other hand, we go back to the history and etymology of this word, it is noticeable that the word *parlay* originated from the Middle English *parlay* that means 'speech', which was actually borrowed from Anglo-French *parlee* or *parly*, which means 'speech, conversation, debate'. This word analysis tells us that the word *parlee* from this poetry collection might be a product of conversion because as stated by Rudy Francisco, *parlee* is a verb while in Anglo-French it was a noun.

Even though the definitions of the words above do in a way correspond to the one that Francisco came up with for the word *parlee*, it can be seen that there is still some nuance that makes the poet's definition more colourful and meaningful. Another thing worth mentioning is how the poet took the common suffix for making nouns in English to use it to form a verb. This is interesting because as it can be seen from the definition, even though *parlee* is the verb, there is still some more emphasis on the agent of doing/saying something than the action itself.

The poem that follows *parlee* is the one below:

'Speak because your / voice is currency, // and their comfort isn't worth / your silence.' (Francisco, 2020:p.79)

A short and succinct poem sends a crucial message for the whole world today. This poem and the word itself can represent a strong metaphor especially when the poet compares one's voice to currency saying how making someone comfortable by our silence is not worth any money. The poem portrays a context that is there to make this word more comprehensible. It is fascinating that there is a certain context for every word so far because if there was none, then the poet would have not even felt the need to invent new words to begin with. Perhaps it might not be the context-dependency that Peter Hohenhaus talked about where people had to share similar things in order to understand some vocabulary, but it is definitely the context that the whole world is already familiar with whether it is something from their own lives or the world around them — the context is present.

Another very important word from this part is *admonus*. This is yet another word from this corpus that is classified as a verb. It is pronounced as \ ad-mä-nəs \. Its definition is: when someone who is considered dangerous does something to remind you of their humanity (Francisco, 2020:p.86)

This hapax legomenon can be considered as a product of word-manufacture. Even though it does have some affixes that exist in the English language, it cannot really be dissected into individual meaningful morphemes. For example, there is a word *admonition* in English that means 'a piece of advice that is also a warning to someone about their behaviour', but this cannot really be linked to the word above. Perhaps, it could be said there is a certain root *admon* which becomes a verb when adding the suffix *-us* even though this suffix is common in nouns in Latin.

The poet wrote a pretty marvelous poem for this word, again so short yet something that gives us a point to ponder about.

*'I watched the viral video of the police officer
playing basketball. // Finally, / a shooting // that doesn't need / a burial.'*
(Francisco, 2020:p.87)

In this case, 'the poet used the word *shooting* and by using some extraordinary wordplay, he connected the police officer with basketball — one of the sports that are linked with black men' (Lojić, 2023:p.491). Upon reading the title of the poem, it might be assumed that it is about another violence act because that is the context that one is used to when talking about the police officers in the USA, however, the other meaning of the word *shooting* changes everything and creates a whole different context. The newly-coined word *admonus* would then remind the reader that there are still some police officers who can be called human.

Nescium \ 'ne-si-əm \ is perhaps one of those words that might arouse the readers of this poetry collection the most, especially the linguists because it goes all the back to the word *nice* in English. The meaning that the poet came up with for this word is as follows: a living thing that does not know it is being preyed upon (Francisco, 2020: p.88).

There is a noun in the English language *nescience* that means lack of knowledge or awareness, and it has a corresponding adjective *nescient*. The word *nescience* dates back to Latin verb *nescire* which means 'not to know', according to Merriam Webster Dictionary. One might wonder how the word *nice* can be related to any of these words, however there was a change in meaning throughout the decades and while it originated from Latin adjective *nescius* which means 'ignorant', the word *nice* became to mean 'polite, kind' or 'appropriate, fitting'. Today, this word might be going back to where it came from because it is starting to mean 'ignorant' again in a sense that we would so easily say for some things 'That's nice' only to not pay any more attention to it or be bothered with something anymore.

If we look at the structure of the word *nescium*, it can be noticed that this word is a part of affixation, *nesc* is assumed to be the root and the Latin suffix *-ium* makes it a noun describing a certain living thing. This is yet another word whose definition can be remotely linked to the meaning of the word that already exists in English as mentioned above.

Rudy Francisco wrote a rather symbolic poem for this word. In the poem *When they say he is black* he describes the whole situation that happens once there is a crime committed by the white officer against a black human. Francisco says that the only aftermath is always the black man suffering and the white officer being saved by the "law". The lines that can be connected to the definition of the word *nescium* are: '*you realize the phrase / life is short / sounds a little different / when you are being hunted*' (Francisco, 2020:p.91)

In the definition we read about the living thing that does not know it is being preyed upon, and these last two lines, as well as the whole poem, tell how the story unfolds when they are being hunted. The context is very important for this poem because it is the one that black people in America are really familiar with and there was a space for a new word to be created.

Even though this part consists of nine words, only one more will be analyzed here. It is the word *solosum*. This hapax legomenon is a verb. It is pronounced as \ sō-lō-səm \. Its definition is: to be the only person in the room that isn't white (Francisco, 2020:p.96)

Solosum is assumed to be a blend. There is a word in English *solo* which is in this case used in plural *solos*. According to Merriam Webster online dictionary, the definition of this word is: ‘a musical composition for a single voice or instrument with or without accompaniment’ or ‘a performance in which the performer has no partner or associate’. The other word that is used in the blend *solosum* is the existing word in English *solanum*. This Latin word is a synonym of the English word *nightshade* which means ‘any of a genus (*Solanum* of the family *Solanaceae*, the nightshade family) of plants such as ‘herbs, shrubs and trees having alternate leaves, cymose flowers, and fruits that are berries and including some poisonous weeds, various ornamentals, and important crop plants (such as the potato and eggplant)’. One might wonder how these two words could be linked to each other, however if we look at the definition of the word *solosum* and the poem that follows it, it is clear what Francisco wanted to convey with this word. The person is alone somewhere, that’s why *solo(s)* and as a black person, they may be considered as some kind of a night shade or even poisonous by the people filled with prejudice.

For this blend, the whole morpheme of the first word is taken and then just the last two of the second word. *Solos* + *solanum*. It is again interesting that the author used the ending *-um* for this word even though it is more common for nouns than verbs.

Rudy Francisco wrote the poem *Let’s just say* describing the context of a person being the only non-white person at a party. The poet wonders if people around him can sense the things he did that are considered as stereotypes about Black people. (Lojić, 2023:p.484). The first few lines can already be taken as another definition for the word *solosum*.

I am the only one / at this party that / has no idea what / sunburn feels like.
(Francisco, 2020: p.97)

The context of the poem is relatable to only a particular group of people, as well as the word itself. For this word, we come back to ‘feeling-dependency’ where one is supposed to be exposed to something in order to fully understand the newly-coined word, or in this case to belong to a certain group of people.

3.5 This smile is the first gift my mother gave me

The last/final part of the poetry collection *I’ll Fly Away* by Rudy Francisco deals with the family matters and being a father. There are three newly-coined words in this part, but in this paper, only one of them will be mentioned and analyzed and it is: *coliber*.

This newly-coined word is a verb. It is pronounced as \ kò-lə-bər \. Its definition is: to cook without needing instructions (Francisco, 2020:p.116)

Coliber was formed by the process of affixation. There are two morphemes, one of which is considered to be a root and that is *liber*. This word ‘comes from Latin, where it has the meaning *free*’. This meaning is found in such words as ‘deliver, illiberal, liberal, liberate, libertine, liberty, livery’. It also means ‘a book’ in Latin. The prefix *co-* means ‘with; together; joint; jointly’. The two meanings of the root *liber* and the meaning of the prefix *co-* when put together, the meaning of the word *coliber* can be then interpreted as *cooking with freedom*, or *cooking while adding your own things that are not written in the book*.

The poem for this word is titled *The women in my family never use measuring cups*. The poet then continues this thought from the title in the first line ‘or table-spoons’ (Francisco, 2020:p.117). This is yet another poem in this collection that makes the reader memorize it easier once they are introduced to the context of the poem. Understanding many Francisco’s hapax legomena requires the reader to be either already familiar with the context that they are made for or to be informed about it. Just a thorough analysis may already help one recognizing why some certain words mean exactly what Francisco wanted them to mean.

A few last words of the analysis of *coliber* actually summarize the reason why Rudy Francisco needed to coin new words for his poetry collection. Many phenomena nowadays do not have words to describe them, they can either be only seen or felt. In order to write poems about certain concepts in the world, the poet first needed to explain what these concepts mean so that the audience would not have a hard time understanding.

4. Conclusion

Coining new words nowadays has even become a sort of a hobby for people. We live in the world that is constantly changing, and there are always new concepts, feelings, and even new career paths swimming onto the surface that require to be labelled. Rudy Francisco did exactly the same with his second full-length poetry collection *I’ll Fly Away*. Some phenomena just needed to be named.

The aim of this paper was to investigate which word-formation processes worked the best for making new words, in this case, 12 (out of 31) newly-coined words that the American-Belizean poet Rudy Francisco came up with through careful planning, which makes these words belong to the class of hapax legomena. The creation of lexical word classes in the analyzed corpus — verbs and nouns — has

once again proved why being open to new coinages is one of the features of this group of words. By following the most common rules and ways for creating new words in English, these words have been analyzed from a morphological point of view. It can be concluded that the most common word-formation processes for this corpus were word-manufacture, a minor process that is being more and more recognized by the linguists that deal with this part of linguistics, and affixation, various prefixes and suffixes were added to the root that could be connected to either an existing word in English or to the root from some other language, mainly Latin. Five words were created by word-manufacture, six of them were created by affixation (two out of these words were also a product of either compounding or conversion), and one word was a blend.

The semantic analysis was conducted by centering our attention to the poems that the poet wrote for each and every new coinage. Besides the whole poem(s) serving another definition to a particular word, some lines could be separated as a special meaning of certain words. This paper was divided into subchapters following the parts of the poetry collection. Each subchapter consists of specific themes that the poet himself wrote about in his poems. All of these themes are considerably connected to the words that Rudy Francisco came up with and therefore also served as some kind of an explanation for certain newly-coined words.

What is interesting to notice is that many words were directly connected to the context presented in the poem(s) and this analysis proves that context-dependency matters considerably when trying to learn and understand a certain word we have never heard of before. However, it should also be noted that no matter what context the poet used in the poem, most of the words' definitions were already generalized and could be used in various situations in readers' lives without needing to relate to the context of the poem. Even though the context matters, these words are also naming units for certain concepts so it can be argued that Francisco's newly-coined words can be connected to both theoretical backgrounds by Peter Hohenhaus and Pavol Štekauer. It is also important to note that these coinages are not deviant in their form since they all follow some of the word-formation processes in the English language even when being just new roots, they can still be said to resemble some English words.

The possibility of these twelve hapax legomena (as well as the rest that were not included here) in the poetry collection *I'll Fly Away* by Rudy Francisco entering the English dictionary is not like finding a needle in a haystack. All of these words represent clear concepts that exist in this world but are not talked about enough. What Francisco did with this corpus was finally discovering words to describe various feelings, personalities, events, etc. that are part of our life but were nev-

er fortunate enough to get their own name. Therefore, it can be concluded that perhaps in a few years when Francisco gains even more popularity with his work, these words will start their lexicalization journey and hence go to their next stage, becoming neologisms and being included in the dictionary of the English language.

Source:

1. Francisco, R. (2020) *I'll Fly Away*. USA, Button Poetry.

References:

1. Bauer, L. (1983) *English Word-Formation*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
2. Bauer, L. (2006) *Compounds and Minor Word-formation Types*. *The Handbook of English Linguistics*. Aarts, B. and McMahon, A. (eds.) Blackwell Publishing Ltd., pp. 483–506.
3. Biber, D., Susan, C., Geoffrey, L. (2002) *Longman Student Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. England, Pearson Education Limited.
4. Crystal, D. (2000) Investigating nonceness: lexical innovation and lexicographic coverage. *Manuscript, narrative and lexicon: essays on literary and cultural transmission in honor of Whitney F Bolton*. Boenig, R. & Kathleen Davis (eds.) Lewisburg, Bucknell University Press. London, Associated University Presses. 218–29.
5. Crystal, D. (2008) *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (6th ed.). Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.
6. Hohenhaus, P. (1998) Non-lexicalizability as a characteristic feature of nonce word-formation in English and German. *Lexicology*. 4/2, 237–280.
7. Jackson, H. & Etienne Zé A. (2007) *Words, Meaning and Vocabulary: An Introduction to Modern English Lexicology*. Bloomsbury Academic: An imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc. Bloomsbury Publishing.
8. Katamba, F. (1994) *English Words*. London, Routledge.
9. Lojić, N. R. (2023) Being Black in America: The Analysis of Rudy Francisco's Poetry through the Prism of Race, Double Identity and Postcolonial Criticism. *PHILOLOGIST – Journal of Language, Literature, and Cultural Studies*. 14(28), 479–495. <https://doi.org/10.21618/fil2328479l>
10. Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). Co. In Merriam-Webster.com dictionary. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/co>
11. Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). Lexeme. In Merriam-Webster.com dictionary. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/lexeme>
12. Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). Nescience. In Merriam-Webster.com dictionary. Retrieved June 8, 2024, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nescience>

13. Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). Nice. In Merriam-Webster.com dictionary. Retrieved June 8, 2024, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nice>
14. Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). Nightshade. In Merriam-Webster.com dictionary. Retrieved June 10, 2024, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nightshade>
15. Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). Parlay. In Merriam-Webster.com dictionary. Retrieved June 10, 2024, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/parlay>
16. Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). Re. In Merriam-Webster.com dictionary. Retrieved June 19, 2024, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/re>
17. Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). Repent. In Merriam-Webster.com dictionary. Retrieved June 19, 2024, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/repent>
18. Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). Solanum. In Merriam-Webster.com dictionary. Retrieved June 23, 2024, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/solanum>
19. Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). Solo. In Merriam-Webster.com dictionary. Retrieved June 25, 2024, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/solo>
20. Plag, I. (2006) Productivity. *The Handbook of English Linguistics*. Aarts, B. and McMahon, A., eds.) Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 537–556.
21. Štekauer, P. (2002) On the Theory of Neologisms and Nonce-formations. *Australian Journal of Linguistics*. 22 (1), 97–112.

Internet

1. <https://buttonpoetry.com/product/ill-fly-away/>
2. <https://www.iamrudyfrancisco.com/bio>
3. <https://www.godtube.com/popular-hymns/i-ll-fly-away/>
4. <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/non>
5. <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/ode>
6. https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/admonition#google_vignette
7. <https://www.wordreference.com/definition/-liber-#:~:text=%2Dliber%2D%2C%20root.,%2C%20libertine%2C%20liberty%2C%20livery.>
8. <https://stylecaster.com/entertainment/music/1366072/how-j-dilla-die/>
9. <https://www.lingq.com/en/learn-latin-online/translate/la/relin/>
10. <https://latinlexicon.org/definition.php?p1=1012932&p2=p>
11. <https://latinlexicon.org/definition.php?p1=1001046&p2=a>
12. <https://latin-dictionary.net/definition/28535/odio-odire-odivi>

Neira Lojić
Univerzitet u Bihaću
Pedagoški fakultet

JEZIK NAS ČESTO IZNEVJERI: KREIRANJE NOVIH RIJEČI RADI RAZUMIJEVANJA KONTEKSTA U KOJEM ŽIVIMO STUDIJA SLUČAJA RUDYJA FRANCISCA

Rezime

U svijetu koji se stalno mijenja, dolazi do zahtjeva za novim riječima koje pomažu ljudima da razumiju određene koncepte koji su oduvijek postojali među nama, ali nikad nisu bili imenovani. Ovaj rad se bavi oblikom i značenjem novonastalih riječi u zbirci poezije *I'll Fly Away* američko-belizeanskog pjesnika Rudyja Francisca. U radu će odrađuje temeljna morfološka analiza ovih riječi kako bi se došlo do zaključka o tome da li one prate uobičajene procese tvorbe riječi ili su njihovi oblici "zalutali" i nisu regulisani pravilima tvorbe riječi u engleskom jeziku. Odnoseći se na prijašnja istraživanja u polju novonastalih riječi, spominju se različite karakteristike koje ove riječi sadrže i dijele između sebe, a koje su predložene od strane Petera Hohenhausa i Pavola Štekaurea. S tim u vezi, ovaj rad se dotiče i hapahslegomenona, okazi-onalizama i neologizama. Skoro svaka riječ koju je pjesnik smislio predstavlja određeni lični kontekst s kojim se mnogi čitaoci mogu poistovjetiti, zbog toga se u radu dosta daje pažnje i zavisnosti konteksta (context-dependency). Analiza 12 novonastalih riječi iz datog korpusa je potrebna iz razloga što će ljudi koji žive isti ili sličan život kao pjesnik napokon moći razumjeti određene fenomene svakodnevnog života ukoliko se ove riječi ustale u jeziku.

► **Ključne riječi:** hapahslegomenoni, Rudy Francisco, kontekstualna zavisnost, morfološka analiza, tvorba riječi.

Preuzeto: 27. 4. 2025.
Korekcije: 23. 5. 2025.
Prihvaćeno: 26. 6. 2025.

Jelena D. Brkić¹
University of Banja Luka
Academy of Arts

ESP FOR ART STUDENTS: TESTING VISUAL AND LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE

Abstract: This study investigates the comprehension and use of the elements and principles of design by art students during the 2022–2023 and 2024–2025 spring midterm tests. Using The ABCs of Art: The Elements and Principles of Design booklet by M. C. Gillis as a core teaching tool, the research analyzes common errors in vocabulary, spelling, and conceptual understanding across four specializations. Particular attention is given to difficulties with artistic terminology, visual representation in drawing tasks, and oral exams where students interpret works by renowned painters. In the 2022–2023 academic year, the booklet was used in eight classes, and the average score (out of a maximum of 20 points) on the second midterm test for 38 students was 16.44; no student achieved the maximum score. In the 2024–2025 academic year, the average score was 13.68 for 29 students, but the number of students who achieved the maximum score increased to five. Recurring issues included misunderstandings of distorted proportions, spatial relationships, and the meaning of quantifiers such as a couple of. The findings highlight the booklet's effectiveness within an English for Specific Purposes (ESP) context, supporting faster learning and the development of both linguistic and artistic skills. To conclude, we believe this study will contribute to improving pedagogical approaches in art education.

Keywords: elements of art, principles of design, art education, vocabulary acquisition, student errors, ESP, visual literacy.

1. Introduction

This paper explores how art students understood and applied the elements and principles of design during their spring midterm test for the 2022–2023 and

2024–2025 academic years. The study is based on *The ABCs of Art: The Elements and Principles of Design*, a booklet by M. C. Gillis developed to introduce essential artistic vocabulary and foundational concepts necessary for visual literacy and creative expression. The booklet covers key elements such as line, shape, form, color, texture, space, and value, as well as core principles including balance, rhythm, unity, variety, and proportion. Together, these components form the fundamental language of art.

Art students pursuing English for Specific Purposes (ESP) face distinct challenges that extend beyond learning specialized terminology. Mao and Zhou (2024) highlight that these learners struggle not only with mastering discipline-specific vocabulary, but also with applying language skills in authentic artistic contexts. This finding underscores the importance of ESP courses that integrate both language and subject-matter instruction. Similarly, Sánchez Milara and Cortés Orduña (2024) argue for ESP approaches tailored specifically to art students, noting that specialized language instruction enhances both linguistic proficiency and conceptual understanding. This dual focus effectively bridges the gap between language acquisition and creative practice.

In addition, visual culture education challenges traditional models of art instruction by shifting the emphasis from technique and aesthetics to the broader social and cultural contexts of images. As Freedman (2003:p.15) asserts, this expanded perspective requires not only artistic skills, but also the language competencies necessary for students to critically interpret and communicate about art within wider societal frameworks.

As mentioned earlier, throughout the course we used a booklet titled *The ABCs of Art: The Elements and Principles of Design*. By providing focused, discipline-specific language adapted to the needs of art students, the booklet facilitates accelerated learning and supports a more efficient use of instructional resources. This study therefore contributes to the development of effective teaching strategies that foster both language proficiency and artistic competence, ultimately enriching art education.

1.2. Description of the Booklet

The following section presents an overview of the vocabulary introduced in the booklet. The author begins with the elements of art—line, shape and form, color, texture, space, and value—and provides definitions, examples, and illustrations. Words associated with line include *long, short, broken, thick, thin, horizontal, ver-*

tical, wavy/curly, dotted, perpendicular, zigzag, jagged, straight, diagonal, varied, tapered, spiral, and contour (outline). Additional descriptors include *lazy, bold, light, flexible, energetic, shy, dark, continuous, and rigid.*

For shape and form, the vocabulary includes geometric terms such as *sphere, pyramid, cube, circle, triangle, square, rectangle, oval, cylinder, trapezoid, diamond, star, pentagon, heart, semicircle, hexagon, octagon, and moon*, as well as terms describing organic, natural, or free-form shapes.

Color-related vocabulary encompasses various color schemes, including *primary, secondary, warm, cool, complementary, analogous, rainbow, neutral, and intermediate.*

In discussing texture, students are introduced to terms such as *smooth, rough, hard, soft, woven, bumpy, lumpy, jagged, irregular, and ridged.* These descriptors enable them to articulate surface qualities in both physical and visual terms.

The concept of space is explored through techniques that create depth and dimensionality. Spatial relationships can be conveyed through tonal variation—for instance, using darker values in the foreground (near space) and lighter ones in the background (far space)—as well as through the overlapping of forms. Further emphasis is placed on the use of both positive and negative space to enhance the perception of depth. Strategies for creating the illusion of space include drawing at a large scale (*draw big*), filling the entire page (*fill the whole paper*), extending lines beyond the edges of the composition (*extend lines off paper*), considering placement in relation to the horizon, and varying size, tone, and overlap (*smaller in the distance, larger and darker closer up, lighter farther away, overlapping*).

Value, defined as the range from light to dark within an artwork, is essential for expressing depth, form, and contrast. Students learn to represent value using line-based techniques such as *hatching, cross-hatching, and stippling*, as well as through blending methods involving *tinting* (lightening with color) and *shading* (darkening with color).

Several types of contrast are introduced and illustrated in the booklet:

- light against dark (black and white),
- light against dark (color),
- pattern against no pattern (black and white),
- pattern against no pattern (color), and
- detailed versus undetailed space.

These principles are also connected to contrasts observed in natural and man-made environments.

After addressing the elements of art, the booklet presents the principles of design, including *pattern, emphasis, variety, unity, balance, rhythm and movement*, and

proportion, each accompanied by definitions, examples, and illustrations. *Pattern* is categorized into three types: patterns of lines, shapes, and colors. Similarly, *variety* is classified into varieties of lines, shapes, and colors.

The concept of unity is explored through several examples. Elements such as *tints* (colors mixed with white), *analogous colors* (adjacent on the color wheel), *consistent shapes*, and *both black and white lines* can create visual harmony. Balance is explained through three main types: *symmetrical*, *asymmetrical*, and *radial*. Proportion is discussed in terms of size relationships, including *scale*, *monumental*, *miniature*, and *exaggerated proportions*, as well as distinctions between *accurate* and *distorted proportion*.

The teaching material from the booklet was used in the form of preparatory tests. For these classes, students brought colored pencils, as the format of the preparatory test mirrored that of the midterm test, helping them gain a clear visual understanding of what the exam would look like. An example of a preparatory test is provided later in the paper.

2. Methods

This paper focuses on error analysis, while the instructional methods used in student preparation included analytical discussions of works by renowned painters and draftsmen. These sessions incorporated both dialogic techniques and dictation exercises to reinforce the importance of precise spelling and accurate use of terminology.

Because the dialogic method was implemented, the questions were structured to reflect those later used in the oral examination. The midterm assessment was designed as a written test, whereas the oral examination served to verify and consolidate the knowledge acquired during midterm preparation. The oral component deepened student engagement by requiring them to analyze works by prominent painters and apply the vocabulary and principles learned throughout the course. This activity further strengthened the integration of language learning and visual analysis.

Students were also provided with a preparatory written test that shared the same form and structure as the midterm test. In the first part of this test, students were expected to identify elements or principles of art, translate specific Serbian art terms into English, and answer vocabulary-related questions. The second part consisted of a drawing task that required students to create a composition combining a variety of elements and principles of design (Appendix 1).

It is important to emphasize that, during our preparation for the midterm test, we also consulted literature in Serbian, which provided additional clarification of the following terms: form (natural and artistic forms), space, repetition, form perception, contour, and composition along with its elements (line, direction, shape, texture, value, and color), based on *Forma i oblikovanje* by Milun Mitrović.

For topics related to color, its classification, and contrast, we referred to *Metode slikanja i materijali* by Metka Krajger Hozo. To understand the principles of visual unity, symmetry, asymmetry, and radiation, we used *Izbor tekstova za izučavanje predmeta teorije i forme* by Radenko Mišević.

3. Results

Below, we present images of well-executed midterm tests in which most tasks were completed correctly. These examples demonstrate knowledge of the content, accurate spelling, and creativity.

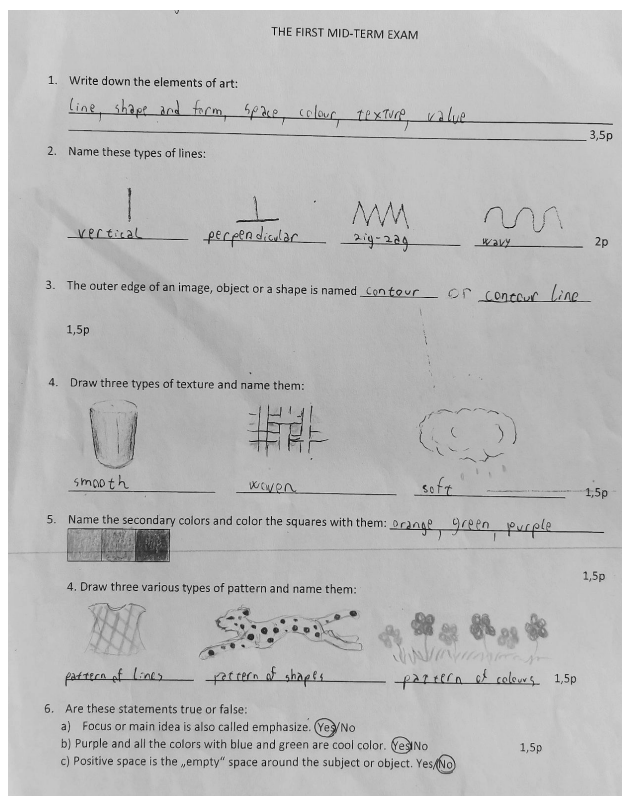


Figure 1: Example of a well-executed midterm test.

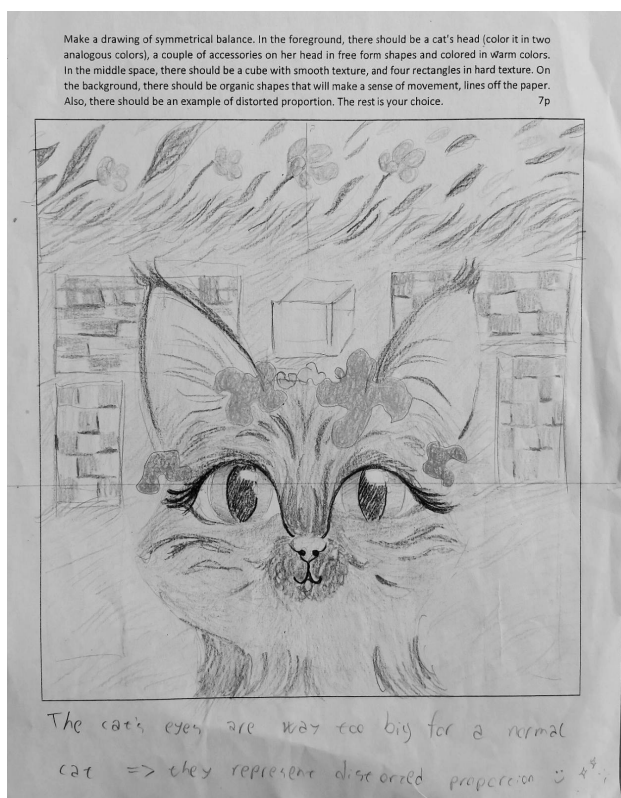


Figure 2: Example of a well-executed midterm test.

To evaluate students' understanding of the elements and principles of design, the midterm assessment combined theoretical vocabulary tests with practical drawing assignments tailored to different specializations within the Academy of Arts. This dual-format approach allowed for a comprehensive evaluation of students' language use alongside their ability to visually express core artistic concepts. Common issues observed during the assessment included spelling mistakes, misuse of terminology, and conceptual misunderstandings—for example, confusing cubes with squares, using the phrase “distorted proportion” incorrectly, and misinterpreting expressions such as “a couple of” in instructional contexts.

3.1 The Most Common Mistakes Made by Students in the 2022–2023 Spring Midterm Test

Considering that the total number of art students was 38, they were organized into two groups: Group A and Group B. Each midterm test consisted of two

parts. The first part focused on vocabulary, spelling, and theoretical knowledge, while the second part involved a drawing task requiring students to apply various elements and principles of art. The instructions on the midterm test were given using imperatives such as *write down*, *draw*, and *name*, which are used to inflect the verb when making requests (Novaković & Tomić, 2017:p.59), guiding students to perform specific tasks.

To systematize student results, the following abbreviations were used:

- CS – Correct Spelling: number of students who spelled the word correctly
- WS – Wrong Spelling: students recognized the word but misspelled it
- ES – Empty Space: students left the answer blank, possibly out of uncertainty
- WW – Wrong Word: students used an unrelated or incorrect word

3.1.1 Results: Group A (17 students)

Table 1 presents how students recorded the terms based on their visual representations. Here, we selected the two most difficult words for correct spelling. Under the heading “Term”, the correct spelling is provided. Under the heading “Definition”, the definition of the term is included, sourced either from the booklet or the Cambridge Online Dictionary. Under the headings CS, WS, WW, and ES, the table shows what the students wrote or did not write.

Table 1: Vocabulary Test Results

Term	Definition / Notes	CS	WS	WW	ES
Contour	The outer edge / line of an image, object or a shape	4	2 (<i>contur line, contore line</i>)	4 (<i>edge, frame x2, positive space x2</i>)	7
Perpendicular	Line at a right angle to another	3	11 (<i>perperclivia, perper-ticular, perperdinclual, perperticual, perperdic-ual, perpedional, per-perticular x2, parpen-dicular</i>)	0	3

Apart from the spelling and vocabulary test, we also examined students’ ability to apply vocabulary appropriately within the given context.

3.1.2 Application of Vocabulary in Drawings

The second part of the exam required students to interpret and visually represent an assignment that integrated key elements and principles of art.

Table 2: Student Achievement Across All Tasks

Drawing Component	Observation	Correct / Clear	Incorrect / Issue	Comments
Four rectangles	Number of students who drew 4 rectangles correctly	11	6	2 drew triangles; 4 drew cubes instead
"A couple of accessories"	Students asked to draw 2 accessories	–	17	Avg. = 3.29 accessories; range from 0 to 10
Understanding of bumpy/ lumpy	Interpretation of texture terms	12	5	5 did not correctly apply or visualize these terms
Distorted proportion	Conceptual application	10	7	7 did not incorporate or misunderstood the concept
Understanding of free form space	Examples given in the booklet	Few	Majority	Not clearly understood
Lines off the paper	Interpretation of movement	12		5 took it literally and extended lines unnecessarily
Invented terminology	Incorrect phrase “pattern of contrast” used	–	1	Meant to say “pattern of colors”
Negative space statement marked false	True statement misunderstood, negative space is the empty space around the subject/object	11	6	6 students marked it incorrectly
Confusion: elements vs. principles of art		15	2	Mixed up fundamental categories

3.1.3 Results: Group B (21 students)

The following is an analysis of common spelling and conceptual errors observed among Group B students during the spring midterm test. This group consisted of 21 students, and the focus remains on both vocabulary use and the application of artistic concepts through drawing. Additionally, the table includes definitions of the terms, sourced from the booklet.

Table 3: Vocabulary Test Results – First Part of the Midterm Test

Term	definition	CS	WS	WW (Wrong Word)	ES
Rhythm	A regular repetition of the elements of art to create a sense of movement	8	13 (<i>rhythm, rytzm, rhytem, rhythim, rhtm, ritam, rhythmic, rhytam</i>)	–	0
Parallel	Two or more lines that are <i>parallel</i> to each other are the same distance apart at every point	8	6 (<i>parallele, paralleles, paralel, parrellel</i>)	7 (<i>horizontal</i> ×4, <i>straight, vertical</i> ×3)	0
Variety	An assortment of lines, shapes, colors and other elements of art in the art work	16	5 (<i>varietty, variety, varieti, variaty2x</i>)	–	0
Symmetrical	The same design on both sides of a mid-line	20	1 (<i>simetrical</i>)	–	0
Asymmetrical	A Balance made by size and weight and a variety of images but not evenly from the mid-line.	19	2 (<i>asimetrical, asymmetrical</i>)	–	0
Balance	Equal amounts	20	1 (<i>balans</i>)	–	0
Proportion	The size relationship between two or more objects	20	1 (<i>proportion</i>)	–	0

Perpendicular	A line that intersects another line at a right angle.	18	3 (<i>perpeticular, perpeticual, perperdicular</i>)	–	0
Unity	How the elements work together, fit together, so that the artwork looks complete.	20	1 (<i>uniti</i>)	–	0

3.1.4 Errors in Application: Drawing Task (Part 2 of the Exam)

In addition to the primarily spelling-related mistakes observed in the first part of the test, the second part, which involved drawing, revealed more substantial errors, as illustrated in the table below.

Table 4: Errors in interpreting drawing instructions

Drawing Component	Observation	Correct / Clear	Incorrect / Issue	Notes
Circle vs. Sphere	Confusion between 2D and 3D form	20	1	Circle misinterpreted as sphere
Rectangle vs. Triangle	Misidentified shapes	19	2	Rectangle misinterpreted as triangle
Pyramid vs. Rectangle	Misinterpreted 3D form	16	5	
Cube vs. Square	3D vs. 2D confusion	–	Several	Not precisely quantified
Drew cubes instead of rectangles (counted)	3D vs 2D confusion	20	1	4 cubic forms drawn instead of 4 rectangles
“A couple of accessories” interpretation	Free-form shapes	3	18	One student drew 10 accessories
Symmetrical balance	Drawing balance	16	5	2 partial symmetry; 3 asymmetrical drawings
Smooth-textured pyramid (midground)	Shape and texture misunderstanding	20	1	Drew triangle instead

Drawing Component	Observation	Correct / Clear	Incorrect / Issue	Notes
Distorted proportion	Conceptual application	2	Majority	Not clearly shown in most drawings

3.2 The Most Common Mistakes Made by Students in the 2024–2025 Spring Midterm Test

This section presents the combined results of four groups (A, B, C, and D), comprising a total of 32 art students. Rather than analyzing each group individually, the data are evaluated collectively, with a focus on spelling accuracy, conceptual understanding, and the application of artistic terminology in both written and practical (drawing) tasks. Definitions are not included in this table, as the majority are already provided in the table above.

Table 5: Spelling and Vocabulary Errors (Written Section)

Term	Correct (CS/CW)	Wrong Spelling (WS)	Wrong Word (WW)	Empty Space (ES)	Notes
Rhythm	—	<i>rhytm</i> (2), <i>rhytem</i> , <i>rhytim</i> , <i>rhtm</i> , <i>ritam</i> , <i>rytzm</i> , <i>rythm</i> , <i>rythmic</i> , <i>rhytam</i>	—	—	Most commonly misspelled term
Vertical	CW	—	—	—	One student wrote “straight” (accepted in context)
Parallel	2	<i>paralel</i> (2), <i>parellep</i> (2), <i>parallele</i> , <i>paralallele</i>	—	1	Frequent spelling confusion
Perpendicular	1	<i>perperndiculi</i> , <i>perperndi</i> , <i>perpeticular</i> , <i>perpeticual</i> , <i>perperdicular</i>	—	4	One of the most problematic terms

Term	Correct (CS/CW)	Wrong Spelling (WS)	Wrong Word (WW)	Empty Space (ES)	Notes
Ridged	3	—	<i>rigid</i> (2), <i>jagged</i> (2), <i>rudged</i> , <i>woven</i> (2)	—	Confusion with similar texture words
Variety	Majority	<i>varietty</i> , <i>varietyly</i> , <i>variety</i>	—	—	Majority spelled it correctly
Symmetrical	—	<i>Simetrical</i>	—	—	Minor error
Asymmetrical	—	<i>asimetrical</i> , <i>asymetrical</i>	—	—	Minor error
Balance	—	<i>Balans</i>	—	—	Minor error
Proportion	—	<i>Proportion</i>	—	—	Minor error
Symmetry	—	<i>Simetry</i>	—	—	Minor error
Unity	—	<i>Uniti</i>	—	—	Minor error
Contour/ Outline	Uncertain	—	Unclear usage noted	—	Multiple students unfamiliar with the term
Incorrect phrase	—	—	“ <i>pattern of contrast</i> ” instead of <i>pattern of colors</i>	—	Misuse of established terminology
True Statement	—	—	One marked “Negative space...” as false	—	Misconception of accurate definition

In the example drawing presented at the beginning of Section 3, a student personally explained the areas in her work where she applied distorted proportions, noting that this artistic technique may not be immediately apparent to the viewer. To clarify her intention, she supplemented her drawing with additional written information highlighting these distortions.

Despite the adaptations, several recurring errors were observed across all four departments during the midterm tests. These included consistent issues in vocabulary use and conceptual understanding. Such errors may be partly attributed to the metaphorical nature of the artistic lexicon. As Muhić (2023) argues, cognitive

processing in art is often shaped by layered metaphors that resist direct interpretation—for example, the tendency to blur the lines between dichotomies such as good and evil or simplicity and complexity. This metaphorical complexity may contribute to students' difficulties in translating theoretical language into visual form.

The advantage of this type of test lies in the fact that students show less resistance to it, as it encourages creativity and does not focus on English grammar. Although 30 minutes were initially allocated for this kind of exam, a preparatory test indicated that more time was needed—no less than 45 minutes—because students, even on tasks that did not explicitly require creativity, demonstrated it by decorating and coloring their answers. It is also worth noting that art students generally prefer tests in which grammar is not assessed. Moreover, exams designed in this way reveal that students make more mistakes on tasks requiring repetitive practice, such as spelling exercises.

In the spring semester of the 2022/2023 academic year, the oral exam required students to analyze their own artworks. Each student was asked to select one drawing and two colored works executed in media such as oil, watercolor, acrylic, or another painting technique. It is important to emphasize that students selected their pieces prior to the examination. This assessment method was perceived as less stressful compared to the format implemented in the 2024-2025 academic year. In the latter approach, students were provided with a selection of books on renowned painters and their most significant works at the time of the exam. Each student was then required to choose one artist and conduct a detailed analysis of two to three of their artworks, applying *The Elements and Principles of Art*. They were given approximately 10 minutes to prepare their answers. Students analyzed works by the following artists: Gustav Klimt, Ilya Repin, Salvador Dalí, Pablo Picasso, Vincent van Gogh, Paul Cézanne, Paul Gauguin, Andrei Rublev, Andy Warhol, Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, and others.

4. Conclusion

This study underscores the essential role of specialized language resources, such as *The ABCs of Art: The Elements and Principles of Design*, in facilitating art students' dual development of linguistic proficiency and artistic skills. Such resources are particularly beneficial in the context of English for Specific Purposes (ESP), as they provide targeted language and concepts tailored to the academic and professional needs of art students. Incorporating this booklet into teaching practice accelerates learning through focused, relevant content and enables more efficient use of in-

structional time by aligning language teaching directly with students' field-specific objectives. The analysis of midterm test outcomes across multiple student groups revealed persistent difficulties related to vocabulary accuracy, conceptual comprehension, and the practical application of design principles. Frequent spelling errors, misunderstandings of fundamental artistic terminology, and challenges in translating verbal instructions into visual representations highlight the need for more focused and integrative pedagogical approaches.

The combined use of theoretical vocabulary assessments, practical drawing tasks, and oral artwork analyses provides a robust framework for evaluating students' understanding of the elements and principles of art. Moreover, the findings emphasize the critical importance of clarity in instructional language—particularly concerning quantifiers and specialized terms—to minimize misinterpretations and optimize learning outcomes.

By situating *The Elements and Principles of Art* booklet within the English for Specific Purposes (ESP) context, this study demonstrates the resource's effectiveness in addressing the distinct linguistic needs of art students. The provision of targeted, context-specific content not only accelerates language acquisition but also promotes deeper engagement with artistic concepts, effectively bridging the gap between language and creative practice.

Future research in this field could focus on the long-term impact of such tailored instructional materials on students' academic progress and professional competence, as well as explore additional strategies for addressing common misconceptions. This study contributes to the advancement of art education by advocating for integrated, discipline-specific language instruction that empowers students to communicate and create with greater confidence and precision.

Sources

1. Cambridge University Press. (n.d.) Available at: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/couple-of>
2. Gillis, M.C. *The ABCs of Art: The Elements and Principles of Design*. Available at: <files/docs/visual-arts-general-arts-and-crafts/abcs-of-art.pdf>
3. Fowler, H.W. & Fowler, F.G. (1964) *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
4. Kraigher-Hozo, M. (2007) *Metode slikanja i materijali*. Sarajevo, Kult.
5. Mišević R. (1989) *Izbor tekstova za izučavanje predmeta teorije forme*. Beograd, Univerzitet umetnosti u Beogradu.
6. Mitrović, M. (1990) *Forma i oblikovanje*. Beograd, Naučna knjiga.

References

1. Freedman, K. (2003) Teaching Visual Culture: Curriculum, Aesthetics, and the Social Life of Art. *Visual Arts Research*, 29(2), 11–20.
2. Mao & Zhou (2024) *A Needs Analysis of ESP Courses in Colleges of Art and Design: Consensus and Divergence*. Available on <https://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0305210>
3. Muhić, E. (2023) The Conceptualisation of Personable Villainy and Winsome Knives: Enter Anakin Skywalker and Coriolanus Snow. Banja Luka, *Filolog*, 14(28), 259–269. DOI 10.21618/fil2328259m
4. Novaković Šajinović, J.&Tomić, B. (2017) Imperative in English Proverbs. *Revistia*, 3(2), 59–62.
5. Sánchez Milar, I., & Cortés Orduña, M. (2024) *Possibilities and challenges of STEAM pedagogies*. Available at <https://arxiv.org/abs/2408.15282>

Jelena D. Brkić
Univerzitet u Banjoj Luci
Akademija umjetnosti

ESP ZA STUDENTE LIKOVNE UMJETNOSTI: TESTIRANJE VIZUELNE I LINGVISTIČKE KOMPETENCIJE

Rezime

U ovom radu pokušali smo da pokažemo koliko je povratak osnovama u umetnosti potreban da bi se razumelo umetničko delo, njegov jezik i struktura. Elementi i principi u umetnosti, naše poznavanje tih elemenata, zaista pomažu da otkrivamo lepotu u sebi i oko sebe. Zato smo i uneli u naš predmet Engleski jezik 2 brošuru *Abeceda (osnove) umetnosti: Elementi i principi dizajna* M. C. Gilis. Ova brošura predstavlja sadržaj drugog kolokvijuma u letnjim semestrima akademskih godina 2022–2023. i 2024–2025. kao i usmenog ispita. U radu smo bili fokusirani na uobičajene greške studenata u pogledu vokabulara i spelinga, te konceptualnog razumevanja na četiri umetnička smera Studijskog programa likovne umetnosti, a to su slikarstvo, intermedija, grafika i grafički dizajn. Posebna pažnja usmerena je na teškoće u razumevanju umetničkih termina, vizuelnog predstavljanja u zadacima crtanja i na usmenim ispitima na kojima studenti tumače dela renomiranih slikara. Ponavljajući problemi obuhvataju nerazumevanje izmenjenih proporcija, prostornih odnosa i značenja kvantifikatora, poput izraza „a couple of”. Rezultati istraživanja nam ukazuju koliko je ova brošura delotvorna u okviru nastave engleskog jezika za posebne namene (ESP) jer podstiče

brzo učenje i razvoj kako jezika, tako i umetničkih veština. Verujemo da će ova studija doprineti unapređenju pedagoških pristupa u umetničkom obrazovanju jer je pokazala da povratak osnovama, odnosno jednostavnom vokabularskom kontekstu, nekomplikovanim rečima i izrazima, čak i definicijama može pomoći u prezentaciji i primeni složenijih umetničkih analiza koje nas, sa druge strane, ponovo vode umetničkim fundamentima.

► **Ključne reči:** Elementi dizajna, principi dizajna, likovno obrazovanje, usvajanje vokabulara, studentske greške, ESP, vizuelna pismenost.

APPENDIX 1: An example of a preparatory test

Preparatory test for the 2nd mid-term test (2nd semester)

What are the elements of art? _____

What type of lines do you know? _____

Translate into English:

Trapezoid –
Pravougaonik –
Heksagon –

Draw these items



ridged



bumpy/lumpy



jagged

Answer these questions:

1. What is unity?

2. What can unify an image?

3. What are cool colors?

Draw 3 examples of patterns of lines and name them:



Let's draw the image described in this text!



There should be a large monkey in the foreground. Lines should indicate his angry mood. In the middle of the composition, there is a banana overlapping the monkey's head. The colors of the monkey and the banana should contrast in a way that emphasizes light against dark. A tree with dense branches should be in the background, and the branches should extend beyond the edges of the paper. The composition should be asymmetrically balanced. Additionally, there should be one moon-like form, one organic form, and as many natural forms as possible in the image. Finally, both rough and soft textures should be included.

Preuzeto: 19. 6. 2025.
Korekcije: 10. 7. 2025.
Prihvaćeno: 18. 8. 2025.

Sonja D. Stanković¹
Ljiljana Ž. Stević
Anja M. Mudrenović
Bojana S. Pavlović
University of Banja Luka
Faculty of Philology
Sinology Department

ENGLISH AS LINGUA FRANCA IN CHINESE LANGUAGE TEACHING AT UNIVERSITY OF BANJA LUKA SINOLOGY DEPARTMENT

Abstract: With China's reform and opening-up policy, alongside its growing global influence, Chinese language education has gained significant international attention. This global interest has led to the establishment of specialised programs in universities worldwide. The Sinology Department at the University of Banja Luka, founded in 2022, is the youngest such program at the Faculty of Philology. This paper examines the role of English Language and the English department in influencing the teaching methods of Sinology. As one of the newest Sinology departments in Europe, the development of Sinology at the University of Banja Luka offers a unique opportunity to explore the linguistic influences that shape its identity. Since its inception, English has served as the primary medium of instruction between native Chinese-speaking teachers and Sinology students. This study aims to investigate students' attitudes toward the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF) in teaching Chinese at the University of Banja Luka Sinology Department, exploring its effectiveness and potential challenges in the learning process. By conducting a survey, the study will assess how ELF has facilitated communication and contributed to the development of Sinology teaching methods.

Keywords: English as a lingua franca (ELF), International Chinese Language Education (ICLE), Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language (TCFL), medium of instruction (MoI), Chinese as a Second Language (CSL).

¹ sonja.stankovic@ff.unibl.org

1. Introduction

With the implementation of China's reform and opening-up policy, along with its growing prominence on the global stage, the study of the Chinese language has gained significant international attention. According to the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, by the end of 2021, over 25 million foreigners were learning Chinese, while the total number of people who have learned or used Chinese exceeded 200 million. Additionally, Chinese language education has been introduced in more than 180 countries and regions, with 76 countries incorporating it into their national education systems. The growing global status of Chinese has been further reinforced through standardised language proficiency assessments, such as the International Chinese Language Education Proficiency Standards and the HSK exam, as well as the establishment of Mandarin proficiency testing centers abroad (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, 2022).

As a result of the growing global interest in Chinese language education, universities worldwide have recognised the need for specialised programs. In response to this trend, the Sinology Department at the University of Banja Luka was established in 2022 as the youngest program at the Faculty of Philology. Since its establishment, English as a lingua franca (ELF) has been widely used as a dynamic medium of instruction (MoI) between native Chinese teachers and Sinology students.

For many decades, Chinese language teaching has been guided by the principle that instructors should primarily use Chinese when teaching international students, resorting to students' first language only as a last option. However, for beginner learners, the use of a lingua franca plays a crucial role in the learning process, particularly when professors are native Chinese speakers. 'English as a lingua franca (ELF) has been applied in teaching Chinese to speakers of other languages (TC-SOL) as an implicit and covert language policy on textbooks and in classrooms as a dynamic medium of instruction' (Wang, 2010:p.257). Thus, English, as the most widely spoken international language, serves as a suitable lingua franca in the context of international Chinese language teaching. Wang further argues that the use of English to some extent facilitates communication between teachers and students, helping learners grasp complex linguistic structures more effectively (2010:p.269). Based on the study by Iveković and Rončević (2024:p.264), one of the conclusions was that raising university instructors' awareness of multilingual pedagogy is essential to maximize learning in diverse educational contexts.

Given its significance, this study aims to investigate students' attitudes toward the use of ELF in teaching Chinese at University of Banja Luka Sinology Department, exploring its effectiveness and potential challenges in the learning process.

2. English as a lingua franca (ELF) in International Chinese Language Education

The development of International Chinese Language Education (ICLE) (汉语国际教育, pinyin: hànyǔ guójiā jiàoyù) has evolved significantly over the past century, reflecting broader geopolitical, cultural, and pedagogical shifts. Initially shaped by missionary efforts and colonial encounters, it has grown into a well-structured academic discipline, incorporating diverse methodologies, pedagogical frameworks, and global educational policies. English, recognised as the international world lingua franca (Kirkpatrick, 2007:p.155), defined as a medium of communication by people who do not speak the same language, is commonly used in various foreign language-teaching settings, including in teaching Chinese.

2.1 The Term *International Chinese Language Education*: Definition and Scope

In order to maintain clarity in academic discussion it is important to use precise and consistent terminology, ensuring that key concepts are clearly defined and understood.

The term ICLE has evolved from Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language to reflect the broader scope of Chinese language education outside of China. Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language (TCFL) (对外汉语教学, pinyin: duìwài hànyǔ jiàoxué) literally means 'Chinese language teaching towards outside' (Li & Wang, 2016) and has long been the subject of debate, with its meaning having undergone significant changes over time. Initially, the term referred to teaching Chinese to foreigners, regardless of whether the instruction took place in China or abroad. In this sense, TCFL encompassed all forms of Chinese as a Second Language (CSL) instruction. Due to this broad definition, some scholars have suggested renaming the discipline to Teaching Chinese as a Second Language (TCSL) (汉语作为第二语言的教学, pinyin: hànyǔ zuòwéi dì'èr yǔyán de jiàoxué) or Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language' (TCFL) (汉语作为外语的教学, pinyin: hànyǔ zuòwéi wàiyǔ de jiàoxué) to better reflect its scope. TCSL is regarded as either teaching Chinese as a second language to minority groups in China, Taiwan, Singapore, and

Hong Kong, or as a 'heritage and community language in the diasporas across the world' (Wang, 2010:p.257–258). In recent years, however, as Chinese language learning continues to expand globally, the term TCFL has been increasingly used in a narrower sense, 'specifically referring to the teaching of Chinese to international students in China. In contrast, the term ICLE has emerged to describe the teaching of Chinese outside of China.' (Cui, 2010:p.3)

Today, a common distinction is made: TCFL refers to Chinese language teaching for international students in China, whereas ICLE refers to Chinese language education as a foreign language outside of China. In this paper, the term ICLE is used to clearly distinguish it from TCFL. This distinction is important as the paper focuses on the study of Chinese at the University of Banja Luka Sinology Department.

2.2 English as a lingua franca

The term lingua franca is now predominantly linked with English. Over the past two decades, a distinct research area known as English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) has emerged, resulting in a substantial body of scholarly work, including numerous books, articles and even a specific journal dedicated to the phenomena connected to the rapid expansion of English across the world in the 20th and 21st centuries.

Despite continuous progress in teaching methods, various approaches are employed with the ultimate goal of mastering the target language. In the context of our study, which focuses on teaching Chinese at the University of Banja Luka Faculty of Philology, Sinology Department, different strategies are used to facilitate language acquisition. Since the students' native language is Serbian, and native Chinese-speaking professors do not speak Serbian, English becomes the necessary medium of instruction (MoI) for overcoming difficulties in explaining complex linguistic concepts.

It is widely recognised that when learning a foreign language, students often rely on their native language to facilitate understanding, making it an essential bridge to acquiring Chinese. In English-speaking countries, English naturally serves as the default intermediary language. However, even in non-English-speaking environments, its status as a global lingua franca makes it the preferred choice for international Chinese language education. This is particularly evident in our teaching context, where English is not only used as a communicative bridge between professors and students but is also reinforced by the fact that most Chinese language learning materials are written in English. As a result, alongside Chinese as the target language,

both Serbian and English inevitably play a role in the learning process, making multilingual mediation an integral part of instruction.

2.3 The role of ELF in International Chinese Language Education

The roles of ELF have been mentioned on numerous occasions by researchers in the past, including functions such as checking for comprehension (e.g. Atkinson, 1987), giving instructions (e.g. Cook, 2001), and explaining culture and intercultural concepts (e.g. Tang, 2002). 'ELF bridges the gap between current level of ability in TL and the level needed for successful communication' (Ife, 2008:p.97). According to Ife (2008) case study findings, ELF is used in a number of different ways to assist comprehension and to facilitate activity in the classroom with ELF acting in a supporting role to the second language learning process. The use of ELF serves as a supportive tool, or scaffolding in socio-cultural terms (Antón & DiCamilla, 1998:p.318), allowing learners to navigate the challenging initial stages of language acquisition. This assistance provides protection against the psychological vulnerabilities often experienced by novice language learners, vulnerabilities that may exacerbate feelings of anxiety—a factor identified in studies on learner variables as potentially influencing the success of language learning (Ellis, 1994:p.479–483; Skehan, 1989:p.115–118). In addition, teachers can exert a 'tremendous influence over the emotional atmosphere of the classroom' (Oxford, 1990:p.140), further supporting learners and making ELF an effective tool for reducing learner anxiety.

In International Chinese Language Education, the role of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) is primarily reflected in its ability to facilitate communication and enhance teaching efficiency. However, its effectiveness depends on proper usage, as highlighted by the Wang (2014) study, which identified three key pedagogical functions of ELF in CSL classrooms. These include the '**explanatory function**' (2014:p.170) (used by teachers to clarify grammar or new vocabulary), the '**managerial function**' (2014:p.174) (employed by teachers to manage the classroom and build rapport with students), and the '**interactive function**' (2014:p.179) (initiated by students for peer meaning negotiation).

So far, the one relevant study on the use of English and code-switching in Chinese language instruction in the Western Balkans has been conducted by Mataruga K. at the Confucius Institute, University of Banja Luka (2024). Her research focused on students at HSK levels 1, 2, and 3, examining perceptions of code-switching in the classroom. The findings indicate that teachers, students, and the institute's leadership generally hold positive attitudes towards the use of multiple

languages in instruction. Code-switching was perceived as a pedagogically effective strategy that facilitates comprehension, reduces student anxiety, and enhances teacher-student rapport. It was particularly valued in beginner-level classes and in situations where other instructional methods had been exhausted. Classroom observations confirmed that teachers used a familiar intermediary language, often English, to ensure clarity, fill linguistic gaps, and maintain smooth communication flow. Students also reported benefiting from explanations given in a language they understood well (2024:pp.63,68).

In addition to its use in the classroom, the role of English has been influential in the development of CFL (Chinese as a Foreign Language) textbooks. Since the first CFL textbooks were published in the 1950s, many have been bilingual, primarily in English and Chinese. The proficiency in English has, in fact, become a prerequisite for most CFL learners, as it aids in understanding Chinese textbooks when their Chinese literacy remains limited (Wang, 2014:p.192). Although there is a substantial body of literature analyzing Chinese as a Foreign Language (CFL) textbooks, the use of English in these textbooks remains a subject of ongoing discussion. While some researchers advocate for its removal to preserve the integrity of the Chinese language (Wang, 2009; Zhao, 1998), others see its role as vital for aiding students, with proposals to improve its quality (Xu, 2010) or to use it selectively when necessary. As Wang stated 'There should be considerations of when to provide English, where English can be the most helpful medium, and how to gradually stop providing it as the student's proficiency in Chinese increases.' (2014:p.201). Despite numerous studies on the topic, the question of how and to what extent English should be used in Chinese language textbooks continues to be an open area for further research.

While ELF proves to be a valuable tool, its effectiveness depends on proper usage, furthermore its role must be carefully managed to optimize both communication and the learning process.

The other top functions for which English was employed in the JSL classroom have also been mentioned on numerous occasions by researchers in the past, for example, checking for comprehension (e.g. Atkinson 1987), giving instructions (e.g. Cook 2001), and explaining culture and intercultural concepts (e.g. Tang 2002). ELF bridges the gap between current level of ability in TL and the level needed for successful communication" (Ife 2008: 97)

3. Teaching Chinese at University of Banja Luka Faculty of Philology, Sinology Department

The Sinology Department at the University of Banja Luka, Faculty of Philology was established in 2022 and since then, three generations of students have been enrolled in the program. The Sinology study program, the first academic program focused on the language and culture of one of the Asian countries, holds exceptional significance for the Faculty of Philology, which has traditionally offered programs only in European languages. Although this is the first study program focused on Asian languages at the University of Banja Luka, it did not mark the beginning of Chinese language teaching at the University of Banja Luka. The Confucius Institute, founded in 2017, has been a key platform for learning about Chinese language and culture through numerous courses and workshops for elementary and secondary school students, as well as university students.

Chinese, as a character-based language, requires a distinct approach to both learning and comprehension. Consequently, it also provides a valuable scientific contribution to the existing linguistic community. Sinology has been taught at the University of Belgrade Faculty of Philology Department of Oriental Studies, Sub-Department for Chinese Language and Literature since 1974, and today, we have generations of successful sinologists who now have the opportunity to teach at the University of Banja Luka. Besides local teachers, courses are taught by professors and lecturers from Chinese universities.

The study program covers a broad range of subjects. Apart from core courses such as Contemporary Chinese Language and Chinese Grammar, this study program also includes courses related to both traditional and modern Chinese culture – including Development of Chinese characters, Chinese architecture, Belt and Road Initiative, International Relations and Security, Chinese History, Chinese Philosophy, Geography and Tourism, and also some general courses, such as, Psychology, Applied Linguistics, Pedagogy, Information Technologies etc. All these courses help students develop better understanding of modern concepts in education, critical thinking and an overall understanding of China.

One of the distinguishing features of the Sinology study program at the University of Banja Luka is the inclusion of English language as a compulsory course, taught by professors from the English Department. Additionally, the entrance exam for the Sinology Department consists of tests in Serbian and English Language. Until now, no prior knowledge of the Chinese language has been required and students get to learn Chinese language from the very beginning. Most of the

textbooks used in the program, such as *Contemporary Chinese* by Wu Zhongwei (Volumes 1 to 4) (2015), *A Practical Chinese Grammar for Foreigners* by Li Dejin and Cheng Meizhen (2008) etc. are written in both Chinese and English, making them suitable for learners and local teachers from all around the world. In addition, all professors and lecturers from China are initially required to use English as the medium of instruction. As the students' proficiency in Chinese increases, they are encouraged to use Chinese more frequently during classes.

English as a lingua franca (ELF) plays an essential role in Chinese language teaching. Since the beginning of sinology studies in different countries, English has been used as a medium of instruction. It is of a great significance for sinology students to be fluid in English as well. On the other hand, students who use English more can encounter certain problems along the way. For instance, students can encounter some psychological barriers when expected to hold a conversation in Chinese or ask questions in Chinese during lectures. Moreover, when it comes to translation exercises, they are willing to use English more than their mother tongue which could pose challenges in the future when translating between Chinese and Serbian. Additionally, there are certain words and phrases that cannot be translated accurately enough into the English language, therefore the role of local teachers and professors is crucial.

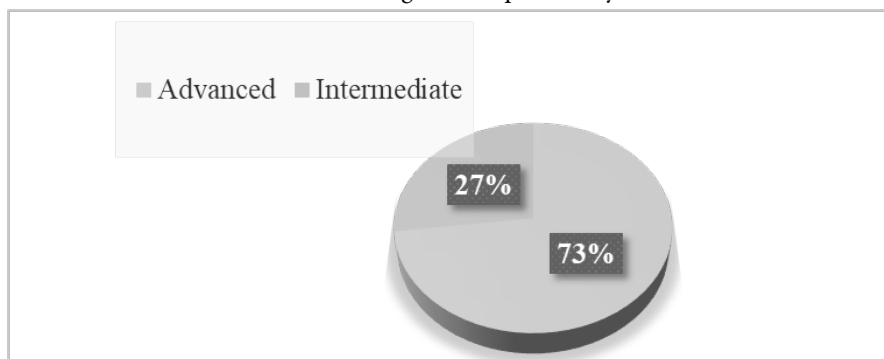
In order to enhance our understanding of ELF in Chinese language teaching, we have conducted a survey among Sinology student at the University of Banja Luka. The survey was carried out in October 2024 and included 36 students from all three generations of Sinology students. All respondents participated anonymously to questions regarding the role of ELF. The collected data was analysed using both qualitative and quantitative methods.

4. Survey findings

The survey consisted of both open-ended and closed-ended questions. The Closed-ended questions were multiple-choice and primarily aimed at gathering information about the students' proficiency in English and Chinese, their language learning experience and the frequency of using English when learning Chinese. In the open-ended questions sections, students were asked to share their opinions on the benefits of using English as a lingua franca and whether they believe the role of ELF would change in the future.

This section presents the findings of the survey based on selected questions. The charts and graphs below illustrate the number of respondents who provided specific answers.

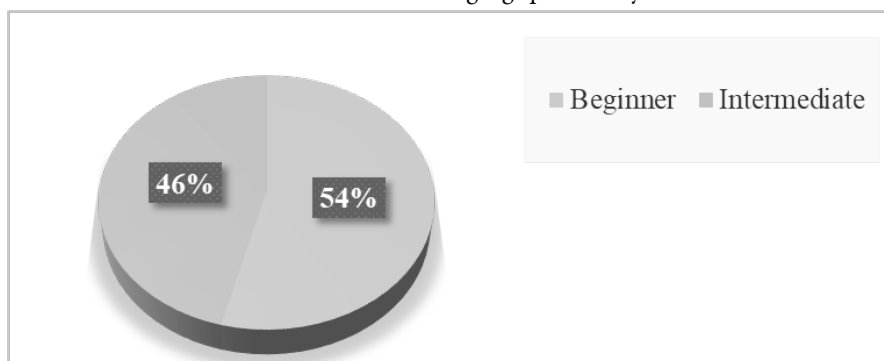
Chart 1, English level proficiency



As shown in Chart 1, 73% of respondents classified their English language proficiency as advanced, while the remaining 27% considered themselves at an intermediate level. These results are in line with expectations, considering that English has been taught as a compulsory subject since elementary school in the educational systems of the Republic of Srpska and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The widespread early exposure to English likely contributes to the high proportion of advanced learners.

It is important to note that the advanced proficiency level reported by the majority suggests a solid foundation in English, which may facilitate the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF) in the context of learning Chinese.

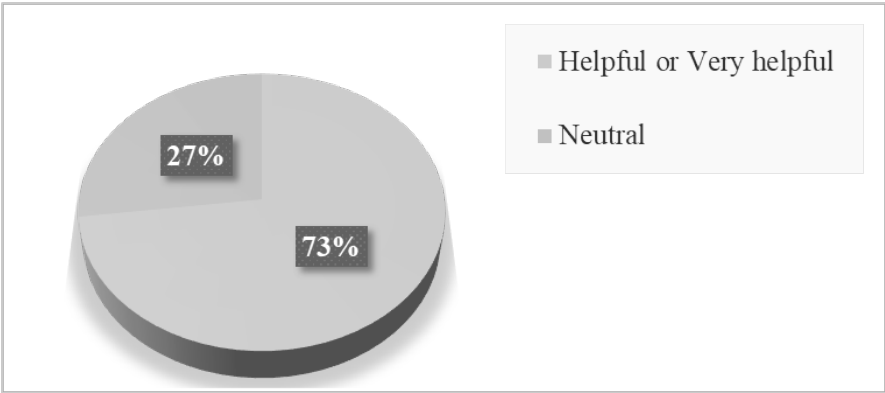
Chart 2, Chinese language proficiency



Since the establishment of the Sinology Department at the Faculty of Philology, University of Banja Luka, three generations of students have enrolled in the study program. The majority of students are currently in their first or second academic year, which is reflected in their self-assessed proficiency in the Chinese language.

Chart 2 displays the results of Question 3, which asked participants to indicate their current level of proficiency in Chinese by selecting one of the following options: Beginner, Intermediate, or Advanced. As shown in the chart, more than half of the respondents (54%) consider themselves beginners, while the remaining 46% assessed their level as intermediate. None of the respondents selected the “Advanced” option, which is consistent with the relatively early stage of their academic progress.

Chart 3, The Role of English in Facilitating Understanding of Chinese Language Concept



As can be seen in Chart 3, the biggest number of respondents (73%) find English helpful or very helpful in understanding Chinese language concepts. Due to some similar language concepts, English can be a good medium language for Chinese learners. On the other hand, lecturers from China sometimes cannot provide detailed explanations and the role of local sinologists is crucial.

Chart 4, Language of textbooks

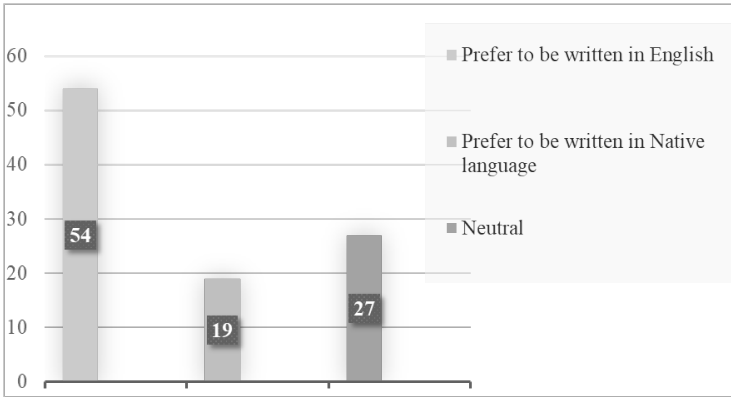


Chart 4 presents the participants' preferences regarding the language in which Chinese language textbooks should be written. The question asked whether learners find it useful that textbooks are written in English or whether they would prefer them to be in their native language.

The largest number of respondents, 54%, answered that they prefer textbooks to be written in English rather than their native language. This suggests that English is generally perceived as a helpful medium for understanding Chinese language content. Meanwhile, 27% of the respondents were neutral, expressing that they can equally use textbooks in both languages. A smaller portion, 19%, preferred the use of textbooks written in their native language.

The survey responses reveal a range of perceived benefits regarding the use of English as a lingua franca in Chinese language learning. Participants emphasised the pedagogical and practical advantages of incorporating English into the learning process. Several students noted that English facilitates more accurate translation and supports a better understanding of complex linguistic elements. One respondent highlighted that *"translating more accurately helps us get a better grasp on the meaning of the word/phrases/sentences,"* further noting the abundance of English-language learning materials such as books, YouTube videos, and podcasts.

Another commonly mentioned benefit pertains to metalinguistic awareness. Learners expressed that comparing Chinese with English grammar structures, especially as both are often studied as second languages, enhances comprehension of Chinese. As one student explained, *"since both English and Chinese are widely studied as second languages, comparing grammar structures between two can help understand Chinese better."* This suggests that English can function as a cognitive bridge, enabling learners to better internalise Chinese grammar by referencing a familiar linguistic framework.

In addition, the role of English was viewed as valuable in contexts involving Chinese-speaking teachers, facilitating communication and clarification when direct comprehension in Chinese is not yet possible. Several students also remarked on the long-term advantages of developing multilingual skills, particularly in professional and translation-related contexts. As one participant stated, *"it can also help us in the future if we find a job that also require translating from Chinese to English."*

Overall, the data underscores the utility of English in supporting the learning of Chinese, especially at early stages, while also pointing to its broader role in cultivating intercultural competence and multilingual awareness.

The survey responses to the question number 10 *"How do you think the role of English in Chinese language education will change in the future?"* reflected a wide

spectrum of opinions, ranging from uncertainty and skepticism to optimism regarding the evolving function of English in this educational context. A notable portion of participants (approximately 54%) expressed the belief that the role of English will remain largely unchanged in the future. This view is grounded in the perception of English as the global lingua franca and its extensive integration into international education systems. As one respondent articulated, *“English is the most used language in the world, so I think it will always be the language with the most content.”* Another added, *“I don’t think it will change much, I think that it’s already fulfilling its purpose as is.”*

A smaller subset of students suggested that English might become less central in the future, particularly if more localised or native-language instruction becomes the norm. Some also indicated that the prominence of English could shift depending on factors such as migration patterns, geopolitical developments, or the increasing normalization of Chinese language learning across the globe.

Others maintained a cautious or agnostic stance, suggesting that the future role of English in Chinese language education is difficult to predict and may depend on broader educational policies or student performance outcomes. As one participant noted, *“I think it all depends on the results that students provide. I think the future role of English in Chinese language education is currently unpredictable.”*

Overall, while predictions varied, these results support the idea that English plays an important role as a mediating language in the process of learning Chinese, likely due to its accessibility and its role as a lingua franca in international Chinese language education.

5. Conclusion

The findings of this study highlight the significant role of English as a lingua franca (ELF) in the context of International Chinese Language Education (ICLE), particularly at the Sinology Department of the University of Banja Luka. As Chinese language education continues to expand globally, ELF serves as a practical and effective medium of instruction, especially in environments where neither teachers nor students share a common native language. At the University of Banja Luka, Chinese is taught by both local instructors and native Chinese speakers, while students are native Serbian speakers. In this context, English emerges as a natural bridge, particularly when lessons are conducted by native Chinese instructors, facilitating understanding, supporting classroom communication, and helping learners grasp complex linguistic structures. Survey results confirm that the ma-

majority of students possess a high level of English proficiency, which allows them to effectively engage with English-Chinese learning materials and benefit from instruction in English. While students are still at an early stage in their Chinese language acquisition, they overwhelmingly perceive English as a helpful tool in the learning process. Most respondents also prefer textbooks written in English, underscoring the language's accessibility and central role in the global dissemination of Chinese learning resources.

However, the study also identifies potential challenges. Overreliance on English may hinder students' willingness or ability to switch fully to Chinese as their proficiency increases. Additionally, it may interfere with the development of direct translation skills between Chinese and Serbian. These findings suggest that while ELF offers substantial pedagogical benefits, its use must be carefully managed. As students progress in their studies, a gradual shift toward more Chinese-medium instruction should be encouraged, supported by both local and Chinese instructors who can provide culturally and linguistically contextualised explanations. The role of teachers remains vital in addressing these challenges, ensuring that students not only achieve proficiency in Chinese but are also able to navigate between languages effectively. This support is particularly important during their study period in China, where students are expected to use Chinese in daily life.

From a pedagogical perspective, these findings suggest that future teacher training programs could benefit from incorporating ELF strategies, equipping both local and native Chinese instructors to provide clear and effective explanations of Chinese language structures. This can be illustrated by the way local instructors sometimes explain gender distinctions in Chinese vocabulary in English rather than Serbian. For example, 漂亮 (*piàoliang*) is translated as "beautiful" for females, and 帅 (*shuài*) as "handsome" for males. Using English here is pedagogically helpful because when considering only males and females, the adjective 漂亮 (*piàoliang*) in Serbian can refer to both (*lijepa, lijep*), whereas English clearly distinguishes the two, reflecting the distinctions present in Chinese.

In conclusion, this study highlights the importance of ELF as a practical teaching tool in the early stages of Chinese language learning and underscores the value of thoughtful, adaptive instructional strategies to enhance teaching effectiveness and students' linguistic development.

Appendix: Survey

**ENGLISH AS LINGUA FRANCA IN CHINESE LANGUAGE
TEACHING AT UNIVERSITY OF BANJA LUKA SINOLOGY
DEPARTMENT**

This survey contains questions about the role of English Language as a lingua franca in Chinese Language teaching at University of Banja Luka Sinology Department.

1. Experience in Chinese Language learning*

Less than a year

- ☐ 1-2 years
- ☐ 3-4 years
- ☐ 5+ years

2. Level of Proficiency in English*

- ☐ Beginner
- ☐ Intermediate
- ☐ Advanced

3. Level of Proficiency in Chinese

- ☐ Beginner
- ☐ Intermediate
- ☐ Advanced

4. How often is English used as a lingua franca in your Chinese Language classes?*

- ☐ Always
- ☐ Frequently
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Never

5. Teachers' English is very good.

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Uncertain
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree

6. To what extent do you believe using English helps in understanding Chinese Language concepts?*

- ☐ Very helpful
- ☐ Somewhat helpful
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Not helpful

7. Do you think that using too much English limits the exposure to the Chinese Language?*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ Not
- ☐ Not sure

8. Do you find it useful that the Chinese learning books are written in English, or do you think it would be better if they were written in your native language? Please explain your preference.

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ Not
- ☐ Not sure

9. What benefits do you see in using English as a lingua franca while learning Chinese?

10. How do you think the role of English in Chinese language education will change in the future?

6. References

1. Antón, M. & DiCamilla, F (1998) Socio-cognitive functions of L1 collaborative interaction in the L2 classroom. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, 54(3), 314–342. DOI: 10.3138/cmlr.54.3.314.
2. Atkinson, D. (1987) The mother tongue in the classroom: A neglected resource? *ELT Journal*, 41(4), 241–247. DOI: 10.1093/elt/41.4.241.
3. Cook, V. (2001) Using the First Language in the Classroom. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, 57(3), 402–423. DOI: 10.3138/cmlr.57.3.402.
4. Cui, X. (2010) 对外汉语教学与汉语国际教育的发展与展望 [On the development and outlook of teaching Chinese as a foreign/second language and international education of Chinese]. *语言文字应用*, 2, 2–11. DOI: 10.16499/j.cnki.1003-5397.2010.02.001
5. Ellis, R. (1994) *The Study of Second Language Acquisition*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
6. Iveković, T. & Rončević, I. (2024) Capitalising on Multilingualism at University: Language Biography Case Studies of European Students. *PHILOLOGIST – Journal of Language, Literature, and Cultural Studies*, 15(29), 249–270. DOI: 10.21618/fil2429249i.
7. Ife, A. (2008) A role for English as Lingua Franca in the Foreign Language Classroom? In E. Alcóm Soler & M. P. Safont Jordà (eds.) *Intercultural Language Use and Language Learning*, 79–100. Springer. DOI: 10.1007/978-1-4020-5639-0_5.
8. Kirkpatrick, A. (2007) *World Englishes: Implications for international communication and English language teaching*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
9. Li, S. & Wang, J. (2016) Chinese Government Policies and Initiatives on the International Popularization of Chinese: An Economics of Language Perspective. In: Ruan, J., Zhang, J. & Leung, C. B. (eds.) *Chinese Language Education in the United States*, Multilingual Education, vol. 14, 29–45. Cham, Springer. DOI: 10.1007/978-3-319-21308-8_2.
10. Mataruga, K. (2024) *Prebacivanje kodova u nastavi kineskog kao stranog jezika*. Master rad, Univerzitet u Banjoj Luci, Filološki fakultet. Dostupno na: <http://phaidra.unibl.org/o:3178>. Pristupljeno: 29. 3. 2025.
11. Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China. (2022). The Number of Foreigners Learning Chinese Exceeds 25 Million. http://www.moe.gov.cn/fbh/live/2022/54618/mtbd/202206/t20220628_641484.html Internet. 13 April 2025.
12. Oxford, R. L. (1990) *Language Learning Strategies*. Boston, Heinle and Heinle.
13. Skehan, P. (1989) *Individual Differences in Second-language Learning*. London, Edward Arnold.
14. Tang, J. (2002) Using L1 in the English classroom. *English Teaching Forum*, 40(1), 36–43.

15. Wang, D. (2010) A Study of English as a Lingua Franca in Teaching Chinese to Speakers of Other Languages. *The International Journal of Learning*, 17(6), 257–272. DOI: 10.18848/1447-9494/CGP/v17i06/47104.
16. Wang, D. (2014) *English in the Chinese foreign language classroom*. Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang. DOI: 10.3726/978-3-0351-0656-5.
17. Wang, H. (2009) The Definitions of New Words in TCSL Textbooks [Lun duiwai hanyu jiaocai shengci shiyi moshi]. *Applied Linguistics [Yuyan Wenzhi Yingyong]*, 1, 124–133.
18. Xu, P. (2010). Solutions to the Negative Effects of English Translation of New Vocabulary in Textbooks: A Perspective from Vocabulary Teaching [Jiaocai shengci yingyi wenti fujian yingxiang de jieju duice: Cong cihui jiaoxue de jiaodu tanqi]. *Journal of South China Normal University (Social Science Edition) [Huanan Shifan Daxue Xuebao (Shehui Kexue ban)]*, 3, 53–57
19. Zhao, J. (1998). Evaluation on the Chinese Language Teaching Materials [Lun duiwai hanyu jiaocai pinggu]. *Yuyan Jiaoxue yu Yanjiu*, 3, 4–19.

Sonja D. Stanković

Ljiljana Ž. Stević

Anja M. Mudrenović

Bojana S. Pavlović

Univerzitet u Banjoj Luci

Filološki fakultet

Katedra za sinologiju

ENGLESKI KAO LINGUA FRANCA U NASTAVI KINESKOG JEZIKA NA KATEDRI ZA SINOLOGIJU UNIVERZITETA U BANJOJ LUCI

Rezime

Učenje kineskog jezika steklo je značajnu međunarodnu pažnju zahvaljujući politici reformi i otvaranja Kine, uz njen rastući globalni uticaj. Ovaj globalni interes doveo je do osnivanja specijalizovanih programa na univerzitetima širom svijeta.

Katedra za sinologiju na Univerzitetu u Banjoj Luci, osnovana 2022. godine, najmlađi je takav program na Filološkom fakultetu. Ovaj rad proučava ulogu engleskog jezika i Katedre za anglistiku u oblikovanju metoda u nastavi sinologije. Kao jedna od najmlađih katedri za sinologiju u Evropi, pruža jedinstvenu priliku za istraživanje jezičkih uticaja koji oblikuju njen identitet. Od osnivanja studijskog programa, engleski jezik služio je kao primarni jezik nastave između profesora koji govore kineski jezik i studenata sinologije.

Cilj ovog istraživanja jeste da ispita stavove studenata prema upotrebi engleskog jezika kao *lingua franca* (ELF) u nastavi kineskog jezika na Katedri za sinologiju Univerziteta u Banjoj Luci, te efikasnost njegove upotrebe kao i potencijalne izazove u procesu učenja. Istraživanje će procijeniti kako je ELF olakšao komunikaciju i doprinio razvoju metoda nastave sinologije.

► **Ključne riječi:** Engleski kao *lingua franca* (ELF), Međunarodno obrazovanje iz kineskog jezika (ICLE), Nastava kineskog jezika kao stranog jezika (TCFL), Jezik nastave (MoI), Kineski kao drugi jezik (CSL).

Preuzeto: 17. 7. 2025.

Korekcije: 22. 8. 2025.

Prihvaćeno: 29. 9. 2025.

Milica Vuković¹
University of East Sarajevo
Faculty of Philosophy Pale
Department of English Studies

ANALYSIS OF TRANSLATION STRATEGIES TOWARD CULTURE-SPECIFIC ELEMENTS IN THE NOVEL *TALKING IT OVER* BY JULIAN BARNES

Abstract: *The subject of this paper titled Analysis of translation strategies toward culture- specific elements in the novel Talking It Over by Julian Barnes are the cultural elements that represent a challenge for translators when being translated from the source to the target language. The present paper aims to determine the specific translation processes used in translating culturally specific elements from English to Serbian. The paper focuses on determining which translation strategies the translator used the most during his translation work. Different types of translation strategies are singled out, retention, specification, direct translation, generalization, substitution and omission. The analysis of the novel "Talking it Over" by Julian Barnes translation shows that the translation processes used are a combination of domestication and foreignization strategies. Finally, the paper identifies those cultural elements that represent a challenge for translators, potential problems and mistakes that occurred during translation.*

Key words: *translation, translation processes, cultural elements, source language, target language, society, culture, Julian Barnes.*

1. INTRODUCTION

We often hear the expression that something is "untranslatable", but not due to the ability of the translator, but because of the richness of expressions in different languages and cultures. The translator has a serious task and responsibility – to

¹ milica.vukovic@ffuis.edu.ba

transfer the message from the source to the target language without losing the meaning of that message. Therefore, a successful translator must be not only well versed in both languages, but also in both cultures.

Culture and language are two concepts that are intertwined in multiple ways. Culture as a concept, whether being the culture of a nation, region or tribe, is like a kaleidoscope, its elements are constantly changing, and thus are being observed and interpreted in countless different ways, and in that process of change, culture is also affecting changes in the language used. Cultural concepts, typical of the source language culture, frequently unknown to the average reader of translated versions, and sometimes even to the average reader whose mother tongue is the source language, represent a challenge for every translator ever. Those specific concepts can often deprive the reader who reads the translation of the original work from a complete understanding of the work, and this largely depends on the translation techniques the translator has chosen. It is extremely important that the translator uses those techniques that will help the reader of the target language to properly understand the content and message of the text. In the first chapter of his book “Theory and Technique of Translation”, Vladimir Ivir (Ivir, 1978:p.9) defines translation as “transmitting a message (thoughts, feelings, wishes, commands) previously expressed in one language into an equivalent message expressed in another language”.

In general, the main goal of translation is to translate into other language different types of texts: literary, religious, scientific, medical, philosophical, and thus make them available to a wider readership. If there is no equivalent word or expression to translate a term from the source language (SL) to the target language (TL), the solution is provided by various translation procedures and techniques. With the help of strategies and techniques, any potential challenge or problem in the translation process is more or less solvable.

1.1. Research subject, methods and corpus

The subject of this research is culturally specific elements, concepts inherited to a particular culture. When it comes to elements of culture, we will analyze the methods and techniques of translating from English to Serbian in the selected novel “Talking it Over”, written by a contemporary British writer Julian Barnes. In the analysis conducted, cultural elements were first classified, and then we approached the analysis of the methods used to translate them into our language. The first phase of the research involved collecting examples of general cultural expressions as well as those characteristic of British culture, resulting in a corpus of about 80 examples. The examples

found are diverse, so we classified them into different groups. In the second phase, we analyzed the procedures that the translator used to translate these cultural terms. The way in which cultural elements are transferred from one language to another says a lot about the translator's attitude toward the language, specifically whether his focus is on preserving the source language or on adapting to the target language.

The book used as a corpus in this paper is "Talking it over", a novel about infidelity that reveals all the charms of Barnes's dark humor. "A tale as old as time" - two men are competing for the love of the same woman, but this love triangle consists of two men who are actually best friends, and a woman who is first the wife of Stuart, and then becomes the wife of the other friend, Oliver. "Something is rotten in the state of Denmark" referring to the friendship between the two protagonists, Stuart and Oliver, whose confessions we read simultaneously, along with the confession of their mutual object of obsession, Gillian. The characters, in the form of monologues, talk about each other, and the readers receive three completely different versions of the same story and events. When collecting examples in the aforementioned book, specific examples were extracted. Those examples include the ones with interesting translation solutions as well as those that could have been translated by using other techniques. Thus, there are examples of translating cultural concepts in this book that are not included in the analysis of this paper.

In this study, a descriptive-qualitative analysis was conducted, functioning on the principle of describing and explaining the procedures involved in translating the text. The research was carried out by identifying cultural elements in the original text and then finding equivalents in the translated texts. English is the language that was translated, i.e. the source language, while Serbian is the language of translation, i.e. the target language. The translation was done by Ivana Đurić Paunović. We collected data through several steps: first, reading the book for the corpus in the source, English language, and then simultaneously reading the versions in English and Serbian to extract cultural elements and their translations from the official editions in both languages.

2. Culture-specific elements

When it comes to those problematic factors that arise during translation from one language to another, in addition to proverbs, idiomatic expressions, collocations, and allusions, culture-specific elements present a similar challenge. Different linguists have referred to them by various names: foreign words, cultural words, elements of culture, cultural concepts, and culture-specific elements.

Florin Sider (Florin, 1993:p.123) defined cultural elements as “words and combinations of words denoting objects and concepts characteristic of the way of life, the culture, the social and historical development of one nation, and alien to another.” Since they are colored with history and local specifics they have no exact equivalent in other languages.

Cultural elements are concepts that originate in the source culture, not the target culture, and therefore, there is no precise equivalent to translate that concept. People may speak a foreign language, but certain references to customs, food, and events may be unfamiliar to them. This is where the translator comes in. He must possess the necessary knowledge and skills to convey messages from the source language to the target language.

Translation plays an important role here in expanding cultural elements. Namely, by repeating cultural concepts in multiple translated texts, unfamiliar terms gradually become familiar and are slowly incorporated into the target language culture.

2.1. Classification of culture-specific elements

Elements that can be encountered in the source culture but not in the target culture are numerous and include concepts related to history, religion, myths, political conditions, society, food etc. Over the years many linguists have dealt with the classification of cultural elements. Several linguists have made more or less similar classifications of culture-specific elements, which presents a particularly challenging task because there are concepts for which it is not easy to determine the category to which they belong, as well as those concepts that, based on their meaning, can be included in multiple categories. For our analysis, we have chosen the classification of culture-specific elements developed by Bridgette Nederfard Larsen because we have determined that this division of cultural elements aligns with the examples selected for the corpus. Nederfard Larsen created perhaps the most detailed classification, which consists of 4 types of cultural elements, and within them, she made several subcategories. The translation of the classification from English to Serbian was done by the author of this work:

1. Geography

- a) Geography (mountains, rivers)
- b) Meteorology (weather conditions, climate)
- c) Biology (flora and fauna)
- d) Cultural geography (regions, cities, roads, streets, etc.)

2. History

- a) Buildings (monuments, castles, etc.)
- b) Events (wars, revolutions, national holidays)
- c) People (famous historical figures)

3. Society

- a) Economy (trade, industry, economics, energy, etc.)
- b) Social organization (police, prisons, local and central government)
- c) Politics (government administration, ministries, political parties, politicians, political organizations)
- d) Social conditions (groups, subcultures, living conditions, problems)
- e) Way of life, customs (housing, transportation, food, meals, clothing, everyday items, family relations)

4. Culture

- a) Religion (churches, rituals, morals, clergy, religious holidays, saints)
- b) Education (schools, higher education, faculties, educational systems, exams)
- c) Media (TV, radio, newspapers, magazines)
- d) Culture, entertainment (museums, artworks, literature, authors, theaters, cinemas, actors, musicians, idols, restaurants, hotels, nightclubs, cafes, sports, athletes)

2.2 Findings of culture- specific elements in the novel “Talking It Over” and their classification

For the **Culture** category, 25 examples were selected from the subcategories of **Religion**, **Personal Names**, **Education**, and **Culture** (theater, film, books, and sports). This includes a significant number of religious terms, as well as concepts from popular culture (see Table 1). For the **Geography** category, Table 2 was created, which includes 14 examples of terms from geography (mountains, islands), meteorology (weather conditions), and cultural geography (regions, cities, streets). The **Society** category contains the largest number of cultural elements (31 examples), so two tables were created for this category. The first table, Table 3, includes 17 examples from the subcategory of **Life styles and Customs** (food, meals, transportation, greetings). The second table, Table 4, presents examples of cultural elements from the **Life Styles and Customs** subcategory (units of measurement, clothing, and everyday items). The final category is **History**, with subcategories including **Buildings** (monuments, structures), **Events** (wars, revolutions), and **People** (famous historical figures). This category is represented by 9 examples in Table 5.

Table 1 category: CULTURE

Subcategory: **religion, personal names, education, and culture** (theater, film, books, sports)

Culture-specific elements (source language)	Translation of culture-specific elements (target language)
"Stuart's my Christian name"	"Стјуарт, то је моје крштено име"
"sine die "	"sine die "
"Stew-Pot "	"Ступави"
"riffs "	"рифови"
"sprightly lizard "	"живахни спеченко"
"even if I called myself Santa Claus "	"па све да се зовем Божић Бата"
"all the grammar schools "	"све средње школе општег типа"
„transistor radios“	"транзистори"
"A wotsit?' I asked, playing Dumb Stu. He smiled his smile, playing Sophisticated Ollie. "	"Како кажеш?' питао сам, глумећи Трапавог Стјуа. Он се насмешио, глумећи Префињеног Олија. "
"on earth "	"побогу"
"and you just sit there glowering away like Hagen in Johedammerung,"	"а ти само седиш и зеваш као Хаген у Сумраку богова"
"Jules et Jim "	"Jules et Jim "
"mono records"	"синглице "
"Cupid "	"Купидон "
"silver- haired Lothario "	"сребрнокоси заводник "
"Nureyevd "	"нурејевљевским корацима"
"a Madonna"	"Мајка божија"
"Lucifer "	"Луцифер "
"Dudley's gang consisted of only two: himself and 'Feet' Schofield"	"Дадлијеву банду чинила су само два члана: он и „Нога“ Шофилд "
"John Philips "	"Џон Филипс "
"langlauf"	"langlauf"
"black vinyl "	"црни винил "
"Judgement Day "	"Судњи дан "
„' Listen With Mother' plus ' Police Five“	"а није ни образовни програм, ни епизода криминалистичке серије "
„ Harriette naughty Harley Street headshrinker“	"Пени Психићка"

Table 2. category: GEOGRAPHY

Subcategory: geography (mountains, islands) & **meteorology** (weather conditions) & **cultural geography** (regions, cities, streets)

Culture-specific elements (source language)	Translation of culture-specific elements (target language)
“ Frinton “	“ Фринтон “
“ gentle breeze “	“ лаки поветарац “
“ swirling clouds like marbled endpapers “	“ усковитлани облаци попут мермерних шара на унутрашњим странама корица неких књига “
“ Nineveh “	“ Нинива “
“ Distant Ophir “	“ Офир “
“ in her front garden “	“ у свом врту “
“ Arcadia “	“ Аркадија “
“ on some Anglian plage “	“ на некој енглеској plage “
“ duty-free “	“ фри-шоп “
“ Lennox Gardens “	“ Ленокс Гарденс “
“ Rumsey Road “	“ Рамси роуд “
“ Farringdon Road “	“ Фарингдон роуд “
“ the Street with No Name “	“ улицом без имена “
“ The Channel “	“ Ламанш “

Table 3 category: SOCIETY

Subcategory: life styles and customs (food, meals, transportation, greetings)

Culture-specific elements (source language)	Translations of culture-specific elements (target language)
“ grilled salmon “	“ гриловани лосос “
“ a spot of supper “	“ лака вечера “
“ post- Arbeit beverage “	“ post- Arbeit пиће “
“ how do you do “	“ драго ми је “
“ a cup of Formosa Oolong “	“ формоза улонг чајем “
“ damp oatcakes “	“ влажне зобене бисквите “
“ a tandoori dinner “	“ вечера у индијском ресторану “
“ lager “	“ пиво “
“ chicken tikka “	“ порција пилеће тика масале “
“ ate ice-cream and rock “	“ јели сладолед и локалне слаткише “

“ ahoy there “	“ јухуу, хеј ви тамо “
“ they nuzzled one another “	“ вежбају ескимски пољубац “
“ Lagonda “	“ лагонда “
“ Mumn NV “	“ шампањац марке дом перињонија “
“ Highland marts “	“ шкотски виски “
“ open roadster “	“ кабриолет “
“ double-decker “	“ дабл-декер “

Table 4 category: SOCIETY

Subcategory: life styles and customs (units of measurement, clothing, and everyday items)

Culture-specific elements (source language)	Translation of culture-specific elements (target language)
“ an aged aunt of some sort “	“ једна стара тетка по оцу или по мајци “
“ in a sort of back room “	“ у некаквој просторији у стражњем делу ресторана “
“ health sandals “	“ ортопедске ципелице “
“ grim arrivistes “	“ патетични arrivistes “
“ intra-uterine device “	“ интраутерина направа “
“ a quid “	“ фунта “
“ a neon Union Jack “	“ британска застава направљена од неонки “
“ a top grey stone-washed 501s “	“ левис 501 од каменованог џинса “
“ anoraks “	“ кишне кабанице “
“ pesetas “	“ пезете “
“ Yale and Chab-front door seang “	“ јабучаста ручка “
“ dozens of times “	“ много пута “
“ duty-free Gauloises “	“ голоаз из фри-шопа “
“ a weekend break “	“ викенд- одмор “

Table 5 category: HISTORY

Subcategories: buildings (monuments, structures), **events** (wars, revolutions), and **people** (famous historical figures)

Culture-specific elements (source language)	Translation of culture-specific elements (target language)
“big municipal clock “	“велики сат “
“invading Russia “	“инвазија на Русију “
“harrying Cossacks “	“козаци који јуришају “
“like the stock market in 1929 “	“као акције на берзи 1929 “
“out with the Kalashnikov “	“дај тај калашњиков “
“by a ZEPPELIN RAID “	“у нападу цепелина “
“Santa Maria della Presentazione “	“Санта Марија дела Презентационе “
“Le Zitelle “	“Цитела “
“Boris Godonov “	“Boris Godonov “

3. TRANSLATION METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

Translation methods and techniques serve to guide the translator toward the successful translation of cultural elements. As Novakov (Novakov, 2016:p.118) states, “In translation, one should – to the greatest possible extent – establish a sensitive balance between communicative comprehensibility for the foreign reader and the cultural coloring of the original text”. The choice of translation procedure or procedures depends on several factors: the type of text being translated, the target audience, and the effect that needs to be achieved. The translator must demonstrate both expertise and creativity in order to successfully complete the translation task. “Translating non-equivalent cultural elements confronts translation theory and practice with two fundamental problems: 1) the problem of possible procedures and 2) the problem of strategy, i.e., the choice of procedure that will best suit a specific communicative act” (Ivir, 2003:p.9). The translation of cultural elements has undergone numerous classifications by various linguists over the years.

3.1. Pedersen's Taxonomy of Translation Strategies

Translation procedures can focus either on the source language or the target language. **Pedersen's Taxonomy of Translation Strategies** (Pedersen, 2011:p.55) is based on whether the focus is on the target or source language, i.e., whether strategies of foreignization or domestication will be used.

3.1.1. Translation strategies with a focus on the source language

Translation strategies that are source language-oriented in Pedersen's taxonomy are: retention, specification, and direct translation. **Retention** is a strategy in which cultural elements are not translated into the target language, and the cultural characteristics of the source language are preserved. Expressions and phrases are not translated into the target language, remaining the same (full retention) or with minimal modifications to adapt to the grammar of the target language (e.g., translators may omit articles in English). Sometimes, the translator leaves the original expression in quotation marks or italics. **Specification** is a procedure where, although the cultural element remains unchanged and is not adapted to the target language, new information is added that is not present in the original text, in order to clarify the meaning of the element for the reader. Some linguists refer to this strategy as descriptive translation or explanation, as it provides an explanation of the cultural reference to the reader, clarifying its connotation and adding information related to the concept that will help the reader understand it. **Direct translation**, according to Pedersen (or what other linguists refer to as literal translation), is only correct if it makes complete sense, does not introduce new or different connotations, and is both semantically and grammatically acceptable. Pedersen divides it into **calque** (which fully adapts to the recipient's language and involves a word-for-word translation of morphemes) and **translation with change** (e.g., changing the word type).

3.1.2. Translation strategies with a focus on the target language

Translation strategies that are target language-oriented, i.e., domestication strategies, include generalization, substitution, and omission. **Generalization** is a strategy where a culturally specific concept is replaced with a more general term. There are two options: either replacing it with a higher-level term (hypernym) or paraphrasing (explaining the cultural element using other words while retaining its basic meaning). **Substitution** as a strategy involves changing the original cultural concept with another cultural concept, either one familiar to both cultures or from the target culture. Pedersen calls this **cultural substitution**. **Situational substitution** would be replacing the concept with a term that does not have the same connotation as the original cultural concept, but fits the context of the situation. **Omission** of a cultural concept occurs when the translator deems that the element is unnecessary and redundant for understanding the text, or that any translation of the concept would be unclear to the reader.

3.2. Analysis of translation methods and techniques in the Serbian translation of „Talking It Over“

The novel „Talking it over“ is a book full of Barnes' s well-known irony and dark humor; however, the translator opted for formal equivalence and strategies that focus on the source language rather than the target language. The transfer of humor would surely have been more successful if it were accessible to the target readers. As it stands, the original culturally specific concepts have been preserved, but the power of the humor has somewhat diminished.

The methods and techniques used for translating do not belong to just one translation strategy; rather, they are often combined to translate certain concepts or expressions.

3.2.1. Retention

One of the frequently used methods, particularly applied in the category of geography when it comes to the names of cities and places, but also in the category of culture in instances involving personal names, as well as in the category of history in examples of famous historical figures. Throughout the book, the character Oliver uses expressions in French (e.g., *raison d'être*), German (*post-arbeit*), and Spanish (*amigo*), which the translator leaves in the original form, without explanation or translation in footnotes.

Interestingly, the translator left the untranslated expressions in italics, as in example 12:

12) „Jules et Jim“ / „Jules et Jim“

This refers to a French film from 1962 in which two friends fall in love with the same woman, and the film is mentioned in our novel when Oliver reveals that the casting of the film reminds him of the three actors. The translator evidently assessed that this film is well-known to the Serbian reading audience and left it untouched in French, without additional explanation in footnotes.

The next example of the retention technique is from the category of cultural elements concerning society, subcategory: lifestyle and customs (food, meals & transport & greetings). It refers to a car brand.

52) „Lagonda“ / „ΛΑΓΟΝΔΑ“

Lagonda is now a thing of the past, but it used to be a British brand of luxury cars, produced until 1990. In this example, Oliver mentions this British cultural term to mock Gillian's car, which is ordinary and not luxurious. He says:

“They took me home that night in Gillian’s rebarbatively quotidian motor-car. Definitely not a Lagonda.” / „ Те ноћи су ме одвезли кући Џилиним невероватно незамисливо- обичним колима. То свакако није била лагонда. “

Although readers likely do not know which model of car is being referred to, it is clear from the context that it is a luxury car, and it is mentioned as a contrast to Gillian’s modest vehicle, so no additional clarification is necessary.

3.2.2. Specification

Specification is the process needed to eliminate any ambiguity in cases where a direct translation of morphemes, without additional explanation, would leave readers confused. It is most commonly used in combination with direct (literal) translation. The cultural reference in example 63, characteristic of British culture, is translated by adding information that helps the translation reader understand a term that would have no meaning in Serbian with a literal translation. Certainly, the specification process is the best solution in this case, as retention or direct translation would leave the reading audience confused.

63) “a neon Union Jack” / “британска застава направљена од неонки”

In example 44, the translator supplemented the name of the tea simply because the brand of tea, without emphasizing what type of drink it is, is unknown in our region. This eliminated the ambiguity of the beverage.

44) “a cup of Formosa Oolong” / “формоса у-лонг чајем”

The same approach was used in example 64; in British culture, simply mentioning the number 501 is enough for everyone to know what model of jeans is being referred to. For the Serbian language, it was necessary to specify the term, i.e., to indicate the brand of the pants.

64) “a top grey stone-washed 501s” (p. 29 Eng.) — “Левис 501 од каменованог динса” (p. 37 Serb.)

3.2.3. Direct Translation

According to Pedersen, direct translation, or literal translation, was used to translate the term in example no. 4; “riffs” are meaningfully short melodic segments characteristic of rock and roll, and Oliver uses them to vividly describe his moments of rambling and jumping from topic to topic, comparing them to riffs. It is questionable how familiar the term “riffs” is to the wider reading public, but

the translator assessed that there was no need to further explain this term and used the process of direct translation, more precisely, calquing.

4) “riffs”/ “рифови”

Example no. 6 is an example of direct (literal) translation, specifically calquing. We see that there was no change in the parts of speech during translation. The term “Santa Claus” has several equivalents in our culture, ranging from “Деда Мраз”, “Божјић Бата” to “Свети Никола”:

6) “even if I called myself Santa Claus” / “па све да се зовем Божјић Бата”

The term “black vinyl,” from the category of culture, subcategory culture (music), has recently come into use in the Serbian language in the form that resulted from a literal translation, more precisely calquing, and represents what earlier generations referred to as gramophone records.

22) “black vinyl”/ “црни винил”

3.2.4. Generalization

The substitution with a more general term using the technique of paraphrasing in example no. 67 is a typical case for those instances where we encounter brand names. In this case, it concerns “Yale & Chab,” a brand of door handles completely unknown to the Serbian reading public and irrelevant for understanding this expression. The translator opted for a type of round handle, as it is common and typical in British culture, rather than Serbian. Thus, a combination of omission and generalization techniques was used.

67) “Yale and Chab-front door seang” / “јабучаста ручка”

“Rock” is one of the iconic British candies; it is actually a type of boiled sugar in the form of a very hard stick (hence the name in English “rock”), most often with a peppermint flavor. It is particularly associated with tourist locations, where it is sold on the streets. Something similar can be seen at our fairs, but a formal equivalent does not exist. The translator resolved this by paraphrasing as a form of generalization. The expression “local sweets” conveys the basic meaning of that candy.

49) “ate ice-cream and rock” / “јели сладолед и локалне слаткише”

Example no. 24 poses a challenge: “Listen With Mother’ plus ‘Police Five,” iconic radio and TV shows from Great Britain. ‘Listen With Mother’ was a BBC radio program for children, entertaining and educational, which aired from 1950 to 1982. ‘Police Five’ is a British television program in which major unsolved crimes

are reconstructed to gather information from the public that could help resolve the cases. Neither show aired on our channels nor had an audience here, making them completely unknown to Serbian readers. This is likely why the translator opted for the technique of generalization rather than leaving them in the original form and providing explanations in footnotes about what British shows they are:

- 24) “‘Listen With Mother’ plus ‘Police Five’” / “а није ни образовни програм, ни епизода криминалистичке серије”,

3.2.5. Substitution

Substitution as a strategy involves replacing the original cultural concept with another cultural concept, either from general culture (known to both cultures) or from the target culture. When it comes to the term from the education subcategory, characteristic of English culture, “all the grammar schools”, there is no formal equivalent in our language. It is important to note that this term does not have the same meaning even in British and American cultures. In Britain, it refers to a school that children attend from the age of eleven to eighteen, whereas, in the U.S., it refers to a primary school for the first six or eight grades. Since the text refers to the British type of school, the translation into Serbian in Example 7 is entirely acceptable.

- 7) “all the grammar schools” / “све средње школе општег типа”

Substitution is a very common procedure when translating terms from one religion to another. It is particularly interesting to analyze the differences between Catholicism and Orthodoxy concerning the terminology of the same characters from the Bible. One such example is Example 17; in Orthodoxy, it is always emphasized that Mary gave birth to the Son of God, so she is most often referred to in prayers and all mentions as the Mother of God or the Holy Mother, whereas in Catholicism, she is associated with the term “virgin,” emphasizing that she conceived and gave birth to Jesus Christ immaculately.

17. “a Madonna” / “Мајка Божија”

Substitution is a very demanding procedure for the translator because it highlights the extent to which the translator has the creativity to maintain the same effect on the target reader as the original text did on the source reader. It is particularly challenging to find nicknames in our culture that would semantically correspond to those in the source culture. The following example shows how challenging this task can be:

- 3) “Stew-Pot” / “Ступави”

"Stew-Pot" is part of British slang, a nickname for someone whose full name is Stuart (Stuart or Stewart). "Ступав" in our language is a nickname for someone who is stiff, rigid, with a stiff posture and demeanor. The nickname fits the character of Stuart perfectly.

3.2.6. Omission

Harley Street is a street in London known for a series of private clinics; if there were a street starting with the letter P that could be somewhat equivalent to this, the translator could have gone one step further. However, in this case, the translator chose to omit this cultural element. Due to the alliteration in the original text (H(arriet) H(arley) H(eadshrinker)), the same stylistic figure was used in the translation (P(eni) P(sychic)).

"Harriet the naughty Harley Street headshrinker" / "Пени Психићка"

4. CONCLUSION

In this paper we have discussed different translation techniques that consider the translation of cultural elements. Translation is never just the transfer of a text from one language to another; it always involves the direct influence of both cultures and serves as a bridge connecting different cultures, subcultures, groupings, and social communities. The greatest significance of translation, as one of the more important human activities, lies in the complete understanding of the message of the text. Its primary task is to serve as a medium between cultures, and as such, it is there to bring together two more or less distinct groups.

In the analysis, we primarily found specific cultural elements in the source text, followed by the analysis of the translation techniques of those elements into the target language in the translated text. The conclusion based on the analysis of the translation of this book is that the translator employed a range of translation strategies to varying degrees. It was noted that literal translation was almost always the initial choice of the translator and was used whenever possible with some minor adjustments to make it somewhat more accessible to the target language. In addition to literal translation, it is clear that the strategy of retention was used to a large extent as a translation procedure. The reason for this is that many cultural elements consist of personal names, names of cities, and local areas, and all these names were transferred to the target language as they are in the source language

Finally, the examples we extracted for our analysis demonstrate how translation is a truly complex process, as only by combining multiple strategies and procedures can viable translation solutions be achieved. It became evident that it is precisely through the combination of translation strategies and techniques that the difficulties posed by cultural terms are successfully addressed.

References:

1. Baker, M. (1974) *In Other Words: A Coursebook on Translation*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
2. Barnes J. (1992) *Talking It Over*. London, Vintage.
3. Barns Dž. (2000) *Troje* (sa engleskog prevela Ivana Đurić Paunović) Beograd, Geopoetika.
4. Bassnet, S. (1996) *Translation studies*. New York, Routledge.
5. Catford J. (1965) *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*, London, Oxford University Press.
6. Florin, S. (1993) *Realia in translation*. In: Palma Zlateva (ed.) *Translation as Social Action, Russian and Bulgarian Perspectives*. London, Routledge.
7. Ivir V. (2003) *Prevođenje kulture i kultura prevođenja*. Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu.
8. Ivir, V. (1987) *Procedures and Strategies for the Translation of Cultural Categories* cited in "Translation across cultures". New Delhi, Gideon Toury, Bahri Publications.
9. Ivir V. (1978) *Teorija i tehnika prevođenja – udžbenik za 3. i 4. razred srednjeg obrazovanja prevodilačke struke* centar „Karlovačka gimnazija“ Sremski Karlovci, Novi Sad.
10. Janković Lj. (2024) Translating literary texts from English into Serbian: a contrastive approach, *Filolog – časopis za jezik, književnost i kulturu*, 15 (30), 84–108.
11. Nedergaard-Larsen, B. (1993) Culture-bound problems in subtitling, *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology*, 1(2), 207–241.
12. Newmark, P. (1988) *A Textbook of Translation*. New York, Prentice Hall International, New York.
13. Novakov P. (2016) *Kulturološki elementi u prevodu: suočavanje sa drugima*. CIVITAS – časopis za društvena istraživanja, 108–120.
14. Venuti, L. (2004) *The Translation Studies Reader*. London and New York, Routledge.

Милица Вуковић
Универзитет у Источном Сарајеву
Филозофски факултет Пале
Одсјек за енглески језик и књижевност

АНАЛИЗА ПРЕВОДИЛАЧКИХ СТРАТЕГИЈА ЗА
КУЛТУРОЛОШКИ СПЕЦИФИЧНЕ ЕЛЕМЕНАТЕ У
РОМАНУ ТРОЈЕ ЏУЛИЈАНА БАРНСА

Резиме

У раду смо анализирали превод оних елемената културе који представљају изазов приликом превођења са изворног на циљни језик, те поступке који се користе приликом њиховог превођења. Главни циљеви истраживања у овом раду јесу, прво, груписање/класификација елемената културе, друго, утврђивање којим се техникама превођења преводац највише служио приликом свог преводачког рада, и на крају, идентификовање оних елемената културе који представљају изазов за преводиоце, те потенцијалних проблема и пропуста који су настали приликом превођења. У анализи смо прво пронашли специфичне елементе културе у изворном тексту, након чега је услједила анализа поступака превођења тих елемената у циљни језик у тексту превода. Као корпус смо користили роман Џулијана Барнса *Троје* (*Talking it Over*), који је превела Ивана Ђурић Пауновић. Успјели смо детектовати поступке превођења који се користе, те у којој мјери, који су исходи одабира поступака када је у питању вриједност превода.

► **Кључне ријечи:** преводачки поступци, елементи културе, изворни језик, циљни језик, Џулијан Барнс.

Preuzeto: 23. 4. 2025.
Korekcije: 25. 5. 2025.
Prihvaćeno: 7. 7. 2025.



Мијана Ч. Кубурић Мацура¹
Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Филолошки факултет
Катедра за србистику

СОЦИЈАЛНИ ФЕМИНИНАТИВИ У ДНЕВНИМ НОВИНАМА У РЕПУБЛИЦИ СРПСКОЈ²

Апстракт: У чланку се, на узорку дневне штампе у Републици Српској, сагледава фреквенција и конкуренција социјалних фемининатива и (генеричких) социјалних маскулинатива у одабраном корпусу те колебања у њиховој употреби. Паралелно с таквим прегледом стања у истраживачком корпусу, врши се и анализа забиљежених примјера с неолошког аспекта - провјером заступљености у рјечницима српског језика. Резултати истраживања проведеног на одабраном корпусу приказују 'снимак' актуелне језичке ситуације када је у питању употреба социјалних фемининатива у корпусу који (и даље) има велики утицај на језичке навике и ставове говорника српског језика, те представља стил који је најприближнији језику свакодневне комуникације.

Кључне ријечи: социјални фемининативи, социјални маскулинативи, српски језик, дневне новине у Републици Српској, конкуренција фемининатива и маскулинатива, неолошки аспект.

Увод

Вријеме од краја 19. вијека, кроз цијели 20. вијек и, нарочито, почетак 21. вијека, у највећем дијелу свијета, па и на српском националном и културном простору, карактеришу драстичне промјене у различитим сферама друштвене структуре – друштвеним односима, нормама и улогама. Те промјене тичу се,

¹ mijana.kuburic-macura@fil.unibl.org

² Овај рад резултат је истраживања у оквиру пројекта под насловом „Ресурси српског језика у савременом медијском дискурсу Републике Српске”, који суфинансира Министарство за научнотехнолошки развој и високо образовање Републике Српске (Рјешење Министарства бр. 19.032/431-1-86/23 од 29. 12. 2023).

свакако, и положаја жена у друштву. Живот наших жена радикално се трансформисао у свега двије или три генерације, при чему су највеће промјене видљиве у области образовања и рада. Данас, у трећој деценији 21. вијека, готово да нема професионалне области у којој жене нису заступљене. Ова чињеница неминовно се одразила и на језик, тј. у српском језику почели су се умножавати и, у мањој или већој мјери, прихватати и устаљивати социјални фемининативи – облици којима се обиљежавају жене које врше поједине послове, носе нека професионална или друга звања, или обављају одређене друштвене функције.

1. Социјални фемининативи у српском језику - кратка историја питања и актуелни проблеми

Иако су тек онедавно у фокусу пажње не само лингвиста већ и шире друштвене јавности, социјални фемининативи³ нису 'језичка новотарија'. Они су се у српском језику одувијек стварали рефлектујући стање у ванјезичкој стварности и нашој слици те стварности. Како су жене 'освајале' различите професионалне и друштвене улоге, језик је спонтано креирао лексеме којима су се означаваале женске особе које те улоге врше. Како наводи Предраг Пипер, '[с]оцијални фемининативи у српском језику, као и у другим словенским језицима, постоје одавно, на пример, за означавање специфично женских занимања (нпр. *бабица*, *неговатељица*, *примаља*), али и за многа друга занимања (нпр. *продавачица*, *радница*, *учитељица*) или статус (нпр. *победница*, *сапутница*, *сарадница*). Број таквих речи се спонтано повећава у складу са мењањем улоге жене у друштву' (Piper, 2016:p.37–38).

Међутим, иако је јасно да су се социјални фемининативи кроз развој српског језика стварали спонтано, природно пратећи логику промјена у друштвеним улогама и одражавајући социјалну слику с језиком повезаног простора, у посљедњих неколико година они су попреште контроверзи и тачка конфликта различитих струја у српском друштву. У претходним годинама овај сегмент лексикона нашао се у фокусу пажње понајвише због негативних реакција јед-

³Треба поменути да се у литератури, поред термина 'социјални фемининатив', који је први почео да користи Предраг Пипер, јавља и термин 'мовирани фемининум' (термин Боже Порића [1991]). У неким се чланцима значење и опсег ових термина изједначавају (нпр. Dragičević & Utvić, 2019; Lazić Konjik, 2022), док неки други аутори разликују појам мовираног фемининума – са значењем било које изведенице за обиљежавање бића женског рода мотивисане именицом мушког рода, и социјалног фемининатива – суфиксалне именичке изведенице које имају значење професионалног или неког другог друштвеног статуса који имају жене, које не морају имати именицу мушког рода у својој основи (нпр. Масановић, 2024).

ног дијела јавности у Србији на одредбе Закона о родној равноправности (2021) које се односе на питања обавезности употребе родно осјетљивог језика, најексплицитније испољеног на нивоу лексике, тј. у употреби социјалних фемининатива. Поменуте реакције и конфликти кулминирали су 2024. године, када је примјена родно осјетљивог језика, према члану 73 Закона, ступила на снагу (три године након усвајања у Народној скупштини Републике Србије) и када су његове одредбе постале правно обавезујуће.⁴

Контроверзе у вези са овим питањем јављају се и на граматичком и на идеолошком плану, и међу лингвистима и у широј јавности. Друштвена струја која пропагира обавезност социјалних фемининатива у јавној употреби (представљена понајприје организацијама које се боре за људска права и родну равноправност, те једним дијелом српске лингвистичке заједнице) заступа виђење критичке социолингвистике да би овакве промјене у језику подстакле позитивне промјене у друштву у смислу елиминисања родне дискриминације и родних стереотипа (в. нпр. Savić, 2004:р.9; Filipović, 2011:р.419). Ова лингвистичка и активистичка струја припремила је низ приручника и водича о употреби родно осјетљивог језика, наводећи у њима језичка упутства и пописе препоручених облика фемининатива у јавној употреби (в. нпр. Savić, Čanak, Mitro & Štasni, 2009; Cvetinčanin Knežević & Lalatović, 2019; Savić & Stevanović, 2020). Супротстављена друштвена и лингвистичка струја, чији је глас артикулисан кроз саопштења, одлуке и јавна иступања научних и културних институција (в. нпр. *Саопштење поводом питања о родној равноправности Матице српске* [Matica srpska, 2021] и *Одлуку поводом усвајања Закона о родној равноправности под називом 'Насиље над српским језиком'* Одбора за стандардизацију српског језика [Odbor za standardizaciju srpskog jezika, 2021]) скреће пажњу на неколико чињеница. Прво, наглашава се да лингвистичка заједница није била консултована приликом доношења спорних одредаба Закона, што се може сматрати значајном процедуралном неправилношћу, те да се у великом броју пропагираних социјалних фемининатива ради о ријечима које нису активни дио лексикона и чија је структура говорницима српског језика потпуно нова. Такође, аргумент који се често истиче јесте и закон језичке економичности и чињеница да је мушки род у српском језику – 'генерички род', тј. да су именице мушког рода 'родно неутралне' и да се при означавању друштвене улоге, звања,

⁴ Уставни суд Републике Србије 27. јуна 2024. године донио је рјешење којим се покреће поступак за утврђивање неуставности Закона о родној равноправности и обуставља његова примјена, чему је претходило осам поднесених иницијатива за оцјену уставности наведеног закона (Odbor za standardizaciju srpskog jezika, 2024).

функције, професије и сл. могу употребљавати за оба пола, без дискриминативне конотације (Ivić, 1989:p.43; Piper, 2016:p.48 и др.).

У Босни и Херцеговини, па тиме и у Републици Српској, обавезујући правни акти у области родне равноправности јесу Конвенција УН о укидању свих облика дискриминације жена (1979), као међународни правни акт, који је БиХ потписала 1993. године, и Закон о равноправности полова у Босни и Херцеговини (2010), као домаћи правни акт, којим се уређује, промовише и штити равноправност полова те гарантују једнаке могућности свим грађанима, како у јавној, тако и у приватној сфери друштва. Закон о равноправности полова у Босни и Херцеговини у једном члану прилично уопштено, не прописујући мјере за сузбијање дискриминације нити санкције, третира дискриминацију у језику: ‘дискриминација у језику постоји када се користи искључиво један граматички род као генерички појам’ (Дио трећи – Дефиниције, члан 9). С друге стране, будући да је српски језички и културни простор јединствен и цијеловит, и на Републику Српску односе се препоруке и ставови највиших научних и културних установа (Одбора за стандардизацију српског језика, Матице српске и др.), па се друштвени и језички конфликт који се тиче употребе социјалних фемининатива преноси, по природи ствари, и на ‘ову страну Дрине’.

У сваком случају, умножавање социјалних фемининатива представља реалност развојних процеса у српском језику. С обзиром на то, овај лексички слој представља релевантан и важан предмет истраживања из различитих лингвистичких аспеката – морфолошког, неолошког и др., а као истраживачки корпуси нарочито се намећу они жанрови који имају највећи утицај на формирање језичких навика и ставова говорника српског језика.

2. Избор корпуса и методологија истраживања

Корпус за овај чланак представљају најтиражније дневне новине у Републици Српској – *Независне новине* и *Глас Српске*, и то по пет бројева објављених током фебруара и марта 2025. године.⁵ Иако, наравно, због своје ограничености, не претендује на закључке о општем стању у српском језику, анализа овако одабраног узорка пружиће нам информације о употреби социјалних фемининатива у језичком материјалу који (и даље) има значајан утицај на формирање језичких образаца и навика у друштвеној заједници, а важан је и због тога што ‘језик дневне штампе највише одговара језику који употребљавамо у свакодневном општењу’ (Dragićević, 2010:p.51). Истраживачки задатак

⁵ Детаљнији подаци о одабраном корпусу наведени су на крају чланка, у дијелу *Извори*.

који смо ставили пред овај рад подразумејемо, првенствено, ексцерпцију свих лексема којима се именују професионалне и друштвене улоге жена у одабраном корпусу. Циљ нам је да на слици која из таквог прегледа проистекне сагледамо заступљеност социјалних фемининатива, колебања у њиховој употреби, конкурентност фемининатива и (генеричких) маскулинативних облика, те евентуалне граматичке конфликте који се јављају приликом њихове (не)употребе. За све регистроване социјалне фемининативе провјерићемо њихову заступљеност у *Речнику српскога језика* Матице српске (2011), а за неке примјере као контролни извор послужиће нам Матичин шестотомник *Речник српскохрватскога књижевног језика* (1967–1976).⁶ У складу са постављеним задатком и циљевима истраживања, у раду ћемо користити дескриптивну методу, те методу лексичко-семантичке – неолошке анализе. Будући да (штампани) медији својом информативном и потенцијално едукативном улогом учествују у креирању и ширењу вриједносних система (Begović, 2015:p.63), али и језичких образаца и навика, на основу резултата истраживања стећи ћемо увид у модел према којем се обликује језик друштвене заједнице у Републици Српској.

3. Лексеме које означавају професију и друштвени статус жена у дневним новинама у Републици Српској

У одабраном корпусу појављују се различити начини именовања професије или друштвеног статуса особа женског пола. Забијежене примјере подијелили смо у групе у којима су фемининативи једини или доминантни избор, оне у којима доминира употреба именица мушког као ‘општер’ – генеричког рода, а у посебном дијелу прокоментаришаћемо случајеве у којима долази до релевантних колебања у лексичком избору.

⁶ Ивана Лазић Коњик у својој неолошкој анализи фемининатива примјећује одређене законитости када је у питању динамика њиховог биљежења у рјечницима српског језика, тј. да један број фемининатива, очекивано, изостаје у *Речнику српскога језика* (2011) у односу на *Речник српскохрватскога књижевног језика* (1967–1976) ‘с обзиром на различит обим, намену и временски период који је обухваћен овим двама речницима. Изостали су углавном они фемининативи који су у савременом језику застарели, архаично или дијалекатски маркирани, а ређе они који се сматрају западном варијантом [...] С друге стране, у РСЈ 2011 значајно је повећан број нових фемининатива како за нова занимања која раније нису постојала, тако и за она занимања која су раније сматрана претежно мушким или према којима женски пар није постојао’ (Lazić Konjik, 2022:p.103–104).

3.1. Социјални фемининативи као једини или доминантни лексички избор

У одабраном корпусу високу фреквентност и највећу досљедност показују социјални фемининативи из домена спорта. Спорт је сфера друштвеног живота у којој одавно постоје паралелне мушке и женске такмичарске парадигме, па су, у највећем броју случајева, ови фемининативи већ увелико прихваћени и устаљени у употреби, тј. мушки род се не доживљава као генерички. Тако се и у корпусу досљедно користе лексеме *кошаркашица*, *скијашица* (будући да је корпус углавном заснован на фебруарским бројевима новина, због скијашке такмичарске сезоне ови примјери су и најбројнији), *одбојкашица*, *тенисерка*, *џудисткиња*, *фудбалерка*, *куглашица* и *боксерка*:

[...] изјавила је *кошаркашица* Србије Саша Чађо [...] (НН⁷ 5. 2. 2025, 30); Најбоља бх. *кошаркашица* Мелиса Брчаниновић неће бити на располагању селектору [...] (НН 5. 2. 2025, 31); *Кошаркашице* Србије вечерас од 18 часова у Београду одиграће меч [...] (Г⁸ 6. 2. 2025, 30); Вјероватно највећа алпска *скијашица* свих времена Михаела Шифрин са друге стране ће покушати [...] (НН 6. 2. 2025, 30); Иначе тимска комбинација је замијенила алпску комбинацију у којој је једна *скијашица* возила једну трку спуста и двије трке слалома. [...] док ће се данас *скијашице* борити за други комплет медаља [...] (НН 6. 2. 2025, 30); Најбоља бх. *скијашица* Елведина Музаферија завршила је [...] (НН 7. 2. 2025, 30); Аустријанка је постала пета *скијашица* која је освојила злато [...] (НН 7. 2. 2025, 30); *Одбојкашице* Гацка желе да и ове сезоне трофеј у Купу БиХ краси њихове витрине. (Г 4. 2. 2025, 27); *Одбојкашице* ТЕНТ-а из Обреновца, вицешампионке Србије, поражене су [...] (Г 7. 2. 2025, 31); Некадашња прва *тенисерка* свијета, Румунка Симона Халеп, објавила је крај каријере. (НН 6. 2. 2025; 32); Чешка *тенисерка* Петра Квитова најавила је [...] (Г 5. 2. 2025, 47); Бивша *тенисерка* Коко Вандвеј је примијетила промјену [...] (Г 12. 3. 2025, 39); *Џудисткиња* домаће екипе Лакташи Тамара Ђукић [...] (Г 4. 2. 2025, 27); Горица Билак Моцоња, бивша прослављена *џудисткиња* [...] (Г 6. 2. 2025, 31); Рубијалесу суде јер је присилно пољубио шпанску *фудбалерку* Џени Ермосо [...] Тужилаштво, Ермосова и Удружење *фудбалерки* Шпаније желе казну затвора [...] (Г 4. 2. 2025, 28), Међу хуманистима, сакупљачима че-

⁷ Ознака 'НН' наведена је уз примјере забиљежене у *Независним новинама*. Уз сваки примјер наведен је и датум када је објављен дати број новина и страна на којој је примјер забиљежен.

⁸ Ознака 'Г' наводи се уз примјере забиљежене у *Гласу Српске*.

пова, је и њихова пријатељица Насиха Селимовић, *куглашица* из Бихаћа. (НН 7. 2. 2025, 9); На Свјетском првенству у Нишу учествоваће готово 400 *боксерки* из преко 70 земаља у 12 тежинских категорија. (Г 6. 2. 2025, 31); *Боксерка* која освоји бронзу добиће 25.000 [...] (Г 6. 2. 2025, 31) итд.

Највећи број ових фемининатива може се сматрати узурпацијом и нормативно прихваћеним лексемама, будући да су потврђени у *Речнику српскога језика* (2011) (*кошаркашица* [564], *скијашица* [1205], *одбојкашица* [840], *тенисерка* [1287], *џудисткиња* [1495] и *фудбалерка* [1419]). Једине двије лексеме из ове групе чијих потврда нема у *Речнику* (2011) јесу *куглашица* (потврђен је само маскулинатив *куглаш* [595]), те *боксерка* (потврђени су само маскулинативи *боксер* и *боксер* [96]), вјероватно из разлога што су куглање и бокс традиционално дуго били 'мушки' спортови и жене су њима почеле да се баве релативно недавно у поређењу са другим спортовима.

Додатно се, такође, у чланцима из области спорта употребљавају фемининативи хиперонимског типа *спортисткиња*, *такмичарка*, *играчица*, те *репрезентативка*, *шампионка*, *првакиња*, *изабраница* (селекторски избор за националну репрезентацију), *освајачица* (медаље, турнира), али и лексема *селекторка*, која, по својој семантици, иако не означава жену која се бави неким спортом, спада у спортску лексику:

Једна од најтрофејнијих *спортисткиња* у историји, америчка легенда Линдзи Вон, повукла се 2019. године [...] (НН 6. 2. 2025, 30); [...] док је најмлађа *такмичарка* Нађа Голијанин [...] (Г 4. 2. 2025, 27); *Ски-репрезентативка* Босне и Херцеговине истиче [...] (НН 3. 2. 2025, 30); Из кровне куће бх. кошарке демантирали су *репрезентативку* БиХ [...] (НН 5. 2. 2025, 31); [...] за који игра српска *репрезентативка* Јелена Благојевић [...] (Г 7. 2. 2025, 31); *Репрезентативка* Србије у стрељаштву Зорана Аруновић изјавила је [...] (Г 12. 3. 2025, 39); Иначе, селектору Драги Каралићу на располагању су сљедеће *играчице* [...] (НН 5. 2. 2025, 31); Меч игран у уторак вече [...] протекао је у доминацији домаћих *играчица* [...] (НН 6. 2. 2025, 30); Двострука *шампионка* Вимблдона (НН 5. 2. 2025, 32); Ово је као сан, ја сам свјетска *шампионка*. (НН 7. 2. 2025, 30); Наступила је и некадашња олимпијска и свјетска *шампионка* Американка Линдзи Вон [...] (НН 7. 2. 2025, 30); Троструке узастопне *првакиње* Европе и актуелне олимпијске *шампионке* на првом мјесту имају 116 бодова [...] (Г 7. 2. 2025, 31); *Изабранице* Марине Маљковић састаће се [...] (НН 3. 2. 2025, 30); *Изабранице* Душана Кузмановића овим тријумфом дошле су близу пласмана [...] (Г 6. 2. 2025, 31); [...]

које су кроз циљ прошле са 0,24 секунде заостатка за *освајачицом* златне медаље. (НН 7. 2. 2025, 30); [...] додала је двострука *освајачица* Вимблдона [...] (Г 5. 2. 2025, 47); *Освајачици* златне медаље ИБА биће уручено 100.000 долара [...] (Г 6. 2. 2025, 31); Марина Маљковић, *селекторка* Србије [...] (Г 4. 2. 2025, 31); *Селекторка* женске кошаркашке репрезентације Србије Марина Маљковић истакла је [...] (Г 4. 2. 2025, 31) итд.

У Матицином *Речнику српскога језика* (2011) потврђене су лексеме *спортисткиња* (1234), *такмичарка* (1275), *репрезентативка* (1136), *играчица* (428), *шампионка* (1497), *првакиња* (984) и *изабраница* (430),⁹ а за лексеме *освајачица* и *селекторка* нема потврде (у *Речнику* је дат маскулатив *освајач* [873], као и *селектор* [1188]).

Када су у питању друштвено-политичке функције, одабрани корпус показује слично стање. Нека од именовања која се без изузетка у новинским написима појављују као социјални фемининативи јесу лексеме *предсједница*, *канцеларка*, *лидерка*, *предсједавајућа*, *министарка* (у једном забиљеженом примјеру и *министрица*), (стручна/главна) *сарадница*, *комесарка*, *одборница*, *европарламентарка*, (висока) *представница* и *деканка*:

Предсједница мостарске „Просвјете” Сања Бјелица Шаговновић казала је [...] (НН 3. 2. 2025, 18); *Предсједница* Удружења Душанка Живковић Остојић рекла је Срни [...] (НН 4. 2. 2025, 7); Мексичка *предсједница* Клаудија Шајнбаум рекла је [...] (НН 4. 2. 2025, 17); [...] рекла је *предсједница* Синдикалне организације Дјечјег вртића „Чика Јова Змај” Адриана Мирић. (НН 6. 2. 2025, 6); *Предсједница* Европске комисије Урсула фон дер Лајен описала је [...] (НН 6. 2. 2025, 16); Како је истакла *предсједница* Савеза, Горлица Билак Моцоња [...] (Г 6. 2. 2025, 31); *Предсједница* Скупштине Србије Ана Брнабић изјавила је [...] (Г 7. 2. 2025, 13); [...] *предсједница* Републичке организације породица заробљених, погинулих бораца и несталих цивила Исидора Граорац [...] (Г 12. 3. 2025, 5); Ангела Меркел, бивша њемачка *канцеларка*, такође је критиковала потезе свог наследица [...] (НН 3. 2. 2025, 17); Бивша њемачка *канцеларка* Ангела Меркел позвала је [...] (Г 12. 3. 2025, 10); [...] рекла је *лидерка* АФД-а Алис Вајдел. (НН 3. 2. 2025, 17); [...] захтјев од *предсједавајуће* Савјета министара БиХ Борјане Кришто [...] (НН 5. 2. 2025, 4); *Предсједавајућа* Судског вијећа Сена Узуновић најави-

⁹ Лексема *изабраница* дефинише се у *Речнику* на следећи начин: ‘1. она која је изабрана за жену, за супругу. 2. она која је изабрана између осталих као боља’ (2011:р.430). Иако друштвени контекст на који се односи друго наведено значење није експлицитно поменуто, оно свакако одговара и употреби ове лексеме у домену спорта.

ла је [...] (Г 6. 2. 2025, 3); [...] почевши од Борјане Кришто (ХДЗ) која је *предсједавајућа* Савјета министара [...] (Г 7. 2. 2025, 3); Жељка Стојичић, *министарка* просвјете и културе Републике Српске [...] казала је [...] (НН 6. 2. 2025, 9); [...] састанак с *министарком* здравља Иреном Хрстић [...] (Г 5. 2. 2025, 10); [...] изјавила је јуче *министарка* рударства и енергетике Дубравка Ђедовић Хандановић. (Г 5. 2. 2025, 11); *Министарка* цивилних послова у Савјету министара Дубравка Бошњак захвалила је [...] (Г 12. 3. 2025, 3); *Министарка* финансија РС Зора Видовић јуче није одговарала на наше позиве [...] (Г 12. 3. 2025, 4); *Министрица* здравља и социјалне политике у Влади УСК Земина Кадирић истакла је [...] (НН 5. 2. 2025, 7);¹⁰ Помоћ је уручила главна *сарадница* за друштвену одговорност компаније „М:тел” Сандра Станић [...] (НН 7. 2. 2025, 7); Стручна *сарадница* за сарадњу са дијаспором у општини Дрвар Горана Танкосић истакла је [...] (НН 7. 2. 2025); Европска *комесарка* за сусједство и проширење Марта Кос објавила је [...] (НН 6. 2. 2025, 15); Ена Диздаревић са изборне листе [...] нова је *одборница* Градског вијећа Мостар. (НН 7. 2. 2025, 3); Хрватска *европарламентарка* Жељана Зовко (ХДЗ) заложила се [...] (Г 12. 3. 2025, 4); Висока *представница* ЕУ за спољне послове и безбједносну политику Каја Калас изјавила је [...] (НН 4. 2. 2025, 16); *Деканка* Филолошког факултета Ива Драшкић Вићановић поручила је [...] (НН 6. 2. 2025, 15) итд.

Анализирани корпус показује да се велики број друштвено-политичких функција које у датом контексту обављају особе женског пола не именује лексемама у генеричком мушком роду, већ се именовања доминантно појављују у облику социјалних фемининатива. Аутори текстова, уредници и лектори, било личном језичком интуицијом било с намјером наглашавања рода и индивидуализовања особе, прилагођавају лексеме које маркирају друштвено-политичке улоге чињеници да их попуњавају жене. Међутим, кад је у питању нормативни статус социјалних фемининатива забиљежених у овој групи, може се примијетити да је однос између рјечнички потврђених и непотврђених лексема другачији него кад је у питању спортска лексика, тј. тај однос је прилично равномјеран. У Матицином *Речнику српскога језика* (2011) потврђени су фемининативи *предсједница* (993), *предсједавајућа* (993), *министарка* (697),¹¹

¹⁰ Маскулинатив *министар* као именица којом се именују жене посвједочена је у одабраном корпусу само у једном случају, и то у облику множине: Јагода Лазаревић и Александра Софронијевић неће у Скупштини Србије ни бити биране за *министре* спољне и унутрашње трговине, односно саобраћаја, грађевинарства и инфраструктуре’ (Г 7. 2. 2025, 13).

¹¹ Облик *министрица*, који се у једном примјеру појављује у нашем истраживачком корпусу, нема потврду у *Речнику*. У анализираној дневној штампи готово без изузетка појављује се со-

сарадница (1171), одборница (841) и представница (994). С друге стране, лексеме канцеларка, лидерка, комесарка, европарламентарка (ни *парламентарка) и деканка (ни *деканица) немају потврду у Речнику (маскулинативи канцелар [506], лидер [626], комесар [542], парламентарца [899] и декан [246] потврђени су на страницама датим у угластим заградама). Оваква ситуација говори нам о томе да новинари (и уредници и лектори) себи дају више слободе у креирању и кориштењу неузуралних социјалних фемининатива у области именовања друштвено-политичких позиција које попуњавају жене.

У одабраној дневној штампи такође се, готово досљедно, као именовања жена које врше највишу управљачку функцију у некој институцији појављују фемининативи *директорка* и *директорица* (у Речнику српскога језика налазимо потврду за оба облика [2011:р.269]):

[...] каже за „Независне новине” Муриса Марић, извршна *директорица* удружења грађана ДОН Приједор. (НН 5. 2. 2025, 3); Муриса Марић, извршна *директорица* у Удружењу грађана ДОН Приједор, каже [...] (НН 6. 2. 2025, 5); Генерална *директорица* компаније „М:тел” Јелена Триван додијелила је [...] (НН 6. 2. 2025, 7); На поскупљење лијекова указује и Муриса Марић, извршна *директорица* у удружењу грађана ДОН Приједор [...] (НН 7. 2. 2025, 5); [...] а признања им је уручила генерална *директорица* компаније „м:тел” Јелена Триван. (Г 6. 2. 2025, 6); Извршна *директорица* Удружења за заштиту потрошача „Дон” из Приједора Муриса Марић каже [...] (Г 7. 2. 2025, 7); [...] и др Гордана Бекчић, *директорица* Канцеларије за културну дипломатију. (Г 12. 3. 2025, 12); *Директорка* отпуштена због „геј проблема” (НН 7. 2. 2025, 30); Послије само неколико дана на функцији *директорке* Рагби савеза Фиџија Лаиџипа Науливоу отпуштена је због дискриминаторских коментара. (НН 7. 2. 2025, 30); Рагби савез Фиџија брзо је реаговао и отпустио тек запослену *директорку*. (НН 7. 2. 2025, 30); Спортска *директорка* Катарина Рашљић боравила је [...] (Г 12. 3. 2025, 39).

цијални фемининатив *министарка* (потврђен у Речнику српскога језика као ‘1. арх. министрова жена. 2. женска особа министар’ [2011:р.697]). Ова лексема представља примјер ‘помјерања’ некадашњег лексичког значења ‘министрова супруга’ на данашње искључиво значење ‘особа женског пола која обавља министарску функцију’, након једног периода ‘одбојности’ према таквом именовању. Божо Ђорић тако примјећује да је у језику дуго било живо ‘из прошлости наслеђено значење *супруга министра* а не *жена министар*. Додуше, и многи други називи имали су у прошлости исту судбину, али је ново време углавном истиснуло и потрло значење *супруге* у таквим формацијама. Истим путем би пошла, вероватно, и *министарка* да није Стеријине комедије *Госпођа министарка* преко које је осигурана негативна конотација у значењу ове речи’ (Ћорић, 1997:р.81).

Међутим, у синтагми ‘в. д. директора’, тј. ‘вршилац дужности директора’ појављује се искључиво генерички облик маскулинатива, вјероватно условљен чињеницом да је овако формулисана функција привремена и, самим тим, ‘де-персонализована’, а и под утицајем лексеме ‘вршилац’ која управља синтагмом (потенцијални фемининативни облик *вршитељка*, који нема своју рјечничку потврду, није у већој мјери раширен у језику и био би идеолошки маркиран):

[...] расписан је и конкурс за директора „Железница” те „Аеродрома РС”, али је изабрана директорица Наталија Тривић поднијела оставку на ту функцију, тако да се и тамо у фотељи налазе руководиоци у статусу *в. д. директора*. Након што је Тривићева поднијела оставку, за *в. д. директора* „Аеродрома” прво је именована Јелена Лекић, која се у тој фотељи задржала свега два мјесеца, а наслиједила ју је Валентина Кеџман, која такође у истом статусу управља овим јавним предузећем. (Г 4. 2. 2025, 2); *Вршилац дужности директора* Туристичке организације општине Власеница Марела Куртума изјавила је [...] (НН 3. 2. 2025, 8).

Када су у питању именовања за друге изборне функције, благу доминацију показује употреба социјалног фемининатива *начелница* (два забиљежена примјера) напрема маскулинативу *начелник* (један примјер), и *шефица* (два примјера) у односу на *шеф* (један примјер):¹²

Начелница општине Дрвар Душица Руњић покренула је иницијативу [...] (НН 3. 2. 2025, 2), Зденка Гојковић, *начелница* Клинике за онкологију у УКЦ РС, за „Независне” каже [...] (НН 4. 2. 2025, 8); Она је раније обављала функцију *начелника* Одјељења за просторно уређење у бањалучкој Градској управи [...] (Г 6. 2. 2025, 9); [...] истакла је *шефица* Одсјека за онкологију ове болнице Биљана Марјановић. (НН 6. 2. 2025, 4); [...] док је *шефица* посланичког Клуба СНСД-а Сања Вулић нагласила [...] (Г 6. 2. 2025, 2); *Шеф* пословнице туристичке агенције „Смиљић травел” Ведрана Смиљић казала је [...] (Г 6. 2. 2025, 7).

На основу забиљежених примјера, будући да су изузетно разнородни, незахвално би било упуштати се у разматрања потенцијалне контекстуалне условљености избора фемининатива или маскулинатива.

Пажњу привлачи податак да је облик *замјеница* (4) доминантан у односу на облик *замјеник* (1); као и облик *посланица* (2) у односу на облик *посланик* (1):

[...] казала је Драгана Илић, *замјеница* градоначелника Градишке. (НН 3. 2. 2025, 7); [...] неколико реченица казала је и Мина Ђекић, *замјеница*

¹² У *Речнику српског језика* (2011) потврђене су обје лексеме: *начелница* (790) и *шефица* (1505).

вође дионице других виолина Симфонијског оркестра НП РС. (НН 5. 2. 2025, 19); [...] а на позиве није одговарала ни његова *замјеница* у том клубу Мира Пекић (ПДП) (Г 5. 2. 2025, 3); *Замјеница* шефа мировних снага УН са сједиштем у Гоми Вивијан ван дер Пер рекла је [...] (Г 6. 2. 2025, 12); Глигорићева је некада била *замјеник* начелника Одјељења за просторно уређење [...] (НН 6. 2. 2025, 11); Мирјана Маринковић Лепић, *посланица* Наше странке у Представничком дому Парламента Федерације БиХ, казала је [...] (НН 5. 2. 2025, 5); *Посланица* ДНП-а Јелена Кљајевић истакла је да не разумије опозицију која ради на штету грађана [...] (НН 6. 2. 2025, 15); Сања Вулић, *посланик* у Парламенту БиХ (Г 4. 2. 2025, 3).

Како истраживачки корпус показује, полисемантичност лексеме *замјеница*, која би могла изазвати одређени отпор према њеном избору у овом контексту, не представља препреку за ауторе текстова да је употребе као социјални фемининатив (и шестотомни *Речник српскохрватског књижевног језика* [1967:р.157] и једнотомни *Речник српског језика* [2011:р.385] биљеже значење ове лексеме као лингвистичке категорије ријечи, али и као женске особе која замјењује некога). Код лексеме *посланица* биљежи се нормативно – рјечничко прихватање новог значења, условљеног друштвеним промјенама. Ријеч *посланица* је у *Речнику српскохрватског књижевног језика* дефинисана као ‘1. оно што је писмено послано, писмена порука, писмо [...] 2. а. службена порука владара народу или законодавном телу; порука црквеног поглавара свештенству и пастви [...] б. писмо у стиховима као врста књижевног дела [...] в. апостолско писмо у Новом завету’ (1971:р.749). Међутим, у Матичином једнотомнику овим значењима придодаје се још једно: ‘4. женска особа посланик.’ (2011:р.964–965).¹³

И у обиљежавању других занимања, позиција, позива и звања која обављају жене, или која им се приписују много је оних у којима се у нашем корпусу користе социјални фемининативи. Тако се у одабраном узорку дневне штампе као једини лексички избор за именовање занимања жена користе: *новинарка*, *пјевачица*, *књижевница*, *ауторка*, *пјесникиња*, *адвокатица*, *глумица*, *редитељка*, *сликарка*, *кустоскиња*, *сценографкиња*, (извршна) *продуценткиња*, *костимографкиња*, *супервизорка* (режије), *реперка*, *оперативка*, *наставница*, *предузетница* и *научница*:

¹³ Наводећи управо овај примјер за илустрацију потенцијала спонтаног језичког развоја, Пипер и Клајн (2017:р.55) претпостављају: ‘Могуће је такође да ће неки од новијих фемининатива (нпр. *посланица* ‘жена посланик’) временом престати да се осећа као новија реч карактеристична за језик медија и појединаца одређене политичке оријентације. Такве процесе не треба вештачки ни убрзавати ни успоравати.’

Белгијску ТВ *новинарку* упознао је 2003. [...] (НН 3. 2. 2025, 32); [...] који је водила *новинарка* Бојана Млађеновић [...] (Г 12. 3. 2025, 9); [...] подршку студентима пружила је и легендарна америчка *поп пјевачица* Мадона. (НН 3. 2. 2025, 15); Албум [...] америчке *пјевачице* Бијонсе Ноулс [...] (НН 4. 2. 2025, 18); [...] док је награда за најбољи реп албум припала *пјевачици* Дочи [...] (НН 4. 2. 2025, 19); Ана Атанасковић, *књижевница* (Г 4. 2. 2025, 15); [...] роман „Ноћ без свитања”, њемачке *књижевнице* Џени Ерпенбек [...] (Г 6. 2. 2025, 16), [...] ријеч је о књизи *ауторке* Ирис Бре [...] (НН 5. 2. 2025, 24); Приказујући психолошки портрет главног јунака, *ауторка* оцртава мапу кретања његових емоција [...] (НН 7. 2. 2025, 19); [...] промоција збирке пјесамa [...] *ауторке* Весне Радоја Ђапић. (Г 5. 2. 2025, 15); [...] али и о изузетној личности *ауторке* Олге Радић [...] (Г 12. 3. 2025, 12); [...] рекла је *пјесникиња*. (Г 5. 2. 2025, 15); [...] биће представљена књига [...] даровите *пјесникиње* Виолете Маликановић. (Г 12. 3. 2025, 12); Суд БиХ осудио је јуче *адвокатицу* Васвију Видовић на годину затвора [...] (НН 6. 2. 2025, 7); Сенка Ножица, *адвокатица* Видовићеве, најавила је жалбу [...] (НН 6. 2. 2025, 7); [...] објавили су да ће *глумица* Жилијет Бинош предсједавати жирију у овогодишњем издању [...] (Г 5. 2. 2025, 16); Драгана Арсенић, *глумица* (Г 6. 2. 2025, насловница); *Глумица* Алисон Бри позира [...] (Г 12. 3. 2025, 12); [...] наслиједила је *редитељку* филма „Барби” Грету Гервиг [...] (Г 5. 2. 2025, 16); Сарадња са *редитељком* Драганом Милошевски Попов је била драгоцјена [...] (Г 6. 2. 2025, 16); Овај школошки пројекат, у сарадњи са академском *сликарком* Ленком Штрбац, реализовало је [...] (НН 4. 2. 2025, 2); [...] записала је Исидора Бањац, *кустоскиња* изложбе [...] (НН 6. 2. 2025, 18); [...] ауторски тим чине и *сценографкиња* Зорана Петров, *костимографкиња* Селена Орб [...] (НН 7. 2. 2025, 19); [...] *сценографкиња* Драгана Баћовић, *костимографкиња* Биљана Гргур [...] Савина Смедеревац је извршна *продуценткиња*, док је Милица Томовић била *супервизорка* режије. (Г 6. 2. 2025, 17); *Реперка* Доши је [...] победила у категорији најбољег реп албума [...] (Г 4. 2. 2025, 16); Проблеми почињу кад се наметну додатни подзаплети око Марсовчеве *оперативке* Данијеле Морено [...] (Г 5. 2. 2025, 17); [...] код сјајне *наставнице* Велиде Поповић [...] (Г 6. 2. 2025, 17); Милица Јовичић је самостална *предузетница* [...] (Г 12. 3. 2025, 11); Бончићева је била *научница*, умјетница и жена која је имала харизму, дар и мисију [...] (Г 12. 3. 2025, 12) итд.

Већина ових фемининатива забиљежена је у *Речнику српскога језика* (2011) и они се стога могу сматрати нормираним облицима и активним дијелом лек-

сикона: новинарка (822), пјевачица (905), књижевница (531), ауторка (52), пјесникиња (909), адвокатица (18), глумица (192), редитељка (1128), сликарка (1216), сценографкиња (1272), наставница (780) и научница (787). Фемининативна образовања која нису забиљежена у Речнику јесу: *кустоскиња* (*Речник* [2011] биљежи само маскулинатив *кустос* [604]), (извршна) *продуценткиња* (потврђен је само маскулинативни облик *продуцент* [1044]), *костимографкиња* (потврђен је *костимограф* [560]), *супервизорка* (режије) (*Речник* [2011] не биљежи ни лексему *супервизор*), *реперка* (потврђена је лексема *репер* у значењу ‘извођач реп песама’ [1136]), *оперативка* (потврђен је маскулинатив *оперативац* [863]), *предузетница* (потврђен је само маскулинативни облик *предузетник* [994]).

Када су у питању занимања и професионалне позиције које заузимају жене, треба поменути и фемининатив *професорица*, за који у корпусу биљежимо доминантну употребу када се под тим појмом подразумевају професорице у основној и средњој школи, али и наставно звање на универзитету:

Александра Крминац, *професорица* у овој школи, захвалила је [...] (НН 6. 2. 2025, 10); [...] а редовна *професорица* на Филозофском факултету у Београду Радина Вучетић објаснила је [...] (Г 4. 2. 2025, 11); *Професорица* преживјела убод ножем у врат (Г 6. 2. 2025, 10); [...] нападач је пришао *професорици* у једној задарској средњој школи [...] (Г 6. 2. 2025, 10); [...] старија је кренула очевим стопама и сада је *професорица* математике и информатике [...] (НН 7. 2. 2025, 8).

Једина ситуација у којој се жена обиљежава маскулинативом *професор* јесте она у којој се у први план ставља звање, а не род особе која га носи:

[...] Бабић Наташа, *дипл. професор разредне наставе*. (Г 4. 2. 2025, 13).

Са овим се може упоредити и сљедећи примјер, гдје се маскулинативом (дипломирани) *правник* примарно обиљежава професионално звање (што се експлицира и именицом ‘звање’):

[...] Ковиљка Тошић [...] која је прошле године отишла у заслужену пензију, али и стекла звање дипломираног *правника* на Правном факултету Универзитета у Бањалуци [...] (НН 7. 2. 2025, 8).

Фемининатив као доминантан лексички избор појављује се и у случају лексеме *чланица* (потврђена у *Речнику српскога језика* [2011:р.1488]), која се употребљава да се обиљежи припадност жене различитим клубовима, удружењима и организацијама:

Бх. боје браниће Есма Алић, *чланица* Ски-клуба Бјелашница, Николина Драгољевић, *чланица* Смучарског клуба Јахорина, и Ина Ликић, *чланица* Ски-клуба „Наш тим”. (НН 3. 2. 2025, 30); Хаџира Бичо, *чланица* Удружења „Ренесанса”, истиче [...] (НН 5. 2. 2025, 7); Активна сам *чланица* градишког куглашког клуба. (НН 7. 2. 2025, 9); Дјевојчице из Бањалуке које су *чланице* Покрета за женску кошарку [...] (Г 5. 2. 2025, 43); [...] захваљујући нашој талентованој *чланици* Милици Скендерија-Рашљић [...] (Г 12. 3. 2025, 39); [...] изјавила је *члан* Општинског штаба цивилне заштите Азра Бабић. (Г 12. 3. 2025, 5); [...] Наталија Сенић је убједљиво најстарији *члан* [...] (Г 12. 3. 2025, 39).

У посљедњем наведеном примјеру употреба генеричког маскулинатива указује на то да је особа о којој се говори у чланку најстарија међу свим члановима, било мушког било женског пола, док би употреба фемининатива довела до другачијег тумачења, тј. његова употреба значила би да је особа најстарија само међу женама – припадницама дате организације.

И лексема *умјетница* (Matica srpska, 2011:р.1365) такође се у корпусу јавља као примарни, тј. бројчано доминантни, али не и једини лексички избор при обиљежавању женских особа:

За фантастичан дизајн насловне стране [...] одговорна је добро позната бањалучка *умјетница* и *фотограф* Теа Јагодић. (НН 5. 2. 2025, 19 и Г 6. 2. 2025, 19, исти текст); По други пут у историји фестивала двије *умјетнице* размијениће ову престижну бакљу предсједништва жирија [...] (Г 5. 2. 2025, 16); Како истиче талентована *умјетница* [...] (Г 6. 2. 2025, 16); Естрадна *умјетница* Неда Украден замолила је [...] (Г 12. 3. 2025, 36) Бончићева је била научница, *умјетница* и жена која је имала харизму, дар и мисију [...] (Г 12. 3. 2025, 12); [...] јер је Бијонсе, истовремено и највише награђивани и највише номиновани *умјетник* у историји „Гремија” [...] (Г 4. 2. 2025, 16); Након ове додјеле она је постала најнаграђиванији *умјетник* у историји „Гремија” [...] (Г 4. 2. 2025, 16);

Овдје треба примјетити употребу маскулинатива *фотограф* непосредно уз фемининатив *умјетница*, што доводи до утиска несклада у координацијском низу, а чини се и као необичан избор аутора (или лектора) ако узмемо у обзир да је облик *фотографиња* потврђен у *Речнику српскога језика* (2011:р.1415).

Напоњетку, у корпусу су потврђена и два примјера употребе аналитичке форме фемининатива – *кадет женског пола* и *жена архитекта*:

За подручје Полицијске управе Бањалука конкурс је објављен за 40 кадета мушког и шест *кадета женског пола*, ПУ Добој 30 мушког и пет *женског пола*, а за подручје ПУ Требиње десет кадета мушког и једног *кадета женског пола*, саопштено је из МУП-а. За Полицијску управу Приједор конкурс је отворен за пријем 30 кадета мушког пола и пет *кадета женског пола*, а за ПУ Градишка 20 кадета мушког и три *женског пола*. (Г 4. 2. 2025, 7); У питању је роман о Јованки Бончић, првој жени *архитекти* која је дипломирала у Дармштату [...] (Г 12. 3. 2025, 12).

У првом случају, садржај текста и ситуација на коју текст реферише условили су потребу да се нагласи пол кадета, а, претпостављамо, одбојност аутора према фемининативу *кадеткиња* (Matica srpska, 2011:p.499) или несигурност у његову узуалност наметнули су аналитичку форму као прикладно рјешење. У другом примјеру такође је било неопходно ради прецизности информације нагласити чињеницу да је Јованка Бончић прва особа женског пола која је дипломирала архитектуру на Универзитету у Дармштату. Алтернатива је и овдје била синтетички облик социјалног фемининатива (*архитектица* или *архитекткиња* – оба облика посвједочена су у Речнику српскога језика [2011:p.45]).

3.2. Социјални маскулинативи као једини или доминантни лексички избор

У одабраном корпусу забиљежили смо и употребу маскулинатива као јединог или доминантног избора при именовању професионалних или различитих друштвених улога жена. Маскулинативи се, првенствено, употребљавају у множинским облицима, обухватајући притом, по законима језичке економије, и особе мушког и особе женског пола (*студенти, грађани, корисници, начелници, учесници, планинари* итд.). Једини изузетак у којем се паралелно наводе множински облици маскулинатива и фемининатива прилично јасно говори о идеолошкој опредељености аутора:

Хрватско културно друштво „Напредак” у академској 2024/25. години стипендираће 109 *студената и студенткиња, чланица и чланова* овог друштва [...]; [...] потписивање уговора са *студентима и студенткињама* биће уприличено у три универзитетска града [...] (НН 5. 2. 2025, 2).

Овакво рјешење, коришћење паралелних форми ако се контекст односи и на мушкарце и на жене, Свенка Савић и сараднице (2009:p.17) експлицитно сугеришу међу упутствима за употребу родно осјетљивог језика у сфери јавне комуникације. Међутим, инсистирање на паралелној употреби маскулинатива

и фемининатива знатно оптерећује израз, па је чак и контрапродуктивно, јер 'мовирани фемининуми се [...] када се говори само о женама, изгледа лакше пробијају и природније прихватају него када се уместо именице мушког рода за особе оба пола на силу укључују напоредне форме двеју именица од којих је једна мовирани фемининум' (Dragićević & Utvić, 2019:p.195)

Када је у питању лексика из области спорта, изузетак у одабраном корпусу у односу на изузетно доминантне фемининативе јесте досљедна употреба маскулинатива *капитен* и *блокер* при означавању особа женског рода:

Иначе, селектору Драги Каралићу на располагању су следеће играчице: Драгана Домузин (*капитен*) [...] (НН 5. 2. 2025, 31); Жена која ће у историји рагбија на Фицију бити упамћена као први *капитен* женске репрезентације [...] (НН 7. 2. 2025, 30); Иако играмо без неколико важних играчица попут *капитена* Катарине Јањић [...] (Г 4. 2. 2025, 27); Једна од најбољих у редовима „црвено-плавих” била је средњи *блокер* Николина Глишић. (Г 6. 2. 2025, 31).

Новинари и лектори овдје, очигледно, имају отпор према неузусалним фемининативима *капитенка/капитеница* и *блокерка* (ниједан од ових облика није потврђен у консултованим рјечницима српског језика, а није забиљежен ни маскулинативни облик англицизма *блокер*), и опредјељују се за маскулинатив као досљедан лексички избор. Објашњење за ову појаву највјероватније је у томе да се у овим случајевима већи значај при именовању придаје позицији која се обавља или позицији играча на терену, него особи која ту позицију у специфичном контексту попуњава.¹⁴

За обиљежавање особа женског рода у истраживачком корпусу користи се искључиво маскулинатив *студент*:

Јелена Ковач, *студент* четврте године ЕТФ-а из Источног Сарајева, изјавила је [...] (НН 6. 2. 2025, 7); *Студент* Електротехничког факултета у Источно Сарајеву и један од овогодишњих добитника стипендије компаније „м:тел” Јелена Ковач рекла је [...] (Г 6. 2. 2025, 6); Моја жеља се остварила и постала сам редован *студент* на буџету. (НН 7. 2. 2025, 8).

Овакав лексички избор прилично је необичан (у корпусу у којем доминирају фемининативна образовања), поготово зато што су лексеме *студенткиња* и *студенткица* потврђене у *Речнику српског језика* (2011:p.1257), а и раније, у Матицином шестотомнику – *Речнику српскохрватског књижевног језика* (1976:p.46), и не би се могло рећи да не живе активно у језику.

¹⁴ До сличног закључка долази и Ана Мацановић (2024:p.431).

Слична је ситуација и са лексемом *менаџер* у синтагмама *градски менаџер* и *пројект менаџер*, које се у корпусу јављају као једини лексички избор, иако је фемининатив *менаџерка* потврђен у *Речнику српскога језика* (2011:р.682):

Мирна Савић Баћац, *градски менаџер* (наднаслов) (НН 3. 2. 2025, 10); [...] поручила је Мирна Савић Баћац, *градски менаџер*. (НН 3. 2. 2025, 10); [...] поручила је Мирна Савић Баћац, *градски менаџер*. (НН 4. 2. 2025, 10); [...] пехаре и медаље побједницима уручила је *градски менаџер* Мирна Савић Баћац. (НН 7. 2. 2025, 10); *Градски менаџер* Мирна Савић Баћац позвала је све одборнике [...] (НН 7. 2. 2025, 10); *Пројект менаџер* града и *предсједница* Организационог одбора кампање „За живот жена”, Милада Шукало навела је [...] (Г 12. 3. 2025, 11).

Овај избор, тј. инсистирање на маскулинативном образовању при обиљежавању ове друштвене функције такође дјелује необично и доводи до координацијских незграпности приликом употребе непосредно уз неки социјални фемининатив (‘пројект менаџер града и предсједница Организационог одбора’), а у ситуацијама када би име, или и име и презиме особе били изостављени могло би да доведе до нејасности и конгруенцијских конфликта¹⁵.

По једно или два биљежења у корпусу имају маскулинативне форме *руководилац*, *сарадник* (за односе с јавношћу), *стручњак*, *модератор*, *логопед*, *тренер*, *официр*, *агент* (продаје), *судија*, *портпарол*, *асистент* (режије), *учитељ*, *педагог* и *практикант*:

[...] казала је Сања Лакић, *руководилац* Одјељења за развој дигиталних канала [...] (НН 4. 2. 2025, 8); [...] навела је Лакићева. (НН 4. 2. 2025, 8); *Руководилац* зворничке агенције „Еуро травел” Славица Лукић казала је [...] (Г 6. 2. 2025, 7); [...] рекла је *сарадник* за односе с јавношћу у Туристичкој организацији Српске Санела Шимун. (НН 3. 2. 2025; 13); *Стручњак* за тајне операције Зора Бенет води тим у повјерљивој мисији [...] (Г 7. 2. 2025, 19); [...] *модератор* Рената Гузина и *логопед* Весна Савић. (Г 12. 3. 2025, 12); [...] чија је сестра Катарина посвећена спорту и остварује значајне такмичарске резултате, а која је такође млад и успјешан *тренер*. (Г 12. 3. 2025, 39); Ребека Лобак служила као *официр* у америчкој војсци (антрфиле) (НН 3. 2. 2025, 17); Служила је као *официр* ваздухопловства [...] (НН 3. 2. 2025, 17); *Агент* продаје у туристичкој организацији „Хепи травел” из Бијељине

¹⁵ Милка Ивић наводи да се конгруенцијски показатељ увијек усклађује са женским личним именом и да ту не може бити забуне, те да до ње долази само кад се наводи презиме без имена или име које може бити и женско и мушко, и тада се назив звања мора ‘женски’ обликовати (Ivić, 1989:р.37–38).

Јелена Јосиповић истакла је [...] (Г 6. 2. 2025, 7); *Агент* продаје у агенцији „Конттики травел” Наташа Кузмић казала је да [...] (Г 6. 2. 2025, 7); *Судија* Сена Узунувић на главном претресу прошле седмице одбила је захтјев [...] (Г 5. 2. 2025, 3); [...] рекла је *портпарол* МУП-а КС Мерсиха Новалић. (Г 5. 2. 2025, 9); Године 1995. ради као *асистент* режије у Кући опере у Грацу [...] (Г 6. 2. 2025, 16);¹⁶ Ваш глумачки *учитељ* била је ненадмашна Јелена Трепетова Костић која важи за једног од најбољих глумачких *педагога* на нашим просторима. (Г 6. 2. 2025, 17); Сматрам да је Јелена заиста одличан *педагог* [...] (Г 6. 2. 2025, 17); У 2024. години била сам *практикант* „м:тел” стручне праксе [...] – изјавила је Ковачева. (Г 6. 2. 2025, 6).

За већину ових лексема (*руководилац*, *стручњак*, *модератор*, *логопед*, *тренер*, *судија*, *портпарол*, *педагог*, *практикант*) у консултованим рјечницима нема потврђених фемининативних парњака. Међутим, у *Речнику српскога језика* (2011) потврђени су облици *сарадница* (1171), *официрка* (887), *агенткиња* (продаје) (17), *асистенткиња* и *асистентница* (режије) (46) и *учитељица* (1396), али аутори текстова ипак се опредељују за маскулинатив као лексички избор.

3.3. Колебања у употреби фемининатива и маскулинатива

У посљедњу категорију забиљежених примјера сврстали смо оне који су специфични по различитим основама, било тако што се при именовању једне особе, један уз други, досљедно користе маскулинатив и фемининатив, било по томе што се у једном те истом тексту јављају различита рјешења, тј. колебања у употреби различитих облика, али и примјере који су занимљиви са социолингвистичког аспекта.

Као први примјер овдје издвајамо именовање ‘двојне’ друштвено-политичке функције коју обавља жена:

Жељка Цвијановић, српски *члан* и *предсједавајућа* Предсједништва БиХ, истакла је [...] (НН 3. 2. 2025, 3); *Предсједавајућа* и српски *члан* Предсједништва БиХ Жељка Цвијановић честитала је [...] (НН 7. 2. 2025, 6); [...] истакла је српски *члан* и *предсједавајућа* Предсједништва БиХ Жељка Цвијановић. (Г 7. 2. 2025, 2).

Како видимо из наведених примјера, једна друштвено-политичка улога именује се у овом случају маскулинативним обликом (*члан*), а друга фемининативним (*предсједавајућа*). Иако фемининативни облик *чланица* спада у

¹⁶ У чланку се говори о књижевници Џени Ерпенбек.

слој активне и узуалне лексике, његову употребу у овом контексту отежава, па и онемогућава чињеница да Предсједништво БиХ чине још два члана – мушкарца. Дакле, употреба фемининатива (српска) *чланица* сугерисала би да су и друге двије особе које чине Предсједништво такође жене (друге националности). С друге стране, фемининатив *предсједавајућа* је, поред тога што је посвједочен у рјечницима српског језика и, како смо видјели у анализи других примјера из корпуса, доминантан облик при навођењу функције коју обављају особе женског рода, такође у контактної позицији са именом и презименом, што вјероватно доприноси овом лексичком избору. Ипак, наведени у низу, један до другог, облик маскулинатива и фемининатива доводе до својеврсног ‘конфликта’ у координацијском лексичком низу.

У корпусу је уочљиво колебање у употреби фемининатива *уредница* (потврђеног у *Речнику српскога језика* [2011:р1379]) и маскулинатива *уредник* приликом обиљежавања особа женског пола које врше ову улогу. У текстовима новинских чланака постоји блага предност у корист социјалног фемининатива:

Сања Суботић Цумбо, *уредница* ТВ Градишка, каже за „Независне новине” [...] (НН 3. 2. 2025, 8); О роману ће говорити мр Весна Смиљанић Рангелов, *уредница* у издавачкој кући „Службени гласник” Београд [...] (Г 12. 3. 2025, 12); *Уредник* такмичарског дијела Ђурђевданског фестивала Маја Татић навела је [...] (НН 3. 2. 2025, 18).

Међутим, у импресумима и *Независних новина* и *Гласа Српске* досљедно су употријебљени маскулинативи за уредничке функције које обављају жене:

Главни и одговорни уредник Сандра Гојковић Арбутина; *Замјеник главног и одговорног уредника и уредник мултимедије* Миња Шуковић; *Замјеник главног и одговорног уредника и уредник вијести* Гордана Милинковић (НН); Борјана Радмановић-Петровић *главни и одговорни уредник* (Г).

Разлог за оваква рјешења вјероватно је у томе што се у новинским чланцима ова улога ‘персонализује’, тј. фокус је на особи која је врши и њеној изјави, а у импресуму је ова лексема сведена на функцију и тиме ‘деперсонализована’.

Коментара је вриједан и примјер у којем се у неколико реченица у једном тексту појављује цјелокупан инвентар и маскулинативних и фемининативних именовања за једно те исто занимање особе женског пола:

У питању је роман о Јованки Бончић, првој жени *архитекти* која је дипломирала у Дармштату [...]; [...] поводом стогодишњице дипломирања ове значајне *архитектице* [...]; Чувена *архитекткиња* остала је у Београду до своје смрти [...]; Ауторка романа је и сама *архитекта* [...] (Г 12. 3. 2025).

Како видимо, аутор текста употребио је прво у свом тексту аналитичку фемининативну форму *жена архитекта* (која се намеће као логичан избор у наглашавању чињенице да је Јованка Бончић прва особа женског пола која је дипломирала архитектуру на поменутом универзитету), потом синтетичке фемининативе *архитектица* и *архитекткиња*, и, напосљетку, маскулатив *архитекта*. Овакав поступак је, у најмању руку, необичан, и показује колебање аутора и његову несигурност у адекватан и прихватаљив лексички избор.

У два примјера забиљежили смо, такође, интересантну ситуацију у којој се за особу женског пола користи прво социјални фемининатив, а онда, у наставку текста или реченице, низ маскулатива:

1931 – Рођена аргентинска *играчица*, потом *државник* – Марија Естела Исабелита Мартинес, позната као Изабела Перон, *предсједник* Аргентине од 1974. до 1976. На положају *шефа* државе наслиједила је преминулог супруга Хуана Доминга Перона. Претходно је 1973. постала *потпредсједник* Аргентине [...] (НН 6. 2. 2025, 23); Горица Билак Моцоња, бивша прослављена *џудисткиња*, поред функције *предсједника* Савеза за школски спорт Републике Српске, спортски је *директор* Европске асоцијације школског спорта и *члан* Скупштине европске и свјетске федерације. (Г 6. 2. 2025, 31).

Оно што се оваје примјећује јесте да се социјални фемининатив користи за именовање неке друштвено мање значајне и утицајне позиције (*играчица*, *џудисткиња*), а маскулативи за навођење највиших друштвено-политичких позиција: *државник*, *предсједник*, *шеф* (државе), *потпредсједник*, *директор*, *члан* (Скупштине). Иако су у неким случајевима природнији избор, јер се из реченичног контекста види да у први план стављају функцију, а не особу која је обавља (*положај шефа државе*, *функција предсједника*), избор маскулатива за све наведене друштвено-политичке улоге указује на то да је у свијести аутора вјероватно присутна чињеница да их још увијек, у највећем броју случајева, попуњавају мушкарци, и да им треба приписати обиљежје мушког рода.

Закључак

Проведена анализа показала је да социјални фемининативи у штампаним медијима у Републици Српској нису ријеткост – напротив, њихова употреба раширена је толико да се могу сматрати доминантним лексичким избором приликом навођења занимања и других друштвених улога жена, макар у одабраним дневним новинама (забиљежили смо 59 социјалних фемининатива и

33 социјална маскулатива у појединачним именовањима професионалних и других друштвених функција које обављају жене). У истраживачком корпусу најфреквентнији су и најстабилнији социјални фемининативи који припадају спортској лексици, али бројем не заостају ни фемининативна именовања занимања, функција и улога жена у другим областима друштвеног живота. Највећи број забиљежених социјалних фемининатива припада притом слоју узуалне и нормиране лексике (потврђене у *Речнику српског језика* [2011]) – такве су 43 забиљежене лексеме, али није ријеткост ни да аутори чланака посежу за фемининативима који нису забиљежени у рјечницима (16 регистрованих примјера). Дакле, овај језички слој ненаметљиво али сигурно осваја језик медија у Републици Српској. Из овога може проистећи и сљедећи закључак: ако језик медија приближно одражава свакодневни разговорни језик, на дјелу је изузетно активан, брз и жив процес у којем промјене у друштву утичу на промјене у језику. Тај процес требало би, свакако, пратити научним истраживањима која би лонгитудинално испитивала раширеност и прихваћеност социјалних фемининатива у различитим корпусима или у различитим групама испитаника. Наравно, лингвистичка заједница, првенствено институције које се баве нормирањем језика, треба да буду активно укључене у одобравање или оспоравање појединачних рјешења.

Напосљетку треба ипак рећи да проведено истраживање има неколико ограничења. Најзначајније ограничење јесте релативно мали корпус који покрива кратак период, али и потенцијална субјективност аутора, уредника и лектора, тј. њихове специфичне идеолошке и језичке преференције.

Извори

1. *Nezavisne novine*, 3. 2. 2025; 4. 2. 2025; 5. 2. 2025; 6. 2. 2025; 7. 2. 2025.
2. *Глас Српске*, 4. 2. 2025; 5. 2. 2025; 6. 2. 2025; 7. 2. 2025; 12. 3. 2025.

Литература

1. Begović, B. (2015) Upotreba rodno osjetljivog jezika i prikaz žena u štampanim medijima u Srbiji. *Communication and Media*. 10, 35, 59–79. DOI: 10.5937/comman10-9758
2. Драгићевић, Р. (2010) *Лексикологија српског језика*. Београд, Завод за уџбенике.
3. Драгичевић, Р., & Утвић, М. (2019) Умножавање мовираних фемининума на -(к)иња у савременом српском језику. *Српски језик*. XXIV, 187–200. DOI: 10.18485/sj.2019.24.1.9

4. Закон о равноправности полова у Босни и Херцеговини (2010) *Службени гласник БиХ*. 32/10.
5. Закон о родној равноправности (2021) *Службени гласник Републике Србије*. 52/21.
6. Ивић, М. (1989) Нека запажања о броју и роду у српскохрватском језику. *Јужнословенски филолог*. XLV, 27–44.
7. Лазић Коњик, И. (2022) Социјални фемининативи у српском језику – неолошки и лексикографски аспект. Зборник *Актуелна питања лексикологије и лексикографије српског језика*. Андрићев институт, Андрићград, pp. 87–109.
8. Матица српска (1967–1976) *Речник српскохрватског књижевног језика*. Нови Сад.
9. Матица српска (2011) *Речник српског језика*. Нови Сад.
10. Матица српска (2021) *Саопштење поводом питања о родној равноправности*. Доступно на: www.maticasrpska.org.rs. Приступљено: 17. 4. 2025.
11. Мацановић, А. (2024) Статус социјалних фемининатива у савременом српском језику. Зборник реферата са XIX Конгреса савеза славистичких друштава Србије *Савремено проучавање српског језика и књижевности и других словенских језика и књижевности као матерњих, инословенских и страних*. 19 (2024), pp. 423–433. DOI: 10.18485/ssds_kongres.2024.19.ch31
12. Одбор за стандардизацију српског језика (2021) *Одлука поводом усвајања Закона о родној равноправности под називом 'Насиље над српским језиком'*. Доступно на: www.ossj.rs. Приступљено: 17. 4. 2025.
13. Одбор за стандардизацију српског језика (2024) Поводом Решења Уставног суда Србије од 28. 6. 2024. године. Доступно на: www.ossj.rs. Приступљено: 20. 4. 2025.
14. Пипер, П. (2016) О социјалним фемининативима у српским и другим словенским језицима. *Јужнословенски филолог*. LXXII, 3–4, 35–65. DOI: 10.2298/JFI1604035P
15. Пипер, П., & Клајн, И. (2017) *Нормативна граматика српског језика*. Нови Сад, Матица Српска.
16. Savić, S. (2004). *Žena skrivena jezikom medija: kodeks neseksističke upotrebe jezika*. Novi Sad, Futura publikacije.
17. Savić, S., Čanak, M., Mitro, V., & Štasni, G. (2009) *Rod i jezik*. Novi Sad, Ženske studije i istraživanja i Futura publikacije.
18. Savić, S., Stevanović, M. (2020) *Vodič za upotrebu rodno osetljivog jezika u javnoj upravi u Srbiji*. Beograd, Misija OEBS-a u Srbiji.
19. Ćorić, B. (1991) Sociolingvistički status naziva za osobe ženskog pola u srpskohrvatskom jeziku. *Fluminensia*. II/1–2, 103–108.
20. Ђорић, Б. (1997) Неке одлике публицистичког стила на плану деривације. Зборник *Трећи лингвистички скуп 'Бошковићеви дани'*. Црногорска академија наука и умјетности, Подгорица, pp. 79–86.
21. Уједињене нације (1979) *Конвенција УН о укидању свих облика дискриминације жена*. Доступно на: www.vladars.rs. Приступљено: 20. 4. 2025.

22. Filipović, J. (2011) Rod i jezik. Zbornik *Uvod u rodne teorije*. Novi Sad, Centar za rodne studije, Mediterran Publishing, pp. 409–424.
23. Cvetinčanin Knežević, H., & Lalatović, J. (2019) *Priručnik za upotrebu rodno osetljivog jezika*. Beograd, Centar za ženske studije.

Mijana Č. Kuburić Macura
University of Banja Luka
Faculty of Philology
Department of Serbian Studies

SOCIAL FEMININE NOUNS IN DAILY NEWSPAPERS IN THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA

Summary

This paper analyzes the frequency and competition between social feminine and (generic) social masculine nouns in a sample of daily newspapers in the Republic of Srpska, focusing on fluctuations in their usage. The study also examines the recorded forms from a neological perspective by checking their presence in Serbian dictionaries. The findings provide a snapshot of the current linguistic situation, showing that social feminine nouns are widely used in print media and can be regarded as the dominant lexical choice for denoting women's professions and social roles. The most frequent and stable forms appear in the sports lexicon, but numerous examples are also found in references to occupations, functions, and roles in other areas of social life. While most of these feminine forms belong to standardized lexis, the use of unregistered forms is not uncommon, indicating a dynamic process in which social changes are closely mirrored in language. These results highlight the importance of continued, longitudinal research on the spread and acceptance of social feminine nouns, as well as the active role of language-planning institutions in evaluating individual solutions.

► **Keywords:** social feminine nouns, social masculine nouns, Serbian language, daily newspapers in the Republic of Srpska, gendered lexical competition, neological perspective.

Literatura

1. Begović, B. (2015) Upotreba rodno osetljivog jezika i prikaz žena u štampanim medijima u Srbiji. *Communication and Media*. 10, 35, 59–79. DOI: 10.5937/comman10-9758

2. Cvetinčanin Knežević, H., & Lalatović, J. (2019) *Priručnik za upotrebu rodno osetljivog jezika*. Beograd, Centar za ženske studije.
3. Ćorić, B. (1991) Sociolingvistički status naziva za osobe ženskog pola u srpskohrvatskom jeziku. *Fluminensia*. II/1–2, 103–108.
4. Ćorić, B. (1997) Neke odlike publicističkog stila na planu derivacije. Zbornik *Treći lingvistički skup 'Boškovićeve dani'*. Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, Podgorica, pp. 79–86.
5. Dragičević, R. (2010) *Leksikologija srpskog jezika*. Beograd, Zavod za udžbenike.
6. Dragičević, R., & Utvić, M. (2019) Umnožavanje moviranih femininuma na -(k)inja u savremenom srpskom jeziku. *Srpski jezik*. XXIV, 187–200. DOI: 10.18485/sj.2019.24.1.9
7. Filipović, J. (2011) Rod i jezik. Zbornik *Uvod u rodne teorije*. Novi Sad, Centar za rodne studije, Mediterran Publishing, pp. 409–424.
8. Ivić, M. (1989) Neka zapažanja o broju i rodu u srpskohrvatskom jeziku. *Južnoslovenski filolog*. XLV, 27–44.
9. Lazić Konjik, I. (2022) Socijalni fемининативи u srpskom jeziku – neološki i leksikografski aspekt. Zbornik *Aktuelna pitanja leksikologije i leksikografije srpskoga jezika*. Andrićev institut, Andrićgrad, pp. 87–109.
10. Macanović, A. (2024) Status socijalnih fемининativa u savremenom srpskom jeziku. Zbornik referata sa XIX Kongresa saveza slavističkih društava Srbije *Savremeno proučavanje srpskog jezika i književnosti i drugih slovenskih jezika i književnosti kao maternjih, inoslovenskih i stranih*. 19 (2024), pp. 423–433. DOI: 10.18485/ssds_kongres.2024.19.ch31
11. Matica srpska (1967–1976) *Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika*. Novi Sad.
12. Matica srpska (2011) *Rečnik srpskoga jezika*. Novi Sad.
13. Matica srpska (2021) *Saopštenje povodom pitanja o rodnoj ravnopravnosti*. Dostupno na: www.maticasrpska.org.rs. Pristupljeno: 17. 4. 2025.
14. Odbor za standardizaciju srpskog jezika (2021) *Odluka povodom usvajanja Zakona o rodnoj ravnopravnosti pod nazivom 'Nasilje nad srpskim jezikom'*. Dostupno na: www.ossj.rs. Pristupljeno: 17. 4. 2025.
15. Odbor za standardizaciju srpskog jezika (2024) *Povodom Rešenja Ustavnog suda Srbije od 28. 6. 2024. godine*. Dostupno na: www.ossj.rs. Pristupljeno: 20. 4. 2025.
16. Piper, P. (2016) O socijalnim fемининativima u srpskim i drugim slovenskim jezicima. *Južnoslovenski filolog*. LXXII, 3–4, 35–65. DOI: 10.2298/JFI1604035P
17. Piper, P., & Klajn, I. (2017) *Normativna gramatika srpskog jezika*. Novi Sad, Matica Srpska.
18. Savić, S. (2004). *Žena skrivena jezikom medija: kodeks neseksističke upotrebe jezika*. Novi Sad, Futura publikacije.
19. Savić, S., Čanak, M., Mitro, V., & Štasni, G. (2009) *Rod i jezik*. Novi Sad, Ženske studije i istraživanja i Futura publikacije.

20. Savić, S., Stevanović, M. (2020) *Vodič za upotrebu rodno osetljivog jezika u javnoj upravi u Srbiji*. Beograd, Misija OEBS-a u Srbiji.
21. Ujedinjene nacije (1979) *Konvencija UN o ukidanju svih oblika diskriminacije žena*. Dostupno na: www.vladars.rs. Pristupljeno: 20. 4. 2025.
22. Zakon o ravnopravnosti polova u Bosni i Hercegovini (2010) *Službeni glasnik BiH*. 32/10.
23. Zakon o rodnoj ravnopravnosti (2021) *Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije*. 52/21.

Преузето: 14. 9. 2025.
Прихваћено: 6. 10. 2025.

Горан Б. Милашин¹
Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Филолошки факултет
Катедра за србистику

О МОДАЛНОМ ГЛАГОЛУ *ТРЕБАТИ* У ЈЕЗИКУ ДНЕВНИХ НОВИНА У РЕПУБЛИЦИ СРПСКОЈ²

Апстракт: У раду се разматра синтаксичко-семантичко понашање модалног глагола требати у савременом стандардном српском језику на основу корпуса дневних новина Глас Српске и Независне новине објављених у првој седмици јуна 2025. године. С ослонцем у релевантној граматичкој и нормативнолингвистичкој литератури, посебна пажња посвећена је оним типовима конструкција у којима норма не препоручује употребу безличног облика: (1) када је требати у перфекту или потенцијалу иза субјекта и (2) у односним реченицама с релативном замјеницом / везником који у функцији субјекта. Анализа је показала да журналистичко-публицистички стил у великој мјери одступа од експлицитне норме, односно да се у знатном броју случајева јављају безлични облици глагола требати у позицијама у којима су нормативно спорни, као и да се лични облици, иако рјеђи, такође појављују у неким конструкцијама. Ова одступања не дјелују као случајне омашке или стилски мотивисане варијанте, већ као стабилне тенденције језичке праксе. Резултати потврђују становиште да нека нормативна рјешења нису усклађена ни са граматичким системом ни са стварном употребом, те да би дозвољавање личних облика модалног глагола требати могло допринијети већој системској досљедности и јасноћи норме.

Кључне ријечи: српски језик, глагол требати, модални глаголи, норма и употреба, безлични и лични облици, синтакса, корпусна анализа, језик дневних новина.

¹goran.milasin@fil.unibl.org

² Овај рад резултат је истраживања у оквиру пројекта под насловом *Ресурси српског језика у савременом медијском дискурсу Републике Српске*, који суфинансира Министарство за научно-технолошки развој и високо образовање Републике Српске (Рјешење Министарства бр. 19.032/431-1-86/23 од 29. 12. 2023).

1. Уводне напомене

1.1. Глаголи представљају једну од пунозначних врста ријечи. Међутим, они у том смислу нису једнообразни – ‘unutar glagolâ razlikuju se skupine koje su punoznačne, koje su manje punoznačne te one koje su posve funkcionalne, nesamostalne’ (Marković, 2018:p.181). Тако се у српском језику у склопу ове врсте ријечи издвајају двије основне семантичко-функционалне групе – пунозначни (аутосемантични) и непупнозначни (синсемантични) глаголи, при чему се непупнозначни даље дијеле на: помоћне и/или спонске (копулативне),³ полуспонске (семикопулативне), модалне, модалитетне,⁴ фазне и перифразне глаголе (о томе в. нпр. Ajdžanović, 2022:pp.98–99).

1.1.1. Како је уочио Иво Прањковић (Pranjковић, 2013:pp.186–187), поједини глаголи не морају бити само помоћни, само модални, односно само перифразни, па чак ни само непупнозначни, што, између осталих, потврђује глагол *хтјети*, који може служити и као помоћни (нпр. *Сви ће доћи*), и као модални (нпр. *Сви би они хтјели доћи*), и као пунозначни (нпр. *Она хоће управо такву хаљину*). Скупини глагола који се у српском језику јављају и као синсемантични и као аутосемантични припада и глагол *требати*. Он, наиме, може да се употребљава као модални глагол (нпр. *Лана треба да учи*), али и као пунозначни (нпр. *Лани требају твоји савјети*), са семантиком нецеситативности, тј. потребе коју неко има за неким или нечим (в. нпр. RSJ, 2011; Piper et al., 2022:pp.172–174). Према књижевнојезичкој норми, у првом случају, када се *требати* допуњава другим глаголом, морају се употријебити безлични облици, уз неке системске изузетке (прије свега ако је овај модални глагол у перфекту или потенцијалу, а претходи му субјекат), а у другом случају, када *требати* самостално заузима позицију предиката, могу се употријебити и лични и безлични облици. Међутим, у пракси се врло често јављају озбиљнији проблеми када глагол *требати* тражи глаголску допуну.

³ У српској граматичкој литератури раздвајају се помоћни глаголи и споне (копуле) – помоћнима се зову они глаголи помоћу којих се граде сложени глаголски облици, а споном (копулом) назива се дио предиката (копулативне конструкције) који повезује предикатив са субјектом (в. Stanojčić & Porović, 1997:p.217). Међутим, та се разлика понекад и не прави, па се говори о једној подскупини – подскупини спонских (копулативних) глагола, гдје се убрајају и они који се користе у творби сложених глаголских облика и они који се користе у творби копулативних предиката (в. нпр. Ajdžanović, 2022:p.98).

⁴ Модалитетни глаголи (нпр. *намјеравати*, *настојати*) по својим семантичко-функционалним карактеристикама налик су модалнима, али имају већи степен пунозначности, што их, између осталог, приближава и правим аутосемантичним глаголима (в. Mrazović & Vukadinović, 2009:pp.190–195). Традиционално се они, ипак, не издвајају у посебну групу, већ се смјештају међу модалне глаголе.

1.1.2. О норми која се тиче синтаксичког понашања српског глагола *треба-ти* опширно је писала Душка Кликовац у тексту *О глаголу требати: теорија, употреба и норма* (Klikovac, 2018). Она је сажела сва ранија запажања која је сматрала релевантним и допунила их детаљима који нису помињани, те је, на основу примјера из литературе и оних које је сама забиљежила, закључила да је савремено језичко осјећање у вези с глаголом *требати* несигурно и помућено балансирањем између имплицитне и експлицитне норме.⁵ То стање, према њеном мишљењу, превазишло би се новом експлицитном нормом, која би изгледала овако:

‘1) Кад захтева допуну у виду глаголске јединице, глагол *требати* може стајати и у личним облицима (*треbam, требаш..., одн. требао сам, требала си... или требао бих, требала би...*) и у безличном облику (*треба, требало је, требало би, требаће...*).

2) Кад стоји испред субјекта, може бити и безличан (*Треба да ти одеш тамо, Требало је да ти одеш тамо*) и личан (*Требаш ти да одеш тамо, Требала си ти да одеш тамо*).

3) Кад се налази иза субјекта, мора стајати у личном облику (*Ја треbam да идем, Они требају да иду, Ја сам требала да идем, Они су требали да иду; човек који је требао да иде*).

4) Испред безличних облика глагола *требати* могу стајати други реченични чланови осим субјекта (*Њега треба да видим сутра; Сутра треба да га видим; човек кога је требало да упознаш; човек о коме је требало да разговарамо*). Наравно, и у тим случајевима могу се употребити лични облици (*Њега треbam да видим сутра; Сутра треbam да га видим; човек кога си требала да упознаш; човек о коме смо требали да разговарамо*)’ (Klikovac, 2018:pp.252–253).

Таква измјена норме одговарала би измјени у хрватској нормативистици – док се раније модални глагол *требати* сматрао исправним само у безличном облику, данас *hrvatski normativci pravilnima uglavnom smatraju i konstrukcije*

⁵ Приликом анализе синтаксичког понашања глагола *требати* Душка Кликовац се ослања на теоријску дистинкцију између имплицитне и експлицитне норме, о којој говори Ранко Бугарски (Bugarski, 2003:pp.241–245). Под имплицитном нормом овај аутор подразумева несвјесна, прећутна и имплицитна знања и осјећања говорника о томе шта се и како може рећи у њиховом језику, односно језичком варијетету, шта је од чега боље, шта може служити као узор, а шта се може оквалификовати као одступање од уобичајеног и прихватајивог. Експлицитна норма, с друге стране, представља додатну, плански одабрану, стручно кодификовану и друштвено верификовану норму неког језика, норму по којој језик и добија атрибут стандардности.

Ti trebaš čitati, On treba čitati, Oni trebaju čitati i sl.’ (Pranjko⁶vić, 2013:p.188).⁶ Лични и безлични облици на тај начин практично функционишу као дублети, што би у српском језику, уколико би се допустило, сматра Душка Кликовац, могло резултирати и важним значењским диференцирањем:

‘Кад би *требати* био и лични и безлични глагол, можда би се за те две његове употребе везала различита семантика. Наиме, он означава две врсте обавезе: и ону која проистиче из постојећег плана, и ону коју говорник субјективно приписује некоме; другим речима, *требати* означава или оно што се очекује (што сви очекују) или оно што говорник лично очекује. Чини се да би реченица *Треба / Требало би да министар данас поднесе оставку* пре означавала очекивање да се ситуација одигра (јер је тако планирано, најављено и сл.), а реченица *Министар треба / би требао данас да поднесе оставку* подједнако би могла да означи и такво очекивање и обавезу коју министру налаже говорник (јер сматра да би он из неких разлога био дужан да то учини). Да су лични облици глагола *требати* легитимни, можда би се та разлика и јасније оцртавала’ (Klikovac, 2018:p.253).

1.2. Како би се додатно освијетлило савремено језичко осјећање у вези с глаголом *требати*, у овом ће се раду анализирати примјери из дневних новина које се објављују у Републици Српској, а посебна пажња биће посвећена случајевима гдје нормативисти не препоручују употребу безличних облика: 1) када је субјекат испред модалног *требати* ако је тај глагол у перфекту или потенцијалу и 2) када је испред модалног *требати* у односној реченици релативна замјеница / везник *који* у функцији субјекта. С обзиром на примјере који су забиљежени у текстовима посвећеним синтаксичком понашању глагола *требати* (в. Klikovac, 2018, као и тамо наведену литературу), полази се од претпоставке да ће се и у тим типовима конструкција, упркос експлицитној норми, најчешће јављати безлични облици.

2. Корпус и методологија

2.1. Корпус истраживања чији се резултати износе у овом раду чине примјери из дневних новина *Глас Српске* и *Независне новине* објављених у првој седмици јуна 2025. године, тачније од 2. до 8. јуна (укупно 12 бројева). Предмет анализе нису биле одређене рубрике или жанрови, него сви текстови у ода-

⁶ У вези с тим занимљиво је да се у мрежном валенцијском рјечнику Института за хрватски језик и језикословље *е-Глава* (e-Glava, <http://valencije.ihj.hr/word/trebati/39/>) уопште не спомиње да се модални глагол *требати* може јављати и у безличном облику.

браним бројевима, а они су пружили довољно језичке грађе да би се извели одговарајући закључци о употреби модалног глагола *требати* у језику дневних новина у Републици Српској, а посредно и о употреби овог глагола у савременом српском језику уопште, будући да се језик штампе, односно масмедија, сматра важном основом за опис стања неког језика у датом тренутку.⁷ Данас, у ери глобализације и дигитализације, када се убрзано развија комуникација преко електронских медија, нарочито интернета, постоји још много нових извора за реконструкцију савременог језичког осјећања, као што су портали, друштвене мреже и сл., али су новински текстови изабрани јер се од њих више очекује да буду написани правилно, поготово што се углавном објављују након лекторских интервенција, па би сва одступања од норме ту била веома симптоматична. Избор дневних новина из Републике Српске као извора језичке грађе мотивисан је намјером да се допринесе стварању потпуније слике о синтаксичко-семантичком профилу глагола *требати* на цјеловитом српском језичком простору.

2.2. Методолошки поступак обухватио је систематично прикупљање, ексерпцију и класификацију појава модалног глагола *требати* у наведеном корпусу. У првој фази истраживања читани су сви текстови у одабраним бројевима дневних новина, а сваки уочени примјер глагола *требати* биљежен је у основном контексту. Као што је поменуто, није вршена претходна селекција по жанровима, темама или ауторским стиловима, како би се добио што непристраснији и репрезентативнији пресјек стварне употребе овог глагола у језику штампе.

У другој фази примјери су разврставани према томе да ли су у складу са стандардом српског језика или од њега одступају, при чему је упориште била релевантна и рецентна српска нормативистичка литература (првенствено Клајн, 2011:pp.148–150; Piper et al., 2022:pp.172–174), а од посебног значаја био је поменути текст Душке Кликовац (Klikovac, 2018), који детаљно разматра теорију и норму у вези с овим глаголом, али и његову употребу, те је послужио као теоријски оквир за разграничење нормативних и ненормативних рјешења.

⁷ 'Prosečnost jezičke svakidašnjice biće najprikladnije ilustrovana, u stvari, onim što je najmasovnije usvojeno kao instrumenat komunikacije: jezik štampe, radija, televizije, filma. Treba odmah istaći (da bismo se za svaki slučaj obezbedili ovde od svakog mogućeg nesporazuma): to niukoliko ne znači da će se baš taj jezik preporučivati kao uzor, niti da sve njegove osobenosti treba bezuslovno prihvatiti kao normu buduće preskriptivne gramatike. On ovde ima da služi samo kao najpogodnija, osnovna baza za opis onog stanja koje najtipičnije reprezentuje sadašnji razvojni trenutak naše izražajne kulture' (Ivić, 1997:p.151).

При класификацији су уважени како формални (морфосинтаксички) тако и семантички аспекти реализације овог глагола.

У завршној фази примјери су анализирани у циљу утврђивања типичних синтаксичких образаца употребе модалног глагола *требати*, као и евентуалних одступања од норме. Оваква процедура омогућила је да се на основу стварне употребе у једном типу масмедијског дискурса изведу поузданији закључци о актуелном синтаксичко-семантичком и нормативном статусу модалног глагола *требати* у савременом српском језику.

3. Модални глагол *требати* у језику дневних новина у Републици Српској

3.1. Уколико није пунозначан, глагол *требати* у српском језику означава обавезу остварења неке ситуације (најчешће радње, али понекад и стања) и допуњава се глаголском јединицом. Та допуна у српској синтаксичкој литератури третира се различито – као дио сложеног глаголског предиката (в. нпр. Stevanović, 1989:pp.36–37; Piper, 2005a:pp.324–329) или као допунска реченица (в. нпр. Tanasić, 1995–1996:p.49).⁸ У *Нормативној граматици српскога језика* (Piper et al., 2022) на једном мјесту глаголска допуна уз *требати* одређује се као зависна допунска реченица (p.173), а на другом се конструкције типа *Она треба да спава* сврставају међу просте реченице с аналитичким предикатом (pp.360–361). Миливој Алановић (Alanović, 2018:pp.131–132) сматра да глаголска допуна модалног *требати*, у примјерима типа *Треба да кренете*, није зависна реченица, тј. клауза, него клаузоидна допунска конструкција. Могуће је да допуна и нема у свим конструкцијама с безлично употријебљеним глаголом *требати* исти статус – чини се да би се у конструкцијама у којима *требати* има значење оцјене да је оно што се износи пропозицијом врло вјероватно (нпр. *Требало би да се досад већ наспавао*) могло говорити о допунској клаузи, а у конструкцијама типа *Ви треба да кренете* прије је ријеч о клаузоиду. Кад би се промијенила норма и глаголу *требати* дозволила употреба и у личном облику, можда би и уочавање статуса његове допуне постало једноставније.

3.1.1. Модалност која се у српском језику исказује глаголом *требати* може бити деонтичка (нпр. *Треба да им изађемо у сусрет*) и епистемичка (нпр. *Тре-*

⁸Срето Танасић (Tanasić, 2015) сматра да би се о простој реченици, односно сложеном глаголском предикату, могло говорити само кад би глаголска допуна долазила уз *требати* у личним облицима: 'Кад бисмо променили норму и глаголу *требати* дозволили личне наставке, он би се понашао као и други модални глаголи: могао би имати допуну у инфинитиву или презенту с везником *да*, радило би се о простој реченици са сложеним предикатом'.

бало би да су почели).⁹ Према правилу које је, како се обично узима (в. Klikovac, 2018:р.237), увео још Вук Стефановић Караџић 1818. године, у првом издању *Српског рјечника*, у тим случајевима *требати* се употребљава безлично. То потврђују и примјери из корпуса:

‘Као слоган своје кампање он је навео „Пољска на првом мјесту”, наводећи да прво *треба* да се помогне својима’ (GS, 3/6/2025:р.13);¹⁰ ‘У Ливерпулу би, према спекулацијама, *требало* да га замијени Гиорги Мамардашвили, репрезентативац Грузије и голман Валенције’ (GS, 3/6/2025:р.29); ‘У Фонду здравства наводе и да су више пута до сада обавјештавали грађане о обавезама након промјене послодавца управо како би знали које кораке *треба* да предузму у случају преласка у другу фирму’ (GS, 5/6/2025:р.6); ‘Такође, на друштвеним мрежама подсјећамо грађане шта *треба* да ураде у оваквим ситуацијама – казали су у Фонду’ (GS, 5/6/2025:р.6); ‘Званичну одлуку о уласку Бугарске у еврозону *требало би* да донесу министри финансија земаља чланица ЕУ 8. јула, али се не очекује да буде противљења, пошто Софија испуњава све техничке критеријуме’ (GS, 5/6/2025:7); ‘Како су навели, он је из предострожности, према препоруци неурохирурга, упућен у болницу у Подгорицу, а према процјени требињских љекара, *не би требало* да буде посљедица кад је ријеч о нагњечењу мозга’ (GS, 5/6/2025:р.9); ‘*Треба* да уживамо у побједи, јер смо први пут славили против Њемачке након неколико пораза’ (GS, 6/6/2025:р.28) и др.

3.1.2. Од правила о употреби безличног *требати* у језичкој пракси одступало се још у Вуково доба, а то се чини и данас (в. Tanasić, 1995–1996:р.45; Klikovac, 2018:р.238). Са сигурношћу се може претпоставити како би се у многим од претходно наведених примјера појавили лични глаголски облици умјесто безличних да текстови из којих су ексерпирани нису прошли лектуру, коректуру и редактуру, због чега су прилично усклађени с нормом стандардног језика. Ипак, у *Независним новинама* забиљежене су четири конструкције у којима су неправилно употријебљени лични облици (једна у склопу ауторског, а три у склопу тзв. туђег говора):

⁹ О категорији модалности у језику в. нпр. Lyons, 1997; Portner, 2009; Nuys, 2025. О модалности у српском језику и глаголу *требати* као средству изражавања деонтичке и епистемичке модалности в. нпр. Piper, 2005b.

¹⁰ Ради уштеде простора, приликом навођења примјера не упућује се на презиме аутора нити на наслов текста из којег је примјер преузет. Умјесто тога, користе се скраћенице за називе дневних новина: GS – *Глас Српске* и NN – *Независне новине*, а уз њих стоје датум објављивања и број странице на којој се налази издвојена реченична структура.

‘Osim zakona o Sudu BiH, delegati *su trebali* razmatrati još jedan evropski zakon, odnosno prijedlog zakona o VSTS-u, koji je u proceduru uputio Savjet ministara BiH, a kojim u značajnoj mjeri nisu uvažene kritike samo Visokog sudskeg i tužilačkog savjeta koji je najavio podnošenje čak 50 amandmana’ (NN, 3/6/2025:p.6); ‘SAD ostaju posvećene NATO-u i članu V, ali članu V prethodi član III koji kaže da se svi saveznici *trebaju* posvetiti svojoj individualnoj odbrani’ (NN, 5/6/2025:p.3); ‘Problem su stvorili vaša stranka i vaši ljudi i to *trebate* da riješite, jer bazen, čak i ako dođe sto policajaca, ne može raditi bez novca, napisao je Stanivuković’ (NN, 4/6/2025:p.10); ‘Ipak, moje je mišljenje da *bi* banke u BiH *trebale* početi smanjivati kamatne stope, istakao je Đogo’ (NN, 7–8/6/2025:p.13).

Појава личних облика модалног глагола *требати* тумачи се на различите начине. ‘Поред тога што се лични облици глагола *требати* у неким конструкцијама и прагматичким околностима не могу избећи и што је глагол *требати* личан у другом свом значењу (тј. кад означава потребу), релевантна могу бити још бар два разлога, а то су: 1) аналогија према блискозначном глаголу *морати* (*Не требате се журити* према *Не морате се журити*, *Не требате да се журите* према *Не морате да се журите*) и 2) могућност да се с личним обликом употреби инфинитив када се жели прецизирати носилац персоналности реченице или када за употребу инфинитива постоје стилски разлози (Klikovac, 2018:pp.245–246). У примјерима издвојеним из дневних новина највјероватније је посриједи осјећај за конгруенцију и аналогија према глаголу *морати*, односно осталим модалним глаголима, без обзира на правила.

3.2. У *Нормативној граматици српскога језика* прописује се следеће: ‘Ако је субјекат испред деонтичког *требати*, а није у трећем лицу једине, глагол *требати* може и даље бити безличан ако је у садашњем времену’ (Piper et al., 2022:p.173), а то је забиљежено и у многим примјерима из корпуса, који свједоче о томе да новинарима, као и говорницима српског језика уопште, није сасвим блиска безлична конструкција с *требати* испред субјекта:

‘Nebojša Vukanović, predsjednik Liste za pravdu i red, poručuje da se predstavnicima PIC-a mora kazati da građani Republike Srpske ne treba da budu kažnjeni, zbog, kako je kazao, lično Milorada Dodika, predsjednika SNSD-a’ (NN, 3/6/2025:p.3); ‘С обзиром на то да су дјеца најрањивија категорија становништва, сваки појединац и институција треба да предузму мјере с циљем заштите дјецe и њихових права – саопштено је из МУП-а Српске’ (GS, 5/6/2025:p.6); ‘Ја треба да што дуже останем у овом ритму – истакао

је Штулић' (GS, 5/6/2025:p.9); 'Šmit je naglasio da država mora osigurati sredstva za izbore za sva biračka mjesta i međunarodna zajednica i dalje ima bojazni u tom pogledu jer *izbori treba* da se održe u skladu sa preporukama OEBS-a' (NN, 5/6/2025:p.3); 'Пацијенти који имају висок крвни притисак, срчани и хронични болесници током врелих дана *treba* da redovno mjere pritisak prije svakog uzimanja terapije, a pacijenti sa sniženim krvnim pritiskom moraju da piju više tečnosti jer tako pritisak vraćaju u normalu' (NN, 6/6/2025:p.6); 'Студенти *treba* da виде током свог студирања и друге факултете и болнице и на тај начин могу упоредити едукацију на тим мјестима са својом кућом' (GS, 7–8/6/2025:p.5); 'Наставни процес *treba* da се мијења сваких шест година на медицини и стоматологији, односно сваке четири године на програмима здравствене његе и специјалне едукације и рехабилитације' (GS, 7–8/6/2025:p.5); 'Додао је да људи током овог годишњег доба свакако *treba* да буду опрезнији јер се тада може десити да мечка води младе, што може потенцијално бити опасност за људе уколико се млади осјете угроженим' (GS, 7–8/6/2025:p.5) итд.

Душка Кликовац сматра да се данас уобичајеном употребом безличног *treba* иза субјекта добија неграматична конструкција јер је права безлична конструкција само она у којој је безлични облик глагола *требати* испред субјекта, а да друкчије третирање презента од других глаголских облика компликује употребу глагола *требати* јер говорник мора размишљати у ком га облику користи (Klikovac, 2018:p.254). Ипак, већина нормативиста неправилним проглашава само конструкције у којима је модални глагол *требати* у перфекту или потенцијалу, а користи се иза субјекта (в. нпр. Klajn, 2011:p.149; Stijović, 2015:p.161).¹¹ У корпусу је, упркос том правилу, забиљежено 38 примјера с модалним глаголом *требати* у перфекту или потенцијалу иза субјекта, што такође потврђује тезу да је савременом језичком осјећању ближа оваква конструкција, гдје субјекат претходи модалном глаголу, чак и када се она супротставља осјећају за конгруенцију:

'Na prijedlog istog ministarstva, ministri *bi trebalo* da razmatraju prijedlog odluke o imenovanju komisije za kontrolu spoljnotrgovinskog transporta oružja i vojne opreme, kao i informaciju o revidiranoj Regionalnoj konvenciji o pan-evro-mediteranskim preferencijalnim pravilima o porijeklu robe' (NN,

¹¹ Постоје и аутори који у вези с тим дају нејасне препоруке. Тако Егон Фекете (Fekete, 2008:pp.153–154) прво као исправне реченице наводи и *Ми би требало да радимо, Ви не би требало да говорите* (о томе в. и Klikovac, 2018:p.239), али у наставку каже да се у таквим случајевима глагол *требати* мора употријебити на почетку реченице.

2/6/2025:p.5); 'Medicinske sestre i tehničari trebalo bi da shvate da samo ojačani, sa svojim znanjem, edukacijama, udruženi, mogu da donesu neke promjene u svom zanimanju' (NN, 2/6/2025:p.6); 'Навроцки би требало да преузме дужност 6. августа' (GS, 3/6/2025:p.13); 'Pravnik Milko Grmuša stava je da niko nije trebalo da se odazove pozivu iz PIC-a, jer se, kao ističe, radi o nepostojećem organu' (NN, 3/6/2025:p.3); 'Kako su pojedini mediji prenijeli, dvije delegacije trebalo je da razgovaraju o idejama za puni prekid vatre i duži rok za pregovore o miru u Ukrajini, imajući u vidu najavu predsjednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država Donalda Trampa da bi Amerika mogla da napusti ulogu medijatora ako ne bude napretka' (NN, 3/6/2025:p.16); 'Ниједан од њих не би требало да продужи боравак у Хумској након овог љета' (GS, 4/6/2025:p.32); 'Сви органи и све институције у БиХ требало би да поступају по законима и Уставу БиХ и у складу са одлукама домаћих органа' (GS, 6/6/2025:p.3); 'Ако су учесници у незгоди сагласни, потпишу извјештај, приложе фотографије и опис догађаја, штета би требало да се надокнади без лимита' (GS, 6/6/2025:p.7); 'Након идентификације учиниоца кривичног дјела, који се гони по службеној дужности, полиција би требало да обавијести јавног тужиоца да би он даље преузео радње из своје надлежности' (GS, 6/6/2025:p.11); 'Иначе, јуће започета седница, која је на крају прекинута, nije trebalo ni da bude održana s obzirom na to da su nekoliko dana prije četiri delegata iz reda Bošnjačkog naroda poslala dopis Nikoli Špiriću, predsjedavajućem Doma naroda, u kojem ga obavještavaju da neće prisustvovati sjednici' (NN, 6/6/2025:p.3); 'Roditelji djece koja pohađaju privatne vrtiće u Banjaluci još čekaju na isplatu subvencija koje kasne od marta, a prema riječima gradonačelnika Draška Stanivukovića, isplata bi trebalo da počne naredne sedmice, sukcesivno po mjesecima' (NN, 6/6/2025:p.10); 'Glavni grad Srbije trebalo bi da bude lokacija buduće kule „Trump Tower Belgrade”, projekta koji realizuje investicioni fond koji je suosnovao Trampov zet Džared Kušner' (NN, 6/6/2025:p.15); 'Uz temperature koje će pretežno biti u okviru uobičajenih ili nešto više, većina populacije trebalo bi da se osjeća ugodnije' (NN, 6/6/2025:p.23); 'Prirodni nasljednik SAD bi trebalo da bude EU, posebno zato što je Brisel i tokom Bajdenove administracije insistirao da je ovo područje njegovog djelovanja jer se zemlje nalaze na evropskom putu, ali zbog prava veta u spoljopolitičkim i bezbjednosnim odlukama nemoguće je očekivati da EU u ozbiljnijem omjeru može preuzeti ovu ulogu' (NN, 7–8/6/2025:p.4); 'Osumnjičeni je u petak trebalo da bude ispitan i u tužilaštvu' (NN, 7–8/6/2025:p.11) итд.

Њима се придружује и 14 примјера сложених реченица с односним клаузама гдје релативна замјеница / везник *који* у функцији субјекта претходи модалном *требати*:

‘Ово су јуче прије протеста, *који је требало* да буде одржан у чак 32 града широм државе, поручили студенти у блокади’ (GS, 2/6/2025:p.11); ‘За организацију Министарске конференције ЕУ – западни Балкан из области безбједности и правосуђа, *која би требало* да буде одржана у Сарајеву 30. и 31. октобра ове године, предвиђено је 50.000 марака’ (GS, 3/6/2025:p.4); ‘Posrijedi је роман на којем је autor radio prije svoje smrti, a *који је требало* да буде својеврсна круна njegovog autofikcionalnog postupka’ (NN, 3/6/2025:p.19); ‘Помињало се да ће обештећење за долазак лијевог спољног фудбалера, *који би* у Београду *требало* да замијени Милана Родића, износити око 2.000.000 евра’ (GS, 4/6/2025:p.32); ‘У том документу, *који би требало* да се нађе на некој од идућих сједница Савјета министара, наведено је да запослени у ДКП у Индији имају право на додатак у износу од 40 одсто, док у 17 осталих амбасада и генералних конзулата тај проценат износи 20 одсто’ (GS, 5/6/2025:p.2); ‘Изградња гасовода на релацији Шековићи – Власеница – Милићи – Игришта – Хан Пијесак, *која би требало* да почне за мјесец дана, представља снажан подстицај развоју ових локалних заједница, стварајући повољан привредни амбијент и отварајући врата новим инвестицијама’ (GS, 5/6/2025:p.7); ‘То је оно што заista nedostaje – velike organizacije *које би требало* da isporučuju 500 do 600 kamiona na dan’ (NN, 5/6/2025:p.17); ‘Први циљ клуба свакако је афирмација младих рукометаша *који би* из њега *требало* да иду у виши ранг и квалитетније екипе’ (GS, 6/6/2025:p.31); ‘Dionica brze ceste *која би требало* da bude završena do kraja jula odnosi se na trasu od novoizgrađenog mosta na Savi kod Gradiške do isključenja u Novom Varošu, dužine od oko pet kilometara’ (NN, 6/6/2025:p.5); ‘Agencija se oslanja na „Dragon” kapsulu, ali i na raketu „Falcon 9” kojom se u svemir šalju naučni instrumenti i drugi korisni tereti, a такође учествује и у финансiranju razvoja svemirske letjelice „Starship”, *која би требало* da spusti američke astronaute na Mjesec tokom ove decenije’ (NN, 7–8/6/2025:p.17); ‘Sve u svemu, „Drvene ptice” snažan su glas žrtve i još snažnija opomena za sve u gledalištu *који би* van pozorišne sale *trebalo* da budu zaštitnici čuvari, a ne dželat, direktni ili indirektni, „Nadica” koje su svuda oko nas’ (NN, 7–8/6/2025:p.19) и др.

Бројност ових примјера у складу је с налазима истраживања Душке Кликовац. Наиме, ова ауторка установила је да се иза субјекатског *који* у језичкој пракси најчешће јавља безлични облик перфекта или потенцијала глагола *требати* (нпр. ‘... планираног напада, који је требало да личи на напад у Мумбају 2008. године ...’; ‘... југословенској делегацији која је требало да учествује на самиту Интерпарламентарне уније у Њујорку ...’), рјеђе лични (нпр. ‘... своје велике светске турнеје која је требала да се заврши 2010. године у Москви’; ‘... побуњеника који су требали да упадну с мора у Панаму’), а још рјеђе хибридни облици (нпр. ‘... а да се од овог чина ограђују сви који су требало да буду одговорни’ (Klikovac, 2018:p.244)). Примјери које она наводи забиљежени су у језику медија из Републике Србије (а то су *Политика* и РТС), на основу чега се индиректно може закључити да је у питању појава карактеристична за журналистичко-публицистички стил на ширем српском језичком простору, а вјероватно је слична ситуација у језичкој пракси већине образованијих говорника српског језика данас.

О конструкцијама гдје субјекат стоји испред безлично употријебљеног модалног *требати* Рада Стијовић пише:

‘Ове реченице нису граматички исправне, јер се безлични глагол не слаже са субјектом (као када бисмо рекли „Стигли су сви који *је (су) морало* да дођу”). Реченица се може исправити тако што ће се глагол *требати* пребацити на прво место: „*Требало би* да и он дође”. Када то није могуће, једино решење је ставити глагол *требати* у лични глаголски облик: „Стигли су сви који *су требали* да се такмиче”. Нема потребе круто се држати правила о глаголу *требати*. Много су тежа ова синтаксичка огрешења.’ (Stijović, 2015:p.161)

Слично је прије ње закључио и Иван Клајн (Klajn, 2011:p.149): ‘Принуђени смо, дакле (насупротив старијим нормативним граматикама које овакве случајеве нису ни имале у виду), да допустимо личне облике глагола **требати** у случајевима када је овај у прошлом времену или кондиционалу и када му субјекат претходи (гдје се под субјектом подразумева и релативна заменица)’. Међутим, како се види из наведених примјера, у дневним новинама, вјероватно под притиском норме, односно правила о употреби модалног глагола *требати*, овај се приступ не примјењује – најчешће се користе безлични облици глагола *требати* иза субјекта, у малом броју примјера лични, и то тамо гдје би се проблем лако могао ријешити стављањем глагола *требати* на почетак (в. примјере у т. 3.1.2), а само је у једној реченичној структури забиљежен лични облик *требати* иза *који* у служби субјекта, како и предлажу нормативисти: ‘Ирак, на крају су дошли,

а свој долазак правдали су time да сједници присуствује Kemal Ademović, замјеник предсједavajuћег Дома народа, који *није требао* присуствовати сједници, а што је био разлог да и остали из Клуба Бошњака не присуствују (NN, 6. 6. 2025, 3). Хибридни облици, типа *Они су требало да присуствују сједници*, нису уочени.

У Нормативној граматици српскога језика прописује се сљедеће: 'Изузетно, у односним реченицама каткад се мора дозволити и лична употреба деонтичког *требати*, пошто се безлични глагол не би могао сложити са субјектом' – не би било добро *Дошли су сви они који је требало да дођу*, него *Дошли су сви они који су требали да дођу* (Piper et al., 2022:p.174). С обзиром на то да испред модалног *требати* могу стајати сви чланови реченице осим субјекта, Душка Кликовац у вези с овим прописом примјеђује: 'Било би јасније да је ово „каткад” прецизирано, тј. да је речено да је то сваки пут кад је *који* субјекат у односној реченици – што је и најчешћи случај у тим реченицама' (Klikovac, 2018:p.255). Међутим, проблематичнији је сљедећи пропис који се тиче конструкција гдје се деонтичко *требати* налази иза субјекта: 'Ако је *требати* у прошлом времену, препоручује се да се уместо њега употреби *имати* или *морати*' (Piper et al., 2022:p.173).¹² Наиме, како је истакла Душка Кликовац, *морати* и *имати* нису синоними глаголу *требати*, а и 'начелно говорећи, нормативистички поступак којим се жртвује лексема да би се сачувао њен пожељни облик у најмању руку није уобичајен' (Klikovac, 2018:p.255). *Морати* означава јачу обавезност, која се, додуше, може ублажити употребом потенцијала (нпр. *И Лана би морала нешто да добије*), тако да би у неким случајевима овај глагол евентуално могао бити замјена глаголу *требати*, али је практично немогуће утврдити да ли се у анализираним текстовима реализује та замјена. С друге стране, ни у једном примјеру не појављује се модални глагол *имати*, ни сам по себи, па, наравно, ни умјесто *требати*, што може указивати на његову изобичајеност у савременом српском језику или бар у журналистичко-публицистичком стилу.

3.3. Бројна огрешења о експлицитну норму у језику дневних новина у Републици Српској иду у прилог тези да у српском језику влада поприлична конфузија кад су у питању пожељни облици глагола *требати*, односно да је савремено језичко осјећање у том аспекту веома несигурно, а нови прописи не доприносе много очувању језичког система и поједностављивању употребе ове лексеме. Због тога Душка Кликовац с разлогом примјеђује:

'Најновија нормативна решења у вези с глаголом *требати* имају системске изузетке, у једном сегменту се противе граматичким правилима, а у

¹² Оваква препорука дата је и у Klajn, 1997:p.180.

другом нуде решење које се не може применити. С друге стране, јасно је да би допуштање личних облика глагола *требати* било изазов, па и жртва и за нормативисте и за неке (мада можда не и многе) говорнике српског језика. Међутим, требало би проценити величину те жртве у односу на време и енергију лектора, наставника, будућих ђака и садашњих и будућих говорника српског језика који претендују на писменост а који тренутно морају да се бакћу са компликованим правилима у вези са значењима глагола *требати*, његовим допунама, местом у реченици, његовом конгруенцијом и временима у којима се употребљава; то огромно време и енергија могли би се усмерити у корисније сврхе.¹³ (Klikovac, 2018:p.255).

Посебан проблем којим би се, између осталог, могла објаснити и бројна уочена одступања од књижевнојезичке норме представљају недовољно јасне формулације у српској граматичкој и нормативнолингвистичкој литератури. Тако Предраг Пипер (Piper, 2005b:pp.640–641) каже да се модални глагол *требати* ‘скоро увек употребљава безлично’ ако га допуњава пунозначни глагол у облику *да*-конструкције (нпр. *Треба да почнем*), а да изузетак чине случајеви гдје је глагол *требати* у перфекту или потенцијалу, кад је умјесто безличног облика (нпр. *‘Ја сам требало да почнем’, ‘Ја бих требало да почнем’*) боље употријебити лични глаголски облик (нпр. *Ја сам требао да почнем, Ја бих требао да почнем*) или ставити безлични облик глагола *требати* на почетак реченице нпр. *Требало је да ја почнем, Требало би да ја почнем*). Како је примијетила Душка Кликовац (Klikovac, 2018:p.251), није јасно треба ли констатацију да се модални глагол *требати* ‘скоро увек употребљава безлично’ ако се допуњава пунозначним глаголом у форми *да*-конструкције схватити као запажање о постојећем стању или као пропис,¹³ а занимљиво је и то да се реченице типа *Ја сам требало да почнем* и *Ја бих требао да почнем* упитником означавају као дискутабилне, али не и сасвим неприхватљиве, каквим су их сматрали остали граматичари.

Егон Фекете (Fekete, 2008:pp.153–154), као што је већ речено (в. фн. 10), прво инсистира на безличној употреби модалног глагола *требати* и као правилне наводи примјере *Ми би требало да радимо, О томе ви не би требало да говорите* и сл., а након тога каже како је, кад је глагол *требати* у прошлом времену или кондиционалу, а субјекат реченице испред њега, право рјешење да се 3. лице једине глагола (*требало*) стави на почетак реченице, прије субјекта (нпр. *Требало би и ја да дођем*). Још су необичније формулисане препоруке Милорада Телебака:

¹³ ‘Ако је констатација, видели смо да се не може сматрати сасвим тачном; ако је пропис, није јасно зашто се односи само на перфекат и потенцијал, не и на презент’ (Klikovac, 2018:p.251).

‘Има, међутим, случајева када језичка стварност не може да се уклопи у граматичко правило. На примјер, иако правилна са становишта употребе глагола **требати**, односна реченица: „*Нису стигли сви глумци који је требало да наступе*” – није добра јер је субјекат у множини (глумци), а предикат у једини (је требало). Ради природности исказа и гипкости стила, овдје је боље одступити од правила и употријебити погрешан – лични облик: „*Нису стигли сви глумци који су требали да наступе.*”

Није то случај само у односним реченицама, већ и кад је глагол требати употребљен у прошлом времену, затим у потенцијалу, а субјекат дође *испред* њега. Тада је умјесто правилног: *Ја сам требало да дођем* и *Ја бих требало да дођем* – боље употребити неправилно а природно: *Ја сам требао да дођем* и: *Ја бих требао да дођем*. Проф. И. Клајн нуди правилније рјешење – да се глагол **требати** стави на почетак реченице, тј. *прије* субјекта: *Требало је* и *ја да дођем* и: *Требало би* и *ја да дођем*. Тада је и употреба глагола правилна – безлична, и исказ природнији од онога: *И ја сам требало да дођем.*’ (Telebak, 2004:pp.202–203)

Овај аутор, дакле, као правилан наводи хибридни облик, који је дјелимично лични, а дјелимично безлични (*Ја сам требало да дођем, Ја бих требало да дођем*), што довољно говори о конфузији у вези с (без)личним формама глагола **требати**, а поред тога додатно збуњује читаоца препорукама типа *умјесто правилног Х боље је употријебити погрешан, неправилан облик У*.

Срето Танасић тврди да су, кад је ријеч о правилу о употреби безличних облика модалног глагола **требати**, проблематичне само односне реченице:

‘Наравно, некад постоји комуникативна потреба да се субјекат јави на почетку целе реченице; управо та потреба и врши притисак за формирање једног, помињаног, типа неприхватљивих реченица с овим глаголом. Морамо знати да су оне неприхватљиве са становишта књижевнојезичке норме и избегавати да их користимо. Постоји само један случај кад не можемо избећи сукоб правила о употреби реченица с безлично употребљеним глаголом **требати** – код односних реченица: *Та женидба, која је требало да му отвори врата у виши и пријатнији живот, затворила га је и везала заувек*. Ово се не може избећи а да се поштује правило о безличној употреби глагола **требати**. За сада је тако. Ако у свим другим случајевима, где је могуће, будемо поштовали прописану норму – треба да будемо задовољни.’ (Tanasić, 2015)

Ове Танасићеве тврдње захтијевају бар два коментара. Најприје, ако постоји комуникативна потреба да се субјекат јави на почетку реченице, није најбоље рјешење дати препоруку говорницима да такве реченице просто избјегавају. Осим тога, из дијела посвећеног односним реченицама није сасвим јасно да ли аутор препоручује конструкције типа *Та женидба, која је требало да му отвори врата у виши и пријатнији живот, затворила га је и везала заувек*, у којима изостаје слагање субјекта и предиката, или конструкције типа *Та женидба, која је требала да му отвори врата у виши и пријатнији живот, затворила га је и везала заувек*, у којима не би било испоштовано правило о употреби безличних облика глагола *требати*. Препоруке ове врсте морале би бити прецизније обликоване уколико се просјечним образованим говорницима, међу којима су и новинари, лектори, писци и др., жели олакшати схватање сложених правила у вези са значењима глагола *требати*, његовим допунама, позицијом у реченици итд.

Често се може прочитати или чути како се језичкој култури код нас не посвећује готово никаква пажња и како је јавни језик, нарочито у масмедијима, с мноштвом грешака, ортоепских проблема, монотон, неразумљив, сличан језику и стилу администрације и бирократије. Да би се омогућио позитиван утицај јавне ријечи, неопходно је да се систематски развија језичка култура. Међутим, из примјера норме која се тиче употребе глагола *требати* у српском језику види се и да је потребно унаприједити нашу нормативну лингвистику како би се добили бољи, јаснији и прецизнији приручници за његовање језичке културе, усклађени са савременим језичким осјећањем.

4. Закључак

Анализа корпуса показала је да данашњи журналистичко-публицистички стил у Републици Српској у великој мјери одражава дубљи проблем нормирања глагола *требати* у стандардном српском језику. Највећи број одступања забиљежен је управо у оним типовима конструкција које норма третира као изузетке – када је *требати* у перфекту или потенцијалу иза субјекта, те у односним реченицама с *који* као субјектом. Често јављање ових образаца указује на то да они не представљају случајне омашке или стилски мотивисана одступања, већ стабилну тенденцију језичке праксе. Наиме, бројни примјери у корпусу показују не само да се експлицитна норма, и поред редактуре, често крши него и да новинарски језик у неком смислу стабилизује сопствену праксу, у којој безлични облици стоје и тамо гдје су према прописима спорни.

Такви подаци подржавају становиште истакнутих теоретичара да тренутна нормативна рјешења нису у довољној мјери усклађена с језичким системом нити са стварном употребом. С једне стране, норма инсистира на безличности, која је у бројним синтаксичким окружењима граматички нелогична или се не може реализовати због тематско-рематских односа; с друге стране, нуди замјене (нпр. *морати*, *имати*) које семантички не покривају функцију глагола *требати*. Због тога се чини оправданим разматрање приједлога о допуштању личних модалних облика, што би допринијело већој системској досљедности и олакшало употребу овог глагола у пракси. То би, наравно, подразумијевало да се будућа истраживања прошире на друге типове корпуса – књижевност, научни стил, школске писмене радове, интернет коментаре и др. – како би се добила свеобухватнија слика о реалном статусу личних и безличних облика глагола *требати* у савременом српском језику. Ипак, док се таква промјена норме евентуално не деси, у језику дневних новина, односно у журналистичко-публицистичким текстовима уопште, требало би да се постојећа норма поштује много више него сада (и то не само кад је ријеч о употреби глагола *требати*), будући да су масмедији један од главних темеља за подизање степена развијености језичке културе у савременим друштвима, па и нашем.

Извори

1. Глас Српске. 2–8. 6. 2025.
2. *Nezavisne novine*. 2–8. 6. 2025.

Рјечници

1. e-Glava. (n.d.) Dostupno na: <http://valencije.ihjj.hr/> [Pristupljeno 29. 11. 2025].
2. РСЈ. (2011) *Речник српскога језика* (измењено и допуњено изд.). Нови Сад, Матица српска.

Литература

1. Ајдановић, М. (2022) *Стандардни српски језик 2: Морфологија*. Нови Сад, Филозофски факултет Универзитета у Новом Саду.
2. Алановић, М. (2018) Реченице са допунском клаузом. У: Пипер, П., Алановић, М., Павловић, С., Антонић, И., Николић, М., Војводић, Д., Поповић, Љ., Танасић, С., & Марић, Б. *Синтакса сложене реченице у савременом српском језику* (У редакцији академика Предрага Пипера). Нови Сад – Београд, Матица српска – Институт за српски језик САНУ, pp. 91–197.

3. Клајн, И. (2004) О облицима речи. У: Ивић, П. Клајн, И., Пешикан, М. & Бр-борић, Б. *Српски језички приручник* (5. изд.). Београд, Службени гласник – Београдска књига, pp. 119–137.
4. Кликовац, Д. (2018) О глаголу *требати*: теорија, употреба и норма. У: Кликовац, Д. *Српски језик у светлу когнитивне лингвистике*. Београд, Друштво за српски језик и књижевност Србије, pp. 233–255.
5. Пипер, П. (2005а) Предикат. У: Пипер, П., Антонић, И., Ружић, В., Танасић, С., Поповић, Љ. & Тошовић, Б. *Синтакса савременог српског језика: Проста реченица* (У редакцији академика Милке Ивић). Београд, Институт за српски језик САНУ – Београдска књига – Матица српска, pp. 301–343.
6. Пипер, П. (2005б) Модалност. У: Пипер, П., Антонић, И., Ружић, В., Танасић, С., Поповић, Љ. & Тошовић, Б. *Синтакса савременог српског језика: Проста реченица* (У редакцији академика Милке Ивић). Београд, Институт за српски језик САНУ – Београдска књига – Матица српска, pp. 636–649.
7. Пипер, П., Клајн, И. & Драгићевић, Р. (2022) *Нормативна граматика српског језика* (4. изд.). Нови Сад, Матица српска.
8. Станојчић, Ж. & Поповић, Љ. (1997) *Граматика српског језика: Уџбеник за I, II, III и IV разред средње школе* (5. изд.). Београд, Завод за уџбенике и наставна средства.
9. Стевановић, М. (1989) *Савремени српскохрватски језик II: Синтакса* (4. изд.). Београд, Научна књига.
10. Стијовић, Р. (2015) *Језички саветник* (2. изд.). Београд, Чигоја штампа.
11. Танасић, С. (1995–1996) О употреби глагола *требати*. *Наш језик*. 30 (1–5), 44–52.
12. Танасић, С. (2015) Треба ли нам глагол *требати*. <https://www.politika.rs/scc/clanak/344047/treba-li-nam-glagol-trebat> [Пристапљено 22. 6. 2025].
13. Телебак, М. (2004) *Говоримо српски: с лакоћом до језичке културе* (3. изд.). Бања Лука, Републички педагошки завод.
14. Фекете, Е. (2008) Како „би требало“ са „требати“. У: Фекете, Е. *Језичке доумице: Књига прва*. Београд, Београдска књига, pp. 152–154.
15. Bugarski, R. (2003) *Uvod u opštu lingvistiku*. Beograd, Čigoja štampa / Biblioteka XX vek.
16. Ivić, M. (1997) Problem norme u književnom jeziku. У: Ivić, M. *O vukovom i vukovskom jeziku* (2. izd.). Beograd, Čigoja štampa / Biblioteka XX vek, pp. 145–157.
17. Klajn, I. (1997) *Rečnik jezičkih nedoumica* (4. izd.). Beograd, Čigoja štampa.
18. Lyons, J. (1977) Modality. In: Lyons, J. *Semantics*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 787–849.
19. Marković, I. (2018) *Uvod u jezičnu morfologiju* (3. izd.). Zagreb, Disput.
20. Mrazović, P. & Vukadinović, Z. (2009) *Gramatika srpskog jezika za strance* (2. izd.). Sremski Karlovci – Novi Sad, Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića.
21. Nuyts, J. (2025) *Modality in Mind*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
22. Portner, P. (2009) *Modality*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
23. Pranjković, I. (2013) Tipologija nepunoznačnih glagola u hrvatskome standardnom jeziku. У: Pranjković, I. *Gramatička značenja*. Zagreb, Matica hrvatska, pp. 186–194.

Goran B. Milašin
University of Banja Luka
Faculty of Philology
Department of Serbian Studies

ON THE MODAL VERB *TREBATI* IN THE LANGUAGE OF DAILY NEWSPAPERS IN THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA

Summary

This paper examines the syntactic and semantic behaviour of the modal verb *trebati* ('to need') in contemporary standard Serbian on the basis of a corpus drawn from the daily newspapers *Glas Srpske* and *Nezavisne novine* published in the first week of June 2025. Relying on relevant grammatical and normative-linguistic literature, special attention is given to those types of constructions in which the use of the impersonal form is not recommended by the norm: (1) when *trebati* appears in the perfect or conditional after the subject, and (2) in relative clauses with the relative pronoun / the conjunction *koji* functioning as the subject. The analysis shows that journalistic style largely departs from the explicit norm. Impersonal forms of *trebati* frequently occur even in syntactic environments where they are normatively restricted, while personal forms, although less common, also appear in certain constructions. These deviations do not seem to be accidental errors or stylistically motivated variants, but rather stable tendencies in actual language use. The findings support the view that some prescriptive rules are not aligned with either the grammatical system or real usage, and that allowing personal forms of the modal verb *trebati* could contribute to greater systemic consistency and clearer codification.

► **Keywords:** Serbian language, verb *trebati*, modal verbs, norm and usage, impersonal and personal forms, syntax, corpus analysis, daily newspaper language.

Izvori

1. *Glas Srpske*. 2–8. 6. 2025.
2. *Nezavisne novine*. 2–8. 6. 2025.

Rječnici

1. e-Glava. (n.d.) Dostupno na: <http://valencije.ihjj.hr/> [Pristupljeno 29. 11. 2025].
2. RSJ. (2011) *Rečnik srpskoga jezika* (izmenjeno i dopunjeno izd.). Novi Sad, Matica srpska.

Literatura

1. Ajdžanović, M. (2022) *Standardni srpski jezik 2: Morfologija*. Novi Sad, Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Novom Sadu.
2. Alanović, M. (2018) Rečenice sa dopunskom klauzom. U: Piper, P., Alanović, M., Pavlović, S., Antonić, I., Nikolić, M., Vojvodić, D., Popović, Lj., Tanasić, S., & Marić, B. *Sintaksa složene rečenice u savremenom srpskom jeziku* (U redakciji akademika Predraga Pipera). Novi Sad – Beograd, Matica srpska – Institut za srpski jezik SANU, pp. 91–197.
3. Bugarski, R. (2003) *Uvod u opštu lingvistiku*. Beograd, Čigoja štampa / Biblioteka XX vek.
4. Fekete, E. (2008) Kako „bi trebalo” sa „trebati”. U: Fekete, E. *Jezičke doumice: Knjiga prva*. Beograd, Beogradska knjiga, pp. 152–154.
5. Ivić, M. (1997) Problem norme u književnom jeziku. U: Ivić, M. *O vukovom i vukovskom jeziku* (2. izd.). Beograd, Čigoja štampa / Biblioteka XX vek, pp. 145–157.
6. Klajn, I. (1997) *Rečnik jezičkih nedoumica* (4. izd.). Beograd, Čigoja štampa.
7. Klajn, I. (2004) O oblicima reči. U: Ivić, P. Klajn, I., Pešikan, M. & Brborić, B. *Srpski jezički priručnik* (5. izd.). Beograd, Službeni glasnik – Beogradska knjiga, pp. 119–137.
8. Klikovac, D. (2018) O glagolu *trebati*: teorija, upotreba i norma. U: Klikovac, D. *Srpski jezik u svetlu kognitivne lingvistike*. Beograd, Društvo za srpski jezik i književnost Srbije, pp. 233–255.
9. Lyons, J. (1977) Modality. In: Lyons, J. *Semantics*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 787–849.
10. Marković, I. (2018) *Uvod u jezičnu morfologiju* (3. izd.). Zagreb, Disput.
11. Mrazović, P. & Vukadinović, Z. (2009) *Gramatika srpskog jezika za strance* (2. izd.). Sremski Karlovci – Novi Sad, Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića.
12. Nuyts, J. (2025) *Modality in Mind*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
13. Piper, P. (2005a) Predikat. U: Piper, P., Antonić, I., Ružić, V., Tanasić, S., Popović, Lj. & Tošović, B. *Sintaksa savremenoga srpskog jezika: Prosta rečenica* (U redakciji akademika Milke Ivić). Beograd, Institut za srpski jezik SANU – Beogradska knjiga – Matica srpska, pp. 301–343.
14. Piper, P. (2005b) Modalnost. U: Piper, P., Antonić, I., Ružić, V., Tanasić, S., Popović, Lj. & Tošović, B. *Sintaksa savremenoga srpskog jezika: Prosta rečenica* (U redakciji akademika Milke Ivić). Beograd, Institut za srpski jezik SANU – Beogradska knjiga – Matica srpska, pp. 636–649.
15. Piper, P., Klajn, I. & Dragičević, R. (2022) *Normativna gramatika srpskoga jezika* (4. izd.). Novi Sad, Matica srpska.
16. Portner, P. (2009) *Modality*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
17. Pranjković, I. (2013) Tipologija nepunoznačnih glagola u hrvatskome standardnom jeziku. U: Pranjković, I. *Gramatička značenja*. Zagreb, Matica hrvatska, pp. 186–194.
18. Stanojčić, Ž. & Popović, Lj. (1997) *Gramatika srpskoga jezika: Udžbenik za I, II, III i IV razred srednje škole* (5. izd.). Beograd, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva.

19. Stevanović, M. (1989) *Savremeni srpskohrvatski jezik II: Sintaksa* (4. izd.). Beograd, Naučna knjiga.
20. Stijović, R. (2015) *Jezički savetnik* (2. izd.). Beograd, Čigoja štampa.
21. Tanasić, S. (1995–1996) О употреби глагола *trebati*. *Naš jezik*. 30 (1–5), 44–52.
22. Tanasić, S. (2015) Treba li nam glagol *trebati*. <https://www.politika.rs/scc/clanak/344047/treba-li-nam-glagol-trebati> [Pristupljeno 22. 6. 2025].
23. Telebak, M. (2004) *Govorimo srpski: s lakoćom do jezičke kulture* (3. izd.). Banja Luka, Republički pedagoški zavod.

Преузето: 30. 9. 2025.
Прихваћено: 26. 11. 2025.

Gorica R. Tomić¹
University of Kragujevac
Faculty of Education in Užice

POSITIONING SOURCE WORDS IN TWO-MEMBER SERBIAN LEXICAL BLENDS: AN ANALYSIS OF SOURCE WORDS' SYLLABLE NUMBER AND FREQUENCY

Abstract: Starting from the research results for intentional English blends which demonstrate that their first source word tends to have fewer syllables (Kelly, 1998; Renner, 2014 for coordinate blends; Gries, 2004b; 2004c; 2012 for (non-)coordinate blends) as well as greater frequency than their second source word (Kelly, 1998 for coordinate blends; Gries, 2004c; 2012 for (non-)coordinate blends), this paper aims to investigate whether the factors of syllable number and word frequency influence the positions of two source words in intentional paradigmatic and non-paradigmatic Serbian blends. To this end, a sample of 358 (non-)paradigmatic blends was drawn from the existing collections of blends in Serbian. The results of the statistical analysis show that the positioning of two source words in both paradigmatic and non-paradigmatic blends is significantly influenced by the source words' number of syllables, but not their frequency.

Key words: *Serbian blends, source words, positions, syllable number, frequency*

1. Introduction

In present-day Serbian, blends are indeed the most authentic, as well as the wittiest lexical formations (Prčić, 2018:p.85). Following Ronneberger-Sibold's (2006:p.157) definition of lexical blends, they are defined here as intentional "creation[s] of new word[s] out of two (or rarely more) previously existing ones in a way which differs from the rules or patterns of regular compounding".² Some of

¹ tomic@pfu.kg.ac.rs

² According to Ronneberger-Sibold (2006: p.157), "[t]his definition calls for a clear delimitation of blending, first, from different kinds of non-deliberate operations [e.g., error blends], second, from

the newest products of lexical blending in Serbian include creations such as *grīžoto* 'pea risotto' ← *gr*(ašak) 'pea' × *rižoto* 'risotto', *knjidžamice* 'mini pyjamas for books' ← *knji*(ge) 'books' × (p)*idžamice* 'mini pyjamas' and *rokesto* 'Serbian radish leaf pesto' ← *ro*(t)k(vica) 'radish' × (p)*esto* 'pesto sauce'.³ Lexical blending, as a non-rule governed word-formation process (Gries, 2012:p.145), is, according to some authors (e.g., Bauer, 2012:pp.11–12), probably best understood as a prototypical category "whose description centers around a number of defeasible constraints" (Renner et al., 2012:p.4), which include but are not limited to phonological constraints, word frequency, prototypicality of source words (SWs), semantic constraints, pragmatics, ease of pronunciation.⁴ Because of their "fascinating structure" (Bauer, 2012:p.11), the structural aspects of blends, including Serbian blends, have been, unsurprisingly, most widely studied (see, e.g., Bugarski, 2001; 2019; 2021; Halupka-Rešetar & Lalić-Krstin, 2009; Lalić-Krstin & Halupka-Rešetar, 2007; Tomić, 2019; 2022a; 2022b; 2023; Tomić & Danilović Jeremić, 2020). Thanks to these research studies, we know that blends in Serbian typically involve two source words, that they can be formed by a wide variety of blending techniques (which usually involve overlaps between the source words), that they are mostly nouns, that they combine various syntactic categories as well as non-adapted foreign words, and that they are normally grammatically right-headed. Although the factors of length (in terms of syllables), word frequency, as well as prototypicality of source words are expected to hold in blends from other languages (besides English) because of the "general principles of economy, Zipf's Law, and the like" (Bauer, 2012:p.13), Halupka-Rešetar & Lalić-Krstin (2012) found that the factor of prototypicality does not determine the order of source words in experimentally-elicited coordinate blends in Serbian, whose members belong to the semantic categories of *fruit* and *vegetables*. Notwithstanding the above list, there are still some formal aspects of Serbian blends we have no knowledge of, such as the influence of the factors of source words' length (in terms of syllables) and frequency on their positions in the

regular word formation, in particular compounding, and third, from other kinds of word creation outside regular grammar". For more about the definition of lexical blending, see Renner (2023: pp. 2–4).

³ The '×' symbolizes the process of lexical blending. Segments of the source words which are not contained in the blend are bracketed. Segment overlapping is indicated by underlining. All three examples are taken from my personal collection of new blends in Serbian.

⁴ Interestingly, more recent studies on blends (primarily in English) seem to be far more optimistic about the predictability of blend structure (see, e.g., Gries, 2004a; 2004c; 2006; Mattiello, 2013) than those from earlier times (see, e.g., Bauer, 1983: pp.232, 235, who classified blends under "unpredictable formations", arguing that it is not known what the constraints are "beyond pronounceability and spellability"; cf. also Cannon, 1986: p.744).

blend. It is exactly this question the present research aims to answer by analyzing a sample of intentional (non-)paradigmatic blends in Serbian. Accordingly, the aim of this paper is to establish whether the number of syllables and the frequency of source words influence their positions in intentional (non-)paradigmatic Serbian blends, and whether there are any differences between the two morphosemantic types of blends with respect to the influence of these two factors.

The paper is organized into five sections. The introduction is followed by a review of relevant research studies (Section 2). Section 3 provides more details about the data, i.e., a sample of Serbian blends, as well as the methods used in data analysis. In Section 4, the research results are presented and discussed in light of the other relevant findings. Finally, Section 5 concludes the paper by summarizing the research results and discussing a few implications for future research into the structure of (Serbian) lexical blends.

2. Literature review

In this section, I will give an overview of the studies whose research focus involved analyzing the number of syllables as well as the frequency of source words in two-member blends with the aim of finding out whether the two factors have an effect on the source word ordering. To the best of my knowledge, such studies have been conducted only for English blends so far. This is not surprising because blends in English are by far the most extensively and most systematically explored products of lexical blending. English blends are also most numerous, which is not insignificant for studies such as the ones overviewed here or presented in this paper, since the number of available examples of blends can have a considerable impact on the feasibility of the study (cf. Halupka-Rešetar & Lalić-Krstin, 2012: p.477), as well as on the validity and generalizability of its results. For my research, particularly relevant are the papers by Kelly (1998), Gries (2004b; 2004c; 2012) and Renner (2014). In reviewing these papers, I will focus on the research results that are most pertinent to the analyses to be performed in this paper.

The results of Kelly's (1998) pioneering study reveal (by use of inferential statistics) that the order of two source words in English coordinate blends in which the source words are paradigmatically related (e.g., *smog* ← *sm*o(ke) × (f)og or *smaze* ← *sm*(oke) × (h)aze) is largely predictable on the basis of certain linguistic and cognitive factors such as source words' number of syllables and frequency. Specifically, using a sample of 320 two-member English blends (extracted from Pound (1914) and the *Oxford English Dictionary*), he (Kelly, 1998: p.582) showed

that there is a strong tendency towards placing a shorter (in terms of syllables) as well as a more frequent word first.

Kelly's results were fully supported by the results of Gries's (2004b; 2004c; 2012) studies, which were based on much larger samples of English blends. Note, however, that, unlike Kelly (1998), Gries (2004b; 2004c; 2012) included both coordinate and non-coordinate blends in his analyses. Although Gries (2004b; 2004c; 2012) analyzed both types of blends in his studies, he, unfortunately, did not discuss if there were any significant differences between coordinate and non-coordinate blend structures in terms of the syllable number and frequency effects on the ordering of two source words.

In his first study, Gries (2004b) used a sample of 1,028 two-member English blends to analyze, among other things, the number of syllables in their source words in relation to their positions in the blend. He (Gries, 2004b: p.421) found that more than half of the examples (50.77%) had a shorter source word appear earlier in the blend. In 24.90% of the blends, the source words were equally long, while 24.3% of them had a longer source word appear earlier in the blend.

Using a slightly smaller sample of 988 intentional English blends, Gries (2004c:pp.205–206) demonstrated, through the use of statistical tests, that their first source word (SW1) is significantly shorter as well as more frequent than their second source word (SW2). He further compared those results for intentional blends with the results of the statistical analysis of the source words in non-deliberate or speech-error blends in order to determine the degree of similarity between intentional and speech-error blends with regard to the two factors. The results of those comparisons showed that the two types of blends behave quite differently (Gries, 2004c:p.206).

Gries (2012) further confirmed the above findings by statistically analyzing another large sample of English blends (2,329 examples). Specifically, he (Gries, 2012:pp.149,158) found that “in intentional blends sw1 is significantly more frequent than sw2” and that “sw2 turns out to be highly significantly longer than sw1, namely about half a syllable” (Gries, 2012:p.157). Gries (2012) also compared those results with the results of the analysis of the average number of syllables and frequency of source words of authentic error and induced error blends. He (Gries, 2012:p.149) concluded that while the number of syllables and frequency of the source words of both kinds of error blends do not differ significantly from each other, the source words of intentional blends “behave differently from the source words of errors”, both in terms of their average number of syllable and frequency.

Last but not least important is the paper by Renner (2014) in which the author statistically tested (using a Pearson's chi-square goodness of fit test) the significance of a number of (phonological, lexical, semantic and pragmatic) constraints on the element ordering in English coordinate lexical items including binomials, compounds and intentional blends. In the case of blends, he (Renner, 2014) analyzed a small sample of 142 blends and found that syllable number and initial consonant complexity are the only two statistically significant factors as far as the source word order is concerned, although the former (i.e., syllable number) was not independent of the frequency factor. As to lexical frequency of blend's elements, he found that the left/right element distribution in coordinate blends is not statistically significant. However, it must be noted that, as regards the frequency of the elements, Renner (2014) included only those lemmatized word forms whose frequency in the British National Corpus was minimum 5.

3. Materials and methods

Contrary to some of the studies reviewed above, which analyzed exclusively coordinate (or paradigmatic) blends in which the source words are related both syntactically and semantically, my sample includes paradigmatic as well as non-paradigmatic (or, in Dressler's (2000:p.5) and Mattiello's (2013:pp.123–125) terms, syntagmatic) blends. "Syntactically, [the source words of coordinate blends] are paradigmatically equivalent, i.e., belong to the same syntactic category, and both share their syntactic class with the final blend. Semantically, they are generally co-hyponyms of a superordinate term" (Mattiello, 2013:p.125). In syntagmatic blends, on the other hand, one source word usually functions as a syntactic and semantic head, while the other acts as its modifier, although there are examples of syntagmatic blends whose members "exhibit an exocentric relationship" (Mattiello, 2013:p.124; cf. also Beliaeva, 2014:pp.75,188). Here, for the blends whose source words are not paradigmatically equivalent and therefore cannot be "expanded into coordinate phrases" (Gries, 2004c:p.204), the term non-paradigmatic is used, since not all of them fulfil the criteria for syntagmatic blends as defined in Mattiello (2013: p.124). Namely, there are examples of Serbian blends in my sample where one source word is an argument of the other (e.g., *iskoronimo* 'eradicate coronavirus' ← *iskor(e)nimo* 'eradicate' × *koron(a)* 'coronavirus') (hence the term *argumental blends* (Bauer et al. (2013: pp.483–484)). According to Bauer et al. (2013:p.484), argumental blends can be either subject-referencing (e.g., *vilozofirati* 'philosophize in a fairy's manner' ← *vil(a)* 'fairy' × (f)*ilozofirati* 'philosophize') or object-refer-

encing (e.g., *iskoronimo*). Following Renner (2014:p.448; cf. also Lalić-Krstin, 2010:p.109), the paradigmatic or coordinate relationship between the source words of Serbian blends was established by using the available explanations of blends in the sources, which included markers such as “cross of A and B”, “mixture of A and B”, “combining A and B” or “functioning as A and B”.

Despite the claims encountered in the literature (cf. Bauer, 2012:p.12; Halupka-Rešetar & Lalić-Krstin, 2012:p.476) that the positions of SWs in (English and Serbian) syntagmatic blends are predetermined by “the rules of ordering constituents in phrases and compounds”, Gries (2004a:p.649) argues that both these types should be included in the analysis. As aptly pointed out by Gries (2004a: pp.648–649), although “on the one hand, it intuitively seems to make sense to restrict the analysis of source-word frequencies to those blends that can be expanded into coordinate structures [...]. On the other hand, there is no reason not to include noncoordinate blends (such as Westralia [West Australia]) in the analysis as well to see whether frequency plays a role for all kinds of blends”.

With the aim of establishing whether SW1 of paradigmatic and non-paradigmatic blends in Serbian tends to be shorter and more frequent than SW2, a sample of 224 blends from the collection of 400 Serbian blends given in Tomić (2023) was used. Considering the aim of the research, one of the methodological problems was the question which blends to sample. For example, hybrid English-Serbian and Serbian-English blends were not included, since the English words used in them are not adapted to the phonological and/or morphological system of the Serbian language (cf. Tomić, 2022b). That is, since the source words of such cross-linguistic blends belong to two different languages, they are not comparable as regards the frequency factor. The frequency of a non-adapted English word in a Serbian corpus would actually give false results about its frequency in the English language. On the other hand, the blends whose one source word is an adapted form of an English word are included in the sample (e.g., *krindžama* ← *krindž* ‘cringe’ × (p) *idžama* ‘pyjamas’) because, as such, they only exist in the given language (in this case, the Serbian language).

I did not include blends whose one member is a zero-syllable word (e.g., the onomatopoeic ideophone *zzz*, representing the sound of bees buzzing) either. Excluded were also (a) all graphic blends (Bugarski, 2019) (e.g., *Soler*, *PODstaknite*, *doČEPaj se*) where “a string of phonemes [or graphemes] in the longer base is identical with the entire second base” (Halupka-Rešetar & Lalić-Krstin, 2009:p.118), as well as (b) some examples of discontinuous blends (referred to as “sandwich blends” by Renner (2019)), in which one of the source words interrupts the continuity of the

other, while usually overlapping with it (e.g., *Miškomor*, *ledilo*).⁵ Specifically, these two types of blends were excluded because it is extremely difficult to decidedly or unmistakably determine which of the two source words appears in first position, that is, which one of them is primary in the process of analysis (cf. Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006:p.170). For example, should we decompose the blend *Miškomor* into *Miško* ‘a Serbian businessman’s nickname’ × *mišomor* ‘rat poison’ or *mišomor* × *Miško*? Similarly, is the example *PODstaknite* to be formally analyzed into *pod* ‘floor’ × *podstaknite* ‘encourage’ or *podstaknite* × *pod*? Considering that it is of fundamental importance for the analyses in this paper to be sure of the positions of the two source words, I decided not to include such blends in my sample, although one way of analyzing or reconstructing them is given in Tomić (2023, see also the appendices therein).

Lastly, I did not include few examples of (non-)paradigmatic blends where one or even both source words are homographs. The reason is that I was not able to retrieve the frequency for such source words from the corpus (see below). Put differently, it was not possible to disambiguate these forms with their specific meanings in the blend from the same forms (which may additionally belong to a different part of speech) with different meanings (e.g. *grickalice* ‘snacks’ vs. *grickalice* ‘nail clippers’, *kokice* ‘popcorn’ vs. *kokice* ‘a hypocoristic term for a hen’, *Citra* ‘a type of beer’ vs. *citra* ‘a musical instrument’, etc.). In those cases where the homographs belong to two different parts of speech (e.g., *Rasti* ‘a name of a character’ vs. *rasti* ‘grow’), I tried using the POS tag, but it was not of much use, mainly because those words were also lumped together in one concordance or they were not correctly tagged.

All 224 blends were then divided into two subsamples, one consisting of paradigmatic (32 examples) and the other of non-paradigmatic blends (192 examples). To make the two subsamples more balanced, 129 paradigmatic examples from Bugarski (2019) and 5 paradigmatic examples from Bugarski (2021) were sampled (according to the above criteria) and added to 32 examples of paradigmatic blends taken from Tomić (2023).⁶ From Bugarski’s (2019; 2021) collections, I excluded examples of error blends, blends which are or may be interpreted as being imported from English into Serbian ready-made (e.g., *vežbigrice* ‘exergames’, *prineprijatelji* ‘frenemies’) (Bugarski, 2019:pp.74–75), blends which are recorded in the Croatian dictionary of lexical blends (e.g., *Karalanović*, *Mirovčak*) (Marković et al., 2016),

⁵ As evinced by the examples listed here, graphic blends are “only revealed by the orthography of the blend” (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006:p.167).

⁶ Even a cursory glance at the existing collections of blends in Bugarski (2019) and Tomić (2023) suggests that the great majority of Serbian blends are of the non-paradigmatic type.

as well as the examples of blends which have exactly the same form as the existing Serbian words (e.g., *Dučić*).

In total, there were 358 blends in my sample, 166 paradigmatic (e.g., *Malimeta* 'raspberry and lime juice' ← *mal*(na) 'raspberry' × *li*meta 'lime', *Kerametal* 'name of a company selling products made of ceramics and metal' ← *keram*(ika) 'ceramics' × *met*al 'metal', *brundža* 'cranberry and orange tea' ← *bru*(snice) 'cranberries' × (po-mo)ra^{ndža} 'orange', *čizmadrile* 'footwear that is a hybrid of boots and espadrilles' ← *čizma* 'boot' × (esp)*adrile* 'espadrille', *celeraba* 'a celery and kohlrabi hybrid' ← *celer* 'celery' × (k)*eleraba* 'kohlrabi', *izumetnik* 'a person who is both an inventor and an artist' ← *izum*(itelj) 'inventor' × *umetnik* 'artist', *medverica* 'a hybrid of bear and squirrel' ← *medve*(d) 'bear' × (ve)*verica* 'squirrel', *maždaja* 'a hybrid of cat and dragon' ← *ma*(čka) 'cat' × *aždaja* 'dragon', *duhovište* 'an imaginary creature which is both a ghost and a monster' ← *duh* 'ghost' × (čud)*ovište* 'monster') and 192 non-paradigmatic (e.g., *majmunitet* 'immunity of a monkey' ← *majmun* 'monkey' × (i)*mun*itet 'immunity', *isvinjavam se* 'apologize, in a pig's manner' ← i(z)*vinja*-vam se 'apologize' × *svinja* 'pig', *kovidljamovka* 'a name of pear brandy during the Covid-19 pandemic' ← *kovid* 'Covid-19' × *viljamovka* 'pear brandy', *patlidžanstvene* 'magnificent because one of the ingredients is eggplant' ← *patlidžan* 'eggplant' × (ve)*li*(č)*anstvene* 'magnificent', *mumlafon* 'a microphone into which one mumbles' ← *mumla* 'mumbles' × (mikro)fon 'microphone', *šumkula* 'a forest shark' ← *šum*(ska) 'forest' × (aj)kula 'shark', *rogulja* 'a horned eel' ← *rog*(ata) 'horned' × (je)gulja 'eel', *muzikaljenje* 'mastering musicianship skills' ← *muzika* 'music' × *kaljenje* 'mastering', *zbunjoblak* 'a confused cloud' ← *zbunj*(en) 'confused' × *oblak* 'cloud', *jastuknuti* 'succumb to hardships by going to sleep' ← *jastuk* 'pillow' × (u)*stuknuti* 'succumb') blends.⁷

⁷ The remaining paradigmatic blends include: *veronautika*, *veromučitelj*, *Srboslavija*, *Srbogorci*, *Rusopejci*, *rigogrozno*, *restoteka*, *rekondestrukcija*, *razočajan*, *psihopaćenik*, *profetitelj*, *Madarogorac*, *ljubičanstveno*, *kreativan*, *kerefetluci*, *katastrašno*, *Jugoslovenac*, *hrpski*, *Grbija*, *glupovito*, *fenofantastično*, *ekologično*, *družiciranje*, *doktorator*, *bravugrozno*, *arhitekturisti*, *babčeha*, *Bajkomedija*, *birokratūra*, *brodocikl*, *Cecerluša*, *čurafa*, *dečkojčica*, *doktogirati*, *džulov*, *đuturativno*, *fenomentastično*, *gastronauti*, *gastronomad*, *geopard*, *gramovir*, *grožbuka*, *hameleon*, *horkestar*, *intelegantan*, *jučeras*, *kapuks*, *kešovina*, *kišnoća*, *kivizle*, *klinceze*, *Knjigračka*, *krajčetak*, *krmačka*, *kurveštija*, *lavgar*, *lubendinja*, *lutovati*, *Mačker*, *narkoholičar*, *njokačinke*, *obažljivo*, *odličanstveno*, *ogromantan*, *patkula*, *pivovica*, *pljugareta*, *Poezika*, *Radiovizija*, *Radiovizor*, *rečovit*, *Slobeliks*, *sociozofski*, *stripovetka*, *škozorište*, *tiglav*, *zabavantura*, *zekodlak*, *zimoća*, *Malinada*, *Medolada*, *Prasorog*, *Urmolada*, *budžep*, *Politikeni*, *ružičanstvena*, *čudečanstvena*, *dedaj*, *Gurmetnica*, *komuljare*, *Politikormer*, *smamačica*, *trološ*, *antirafa*, *Biblioskop*, *BAŠTeAtar*, *jazopas*, *kamileoni*, *vevečka*, *žiramun*, *kolosajno*, *zajefkancija*, *ustanoviti*, *tragonija*, *Srvatska*, *patridiotizam*, *premijersednik*, *autokritet*, *opsimista*, *Đitler*, *Crncuz*, *čarobični*, *dolodlazak*, *droksa*, *kenjoar*, *kretil*, *kretard*, *limunžada*, *Mačkonjić*, *Moštružnica*, *mozgonetke*, *patriopata*, *piski*, *pragnje*, *Hrbija*, *Hrbin*, *hrengleski*, *Srbazija*, *Srbat*, *svinjga*, *svrabac*, *zajebuniti se*, *čelepinja*, *kikilada*,

The source words of all blends in my sample (i.e., 716 source words) were first analyzed for their individual number of syllables. The analysis of the *lemma* frequency of both source words of 358 blends was performed using the MaCoCu Serbian Web v1 (2021–2022) corpus in the Sketch Engine software. The MaCoCu Serbian Web v1 (2021–2022) corpus is the largest Serbian corpus available, boasting a database of 2.4 billion words. “The MaCoCu corpora were built by crawling the Internet top-level domain in 2021 and 2022, extending the crawl dynamically to other domains as well” (Sketch Engine). Following the principles of corpus linguistics (Brezina, 2018: p.46), both absolute (AF) and relative frequencies (RF) (per million tokens) for each of 716 lemmas were retrieved from the corpus.

I then counted the number of blends in which SW1 is shorter than SW2, and vice versa, as well as the number of blends in which SW1 is more frequent than SW2, and vice versa. I did this for paradigmatic and non-paradigmatic blends, respectively. All these data were subsequently used in statistical analysis. Similarly to Renner (2014), I also used a chi-square goodness of fit test (χ^2 -test for goodness of fit) to establish whether the difference between the observed distributions in each blend type is statistically significant with regard to the influence of the two factors

rurbani, enigmature, simpavetinja, sočka, bananas, šampidžan, šljivovski, hamburek, fentilator, aforizjava, Aliprroković, Alivučić, bajčetnički, čirilatinica, Prodorović, Šulin, Toris, Tramputin, Vulinda, Vušelj, Soranija, Šormasić, Kristanija. As for the non-paradigmatic blends, the remaining examples include: *Baštastično, Bibiriki, čokolivud, Dečarolija, FILUMni, Irkofas, kokotastični, Krofnorog, kvascinantno, metalosaurus, oplaneti se, papirosaurus, plastikosaurus, plazmastično, reciklosaurusi, sirane, Sovembar, staklosaurus, StaPARK, susamljen, Testival, tunapčić, Zdravoteka, Zvezdapol, Žabalesku, žiraćino, afoerizmi, amandatar, anaprednjakinja, anesteziolog, antiNovakser, AVaskeva, AVra, dekonstrakcija, dekonstraktivno, Dveromobil, ETNArizmi, Festosaurus, FIBuloze, Finovacije, fitneSNS, Fratrogasci, globiranje, Hepidemiolog, hepidemiologija, Kešformisanje, Koštulend, Kukupedija, lažovizija, Lilifašistanci, lupmolog, Mitrogol, napisotine, napredNjAKANJE, reanomobil, Stripformer, šoljoskop, štamposaurusi, Toksimoron, twiteroristkinja, Vakcionalizam, Vakcionalnost, Veberotine, Vesnotres, Vojskosaurus, Vučićanstvo, Brokolićinke, Blebečkovička, BLJurednik, BLJuformer, botuljeni, Cecesija, fekaloid, glupičanstvo, Grokoko, HEPInfekcija, iskoronimo, klozetoid, Kovidovdan, krindžama, Lončmar, minićinke, neINFORMERisan, Nolesnici, multikulturalnost, očajnormar, ovičanstveno, preletosaurusi, psujeveran, rebusanj, Smećegraf, Sposaurusi, Spssaurusi, sveKRIVA, Svinjformer, svinjoid, svinjonavirus, Šljajformer, Twiterapeut, unazapađen, urbanosaurusi, Uvlačičević, zajebeAVancija, Zliformer, zloslobodenje, Žarkonije, Cepelinkovac, Čvoroskop, Dedinjastija, dronolitičari, džambasador, Džebanat, entuzijas pazam, EUrolog, gizdavitelj, hEUmoglobin, kradministrativni, Krasnokalpisa, krekonovski, krekusionista, Krokiriki, lepotizam, Mozgosaurus, pčeličanstvo, poPLJiŽdesmo, priPLJiŽava se, prohibiskucija, razvaškari, Rokvilj, sarmada, slobistkinja, stanoreksija, Stresolovka, tenkvivalentnost, tevektualci, tužibabuška, Včnuci, uucibaština, Šizlapomotiva, zgurabija, zurlanje, vilozofirati, Grokenrol, Dadapokalipsa, zaštipci, Zlikovnica, zMAjTEMATIKA, izštipci, istetrebljenje, joštipci, Kakanik, kakavizija, kakaceza, marštipci, puzalone, slovembar, Maksimirenje, Novakser, SNSelektor, SNSrbija, SNStadion, Srbrljanje, tabloidioti, turbanizam, Veronautičar, Gnjavnik, hranac, mančastično, Promikron, SPSoid, širokoko, Alogaritmije, kaparazit, kokainkasant, kondukerijer, Kornjačurke, maribuanalitičar, Noktobar, pečalbatros, vokabulimija, ponštipci, šazbuka.*

on the positions of their source words. However, as rightly observed by Kelly (1998: p.582), there is one methodological problem with the analysis of the influence of the factors of syllable number and word frequency on the element ordering. Namely, the problem arises due to the *tendency* (my emphasis) of shorter words to be more frequent (Zipf, 1935), which implies that the two factors under analysis are interdependent and that they in addition need to be controlled in some way if we aim to determine the influence of each factor separately, i.e., independently of each other. This is why not all 358 blends could be used in all parts of the analysis.

4. Results and discussion

The results of the analysis aimed at determining the number of syllables in SW1 and SW2 of 166 paradigmatic and 192 non-paradigmatic blends (as individual samples) show that there is a tendency towards positioning the shorter word first, both in the paradigmatic and the non-paradigmatic (Table 1) blends alike, and that this tendency appears to be somewhat stronger in non-paradigmatic blends. Specifically, out of 166 paradigmatic blends, SW1 of 70 examples has fewer syllables than SW2. In 47 paradigmatic blends, SW1 is longer than SW2. The source words of 49 paradigmatic blends are equisyllabic. Similar results are obtained for non-paradigmatic blends. Out of 192 non-paradigmatic blends, 129 examples have the shorter word appear in first position, 33 examples have the longer word appear in first position and 30 examples have equally long source words.

Table 1 Number of (non-)paradigmatic blends whose SW1 is shorter than SW2 and those whose SW1 is longer than SW2

	SW1 shorter than SW2	SW1 longer than SW2
Paradigmatic blends	70	47
Non-paradigmatic blends	129	33

To establish whether the difference in the observed distributions of paradigmatic and non-paradigmatic blends as regards the number of syllables in SW1 and SW2 is statistically significant (equisyllabic blends are excluded from this part of the statistical analysis), I performed a chi-square goodness of fit or χ^2 -test in Excel (the alpha level was set at 0.05), which is used to “test the degree of fit between your observed and an expected distribution” (Gries, 2009:p.152). The expected values, which must be larger than or equal to 5, were computed based on a 50/50

probability. The null hypothesis (H_0) states that there is no difference between the two distributions. The alternative hypothesis (H_1) states that there is a significant difference between the two distributions, and that it is not due to chance or error sampling.

For paradigmatic blends, the test ($\chi^2(1, 117) = 4.52$) gives a p -value of 0.033, which means that the result is significant at $p < 0.05$ and that the null hypothesis should be rejected. In other words, the difference between the observed $SW1 < SW2$ and $SW1 > SW2$ (in terms of the syllable number) distributions in non-equisyllabic paradigmatic Serbian blends is statistically significant. For non-paradigmatic blends, the p -value is < 0.00001 ($\chi^2(1, 162) = 56.89$). Accordingly, the null hypothesis is rejected for non-paradigmatic blends as well. Since this result is also significant at $p < 0.05$, we can conclude that the difference between the observed $SW1 < SW2$ and $SW1 > SW2$ (in terms of the syllable number) distributions in non-equisyllabic non-paradigmatic Serbian blends is statistically significant. Put differently, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that there is a statistically significant difference between the observed distributions of $SW1 < SW2$ and $SW1 > SW2$ blends (in terms of the two source words' number of syllables). The results for Serbian paradigmatic blends are in accordance with Renner's (2014) findings for English coordinate blends.

However, as previously mentioned, we also have to check whether the above differences remain significant independently of lexical frequency, that is, once the factor of word frequency is neutralized. Namely, if we neutralize the frequency factor in the above examples, i.e., if we include in the analysis only those examples of non-equisyllabic paradigmatic and non-paradigmatic blends whose $SW1$ is less frequent than $SW2$ (54 paradigmatic and 74 non-paradigmatic blends) (Table 2), the difference between the $SW1 < SW2$ and $SW1 > SW2$ (in terms of syllables) distributions is, interestingly, still statistically significant for non-paradigmatic blends, since the test ($\chi^2(1, 74) = 7.78$) gives a p -value of 0.005 (which is significant at $p < 0.05$), but not for paradigmatic blends because the test ($\chi^2(1, 54) = 1.85$) gives a p -value of 0.17 (not significant at $p < 0.05$). The result for paradigmatic blends in Serbian is also in line with Renner's (2014) findings for a somewhat smaller sample of English coordinate blends. This suggests that the syllable number factor, which predicts that $SW1$ will be shorter than $SW2$, is not independent of that of frequency in paradigmatic Serbian blends.

Table 2 Number of (non-)paradigmatic blends whose SW1 is shorter and less frequent than SW2 and those whose SW1 is longer and less frequent than SW2

	SW1 shorter than SW2 SW1 less frequent than SW2	SW1 longer than SW2 SW1 less frequent than SW2
Paradigmatic blends	22	32
Non-paradigmatic blends	49	25

The number of paradigmatic blends in which SW1 is more frequent than SW2 (93 examples) outnumbers blends whose SW2 is more frequent than SW1 (73 examples) (Table 3). Similarly, the number of non-paradigmatic blends in which SW1 is more frequent than SW2 (103 examples) outnumbers blends whose SW2 is more frequent than SW1 (88 examples) (Table 3). One non-paradigmatic blend has source words of equal relative frequency, hence the total number of 191.⁸ Regarding the influence of the factor of lexical frequency which specifies that the more frequent of the two words will appear in first position (cf. Kelly, 1998; Renner, 2014), the difference between the SW1>SW2 and SW1<SW2 (in terms of their relative frequencies) distributions is found to be statistically significant neither for paradigmatic nor non-paradigmatic blends in Serbian, since the test ($\chi^2(1, 166) = 2.41$) gives a p -value of 0.12 for paradigmatic blends and a p -value of 0.28 ($\chi^2(1, 191) = 1.18$) for non-paradigmatic blends. In other words, both these results are not significant at $p<0.05$, which implies that we fail to reject the null hypothesis in this case. The results obtained herein are also in line with Renner's (2014) findings for a sample of 129 coordinate English blends.

Table 3 Number of (non-)paradigmatic blends whose SW1 is more frequent than SW2 and those whose SW1 is less frequent than SW2

	SW1 more frequent than SW2	SW1 less frequent than SW2
Paradigmatic blends	93	73
Non-paradigmatic blends	103	88

⁸Even though the combination of two source words having the same (relative) frequency is extremely uncommon (cf. Kelly, 1998:p.582), there is one non-paradigmatic blend *zgurabija* 'qurabiye prepared by a hunchbacked woman' ← *zgur*(ena) 'hunchbacked' (3 syllables) × *gurabija* 'qurabiye' (4 syllables), in which the two source words occur with the same frequency (RF=0.01) in the corpus utilized for the purposes of this paper.

After neutralizing the influence of the syllable number factor, that is, after excluding all non-equisyllabic paradigmatic and non-paradigmatic blends from the above subsamples (Table 4) and therefore from further statistical analysis, the test results reveal that neither of the differences between the distributions as regards SW1's and SW2' relative frequency is statistically significant at $p < 0.05$. Specifically, the test ($\chi^2(1, 49) = 1.65$) gives a p -value of 0.20 for paradigmatic blends and a p -value of 0.72 for non-paradigmatic blends ($\chi^2(1, 30) = 0.13$). Consequently, we fail to reject the null hypothesis. There is, however, no sufficient evidence to conclude that the alternative hypothesis is true.

Table 4 Number of equisyllabic (non-)paradigmatic blends whose SW1 is more frequent than SW2 and those whose SW1 is less frequent than SW2

	SW1 more frequent than SW2	SW1 less frequent than SW2
Paradigmatic blends	29	20
Non-paradigmatic blends	16	14

This piece of evidence suggests that the influence of the frequency factor on the positioning of two source words in paradigmatic and non-paradigmatic Serbian blends is not statistically significant. It is noteworthy that the above results for Serbian paradigmatic blends are compatible with Renner's (2014) findings for the same number of English coordinate blends (49 examples) as well.

5. Conclusions

In this paper, I aimed to investigate whether the factors of syllable number and lexical frequency influence the positions of two source words in intentional Serbian blends, both paradigmatic and non-paradigmatic, as has been, for instance, demonstrated for intentional English blends in some studies. On the basis of the results obtained by means of inferential statistics, several conclusions can be drawn. First, the factor of syllable number is found to be statistically significant in determining the positions of two source words both in paradigmatic and non-paradigmatic Serbian blends, in that the shorter source word appears earlier in the blend than the longer source word. Second, although syllable number significantly influences the source word positioning in both these types of blends, it must be noted that it is not independent of the word frequency factor in paradigmatic Serbian blends. Third,

relative frequency of source words, in that the more frequent source word appears in first position, is found to be statistically significant neither for paradigmatic nor for non-paradigmatic blends in Serbian. Despite the fact that the subsamples of Serbian blends in certain parts of the statistical analysis were rather small, it is safe to conclude that, in addition to the ease of blend pronounceability and, possibly, phonemic or graphemic similarity of source words to each other and to the blend itself, the factor of syllable number plays a significant role in determining the source word position in intentional two-member Serbian blends. Perhaps more importantly, these findings also point to the fact that the positions of source words in Serbian blends are not entirely unpredictable and that there is actually "some method to blends' madness".

In light of the above conclusions, it would certainly be interesting to compare results obtained in this paper with the results of some future research studies on paradigmatic and non-paradigmatic blends from other Slavic languages in which blending has also been productive. As to Serbian blends alone, further research studies could, for example, examine whether the shorter source word actually contributes more of itself (in terms of syllables or graphemes (phonemes)) to the resultant blend, as has already been suggested for intentional English blends. Another possible avenue for research could involve investigating whether Serbian blenders tend to position the source word with positive connotation first, since we still have no knowledge of the influence of this semantic variable on the structure of intentional Serbian blends, specifically their source words' positions.

Sources

1. Bugarski, R. (2019) *Srpske slivenice: monografija sa rečnikom*. Novi Sad, Akademska knjiga.
2. Bugarski, R. (2021) *Saga o ćirilici: ogledi o jeziku i nacionalizmu*. Beograd, Biblioteka XX vek.
3. MaCoCu Serbian Web v1 (2021–2022) Sketch Engine. Accessed January 2024. <https://auth.sketchengine.eu/#login>.
4. Tomić, G. (2023) *Leksičke slivenice u savremenom engleskom i srpskom jeziku: strukturni, sadržinski i sociolingvistički aspekti*. Doktorska disertacija, Univerzitet u Kragujevcu.

References

1. Bauer, L. (1983) *English word-formation*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
2. Bauer, L. (2012) Blends: Core and periphery. In: V. Renner, Maniez, F. & Arnaud, P. (eds.) *Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Lexical Blending*. Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter Mouton. 11–22. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110289572.11>

3. Bauer, L., Rochelle L., & Plag, I. (2013) *The Oxford reference guide to English morphology*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
4. Beliaeva, N. (2014) *Unpacking contemporary English blends: Morphological structure, meaning, processing*. PhD Diss. Victoria University of Wellington. <https://doi.org/10.26686/wgtn.17008108>
5. Brezina, V. (2018) *Statistics in corpus linguistics: A practical guide*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
6. Bugarski, R. (2001) Dve reči u jednoj: leksičke skrivalice. *Jezik danas*. 5 (13), 1–5.
7. Bugarski, R. (2019) *Srpske slivenice: monografija sa rečnikom*. Novi Sad, Akademska knjiga.
8. Bugarski, R. (2021) Saga o ćirilici: ogledi o jeziku i nacionalizmu. Beograd, Biblioteka XX vek.
9. Cannon, G. (1986) Blends in English Word Formation. *Linguistics*. 24 (4), 725–753. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ling.1986.24.4.725>
10. Dressler, W. U. (2000) Extragrammatical vs. Marginal Morphology. In: U. Doleschal & A. M. Thornton (eds.) *Extragrammatical and Marginal Morphology*. München, Lincom Europa, pp. 1–10.
11. Gries, S. Th. (2004a) Shouldnt It Be Breakfunch? A Quantitative Analysis of Blend Structure in English. *Linguistics*. 42 (2), 639–667. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ling.2004.021>
12. Gries, S. Th. (2004b) Isn't That Fantabulous? How Similarity Motivates Intentional Morphological Blends in English. In: M. Achard & S. Kemmer (eds.) *Language, Culture, and Mind*. Stanford, CA, CSLI Publications, pp. 415–428.
13. Gries, S. Th. (2004c) Some Characteristics of English Morphological Blends. In: M. Adronis, E. Debernport, A. Pycha, & K. Yoshimure (eds.) *Papers from the 38th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*. Vol.II. The Panels, pp. 201–216.
14. Gries, S. Th. (2006) Cognitive Determinants of Subtractive Word Formation: A Corpus-Based Perspective. *Cognitive Linguistics*. 17 (4), 535–558. <https://doi.org/10.1515/cog.2006.017>
15. Gries, S. Th. (2009) *Statistics for Linguistics with R: A Practical Introduction*. Berlin, New York, Mouton de Gruyter.
16. Gries, Stefan Th. (2012) Quantitative Corpus Data on Blend Formation: Psycho- and Cognitive-Linguistic Perspectives. In: V. Renner, Maniez, F. & Arnaud, P. (eds.) *Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Lexical Blending*. Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 145–168. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110289572.145>.
17. Halupka Rešetar, S. & Lalić Krstin, G. (2009) New blends in Serbian: typological and headedness-related issues. *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu*. 34 (1), 115–24. <http://digitalna.ff.uns.ac.rs/sadrzaj/2009/0374-0730>
18. Halupka-Rešetar, S. & Lalić-Krstin, G. (2012) Prototypicality as governing factor in constituent ordering in Serbian blends. In: Snežana Gudurić (ed.) *Jezici i kulture u vremenu i prostoru: tematski zbornik I*. Novi Sad, Filozofski fakultet, pp. 475–486.

19. Kelly, M. H. (1998) To 'Brunch' or to 'Brench': Some Aspects of Blend Structure. *Linguistics*. 36 (3), 579–90. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ling.1998.36.3.579>
20. Lalić-Krstin, G. & Halupka-Rešetar, S. (2007) Nešto novo o novim slivenicama u srpskom jeziku. *Svet reči: srednjoškolski časopis za srpski jezik i književnost*. 11 (23/24), 26–30.
21. Lalić-Krstin, G. (2010) *Strukturni i sadržinski aspekti novih slivenica u engleskom jeziku: kognitivnolingvistički pristup*. Doktorska disertacija. Univerzitet u Novom Sadu.
22. Marković, I., Klindić, I. & Borković, I. (2016) *Hrvatski rječnik stopljenica*. <https://stilistika.org/hrvatski-rjecnik-stopljenica>.
23. Mattiello, E. (2013) *Extra-grammatical morphology in English: Abbreviations, blends, reduplicatives, and related phenomena*. Berlin, De Gruyter Mouton.
24. Prčić, T. (2018) *Ka savremenim srpskim rečnicima*. 1., Elektronsko izd. Novi Sad, Filozofski fakultet. <http://digitalna.ff.uns.ac.rs/sadrzaj/2018/978-86-6065-454-2>
25. Renner, V. (2014) A Study of Element Ordering in English Coordinate Lexical Items. *English Studies*. 95 (4), 441–58. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0013838x.2014.908039>.
26. Renner, V. (2019) French and English Lexical Blends in Contrast. *Languages in Contrast*. 19 (1), 27–47. <https://doi.org/10.1075/lic.16020.ren>.
27. Renner, V. (2023) Blending. In: P. Ackema, S. Bendjaballah, E. Bonet, et al. (eds.) *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Morphology*. Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119693604.morphcom009>.
28. Renner, V., Maniez, F. & Arnaud, P. J. (2012) Introduction: A Bird's-Eye View of Lexical Blending. In: V. Renner, Maniez, F. & Arnaud, P. (eds.) *Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Lexical Blending*. Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110289572.1>.
29. Ronneberger-Sibold, E. (2006) Lexical Blends: Functionally Tuning the Transparency of Complex Words. *Folia Linguistica*. 40 (1–2), 155–181.
30. Tomić, G. & Danilović Jeremić, J. (2020) Ekspresivnost u nazivima hrane i pića: analiza. U: M. Kovačević & J. Petković (ur). *Srpski jezik, književnost, umetnost: zbornik radova sa XIV međunarodnog naučnog skupa održanog na Filološko-umetničkom fakultetu u Kragujevcu (25–27. X 2019)*. Knj. 1, *Ekspresivnost u srpskom jeziku*, Kragujevac: Filološko-umetnički fakultet, pp. 289–302. https://drive.google.com/file/d/1osu8zlkj6XFiN84fzPR_5avo4fnXrHTX/view.
31. Tomić, G. (2019) Tvorbeno-semantička analiza novih slivenica u srpskom jeziku. *Zbornik radova Filozofskog fakulteta u Prištini*. 49 (2), 61–83. <https://scindeks-clanci.ceon.rs/data/pdf/0354-7795/2019/0354-77951902061T.pdf>.
32. Tomić, G. (2022a) Lexical Blends in Serbian: An Analysis of Morphosemantic Transparency. *Zbornik radova Filozofskog fakulteta u Prištini*. 52 (3), 13–37. <https://scindeks-clanci.ceon.rs/data/pdf/0354-3293/2022/0354-32932203013T.pdf>.
33. Tomić, G. (2022b) Hybrid English-Serbian and Serbian-English Lexical Blends in Serbian. *Philologia Mediana*. 14, 409–28. <http://www.philologiamediana.com/index.php/phm/article/view/750/655>.

34. Tomić, G. (2023) *Leksičke slivenice u savremenom engleskom i srpskom jeziku: strukturni, sadržinski i sociolingvistički aspekti*. Doktorska disertacija, Univerzitet u Kragujevcu.
35. Zipf, G. K. (1935) *The psycho-biology of language*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, The M.I.T. Press.

Gorica R. Tomić
Univerzitet u Kragujevcu
Pedagoški fakultet u Užicu

POZICIONIRANJE MOTIVNIH REČI U DVOČLANIM
LEKSIČKIM SLIVENICAMA U SRPSKOM JEZIKU: ANALIZA
BROJA SLOGOVA I FREKVENTNOSTI MOTIVNIH REČI
ЛЕКТОРИСАНО

Rezime

Ako se imaju na umu rezultati istraživanja (Gries, 2004b; 2004c; 2012; Kelly, 1998; Renner, 2014) svesno i namerno tvorenih slivenica u engleskom jeziku koji ukazuju da na redosled motivnih reči u (ne)koordinativnim slivenicama utiču broj slogova i frekventnost, kao i to da u literaturi o slivenicama u srpskom jeziku nedostaju istraživanja o tome koji sve faktori utiču na strukturu, tačnije redosled motivnih reči u slivenicama, cilj ovog rada jeste da istraži da li faktori kao što su broj slogova i relativna frekventnost motivnih reči imaju uticaja na njihov redosled u paradigmatskim i neparadigmatskim slivenicama u srpskom jeziku, kao i da li među ovim dvama morfosemantičkim tipovima u tom pogledu postoje razlike. U tu svrhu je iz postojećih izvora srpskih slivenica uzorkovano 358 primera paradigmatskog i neparadigmatskog tipa, s tim da nisu sve one bile deo svake statističke analize koja je izvršena u radu. Rezultati ovog istraživanja pokazuju da je u srpskom jeziku uticaj broja slogova motivnih reči na njihov redosled u paradigmatskim i neparadigmatskim slivenicama statistički značajan, ali ne i frekventnost motivnih reči.

► *Ključne reči*: srpske slivenice, motivne reči, pozicija, broj slogova, frekventnost.

Preuzeto: 1. 2. 2025.
Korekcije: 20. 10. 2025.
Prihvaćeno: 9. 11. 2025.

Gjoko Nikolovski¹
Univerza v Mariboru
Filozofska fakulteta
Oddelek za slovanske jezike in književnosti
Biljana Mirchevska Bosheva
Univerza »Sv. Ciril in Metod« v Skopju
Filološka fakulteta »Blaže Koneski«
Oddelek za slavistiko

KONCEPTUALIZACIJA SMRTI V SLOVENSKEM IN MAKEDONSKEM JEZIKU

Abstrakt: *Prispevek prinaša konceptualizacijo smrti v slovenskem in makedonskem jeziku skozi prizmo kognitivnih mehanizmov metafore in metonimije. S tem ciljem je iz dveh jezikov analizirano frazeološko gradivo, ki prinaša jezikovno podobo nenasilne smrti. Zbrano gradivo je s pomočjo konceptualne in kontrastivne analize razvrščeno po metonimiji FIZIOLOŠKI UČINKI SMRTI NAMESTO SMRTI in metaforah UMIRANJE JE SELITEV, SMRT JE DOLI, SMRT JE SPANJE, SMRT JE ŽIVO BITJE, SMRT JE UGASNJENA SVETLOBA, SMRT JE ZAKLJUČNO DEJANJE, SMRT JE IZGUBA DRAGOCENEGA PREDMETA, SMRT JE IZGUBA SNOVI in LJUDJE SO ŽIVALI, s čimer preizkušamo izhodiščno tezo članka, da so v tvorbo slovenskih in makedonskih frazemov ter njihovega pomena vključeni kognitivni mehanizmi metafore in metonimije, kar prispeva k širšemu pogledu na koncept smrti v obeh jezikih.*

Gljučne besede: *kontrastivna analiza, konceptualna analiza, frazemi, slovenski jezik, makedonski jezik, kognitivno jezikoslovje.*

¹ gjoko.nikolovski@um.si

1 Uvod²

Smrt je v leksikonskih virih (prim. Veliki splošni leksikon, 1998:p.3978) in slovarskih virih (prim. *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* – SSKJ², *Толковен речник на македонскиот јазик* – TPMJ, *Дигитален речник на македонскиот јазик* – ДРМЈ) v nezaznamovanih pomenih definirana kot prenehanje življenja in življenjskih procesov. Veliki splošni leksikon (1998:p.3979) ponuja tudi filozofsko in religijsko obravnavo, ki se osredotoča na vprašanje, kaj se dogaja z individualnostjo umrljivega človeka (ali povsem razpade, ali ponovno vstane kot celota telesa in duše, ali je samo duša neumrljiva, ali se spremeni samo individualnost in živi naprej nekje vmes [predniki, duhovi], ali pa se spet individualizira s ponovnim rojstvom [reinkarnacija]). Ta prispevek predstavlja nadaljevanje prispevka *Frazeološka podoba smrti v makedonskem in slovenskem jeziku* (2020:pp.315–337), v katerem je primerjalno in lingvokulturološko analizirano frazeološko gradivo frazeosemantičnega polja smrti v makedonskem in slovenskem jeziku. Z različno metodologijo se tudi v tej raziskavi analizira zbrano frazeološko gradivo, saj izhajamo iz ugotovitev, da je frazeologija pomemben vir za razumevanje življenjskih konceptov (prim. Kržišnik & Smolič, 1999:pp.61–80; Jemec, 1999:pp.229–236; Będkowska-Kopczyk, 2004) in da se prav v frazemih hranijo najbolj tipični in stalni pogledi na številne koncepte, med katere sodi tudi koncept *smrti*. Zaradi travme, ki jo smrt prinaša s seboj, jo pogosto opisujemo z jezikovni sredstvi v obliki evfemizmov in disfemizmov, med katere sodijo tudi frazemi, katerih tvorba temelji na kognitivnih mehanizmihi. Kružić in Tanacković Faletar (2019:pp.391–418) na podlagi analize evfemističnega in disfemističnega potenciala hrvaškega frazeološkega gradiva s semantičnega polja smrti ugotavljata, da evfemistični frazemi večinoma temeljijo na metafori, saj kognitivni mehanizem konceptualne metafore omogoča konceptualni premik iz travmatične domene v sprejemljivejšo domeno, medtem ko so disfemistični frazemi v večji meri povezani s konceptualno metonimijo, katere izvorna in ciljna komponenta se zadržujeta v isti konceptualni domeni, s čimer ne pride do konceptualnega »bega« iz travmatičnega stanja, temveč se neposredno opisujejo nekateri vidiki (prim. Radden & Kövecses 1999:p.21; Antloga 2023:p.94). Izhajajoč iz teh ugotovitev sta v tej raziskavi sopostavljena kognitivni mehanizem kot tvorbeni mehanizem in jezikovno sredstvo kot jezikovna realizacija tega mehanizma, s čimer se oblikujeta dva para: (1) metafora (kognitivni mehanizem) – evfemizem (jezikovna realizacija) in (2) metonimija (kognitivni mehanizem) – disfemizem (jezikovna

² Prispevek je nastal v okviru Raziskovalnega programa št. P6-0156 (Slovensko jezikoslovje, književnost in poučevanje slovenščine – vodja programa prof. dr. Marko Jesenšek), ki ga je sofinancirala Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije iz državnega proračuna.

realizacija), pri čemer je treba poudariti, da je včasih zahtevno določiti mejo med metaforo in metonimijo, saj prihaja do prepletanja njunih kognitivnih mehanizmov (prim. Radden & Kövecses 1999:p.21; Barcelona 2001:p.40; Kövecses 2002, 2010; Bratož 2010:p.77; Antloga 2023:p.96), kar bo ponazorjeno v analitičnem delu prispevka. Osrednji cilj članka je ugotoviti, kateri kognitivni mehanizmi so vključeni v tvorbo slovenskih in makedonskih frazemov iz semantičnega polja smrti ter prikazati morebitno prepletanje teh mehanizmov.

2 Frazeologija³ in kognitivno jezikoslovje ter predhodne raziskave

V teoretičnem izhodišču je teorija o konceptualni metafori, ki po Lakoffu (1987, 1990, 1993), Lakoffu in Johnsonu (1980) ter Kövecsesu (1986, 2003, 2005, 2010) ni le jezikovna entiteta, temveč kompleksen pojav, ki je povezan z načinom, kako organiziramo in razumemo svet okoli nas. Kognitivni mehanizem metafore povezuje dve različni konceptualni domeni – izhodiščno konkretno domeno (konkretno področje, ki ga uporabljamo za razumevanje abstraktnega področja) in ciljno abstraktno domeno (abstraktno področje, ki ga spoznavamo s pomočjo konkretnega). Omazić (2014:p.39) ugotavlja, da se kognitivni mehanizem metafore uporablja tako pri tvorjenju kot tudi pri razumevanju frazemov, saj ponuja jasen vpogled v procese, s katerimi nastajajo in se razlagajo ustaljene figurativne jezikovne oblike oz. frazeološko gradivo, kar sovпада s pogledom Parizoske (2022:p.18), ki navaja, da so v tvorbo frazemov in njihovega pomena vključene konceptualne domene, pri čemer je konceptualna metafora eden izmed kognitivnih mehanizmov,⁴ ki služi kot povezava med izhodiščno in ciljno domeno. Po Parizoski (prav tam) so pri tem konceptualne metafore ustaljene zveze med posameznimi domenami, frazemi pa njihova jezikovna realizacija. Tako je frazem *za vedno zaspati* jezikovna realizacija kognitivnega mehanizma metafore SMRT JE SPANJE, pri čemer v ciljno domeno smrti preslikavamo izhodiščno domeno nedejavnega nepremičnega človeškega telesa, s čimer evfemistično opisujemo smrtni dogodek. Po Parizoski (2022:p.19), ki se sklicuje na Kövecsesa (2010), so v tvorbo frazemov in njihovega pomena vključeni tudi drugi kognitivni mehanizmi, kot sta konceptualna metonimija⁵ in konvencionalno znanje. Razlika med metaforo in metonimijo je po Bratož (2010:p.77) in Parizoski

³ Več o frazeologiji in frazeoloških enotah pri Petronijević (2023:pp.236–251).

⁴ Podobno povezavo med metaforo in frazemi najdemo tudi pri Kržišnik (2001:pp.29–31), ki v tem kontekstu ugotavlja, da so nekateri frazemi po svoji zgradbi metafore ali da vsebujejo metaforo. Za tovrstne frazeme uporablja termin *frazeološka metafora*, za vse enote, ki niso frazemi, pa termin *ne-frazeološka metafora*.

⁵ Več o kognitivnem pristopu k metonimiji pri Kapranovu (2024:pp.109–129).

(2022:p.19) v tem, da sta v primeru metonimije dve povezani entiteti, pri čemer je ena entiteta uporabljena namesto druge oz. »da metonimija temelji na konceptualni relaciji >X je namesto Y<, medtem ko metafora izhaja iz relacije >X je razumljen v smislu Y<« (Bratož, 2010:p.77). To lahko ponazorimo z metonimijo LOKACIJA NAMESTO STANJA v frazemu *biti z eno nogo v grobu*, ki izhaja iz razmerja med lokacijo (grobom) in smrtjo (stanjem). Zadnji kognitivni mehanizem, ki je vključen v tvorbo frazemov, konvencionalno znanje po Parizoski (2022:p.19) predstavlja znanje, »ki je skupno za neko skupino ljudi in ki služi kot ozadje, s pomočjo katerega razumemo posamezne koncepte, s tem tudi leksikalne enote, ki so njihova jezikovna realizacija«. Konvencionalno znanje v zvezi s konceptom smrti zajema splošna znanja, kot so nasprotna podoba živega in umrlega človeka, podoba življenja na zemlji (svetloba in toplota) in podoba groba (tema in hlad) ipd., ki so pogosto sopostavljeni in s katerimi si lahko pomagamo pri razumevanju koncepta smrti.

Jezikovna realizacija smrti skozi prizmo konceptualne metafore je (bila) predmet različnih slovanskih raziskav, ki v okviru analize obravnavajo tako frazeološko kot tudi nefrazeološko gradivo. Lakoff in Turner (1989:p.52) sta na primeru gradiva iz angleškega jezika definirala devet metafor za smrt: SMRT JE IZGUBA, SMRT JE ODHOD, SMRT SO SANJE, SMRT JE NOČ, SMRT JE MRAZ,⁶ SMRT JE TIŠINA, SMRT JE OSEBA, SMRT JE KONČNI CILJ in SMRT JE OSVOBODITEV, ki se prekrivajo z metaforami drugih raziskovalcev (prim. Marín-Arrese, 1996:pp.37–52; Fernández, 2006:pp.101–130 idr.). Silaški (2011:pp.101–104) primerja gradivo iz angleškega in srbskega jezika in navaja naslednje metafore o smrti: SMRT JE IZGUBA, SMRT JE POTOVANJE, SMRT JE KONEC in SMRT JE SPANJE, poudarja pa tudi personifikacijo smrti. Kuczok (2016:pp.125–142) se ukvarja s primerjavo konceptualizacije smrti v angleščini in poljščini ter definira šest metafor: SMRT JE IZGUBA, SMRT JE ZAČETEK POTOVANJA, SMRT JE SPANJE, SMRT JE KONEC, SMRT JE ZAČETEK NOVEGA ŽIVLJENJA in SMRT JE VDAJA. V slovenskem jeziku Bratož (2010:p.88) ugotavlja, da obstajajo številne metafore za opisovanje smrti, ki pa sodijo v neko splošno predstavo o zaznavanju rojstva, življenja in smrti, v kateri je rojstvo prihod, življenje biti prisoten tukaj, smrt pa odhod. Kružić in Tanacković Faletar (2019:pp.391–418) v raziskavi o evfemističnem in disfemističnem potencialu hrvaškega frazeološkega gradiva s semantičnega polja smrti določata metafore UMIRANJE JE SELITEV, SMRT JE SEN, ŽIVLJENJE JE TEKOČINA/SMRT JE IZGUBA TEKOČINE, ŽIVLJENJE JE POTOVANJE, ŽIVLJENJE JE DAN, ČAS JE OMEJENO MATERIALNO SREDSTVO, ŽIVLJENJE JE PREDMET,

⁶ Več o temperaturi kot konkretni domeni v konceptualizaciji pri Halas Popović (2022:p.16).

SMRT JE DOLI, SMRT JE ŽIVO BITJE, LJUDJE SO ŽIVALI in dve metonimiji
REZULTAT NAMESTO VZROKA ter MESTO NAMESTO STANJA.

3 Metodologija

V metodologiji⁷ se prepletata primerjalna analiza (za ugotavljanje podobnosti in razlik med slovenskimi in makedonskimi frazemi) in konceptualna analiza (za ugotavljanje kognitivnih mehanizmov, ki ležijo v osnovi frazemov). V konceptualni analizi se izhaja iz razumevanja, da si v vsakodnevnem življenju pomagamo s konkretnimi, oprijemljivimi in izoblikovanimi koncepti, da bi lažje razumeli neoprijemljive in abstraktnejše koncepte. Sopostavljamo izhodiščne oz. konkretne domene (npr. premikanje, potovanje, lokacija, vsebovanje, razdalja, velikost, smer, svetlost, teža, temperatura, človeško telo, zdravje in bolezen, živali, rastline, predmeti, vročina in hlad itd.) s ciljno oz. abstraktno domeno *smrt*, ki je ozko povezana z abstraktno domeno *življenje*. Izkušnje, ki jih imamo s fizičnim okoljem, služijo kot temelj za razumevanje abstraktnih konceptov, pri čemer preslikave potekajo od konkretnjših k abstraktnejši domeni *smrt*.

V analizi se omejujemo na frazeološko gradivo, povezano z nenasilno smrtjo, ki je za makedonski jezik pridobljeno iz *Frazeološkega slovarja makedonskega jezika* (Фраzeолошки речник на македонскиот јазик, 2003–2009), monografije *Makedonska frazeologija z malim frazeološkim slovarjem* (Македонска фразеологија со мал фразеолошки речник, 2008), *Digitalnega slovarja makedonskega jezika* (Дигитален речник на македонскиот јазик), *Slovarja makedonskega jezika* (Толковен речник на македонскиот јазик), *Slovarja sodobnega makedonskega jezika* (Толковен речник на современиот македонски јазик, 2011) in makedonskega korpusa *CLASSLA-web.mk*, za slovenski jezik pa iz spletne različice *Slovarja slovenskih frazemov* (2015), *Slovarja slovenskega knjižnega jezika* (SSKJ²) in *Slovarja slovenskega knjižnega jezika. Rastoči slovar* (eSSKJ) ter korpusa *Gigafida 2.0*. Posamezne enote iz gradiva niso nujno enako aktualne v makedonskem in slovenskem knjižnem jeziku. Frazemi so prikazani v preglednicah, variante so nanizane druga za drugo, posamezne fakultativne sestavine pa so navedene v oklepajih.

⁷ Kržišnik (2008:pp.33–34) navaja tri medsebojno povezane, a različne metodološke pristope raziskovanja frazemov: (1) tradicionalni etnolingvistični pristop (z diahrono analizo razkriva pojav kulturnih plasti pri pojavu frazemov); (2) lingvokulturološki (za preučevanje sposobnosti frazeoloških sredstev, da odražajo trenutno kulturno samozavedanje neke jezikovne skupnosti, njene miselnosti, njenih vrednot itd.) in (3) kontrastivni (za sinhroni opis, s primerjavo frazemov v različnih jezikih pa poskuša odkriti podobnosti in razlike med njimi), ki jih v luči antropocentričnosti frazeologije lahko nadgradimo s konceptualno analizo, ki se osredotoča na motivacijo frazeoloških enot skozi prizmo kognitivnih mehanizmov, na katerih temeljijo frazemi (prim. Vujović, 2023:p.176).

3.1 FIZIOLOŠKI UČINKI SMRTI NAMESTO SMRTI

V to skupino sodijo frazemi, katerih kognitivni mehanizem je konceptualna metonimija FIZIOLOŠKI UČINKI SMRTI NAMESTO SMRTI, ki po Bultincku (1998:p.27) in Crespo-Fernándezu (2006:p.123) zajema vidne telesne spremembe ob nastopu smrti: znižana telesna temperatura, togost telesa, nepravilno delovanje vitalnih organov, razpad telesa, specifičen vonj, izgled obraza ipd.

<i>dišati po cipresah, dišati po pušpanu, dišati po zemlji; iztegniti/stegniti pete; črvi jedo koga, čigave kosti trobnijo, gniti v jami, gniti v peklu, iti rakom žvižgat, iti rakom žvižgat in ribam gost</i>	<i>мириса на гроб, мириса/замириса на темјан, мириса/замириса на земја; се спружи со токму нозе; му гнијат коските, прав го јаде некого, рибите го јадат, ги гости црвите; му истинаа жилиите; замолкнува/замолкне засекогаш, зинал веќе</i>

Podobno kot pri Kružić in Tanackoviću Faletarju (2019:p.408) v zvezi z razlago motivacije hrvaških frazemov *otegnuti pete* in *ohladiti pete* je tudi v primeru slovenskega in makedonskega frazeološkega gradiva, ki prinaša podobo, vonj in razpad človeškega telesa, fiziologija metonimični sprožilec, s tem, da so hrvaško frazeološko gradivo razvrstili pod podobno metonimijo REZULTAT NAMESTO VZROKA, saj fizično stanje telesa kot rezultat kaže na nastop same smrti kot vzroka. Povezava med metonimijo kot kognitivnim mehanizmom in frazemi z disfemističnim potencialom je očitna, saj ne prihaja do konceptualnega bega iz travmatičnega stanja, kar je bolj značilno za kognitivni mehanizem metafore.

3.2 UMIRANJE JE SELITEV

Bultinck (1998:pp.30–41) obravnava metaforo SMRT KOT PREMİK, ki zajema naslednje podskupine: (1) premik v grob (*biti z eno nogo v grobu – со едната нога е в гроб*), (2) smrt kot pot v drug svet, kar je pogosto povezano z različnimi verskimi verovanji (*oditi na drug svet – отиде на другиот (оној) свет*), in (3) smrt kot »padec«, ki se razlikuje od metafore SMRT JE POTOVANJE, saj se po Bultincku (prav tam) premik, ki ga vključujejo izrazi, kot je *padel je v vojni proti Franciji*, zaključí, ko je oseba mrtva, potovanje, ki ga nakazujejo enote, kot je *odšel je v nebesa*, pa se začne šele, ko je dejanski proces umiranja končan (Bultinck, 1998:pp.38–39). V našem gradivu tretji Bultinckovi skupini ustrezata frazema *pasti za domovino – надна за матковинама*. Bultinckovo metaforo razumemo kot spremembo lokacije ali natančneje bivališča, zato na podlagi zbranega gradiva

oblikujemo metaforo UMIRANJE JE SELITEV, ki je potrjena tudi v že omenjeni hrvaški raziskavi (prim. Kružić & Tanacković Faletar, 2019:p.398–401).

(1) <i>bolj mrtev kot živ, biti napol mrtev, nihati med življenjem in smrtjo, viseti med življenjem in smrtjo;</i> (2) <i>komaj se ga še duša drži, poslavlјati se/posloviti se od življenja;</i> (3) <i>spremlјati/pospremiti koga na zadnjo pot;</i> (4) <i>zapustiti dolino solz, dati svetu slovo, iti/oditi s tega sveta, ločiti se od sveta, ločiti se s sveta, poslavlјati se/posloviti se od sveta, poslavlјati/posloviti se s tega sveta, zapustiti ta svet;</i> (5) <i>oditi v nevrnitev, biti onkraj, oditi v onstranstvo, oditi po večno plačilo, iti pogledat na ono stran, biti na onem svetu, iti/oditi na drug svet, preseliti se na drugi svet, iti/oditi v večna lovišča, preseliti se v večna lovišča, iti v večnost, preseliti se v večnost, stopiti v večnost, zbuditi se v večnosti;</i> (6) <i>preseliti se k Abrahamu, iti med angelčke, priti med angelčke, iti gor k Janezu, iti med krilatce, iti k hudiču, stopiti pred božjo sodbo, stopiti pred večnega sodnika</i>	(1) <i>меѓу животот и смртта е, лебди меѓу животот и смртта, се наоѓа меѓу животот и смртта, ни жив ни мртов, ни жив ни умрен, жив умрен, виси меѓу животот и смртта;</i> (2) <i>се дели/раздели од душата, се простува/прости од животот, се збогува со животот;</i> (3) <i>го испрати на последен пат, го испрати на вечен пат;</i> (4) <i>се задели од овој свет, замина од овој свет, исчезна од овој свет, го напушти овој свет, го остави овој свет, се прости од овој свет, се прости со овој свет, се раздели од светов;</i> (5) <i>отпатува во вечните ловишта, отиде на другиот свет, отиде на оној свет отпатува на оној свет, се пресели во другиот свет, се пресели на оној свет, замина на оној свет, замина на тој свет, стана жител на оној свет, отиде (премина, се пресели) во вечноста, премина во вечноста;</i> (6) <i>отиде кај ѓаволот на сметка, се јави пред Свети Петар, му отиде душата кај Мухамед</i>

V tej skupini je umiranje razumlјeno kot proces, ki se začne, ko je oseba na prelomni točki med življenjem in smrtjo (1), na tej točki pa se lahko življenje obravnava v vlogi sopotnika, od katerega se oseba poslavlјa (2), kar je jezikovna realizacija metafore ŽIVLJENJE JE SOPOTNIK, ki prinaša razhod posameznika z življenjem ali dušo kot z drago osebo, ki je ne bo več videl. Temu sledi odprava na zadnjo pot, ki poteka v krogu najbližjih⁸ (3), ko se oseba poslavlјa od tega sveta (4). Končni cilj selitve je povezan s krščanskim verovanjem v posmrtno življenje (5), pri čemer je v nekaterih frazemih

⁸ Smrt se znotraj antropoloških raziskav in teorij raziskuje tudi v soodnosu do preživelih, tistih, ki ostanejo, torej bolj kot družbeni, socialni dogodek kot zgolj individualno soočenje ali konec (biološkega) življenja (Simpson, 2018).

prisoten koncept srečanja umrlega z bogom, svetniki in drugimi svetopisemskimi liki na končni destinaciji (6). To srečanje je lahko pozitivno, če si je posameznik zaslužil takšen sprejem, ni pa izključena kazen v primeru neprimerne zemeljskega življenja pred smrtjo. Iz gradiva je tako razvidno delovanje metafore kot kognitivnega mehanizma v tvorbi frazemov (2), (3), (4), (5) in (6), saj prihaja do konceptualnega bega iz travmatične stvarnosti, kot tudi to, da v nekaterih primerih kognitivni mehanizem metafore ne prinaša olajšanja, kar je razvidno iz bolj izraženega disfemističnega potenciala frazemov (1), ki odražajo življenjsko ogroženost in nevarnost, ter frazemov s sestavinami *hudič* – *ѓавол*, ki prinašajo nesrečno usodo umrlega.

3.3 SMRT JE DOLI

Ta skupina frazemov sovпада z Bultinckovo podskupino *premik v grob* (gl. 3.2), ki je rezultat prepleta kognitivnega mehanizma metafore SMRT JE DOLI in metonimije KRAJ NAMESTO STANJA.

<i>iti/nagniti se v (prerani) grob, biti z eno nogo v grobu, preseliti se na pokopališče, iti/oditi v krtovo deželo, leči pod rušo, biti/počivati dva metra pod zemljo, ležati v grobu, ležati v jami, počivati na pokopališču, počivati pod zemljo, počivati pod rušo, počivati v hladni zemlji, počivati v črni zemlji</i>	<i>дојден е/доишол гробу на врата, со едната нога е в гроб, си гледа во гробот, е на работ од гробот, се наоѓа на работ од гробот, стои на работ од гробот, близу е до гробот, дојден е до гробот, готов е за гроб, влезе (легна, отиде, слезе) в гроб, влезе/влезува вземи, влезе во <црна> земја, легна в земја, отиде во (под) црна земја, ја лапна земјата, лежи во гроб, легна в гроб, легна в земја</i>

Po Vujović (2024:p.207) se prostorska dimenzija lahko obravnava skozi pozitivno ali negativno prizmo. Tisto, kar je zgoraj, je pozitivno konceptualizirano (sreča, zdravje, življenje ipd.), negativno pa tisto, kar je spodaj (žalost, bolezen, smrt ipd.). Iz tega izhaja, da je metafora SMRT JE DOLI orientacijska metafora, ki sodi pod nadmetaforo NEGATIVNO JE DOLI, kar je tudi razvidno iz disfemističnosti frazeoloških enot.

3.4 SMRT JE SPANJE

Bultinck (1998:p.42) za skupino SMRT JE SPANJE navaja, da je znan angleški akronim *RIP* (*rest in peace* – slov. *počivaj v miru*) primer pojmovanja smrti kot počitka ali spanja, zato to metaforo povezuje z metonimijo FIZIOLOŠKI UČINKI

SMRTI NAMESTO SMRTI, saj je podobnost med spečo osebo in mrtvo osebo očitna (Bultinck, 1998:p.42; Bratož, 2010:p.91). Na podlagi tega frazeme v tej skupini razumemo kot jezikovno realizacijo prepletanja kognitivnih mehanizmov metafore in metonimije.

zapreti (trudne) oči, zatisniti (trudne) oči, za vsekdar zapreti oči, zaspati za vedno, zaspati za večno, zaspati za zmerom, večni sen, spati večni sen, zasnivati večni sen, spati nevzdramno spanje, spati smrtno spanje, spati večno spanje, zaspati [v] večno spanje, za večno usnuti, zaspati v miru, zaspati v Gospodu, biti na smrtni postelji, ležati na smrtni postelji	ги замржа (затвори) очите, замржува вечно, затвори очи, ги сведе очите, затвори (заклопи, склопи, стисна) очи засекогаш, му ги затворија очите, ги преврте очите, засние/заспива за навек, се наоѓа на смртна постела, на смртна постела е

Iz navedenih frazemov je razvidna podoba umrlega, ki ima zaprte oči, spi in sanja, iz česar je razvidno, da preslikava poteka od konkretne domene *človeško telo* k abstraktni domeni *smrt*. Ta pogled med drugim sovпада tudi s konceptualizacijo Marín-Arrese (1996:p.40), ki navaja, da je v osnovi te metafore metonimija FIZIOLOŠKI UČINKI SMRTI NAMESTO SMRTI, saj so učinki smrti mirovanje in ležanje. Kljub prepletanju kognitivnih mehanizmov metonimije in metafore je za to skupino značilno, da frazemi nastopajo v vlogi evfemizmov.

3.5 SMRT JE ŽIVO BITJE

Bultinck (1998:p.52) je to skupino poimenoval PERSONIFIKACIJE, v naši raziskavi pa je poimenovana SMRT JE ŽIVO BITJE, saj je za vse frazeme značilna poosebitev smrti. S tem, ko damo smrti obraz ali telo, postane bolj oprijemljiva. Bratož (2010:p.89) omenja, da je v nekaterih kulturah smrt pogosto poosebljena v podobi mračnega kosca (npr. v angleščini *the Grim Reaper*, v nemščini *der Schnitter*), medtem ko v nekaterih romanskih in slovanskih kulturah v podobi ženske, ki tudi suče koso. Bratož (prav tam) izpostavlja tudi poosebitve smrti v mitologiji, likovni umetnosti, prozi in poeziji kot jezdec na belem konju, kralja, ribiča, ljubimca, godca ipd., na podlagi česa lahko sklepamo, da ne glede na to, v kakšni osebi vidimo smrt, gre vedno za osebo in ne na primer za žival ali rastlino. Ta pogled sovпада s pogledom, ki ga ponujata Kmecová in Vojtech Poklač (2018:pp.63–75) v zvezi z upodobitvami smrti v umetniških delih, kjer smrt dobi telo, lobanjo/okostje in običajno drži koso. Posamezne enote prinašajo tudi srečanje s smrtno oz. s koncem

ali z usodo, ki se lahko obravnava kot srečanje dveh različnih oseb, čeprav smrt ni izrecno poosebljena.

(1) <i>smrt je komu že za petami, smrt stoji ob postelji, smrt je koga že večkrat potipala, smrt je odrešila koga, smrt je prehitela koga, smrt je pobrala koga, smrt je pokosila koga, smrt se je oglasila kje, priti v objem smrti, gledati/pogledati smrti v obraz, zreti smrti v obraz, pogledati smrti v oči, zreti smrti v oči, za las uiti smrti, boriti se s smrtjo, smrt odreši koga; botra/teta smrt, božja dekla, starka s koso, ona s koso, ta bela s koso;</i> (2) <i>matilda je pobrala koga, matilda pride, matilda s koso, matilda maha s koso, matilda je vohala/povohala koga, matilda je vzela koga, poljubiti matildo, biti zrel za matildo, srečati matildo, pogledati matildi v oči;</i> (3) <i>noč ga je dohitela, noč ga je vzela</i>	(1) <i>се бори со смртта, ѝ гледа на смртта во очи, ѝ гледа на смртта во лице;</i> (2) <i>ангелот си го чека, си го чека црниот ангел, чека да дојде ангелот по него, ѝавол ќе го земе/носи;</i> (3) <i>го голтна (проголта, изеде) темнината, го голтна (изеде, проголта) ноќта, го голтнаа (изеде/проголта) мракот</i>

V gradivu se kot nosilne sestavine pojavljajo samostalnik *smrt* v vlogi ženske (1), lastna imena v slovenskem gradivu in svetopisemski liki v makedonskem gradivu (2) ter poosebljena noč/tema v obeh jezicah (3). Bratož (2010:p.89), Kmecová in Vojtech Poklač (2018:pp.63–75) ugotavljajo, da si Slovenci smrt tako zaradi slovničnega spola kot tudi zaradi kulturne dimenzije konceptualizirajo kot žensko, božjo služabnico (*božja dekla*), žensko iz družine (*botra/teta smrt*), starko/žensko s koso (*starka s koso, ona s koso, ta bela s koso*) ter žensko z imenom Matilda.⁹ V

⁹S tem pomenom se *matilda* pojavlja v Slovarju slovenskega knjižnega jezika (SSKJ) po drugi svetovni vojni. Keber (2015) poudarja, da je Matilda znano krščansko ime nemškega izvora, ki se v nobenem drugem jeziku ne pojavlja s pomenom smrti. Keber (2020) meni, da je slovenska *matilda* zadobila pomen smrti zaradi avtomatske puške, za katero so partizani uporabljali naslednja imena: *mrtvaška raglja, peklenska raglja* in *matilda*. Za slabo oborožene partizane je avtomatska puška predstavljala poosebljenje smrti. Zato je verjetno prišlo do spremembe pomena. *Matilda* se v frazemih *matilda je pobrala koga, matilda je povohala koga* lahko zamenja z leksemom *smrt*. Keber (2015) navaja, da se glagol *povohati* uporablja v povezavi s psom, vendar z negacijo v frazemu *še pes ga ne povoha*, kar pomeni, da se zanj nihče ne zanima. Iz tega sledi, da osebe nihče noče niti povohati, zato ji ne preostane drugega, kot da umre. Peter Weiss (2013:pp.99–106) poudarja, da je do izenačenja imena *Matilda* z leksemom *smrt* prišlo leta 1942 na osvobojenem partizanskem ozemlju na Dolenjskem, kjer se je govorila kočevska različica nemškega jezika. Za kočevsko moško ime *Matil* (čigar nemški vzporednici sta imeni *Matthias* in *Matthäus*), ki je pravzaprav povezano s samostalnikom moškega spola *der Tod* "smrt", je na slovenskem govornem področju poskušal najti pravilno žensko

makedonskem gradivu je samostalnik *smrt* tudi ženskega spola, ne obstaja pa povezava smrti z ženskim imenom, tako da le slovnični spol vpliva na dojemanje smrti kot ženske. V frazemu *smrt odreši koga* nastopa poosebljena smrt v vlogi odrešitelja, sam frazem pa je rezultat kognitivnega mehanizma nasprotnih metafor ŽIVLJENJE JE TRPLJENJE – SMRT JE ODREŠITEV. Tudi v tej skupini je razvidna preslikava iz konkretne domene človeškega telesa v abstraktno domeno smrti, kar prispeva k razumevanju koncepta smrti, saj poosebljena predstava smrti kot živega bitja v ženskem spolu in z določenim imenom pomaga k lažjemu sprejemanju travmatičnosti, ki jo smrt prinaša, kar govori o evfemističnem potencialu frazemov.

3.6 SMRT JE UGASNJENA SVETLOBA

Bultinck (1998:pp.50–52) povezuje smrt z ugaslo svetlobo ali svečo in ugasnjenim plamenom, kar je neposredno povezano z nasprotno metaforo ŽIVLJENJE JE SVETLOBA. Pri Bratož (2010:p.92) najdemo metafori SMRT JE TEMA in SMRT JE HLAD, kar je povezano s podobo groba kot prostora brez svetlobe in toplote.

<i>življenje ugaša/ugasne, sveča življenja je ugasnila</i>	<i>животот му гасне, му угаснува кандилцето, му гасне/догорува свеќата, му секна светилката, му се гаси огништето, му го угаси кандилото</i>

Iz frazemov je razvidno delovanje kognitivnega mehanizma metafore, saj prihaja do preslikave iz konkretne domene *ugasla svetloba* v abstraktno domeno *smrt*, s čimer evfemistično opišemo nastop smrti in lajšamo nastalo travmo zaradi smrti.

3.7 SMRT JE ZAKLJUČNO DEJANJE

V to skupino uvrščamo frazeme, povezane z zadnjimi trenutki, ki jih lahko merimo v dnevih in urah ter izdihljajih (Bultinck, 1998:p.58; Crespo-Fernández, 2006:p.123). Frazemi v tej skupini nakazujejo prenehanje ali konec, pri čemer konec ni vedno opredeljen, ampak gre bolj za abstraktno končno točko. Marín-Arrese (1996:pp.46–49) navaja podobni metafori ZAKLJUČNO DEJANJE in ZADNJA URA kot izvorni domeni za metafore smrti, prihaja pa tudi do prepletanja z metonimijo DEL NAMESTO CELOTE (dan/ura namesto življenja). Kružić

vzporednico, saj je leksem *smrt* v slovenskem jeziku samostalnik ženskega spola. Ime *Matilda* se je izkazalo za glasovno najprimernejšo izbiro.

in Tanacković Faletar (2019:p.404) frazeme z odštevanjem uvrščata pod metaforo ČAS JE OMEJEN MATERIALNI VIR.

<i>dnevi so šteti komu, skleniti svoje dni, poslednja ura, zadnja ura, poslednja ura bije komu, zadnja ura bije komu, ure/urice so štete komu, poslednja/zadnja ura je prišla, zadnja ura/urica odbije komu, zadnja ura se bliža komu, zadnja ura se približuje komu, zadnja ura zvoni komu, zadnja ura bije komu, poslednja ura, poslednja ura bije komu, prišla je njegova smrtna ura, odbila mu je zadnja urica; biti v zadnjih izdihljajih, biti v zadnjih zdihljajih</i>	<i>деновите му се доброени/изброени, му се бројат/добројуваат дните, му се довршија дните, му се кусат/скусија дните, му се збраа деновите, скрши ден, му ги куси/скусува/скратува деновите</i> <i>часовите му се изброени, часот му е близу, му бие задниот час, му бие последниот час, му удри последниот час, му чукна последниот час, до заден час, до последниот час, до смртниот час</i>

V makedonskih in slovenskih frazemih je razvidno odštevanje preostalega časa, vendar v primerjavi s prejšnjimi skupinami preslikava izjemoma poteka iz abstraktne domene *čas* v abstraktno ciljno domeno *smrt*, pri čemer je čas zaradi svoje merljivosti v fizičnem okolju konkretnijša abstraktna domena v primerjavi z abstraktno domeno *smrt*, zato v tem razmerju nastopa kot konkretna domena, merjenje preostalega časa pa evfemistično opisuje smrtni dogodek in nas pripravlja na nastop smrti.

3.8 ŽIVLJENJE JE DRAGOCEN PREDMET – SMRT JE IZGUBA DRAGOCENEGA PREDMETA

Čeprav v tej skupini ni veliko primerov, je pojmovanje smrti kot izgube predmeta pogosto. To pojmovanje je povezano z Lakoffovo in Johnsonovo metaforo ŽIVLJENJE JE DRAGOCEN PREDMET (1980), smrt pa z izgubo dragocenega predmeta (življenja).

<i>izročiti svojo dušo Bogu</i>	<i>предава/предаде дух Господу, предава/предаде дух на Бога (Господа), дава/предава/даде душа Богу, душата си ја предава на Господ, Алах му ја зеде душата</i>

V zvezi s frazemi, ki odražajo izročanje duše, Kružić in Tanacković Faletar (2019:p.404) navajata, da ko človek umre, po tradicionalni krščanski ideji Bogu preda svoje največje bogastvo (duha ali dušo), in sklepata, da v krščanstvu le Bog lahko prejme človekovo največjo dragocenost – dušo. Tudi v tej skupini ugotavljamo

preslikavo, ki poteka izjemoma iz abstraktne domene *življenje* v abstraktno ciljno domeno *smrt*, pri čemer *življenje* nastopa kot konkretnejša abstraktna domena v primerjavi s ciljno domeno *smrt*, saj nam je koncept življenja jasnejši v primerjavi s konceptom smrti.

3.9 ŽIVLJENJE JE SNOV – SMRT JE IZGUBA SNOVI

Kružić in Tanacković Faletar (2019:p.402), ki se sklicujeta na Lakoffa in Turnerja (1989:p.52), prinašata pogled na življenje kot tekočino in oblikujeta nasprotni par metafor ŽIVLJENJE JE TEKOČINA – SMRT JE IZGUBA TEKOČINE, človeško telo pa v tem primeru nastopa v vlogi soda, v katerem se življenje hrani. Na primeru zbranega gradiva ugotavljamo, da bi lahko govorili tudi o plinasti snovi, ki jo izdihnemo, ali trdni snovi, ki se giblje v človeku in prihaja do jezika ali zob, zato oblikujemo širši pomenski par metafor ŽIVLJENJE JE SNOV – SMRT JE IZGUBA SNOVI, ki se prepleta z metaforama ČLOVEK JE POSODA ZA ŽIVLJENJE ali TELO JE POSODA ZA ŽIVLJENJE.

<i>izdihniti dušo, izpustiti dušo, spustiti dušo, spustiti dušico, izdihniti dušico, imeti dušo na jeziku</i>	<i>душата му дојде во носот, душата му влезе в нос, душата му се доближи до носот, со душата во носот е, со последната душа во носот, душата му дојде под грло, со уште малку душа во устата, душата в заби му дојде, душата му дојде до/во забите, душата му е во забите, со душата в заби е, загуби душа, испушта/испушти дух</i>

Na podlagi gradiva je razvidna sopomenska povezava med življenjem in dušo, izguba snovi oz. življenja/duše poteka pa skozi grlo, ustno odprtino ali nos, s čimer se potrjuje kognitivni mehanizem metafore SMRT JE IZGUBA SNOVI in evfemistični potencial frazeološkega gradiva.

3.10 LJUDJE SO ŽIVALI

V tej skupini frazemov prihaja do prepletanja kognitivnih mehanizmov metonimije in metafore. Kružić in Tanacković Faletar (2019:p.406) navajata, da se tovrstni frazemi lahko obravnavajo kot disfemizmi, saj je razvidna prisotnost konceptualne metonimije kot motivacijskega mehanizma pri vzpostavljanju metaforičnega razmerja, kar sovpada tudi z našim pogledom na metonimijo kot produktivnejši mehanizem disfemizacije.

<i>umreti kot pes, stegniti parklje</i>	<i>ги истегна (оптегна) чапанките, ги фрли копитата, ги фрли потковиците, му клумна клунот наземи, умре како куче, умре како пес</i>

V makedonskih in slovenskih frazemih je razvidno, da prihaja do preslikave podobe živali in njihovih pripisanih lastnosti na človeka, iz česar je razvidno človekovo negativno vrednotenje živali, ti frazemi pa »nazorno razodevajo človekov odnos do živali, ki je hierarhičen, ter ohranjajo središčnost človeške eksistence, živali pa marginalizirajo in utrjujejo njihov podrejeni položaj. Taka reprezentacija pa je nujno antropocentrična« (Koletnik & Nikolovski, 2020:p.97).

4 Sklep

Zbrano frazeološko gradivo prispeva k razumevanju koncepta smrti, ki ga opisujemo z različnimi jezikovni sredstvi v obliki evfemističnih in disfemističnih frazemov, ki hranijo kolektivno ustaljene poglede na koncepte smrti. Konceptualna in primerjalna analiza sta pokazali, da so v tvorbo slovenskih in makedonskih frazemov in njihovega pomena vključene konceptualne domene. Kognitivni mehanizem metafore (pogosto v prepletu s kognitivnim mehanizmom metonimije) nastopa kot ustaljena zveza med izhodiščno konkretno in ciljno abstraktno domeno, jezikovna realizacija te zveze so pa frazemi. Analiza je pokazala, da si za razumevanje in lažje sprejemanje abstraktnega koncepta smrti pomagamo z znanimi izkušnjami iz okolja, kar je razvidno iz naslednjih preslikav: (1) podoba *človeškega telesa* namesto *smrti* (z disfemističnim potencialom), (2) *selitev* → *smrt* (z evfemističnim potencialom), (3) *grob kot lokacija* → *smrt* (z disfemističnim potencialom), (4) *spanje* (človeško telo v vodoravnem položaju) → *smrt* (z evfemističnim potencialom), (5) *živo bitje* → *smrt* (z disfemističnim in evfemističnim potencialom), (6) *ugasnjena svetloba* → *smrt* (z evfemističnim potencialom), (7) *čas* → *smrt* (z evfemističnim potencialom), (8) *dragocen predmet* → *smrt* (z evfemističnim potencialom) (9) *snov* → *smrt* (z evfemističnim potencialom), (10) *ljudje* → *živali* (z disfemističnim potencialom). V primerjavi s slovarskimi in leksikonskimi prikazi smrti, ki jo definirajo v glavnem kot prenehanje življenja in življenjskih procesov, kognitivni pogled ponuja širšo perspektivo, ki obravnava (1) fiziološke učinke smrti, (2) smrt kot selitev, (3) smrt kot premik pod zemljo, (4) smrt kot spanje, (5) smrt kot živo bitje, (6) smrt kot temo, (7) smrt kot zaključno dejanje, (8) smrt kot izgubo dragocenega predmeta, (9) smrt kot izgubo snovi in (10) smrt ljudi kot smrt živali. Kognitivni pogled na

smrt izhaja iz človekovega doživetja smrti, kar sovpada z antropocentrično naravo frazeologije in njenih jezikovnih enot, ki temeljijo na kognitivnih mehanizmi metafore in metonimije.

Viri

1. Велковска, С. (2008) *Македонска фразеологија со мал фразеолошки речник*. Скопје, Снежана Велковска.
2. *Дигитален речник на македонскиот јазик*. <http://drmj.eu/>
3. Димитровски, Т. & Ширилов, Т. (2003–2009) *Фразеолошки речник на македонскиот јазик*. Скопје, Огледало.
4. Мургоски, З. (2011) *Толковен речник на современиот македонски јазик*. Скопје, Филолошки факултет „Блаже Конески“.
5. *Толковен речник на македонскиот јазик*. Скопје, Институт за македонски јазик „Крсте Мисирков“. <https://makedonski.gov.mk/>
6. *CLASSLA-web.mk* (Macedonian Web). https://www.clarin.si/ske/#dashboard?corpname=classlaweb_mk
7. *Gigafida 2.0*. <https://viri.cjvt.si/gigafida/>
8. Keber, J. (2015) *Slovar slovenskih frazemov*. www.fran.si
9. *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika*. Druga, dopolnjena in deloma prenovljena izdaja. www.fran.si
10. *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika*: eSSKJ. www.fran.si

Literatura

1. Antloga, Š. (2023) Identifikacija metafore in metonimije v jezikovnih korpusih: Poskus kategorizacije označenih metonimičnih prenosov v korpusu g-KOMET. *Slovenščina 2.0: Empirične, Aplikativne in Interdisciplinarne Raziskave*, 11(1), 91–117. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4312/slo2.0.2023.1.91-117>
2. Barcelona, A. (2001) On the plausibility of claiming a metonymic motivation for conceptual metaphor. V: A. Barcelona (ur.), *Metaphor and metonymy at the crossroads: cognitive approaches*. Berlin in New York, Mouton de Gruyter, 31–58.
3. Bratož, S. (2010) *Metafore našega časa*. Koper, Fakulteta za management.
4. Bultinck, B. (1998) *Metaphors We Die By: Conceptualizations of death in English and their implications for the theory of metaphor*. Vol. 94. Antwerpen, University of Antwerp.
5. Będkowska-Kopczyk, A. (2004) *Jezikovna slika negativnih čustev v slovenščini. Kognitivni pristop*. Ljubljana, Študentska založba.
6. Fernández, E. C. (2006) The Language of Death: Euphemism and Conceptual Metaphorization in Victorian Obituaries. *SKY Journal of Linguistics* 19, 101–130.

7. Halas Popović, A. V. (2022) Biti hladne glave u vezi sa ovim gorućim problemom – analiza metaforičkih značenja u semantičkoj strukturi prideva iz domena temperature u engleskom i srpskom. *Филолог – часопис за језик књижевност и културу*, 13 (26), 13–39. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21618/fil2226013h>
8. Jemec, M. (1999) Človeku dobro dene, če se izrobanti: izražanje jeze v Slovarju slovenskega knjižnega jezika, Pleteršnikovem Slovensko-nemškem slovarju in Slovenskem etimološkem slovarju. *Jezik in slovstvo*, 44/6, 229–236.
9. Kapranov, O. (2024) Metonimija u diskursu Grete Tunberg o klimatskim promenama na Fejsbuku. *Филолог – часопис за језик књижевност и културу*, 15 (30), 109–129. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21618/fil2430109k>
10. Kmecová, S., & Vojtech Poklač, S. (2018) Ona s koso. Nekateri vidiki dojemanja smrti in njihova prisotnost v slovenski in slovaški frazeologiji. *Jezik in slovstvo*, 63 (4), 63–75. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4312/jis.63.4.63-75>
11. Koletnik, M. & Nikolovski, Gj. (2020) Primerjalni frazemi z zoonimnimi sestavinami v prekmurskem narečju in makedonščini. *Slavia Centralis*, 13 (2), 83–99. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18690/scn.13.2.83-99.2020>
12. Kövecses, Z. (1986) *Metaphors of anger, pride, and love: A lexical approach to the structure of concepts*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia, John Benjamins.
13. Kövecses, Z. (2003) Language, Figurative Thought, and Cross-Cultural Comparison. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 18 (4), 311–320.
14. Kövecses, Z. (2005) *Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation*. Cambridge, New York, Cambridge University Press.
15. Kövecses, Z. (2010) *Metaphor. A practical introduction*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
16. Kružić, B. & Tanacković Faletar, G. (2019) Metafora, metonimija, frazem i eufemizam: o čemu govorimo kada govorimo o smrti? *Jezikoslovlje*, 20 (2), 391–418. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.29162/jez.2019.14>
17. Kržišnik, E. (2001) Funkcija ekspresivnih jezikovnih sredstev v medijih. V: V. Požgaj Hadži (ur.), *Prvo slovensko-hrvaško slavistično srečanje*. Ljubljana, Oddelek za slovanske jezike in književnosti Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, 29–31.
18. Kržišnik, E. (2008) Viri za kulturološko interpretacijo frazeoloških enot. *Jezik in slovstvo*, 53/1, 33–47.
19. Kržišnik, E. & Smolič, M. (1999) Metafore, v katerih živimo tukaj in zdaj. *Slovenski jezik, literatura in kultura tukaj in zdaj*. 35. SSJLK. Ljubljana, Filozofska fakulteta, 61–80.
20. Kuczok, M. (2016) Metaphorical Conceptualizations of Death and Dying in American English and Polish: A Corpus-Based Contrastive Study. *Linguistica Silesiana*, 37, 125–142.
21. Lakoff, G. (1987) *Women, fire, and dangerous things: What categories reveal about the mind*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

23. Lakoff, G. (1990) The Invariance Hypothesis: is abstract reason based on imageschemas? *Cognitive Linguistics*, 1, 39–74.
24. Lakoff, G. (1993) *The contemporary theory of metaphor. Metaphor and Thought*. Cambridge, University Press, 202–251.
25. Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1980) *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
26. Lakoff, G., & Kövecses, Z. (1987): The cognitive model of anger inherent in American English. V: D. Holland in N. Quinn (ur.), *Cultural models in language and thought*. Cambridge University Press, 195–221.
27. Lakoff, G., & Turner, M. (1989) *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
28. Marín-Arrese, J. I. (1996) To Die, To Sleep – A Contrastive Study of Metaphors for Death And Dying in English and Spanish. *Language Sciences*, 18 (1–2), 37–52.
29. Mirchevska-Bosheva, B., & Nikolovski, G. (2020) Frazeološka podoba smrti v makedonskem in slovenskem jeziku. *Jezik in slovstvo*, 65 (3–4), 315–337. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4312/jis.65.3-4.315-337>
30. Omazić, M. (2014) Konceptualna metafora u frazeologiji. V: M. Stanojević (ur.), *Metafore koje istražujemo: Suvremeni uvidi u konceptualnu metaforu*. Zagreb, Srednja Europa, 27–45.
31. Parizoska, J. (2022) *Frazeologija i kognitivna lingvistika*. Zagreb, Srednja Evropa.
32. Petronijević, B. (2023) Frazeologizmi u romanu *Medea*. *Stimmen* Kriste Volf – original i prevod. Prilog razgraničenju kontrastivne frazeologije i translatologije. *Филолог – часопис за језик књижевност и културу*, 14 (27), 236–251. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21618/fil2327236p>
33. Radden, G., & Kövecses, Z. (1999) Toward a theory of metonymy. V: K. U. Panther in G. Radden (ur.), *Metonymy in language and thought*. Amsterdam, John Benjamins, 17–60.
34. Silaški, N. (2011) Metaphors and Euphemisms – The Case of Death in English and Serbian. *Filološki pregled*, 38 (2), 101–114.
35. Simpson, B. (2018) 2023. Death. V: F. Stein (ur.), *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Anthropology*. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.29164/18death>
36. *Veliki splošni leksikon*. (1998). Ljubljana, DZS.
37. N. Vujović, M. (2023) Apsolutna ekvivalencija kod frazeologizama s komponentom oko u italijanskom, španskom i srpskom jeziku. *Филолог – часопис за језик књижевност и културу*, 14 (28), 173–208.
38. N. Vujović, M. (2024) Orijentacione metafore u frazeologizmima italijanskog, španskog i srpskog jezika s komponentom oko. *Филолог – часопис за језик књижевност и културу*, 15 (30), 201–230. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21618/fil2430201v>
39. Weiss, P. (2013) Matilda v slovenski frazeologiji. V: N. Jakop in M. Jemec Tomazin (ur.), *Frazeološka simfonija*. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC SAZU. 99–106.

Gjoko Nikolovski
University of Maribor
Faculty of Philosophy
Department of Slavic Languages and Literature
Biljana Mirchevska Bosheva
Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje
Blaže Koneski Faculty of Philology
Department of Slavic Studies

CONCEPTUALISATION OF DEATH IN THE SLOVENIAN AND MACEDONIAN LANGUAGES

Summary

This paper presents the conceptualisation of death in the Slovenian and Macedonian languages through the prism of the cognitive mechanisms of metaphor and metonymy. With this aim, phraseological material from the two languages is analysed, which conveys a linguistic image of non-violent death. The conceptual and comparative analysis showed that conceptual domains are involved in the formation of Slovenian and Macedonian phrasemes and their meaning. The cognitive mechanism of metaphor (often intertwined with the cognitive mechanism of metonymy) acts as an established link between the initial concrete and the target abstract domain, and the linguistic realisation of this link is the phrasemes. The analysis showed that to understand and facilitate the acceptance of the abstract concept of death, we are helped by familiar experiences from the environment, and these mappings are usually from the more concrete to the more abstract domain (death), namely: (1) the image of the human body instead of death (with dysphemistic potential), (2) migration → death (with euphemistic potential), (3) the grave as a location → death (with dysphemistic potential), (4) sleeping (the human body in a horizontal position) → death (with euphemistic potential), (5) a living being → death (with dysphemistic and euphemistic potential), (6) light out → death (with euphemistic potential), (7) time → death (with euphemistic potential), (8) a valuable object → death (with euphemistic potential), (9) a substance → death (with euphemistic potential), (10) people → animals (with dysphemistic potential). Compared to dictionary and lexicon definitions of death, which define it mainly as the cessation of life and life processes, the cognitive view offers a broader perspective, addressing (1) the physiological effects of death, (2) death as migration, (3) death as movement underground, (4) death as sleep, (5) death as a living being, (6) death as darkness, (7) death as a final act,

(8) death as the loss of a precious object, (9) death as the loss of substance, and (10) death of humans as the death of animals. The cognitive view of death is rooted in the human perception of death, which coincides with the anthropocentric nature of phraseology and its linguistic units based on the cognitive mechanisms of metaphor and metonymy.

► **Keywords:** Contrastive analysis, conceptual analysis, idioms, Slovenian language, Macedonian language, cognitive linguistics.

Preuzeto: 30. 9. 2025.
Korekcije: 13. 10. 2025.
Prihvaćeno: 13. 11. 2025.

Konstantin I. Belousov¹

Belarusian State University of Foreign Languages, Faculty of English Language
Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics

Natalia V. Boronnikova

Perm State University, Faculty of Philology
Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics

Aleksandar H. Taleski

Perm State University, Faculty of Philology
Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics

MODELS OF THE SPEAKER'S TEMPORAL ORIENTATION IN VIRTUAL REALITY AND THEIR IMPACT ON HUMAN-MACHINE INTERFACE SYSTEMS

Abstract: The manuscript addresses models concerning the speaker's temporal orientation during communication within virtual reality (VR). VR denotes an environment constructed through computer technologies and technical apparatus. Presently, VR is regarded as an experimental domain or research methodology.

The research was procured via experiment and analyzed 725 reactions from 24 participants, identifying temporal deictics that indicate temporal proximity or distance, which helped delineate temporal orientation modalities within VR.

This research seeks to delve into the complexities of temporal orientation models within VR environments, concentrating on their role in shaping communication and optimizing human-machine interaction (HMI). Through a detailed VR-based experimental framework, the study investigates cognitive and communicative processes, uncovering distinctive temporal orientation models and their variations, which are influenced by extralinguistic factors. The analysis further highlights the speaker's temporal orientation in VR, referred to as virtual-temporal deixis, which forms a

unique communicative-indicative coordinate system. The results underscore VR's utility as a powerful tool for exploring cognitive and communicative dynamics, alongside mechanisms of language transformation. Moreover, the findings offer a theoretical basis for developing HMI systems that more closely align with human temporal perception, fostering more intuitive and natural user interactions.

Keywords: *virtual-temporal deixis, deictics, models, VR, speaker behavior, orientation, HMI.*

1. Introduction

The growing use of virtual reality (VR) in recent years has created new challenges for understanding the perception of time and its cognitive transmission in the digital space. The article explores the concept of the speaker's temporal orientation within the framework of VR. VR is an emerging field that is important for understanding cognitive and communicative dynamics in immersive environments. Its innovation is based on a thorough experimental study of temporal deixis in VR, which allows us to get an idea of this special environment in which traditional time landmarks are changing and rethinking.

By VR, we mean a digital environment designed to simulate interactive three-dimensional spaces that reproduce both real and imaginary scenarios. This technology allows users to experience various degrees of immersion – from partial to full immersion in a VR environment (Lanier, 1992; Castronovo et al., 2013). By creating stimuli that accurately mimic sensory signals coming from a person, VR systems are able to elicit responses corresponding to cognitive, more precisely motor actions and reactions in real time. This ensures a dynamic and responsive interaction between the user and the environment (Lanier, 1992; Powell, 1996). In addition, objects in VR are perceived as having a spatial presence, creating the illusion of physicality and enhancing the sense of realism in virtual space (Bryson, 2013). VR environments can be described as the artificial reproduction of real or imaginary worlds that may or may not obey physical laws (Fox et al., 2009). This combination of sensory alignment and spatial perception makes VR a powerful tool for both practical and experimental applications in various fields.

It is worth noting that these qualities of VR stem from the very properties of the art environment. VR embodies five key properties known as the "Five Selves": visibility, immersion, interactivity, intuitiveness and intensity, proposed by McMillan (1994) and Sherman & Judkins (1992). These properties form the fundamental basis for VR technology. Interactivity is often emphasized as one of the key characteristics VR,

distinguishing it from other digital environments. Equally important are the concepts of presence and immersion. Presence refers to a psychological state in which users feel physically located in a virtual world, while immersion includes both technology that creates an adaptive, attractive environment and psychological absorption that disconnects users from their real environment, allowing them to perceive virtual space as reality. The effectiveness of VR depends on the dynamic interaction between interactivity, presence and immersion (Steuer, 1992; Walsh & Pawlowski, 2002; Ryan, 2015; Mütterlein, 2018; Slater & Wilbur, 1997; Witmer & Singer, 1998). Nosov (2000) also highlights interactivity, generality, relevance and autonomy as the main properties that are influenced by the user's perception of time. Relevance is determined by what is happening here and now, while autonomy refers to the subjective perception of space and time in VR. Interactivity measures the extent to which users can change the VR environment in real time (Gryaznova, 2013; Macmillan, 1994).

The properties of VR reflect the virtual space-time continuum, as reality itself is inconceivable without time and space. Each point in space is defined by three coordinates, and time is determined by the point of reference on the time axis (Blascovich et al., 2002). However, the perception of VR is not merely a matter of spatial or temporal measurement; it is closely tied to the cognitive mechanisms through which individuals construct experiences of stability and safety. As Muhic (2024) argues, conceptual metaphors of space such as walls, barriers, and protective boundaries serve as cognitive frames that ensure a sense of security and continuity. These domains of protection and limitation are not only spatial but also temporal, helping users establish reference points when traditional temporal markers are disrupted in immersive environments.

In this context, the notion of a reference point becomes crucial for understanding temporal orientation in VR. A reference point functions similarly to the deictic center in language, providing a temporal anchor that allows the organization of events relative to the present moment. Temporal deixis is expressed through temporal adverbs and the grammatical category of time, which defines time intervals relative to the act of speaking (Erzinkyan, 1978; Zhrebilo, 2010). In most languages, time is perceived linearly, representing a unidirectional axis along which events of the past, present and future are sequentially arranged (Benveniste, 1956). The deictic center, usually corresponding to the moment of speech, serves as a reference point for the organization of these temporal connections, and grammatical tenses – past, present and future – are tied to this center. The present tense corresponds to the moment of speech (now), the past tense refers to the time before the speech act (to the present), and the future indicates the time following the speech act (after

the present) (Apothéloz, 2021; Bondarko, 2001; Jespersen, 1924; Marino, 2020). This structure provides clarity in the sequence and interpretation of events in the communication process.

Various concepts for allocating reference points consider positioning along the time axis relative to communicative moments. Reichenbach's model (1947: p. 289) outlines three points: the moment of speech, the moment of the event, and the point of reference. Apresyan's concept (1986: p. 21) incorporates these and adds a fourth component –the speaker's time, distinct from the moment of speech. This theory connects the "point of reference" and "moment of speech," defining relative time versus absolute time, with the point of reference aligning with the moment of speech (Apothéloz, 2021; Baranzini & de Saussure, 2021; Bondarko, 1990; Haspelmath, 1997: p. 23; Smith, 2006: p. 92).

In our study, we are trying to identify, systematize all temporal relationships/structures and present them in the form of behavioral models. Our research is based on an experiment conducted in a VR environment. The purpose of the experiment is to study the speaker's deictic behavior in VR. Analyzing the reactions in various simulated scenes, we are trying to solve several problems: to determine the speaker's coordinate system and build models of the speaker's communicative behavior in VR in order to understand the temporal orientation in VR; demonstration of the effectiveness of VR as a tool for the study of cognitive and communicative processes; development of a unique communicative orientation coordinate system specific to VR.

This work uses a multimodal approach to the study of linguistic data on cognitive processes in VR, with an emphasis on the perception of time as the fourth dimension of reality. The cognitive processes of speakers in a virtual environment remain insufficiently studied, especially with regard to the features of communication and deictic behavior, including the temporal orientation of participants. Analyzing the temporal deixis, the authors of the study determine the methods of temporal orientation characteristic of various scenes and communicative behavior. Here, "deictic" includes lexical (pronouns, adverbs, interjections), morphological (some lexemes, affixes, postfixes) and syntactic means (syntagmas, sentences) with indicative semantics.

To deepen our understanding of these issues, modern linguistics requires the introduction of innovative interdisciplinary research methods, as well as flexible and effective technologies to study various processes such as analysis and learning. One of these technologies is VR, which currently, in addition to the rest, is actively functioning as an experimental platform and research methodology. The versatility of VR makes it possible to explore complex cognitive and communicative phenomena, which makes it a valuable tool in advancing linguistic research. Its widespread

use demonstrates the integration of various modalities such as speech, gestures, gaze and facial expression, as well as the manipulation of virtual space and objects in it. This highlights the numerous advantages of VR, which makes it possible to explore complex cognitive processes (Peters, 2019: p.899; Zinchenko et al., 2015: p.61).

Although the research is primarily based in linguistics and cognitive science, particularly in the study of temporal deixis – how time is referenced in communication – it also has indirect implications for other scientific fields, such as human-machine interfaces (HMI).

VR has the ability to simulate both real and fantasy environments, allowing participants to actively interact in these immersive environments. By eliminating the artificial spatial boundaries that usually exist between stimuli and participants, VR promotes more natural and direct interaction in the simulated space. Hence, this approach allows to assess the degree of immersion of the user in a highly realistic three-dimensional environment (3D), where the quality of the data collected is much higher compared to traditional experimental methods using two-dimensional computer monitors (Fox et al., 2009; Peeters, 2019). The enhanced sense of presence and realism provided by VR enhance the user's depth of perception, offering a more accurate understanding of human behavior. In addition, this technology reflects key aspects of human-machine interaction (HMI), which makes it an invaluable tool for studying cognitive and communication processes in artificial environments (Partarakis & Zabulis, 2024).

The data provided and the theoretical basis for improving interfaces and systems that respond better to user actions, create more natural and intuitive interaction conditions. In our opinion, this knowledge can help in the development of HMI systems that provide a better user experience by more accurately matching how people perceive time and interact with it in artificial conditions. This may be due to the provision of data and a theoretical basis for improving interfaces and systems that respond better to user actions, resulting in more natural and intuitive interaction conditions. Thus, the knowledge gained can help in the development of HMI systems that provide a better user experience by more accurately matching how people perceive and interact with time in artificial environments, in particular in VR (De Crescenzo & Frau, 2013; Katona, 2021; Shi et al., 2020). In this article, we will also try to present some considerations and recommendations for solving a number of HMI problems.

2. Design and Methodology

In this section, we present the stimulus material and describe the scenes and scenarios created in the VR environment. We outline the experimental conditions and detail the

methodological approach used in the analysis, including data collection and processing. Additionally, we explain the principles guiding the experiment and the framework used to interpret the cognitive and communicative behaviors observed in the VR setting.

The experiment is carried out in a VR environment and it involved 24 Russian-speaking participants (12 men and 12 women), all residents of the city of Perm with higher or incomplete higher education and limited experience with VR devices. A fragment of the virtual environment is shown in Figure 1.



Figure 1. A fragment of VR environment (Sc3)

The VR environment was created using Unreal Engine 4.22, featuring a rectangular-shaped bar environment with 11 tables (4 round, 7 square) and 2 bar counters (one L-shaped, one shorter). The referent, represented by a bottle, was placed on three different tables during the experiment, sequentially labeled R1, R2, and R3 (see Figure 2).

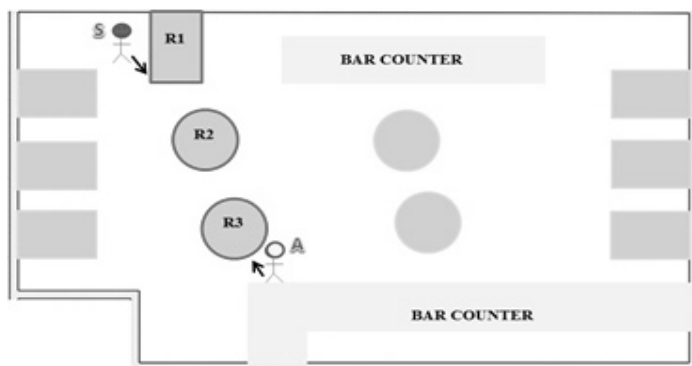


Figure 2. Virtual room plan with its components (Sc1)

The experiment consisted of five scenes: three person-oriented and two distance-oriented. Person-oriented parameters focus on the spatial and communicative relationship between the speaker and addressee, emphasizing face-to-face or close-proximity interactions, often within the same field of view and using personal deixis. In contrast, distance-oriented parameters involve interactions where the speaker and addressee are farther apart or in different fields of view, requiring indirect communication strategies and reliance on spatial deixis to reference objects or locations outside the immediate interaction space (Fillmore, 1982; Anderson & Keenan, 1985; Jungbluth, 2003; Diessel, 1999).

Each scene in our experiment involved different combinations of three parameters: the relative positioning of the speaker and addressee (face-to-face, face-to-back, side-to-side), the positioning of the referent within the internal or external communication space, and whether the referent was within or outside the field of view of the communicants. These variations created unique communicative situations for each scene:

1. **Sc1:** A person-oriented, face-to-face interaction where the referent is located within the internal communicative space, visible to both the speaker and the addressee.
2. **Sc2:** A person-oriented, face-to-face interaction with the referent positioned in the external communicative space, visible to the addressee but located behind the speaker.
3. **Sc3:** A person-oriented, face-to-face interaction where the referent is in the external communicative space, visible to the speaker but situated behind the addressee.
4. **Sc4:** Distance-oriented with the speaker standing alongside or behind the addressee, and the referent in the external communicative space within the field of vision of both.
5. **Sc5:** Distance-oriented with the speaker to the right of the addressee and the referent in the external communicative space within the speaker's field of vision but outside the addressee's view.

Participants completed a questionnaire and were briefed on the task: to request the addressee (an animated character) to retrieve the referent from the table. The experimenter altered scenes, requiring the speaker to locate the referent and instruct the addressee accordingly. The communication process was recorded using an internal camera in the VR glasses and an external camera, with the videos synchronized and merged for analysis (see Figure 3). A total of 725 reactions were recorded, each combining linguistic deictics and, if present, gestures and other modalities:

1) *Возьмите бутылку, стоящую на втором от вас столе, справа. Даже прямо.
(делает шаг вперед)*²



Figure 3. A fragment of the synchronized recording of both cameras

The experimental data undergoes a multi-step processing and classification procedure. Verbal reactions are decoded and synchronized with body movements, with cues segmented into phrases and gestures. This synchronization is essential as gestures act as deictic elements for some participants. The annotated material is then processed in IS 'Semograph' (Belousov et al., 2017), creating a project for each subject's reaction, including context and metadata such as gender and education. This stage provides data on component connections and their metadata links. Each reaction is analyzed for deictic or communicative semantics, categorizing syntagmas into deictic and communicative classes. The result is a universal classifier with categories like 'Structure of the Situation', 'Type of Communication', and 'Means of Communication', visualized as an interactive circular graph in the SciVi analytics system (Ryabinin et al., 2020). The interactive graph of deictic and communication parameters can be viewed at: https://scivi.semograph.com/?pre-set=Graf_obschee_gender.json³

The full design of the experiment is presented in Taleski's work (2024).

² The speaker's movements are described in parentheses.

³ When you click on the links, the data flow window loads; to view interactive graphs, click on the VISUALIZE link located in the upper-right corner of the window.

3. Results and discussion

Through the analysis of the collected data, several distinct models of the speaker's temporal orientation in VR have been identified. Participants primarily employ linguistic elements such as verb tenses, temporal expressions, and adverbs to navigate and express time within the VR environment. These linguistic markers serve as key tools for anchoring communication in time. This paper focuses specifically on the variability in the use of temporal adverbs, highlighting their role in shaping temporal orientation during interactions in VR. The following sections will outline the specific models of temporal orientation derived from these observations, detailing their characteristics and applications within the VR context.

Table 1: *Factors and Their Influence on Temporal Adverb Frequency in VR Interactions*

Factors	Scenes					Type of the scene		Gender	
	Sc1	Sc2	Sc3	Sc4	Sc5	Person oriented	Distance oriented	Male	Female
Variability share	0.111	0.090	0.097	0.090	0.175	0.100	0.132	0.091	0.021

From Table 1, it is evident that the usage of temporary adverbs varies based on gender and scene types. In the first four scenes, a consistent usage of temporary adverbs is observed, ranging from 0.090 to 0.111. However, in scene 5, the proportion of occurrence is nearly double (0.175).

The large number of temporary adverbs (deictics) used in the speech of participants in Sc5 compared to other scenes can be explained by several factors. The scene might possess heightened emotional intensity due to the fatigue of the participants, as it is the last in the sequence, which leads to more expressive and time-anchored speech, where speakers use more deictic means to emphasize the immediacy or urgency of their statements. Additionally, if Scene 5 focuses on temporal events or the sequence of actions, such as recounting a timeline, references to past moments (events), or, less frequently, planning for the future, this could naturally lead to a more frequent use of temporal adverbs to clarify the sequence and timing of events. Thus, Sc5 can be defined as a communicative situation with more complex

temporal references, requiring participants to frequently anchor their statements in time, which may be related to shifts in narrative time, discussions of past events, or detailed sequencing of actions.

Regarding scene types, there is a higher proportion of temporary adverb occurrence in Distance-oriented scenes (0.132) compared to Person-oriented scenes (0.100). In terms of gender, male participants exhibit a proportion of temporary adverb occurrence more than four times higher (0.091) than that of female participants (0.021). This significant disparity may suggest that men in this study tend to anchor their speech more frequently in time, possibly reflecting differences in communication styles between genders. Results also has shown that men and women may prioritize different aspects of communication, with men potentially focusing more on the temporal structure of events, which could explain the higher use of temporary adverbs among male participants.

In discussing models of temporal orientation in VR, it is noteworthy that speakers primarily orient themselves in time by utilizing present tense verb forms, as exemplified in e.g.1, largely due to the experimental task itself. Here, the speaker serves as the point of reference, aligning with the actual time of speaking in the VR environment (Figure 4).

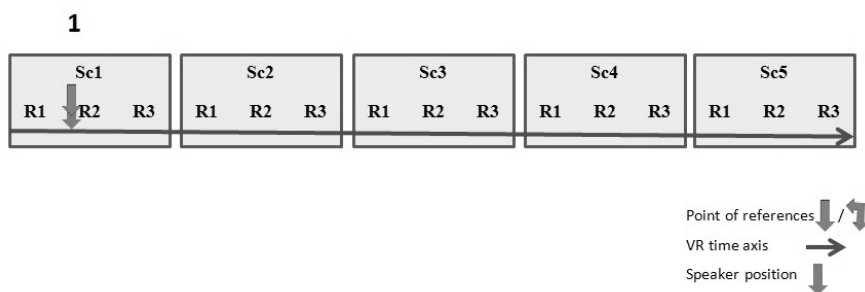


Figure 4. Visual representation of Model 1

This model of the speaker's orientation is also observed when the speaker uses temporary adverbs indicating the actual moment of speaking. Firstly, we are referring to temporal adverbs such as *теперь* "now", *сейчас* "at this moment", and *пора* "it's time", which are used by speakers to anchor their statements in the present moment, guiding the listener's understanding of when an action is expected to occur or is being referenced, as seen in the example:

2) *Ближайший справа от вас стол теперь содержит бутылку, пожалуйста, передайте её мне. (Опускает голову вниз, смотрит влево, шевелит пальцами).*

In this model, communication is specifically oriented toward the VR addressee, with all three key elements of the communicative interaction – the speaker, the addressee, and the referent – fully embedded within the VR environment. This alignment effectively constructs a temporal axis unique to the virtual setting, enabling temporal relationships to be established and navigated within the VR space. Such a configuration allows for precise temporal coordination and interaction, where the dynamics of time are integrated directly into the virtual context, reflecting the fluidity of temporal deixis in artificial environments. This can be qualified as Model 2. Unlike Model 1, which is used for real-time tasks and provides responsiveness and clarity, Model 2 can be applied to scenarios that reflect a more subtle and flexible interaction between communicants. Thus, by integrating both models, HMI systems can provide a more natural and intuitive interface, reflecting the complexity of human perception of time and increasing user engagement in the VR environment.

The presence of a separate time axis in VR, alongside the real-time axis, becomes more apparent in reactions devoid of spatial reference points:

- 3) а) *(Поворачивается на 90 градусов. Кашель.) Я надеюсь вам не составит труда (складывает руки на животе) даме принести ту бутылку, (проводит правой рукой, горизонтально указывая) которая стоит за вашей спиной.*
- б) *Ещё ближе за вашей спиной. (кивает)*
- с) *Совсем близко (мотает головой), только руку протянуть. Прошу вас. (пригласительно проводит правой рукой, горизонтально указывая)*

In example 3, the speaker's three consecutive reactions (a, b, c) form a cohesive and integrated discourse. The speaker uses coordinating words to reference previous situations, drawing on earlier contexts to address the task at hand. These lexical cues help connect past interactions with the current communicative act, ensuring continuity and aiding the addressee (the VR character) in completing the task successfully.

This type of temporal orientation remains confined to a single scene, in this case, Sc3. The speaker's use of what can be termed "chain orientation" is restricted to the boundaries of that specific scene, without extending beyond it. This suggests that the speaker perceives the scene as a distinct unit or episode, with a clear start and end, anchored along a specific temporal axis that parallels the VR time continuum.

Chain orientation, as observed here, represents a unique model of temporal alignment within VR. It is characterized by sequential references within a single interaction, where temporal coordination is established and maintained only within the given scene, as illustrated in Figure 5.

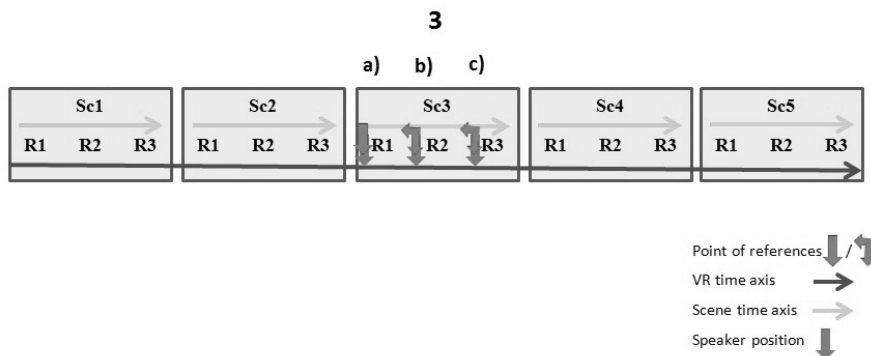


Figure 5. Visual representation of Model 3

Model 3 indicates the ability of users not only to make references to several time points of reference in VR, but also to simultaneously perceive several time frames, interacting with the environment in the present, observing events in the past or manipulating them without changing contexts. The time dimensions in this model can be dynamically and smoothly integrated and synchronized, which creates a sense of a sequence of actions in one "virtual" time axis, creating a dynamic, interconnected time experience that is convenient for a successful HMI.

It is important for HMI within the framework of Model 3 to be able to work with multiple time contexts simultaneously, offering a customizable time interface that improves understanding of complex systems and allows you to create potential linear, multi-level narratives in VR.

It is noteworthy that in e.g. 3, the primary spatial point of reference is the body of the addressee. During orientation, the speaker utilizes a specific spatial reference point from a previous interaction, known as chronotope orientation, to contextualize and indicate elements of the current situation. This strategy enables the speaker to draw on past spatial-temporal relationships to guide communication in the present context.

A clear example of this is demonstrated in example 4, where reference points combine elements from both the current and prior situations. In this case, the addressee becomes the focal point for establishing temporal deixis, serving as the anchor for orienting the speaker's temporal and spatial references within the communicative act (see Figure 6). This method highlights the integration of past and present reference frames, facilitating continuity and clarity in VR-based interactions.

4) *Молодой человек, до вас девушка не могла забрать, возьмите бутылку, пожалуйста, слева от меня бутылка стоит...*

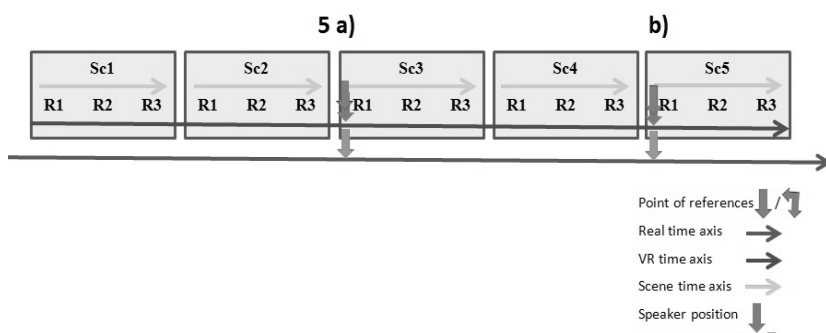


Figure 6. Visual representation of Model 4

Model 4 can be thought of as a model where the boundaries between time, space, and user perception are blurred. In this model, the virtual environment and the speaker's perception of time and space are deeply interconnected and adapt in real time.

This model allows speakers to perceive time and space in a multidimensional form, interacting with several versions of the script at the same time. The speaker, within the framework of orientation, can move through the "layered" environment of events, rearranging the perception of time and space in such a way as to better match his immediate needs and goals, encouraging the speaker to think outside the framework of linear temporal progress, and creating a personalized chronotope structure. Thus, Model 4 involves the creation of interactive and adaptive interfaces for the design of HMI systems that will contribute to the chronotope.

In Model 4, we can note the frequent use of verbs, adverbs, and expressions such as *теперь* (as in e.g. 2), *сейчас, снова, опять повернулись*, etc., to reference previous situations. In this context, the previous situation serves as a direct or indirect reference point.

The previous situation serves as an effective reference point only when it is directly relevant to the current task and sufficient for its successful completion. This is evident in example 2, where the speaker explicitly highlights the earlier absence of an object on the table. By contrasting this with the current state – where the table, now functioning as the spatial reference point, contains the referent – the speaker effectively utilizes past context to frame the present scenario. This approach underscores the importance of temporal and spatial continuity in virtual environments, as the reference point not only aids in orientation but also reinforces the logical progression necessary for task completion.

It is crucial to note that both participants of the communicative act should be aware of the earlier situation. Otherwise, the orientation to the previous situation remains incomplete, as one of the communicants lacks information about the state of the VR objects until the time of the speech act. In cases where the previous situation is referenced to highlight a specific aspect of the communicative act, thereby adding context or enhancing its meaning – such as in the phrase *опять повернулись* "you turned again" – the prior situation serves to support effective communication in the present context. However, when the previous situation is used in this way, it is classified as an indirect reference, as it enriches the current interaction without being directly necessary for task completion.

When using these time deictics, different types of orientation models are detected.

- 5) а) (*оборачивается вправо-влево*) *Где теперь? (поднимает руки раскрытыми ладонями вниз) Позади вас через два стола находится стол, на котором на краю находится бутылка. Можете передать мне ее? (шевелит пальцами рук)*
- б) *Я её сейчас сама возьму (улыбается). Возьмите, пожалуйста, ту бутылку (махнула правой рукой влево).*

In Model 5, we discuss orientation in the present tense. The speaker is oriented relative to themselves and their body at the moment of the speech act. In e.g. 5a), they pose a question, attempting to clarify the spatial coordinates of the referent's location. These are reactions specific to situations at the beginning of a particular scene. The speaker often requires a certain amount of time to orient themselves after scene changes, searching for the addressee and determining the coordinates of the referent in VR, as their location changes instantly after the previous scene concludes.

In example 5a, the challenge revolves around determining the direction of communication. If the question is directed inward, from the speaker to themselves (autocommunication), where the sender and receiver are the same, we can assert that the speaker functions as the primary reference point. In this case, the speaker is oriented with respect to the actual speech act along the VR time axis, positioning themselves relative to their own actions in the virtual environment.

Alternatively, the communication could initiate external interaction, where the speaker's actions or requests necessitate input or feedback from outside the VR environment. This occurs when the speaker seeks to clarify the location of an object or adjust their behavior based on self-observation, addressing an addressee who exists outside the virtual realm, typically an experimenter. The external addressee operates on a real-time axis distinct from the VR temporal framework. In such a

scenario, it becomes evident that the speaker, while immersed in VR and aligned with its time axis, is also able to perceive and interact with the real-time axis. This dual awareness highlights the complexity of communication in VR, as the speaker navigates both virtual and real-time temporal planes simultaneously.

Here we are talking about synchronizing orientation in virtual time with the expectation of feedback in real time, when the speaker is oriented both along the time axis of VR (for internal actions) and along the axis of real time (for external interactions). With such interaction, the HMI system is required to effectively integrate these measurements. This synchronization leads to the alignment of various time dimensions (axes), in particular, to temporal convergence. Thus, Model 5 emphasizes the ability of users to manipulate multiple events on different time axes, and the point of intersection of these dimensions can be defined as a point of temporal convergence. This model is clearly shown in Figure 7.

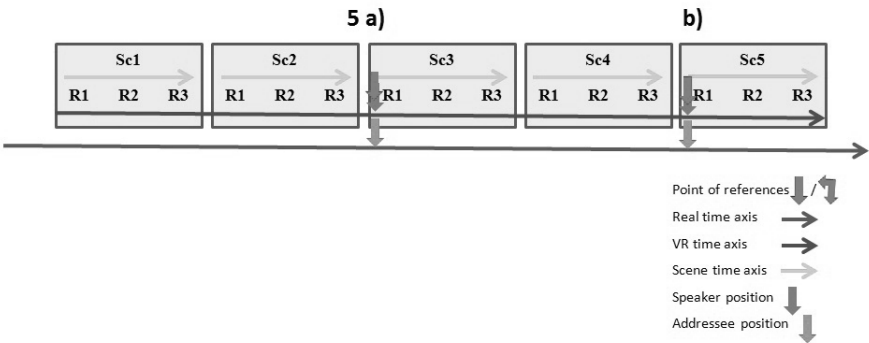


Figure 7. Visual representation of Model 5

In certain reactions, such as in e.g. 6, participants refer to a specific scene that has already been completed when they complete a task.

6) *Бутылка осталась там, где стояла два стола назад. Будьте добры, заберите её, пожалуйста.*

Here we observe a model centered on the presence of shared memories among communicants (Figure 8). In this model, the reference point encompasses both a specific scene from the past (temporal orientation) and a particular VR object – the table (spatial geocentric orientation).

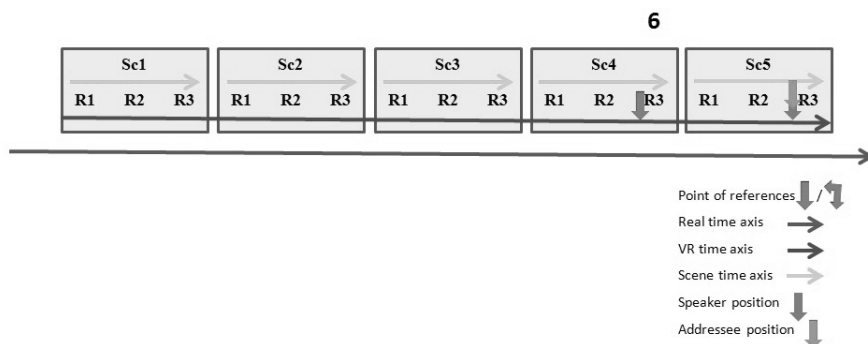


Figure 8. Visual representation of Model 6

Another model of temporal orientation merits attention, as it shares similarities with the previous behavioral strategy, yet exhibits some notable differences. Unlike models 1-6, which mainly focused on linear time structures, Model 7 may represent a significant deviation because it takes into account nonlinear or distorted time structures. In this model, the speaker directs their attention to a previously completed scene prior to initiating a new task, without explicitly referencing the earlier context by name:

7) *Мы повторяемся...*

In this scenario (Figure 8), there is no explicit reference to a specific scene, which suggests the existence of multiple timelines. The speaker employs phrases such as "repeat," "again," or "the same thing," which, on one hand, suggest that a similar action was previously performed in an identical context. On the other hand, ambiguity arises, as it remains unclear which past situation the speaker is referencing, leaving the time reference uncertain. This lack of clarity disrupts the chronological order, with temporal markers becoming less precise. The ambiguity can apply to both the events unfolding within the VR environment and the actions performed by the experimenter. A similar instance is observed in the expression *Опять тоже самое* ("Again, the same thing"), where the speaker hints at repetition without providing a clear temporal reference, further complicating the temporal framework. This highlights the challenge of maintaining consistent time markers in virtual communication.

The speaker's deployment of temporal strategies by using temporal deictics to navigate parallel temporal realities is a critical component in developing innovative communication methods for effective engagement with complex temporal frameworks. Consequently, Model 7 can be characterized as a scenario in which

the speaker simultaneously engages with multiple timelines, allowing for interaction with temporal markers associated with different points in time concurrently.

This indicates that the speaker perceives the scenes as time cycles in which the user repeatedly goes through the same time interval. In such cases, the speaker perceives recurring events as being in a time loop, where he constantly returns to the same moment. This can strongly influence communicative behavior, in particular the speaker's use of a unique temporal deixis to perform a successful communicative act. It directly testifies to the consequences in the interaction of human and machine.

It is noteworthy that in e.g. 7, uncertainty also arises concerning the inclusivity of the personal pronoun "We". Consequently, from the context, it remains ambiguous who, besides the speaker, the pronoun "We" encompasses: the addressee, the experimenter, or both.

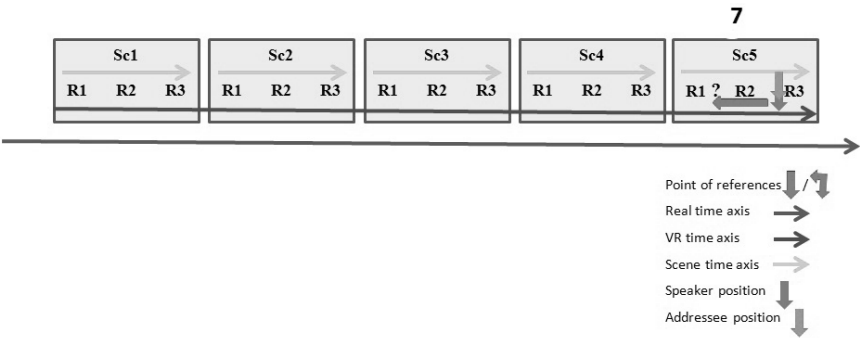


Figure 9. Visual representation of Model 7

It is noteworthy that participants frequently exceeded the designated task parameters, resulting in the utilization of various temporal expressions, including forms of the past and future tense, along with adverbs with temporal semantics.

Regarding the future tense, it is important to highlight that it is only present in reactions when the speaker deviates from the task and envisions various events intended to occur in the future, as exemplified in e.g. 8. The reference point in such instances is the speaker themselves and the current time of speaking within the VR environment.

8) *Слушай, к нам сегодня придут, наверно, все столики будут заняты (делает жест левой рукой, поднимает ее к очкам, делает указательный жест указательным пальцем правой руки). Поставь на каждый столик по такой бутылке, будет свадьба, в общем, каждому столу по закуске и такой бутылке, что рядом с тобой.*

Participants occasionally articulate adverbs or complex expressions denoting specific time periods, such as *сегодня*, or particular times of the day. The designation

of specific times of the day is primarily observed when participants use greetings, such as *добрый день*, *доброе утро* etc. This phenomenon primarily occurs when the speaker exceeds the predefined task boundaries of the experiment.

In addition to verbal means, a model of temporal orientation in VR was also identified through the use of non-verbal cues. Specifically, the thumbs-up gesture (Figure 10) was observed. Following each statement, the participant turns to the experimenter and performs a thumbs-up gesture. This gesture in this context can be interpreted in two ways: first, as an endorsement of an action (initiating a certain process), and secondly, as an indication of the successful completion of a communication act (concluding the successful fulfillment of a particular task). Both interpretations entail temporal semantics.

Given that the speaker immediately redirects their attention to the experimenter after engaging with the VR character, this model can be understood as signifying a shift in the direction of communication – transitioning from the virtual environment to the external world via non-verbal cues. This redirection highlights the dual-layered nature of interaction, where participants oscillate between immersive virtual tasks and real-world communication. The frequent occurrence of such shifts may suggest a lower level of immersion in the VR environment, as participants continually break the virtual context to engage with external elements. This behavior potentially reflects limitations in the VR system's ability to fully captivate the user's focus, or it may indicate the participants' cognitive struggle to remain immersed within the virtual setting.



Figure 10. A fragment of nonverbal communication with the addressee outside of VR

These observations suggest that VR functions not only as a medium for modeling temporal deixis but also as a mechanism for restructuring the user's communicative and cognitive experience. By creating conditions in which participants simultaneously navigate multiple temporal axes, VR fundamentally alters the perception of temporal relations. This transformation is particularly relevant for educational and training contexts, where immersive environments can strengthen memory consolidation, improve task sequencing, and foster new forms of temporal awareness that are unattainable in traditional learning settings. Consequently, VR introduces a qualitatively new communicative reality in which temporal deixis becomes both a tool for interaction and a medium for cognitive development.

4. Conclusion

The conducted study yields several key conclusions concerning both the predefined objectives and those that emerged during the course of the research.

The study primarily highlights the effectiveness of VR as a potent research tool for examining and modeling cognitive and communicative processes, particularly in understanding linguistic transformations in speaker behavior, including deictic behaviors. VR's success in this regard is attributed to its ability to replicate experimental conditions with high precision, standardize variables, and manipulate independent factors: scene configurations, object placements, and reference points. This flexibility allows researchers to explore complex interactions that traditional experimental paradigms may not fully capture, offering deeper insights into human communication and cognitive processes dynamics.

Moreover, the analysis of speaker behavior through verbal elements, such as adverbs, verbs, and other temporally relevant linguistic units, reveals the emergence of distinct temporal orientation models. These include chain orientation, orientation to shared memories, and orientation to an undefined previous scene, each providing a framework for understanding how temporal dynamics are managed within VR contexts. In brief, the implications of these findings are profound for the development of human-machine interfaces (HMI) and improvements to existing ones, as they pave the way for creating more natural and intuitive systems that align closely with human temporal perceptions. Enhancing user engagement and immersion through such interfaces can significantly improve the overall user experience in virtual environments, making interactions more seamless and realistic.

The obtained models of temporal orientation, based on temporal coordinates and the communicative orientation of speakers collectively form a temporal axis.

This study identifies three distinct temporal axes guiding communicative interaction within VR: the VR temporal axis, the episodic temporal axis, and the temporal axis of reality. These axes can intersect, replace each other, or run parallel without interfering with each other during communication. The ability to simultaneously perceive and interact with different temporal axes allows for the creation of a dynamic and interconnected temporal experience, which is important for the development of sophisticated HMI systems.

Thus, the unique nature of these temporal axes, as integral components of more complex deictic and temporal behavior models in VR, underscores the significant impact of VR on speakers' communicative behavior, even under standard VR conditions. It is evident that the nature of VR substantially shapes both communicative and more narrowly deictic behavior, despite similarities with behavioral patterns observed in the real world.

Ultimately, the primary objective of this study has been successfully achieved, establishing a coherent, communication-oriented coordinate system and temporal orientation known as virtual-temporal deixis. This system vividly portrays temporal models of deictic behavior with their specificity and uniqueness, particularly those observed within the VR environment.

Beyond its role as a methodological instrument, VR should also be regarded as a transformative mechanism of communication and learning. The reconfiguration of temporal deixis within immersive environments demonstrates how users adapt to new patterns of temporal reference, thereby reshaping their communicative behavior. This implies that VR is not limited to simulating real-world temporal dynamics but rather generates novel frameworks of temporal experience that can be effectively integrated into human-machine interaction systems, as well as in pedagogical practices. In this sense, the study provides not only theoretical insights but also outlines practical directions for employing VR in education, training, and communicative technologies, where the ability to manage complex temporal structures is crucial.

Finally, to validate these models and data as fundamental aspects of virtual-temporal deixis, further meticulous experiments with varied parameters and tasks should be conducted. Consequently, these models can be subjected to testing and potentially confirmed based on empirical evidence, thereby reinforcing their validity for development of human-machine interfaces (HMI) and its improvements.

References

1. Anderson, S.R. & Keenan, E. (1985) Deixis. In: Shopen, T. (ed.) *Language Typology and Syntactic Fieldwork*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Vol. III, 259–308.
2. Apothéloz, D. (2021) Anaphore et temps verbaux [Anaphora and verbal tenses], *Langue Française* [French Language], 210(2), 21–40.
3. Apresyan, Y.D. (1986) Nekotorye soobrazheniya o deiksise v svyazi s ponyatiem naivnoj modeli mira [Some considerations about deixis in connection with the concept of a naive model of the world]. In: Dobrzyńska, T. (ed.) *Teoriya tekstu* [Theory of Text]. Wrocław, Ossolineum, 83–98.
4. Baranzini, L. & de Saussure, L. (eds.) (2021) *Recherches actuelles sur le temps et l'aspect*. Leiden, Brill. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004468191> [Accessed 03 September 2024].
5. Belousov, K., Erofeeva, E. and Leshchenko, Y. (2017) 'Semograph' Information System as a Framework for Network-Based Science and Education, *Smart Innovation, Systems and Technologies: Smart Education and e-Learning*, 263–272.
6. Benveniste, E. (1956) La nature des pronoms. In: Benveniste, É. *Problèmes de linguistique générale* [Problems in General Linguistics]. Vol. I. Paris, Gallimard, pp. 251–257.
7. Blascovich, J., Loomis, J., Beall, A.C., Swinth, K.R., Hoyt, C.L. and Bailenson, J.N. (2002) Immersive Virtual Environment Technology as a Methodological Tool for Social Psychology. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 13(2), 103–124. DOI: 10.1207/S15327965PLI1302_01.
8. Bondarko, A.V. (1990) *Funktsional'naya grammatika. Temporal'nost'. Modal'nost'* [Functional Grammar: Temporality and Modality]. Leningrad, Nauka.
9. Bondarko, A.V. (2001) *Printsipy funktsional'noy grammatiki i voprosy aspektologii* [Principles of Functional Grammar and Aspects of Aspectology]. Moscow, Editorial URSS.
10. Bryson, S. (2013) Virtual reality: A definition history – A personal essay, *arXiv*, arXiv:1312.4322. Available at: <https://arxiv.org/abs/1312.4322> [Accessed 16 August 2024].
11. Castronovo, F., Nikolic, D., Liu, Y. and Messner, J. (2013) An evaluation of immersive virtual reality systems for design reviews. In: Dawood, N. and Kassem, M. (eds.) *International Conference on Construction Applications of Virtual Reality (CONVR)*. London, 20–29.
12. De Crescenzo, F. & Frau, G. (2013) Design of virtual reality based HMIs (human-machine interfaces) of complex systems. *20th IEEE International Conference and Workshops on Engineering of Computer-Based Systems (ECBS)*, 181–186. IEEE. DOI: 10.1109/ECBS.2013.25.
13. Diessel, H. (1999) *Demonstratives: Form, function, and grammaticalization*. Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company. DOI: 10.1075/tsl.42.
14. Erzinkyan, E.J. (1978) Vremennoy deysis v semantike raznykh chastey rechi [Temporal deixis in the semantics of different parts of speech], *Vestnik Obshchestvennykh Nauk AN Armyanskoy SSR*, (12), 21–32.

15. Fillmore, C. (1982) Towards a Descriptive Framework for Spatial Deixis. In: Jarvella, R. and Klein, W. (eds.) *Space, Place and Action: Studies in Deixis and Related Topics*. Chichester, John Wiley & Sons, pp. 31–59.
16. Fox, J., Arena, D. and Bailenson, J.N. (2009) Virtual Reality: A survival guide for the social scientist, *Journal of Media Psychology*, 21(3), 95–113. DOI: 10.1027/1864-1105.21.3.95.
17. Gryaznova, E.V. (2013) Filosofskiy analiz kontseptsiiy virtual'noy real'nosti [Philosophical analysis of the concepts of virtual reality]. *Filosofskaya Mysl'*, (4), 53–82. DOI: 10.7256/2306-0174.2013.4.278.
18. Haspelmath, M. (1997) *From space to time: Temporal adverbials in the world's languages*. Munich-Newcastle, LINCOM Europe. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.831421.
19. Jungbluth, K. (2003) Deictics in the Conversation Dyad: Findings in Spanish and Some Cross-linguistic Outlines. In: Lenz, F. (ed.) *Deictic Conceptualization of Space, Time and Person*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 13–40. DOI: 10.1075/pbns.112.04jun.
20. Katona, J. (2021) A Review of Human–Computer Interaction and Virtual Reality Research Fields in Cognitive InfoCommunications. *Applied Sciences*, 11(6), 2646. <https://doi.org/10.3390/app11062646>.
21. Lanier, G. (1992) Interview. *Computer Graphics World*, 15(4), 47–54.
22. Marino, S. (2020) *Theoretical Reference Points*. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-48145-2_3 [Accessed 12 September 2024].
23. McMillan, K. (1994) Virtual reality: Architecture and the broader community. [Online] Available at: <http://www.arch.unsw.edu.au/subjects/arch/specres2/mcmillan/vr-arch.htm> [Accessed May 2024].
24. Muhić, E. (2024) Within These Four Walls: The Perilousness of Elusive Guard Rails and Impermanence of Safety. *Philologist – Journal of Language, Literature, and Cultural Studies*, 15(29), 313–321. <https://doi.org/10.21618/fil2429313m>
25. Mütterlein, J. (2018) The three pillars of virtual reality? Investigating the roles of immersion, presence, and interactivity. *Proceedings of the 51st Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences*. DOI: 0.24251/hicss.2018.174.
26. Nosov, N.A. (2000) Psikhologicheskaya virtual'naya real'nost' [Psychological virtual reality], *Chelovek. Filosofsko-entsiklopedicheskiy slovar'*. Moscow, Nauka, 292–296.
27. Partarakis, N. & Zabulis, X. (2024) A Review of Immersive Technologies, Knowledge Representation, and AI for Human-Centered Digital Experiences, *Electronics*, 13(2), 269. <https://doi.org/10.3390/electronics13020269>.
28. Peeters, D. (2019) Virtual reality: A game-changing method for the language sciences. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review*, 26(3), 894–900. DOI: 10.3758/s13423-019-01571-3.
29. Powell, C.S. (1996) Interview with Jaron Lanier. *Scientific American*, 15 September.
30. Reichenbach, H. (1947) *Elements of Symbolic Logic*. New York, Macmillan. DOI: 10.2307/2181740.

31. Ryabinin, K.V., Belousov, K.I. and Chuprina, S.I. (2020) Novel Circular Graph Capabilities for Comprehensive Visual Analytics of Interconnected Data in Digital Humanities. *Scientific Visualization*, 12(4), 56–70. DOI: 10.26583/sv.12.4.06.
32. Ryan, M.-L. (2015) *Narrative as Virtual Reality 2: Revisiting Immersion and Interactivity in Literature and Electronic Media*. JHU Press. DOI: 10.1353/book.72246.
33. Sherman, B. & Judkins, P. (1992) *Glimpses of Heaven, Visions of Hell: Virtual Reality and its Implications*. London, Hodder and Stoughton.
34. Shi, Y., Azzolin, N., Picardi, A., Zhu, T., Bordegoni, M. and Caruso, G. (2020) A Virtual Reality-based Platform to Validate HMI Design for Increasing User's Trust in Autonomous Vehicle. *Computer-Aided Design and Applications*, 18(3), 502–518. DOI: 10.14733/cadaps.2021.502-518.
35. Slater, M. & Wilbur, S. (1997) A framework for immersive virtual environments (FIVE): Speculations on the role of presence in virtual environments. *Presence: Teleoperators & Virtual Environments*, 6(6), 603–616. DOI: 10.1162/pres.1997.6.6.603.
36. Smith, C.S. (2006) The Pragmatics and Semantics of Temporal Meaning. In: Denis, P. et al. (eds.) *Proceedings of the 2004 Texas Linguistics Society Conference*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, pp. 92–106.
37. Steuer, J. (1992) Defining Virtual Reality: Dimensions Determining Telepresence. *Communication in the Age of Virtual Reality*. L. Erlbaum Associates Inc., 33–56. DOI: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1992.tb00812.x.
38. Taleski, A. (2024) *Modeli dejkticheskogo i komunikativnogo povedeniya govoryashchego v virtual'noy real'nosti* [Models of Deictic and Communicative Behavior of the Speaker in Virtual Reality]. Monograph. Edited by K.I. Belousov. Moscow, FLINTA.
39. Walsh, K.R. & Pawlowski, S.D. (2002) Virtual reality: A technology in need of IS research. *Communications of the Association for Information Systems*, 8(1), 297–313. DOI: 10.17705/1CAIS.00820.
40. Witmer, B.G. & Singer, M.J. (1998) Measuring presence in virtual environments: A presence questionnaire. *Presence*, 7(3), 225–240. DOI: 10.1162/105474698565686.
41. Zinchenko, Y.P., Menshikova, G.Y., Kovalev, A.I. and Shaigerova, L.A. (2015) Postnonclassical methodology and application of virtual reality technologies in social research. *Psychology in Russia: State of the Art*, 8(4), 60–71. DOI: 10.11621/pir.2015.0405.
42. Zhrebilo, T.V. (2010) *Slovar' lingvisticheskikh terminov* [Dictionary of Linguistic Terms]. 5th edn. Nazran, Pilgrim.

Константин И. Белоусов
Белоруски државни универзитет страних језика
Факултет енглеског језика
Катедра за теоријску и примијењену лингвистику
Наталија В. Бороникова
Пермски државни универзитет
Филолошки факултет
Катедра за теоријску и примијењену лингвистику
Александар Х. Талески
Пермски државни универзитет
Филолошки факултет
Катедра за теоријску и примијењену лингвистику

МОДЕЛИ ВРЕМЕНСКЕ ОРИЈЕНТАЦИЈЕ ГОВОРНИКА У ВИРТУЕЛНОЈ РЕАЛНОСТИ И ЊИХОВ УТИЦАЈ НА СИСТЕМЕ СУЧЕЉАВАЊА ЧОВЈЕКА И МАШИНЕ

Резиме

Овај рад бави се моделима који се тичу временске оријентације говорника током комуникације у оквиру виртуелне реалности (ВР). Појам виртуелне реалности означава једно окружење које се ствара уз помоћ компјутерских технологија и техничког апарата. Данас се виртуелна реалности сматра једним од експерименталних поља или истраживачких методологија. Ово истраживање обављено је путем експеримента, при чему је анализирано 725 реакција потеклих од 24 учесника, у којима су идентификоване временске деиктике (ријечи или изрази чије значење зависи од контекста) које означавају временску блискост или удаљеност, што је помогло да се опишу модалитети временске оријентације унутар виртуелне реалности. У овом истраживању тежи се темељној обради сложености модела временске оријентације унутар разних окружења виртуелне реалности, при чему се обраћа посебна пажња на њихову улогу у обликовању комуникације и оптимизовања интеракције човјека и машине (ЧМИ). Путем детаљног експерименталног оквира заснованог на виртуелној реалности ова студија проучава когнитивне и комуникационе процесе, разоткривајући дистинктивне моделе временске оријентације и њихове варијације, које су под утицајем ванлингвистичких фактора. Наведена анализа даље наглашава временску оријентацију говорника у виртуелној реалности, која се означава као виртуелно-темпорална деикса и твори један јединствени комуникативно-индикативни координатни систем.

Резултати потврђују вриједност виртуелне реалности као једног снажног оруђа у истраживању когнитивне и комуникационе динамике, уз механизме језичке трансформације. Поред тога, подаци до којих се дошло током истраживања нуде једну теоријску основу за развој система интеракције човјека и машине који су ближи људском поимању времена, јачајући природније и интуитивније корисничке интеракције.

► **Кључне ријечи:** виртуелно-темпорална деикса, деиктике, модели, виртуелна реалност, понашање говорника, оријентација, интеракција човјека и машине (ЧМИ).

Preuzeto: 18. 1. 2025.

Korekcije: 10. 9. 2025.

Prihvaćeno: 14. 9. 2025.

Lusine Harutyunyan ¹
Armenian State University of Economics
Department of Languages
Ruzanna Baghramyan
Armenian State University of Economics
Department of Languages

FUNCTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF EUPHEMISMS IN BUSINESS DISCOURSE (BASED ON THE EXAMPLE OF PRINCIPLED NEGOTIATIONS)

Abstract: *In recent years, the business community has acknowledged that negotiations should be built upon mutual respect and collaboration with a focus on interests rather than positions. This has set an updated standard against which successful negotiation criteria should be measured and analysed. This research paper examines the effectiveness of euphemisms in business negotiation discourse within the framework of principled negotiation (developed by the Harvard Negotiation Project). One of the key components of principled negotiation is BATNA (Best Alternative to a Negotiated Agreement). With the introduction of BATNA, the culture of conducting negotiations and the perception of trade-offs have immensely altered. It has now become a prevalent practice to concentrate on shared interests rather than positions, separate people from the problem, and constantly work on the process itself. In this research, the following methods have been applied: linguostylistic analysis, pragmatolinguistic analysis, discourse analysis, and case study. The results of the analysis have shown that the use of euphemisms substantially fosters the efficiency of advancing core values of principled negotiations while reducing tension. As linguistic tools, they allow parties to avoid unnecessary directness, enhancing a constructive and collaborative atmosphere, even under challenging circumstances.*

Key words: *euphemism, discourse, business discourse, business negotiations, principled negotiations, BATNA.*

¹ lusineharutyunyan100@yahoo.com

1. Introduction

People have long recognized the importance of mastering persuasion and communication skills to avoid conflicts; advance political, economic, business interests; and improve their welfare. Possessing such skills empowers negotiating parties, thus facilitating the oftentimes complicated and intricate process of business negotiations. Various contemporary approaches and strategies designed to increase the efficiency of business negotiations have a common ground for executing the intended negotiation goal – business discourse. Today's business community realizes that the skilful implementation of linguistic devices contributes to a conflict-free resolution of issues acceptable to both parties.

The foundations of contemporary business discourse trace back to classical rhetoric developed by the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle in the 4th century BC. In his fundamental work *Rhetoric*, Aristotle identifies three important components of persuasion: 1) ethos - authority, character of the speaker, 2) pathos - emotion, and 3) logos - arguments and logical reasoning. According to Aristotle, the task of rhetoric is not to persuade but to find relevant and appropriate ways of persuasion for each problem (Aristotle, 2011).

Rhetoric as a subject of study has been, and continues to be, pervasive in modern linguistic analyses. *Rhetoric and Politics – The Power of Words in Shakespeare's Julius Caesar* emphasizes the central role rhetoric has played in literature from ancient Greece and Rome to the Renaissance and highlights the fact that persuasive language is not only a literary device, but also an influential political tool that can have an immense impact on the processes and overall outcomes of various situations (Dumitrašković, 2023). Lopatiuk and Yakimchuk (2024) examine how speakers build logical arguments (logos), appeal to emotions (pathos), and establish trustworthiness (ethos) to maximize their impact and engage the audience. As these examples illustrate, fundamental rhetorical tools continue to be used to examine both modern and ancient literature.

In addition to applying rhetorical tools, skilfully structuring discourse is one important method for effective persuasion. Business discourse used in the negotiation process is a multi-layered speech tactic determined by linguistic and extralinguistic factors, the unique structure of which allows for flexibility during a negotiation, avoiding abrupt and drastic solutions. Discourse is a complex phenomenon - the application, perception and analysis of which imply a complicated study of linguistic, social, cultural, economic, historical and other factors. Russian linguist Karasik (2002) differentiates between person-oriented and status-oriented types

of institutional discourse. Institutional discourse encompasses business, political, diplomatic, administrative, legal, religious and other types of discourse. Karasik claims that institutional discourse is a reflection of the ethnic value system of a society, which is based on the values of the different groups forming the given society. The socio-cognitive paradigm of discourse was developed by a contemporary Dutch linguist, the founder of Critical Discourse T. A. van Dijk, who emphasizes the paramount importance of analysing actual language use from the perspective of its cognitive and social characteristics rather than confining it to grammatical analysis of isolated sentences (van Dijk, 2011). This means that the thorough examination of negotiation discourse, which is a type of institutional discourse, with its linguistic and extralinguistic specificities (cultural, social, cognitive, and so forth) is in the realm of pragmatics, which encompasses both contextual and co-textual features for the examination of the given discourse. A pragmatic analysis of discourse creates a situation-oriented platform for the parties involved in the communication process through constant collaboration, which provides an opportunity to raise and discuss mutually acceptable opinions and views and to create premises for further cooperation. This type of multifaceted approach is viable during negotiations since the concept of negotiation itself allows the parties to employ versatile linguistic tools alongside pre-planned negotiation methods and strategies to reach a mutually acceptable agreement.

The inferred function of any negotiation is to persuade the other party to accept one's terms and reach an amicable resolution. Rhetoric, which in Aristotle's conception is grounded in persuasion, could be regarded as one of the indispensable tools for achieving negotiation objectives. Within this framework, the stylistic aspect of any language accounts for a huge part of the negotiating aspect of business discourse.

The focus of this research paper is the examination of the central role euphemisms play during principled negotiations because they're used to reduce tension between parties and advance their interests politely and respectfully (a core strategy in principled negotiations).

2. Previous Studies on Euphemisms Employed in Various Types of Institutional Discourse

Various studies examining euphemisms emphasize their importance, especially in political and social contexts, highlighting their strategic ambiguity to show politeness and, as a result, save face when touching upon controversial and disputable issues.

A study conducted by Crespo-Fernández (2014) examines the softening effect of euphemisms as applied by politicians to address those impacted by an economic crisis, for example. Terms like *vulnerable*, *in financial difficulty*, or *people in debt* help politicians minimize the severity of people living in extreme poverty. Euphemisms are used to hide unpleasant truths, while also providing a *safe ground* for the speaker's offensive intention.

In another study using a critical discourse analysis of political language, Crespo-Fernández (2018) investigates the role of euphemism in the discourse of US politicians based on language data taken from The Star-Ledger, New Jersey's largest newspaper. Euphemism, both metaphorical and non-metaphorical, is a key tactic used by politicians to protect themselves and present a positive image of themselves. It enables them to (primarily through understatement, periphrasis, and metaphor): (1) refer to socially disadvantaged groups or delicate subjects without sounding insensitive; (2) criticize their political opponents in a way that is acceptable to society; and (3) intentionally hide from the public uncomfortable or controversial issues.

Euphemisms also help enforce distance in communication within the framework of politics. As Karnyushina and Makhina (2017) demonstrate based on discourse and statistical data analysis of political language, lexical and grammatical constructions help to minimize pressure, avoid embarrassment and thus save face while discussing disputable issues.

From a pragmatic point of view, the humorous effect of euphemisms is also noted. Hamilton and Foltzer (2019) consider an underhanded euphemism double-speak in one context, pointing out that the latter might be humorous and hence a ludic euphemism in another. Studying the form and function of euphemisms reveals an interesting platform where syntax and semantics merge creating new meanings of ideas and messages that might also produce the pragmatic effect of humor (Hamilton, Foltzer, 2019).

In some cases, euphemisms come in handy as hedging strategies (such as detachment, complimenting, justification, showing initiative, vagueness, etc.) which help people maintain politeness (save face), mitigate the illocutionary force, reduce the risk of conflict, and, at the same time, get the desired effect (Harutyunyan, Baghranyan, 2022:p.180).

Academic research on the linguistic peculiarities of principled negotiation discourse is almost non-existent and the main thrust of these research papers is the pragmatic, rather than the linguistic, aspect of negotiation discourse.

Most existing research examines a broader negotiation framework incorporating various types of negotiations, including principled negotiation. For example, Zhao

and Nie (2014) examined the vague language in business negotiations generally, without mentioning the method of principled negotiation and its discourse specificities. Zhang and Constantinovits (2018) developed a questionnaire of principled negotiation to provide negotiators and researchers with a scientific measuring tool.

Among research papers, partially pertaining to this topic is Geche's (2007) work where the problems of mutual understanding during Russian-Hungarian negotiations are examined from a linguistic, psychological, and ethnocultural point of view. In another work, Dmitrievna (2021) considers the effect of the structure of persuasive speech as an algorithm of conjugation of logos, ethos and pathos within the framework of English business communication.

3. Methods

To analyse business negotiation discourse, particularly with regard to principled negotiation, the following methods have been applied: linguostylistic analysis, pragmalinguistic analysis, discourse analysis, and case study. Lingostylistic analysis was used to identify euphemisms in the discourse of business negotiations and the psychological and emotional impact they have on participants. Pragmalinguistic analysis was used to understand the meaning of euphemisms in context, specifically how they are applied to mitigate the directness of the delivered message. Discourse analysis was used to combine linguistic and extralinguistic factors from transcripts of movie excerpts to gain an overall background of the negotiation process. Nine business negotiation episodes have been excerpted and studied from the following movies: *Argo* (Affleck, 2012), *The Godfather* (Coppola, 1972), *Erin Brockovich* (DeVito et al., 2000), *The Social Network* (Fincher, 2010), *The Founder* (Hancock, 2016), *Startup* (Ketai and Prieto, 2016), and *Moneyball* (Miller, 2011). It should be noted that the analysis was conducted on pre-prepared discourse which provides more clarity, depth and is more suitable for academic purposes, whereas spontaneous discourse is more general and usually targets the emotional aspect of negotiation framework. Finally, case studies were used to conduct an in-depth analysis of how different strategies for using euphemisms can contribute to various solutions and outcomes of the negotiated problem.

4. Euphemisms in Principled Negotiations

The term euphemism originates from the Greek word euphemia (eu – good or well, phemi - speech) and is intended to soften direct, rude expressions. The Oxford

Dictionary defines a euphemism as: 'An indirect word or expression used instead of a more direct one when talking about something unpleasant or embarrassing' (Oxford Student's Dictionary, 2010:p.251). According to Aghayan, 'A euphemism replaces 'impolite' or 'inappropriate' words with the new ones' (Aghayan, 1987:397). Periodically displaying neutrality in negotiation processes allows the parties to devise a coherent and stable strategy, which de-escalates conflict situations. However, the focus should be on the linguistic means through which the sides may promote their interests politely and constructively. Hence, the implemented discourse should be deliberate, that is to say, pre-planned as much as it is possible to predict the flow of negotiation. 'Euphemisms are synonyms which aim at producing a deliberately mild effect' (Galperin, 1977:p.56). Cameron views a euphemism as 'a term intentionally used to avoid or soften the negative associations related to taboo topics' (1995:p.73). 'Deliberate, indirect, or socially convenient means for addressing forbidden, uncomfortable, or unpleasant topics' (Hughes, 2006:p.151).

The implied, deliberate and polite nature of euphemisms used in business negotiations is regarded as a part of institutional discourse that allows for the selection of stylistic means and sublanguage relevant to the pre-planned negotiation strategy.

The principled negotiation method was developed in 1979 by Harvard Law Professor Roger Fisher and anthropologist William Ury within the framework of *Harvard Negotiation Project*. The foundational principles of the method were published in their seminal book *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In* (1981). The method is based on the principle *hard on the merits, soft on the people* and is structured around the following four principles:

1. People: Separate the people from the problem.
2. Interests: Focus on interests, not positions.
3. Options: Generate a variety of possibilities before deciding what to do.
4. Criteria: Insist that the result be based on objective criteria (Fisher et al., 2011:p.11)

A linguostylistic examination of euphemisms means looking at how they are employed in business negotiations, specifically where the principled negotiation method is used.

Aligning the components of rhetoric (ethos, pathos, logos) with the principles of principled negotiations, we will have the following picture.

- People – ethos
- Interests – pathos
- Options - logos
- Criteria – logos

It is worth noting that such a coupling is not stable and, depending on the course of the negotiation, the components could change places as well as cooperate. For example, separating people from a problem (ethos/interests) with appropriate linguistic skills (pathos/people) could significantly increase the value of less valid arguments (logos/options, standards) offered by one of the negotiating parties.

Recently, in one of his interviews, Ury made an observation regarding the nature of conflict resolution - the ultimate goal of negotiators should not be the elimination of the conflict itself, but the gradual cultivation of the peace process (Ury, 2024). Researching and analysing the essence of conflict resolution from this perspective breaks a completely new frontier by underscoring the indispensability of the process itself. Negotiating parties should have the mental image or model of the conflict resolution strategy offered by Ury and materialize the negotiation discourse that stems from this mental model. In this context, the usage of euphemisms is central to the execution of the principled negotiation strategy.

The next key component of the principled negotiation method is BATNA (Best Alternative to a Negotiated Agreement). The main thrust of BATNA is to prime yourself for the presumptively 'worst,' yet still acceptable, alternative to a negotiated agreement. If negotiating parties have developed their BATNA in advance, they have a mental model of an alternative, which means they have developed and chosen such linguistic means to reproduce the given mental model, which would contribute to the employment of persuasive and yet non-binding discourse. Thus, the parties, applying the principled negotiation strategy, reduce or exclude the occurrence of spontaneous situations (Fisher et al., 2011).

The effectiveness of the use of the method of principled negotiation is conditioned by the unity of multi-layered and diverse components involved in the negotiation process and their examination. According to the findings of our research, linguistic means are the most important links that connect the elements of the complex negotiation process. If the communication format implies the choice of a certain type of language (e.g. formal language), then the types of linguistic means guarantee the maximum possible realization of the goals set during the pre-negotiation stage.

4.1 Linguostylistic and Pragmalinguistic Analysis of Business Discourse Based on Various Negotiation Cases

Below are several excerpts from movies where negotiating parties are employing principled negotiation. To illustrate the interplay between euphemism and prin-

cipled negotiation the methods of linguostylistic, pragmalinguistic, discourse and case study analysis are applied.

The first negotiation example is from the movie *The Social Network* where Mark Zuckerberg negotiates with his lawyer who is trying to persuade Mark that paying is the best option. To achieve her goal, Marylin employs the following euphemisms.

1. Marylin Delpy: '...pay them. In the scheme of things, it's a speeding ticket.' (Fincher, 2010)

'Pay them' is an imperative and is immediately followed by euphemisms to soften the tone and start an interest-based negotiation. The lawyer uses two euphemisms in one sentence to pave the way for a principled negotiation. The first euphemism *in the scheme of things* is an indirect indication of several existing negative factors. The use of this euphemism neutralizes the importance of the current issue in comparison with the huge problems implied by the same euphemism. The second *it's a speeding ticket* which, in turn, mitigates the negative impact of the trade-off emphasizing the triviality of the problem. The selection of these euphemisms allows the lawyer to successfully promote the third and fourth principles of principled negotiation: focus on interests and base your decisions on objective criteria.

BATNA: For Mark paying the other party is his BATNA. Initially, he fights to advance his interest, which does not align with the other party's interest, and may lead to a win-lose outcome. Since he knows his BATNA, the lawyer's suggestion has come as no surprise and eventually he agrees.

The second example is from the movie *Argo*. The negotiation takes place between Tom Mendez (CIA agent), Lester Siegel (who works in film production), and Max. Tom and Lester offer to sell their film script to Max. He declines because he has a more profitable offer from MGM. Lester, being aware of that offer, explains the situation by employing a principled negotiation strategy materialized through a euphemism.

2. Lester Siegel: 'The movie is kaput, which means that MGM deal ain't gonna happen...' (Affleck, 2012)

Lester uses the adjective *kaput*, which is derived from the German word *kaputt* meaning out of order. Instead of using words such as *failed* or *ruined*, which could create the impression for Max that he was deceived, Lester opts for a softened alternative thereby downplaying the seriousness of the situation and neutralizing the negative impact. Lester tries to separate Max from the problem by being hard on the problem and soft on Max, which is a core value of principled negotiation. Additionally, however painful the trade-off may be, it is still about shared interests

and objective criteria. The only option that is left is Lester's offer. And it is definitely better than nothing.

BATNA: The suggested deal is indeed a BATNA for Max. Nonetheless, he definitely has not primed himself for such a standard to be measured against, since he didn't know about MGM's project being 'kaput'. It is shocking news for him. However, the flexibility of principled negotiations allows him to weigh the pros and cons and agree to the best alternative under the given conditions.

The third example is from the movie *The Godfather*. It is the meeting of the heads of the five Families and the Corleone Family. Their ultimate goal is to make peace and allocate spheres of influence among the Families. One of the Family heads, Zaluchi, uses euphemisms when referring to black people and narcotics in his discourse.

3. Zaluchi: 'I also don't believe in drugs... In my city, we would keep the traffic in dark people, the colored... so let them lose their souls.' (Coppola, 1972)

Zaluchi's negotiation tactic is based on the principle of shared interests. There are no signs of positional bargaining. Secondly, he corroborates his offer by using objective criteria accepted by all parties involved. Surprisingly, even representatives of the criminal world attempt to employ euphemisms like 'keep the traffic' and 'the colored' to soften the discussion of delicate, morally questionable issues. As one of the regulators of peace-making operations, Zaluchi is concentrated on the process of negotiation, rather than on the outcome. He realizes that a shrewdly employed negotiation strategy may contribute to the formation of the desired mental model to reach a mutually acceptable outcome. Through the euphemisms (keep the traffic, dark people, the colored, so let them lose their souls) he neutralizes the offensive associations that these words would have had if they had not been replaced. This stylistic device secures the polite and civilized aspect of the negotiation process, even in such a criminal setting.

BATNA: Zaluchi initially presents the other parties' BATNA. He knows that, for example, Vitoe Corleone would refuse the direct offer of controlling drug circulation. As a seasoned negotiator, he plays out the best alternative from the outset and takes advantage by implementing all four principles of principled negotiation.

Another example from the same movie demonstrates a tough positional negotiation accompanied by sheer manipulation, but even in such cases, the negotiator opts to employ a euphemism. However soft or neutral it may sound, such an approach does not leave space for applying BATNA, which, in its turn, violates the principles of principled negotiation and leads to personal conflicts.

4. Vito Corleone: 'I'm gonna make him an offer, he can't refuse.' (Coppola, 1972)

The whole sentence is a vivid illustration of euphemism, since, if we consider the extralinguistic factors around the text, it is obvious this is a real threat. The apparent contrast between the two parts of the sentence conveys the inferred message politely and indirectly. The use of the word 'offer' sets a positive tone by concealing the real threat behind it. However, the second part of the utterance balances the situation through the modal verb 'can't', which indicates not only mental but also physical inability. Even having an explicit negotiating advantage, Vito Corleone is determined to save face and remain polite with the help of a skilfully structured discourse.

The fifth example is from the movie *Startup*. Izzy, the founder of *Gencoin* is pitching its product to representatives of *Valecia*. In the course of the negotiation, one of the *Valecia* representatives is trying to politely decline the offer by employing a euphemism.

5. Representative: 'That sounds very interesting, but I have just one concern, all this Bitcoin cryptocurrency stuff. Its ultimate success looks pretty, um... Well, it just looks pretty grim for the banking community.' (Ketai, 2016)

It is noteworthy that at the beginning of the speech, the negotiator uses the strategy of praise (that sounds very interesting), which can also be considered as a euphemism since the goal is to mitigate the negative impact of the refusal. Next, he applies another euphemism *concern*, again aiming to neutralize a negative atmosphere. The combination of a praising strategy with an appropriate linguistic unit contributes to distancing the representative from the problem. This approach minimizes the risk of personal conflicts or resentments. Then he proceeds to the stage of hedging (pretty) again with a clear objective to mitigate the impending rejection.

Hedges contribute to the creation of vagueness and fuzziness of meanings of words in discourse. As a result, the message of these lexical units can be conjectured drawing on pragmatic features of the general conversational situation rather than only on semantic meanings of the words (hedges) in the context. 'Failure to hedge appropriately may result not only in misunderstanding, communication breakdown, but may also be perceived as impolite, even offensive phenomenon' (Harutyunyan, Baghranyan, 2022:p.170). After a slight pause, the representative uses the euphemism *grim* to soften the criticism of the proposal, which is immediately followed by the *banking community* to depersonalize himself from the issue. The use of *the banking community* is an indirect reference to shareholders, which also could be interpreted as a euphemism. In this collocation, the word community neutralizes

undesirable associations related to the word *bank*. This short negotiation discourse displays how the meticulous selection of linguistic devices alongside shrewd strategy may implement the core value of principled negotiation - hard on the problem, soft on the people.

BATNA: The representative of the company probably has a BATNA which he will apply as soon as the opportunity arises. This is evidenced by the fact that he refers to the banking community, thus leaving room for BATNA speculation. The moment Izzy provides valid arguments corroborated by facts or, at least, a compelling perspective, he would diplomatically redirect its business discourse toward the mutually acceptable outcome. That is to say, he would apply his BATNA instead of refusing the deal/offer.

Below is another example of a euphemism from the movie *Erin Brockovich*. The negotiation is between Erin Brockovich and Mr. Masry, director of a law firm, (representing the interests of the residents of Hinckley) on the one hand, and Mr. Foyle, an attorney for the Pacific Gas and Electric Company (PG&E), on the other hand. PG&E contaminated water in a local community, which resulted in devastating illnesses among the residents. The company is ready to compensate.

6. Mr. Foil: 'In the interest of putting this whole thing to rest PG&E is willing to offer the Jensen's two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for their home.' (DeVito et al., 2000)

From the outset, the lawyer uses a euphemism expressed by an idiom (putting this whole thing to rest). This is a deliberately chosen negotiation strategy to avoid unpleasant issues regarding the illnesses of the residents. The use of euphemisms is a recurring point throughout the negotiation process.

BATNA: It is obvious that Mr. Foil does not have a developed BATNA, since he starts the negotiation by offering the only acceptable option for his client, without considering the other party's reaction. He could suggest less and then come to an agreement through negotiations, which would create the impression that a mutual compromise is taking place. It has become apparent that, despite the use of euphemisms, the failure to have BATNA is almost equal to positional bargaining, which leads to either a deadlock or a win-lose outcome.

Here is another example from the same movie.

7. Mr. Foil: 'I understand they've had a bad run of luck health-wise and they have my sympathies but that's not PG&E's fault.' (DeVito et al., 2000)

In this example, Mr. Foil employs several euphemisms: *a bad run of luck health-wise*, *fault*. His ultimate goal is to neutralize the negative aspects of the negotiation and create

a constructive, collaborative atmosphere for advancing the interests of the company. Instead of enumerating all the illnesses caused by contamination, he uses *a bad run of luck health-wise*, or *fault* as an alternative to negligence, malpractice which could be, at least, labeled as tort. The constant employment of euphemisms is designed to separate the problem from the company, demonstrate an interest-based negotiation strategy based on objective criteria and reach a conflict-free resolution acceptable to both parties.

BATNA: The frank confession made by Mr. Foil regarding the health issues allows the other party to detect some weaknesses in the defense and negotiate terms unless they reach Mr. Foil's BATNA, that is to say, the lowest acceptable option.

Another example from the movie *The Founder* illustrates how the absence of BATNA may negatively impact the outcome of a negotiation. Ray Kroc and his lawyer are negotiating with the McDonald brothers about the terms of the contract for acquiring their company. During negotiations, Ray Kroc uses a euphemism to create a friendly atmosphere and predispose the brothers towards a handshake deal.

8. Ray Kroc: 'Look fellas, you get your full royalties. All right? You've got my word on that.' (Hancock, 2016)

The word *fella* is informal and generally not employed in business negotiations, the format of which requires a more sober tone using appropriate formal vocabulary. However, the use of *fellas* instead of *Mr.*, or *dear*, *respected* serves the negotiator's purpose: to soften the tone and persuade him to accept his terms. The continuation *you get your full royalties* is based on objective criteria and displays the advancement of mutual interests. The other party agrees on that point of the deal. Before coming to negotiate, they did not prepare themselves properly for that complicated process and didn't have a BATNA in mind.

The next example is from the movie *Moneyball*. The negotiation takes place between the general manager of the *Oakland Athletics* baseball team and Grady Fusion, the head of the scouting department.

9. Grady: 'Billy, that's a very touching story and everything, but I think we're all very much aware of what we're facing here. You have a lot of experience and wisdom in this room, now you need to have a little bit of faith and let us do the job of replacing Giambi.' (Miller, 2011)

The polite and tactful attitude demonstrated by Grady is in full compliance with the merits of principled negotiation. Maintaining an objective approach based on shared interests is enhanced by a shrewd execution of the following euphemism: *that's a very touching story and everything*. Instead of saying that Billy's story is not relevant, he somewhat praises the narrative. The praising strategy expressed

by a euphemism is a prevalent technique employed in principled negotiations to neutralize the negative impact of bare facts. Another euphemism is *Let us do the job of replacing*. Instead of saying *stand aside and do not interfere*, Grady uses the euphemism to reduce tension and persuade Billy to step back politely.

BATNA: Since Billy already knows his BATNA, it is not difficult for him to make a concession, which does not leave him with a sense of resentment. The focus is on the process which, if structured smartly, would result in the desired outcome.

5. Conclusion

The effectiveness of principled negotiation is vastly enhanced by linguistic techniques framing the negotiation discourse through persuasive speech. By comparing the merits of principled negotiation and the practical application of euphemisms, it seems clear that the main function of these two components shaping negotiation discourse (negotiation method + linguistic device) is the creation of a favourable cooperative business setting to secure a win-win outcome. The use of euphemisms in conjunction with BATNA significantly enhances the efficiency of advancing core values of principled negotiations while reducing tension. According to this analysis, euphemisms strengthen the application of the second and fourth values of principled negotiations. As linguistic tools, they allow parties to avoid unnecessary directness, fostering a constructive and collaborative atmosphere, even under challenging circumstances. Moreover, the enrichment of the negotiation toolkit with BATNA could be a vital strategy and defensive weapon in the process of improvement of business negotiation skills.

Sources

1. Affleck, B. (dir.) (2012) *Argo* [Film]. Warner Bros. Pictures, GK Films, Smokehouse Pictures.
2. Coppola, F.F. (dir.) (1972) *The Godfather* [Film]. Paramount Pictures.
3. DeVito, D., Shamberg, M. and Sher, S. (prods.) and Soderbergh, S. (dir.) (2000) *Erin Brockovich* [Film]. Universal Pictures, Columbia Pictures, Jersey Films.
4. Fincher, D. (dir.) (2010) *The Social Network* [Film]. Columbia Pictures.
5. Hancock, J.L. (dir.) (2016) *The Founder* [Film]. FilmNation Entertainment.
6. Ketai, B. (prod.) and Prieto, L. (dir.) (2016) *Startup* [TV series, Season 1, Episode 4]. Hollywood Gang Productions, Story Machine, Jacobs Media.
7. Miller, B. (dir.) (2011) *Moneyball* [Film]. Columbia Pictures.

References

1. Aghayan, E.B. (1987) *Լեզվաբանության հիմունքներ [Basics of linguistics]*. Yerevan, YSU Press.
2. Aristotle (2021) *Ethics, politics, rhetoric, selected aphorisms*. Moscow, Eksmo Publishing House.
3. Balandina, N.A. (2004) *Дискурс переговоров в англоязычной деловой коммуникации (The discourse of communication in English-language business communication)*. Abstract of PhD dissertation in Philology. <https://www.dissercat.com/content/diskurs-peregovorov-v-angloyazychnoi-delovoi-kommunikatsii>
4. Cameron, D. (1995) *Verbal hygiene*. London, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
5. Crespo-Fernández, E. (2014) Euphemism and political discourse in the British regional press. *Brno Studies in English*, 40(1), 5–26. DOI:10.5817/BSE2014-1-1.
6. Crespo-Fernández, E. (2018) Euphemism as a discursive strategy in US local and state politics. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 17(6), 789–811. DOI: 10.1075/jlp.17040.cre.
7. Dmitrievna, R.I. (2021) *Технологии персуазивности в современной англоязычной бизнес коммуникации (Persuasion technologies in English-language business communication)*. Abstract of PhD dissertation in Philology. <https://www.dissercat.com/content/tehnologii-persuazivnosti-v-sovremennoi-angloyazychnoi-biznes-kommunikatsii>
8. Dumitrašković, T.A. (2023) Rhetoric and politics – the power of words in Shakespeare’s Julius Caesar. *Philologist – Journal of Language, Literature, and Cultural Studies*, 14(27), 102–116. DOI: 10.21618/fil2327102d.
9. Fisher, R., Ury, W. and Patton, B. (2011) *Getting to yes: Negotiating agreement without giving in*. New York, Penguin Publishing Group.
10. Galperin, I.R. (1977) *Stylistics*. Moscow, Higher School Publishing House.
11. Geche, Zs. (2007) *Деловые переговоры в лингвопрагматическом аспекте (на материале русско-венгерских переговоров) (Business communications in linguopragmatic aspect (based on Russian-Hungarian negotiations))*. Abstract of PhD dissertation in Philology. <https://www.dissercat.com/content/delovye-peregovory-v-lingvopragmaticheskome-aspekte-na-materiale-russko-vengerskikh-peregovor>
12. Hamilton, C. and Foltzer, A. (2019) On euphemisms, linguistic creativity, and humor. *Lexis*, 17. DOI: 10.4000/lexis.5355.
13. Harutyunyan, L. and Baghramyan, R. (2022) Identification of hedging strategies in business negotiations. *Wisdom*, 22(2), pp. 170–181. DOI: 10.24234/wisdom.v22i2.706.
14. Hughes, G. (2006) *An encyclopedia of swearing: The social history of oaths, profanity, foul language, and ethnic slurs in the English-speaking world*. Armonk, NY, M.E. Sharpe.
15. Karasik, V.I. (2002) *Language circle: Personality, concepts, discourse*. Volgograd, Peremena Publishing House.
16. Karnyushina, V. and Makhina, A. (2017) Lexical and grammatical means of distancing strategy performed in American political discourse. *Journal of Language and Education*, 3(1), 85–101. DOI: 10.17323/2411-7390-2017-3-1-85-101.

17. Lopatiuk, N. and Yakimchuk, V. (2024) Лінгвістичні особливості реалізації персуазивних стратегій в мотиваційних промовах спікерів Ted talks. *Науковий вісник Чернівецького національного університету імені Юрія Федьковича. Серія: Германська філологія*, (833), pp. 70–77. DOI:10.31861/gph2021.833.70-77.
18. Nierenberg, G.I. (1995) *The art of negotiating*. New York, Barnes & Noble Books.
19. Oxford University Press (2010) *Oxford student's dictionary*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
20. Van Dijk, T.A. (2011) *Discourse and ideology, discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction*. London, Sage Publications.
21. Zhang, Sh. and Constantinovits, M. (2018) Development of a conceptual model and questionnaire of principled negotiation. *Business Communication Research and Practice*, 1(2), 70–76. DOI: 10.22682/bcrp.2018.1.2.70.
22. Zhao, D. and Nie, J. (2014) Vague language in business negotiation—from a pragmatics perspective. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 5(2), 1257–1262. DOI: 10.17507/tpls.0506.19.

Лусине Харут'ун'ян

Државни економски универзитет Јерменије

Катедра за језике

Рузана Баграм'ян

Државни економски универзитет Јерменије

Катедра за језике

ФУНКЦИОНАЛНЕ КАРАКТЕРИСТИКЕ ЕУФЕМИЗАМА У ПОСЛОВНОМ ДИСКУРСУ (НА ПРИМЕРУ ПРИНЦИПІЈЕЛНИХ ПРЕГОВОРА)

Резиме

Током последњих година, пословна заједница препознала је потребу за драстичним променама у начинима вођења преговора. Ово истраживање испитује ефикасност употребе еуфемизма у пословном преговарачком дискурсу у оквиру предности методе принципијелних преговора. Метода принципијелних преговора, развијена у оквиру *Харвардског преговарачког пројекта*, показала се као изводљив модел преговарања који задовољава захтеве савремене пословне заједнице. Једна од кључних компоненти методе принципијелних преговора јесте BATNA (Најбоља алтернатива договореном споразуму). Увођењем концепта BATNA, култура вођења преговора и перцепција компромиса значајно су се променили. Сада је постала уобичајена пракса да се фокус стави на заједничке интересе уместо на позиције,

да се људи одвоје од проблема и да се константно ради на самом процесу. Очигледно је да је у домену лингвистике преношење информација на учтив и дипломатски начин, при чему еуфемизми служе као средства за ублажавање, доприносећи формирању конструктивног и бесконфликтног дискурса током преговарачког процеса. Да би се горе наведено демонстрирало, примењене су методе студије случаја, прагмалингвистичке, лингвостилистичке и дискурсне анализе. Истраживачки материјали су одломци из пословних преговарачких дискурса коришћених у различитим филмовима. Резултати истраживања показали су да се употреба еуфемизма током реализације предности принципијелних преговора сматра паметним маневром и неопходном лингвистичком стратегијом за унапређење преговарачког процеса заснованог на интересима, без конфликта. Упоређивањем предности принципијелних преговора и карактеристика практичне примене еуфемизма постаје очигледно да је главна функција ових двају компоненти које обликују преговарачки дискурс (метода преговарања + лингвистички алат) стварање повољног кооперативног пословног окружења за обезбеђивање обострано корисног исхода. Употреба еуфемизма у комбинацији са BATNA значајно повећава ефикасност унапређења основних вредности принципијелних преговора уз смањење тензија. Према анализама, еуфемизми јачају примену друге и четврте вредности принципијелних преговора. Као лингвистички алати, они омогућавају странама да избегну непотребну директност, подстичући конструктивну и сарадничку атмосферу, чак и у изазовним околностима. Штавише, обогаћивање преговарачког алата са BATNA може бити витална стратегија и одбрамбено оружје у процесу унапређења вештина пословног преговарања. Метода принципијелних преговора у комбинацији са одговарајућим стилским средствима, посебно еуфемизмима, показала се као изводљив модел преговарања који задовољава захтеве савремене пословне заједнице. Налази истраживања, поткрепљени анализама, могу се користити од стране лингвиста (еуфемизми као стилско средство), као и од стране пословне заједнице која тежи побољшању својих преговарачких вештина.

► **Кључне речи:** еуфемизам, дискурс, пословни дискурс, пословни преговори, принципијелни преговори, BATNA.

Preuzeto: 7. 3. 2025.
Prihvaćeno: 29. 9. 2025.

Snežana M. Zečević¹

Branislava M. Dilparić

Aleksandar B. Milojević

University of Priština in Kosovska Mitrovica

Faculty of Philosophy

Department of English Language and Literature

COGNITIVE, EMOTIONAL, AND BEHAVIORAL ASPECTS OF ATTITUDES TOWARD ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNING AMONG SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN KOSOVSKA MITROVICA: A CROSS-SECTIONAL STUDY²

Abstract: This study examines the attitudes of secondary school students in Kosovska Mitrovica toward English language learning. Given adolescents' susceptibility to diverse social, emotional, and contextual influences, a quantitative, empirical, cross-sectional study was conducted to: (1) analyze the cognitive dimension of students' attitudes; (2) explore the emotional dimension; (3) assess the behavioral dimension; and (4) determine whether statistically significant differences exist in students' attitudes with respect to gender, age, school type, school year, and average grade in English. The research involved a convenience sample of 201 students from four secondary schools in Kosovska Mitrovica. Data were collected using an adapted version of the Attitude Questionnaire toward Learning English (Abidin et al., 2012) and analyzed through descriptive statistics, one-way ANOVA, and independent-samples t-tests in IBM SPSS Statistics 20.

The findings indicate that: (a) secondary school students in Kosovska Mitrovica generally exhibit positive attitudes toward English language learning across all three

¹ snezana.zecevic@pr.ac.rs

² This study was supported by the Ministry of Science, Technological Development and Innovation of the Republic of Serbia (Contract No. 451-03-66/2025-03/200184).

examined dimensions; (b) a statistically significant difference was found only in relation to students' average English grade, with no such differences observed for gender, age, school type, or school year; and (c) there is a clear need to implement contemporary teaching approaches and methods designed to enhance students' motivation and engagement in learning English at the secondary level.

Keywords: secondary school students, attitudes toward learning English, cognitive dimension, emotional dimension, behavioral dimension.

1. Introduction

The global prominence and widespread use of the English language have substantially contributed to its dissemination and pervasive presence across virtually all spheres of social life, thereby reinforcing its indispensable role within educational systems worldwide, including that of Serbia. Foreign language teaching in Serbian schools was introduced in the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, following the adoption of the first School Law and the establishment of the country's initial public schools. Since then, the selection of languages offered within formal education has been shaped by a range of factors, the most influential of which have been the political and cultural relations between Serbia and the countries whose languages were included in school curricula. Consequently, the popularity of particular foreign languages has varied across historical periods and regions of Serbia (Филиповић et al., 2006; Filipović et al., 2007; Filipović & Vučo, 2013). In this context, foreign language instruction has evolved as a structured, goal-oriented process aligned with the broader framework of national educational policy, with English emerging in recent decades as the predominant foreign language taught in nearly all Serbian secondary schools.

Due to globalization, scientific and technological advancement, and the expansion of international economic cooperation, learning foreign languages has become not merely a matter of personal aspiration but also a necessity for educated young people. Upon completing secondary school, students either enter the labor market or pursue further education—both of which increasingly require proficiency not only in general English but also in English for academic and professional purposes. Given the pervasive presence of English in both real and virtual environments, it is unsurprising that students' attitudes toward learning the language vary considerably. Some perceive English merely as an obligatory component of the curriculum, to be mastered for the sake of achieving satisfactory grades. Others regard it as a valuable resource that can facilitate future career advancement, travel, and international

collaboration. A third group, however, may develop negative attitudes due to early exposure and compulsory learning from the first grade, or a perceived lack of linguistic aptitude, which leads them to view English as having little personal relevance.

Regardless of such differences, success in language learning depends not only on learners' intellectual abilities but also on their attitudes toward the target language, its associated culture and community, the teacher and their competencies, and the assessment system. These attitudes are further shaped by learners' age, personality traits, and socio-cultural context. The dynamic interaction of cognitive, affective, and contextual factors was examined by Gardner and Lambert (1972), and later by Padwick (2010), who emphasized that foreign language learning should be understood primarily as a social and psychological phenomenon, and only secondarily as an academic one.

In this regard, the present study examines the attitudes of secondary school students in Kosovska Mitrovica toward English language learning. Designed as a quantitative, empirical, cross-sectional study, it pursued the following objectives: (1) to analyze the cognitive dimension of secondary school students' attitudes toward learning English; (2) to explore the emotional dimension of their attitudes; (3) to assess the behavioral dimension of their attitudes; and (4) to determine whether statistically significant differences exist in students' attitudes based on gender, age, type of secondary school, year of secondary school, and average grade in English. The research was conducted on a sample of 201 students, selected through convenience sampling, from four secondary schools in Kosovska Mitrovica. Data were collected during the second semester of the 2022/2023 academic year using an adapted version of the Attitude Questionnaire toward Learning English (Abidin et al., 2012). Given the study's quantitative design, the data were analyzed using descriptive statistics—including measures of frequency (counts and percentages), central tendency (arithmetic mean), and variability (standard deviation)—as well as inferential techniques, specifically one-way ANOVA and independent-samples t-tests, performed in IBM SPSS Statistics 20.

The study was guided by the following hypotheses: (1) cognitively, secondary school students in Kosovska Mitrovica hold positive attitudes toward learning English; (2) emotionally, students hold positive attitudes toward learning English; (3) behaviorally, they hold positive attitudes toward learning English; and (4) statistically significant differences in students' attitudes are expected with respect to their average grade in English, whereas no significant differences are anticipated based on gender, age, school type, or school year.

The paper is structured into several sections. It opens with introductory considerations that contextualize the topic and articulate the rationale for the study. The next section outlines the theoretical background and reviews relevant research on language learning attitudes, with particular focus on their cognitive, emotional, and behavioral components. The methodology section details the sample, research instrument, and data collection procedures, followed by the presentation and discussion of results. The final section offers concluding remarks, pedagogical implications, acknowledgment of limitations, and recommendations for future research.

2. Theoretical framework

One of the more accessible conceptualizations of attitudes defines them as systems of cognitive, emotional, and conative tendencies (Rot, 2003:p.353). Attitudes represent a mental predisposition toward specific response patterns, shaping individuals' perceptions of particular objects, related cognitions, and emotional reactions. In this sense, attitudes function as motivational constructs that guide, energize, and influence behavior. From a behavioral perspective, they reflect an individual's beliefs about the outcomes and characteristics of particular actions. Specifically, strong positive beliefs about anticipated outcomes tend to foster favorable attitudes, while negative evaluations may lead to unfavorable ones (Montano & Kasprzyk, 2008:p.71).³

The concept of attitudes has become an integral component of foreign language learning research, attracting sustained attention from linguists, educational theorists, and practitioners since the late twentieth century.⁴ Scholars have acknowledged that learners bring into the classroom pre-existing attitudes, expectations, and experiences, prompting systematic inquiry into their perceptions of language learning. These investigations aim to clarify individual differences and identify pedagogical implications (Nyikos & Oxford, 1993). Literature on foreign language

³ In a manner akin to this conceptualization of attitude—whereby its meaning acquires an evaluative dimension—Gardner (1985) likewise emphasized that attitude constitutes an evaluative response to a given object, shaped by an individual's underlying beliefs or opinions. Consequently, attitudes are intrinsically tied to one's system of values and convictions, which may either support or oppose particular choices across various domains of activity, whether academic or informal.

⁴ Among the earliest scholarly inquiries into attitudes toward foreign language learning is the study conducted by Papalia (1978, as cited in Bernat, 2004). Nevertheless, Horwitz is widely regarded as a pioneer of foundational research on language learning attitudes and beliefs. Notably, she developed one of the most prominent and methodologically influential instruments for assessing this construct—the Beliefs about Language Learning Inventory (BALLI)—which she used to investigate the attitudinal dispositions of learners, practicing teachers, and prospective foreign language educators (Bernat, 2004).

learning and learner attitudes suggests that the term is often used interchangeably with metacognitive knowledge—one of the three categories of human knowledge, alongside domain-specific and social knowledge (Bojović, 2013). In essence, learners' attitudes reflect the knowledge they have acquired about the learning process, its nature, and their own role as active participants.

Since applied linguists, pedagogues, and foreign language educators consistently underscore the pivotal role of learners in the language acquisition process, learners' attitudes toward foreign language learning have emerged as a critical variable in both empirical research and pedagogical practice (Bojović, 2013). Victori and Lockhart (1995) equate attitudes with the general assumptions that learners hold about themselves as language learners, the factors influencing acquisition, and the nature of the learning process itself. The origins and characteristics of attitudes are heterogeneous, and their influence on language learning is correspondingly variable. Some attitudes are shaped by prior positive or negative learning experiences, others by cultural or familial contexts, and still others by individual differences such as personality traits (Gaoyin & Alvermann, 1995; Langston & Sykes, 1997).

Considering that language learning involves transformations in cognition, affect, and behavior, the construct of attitude is commonly delineated into three inter-related dimensions: cognitive, affective or emotional, and behavioral (Abidin et al., 2012; Wenden, 1991). The cognitive dimension encompasses learners' beliefs, thoughts, and evaluative judgments about the object of the attitude. The emotional dimension refers to learners' feelings and affective responses, indicating whether they experience positive or negative emotions toward the object. The behavioral dimension reflects the tendency to engage in specific actions related to learning. This study aims to examine the prevalence and interaction of these dimensions; accordingly, a concise overview of their core characteristics follows.

The *cognitive* dimension of attitudes toward foreign language learning refers to learners' beliefs about the knowledge they acquire and their understanding of the learning process itself. It comprises four key elements: (1) linking prior knowledge with new information; (2) generating new knowledge; (3) validating newly acquired knowledge; and (4) applying knowledge across diverse contexts (Abidin et al., 2012). In this respect, the cognitive dimension of language instruction is closely tied to knowledge transfer, the exchange of ideas, and learners' comprehension as they engage with a foreign language and the cultural context of its speakers.

Learners are capable of evaluating the rationale for learning a foreign language, as well as its perceived utility for education, communication, general knowledge development, and access to new information. Learning inherently involves integrating

pre-existing skills and knowledge with newly acquired competencies. Given their native language proficiency, learners naturally draw upon this foundation when approaching a foreign language. Through cognitive mechanisms used to discern patterns in their first language, they are able to identify analogous structures in the target language. Moreover, learners rely on existing world knowledge to support comprehension of instructional materials and to transfer previously developed communicative strategies into new contexts. As such, the cognitive dimension remains continuously active throughout the language learning process, exerting a substantial influence on learners' cognitive attitudes toward the target language.

Language learning is not solely a cognitive endeavor; it also encompasses *emotional* (*affective*) dimensions, as it is inherently sensitive to emotional influences. Teachers and learners engage in numerous affective interactions during which learners express satisfaction, enjoyment, and engagement with the learning process. Researchers such as Feng and Chen (2009) and Choy and Troudi (2006) argue that internal feelings and emotions substantially shape learners' perspectives and attitudes toward the target language. Emotions permeate all stages of the learning process and are instrumental in explaining instances where learning may be hindered or fail to occur. Stern (1975) contended that the affective component contributes at least as significantly—and often more so—to language learning than cognitive skills alone. For example, learners may experience apprehension about making errors or being ridiculed by peers, particularly in group-based learning contexts. Accordingly, affective factors—such as emotions, anxiety, motivation, self-confidence, and interest in learning—must be considered integral to effective foreign language instruction. A positive affective environment fosters risk-taking, persistence, and authentic communication, while negative emotions may inhibit participation and impede progress.

The *behavioral* dimension of attitudes encompasses learners' actions and responses in specific learning situations. It reflects the tendency to adopt certain behaviors or habits, especially within the context of foreign language learning. Learners often strive to emulate native speakers and internalize the behavioral patterns characteristic of the target language community (Abidin et al., 2012). Kara (2009) argues that positive behavioral attitudes foster constructive engagement, motivating learners to sustain effort and pursue their learning goals. Such attitudes enhance goal-oriented focus, support efficient learning, and contribute to the attainment of proficiency. Behavioral engagement is further expressed through responsibility, punctuality, and active participation in classroom tasks. Motivated learners are more likely to engage in communicative and collaborative activities, while those

with lower levels of engagement may exhibit passivity, neglect responsibilities, and divert attention elsewhere. Learners may also be inspired by peers who demonstrate greater proficiency, reinforcing their own commitment to improvement. Behavioral theorists highlight the influence of environmental stimuli on learning, emphasizing the role of observable behavior (Woolfolk, 1995). Accordingly, the learning environment and social context play a crucial role, as they can either facilitate or hinder learners' motivation and performance.

In conclusion, this chapter has demonstrated that learners' attitudes toward foreign language learning play a pivotal role in shaping their overall experience and success. The cognitive, emotional (or affective), and behavioral dimensions jointly determine how learners perceive, engage with, and respond to the language learning process. Cognitively, attitudes guide understanding and knowledge integration; affectively, they shape motivation, confidence, and emotional involvement; behaviorally, they influence participation and strategic engagement. Attitudes, therefore, are not peripheral traits but central determinants of learners' engagement, persistence, and achievement. Recognizing their significance allows for a more nuanced understanding of how individuals approach language learning and adapt to its challenges.

3. Methodology

Following the theoretical overview of the cognitive, emotional, and behavioral dimensions of attitudes toward foreign language learning, this section outlines the methodological framework of the study. It provides a detailed account of the research sample, the data collection instrument, and the procedures employed in conducting the study, thereby laying the groundwork for the subsequent presentation and interpretation of findings.

3.1. Sample structure

The research sample was selected using a convenience sampling method, involving secondary school students to whom the researchers had direct access. A total of 201 participants took part in the study. Respondents were categorized according to the following variables: (1) gender, (2) age, (3) type of secondary school, (4) year of secondary school, and (5) average grade in English.

Table 1 presents the distribution of participants by gender. Of the total sample, 50.2% ($n = 101$) were male and 49.8% ($n = 100$) were female, indicating an almost equal gender representation.

Table 1. Distribution of participants by gender

Gender	%
Male	50.2
Female	49.8

With respect to age (Table 2), the largest proportion of participants were 18 years old, accounting for 27.4% ($n = 55$) of the sample. They were followed by 17-year-olds (24.9%, $n = 50$), 16-year-olds (22.3%, $n = 46$), and 15-year-olds (21.9%, $n = 44$). A smaller number of participants were 19 years old (2.5%, $n = 5$), while only one participant (0.5%) was 20 years old.

Table 2. Distribution of participants by age

Age	%
15 years old	21.9
16 years old	22.3
17 years old	24.9
18 years old	27.4
19 years old	2.5
20 years old	0.5

Table 3 provides an overview of participant distribution based on the type of secondary school attended. Of the total sample, 22.9% ($n = 46$) were enrolled in the Social and Linguistic Program of the Grammar School, 18.9% ($n = 38$) attended the Science and Mathematics Program of the Grammar School, 18.9% ($n = 38$) were students of the School of Economics and Trade, 18.9% ($n = 38$) attended the Technical School “Mihailo Petrović Alas”, and 20.4% ($n = 41$) were enrolled in the Medical School (with student dormitory) in Kosovska Mitrovica.

Table 3. Distribution of participants by type of secondary school

Type of secondary school	%
Grammar School (Social and Linguistic Program)	22.9
Grammar School (Science and Mathematics Program)	18.9
School of Economics and Trade	18.9
Technical School “Mihailo Petrović Alas”	18.9
Medical School (with student dormitory)	20.4

Considering the distribution across secondary school years, Table 4 shows that the largest proportion of participants were fourth-year students, comprising 33.3%

($n = 67$) of the sample. This was followed by second-year students at 24.4% ($n = 49$), first-year students at 22.4% ($n = 45$), and third-year students at 19.9% ($n = 40$).

Table 4. Distribution of participants by year of secondary school

Year of secondary school	%
first year	22.4
second year	24.4
third year	19.9
fourth year	33.3

Table 5 outlines the average grade achieved by participants in English. The highest proportion of students received the highest grade 5, accounting for 41.3% ($n = 83$) of the sample. This was followed by students with grade 3 (21.4%, $n = 43$), grade 4 (19.4%, $n = 39$), grade 2 (9.5%, $n = 19$), and grade 1 (8.5%, $n = 17$).

Table 5. Distribution of participants by average grade in English

Average grade in English	%
one (1)	8.5
two (2)	9.5
three (3)	21.4
four (4)	19.4
five (5)	41.3

3.2. Research instrument

For the purposes of this study, an adapted version of the Attitude Questionnaire toward Learning English (Abidin et al., 2012) was employed. The instrument comprised four sections: (1) the first section collected sociodemographic data, including gender, age, school type, school year, and average grade in English; (2) the second section included 15 statements addressing the cognitive dimension of attitudes; (3) the third section contained 15 statements relating to the behavioral dimension; and (4) the fourth section consisted of 15 statements pertaining to the emotional (affective) dimension. Participants indicated the extent of their agreement with each statement by selecting one of five options on a Likert scale, ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'.

The reliability of the questionnaire was assessed using Cronbach's alpha (α) coefficient. The obtained values were as follows: (1) for the entire questionnaire, $\alpha = 0.92$; (2) for the cognitive dimension, $\alpha = 0.81$; (3) for the emotional dimension, $\alpha = 0.89$; and (4) for the behavioral dimension, $\alpha = 0.64$. These results indicate that

the overall reliability of the instrument is satisfactory, as α exceeds the commonly accepted threshold of 0.7 ($\alpha > 0.7$). The emotional and cognitive sections also demonstrated good internal consistency, while the behavioral dimension yielded a slightly lower alpha value, suggesting marginally reduced reliability for this subset of items ($\alpha < 0.7$). Nevertheless, when viewed within the framework of the instrument's overall scale structure, this lower coefficient does not undermine the validity or relevance of the findings.

3.3. Data collection procedure

The survey was administered during English language classes in the second semester of the 2022/2023 academic year. The researchers conducted in-person visits to the participating secondary schools in Kosovska Mitrovica. Before completing the questionnaire, participants received a comprehensive explanation outlining the study's aims, the anonymity of responses, the procedure for filling out the instrument, and the exclusive use of the data for research dissemination. This approach ensured that participants were adequately informed and that data collection adhered to established ethical research standards.

4. Results and discussion

In accordance with the previously defined hypotheses, the results of the study were categorized into four thematic groups and are presented and discussed in the following order: (1) secondary school students' cognitive attitudes toward learning English; (2) emotional attitudes; (3) behavioral attitudes; and (4) the significance of differences in students' attitudes with respect to selected variables (gender, age, school type, school year, and average grade in English).

4.1. Students' cognitive attitudes toward learning English

To examine the extent to which secondary school students in Kosovska Mitrovica demonstrate cognitive attitudes toward learning English, descriptive statistical analyses were conducted, including the calculation of the arithmetic mean and the standard deviation. The results are presented in Table 7.

Table 7. Degree of expression of the cognitive dimension of students' attitudes

	N	Min–Max	AM	SD
Cognitive dimension of attitudes	201	15–75	51.61	10.75

Note: N – number of participants; Min – minimum score; Max – maximum score; AM – arithmetic mean; SD – standard deviation

The results reveal that the majority of students exhibit a positive cognitive attitude toward learning English. Specifically, a substantial portion of the sample either agreed or strongly agreed with the statements presented. The arithmetic mean of the cognitive dimension of attitudes ($M = 51.61$) exceeds the midpoint of the scale ($M = 45$), corresponding to the total number of questionnaire items (45). Participants expressed agreement with statements emphasizing the instrumental value of learning English, including the enhancement of critical thinking and communicative competence, expansion of knowledge and access to new information, integration of prior and newly acquired knowledge, practical application in real-life contexts, and facilitation of academic progress, among other benefits.

These findings align with previous research. Vergara Burgos (2023) observed that secondary school students in the Philippines similarly hold positive cognitive attitudes toward learning English. Hernández Salinas (2024) emphasized students' favorable dispositions regarding the significance of English for future professional trajectories, access to novel information, and expedited career advancement, corroborating the present results. Zulfikar et al. (2019), despite employing a qualitative methodology, likewise confirmed widespread agreement regarding the benefits of English language learning. Accordingly, the first hypothesis of the present study is supported: *from a cognitive standpoint, secondary school students in Kosovska Mitrovica demonstrate a predominantly positive attitude toward learning English.*

4.2. Students' emotional attitudes toward learning English

To determine how secondary school students in Kosovska Mitrovica perceive English language learning from an emotional perspective, descriptive statistical analyses were also employed, including the calculation of the arithmetic mean and standard deviation. An overview of the results is provided in Table 8.

Table 8. Degree of expression of the emotional dimension of students' attitudes

	N	Min–Max	AM	SD
Emotional dimension of attitudes	201	15–75	53.73	13.19

Note: N – number of participants; Min – minimum score; Max – maximum score; AM – arithmetic mean; SD – standard deviation

Table 8 offers insight into the pronounced positivity of students' emotional attitudes, as the arithmetic mean ($M = 53.73$) exceeds the midpoint of this segment of the scale ($M = 45$), which corresponds to the total number of items (45). By indicating their level of agreement with the provided statements, the majority of respondents demonstrated that they do not experience anxiety, stress, or disinterest in learning English. Their responses were predominantly positive, suggesting that, for most participants, English language learning is perceived as an enjoyable activity that promotes well-being, stimulates curiosity, fosters engagement in learning, and enhances self-confidence in communication.

The findings of three additional studies—Abidin et al., 2012; Al-Nofaie, 2010; Vergara Burgos, 2023—corroborate the values presented in Table 8. In contrast, Hernández Salinas (2024) reported that participants predominantly exhibited negative attitudes, primarily due to stress and frustration associated with language learning, while Zulfikar et al. (2019) found a roughly equal split between positive and negative emotional attitudes. Despite the partially divergent results of some earlier studies, the outcomes of the present research, consistent with the majority of the aforementioned findings, indicate that most respondents either agree or strongly agree with statements reflecting the emotional dimension of learning English. In light of these results, the second hypothesis is affirmed: *from an emotional standpoint, secondary school students in Kosovska Mitrovica hold a predominantly positive attitude toward learning English.*

4.3. Students' behavioral attitudes toward learning English

To assess the behavioral dimension of students' attitudes toward learning English, descriptive statistical analyses were likewise conducted, including calculations of the arithmetic mean and standard deviation. The results are summarized in Table 9.

Table 9. Degree of expression of the behavioral dimension of students' attitudes

	N	Min–Max	AM	SD
Behavioral dimension of attitudes	201	15–75	47.97	8.76

Note: N – number of participants; Min – minimum score; Max – maximum score; AM – arithmetic mean; SD – standard deviation

The results indicate that students exhibit predominantly positive behavioral attitudes toward learning English, as the arithmetic mean ($M = 47.97$) surpasses the midpoint of this segment of the scale ($M = 45$), which corresponds to the total number of items (45). The majority of respondents expressed a strong inclination toward active and sustained engagement in English learning, particularly with the aim of understanding native speakers and interacting more effectively with proficient users of the language. They also emphasized that language mastery contributes to more fluent self-expression and fosters improved interpersonal relationships with peers.

These findings are corroborated by previous studies conducted among secondary school students in the Philippines (Vergara Burgos, 2023) and Mexico (Hernández Salinas, 2024). Conversely, the study by Abidin et al. (2012) reported predominantly negative behavioral attitudes, including limited classroom engagement, inattentiveness during lessons, and a general perception of English as a non-essential subject. A small number of respondents in the present study also reported feelings of anxiety when exposed to English, neglecting both in-class and at-home learning activities. Nevertheless, despite the presence of such attitudes, the overall pattern of responses points to a prevailing behavioral orientation that favors English language learning. Accordingly, the third hypothesis of this study is confirmed: *from a behavioral standpoint, secondary school students in Kosovska Mitrovica exhibit a generally positive attitude toward learning English.*

4.4. Significance of differences in students' attitudes across selected variables

To examine whether statistically significant differences exist in secondary school students' attitudes toward learning English with respect to gender, age, school type, school year, and average grade in English, the collected data were analyzed using both one-way ANOVA and independent-samples t-tests.

(a) Regarding potential differences across the cognitive, emotional, and behavioral dimensions with respect to gender, the results of the t-test are presented in Table 10.

Table 10. T-test results for differences in students' attitudes with respect to gender

Dimensions of students' attitudes	F	p
cognitive dimension	0.633	0.427
emotional dimension	0.495	0.483
behavioral dimension	0.563	0.454

Note: F – value from the t-test; p – significance level

The results show that there is no statistically significant difference in students' attitudes with respect to gender, as all p-values ($p = 0.427$, $p = 0.483$, $p = 0.454$) exceed the conventional threshold of significance ($p > 0.05$). This suggests that male and female students do not differ meaningfully in their degree of agreement or disagreement with the statements provided. For instance, female students do not exhibit stronger affective attitudes toward learning English than male students, and vice versa. These findings are consistent with previous research and further corroborate the data presented in Table 10 (Abidin et al., 2012; Fakeye, 2010; Shoaib & Dornyei, 2005). Similarly, a study conducted in Dubrovnik yielded comparable results (Didović Baranac et al., 2016).

However, several studies conducted in the United States, Europe, and Australia have reported findings that diverge from those obtained in the present research (Bacon & Finnemann, 1992; Bernat & Lloyd, 2007; Rieger, 2009). Based on the interpretation of these data and the publication years of the aforementioned studies, it may be inferred that such discrepancies reflect the sociolinguistic context of the time, when English was not as pervasive in everyday life as it is today. At present, students are exposed to English in school, at home, in virtual environments, on social media, and across the Internet—regardless of gender. Work, education, travel, and daily life have become largely unimaginable without English. As participants in a globalized world, individuals are increasingly required to adapt to the evolving demands of society, within which English language proficiency has become one of the essential competencies of the twenty-first century. Consequently, the respondents in this study—irrespective of gender—appear to be aware of this necessity, which may account for the absence of significant differences in their responses.

(b) To assess the potential associations between each dimension of students' attitudes and the variables of age, school type, school year, and average grade in English, an ANOVA analysis was performed. The results for the cognitive dimension of students' attitudes are presented in Table 11.

Table 11. ANOVA results for the cognitive dimension of students' attitudes

Variables	F	p
age	1.15	0.334
type of secondary school	1.35	0.252
year of secondary school	1.28	0.281
average grade in English	39.49	0.000

Note: F – value from ANOVA; p – significance level

The results reveal that statistically significant differences in the cognitive dimension of students' attitudes toward learning English exist only in relation to their average grade in English ($F = 39.49$, $p = 0.000$). This suggests that students with lower grades tend to exhibit more negative cognitive attitudes, while those with higher grades display more favorable dispositions toward learning English. Comparable findings have been reported by Aravind and Rajasekaran (2020) and Al-Zahrani (2008, as cited in Abidin et al., 2012), thereby reinforcing the relevance of these results to the objectives of the present study.

(c) An analysis of the associations between the emotional dimension of students' attitudes and the variables of age, school type, school year, and average grade in English yielded the ANOVA results presented in Table 12.

Table 12. ANOVA results for the emotional dimension of students' attitudes

Variables	F	p
age	1.31	0.261
type of secondary school	1.24	0.294
year of secondary school	0.96	0.411
average grade in English	70.77	0.000

Note: F – value from ANOVA; p – significance level

The results indicate that statistically significant differences in the emotional dimension of students' attitudes occur only with respect to their average grade in

English ($F = 70.77, p = 0.000$). Specifically, students with lower grades tend to exhibit more negative affective dispositions toward learning English, while higher-achieving students demonstrate more positive attitudinal orientations. These findings are consistent with prior research, which identified a positive correlation between the affective dimension of learners' attitudes and their academic performance in English (Pishghadam et al., 2016).

(d) Subsequently, an analysis of the potential associations between the behavioral dimension of students' attitudes and the variables of age, school type, school year, and average grade in English was conducted, with the results summarized in Table 13.

Table 13. ANOVA results for the behavioral dimension of students' attitudes

Variables	F	p
age	1.31	0.259
type of secondary school	0.76	0.551
year of secondary school	1.16	0.326
average grade in English	13.36	0.000

Note: F – value from ANOVA; p – significance level

The results show that statistically significant differences in the behavioral dimension of students' attitudes are observed once again solely in relation to their average grade in English ($F = 13.36, p = 0.000$). In other words, students with higher grades tend to exhibit more positive behavioral dispositions, while those with lower grades show less favorable orientations toward learning English. This positive association between academic performance and behavioral engagement has likewise been documented in earlier research on learners' attitudes toward English language learning (Jafri, 2012), thereby reinforcing the reliability and relevance of the present findings.

Investigations into general attitudes toward English language learning in relation to students' age have been conducted by Didović Baranac et al. (2016) in Croatia, who found that no statistically significant differences exist in students' responses, indicating that age does not influence the degree of agreement or disagreement with the statements provided. The present study's results across all three dimensions of attitudes are consistent with these findings and suggest that twenty-first-century students represent a generation that has been exposed to English instruction from

the first grade of primary school. Given the continuity and prolonged exposure to English as the first foreign language throughout both primary and secondary education, it may be reasonably concluded that the respondents of this study have developed well-established and clearly articulated attitudes toward learning English.

The final hypothesis is supported: *statistically significant differences in students' attitudes toward English language learning were found only in relation to their average grade in English, with no significant effects observed across gender, age, school type, or school year.*

5. Concluding remarks

The concluding section of this study presents final reflections alongside broader implications of the findings. Recommendations are proposed for enhancing English language instruction aimed at fostering the development of positive attitudes toward English language learning among secondary school students. Furthermore, the limitations of this cross-sectional research are acknowledged, and directions for future research on related topics are suggested.

The analysis of the results reveals consistently positive attitudes toward learning English across all examined dimensions—cognitive, emotional, and behavioral—among secondary school students in Kosovska Mitrovica. From a cognitive perspective, students expressed high agreement with statements concerning the utility of English for educational advancement, access to new information, the cultivation of critical thinking, and its application in everyday contexts. This suggests that students recognize both the academic and practical value of English. These findings corroborate prior research demonstrating that a positive cognitive perception of foreign language learning enhances both engagement and motivation (Hernández Salinas, 2024; Vergara Burgos, 2023).

From an emotional standpoint, the predominance of positive responses reflects strong affective motivation, satisfaction with the learning process, and genuine interest in acquiring English. The presence of positive emotional attitudes among most participants suggests a favorable psychological framework for effective knowledge acquisition and the development of language competencies. The low incidence of negative emotions, such as anxiety or disinterest, further underscores the importance of affective motivation as a key factor for sustained learning and long-term retention.

In the behavioral domain, the findings indicate that the majority of students demonstrate active engagement, responsibility, and consistent participation in

language learning. Positive attitudes in this dimension reflect students' willingness to invest effort, complete assignments conscientiously, and actively use English in communicative contexts. Such behavioral tendencies point to a high level of functional language use and successful integration of knowledge into authentic situations.

The observed finding that significant differences in attitudes were evident only in relation to students' average grades can be explained by the relationship between motivation, engagement, and academic achievement. Students with higher grades typically display greater commitment to learning, adopt more systematic approaches to tasks, and exhibit more positive cognitive, emotional, and behavioral attitudes toward the subject, which in turn is reflected in their overall dispositions (Al-Zahrani, 2008, as cited in Abidin et al., 2012; Aravind & Rajasekaran, 2020; Грыбop, 2012; Pishghadam et al., 2016). Conversely, the absence of significant differences in attitudes with respect to age, school type, school year, or gender may be attributed to the widespread and sustained exposure of contemporary students to English—through formal education as well as media and digital environments. Regardless of these demographic factors, students today have similar opportunities from an early age to acquire knowledge, cultivate interest, and develop positive orientations toward English, resulting in comparable levels of agreement across cognitive, emotional, and behavioral dimensions.

Taken together, these findings suggest that secondary school students in Kosovska Mitrovica maintain constructive and productive attitudes toward learning English, which positively influence their motivation, academic success, and overall language competence. This underscores the need for instruction that continually nurtures all three attitudinal dimensions in order to optimize learning outcomes and maximize the effectiveness of English language education.

The three dimensions of attitudes are conceptualized within the ABC model (Oblie, 2022), which encompasses what individuals feel, do, and think in relation to a given object or phenomenon. For instance, statements such as “I am afraid of the English teacher,” “I will avoid English classes because of him,” and “I think the teacher is too strict” illustrate these interrelated components. Johnson (2014) emphasized the interconnectedness of emotions, behavior, and cognition, noting that the latter two are generally more amenable to change than emotions, as individuals have greater control over what they think and do than over what they feel. Therefore, special attention should be devoted to the affective or emotional component in instruction, as it facilitates English language learning and mitigates potential barriers, thereby positively influencing students' cognitive and behavioral

attitudes. The subsequent section outlines practical strategies for improving the organization and planning of English language lessons in line with these insights.

5.1. Pedagogical implications

According to the Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia (Министарство просвете Републике Србије, 2022), the overarching goal of foreign language education is to develop students' communicative competence in the target language. This goal can be achieved through the use of diverse instructional methods, approaches, and resources, with particular attention to students' cognitive, emotional, and behavioral attitudes. In accordance with the Rulebook on the Curriculum and Educational Program for Common Subjects in Vocational and Art Schools (Министарство просвете Републике Србије, 2022) and the Rulebook on the Curriculum and Educational Program for Grammar Schools (Министарство просвете Републике Србије, 2019), pedagogical implications are formulated as clear guidelines for improving English language instruction through an integrated approach that cultivates all three attitudinal dimensions.

Positive cognitive attitudes demonstrate that students recognize both the academic and practical utility of learning English. Accordingly, curricula should incorporate activities designed to further develop metacognitive skills, critical thinking, and the capacity to apply linguistic knowledge in authentic communicative contexts. Such practices reinforce intrinsic motivation and promote learner autonomy.

Positive emotional attitudes reflect affective motivation, satisfaction, and genuine interest in learning. This highlights the importance of creating a learning environment that fosters emotional security and enjoyment. Particular attention should be given to reducing anxiety and stress through interactive activities, collaborative work, learning games, and creative tasks, as affective factors play a crucial role in sustaining long-term language learning and retention.

In the behavioral domain, students' high levels of engagement and responsibility point to the need for pedagogical strategies that encourage the practical application of knowledge. Project-based learning, simulations, debates, and digital or multimedia tasks should be integrated into instruction to stimulate active participation and foster a sense of ownership in learning. These approaches not only enhance proactive and responsible behavior but also enable the integration of cognitive and emotional knowledge into functional language skills.

As significant differences in attitudes were observed only in relation to students' English language grades, it is crucial to provide individualized support for

lower-achieving learners. This may involve motivational interventions, adapted instructional materials, and strategies aimed at fostering positive attitudes, thereby enhancing engagement and building self-confidence.

Within the framework of the ABC model (Oblie, 2022), teachers are encouraged to prioritize the affective component of learning. Adjusting cognitive and behavioral aspects becomes more effective once positive emotional associations with the subject and learning process are established. Therefore, implementing strategies that reduce anxiety, encourage positive emotions, and strengthen self-confidence can help remove psychological barriers and improve overall English language learning outcomes and retention.

Overall, the pedagogical implications of this study highlight the importance of a holistic and balanced approach to language instruction—one that simultaneously develops students' cognitive, emotional, and behavioral attitudes. Such an approach not only promotes academic achievement but also nurtures sustainable motivation and long-term positive dispositions toward language learning, essential for students' success in an increasingly globalized world.

5.2. Limitations of the study

Although the study was successfully conducted and provided valuable insights into secondary school students' attitudes toward English language learning, several limitations should be acknowledged. The research sample comprised 201 secondary school students, which, while adequate for statistical analysis, remains relatively limited in scope. A larger and more diverse sample could have increased the statistical reliability of the results and improved their generalizability. Moreover, the study was geographically confined to schools in Kosovska Mitrovica. This regional focus restricts the applicability of the findings, as variations in educational environments, teaching practices, and sociolinguistic contexts across different parts of the country may influence students' attitudes toward learning English. Finally, the exclusive reliance on quantitative methodology imposed certain interpretative constraints. The integration of qualitative methods—such as interviews, focus groups, or open-ended questionnaires—could provide a more comprehensive understanding of the cognitive, affective, and behavioral factors shaping students' attitudes. A mixed-methods approach would allow for deeper exploration of individual experiences and contextual influences that cannot be fully captured through quantitative analysis alone.

5.3. Suggestions for future research

Future research should continue to explore students' attitudes toward foreign language learning, as this domain remains both vital and dynamic. Promising avenues for further inquiry include examining attitudes toward English language learning among students in vocational programs across diverse urban contexts, investigating the relationship between attitudes and digital literacy, and comparing students' perceptions with those of English language teachers. Such studies could offer more comprehensive insights into the cognitive, emotional, and behavioral dimensions of language learning attitudes.

To underscore the profound significance of attitudes in foreign language learning, Baker (1992:p.9) emphasized that attitudes play a crucial role in the life and survival of a language, shaping its revitalization, preservation, and potential decline or extinction. The link between attitudes and the learning process is unequivocal: students who are sufficiently motivated and hold positive attitudes toward language learning tend to achieve higher results and demonstrate greater success in knowledge acquisition. Conversely, a lack of interest and the presence of negative attitudes can lead to demotivation, reduced engagement, and weaker language attainment. If such negative orientations become widespread, there is a potential risk of reduced language use—posing a threat to linguistic pluralism and underscoring the importance of fostering positive attitudes toward all languages. These findings reaffirm that attitudes toward language learning play a pivotal role not only in individual knowledge acquisition but also within the broader socio-cultural context of language preservation. Positive attitudes promote motivation, active engagement, and learning effectiveness, whereas disinterest and negativity may result in diminished linguistic competence. For this reason, special attention should be devoted to the affective dimension of learning—stimulating learners' interest, self-confidence, and active language use—in order to ensure long-term learning outcomes and safeguard the linguistic and cultural richness of society.

References

1. Abidin, D.M.J.Z., Pour-Mohammadi, M. & Alzwari, H. (2012) EFL Students' Attitude towards Learning the English Language: The Case of Libyan School Students. *Asian Social Science*. 8, 119–134. DOI: 10.5539/ass.v8n2p119
2. Al-Nofaie, H. (2010) The Attitudes of Teachers and Students towards Using Arabic in EFL Classrooms in Saudi Public Schools – A Case Study. *Novitas-ROYAL (Research on Youth and Language)*. 4 (1), 64–95.

3. Aravind, B.R. & Rajasekaran, V. (2020) A Descriptive Study on ESL Learners' Vocabulary Knowledge Through Cognitive and Metacognitive Strategies. *English Language Teaching Educational Journal*. 3 (2), 142–150. DOI: 10.12928/eltej.v3i2.2447
4. Bacon, S.M.C. & Finnemann, M.D. (1992) Sex Differences in Self-Reported Beliefs about Language Learning and Authentic Oral and Written Input. *Language Learning*. 42 (4), 471–495. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-1770.1992.tb01041.x
5. Baker, C. (1992) *Attitudes and Language*. Clevedon, England, Multilingual Matters.
6. Bernat, E. (2004) Investigating Vietnamese ESL Learners' Beliefs about Language Learning. *EA Journal*. 21 (2), 40–54.
7. Bernat, E. & Lloyd, M. (2007) Exploring the Gender Effect on EFL Learners' Beliefs about Language Learning. *Australian Journal of Educational and Developmental Psychology*. 7, 79–91.
8. Bojović, M. (2013) *Značaj i razvoj komunikativne jezičke sposobnosti studenata u učenju engleskog jezika kao jezika struke*. Neobjavljena doktorska disertacija. Filološki fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu, Beograd.
9. Choy, S.C. & Troudi, S. (2006) An Investigation into the Changes in Perceptions of and Attitudes towards Learning English in a Malaysian College. *International Journal of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education*. 18 (2), 120–130.
10. Didović Baranac, S., Flkoni-Mjehović, D. & Vidak, N. (2016) Ispitivanje stavova prema učenju engleskoga, njemačkoga i španjolskog jezika kao stranog jezika i jezika struke. *Zbornik Sveučilišta u Dubrovniku*. 3, 11–30.
11. Fakeye, D. (2010) Students' Personal Variables as Correlates of Academic Achievement in English as a Second Language in Nigeria. *Journal of Social Sciences*. 22 (3), 205–211. DOI: 10.1080/09718923.2010.11892803
12. Feng, R. & Chen, H. (2009) An Analysis on the Importance of Motivation and Strategy in Postgraduates English Acquisition. *English Language Teaching*. 2, 93–97. DOI: 10.5539/elt.v2n3p93
13. Filipović, J. & Vučo, J. (2013) Serbian Roadmap toward European Plurilingualism, en Ruíz Miyares, L., Álvarez Silva, M.R. y Muñoz Alvarado, A. (eds.) *Actualizaciones en comunicación social* (vol. 1). Santiago de Cuba, Centro de Lingüística Aplicada, pp. 157–160.
14. Filipović, J., Vučo, J., & Đurić, L. (2007) Critical Review of Language Education Policies in Compulsory Primary and Secondary Education in Serbia. *Current Issues in Language Planning*. 8 (2), 222–242. DOI: 10.2167/cilp103.0
15. Gaoyin, Q. & Alvermann, D. (1995) Role of Epistemological Beliefs and Learned Helplessness in Secondary School Students' Learning Science Concepts from Text. *Journal of Educational Psychology*. 87 (2), 282–292. DOI: 10.1037/0022-0663.87.2.282
16. Gardner, R. (1985) *Social Psychology and Second Language Learning. The Role of Attitudes and Motivation*. London, Edward Arnold.

17. Gardner, R. & Lambert, W. (1972) *Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning*. Rowley, MA, Newbury House.
18. Hernández Salinas, F.L. (2024) Cognitive, Affective and Behavioral Attitudes in English Language Learning. *Open Journal for Educational Research*. 8 (1), 17–26. DOI: 10.32591/coas.ojer.0801.02017h
19. Jafri, H. (2012) Psychological Capital and Innovative Behaviour: An Empirical Study on Apparel Fashion Industry. *The Journal Contemporary Management Research*. 6 (1), 42–52.
20. Johnson, M. (2014) *Morality for Humans*. Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press.
21. Kara, A. (2009) The Effect of a 'Learning Theories' Unit on Students' Attitudes towards Learning. *Australian Journal of Teacher Education*. 34 (3), 100–113. DOI: 10.14221/ajte.2009v34n3.5
22. Langston, C.A. & Sykes, W.E. (1997) Beliefs and the Big Five: Cognitive Bases of Broad Individual Differences in Personality. *Journal of Research in Personality*. 31, 141–165.
23. Montano, D.E. & Kasprzyk, D. (2008) Theory of Reasoned Action, Theory of Planned Behavior, and the Integrated Behavioral Model. In: Glanz, K., Rimer, B. & Viswanath, K. (eds.) *Health Behavior and Health Education: Theory, Research, and Practice*. San Francisco, CA, Jossey-Bass, pp. 67–96.
24. Nyikos, M. & Oxford, R. (1993) A Factor Analytic Study of Language Learning Strategy Use: Interpretations from Information-Processing Theory and Social Psychology. *The Modern Language Journal*. 77 (1), 11–22. DOI: 10.2307/329553
25. Oblić, E.L. (2022) The ABC's of Student Disposition towards Written Feedback in ESP Classrooms in Accra Metropolis, Ghana. *European Journal of English Language Teaching*. 7 (6), 136–154. DOI: 10.46827/ejel.v7i6.4593
26. Padwick, A. (2010) *Attitudes towards English and Varieties of English in Globalizing India*. Newcastle, University of Groningen.
27. Pishghadam, R., Zabetipour, M. & Aminzadeh, A. (2016) Examining Emotions in English Language Learning Classes: A Case of EFL Emotions. *Issues in Educational Research*. 26 (3), 508–527. <https://www.iier.org.au/iier26/pishghadam-2.pdf>
28. Rieger, B. (2009) Exploring Gender and Target Language Effect on Hungarian EFL Learners' Belief about Language Learning. In: Horvath, J., Nikolov, M. & Lugossy, R. (eds.) *UPRT 2008: Empirical Studies in English Applied Linguistics*. Pecs, Lingua Franca Csoport, pp. 29–42.
29. Rot, N. (2003) *Osnovi socijalne psihologije*. Beograd, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva.
30. Shoaib, A. & Dornyei, Z. (2005) Affect in Lifelong Learning: Exploring L2 Motivation as a Dynamic Process. In: Benson, P. & Nunan, D. (eds.) *Learners' Stories: Difference and Diversity in Language Learning*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 22–41.

31. Stern, H.H. (1975) What Can We Learn from the Good Language Learner? *The Canadian Modern Language Review*. 31 (4), 304–318. DOI: 10.3138/cmlr.31.4.304
32. Vergara Burgos, M. (2023) Second Language Learners' Behavioral, Cognitive, and Emotional Attitudes toward the Language and Their Second Language Competencies. *American Journal of Education and Technology*. 2 (4), 1–4. DOI: 10.54536/ajet.v2i4.2006
33. Victori, M. & Lockhart, W. (1995) Enhancing Metacognition in Self-Directed Language Learning. *System*. 23 (2), 223–234. DOI: 10.1016/0346-251X(95)00010-H
34. Wenden, A. (1991) *Learner Strategies for Learner Autonomy*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice-Hall.
35. Woolfolk, A.E. (1995) *Educational Psychology*. 6th edn. Boston, Allyn & Bacon.
36. Zulfikar, T., Dahliana S., & Sari, R.A. (2019) An Exploration of English Students' Attitude towards English Learning. *English Language Teaching Educational Journal*. 2 (1), 1–12. DOI: 10.12928/eltej.v2i1.947
37. Грубор, Ј. (2012) *Ставови према учењу енглеског као страног језика и њихов утицај на постигнуће*. Необјављена докторска дисертација. Филолошки факултет, Универзитет у Београду, Београд.
38. Филиповић, Ј., Вучо, Ј. & Ђурић, Љ. (2006) Рано учење страних језика у Србији: од пилот модела до наставе страних језика за све. *Иновације у настави: часопис за савремену наставу*. XIX (2), 113–124. http://www.inovacijeunastavi.rs/wp-content/uploads/arhiva/2006/INOVACIJE_2_06.pdf
39. Министарство просвете Републике Србије (2019). *Правилник о плану и програму наставе и учења за гимназију*. Службени гласник Републике Србије – Просветни гласник, бр. 30/2019. http://demo.paragraf.rs/demo/combined/Old/t/t2019_05/t05_0046.htm
40. Министарство просвете Републике Србије (2022). *Правилник о плану и програму образовања и васпитања за заједничке предмете у стручним и уметничким школама*. Службени гласник Републике Србије – Просветни гласник, бр. 5/2022. http://demo.paragraf.rs/demo/combined/Old/t/t2022_06/PG_005_2022_001.htm

Снежана М. Зечевић

Бранислава М. Дилпарић

Александар Б. Милојевић

Универзитет у Приштини са привременим седиштем у Косовској Митровици

Филозофски факултет

Катедра за енглески језик и књижевност

КОГНИТИВНИ, ЕМОЦИОНАЛНИ И БИХЕВИОРАЛНИ АСПЕКТИ СТАВОВА УЧЕНИКА СРЕДЊИХ ШКОЛА У КОСОВСКОЈ МИТРОВИЦИ ПРЕМА УЧЕЊУ ЕНГЛЕСКОГ ЈЕЗИКА: СТУДИЈА ПРЕСЕКА

Резиме

Предмет овог рада јесте анализа ставова ученика средњих школа у Косовској Митровици према учењу енглеског језика. С обзиром на то да су адолесценти посебно подложни друштвеним, емоционалним и контекстуалним утицајима, спроведено је квантитативно емпиријско истраживање са следећим циљевима: (1) испитати когнитивни аспект ставова ученика средњих школа према учењу енглеског језика; (2) испитати емоционални аспект ставова ученика средњих школа према учењу енглеског језика; (3) испитати бихевиорални аспект ставова ученика средњих школа према учењу енглеског језика; и (4) утврдити да ли постоје статистички значајне разлике између ставова ученика у односу на пол, узраст, тип средње школе, годину средње школе и просечну оцену из предмета Енглески језик.

Истраживање је спроведено на узорку од 201 ученика, а одабрани су методом погодног узорка из четири средње школе у Косовској Митровици. Подаци су прикупљени помоћу прилагођене верзије упитника за испитивање ставова (ученика) према учењу енглеског језика (Abidin et al., 2012), а обрађени су применом одговарајућих процедура дескриптивне статистике, једнократне ANOVA анализе и t-теста за независне узорке у оквиру програма IBM SPSS Statistics 20.

Резултати показују: (а) да ученици средњих школа у Косовској Митровици испољавају позитивне ставове према учењу енглеског језика у све три испитиване димензије – когнитивној, емоционалној и бихевиоралној; (б) да статистички значајна разлика међу ставовима ученика постоји само у односу на просечну оцену из предмета Енглески језик, док такве разлике код преосталих варијабли – пола, узраста, типа и године средње школе – нису утврђене; (в) да постоји наглашена потреба за увођењем савремених наставних приступа и метода са циљем

Snežana M. Zečević, Branislava M. Dilparić, Aleksandar B. Milojević

повећања мотивације и интересовања ученика средњих школа за учење енглеског језика.

► *Кључне речи:* ученици средњих школа, ставови према учењу енглеског језика, когнитивни аспект, емоционални аспект, бихевиорални аспект.

Preuzeto: 30. 9. 2025.
Prihvaćeno: 18. 11. 2025.

Драгана Р. Крстић¹

О ФУНКЦИЈАМА ФРАЗЕОЛОГИЗАМА КАРАКТЕРИСТИЧНИМ ЗА ЈАВНИ ДИСКУРС У БОСНИ И ХЕРЦЕГОВИНИ

Апстракт: Предмет овога рада јесу фразеологизми који су карактеристични за јавни дискурс Босне и Херцеговине, с фокусом на идентификацију њихових доминантних функција. Истраживање је ограничено на фразеологизме настале глаголском рекцијом. Корпус за анализу чине новински чланци са интернет портала у Републици Српској и Федерацији Босне и Херцеговине, при чему су обухваћени искључиво текстови политичког садржаја. Анализа је спроведена у два сегмента: у првом су разматрани фразеологизми типични за примарни јавни дискурс, док су у другом анализирани фразеологизми карактеристични за секундарни дискурс.

Полазећи од претпоставке да је основни циљ учесника у јавном дискурсу да увјере реципијенте у истинитост и тачност изнесених тврдњи, фразеологизми се посматрају као језичке јединице које у том контексту служе манипулативној намери. Стога, у раду се настоји утврдити кроз које се функције реализује њихов манипулативни карактер.

Кључне ријечи: фразеологизми, јавни дискурс, функција, Босна и Херцеговина, манипулација, глаголска рекција.

0. Увод, о јавном дискурсу

Језик се у литератури обично дефинише као систем знакова који служи за комуникацију, те је уједно и најзначајније средство комуникације. Функционисање било које људске заједнице условљено је језиком. Он омогућава изражавање мисли и осјећања, успостављање контакта и организацију друштва, а неријетко је и средство манипулације појединцима и групама, што се најизра-

¹ Ауторка је студент докторских студија на Филозофском факултету Универзитета у Новом Саду. dmucibabic98@gmail.com

женије види у јавном дискурсу. У том контексту, питање моћи је и 'централно питање критичке анализе дискурса' (Nikolić, Slijepčević Bjelivuk, 2022:p.10).

Јавни дискурс подразумева 'употребу језика у друштву путем писаних текстова и говора (јавних наступа) у најразличитијим медијима, дневној и недељној штампи, на телевизији, радију и интернету' (Silaški et al., 2009:p.9). Како наводи Силашки и др., постоји примарни и секундарни дискурс, при чему примарни обухвата традиционалне политичке жанрове унутар институционалне политике, а секундарни обухвата ону врсту дискурса чији творци нису само политичари него и политички аналитичари, новинари или читаоци (2009:p.13). Циљ сваког учесника у јавном дискурсу јесте да остале убиједи у истинитост и тачност онога о чему говори, па се у литератури истиче разлика између убјеђивања и увјеравања. Наиме, 'док се политичари обраћају некују публици, филозофи и научници се обраћају универзалној публици која је разумна. Политичари, дакле, убјеђују, а филозофи и научници увјеравају' (Nikolić, Slijepčević Bjelivuk, 2020:p.24, Gros, Dirin, 2002:p.95). Врло често реципијенти немају довољно знања или нису довољно информисани о актуелној теми, па су зато подложни различитим техникама манипулације. Према томе, манипулација се и дешава 'када слушаоци немају алтернативни избор информисања или када немају довољно знања како би се супротставили, оповргли и одбацили исконструисани текст или говор. Контрола и цензура сања информација, па тако и манипулација, најочигледнији су у јавном дискурсу' (Nikolić, Slijepčević Bjelivuk, 2020:p.25, Lončar, 2020:p.8).

По ономе што наводи Склон, јавни дискурс је изграђен на три тежишта: '1. увек је инхерентно политички; 2. носиоци различитих улога у политичком процесу могу бити на мањим или већим позицијама моћи; 3. сви учесници у јавном дискурсу користе у мањој или већој мери манипулативне и/или персуазивне технике како би постигли неки циљ или победили у некој расправи, истовремено залажући се за објективно, отворено и демократско друштво у коме се спроводе демократски процеси и у складу с таквом атмосфером доносе одлуке' (Nikolić, Slijepčević Bjelivuk, 2020:p.23, Scllon 2008).

Наше истраживање највише ће се односити на треће тежиште, па ћемо тако анализирати она језичка средства која се у јавном дискурсу користе ради манипулације. Ту ће нас конкретно интересовати фразеологизми који, као врло експресивне језичке јединице, имају велику улогу у обликовању јавног дискурса. Истраживање смо усмјерили на два учесника у јавном дискурсу, а

то су политичари и новинари, при чему ћемо се фокусирати на функције фразеологизама у говору политичара, као и у медијским саопштењима на разним интернет порталима у Републици Српској и Федерацији Босне и Херцеговине. Ово уједно значи да ће наше истраживање обухватити јавни дискурс у ширем смислу, јер ће се темељити на једном сегменту у примарном дијелу (говор политичара), као и на једном сегменту у секундарном дијелу (новински чланци).

1. О фразеологизмима

У лингвистици не постоји јединствено мишљење о томе које се језичке јединице могу сврстати у фразеологизме². Матешић наглашава да је фразеологизам нерашчлањив скуп ријечи од којих су најмање двије пунозначне, а барем се једна односи на семантичку претворбу. Такође, ове се језичке јединице у реченици понашају као њени прости чланови. Слично, А. Менац под фразеологизмима подразумева 'неслободне скупове ријечи, тј. оне које се не стварају у говорном процесу, него се репродуцирају у готовом облику какав се усталио дугом употребом' (Mršević Radović, 1987:pp.12–13, Menac, 1970). Она још наводи да њихови саставни дијелови показују већи или мањи степен десемантизације, па тако значење цијелог фразеологизма није адекватно зброју значења његових дијелова. Из тога произлази закључак да им је састав и редослијед обично непромјењив (Mršević Radović, 1987:p.13).

Иако у литератури налазимо више дефиниција фразеологизама, најједноставнија би била да су то устаљене језичке конструкције састављене од најмање двије ријечи које имају једно значење. Такво значење још се назива и 'опште или глобално значење' (Mršević Radović, 1987:p.13).

Фразеологизми се у литератури класификују према различитим критеријумима³, а наше истраживање користи подјелу према типу синтаксичке везе (Менац, 1978) фокусирајући се на глаголску рекцију. Фразеологизми настали глаголском рекцијом 'немају самосталну улогу у тексту, односно имају улогу реченичног члана и понашају се као еквиваленти ријечима и синтагмама' (Ćevriž Nišić, 2023:p.288, Melvinger, 1984:p.89). Они у реченици имају функцију предиката, а 'обавезна глаголска компонента може бити комбинована с именич-

² Осим термина фразеологизам за исту језичку јединицу у литератури још налазимо и сљедеће термине: 'идиом, идиоматска фраза, устаљена фраза, фразеолошки обрт (израз, конструкција), устаљени обрт (конструкција), фразем' (Mršević Radović, 1987:p.11).

³ Испорину класификацију фразеологизама можемо наћи у бројним стручним радовима (Mršević Radović 1987, Menac, 1978).

ким, придјевским, прилошким и замјеничким скупинама различитог састава, али и с другим глаголима' (Ćevriz Nišić, 2023:p.289, Melvinger 1984:pp.89–96).

Фразеологизме запажамо не само у политичком дискурсу у српском језику него и у другим језицима. У српском језику не постоји много истраживања овога типа, а Вера Ђевриз Нишић закључује да фразеологизми у БиХ, као носиоци фигуративног језика, доприносе сликовитости и експресивности, те могу имати улогу 'прикривања правог садржаја или утицаја на јавну перцепцију медијских и/или политичких порука' (2022:p.296). Истраживања на енглеском говорном подручју указују на то да фразеологизми имају кључну улогу у формирању и преношењу политичке поруке. Наиме, бирајући специфичне изразе, политичари могу приказати неки проблем у одређеном свјетлу, наглашавајући одређене аспекте, а у исто вријеме умањујући важност других (Chong, Druckman, 2007). У руском политичком дискурсу запажено је да фразеологизми уносе емоционалну обојеност и сликовитост (Khismatullina et al., 2020). Газдић Алерић закључује да у хрватском политичком дискурсу не постоје фразеологизми који су карактеристични искључиво за политички дискурс, него сви припадају општем фразеолошком фонду, а умјерена употреба доприноси сликовитости и економичности изражавања (2009:pp.14–15).

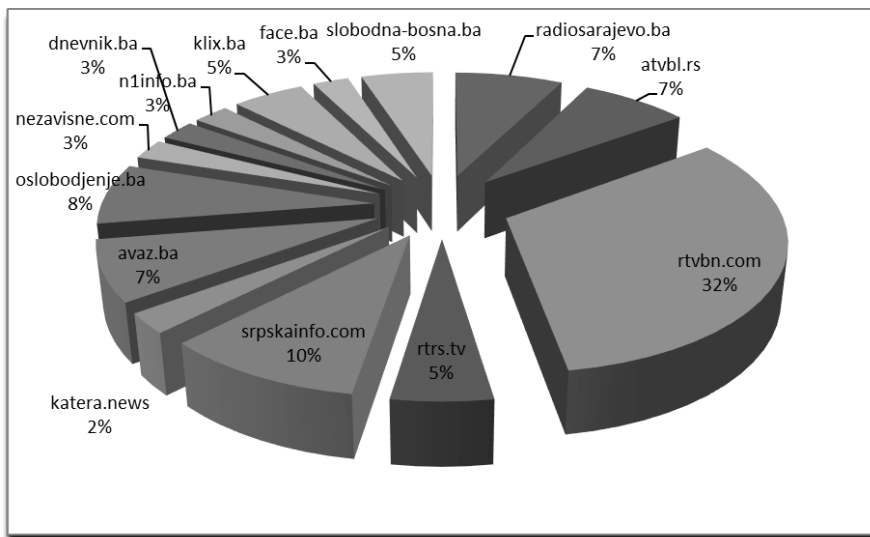
Фразеологизми анализирани у овом раду потичу из различитих сфера живота (спорт, музика, медицина и сл.) и због емоционално-експресивне природе погодни су за утицај на публику, што их чини значајним за политички дискурс. У наставку ћемо настојати да расвијетлимо које то све функције обављају фразеолошке јединице у политичком дискурсу Босне и Херцеговине.

2. Корпус и задаци истраживања

Прва два критеријума за избор корпуса односе се на тематски и временски оквир. Тематски оквир обухвата искључиво новинске чланке о политици, без спортских, забавних, културних и других садржаја. Сви чланци настали су између 2018. и 2024. године и преузети су са различитих интернет портала у Републици Српској и Федерацији Босне и Херцеговине, а портали су наведени у графикону о заступљености медија. У корпус је ушло укупно 100 фразеологизама. Трећи критеријум односи се на облик фразеологизама – прикупљени су само они настали глаголском реакцијом.

Основни критеријум анализе биће припадност фразеологизама примарном јавном дискурсу (говор политичара) или секундарном (интерпретација новинара). На основу тога покушаћемо утврдити њихове најзначајније функције у

јавном дискурсу и расвијетлени манипулативни карактер. У наставку слиједи графикон о заступљености медија у корпусу.



3. Фразеологизми у примарном дискурсу

3.1. Експресивна и емоционална функција

Фразеологизми настали глаголском рекцијом у новинским чланцима о политици појављују се као саставни дио интерпретације новинара, а некада су искључиво дио забиљеженог излагања политичара. Стога, први припадају секундарном јавном дискурсу, а други примарном. У овом поглављу фокусираћемо се на оне који припадају примарном дискурсу.

Из анализираног корпуса могло се закључити да је овај тип фразеологизама веома заступљен, јер их политичари у говору користе у различите сврхе. Неке од репрезентативних примјера⁴ фразеологизама у њиховим излагањима навешћемо у наставку, а затим ћемо се фокусирати на најзначајније функције ових језичких јединица.

⁴Текст са портала наводићемо онако како је тамо написан, без исправљања и мијењања. Једина измјена биће курзив како бисмо истакли фразеолошке јединице. Датум који наводимо у загради након сваког примјера јесте датум објављивања чланка на порталу.

За објашњавање фразеолошких јединица служили смо се *Фразеолошким рјечником хрватскога или српског језика* Јосипа Матешаћа и збирком *Фразеологизми у српском језику* Милорада Телебака

(1) „Sve aktivnosti u Klubu Bošnjaka vezano za te zakone su obustavljeni. Mi smo današnjom sjednicom *stavili tačku* na navedene zakone. Šta će dalje raditi služba Vijeća naroda, Službeni glasnik i predsjednik RS Milorad Dodik i da li će potpisati ukaz, to”, rekao je Tabaković... <https://radiosarajevo.ba/vijesti/bosna-i-hercegovina/klub-bosnjaka-u-vijecu-naroda-rs-odustao-od-veta-na-neustavne-zakone-nsrs/503141> (4. 7. 2023).

(2) Košarac ističe da oni *bacaju prašinu u oči* pričama o sukobima, ratu i nestabilnosti, a stvarna namjera je da priкрију i/ili opravdaju svoje loše namjere prema Republici Srpskoj. <https://www.atvbl.rs/lat/republika-srpska/kosarac-republika-srpska-je-uvijek-za-mir-i-stabilnost-21-1-2024> (21. 1. 2024).

(3) Političko Sarajevo i zapadne zemlje *prešli* su sve *granice* pristojnosti u namjeri da nas unište – rekao je Kozić. <https://www.atvbl.rs/lat/republika-srpska/srpsku-jacati-ekonomski-a-9-januar-redovno-obiljezavati-8-1-2024> (8. 1. 2024).

(4) Jelena Trivić: Milorad Dodik *polomio zube* na Bijeljini <https://www.rtvbn.com/4040963/jelena-trivic-milorad-dodik-polomio-zube-na-bijeljini> (19. 3. 2023).

(5) *Pokazalo se pravo lice* vladajućih, da ih apsolutno nije briga za građane i da su u stvari samo tražili izgovor da ne prihvate ukidanje akciza. – istakao je Mirko Šarović, predsjednik SDS reagujući na epilog sjednice Doma naroda BiH. <https://www.rtvbn.com/4022448/vladajuci-pokazali-pravo-lice-nije-ih-briga-za-gradjane> (16. 3. 2022).

(6) Ubrzanje procesa protiv predsjednika Republike Srpske Milorada Dodika predstavlja znak da se kolektivni Zapad više i ne pretvara, rekao je u emisiji Srpska pred sudom profesor Fakulteta političkih nauka Univerziteta u Banjaluci Srđa Trifković. Drugim riječima, oni *igraju otvorenih karata* – istakao je Trifković. <https://lat.rtrs.tv/vijesti/vijest.php?id=544432> (13. 2. 2024).

(7) Govedarica: Dodik i SNSD su *bili POKLOPAC SVAKOM LONCU* udara na Srpsku <https://srpskainfo.com/govedarica-dodik-i-snsd-su-bili-poklopac-svakom-loncu-udara-na-srpsku/> (14. 8. 2019).

(8) Dodik je, kaže Pandurevićeva, izgleda zaboravio da je još juče govorio da je upravo predsjednik SDS autor zaključaka koji se odnose na nametanje izmjena Krivičnog zakona od strane Valentina Incka. – To su oni zaključci koje su podržali i Dodik i SNSD, a onda ih prekršili, *podvili rep* i vratili se u Sarajevo a da je Inckov zakon i dalje na snazi. <https://srpskainfo.com/pandureviceva-prozvala->

lidera-snsd-dodik-je-taj-koji-je-aplaudirao-upotrebi-bonskih-ovlascenja/ (27. 7. 2022).

(9) Poslanik u Narodnoj skupštini RS i potpredsjednik GO PDP-a Banjaluka Nebojša Drinić oštro je osudio napade Nebojše Vukanovića, predsjednika Pokreta „Za pravdu i red” i narodnog poslanika, na gradonačelnika Banjaluke Draška Stanivukovića kao i na sve koji mu *ne idu niz dlaku*. <https://radiosarajevo.ba/vijesti/bosna-i-hercegovina/drinic-porucio-vukanovicu-ne-stoji-macku-teleca-glava/481604> (24. 1. 2023).

Најзначајније функције фразеологизама које се наводе у литератури јесу емоционална и експресивна⁵ језичка функција, тако да се помоћу њих ‘изражавају различите емоције говорника, као што су одобравање, неслагање, ублажавање, преувеличавање, иронија, неверовање, хумор и сл.’ (Mršević Radović, 1987:p.16). Иако је у датим примјерима и остатак реченице неопходан у разумијевању поруке коју политичари шаљу, фразеологизми се могу посматрати као изразито битан дио, и то из два разлога. Први је тај што су то структурно упечатљиве јединице и привлаче пажњу адресата, а други је што су носиоци експресивности. Зашто је то тако, објашњава Д. Мршевић Радовић и напомиње да је изражавање субјективног става помоћу фразеологизама резултат колективног доживљавања појава и предмета (1987:p.16). То изражавање опште је за говорнике једне заједнице у којем је та јединица у употреби. Такође, ово је уједно и основни предуслов за прихватање такве јединице као језичке, а не индивидуалне, случајне творевине. Мршевић Радовић ове тврдње поткрепљује следећим примјером: поређење *пуши као Турчин* представља језичку јединицу, али примјер *пуши као Черчил* остаје само нејезичка поредбена синтагма која је индивидуална. Имајући у виду како функционишу фразеологизми, у наведеним примјерима из излагања политичара можемо уочити:

- неодобравање, као што је случај са фразеологизмом *прећи границу*;
- критиковање – *бацати прашину у очи, показати своје право лице*;

⁵ Експресивност ‘на језичком плану обухвата формалне, семантичке, функционалне и категоријалне јединице у њиховим хомогеним и хетерогеним односима, а које одражавају и изражавају свјестан субјективни, емоционални и/или естетизирани однос А (пошиљаоца, аутора, говорног лица) према В (примаоцу, реципијенту, сабесједнику) или С (предмету, садржају поруке)’ (Тошковић, 2004:p.25). Појам експресивности често се поистовјећује са појмовима изражајно, емоционално, стилистичко, сликовито, конотативно, естетско. Ипак, експресивност означава свеукупност значења ових појмова, али они нису сасвим једнаки (Тошковић, 2004). Експресивношћу се у многим својим научним радовима бавила и Стана Ристић, према којој је експресивност ‘изразита изражајност, која се остварује или конотативном семантичком структуром или нарочитом гласовном структуром’ (2004:p.18).

- иронију – *подвити реп, поломити зубе, бити поклопац сваком лонцу, ићи низ длаку.*
- нетрепеливост између супротстављених политичких партија, што најбоље илуструју примјери под бројевима (4), (5), (7) и (8). Тако за-пажамо да припадник једне политичке партије за свог противника иронично говори да је *поломио зубе* на Бијељини, односно није успио побиједити супарника на изборима у том граду. Поред тога, фразеоло-гизми *показати своје право лице* и *бити поклопац сваком лонцу* додатно појачавају критику упућену представницима супротне политичке пар-тије јер, поготово у датим контекстима, имају призвук ироније, па чак и сарказма. Нетрепеливост је присутна и у остатку реченице, али се као језгро исказа препознаје фразеологизам, управо зато што је носилац експресивности. Показаћемо то на једном од примјера. Фраза *подвити реп* у примјеру: ‘Dodik је, каже Pandurevićeva, izgleda zaboravio да је још јуче govorio да је upravo predsjednik SDS autor zaključaka који се odnose на nametanje izmjena Krivičnog zakona od strane Valentina Incka. – To su oni zaključci које су podržali i Dodik i SNSD, а onda ih prekršili, *podvili rep* i vratili се u Sarajevo а да је Inckov закон i даље на snazi’, употријебљена је у свом конотативном значењу и односи се на човјека који се покуњио и постао мање самоувјерен. Такође, ова конструкција користи се и у денотативном значењу и односи се на пса који се повлачи пред другим псом или се каје због нечега што је урадио. Када знамо њено основно значење, јасно је да је конотативно послужило да се сликовито истакне нетрепеливост, поготово што позадински контекст те фразеолошке конструкције укључује поређење човјека са псом.

Анализа наведених исказа показала је да се емоционална и експресивна функција фразеологизама у јавном дискурсу остварују на различите начине, прије свега преко израза критиковања, неодобравања, путем ироније, сарказма, изражавања нетрепеливости и других евалуативно-емоционалних ставова говорника. Другачије речено, све наведене реализације представљају конкре-тизацију емоционалног и експресивног потенцијала фразеологизама

3.2. Сликовитост и манипулативна функција фразеологизама

Уз емоционалност и експресивност, у битно својство фразеолошких језич-ких јединица убраја се и сликовитост. Како се то у литератури наводи, управо ове врсте фразеологизама, тј. фразеологизми настали глаголском рекцијом,

најбоље чувају сликовитост. Наиме, 'веће изгледе да сачува сликовитост (и експресивност) има један сликовити глаголско-именички фразеологизам који се у реченици актуализује као глаголска синтагма у предикатској функцији, него фразеолошка јединица с функцијом речце и везника' (Mršević Radović, 1987:p.18).

Сликовитост фразеологизама најбоље илуструју следећи примјери:

(1) Nažalost niko zbog kršenja više zakona nije odgovarao, a CIK BiH i stranci su Dodiku *progledali kroz prste* i dali nekakav legitimitet pokradenim izborima – naveo je Vukanović. <https://srpskainfo.com/dodik-pokusava-da-osigura-kradju-jos-jednih-izbora-vukanovic-objavio-nacrt-izbornog-zakona-srpske-pa-otkrio-zasto-ga-njegova-lista-nece-podrzati/> (12. 1. 2024).

(2) Poruka vlasti: *Držite jezik za zubima*, građani! <https://www.rtvbn.com/3970515/poruka-vlasti-drzite-jezik-za-zubima-gradjani> (30. 10. 2019).

(3) On je ocijenio da je „Mektić spreman prodati i narod, i Republiku, i *obraz* i čast koje je odavno *bacio pod noge* samo da bi zadržao stolicu u Sarajevu sa koje pljuje na Republiku Srpsku, a koja mu garantuje sigurnost od procesuiranja na sudu.” <https://srpskainfo.com/lukac-mektic-i-dalje-vrijedno-radi-protiv-svega-sto-ima-obiljezje-srpsko/> (12. 7. 2018).

(4) – Nije mu pomogla ni Gradska izborna komisija sa opstrukcijama i Bjeljinci na čelu sa Ljubišom Petrovićem *osvjetlali su obraz* čitave Republike Srpske – naglasila je ona i dodala da Ljubiši želi puno sreće u daljem radu, jer kako kaže, u njegovu čestitost i ispravnost niko ne treba da sumnja, a to su večeras pokazali i građani Bijeljine. <https://www.rtvbn.com/4040963/jelena-trivic-milorad-dodik-polomio-zube-na-bijeljini> (19. 3. 2023).

Дати примјери у себи имају фразеологизме који су настали на темељу стилске фигуре перифразе. Перифраза представља 'изражавање простог појма помоћу описне конструкције' (Simeon, 1969:p.45). Другим ријечима, да би се описао неки појам, користи се више ријечи иако би за исти опис била довољна само једна ријеч. Да би перифрастичка структура имала функцију фразеолошке, мора бити испуњен један услов, тј. 'мора бити или сликовита или се као несликовита синтагма мора комбиновати с неким другим творбеним средством у процесу примарне фразеологизације у чијем резултату настаје фразеолошка јединица' (Mršević Radović, 1987:p.44). Фразеологизми који су настали на основу перифразе, дакле, посједују додатно изражену сликовитост. Сви они имају своју уобичајену конвенционалну варијанту и чини се како би

се могло рећи да су то потпуни синоними, али у овом случају фразеолошка и нефразеолошка варијанта ипак указују на релативну синонимију. Да бисмо ово објаснили, послужићемо се фразеологизмом *држите језик за зубима*, који има своју неекспресивну варијанту *шутите/ћутите*. Наиме, наведене јединице као потпуно еквивалентне могу се посматрати ‘с обзиром на денотативно значење, (...) јер се односе на исти денотат, тј. означавају исти предмет или ситуацију из објективне стварности’ (Ковачевић, 2015:р.136). Међутим, иако им се подудара денотативно значење, не подудара се оно које се у лингвистици назива сигнификативно, тј. оно које представља ‘интерпретацију денотативног, односно специфични угао гледања на дати објекат или ситуацију’ (Ковачевић 2015:р.136, Piper, 1983:р.125). Другим ријечима, њихов смисао није у потпуности исти. Фразеолошка варијанта, као врло сликовита и експресивна, не упућује на исту поруку. Она у себи садржи двосмисленост, тако да, осим што власт грађане позива на шутњу, фразеологизам садржи и скривену пријетњу. Фразеологизам *бацити образ под ноге* упућује нас на то да је неко, метафорички речено, погазио или изгубио част, али нам ова фраза то знатно сликовитије дочарава. У примјеру: ‘Он је ocijenio да је Mektić spreman prodati i narod, i Republiku, i obraz i čast koje je odavno *bacio pod noge* samo da bi zadržao stolicu u Sarajevu sa koje pljuje na Republiku Srpsku, a koja mu garantuje sigurnost od procesuiranja na sudu’, један политичар не само да исказује да се други осрамотио него кроз овај сликовити фразеологизам, интегрисан у читав контекст, наслућујемо и његов бијес, љутњу и критику.

Поред наведених функција, фразеологизми реализују још једну функцију, веома битну за јавни дискурс, а то је манипулативна. Она се остварује јер је пошиљалац јавне поруке неко са ‘чврстога и препознатљивога друштвенога положаја’ (Udier, internet). Тај положај указује на потенцијалну моћ над осталим члановима друштвене заједнице, а ту моћ, у први мах, он испољава кроз језик. Пошиљалац тада настоји да обликује ‘своју поруку тако да је хетерогено приматељско тијело може разумјети и по могућности прихватити’ (Udier, internet). Без обзира на то да ли воде поријекло из науке, спорта, музике, позоришта и сл., фразеологизми су увијек познати јер имају устаљену конструкцију. Стога, у јавном говору веома добро привлаче пажњу публике, те могу да изазову различите ефекте. У зависности од тога како су интегрисани у цијели контекст, они могу да утичу на снагу, али и на памћење поруке. На то су нас својом сликовитошћу и експресивношћу упутили и претходни примјери, а у наставку ћемо навести још неке како бисмо што боље расвијетлили манипулативну функцију фразеологизама.

(1) Igor Crnadak ponovo prozvao Milorada Dodika: „*Mlati praznu slamu*, politika SNSD-a je opasna po RS” <https://radiosarajevo.ba/vijesti/bosna-i-hercegovina/igor-crnadak-ponovo-prozvao-milorada-dodika-mlati-praznu-slamu-politika-snsd-a-je-opasna-po-rs/512208> (9. 9. 2023).

(2) S druge strane, činjenica je da imamo izuzetno star objekat koji je napunio 40 godina. Jasno je da strategiju koju je donijela NS RS blago rečeno možemo da *okačimo mačku o rep*, odnosno da ga je Vlada okačila mačku o rep jer ništa nije konkretno uradila kada je u pitanju investicija koja je trebalo da 2031. bude na mreži, rekao je Vukota Govedarica, poslanik SDS-a u NS Republike Srpske. <https://www.rtvbn.com/4047352/projekat-od-milijardu-km-vlada-srpske-okacila-macku-o-rep> (29. 7. 2023).

На примјер, фразеологизми *млатити празну сламу* и *окачити мачку о реп* изазивају комичан ефекат, који привлачи пажњу, па чак и симпатије публике, али уз то маскира иронију и сарказам говорника. Такође, неки фразеологизми изразито утичу на перцепцију поруке, јер имају већу снагу од уобичајених неекспресивних варијаната. Поред тога, они говор чине привлачнијим и убједљивијим. То најбоље илуструје следећи примјер.

(3) SDS: Paljanski SNSD ovu lokalnu zajednicu *doveo do prosjачkog štapa* <https://katera.news/lat/sds-paljanski-snsd-ovu-lokalnu-zajednicu-doveo-do-prosjackog-stapa> (2. 2. 2024).

Фраза *довести до просјачког штапа* има своју уобичајену неекспресивну варијанту *осиромашити*. Ипак, и овдје се поставља питање да ли ове варијанте имају исто сигнификативно значење или се опет ради о релативној синонимији. Ако бисмо рекли да је један политички режим осиромашео неку локалну заједницу, не бисмо знали до кога је степена она осиромашена, али када кажемо да је доведена до просјачког штапа, онда смо сигурни да је то највећи степен сиромаштва, те да је она материјално уништена. Наведена тврдња, која садржи фразу са негативном експресивном обојеношћу, у себи има и скривену намјеру говорника, а то је стицање наклоњености народа. Другачије речено, заједницу нису они довели до просјачког штапа, него њихови противници, а они то још и критикују. Тако наизглед безопасна језичка конструкција има моћ да ‘с једне стране наглашава жељене ставове, погледе и мишљења, а с друге стране игнорише небитне, али и непожељне аспекте одређене појаве’ (Silaški, et al., 2009:p.15).

Када је ријеч о манипулативној функцији фразеологизама у примарном дискурсу, кључно је нагласити да није могуће са сигурношћу утврдити да ли

се фразеолошке јединице користе искључиво у манипулативне сврхе, или су оне само дио активног лексичког фонда говорника. Будући да не располажемо научно верификованим методама којима би се поуздано доказало да говорник свјесно посеже за фразеологизмима као најефикаснијим средством остварења неке комуникацијске намјере, неопходно је да наведене примјере фразеологизма у говору политичара посматрамо само кроз ефекте које су произвели, без обзира на то да ли је њихова употреба имала јасан циљ или су се случајно нашли у исказу.

4. Фразеологизми у секундарном дискурсу

4.1. Фразеологизми у насловима

Поред примарног дискурса, фразеологизми настали глаголском рекцијом често се појављују и у секундарном, под којим у овом истраживању подразумевамо све оно чији су творци искључиво новинари. Другачије речено, секундарном дискурсу припадају новинарска тумачења онога што су рекли политичари, те онога што се дешава на политичкој сцени.

Прије свега, неопходно је да се присјетимо основних функција новинарског изражавања. Према ономе што наводи Катнић Бакаршић, двије су главне функције новинарског стила, а то су референцијална (функција саопштавања) и конативна (функција оријентације на адресате, убјеђивачка или идеолошка). Иако неки жанрови на први поглед нису убјеђивачког карактера, као што је то случај са вијешћу, ипак могу садржати елементе који имају функцију увјеравања. За такав циљ користи се различита лексика и фразеологија, те неки теоретичари сматрају да онај ко управља медијима управља и државом (2001:р.160).

Имајући у виду карактеристике новинарског начина изражавања, у наставку овога рада наш ће задатак бити да објаснимо на који се начин испољава манипулативна функција фразеологизма насталих глаголском рекцијом у различитим медијским саопштењима на интернет порталима у Босни и Херцеговини.

С обзиром на то да су фразеологизми јединице са устаљеном структуром, они су изузетно погодни за новинске чланке, који врло често прибјегавају баш таквим језичким средствима. Поред тога што се налазе и у самом тексту, наше истраживање показало је да су много заступљенији у насловима. Овај је, наравно, треба разликовати наслове са фразеологизмима који су претходно били дио излагања политичара, али су новинарима послужили за додатно скретање пажње. Такви су, опет, дио примарног дискурса. Наслови су, како то сматра

текстуална стилистика, 'једна од јаких позиција текста, и то сваког текста, без обзира на његову функционално-стилску припадност' (Katnić Bakaršić, 2001:р.162). Њихов основни задатак јесте да привуку пажњу адресата, па с обзиром на то, у себи треба да садрже оне језичке јединице које су ефектне. Такве језичке јединице, између осталог, и јесу фразеологизми. То ћемо илустровати следећим примјерима:

(1) CIK *se posipa pepelom*: Sjednica je bila užasna!! <https://www.rtvbn.com/4034044/cik-se-posipa-pepelom-sjednica-je-bila-uzasna> (29. 10. 2022).

(2) Jedna rečenica je *zaparala uši*: Da li je Vučić „otpilio” Dodika? <https://www.oslobodjenje.ba/vijesti/bih/jedna-recenica-je-zaparala-usi-da-li-je-vucic-otpilio-dodika-832989> (5. 2. 2023).

(3) Politicari godinu *presipaju* priču iz *šupljeg u prazno*: Ima li volje da se pomogne građanima? <https://avaz.ba/vijesti/bih/817088/politicari-godinu-presipaju-pricu-iz-supljeg-u-prazno-ima-li-volje-da-se-pomogne-gradjanima> (19. 3. 2023).

(4) Pobjedi crnogorske opozicije Srbija *nije gledala u zube* <https://www.oslobodjenje.ba/dosjei/kolumne/pobjedi-crnogorske-opozicije-srbija-nije-gledala-u-zube-590151> (17. 9. 2020).

(5) Građani *na nož dočekali* ideju novog režima saobraćaja u centru Banjaluke <https://www.nezavisne.com/novosti/banjaluka/Gradjani-na-noz-docekali-ideju-novog-rezima-saobracaja-u-centru-Banjaluke/750789> (22. 12. 2022).

(6) Nakon *busanja u prsa* Dodik i njegovi *podvili rep* <https://www.rtvbn.com/4032000/nakon-busanja-u-prsa-dodik-i-njegovi-podvili-rep> (14. 9. 2022).

(7) Još jedno nabacivanje loptice: Dodikovi *pružaju ruku*, Bakir je „protiv”, a Čović negdje između <https://www.rtvbn.com/4019830/jos-jedno-nabacivanje-loptice-dodikovi-pruzaju-ruku-bakir-je-protiv-a-covic-negdje-izmedju> (29. 1. 2022).

(8) Kako javna preduzeća i institucije *love u mutnom* <https://www.rtvbn.com/3980217/kako-javna-preduzeca-i-institucije-love-u-mutnom> (23. 3. 2020).

(9) Magistri prelaze u zanatlije: U BiH sve više onih koji su svoje diplome *okačili o klin* <https://www.dnevnik.ba/vijesti/magistri-prelaze-u-zanatlije-u-bih-sve-vise-onih-koji-su-svoje-diplome-okacili-o-klin-2505205> (29. 7. 2021).

(10) Stanivuković objavio novi video kako je Vukanovića *navukao na tanak led*, stigla i reakcija <https://www.klix.ba/vijesti/bih/stanivukovic-objavio-novi->

video-kako-je-vukanovica-navukao-na-tanak-led-stigla-i-reakcija/230306011 (6. 3. 2023).

(11) SDS *okrenuo leđa* Dodiku: Nećemo potpisati njegovu izjavu o imovini, to je skretanje pažnje sa kolapsa u RS-u <https://www.oslobodjenje.ba/vijesti/bih/sds-okrenuo-leda-dodiku-necemo-potpisati-njegovu-izjavu-o-imovini-to-je-skretanje-paznje-sa-kolapsa-u-rs-u-855147> (24. 4. 2023).

(12) DODIK *OTKRIO KARTE* UOČI SASTANKA U MOSTARU: „Izgovora je bilo i previše, očekujem da danas sa partnerima...” <https://www.slobodna-bosna.ba/vijest/342883/dodik-otkrio-karte-uochi-sastanka-u-mostaru-izgovora-je-bilo-i-previshe-ocekujem-da-danas-sa-partnerima.html> (27. 2. 2024).

(13) Kako Rusi iz Crne Gore *izlaze na kraj* sa sankcijama? <https://lat.rtrs.tv/vijesti/vijest.php?id=470279> (14. 4. 2022).

(14) Bakir posjetio Štrbački buk, Krajišnici mu sve *sasuli u brk*: „Neka je i on osjetio one rupetine na putu” https://avaz.ba/vijesti/bih/675432/bakir-posjetio-strbacki-buk-krajsnici-mu-sve-sasuli-u-brk-neka-je-i-on-osjetio-one-rupetine-na-putu?fb_comment_id=4410799898978452_4411665172225258 (21. 8. 2021).

У наведеним примјерима, поред екскламативних реченица и реторичких питања, додатном скретању пажње читалаца на главну поруку допринијели су и фразеологизми. Иако су они у примјерима структурно подударни, ипак се разликују по поријеклу. На примјер, фразеологизми *запарати уши*, *гледати у зубе*, *пружити руку*, *окренути леђа*, *сасути у брк* убрајају се у такозване соматске фразеологизме јер у себи садрже компоненту која означава неки дио човјековог тијела (Mršević Radović, 1987). Неки од ових фразеологизама воде поријекло из различитих жаргона, као што је фразеологизам *отворити карте* (карташки жаргон). Други су пак мотивисани неким човјековим активностима, као што је фразеологизам: *ловити у мутном* (риболов). Има и оних који воде поријекло из Библије, као што је случај са фразеологизмом *посипати се пепелом*. Ми се нећемо исцрпније бавити поријеклом ових фразеологизама, јер то није задатак нашег истраживања. Ипак, осврнувши се на поријекло, циљ нам је био да укажемо како су, независно од начина настанка, ово језичке јединице које су се усталиле у свакодневном језику, те су тако у насловима погодне за дјеловање на различите адресате, без обзира на њихово образовање, социјални статус или поријекло. Њихова се моћ првенствено огледа у томе што су добро уклопљене у цијели контекст и дјелују као неизоставан дио реченице. На примјер, фразеологизам *пресипати из шупљег у празно* добро је искориштен у наслову

који најављује да политичари пресипају *причу* из шупљег у празно, што значи да они својом причом обмањују. Такође, један је политичар другог *навукао на танак лед*, а грађани су *на нож дочекали* идеју новог режима саобраћаја и сл.

У примјерима се може уочити да су поједини фразеолошки изрази издвојени наводницима, чиме се додатно скреће пажња на њих. С обзиром на то да неки фразеологизми примарно нису одлика новинарског изражавања, такво издвајање може указивати и на свијест аутора о различитим стилевима и варијететима, па је то израз 'металингвистичког размишљања аутора' (Katnić Bakaršić, 2001:p.162).

4.2. Главне функције фразеологизама у насловима

Као добро уклопљене у цијели контекст, ове језичке јединице имају изражену манипулативну моћ, која се може објаснити на основу неколико функција које оне остварују. Прва је *сликовитост*, па наслови који сликовито указују на неку појаву моћно дјелују на адресата. Примјер гдје се наводи да се ЦИК *посипа пепелом* представља веома сликовит опис кајања. Наиме, овај фразеологизам, који води поријекло из Библије, мотивисан је древним обичајем гдје се кривац јавно посипа пепелом како би показао спремност за покајање (Matešić, 1982). Овај нас примјер упућује и на још једну функцију коју обављају фразеологизми, а то је да *доприноси интензивнијем значењу него обичне ријечи*. То потврђује и наредни примјер: 'Bakir posjetio Štrbački buk, Krajišnici mu sve *sasuli u brk*: Neka je i on osjetio one rupetine na putu'. Фразеологизам у овом наслову чак има и додатно појачано значење, јер уочавамо употребу глагола *сасути* умјесто *рећи*. Примарни облик ове фразе јесте *рећи некоме нешто у брк* и значи *рећи отворено, без увијања* (Matešić, 1982). Међутим, глагол *сасути* ипак има интензивније значење, јер поред својих основних значења, која су наведена у РСЈ, има и пренесена, а то су: *врло брзо рећи, изговорити много речи: бујицу речи, истину у брк* (2011:p.1172). Другим ријечима, упућује нас да је нешто изречено оштрим тоном, агресивније и изравније.

Узимајући у обзир да се медијски дискурс неријетко обликује у складу с политичком оријентацијом конкретне редакције, у таквим текстовима фразеологизми, као носиоци експресивности, имају велику улогу у исказивању става аутора. Њихова употреба омогућава да се већ на нивоу језичког избора сигнализира *однос новинара према релевантној друштвено-језичкој појави, личности или догађају*. У том контексту, нарочито су значајни они фразеологизми

којима је у основи иронија. На примјер, следећи наслов указује на ироничан став новинара о политичарима једне партије.

(1) Nakon *busanja u prsa*⁶ Dodik i njegovi *podvili rep* <https://www.rtvbn.com/4032000/nakon-busanja-u-prsa-dodik-i-njegovi-podvili-rep> (14. 9. 2022).

Употребом ових фразеолошких јединица постигнута је у исто вријеме иронија, те сликовитост и упечатљивост, што и јесте примарни задатак наслова. Поред тога, циљ овога наслова био је и да се изазове нека реакција код читалаца, што би у овом случају био смијех и комика. Употребом ова два фразеологизма постигнута је и додатна драматизација исказа, јер је сугерисано да су политичари били претјерано самоувјерени и храбри, да би потом постали покорни и уплашени. Овај начин изражавања доприноси и сензационализму, јер има тенденције да створи емоционалну реакцију код читалаца.

Још једна битна функција ових језичких јединица огледа се у доприношењу *сажетости*, која и јесте циљ новинарског изражавања. Наиме, некада се врло сложене мисли које захтијевају неколико реченица могу исказати у једној или двије фразе. Да бисмо то илустровали, опет ћемо се послужити претходним примјером. Умјесто опширније варијанте која би могла гласити: 'Након претјеране самоувјерености, храбрости и одлучности, Додик и његови постали покорни и уплашени', употребијељен је доста сажетији, али језички ефектнији облик наслова са поменутиим фразеологизмима.

С обзиром на то да је примарни циљ наслова да привуче пажњу читаоца, независно од суштинске информативне вриједности самог текста, јасно је да фразеологизми у том контексту имају значајну улогу⁷.

Ипак, потребно је напоменути и то да оваква врста наслова некада служи искључиво како би се подигла видљивост текста, те да би сам портал имао што

⁶ Фразеологизам *бусање у прса* у овом случају није глаголски, јер је *бусање* глаголска именица. Ипак, примарни облик фразеологизма јесте *бусати се у прса*, а овдје је, ради уклапања у контекст, умјесто глагола употребљена глаголска именица. С обзиром на то да је он дио примјера гдје проналазимо још један, за објашњење битан глаголски фразеологизам, уврстићемо га у истраживање.

⁷ Такође, употребом оних јединица које су језички ефектне, као што је то случај са фразеологизмима, може доћи и до 'мијењања језичне функције са референцијалне и конативне на поетску, будући да порука скреће пажњу на саму себе' (Katnić Bakaršić, 2001:p.162).

Поетска функција представља усмјереност поруке на саму себе, при чему она престаје бити средство комуникације и постаје њен циљ. Ова је функција својствена књижевноумјетничком стилу, али Јакобсон наглашава да се њено проучавање не смије ограничити само на књижевност, јер је заступљена и на другим пољима – у разговорном стилу, публицистичком, у рекламама, политичким слоганима и сл. Она се истиче посебно онда када порука постане циљ комуникације (Katnić Bakaršić, 2001:p.19).

више прегледа. Наслови овога типа представљају такозване *clickbait*⁸ – кликбејт наслове, који су сензационалистичког карактера и у којима је истинитост и објективност у другом плану. Они воде поријекло од таблоида и представљају врло моћан облик манипулације у онлајн-медијима.

Иако новинарско изражавање начелно треба да буде објективно, видимо да се помоћу фразеологизама некада постиже потпуно другачији ефекат. Погодни су за обликовање *кликбејт* наслова, онога који најављује ексклузивну информацију, али остатак текста потврђује нам да је таква најаву неутемељена, а осим тога, фразеологизми увелико доприносе и изражавању става новинара о личностима и догађајима. Ово су уједно и главни разлози из којих ове језичке јединице нисмо могли пронаћи на порталу јавног сервиса Босне и Херцеговине – БХРТ, као ни на порталу јавног сервиса Републике Српске (РПРС). Фразеологизме нисмо пронашли ни на сервису Новинске агенције Републике Српске (Срна). Уколико они постоје у дискурсу ових медијских кућа, припадају искључиво говору политичара, који су новинари само цитирали. Дакле, припадају примарном јавном дискурсу. Ово нас доводи до закључка да су фразеолошке јединице претежно заступљене у медијима који имају много слободнији начин изражавања, те немају обавезу да се придржавају строгих правила новинарске објективности. Другачије речено, највише их има на оним порталима чији главни циљ није тачно и објективно информисање него пласирање *кликбејт* наслова ради прикупљања прегледа или пак обманивања публике.

Иако не можемо сасвим докучити разлоге употребе фразеологизама у говору политичара, то јест не знамо да ли су употријебљени случајно или ипак имају неки циљ, јасно је да их новинари користе претежно у манипулативне сврхе, које смо посебно објаснили на претходним страницама. То нарочито важи у случајевима када медијске куће немају обавезу да прате строга правила новинарског изражавања, па су не само допуштени него и пожељни разни облици манипулације јавношћу путем језика.

4.3. Фразеологизми као дио интерпретације новинара у новинским чланцима

Када је ријеч о фразеологизмима у новинским чланцима у цјелини, а да су притом искључиво интерпретација новинара, нисмо пронашли много примјера. У наставку ћемо издвојити два:

⁸ *Clickbait* је енглеска ријеч настала спајањем двије ријечи – *click* (клик) и *bait* (мамац), те у буквалном преводу значи ‘мамац за кликове’.

(1) Kineski zvaničnici *drže jezik za zubima* kada je riječ o ovome. Nijedno zvanično саопштење нје дато о томе гдје се Куши или Bin налазе. <https://www.atvbl.rs/vijesti/svijet/kina-ucutkuje-sve-koji-progovore-dvojica-heroja-snimala-istinu-u-vuhanu-nestali-su> (15. 2. 2020).

(2) Aktivisti SNSD-a, односно прелетаћи или папци, како их зову, *izvukli su deblji kraj* у једном селу код Добоја, а други у лику „Dodikovih poslanika” отјерани су са парастоса, који је одржан такође у једном добојском селу. <https://www.rtvbn.com/3992696/ciji-aktivisti-su-najureni-iz-dobojskih-sela> (27. 9. 2020).

Наведени примјери нам показују да ови фразеологизми засигурно немају једнак значај као они у насловима. Фразеологизми у наслову, поред тога што привлаче пажњу адресата, сажето преносе и кључну поруку. Будући да је управо то примарна функција наслова, она се често и испуњава кроз фразеологизме. Због тога бисмо могли рећи да они чине језгро наслова, док је у тексту њихова функција мање уочљива. Наравно, треба напоменути да га стилски обогаћују и доприносе занимљивости, јер сликовито описују личност или појаву, али акценат никада није на њима. У тексту се тема разрађује и дају се конкретне информације о догађају или личности, па фразеологизми нису примарна језичка средства. Сва запажања доводе нас до закључка да ове језичке јединице своју функцију у секундарном јавном дискурсу ипак најбоље испољавају у ‘јаким позицијама текста’, као што су наслови. То поготово важи за *кликбејт* наслове, о којима смо више говорили на претходним страницама.

5. Закључна разматрања

Посматрањем јавног дискурса, као простора у којем се примјењују различите манипулативне технике, утврђено је да фразеологизми имају важну улогу у обликовању поруке. У примарном дискурсу, посебно у говору политичара, њима се изражава експресивност, те се на тај начин остварује њихова манипулативна функција.

У секундарном дискурсу фразеологизми су најизраженији у насловима новинских текстова, гдје доприносе сажетости, експресивности и привлачењу пажње. С друге стране, врло је мало фразеологизама у новинским чланцима а да су искључиво интерпретација новинара, а уколико постоје, стилски обогаћују текст. Ова анализа показује да је употреба фразеологизама битна карактеристика јавног дискурса, јер се кроз бројне функције ових јединица испољава и она најважнија за јавни дискурс – манипулативна. Ипак, будући да је ово

подручје врло комплексно, треба напоменути да оно нуди бројне могућности за детаљнија проучавања.

Литература

1. Gazdić Alerić, T. (2009) *The phraseology of the Croatian political substyle*. Dostupno na: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/319543577_The_Phraseology_of_the_Croatian_Political_Substyle Pristupljeno: 7. 6. 2024.
2. Katnić Bakaršić, M. (2001) *Lingvistička stilistika*. Sarajevo, Ljiljan.
3. Ковачевић, М. (2015) *Стилистика и граматика стилских фигура*. Београд, ЈАСЕН.
4. Matešić, J. (1982) *Frazeološki rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*. Zagreb, Školska knjiga.
5. Menac, A. (1978) *Neka pitanja u vezi s klasifikacijom frazeologije*. Dostupno na: <https://hrcak.srce.hr/file/271630> Pristupljeno: 1. 4. 2024.
6. Мршевић Радовић, Д. (1987) *Фразеолошке глаголско-именичке синтагме у савременом српскохрватском језику*. Београд, Филолошки факултет Београдског универзитета.
7. Николић, М., С. Слијепчевић Бјеливук (2022) *Српски јавни дискурс у пандемији*. Београд, Институт за српски језик САНУ.
8. Piper, P. (1983) О denotativnom i signifikativnom značenju lingvističkih termina (sa osvrtom na rusku lingvističku terminologiju). *Kontrastivna istraživanja II*. Novi Sad, Filozofski fakultet, pp. 125–128.
9. Ристић, С. (2004) *Експресивна лексика у српском језику: теоријске основе и нормативно-културолошки аспекти*. Београд, Институт за српски језик САНУ.
10. РСЈ, *Речник српског језика* (2011). Нови Сад, Матица српска.
11. Silaški, N., Т. Đurović, B. Radić Bojanić (2009) *Javni diskurs Srbije*. Beograd, Centar za izdavačku delatnost Ekonomskog fakulteta.
12. Симеон, Р. (1969) *Енциклопедијски рјечник лингвистичких назива*. Загреб, Матица хрватска.
13. Телебак, М. (2021) *Фразеологизми у српском језику*. Бања Лука, Бесједа.
14. Тошовић, Б. (2004) *Експресивност*. Београд, Међународно удружење „Стил”. Dostupno na: <https://www.rastko.rs/cms/files/books/49c94a2930469> Pristupljeno: 2. 4. 2024.
15. Ђевриз Нишић, В. (2022) О језичко-стилским карактеристикама глаголских фразеологизама у политичком дискурсу. *Jezik, književnost, industrija*. Beograd, Alfa BK Univerzitet, pp. 284–299.
16. Udier, S. L. (2008), *О језику политичких говора и приопћења*. Dostupno na: <https://www.hrvatskiplus.org/article.php?id=1840&naslov=o-jeziku-politickih-govora-i-priopcenja> Pristupljeno: 22. 3. 2024.
17. Хисматулина, Л. Г., Д. Я. Хузина, Д. Б. Гарифуллина (2020) *Фразеологизми в политическом дискурсе (на материалах русских и английских электронных изданий)*.

Вестник Маријскогo государственного университета. Россия, ФГБОУ ВО „Мари́йский государственный университет”. Доступно на: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/frazeologizmy-v-politicheskom-diskurse-na-materiale-russkih-i-angliyskih-elektronnyh-izdaniy/viewer> Приступљено: 7. 6. 2024.

18. Chong, D., J. N. Druckman, (2007) *A theory of framing and opinion formation in competitive elite environments*. Dostupno na: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228198044_Framing_Theory Приступљено: 7. 6. 2024.

Dragana R. Krstić

ON THE FUNCTIONS OF PHRASEOLOGISMS CHARACTERISTIC OF PUBLIC DISCOURSE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Summary

In this research, we aimed to highlight the most significant functions of phraseologisms in public discourse in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We divided discourse into primary and secondary types, and within these two categories, we attempted to shed light on what is achieved through the use of phraseologisms based on verbal rection.

Through the analysis of material collected from various online portals in Republic of Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, we concluded that phraseologisms are linguistic units with significant manipulative power. This power manifests through several functions.

When it comes to primary discourse, that is, the speech of politicians, phraseologisms serve to achieve emotionality, expressiveness, and vividness. If we talk about secondary discourse, created exclusively by journalists, phraseologisms are most significant in attracting the audience's attention. They contribute to vividness, conciseness, engagement, and expressiveness. Considering all these characteristics, we viewed phraseologisms as manipulative linguistic constructions, and such constructions are precisely characteristic of the language used by politicians and journalists, as they are well-suited for influencing the public.

► **Key words:** phraseologisms, public discourse, function, Bosnia and Herzegovina, manipulation, verbal rection.

References

1. Chong, D., J. N. Druckman (2007) *A theory of framing and opinion formation in competitive elite environments*. Dostupno na: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228198044_Framing_Theory Pristupljeno: 7. 6. 2024.
2. Čevriz Nišić, V. (2022) O jezičko-stilskim karakteristikama glagolskih frazeologizama u političkom diskursu. *Jezik, književnost, industrija*, Beograd, Alfa BK Univerzitet, pp. 284–299.
3. Gazdić Alerić, T. (2009) The phraseology of the Croatian political substyle. Dostupno na: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/319543577_The_Phraseology_of_the_Croatian_Political_Substyle Pristupljeno: 7. 6. 2024.
4. Katnić Bakaršić, M. (2001) *Lingvistička stilistika*, Sarajevo, Ljiljan.
5. Khismatullina, L. G., D. IĀ. Khuzina, D. B. Garifullina (2020) Frazeologizmy v politicheskom diskurse (na materiale russkikh i angliiskikh elektronnykh izdaniĭ). *Vestnik Mariškogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*. Rossiia, FGBOU VO „Mariškii gosudarstvennyi universitet”. Dostupno na: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/frazeologizmy-v-politicheskom-diskurse-na-materiale-russkikh-i-angliyskikh-elektronnykh-izdaniy/viewer> Pristupljeno: 7. 6. 2024.
6. Kovačević, M. (2015) *Stilistika i gramatika stilskih figura*. Beograd, JASEN.
7. Matešić, J. (1982) *Frazeološki rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*. Zagreb, Školska knjiga.
8. Menac, A. (1978) *Neka pitanja u vezi s klasifikacijom frazeologije*. Dostupno na: <https://hrcak.srce.hr/file/271630> Pristupljeno: 1. 4. 2024.
9. Mršević Radović, D. (1987) *Frazeološke glagolsko-imeničke sintagme u savremenom srpskohrvatskom jeziku*. Beograd, Filološki fakultet Beogradskog univerziteta.
10. Nikolić, M., S. Slijepčević Bjelivuk (2022) *Srpski javni diskurs u pandemiji*. Beograd, Institut za srpski jezik SANU.
11. Piper, P. (1983) O denotativnom i signifikativnom značenju lingvističkih termina (sa osvrtom na rusku lingvističku terminologiju). *Kontrastivna istraživanja II*. Novi Sad, Filozofski fakultet, pp. 125–128.
12. Ristić, S. (2004) *Ekspresivna leksika u srpskom jeziku: teorijske osnove i normativno-kulturološki aspekti*. Beograd, Institut za srpski jezik SANU.
13. RSJ, *Rječnik srpskoga jezika* (2011). Novi Sad, Matica srpska.
14. Silaški, N., T. Đurović, B. Radić Bojanić (2009) *Javni diskurs Srbije*. Beograd, Centar za izdavačku delatnost Ekonomskog fakulteta.
15. Simeon, R. (1969) *Enciklopedijski rječnik lingvističkih naziva*. Zagreb, Matica hrvatska.
16. Telebak, M. (2021) *Frazeologizmi u srpskom jeziku*. Banja Luka, Besjeda.
17. Tošović, B. (2004) *Ekspresivnost*. Beograd, Međunarodno udruženje „Stil”. Dostupno na: <https://www.rastko.rs/cms/files/books/49c94a2930469> Pristupljeno: 2. 4. 2024.

Драгана Р. Крстић

18. Udier, S. L. (2008) *O jeziku političkih govora i priopćenja*. Dostupno na: <https://www.hrvatskiplus.org/article.php?id=1840&znaslov=o-jeziku-politickih-govora-i-priopcenja> Pristupljeno: 22. 3. 2024.

Преузето: 18. 2. 2025.
Корекције: 5. 10. 2025.
Прихваћено: 30. 10. 2025.

Георгина Б. Шиповац¹

ФОНЕТСКО-ФОНОЛОШКЕ ОСОБИНЕ БОСАНСКЕ ЉЕКАРУШЕ (ПОМОЧА ОД СВАКЕ БОЛЕСТИ КОИ ИМА) ИЗ XVIII ВИЈЕКА

Апстракт: У овом раду анализиране су фонетске особине Босанске љекаруше (Помоча од сваке болести кои има) из друге половине XVIII вијека. Љекаруша је дјело непознатог аутора, а пронађена је у Босни, по чему је и добила своје географски мотивисано име. Данас се чува у Српској академији наука и уметности у Београду (Етнографска збирка 236-1-6). С обзиром на то да је непознат аутор и његово поријекло, као и да не знамо тачно мјесто настанка љекаруше, тешко је на основу структуре ексцерпираних грађе одредити говорни тип који налазимо у њој. Фонетске одлике Босанске љекаруше карактеристичне су прије свега за српски народни језик. Осим тога, поједине фонетске одлике припадају рускословенском језику.

Кључне ријечи: Босанска љекаруша, фонетске одлике, народни језик, рефлексива, рускословенске фонетске црте.

1. Увод²

Захваљујући преводима познатих медицинских списа током средњег вијека у српску средину преношена су знања из медицине из различитих научних кругова. Тако је српска средњовјековна медицинска пракса била заснована на двјема основама – византијској и западноевропској (Катић, 1990:pp.10–16, 26, 29), а преко ове посљедње и на медицинским достигнућима античког свијета (Војанин, 2012:р.12). О томе најбоље свједочи хиландарски рукопис № 517 из

¹ Ауторка је студент мастер студија на Филолошком факултету у Бањој Луци. Имејл адреса: georgina.sipovac@student.ff.unibl.org

² Рад је настао на основу дипломског рада под називом *О језику Босанске љекаруше (Помоча од сваке болести кои има) из XVIII в.*, написаног под менторством проф. др Зорице Никитовић и одбрањеног у септембру 2025. године на Филолошком факултету Универзитета у Бањој Луци.

XVI вијека, познат као *Хиландарски медицински кодекс*. Овај рукопис састављен је од разних преписа средњовјековних трактата из области медицине који преносе достигнућа познатих медицинских школа тога времена – Салерна и Монпеља. Он представља основни извор за проучавање различитих области медицине у средњем вијеку, а велики допринос даје проучавању фитотерапије и фармакологије (Војанин, 2012:р.9).

Биље је било саставни дио средњовјековне медицинске праксе, а у *Хиландарском медицинском кодексу* налазе се различити фармакотерапијски текстови поменуте салернско-монпељеске школе (Војанин, 2012:р.16). Биље је, дакле, било кориштено за лијечење најразличитијих болести, а нарочито се користило у оквиру хуморалне теорије, тј. теорије о тјелесним соковима Хипократа и Галена (Siraisi, 1990:р.104–106). Ова теорија, према којој је болест била поремећај равнотеже тјелесних сокова, у српској средини била је позната не само из Хиландарског медицинског кодекса, из списка немедицинског садржаја (као што је *Шестоднев*) већ и из љекаруша (Војанин, 2012:р.17).

1. 1. Како се, гледано из савремене перспективе, о почецима медицине код Срба може говорити тек од XVIII вијека (Катић, 1958), у народу су били познати различити зборници медицинских састава, познатији као *љекаруше*. Њихова употреба није замрла ни након развоја модерне медицине, већ је постала дио свакодневне праксе народног лијечења. Бројност преписа указује на њихову широку примјену у љекарској пракси и чини их, у неку руку, значајнијим у односу на трактате из хиландарског рукописа. ‘Практична вредност лекаруша препознаје се такође како у рецептима за справљање различитих лекова и мелема тако и у увођењу низа вербалних лекова представљених у виду молитве, бајалице или амајлије, откривајући нам разноврсност средњовековне праксе лечења’ (Војанин, 2012:р.18). Љекаруше су, осим тога, и значајни документи за проучавање историје здравствене културе, јер се у њима огледају и ‘*slojevi zakona umnog razvitka, od magijske do naučne medicine*’ (Romano, 1973:р.6).

Љекаруше представљају преводе народних византијских кодекса – јатрософија. На основу самог назива ових списа видљиво је њихово византијско поријекло. Један такав рукопис – *Јатрософија о свакој вешти* (натрософија о всакон вѣщи) из посљедње четвртине XIV вијека налази се и на Хиландару, као и најстарија сачувана збирка рецепата за лијечење међу Србима – *Ходошки зборник* (из 1309. године). ‘У рукописном наслеђу Југоисточне Европе далеко највећи број лекаруша сачувао се после 1500. године, све до дубоко у XIX век. Бројност преписа указује на њихов практичан значај у лекарској пракси, коју можемо сматрати за средњовековну’ (Војанин, 2012:р.20). С обзиром на то

да се лијечењем нису бавили само људи школовани за то, љекарушама су се користиле и жене, бербери, па и свештеници – како православни тако и католички (најпознатији су фрањевци). Осим тога, љекаруше су се преписивале и састављале те преносиле с кољена на кољено као анонимни списи, а многи ни данас нису свјесни да код себе имају рукопис од таквог значаја (Romano, 1973:p.7).

1. 2. У првој половини XX вијека појавио се одређени број научника, углавном из области медицине и филологије, који је показао веће интересовање за љекаруше. Међутим, први велики подухват објављивања великог броја љекаруша учинио је др Јаша Романо у својој *Југословенској библиографији лекаруша и народних медицинских рукописа*. Ова библиографија садржи 415 љекаруша и других народних медицинских рукописа. За све њих дати су подаци о мјесту и времену постанка, њихови називи, врста (хумана или ветеринарска), мјесто гдје се рукопис налази и сл. За сваки рукопис дат је опис и састав текста, са одређеним језичким примједбама.

Међу овим рукописима налази се и *Помоча од сваке болести кои има* или *Босанска љекаруша*. Овај рукопис³ чува се у Српској академији наука и уметности у Београду (Етнографска збирка 236-1-6). Није познато ко је састављач, али се зна да га је Владимир Трифковић пронашао у Босни, по чему је и добио своје географски мотивисано име. Љекаруша је хумана и ветеринарска, а садржи рецепте за лијечење 47 разних обољења људи и једног обољења домаће стоке. За лијечење неких обољења дато је по неколико рецепата, па тако она садржи укупно 94 рецепта, укључујући и оне у којима се могу уочити компоненте магијског карактера.

Како у рукопису није наведена година настанка, Јаша Романо пише да је на основу писма и језика закључено како је рукопис, вјероватно, настао у другој половини 18. вијека. Љекаруша има 30 страна и написана је на народном језику, 'ćirilicom uz primese staroslovenske azbuke, štokavskim narečjem s mešavinom ikavštine i ijekavštine' (Romano, 1973:p.34). Због овога се претпоставља да је текст записао православни свештеник 'koji je govorio ijekavštinom, ali je pri pisanju kao izvor koristio neku stariju bosansku ljekarušu pisanu ikavštinom' (в. Romano, 1973:p.34).

³ За ово истраживање, поред снимака оригиналног текста, користили смо и рашчитану верзију насталу као резултат регионалног научноистраживачког пројекта *Српске лекаруше 18. и 19. века (Јужна Угарска, Херцеговина и Босна)*, којим су руководиле академик Јасмина Грковић-Мејлор и проф. др Зорица Никитовић, а који је реализован током 2022. године. Рукопис *Босанске лекаруше* рашчитала је сарадник на пројекту, тада студент четврте године на Студијском програму српског језика и књижевности, Анастасија Марић.

Будући да то до сада није урађено⁴, циљ овог истраживања јесте да се опишу фонетске особине наведене лекаруше.

Фонетске и граматичке црте у предвуковској епоси варираше су од писца до писца, па је уобичајено да се и код истог писца у оквиру истог дјела срећу различита фонетска, морфолошка или творбена рјешења (Milanović, 2010:p.97). Пошто се Лекаруша датира у XVIII вијек, када није постојао кодификовани језик, на плану фонетике очекује се нестабилан и неуједначен систем који је карактеристичан за старосрпски језик тог периода, уз преовладавање одлика народног језика.

Ова анализа представља прилог истраживању споменика исписаних народним језиком са територије историјске Босне и Херцеговине.

2. Фонетске особине

2. 1. Вокализација полугласника

2.1.1. У Лекаруши је потврђено само дебело јер које представља писарски манир и нема гласовну вриједност. На мјесту прасловенских јаких полугласника долази рефлекс /а/, карактеристичан за већину српских народних говора (*за данъ* (1, 1), *пасъ* (11, 30) и сл.).

а) Када су у питању приједлози и префикси, закључујемо да се срећу оба облика приједлога *съ-, забиљежена графемама <с> и <са>. Прва варијанта користи се испред самогласника: *с оцтомъ* (29, 93) и *с њле(м)* (21, 68) и сугласника: *с виномъ* (13, 35), *с водомъ* (14, 40), *с новомъ жъчи* (22, 71), *с мѡжемъ* (23, 75), *с номъ* (24, 79). У једном примјеру је испред звучног сугласника /д/ забиљежен алофон /з/ умјесто /с/: *здобримъ ѡцтомъ* (1, 1). Испред струјних сугласника користи се варијанта /са/, осим у неким изузецима. Приједлог /са/ потврђен је испред ријечи које почињу самогласницима /с/ и /ж/: *са соли* (1, 1), *са собомъ* (24, 77), *са женом* (25, 80; 27, 87), али се среће и примјер (*с*) *житким ѡцтомъ* (3, 6). Префикс *съ- јавља се у облицима /с-/: *смиешаи* (3, 6), *стопивъ* (3, 7), *стари* (*га како прахъ*) (5, 12), *сраслога* (24, 77) и /са-/: *сатари* (9, 23) и *састати* (25, 80).

б) Приједлог *къ- забиљежен је само у једном примјеру: *к нои* (1, 1), док приједлог /ка/ није кориштен.

⁴Босанску лекарушу истраживала је проф. др Исидора Бјелаковић. Она је са лексичког аспекта поредила терминологију из области медицине (посматране у најширем смислу) из три рукописне лекаруше настале у Босни током XVIII и XIX вијека са лекарушама насталим на територији Јужне Угарске (в. Bjelaković, 2018).

в) Префикс *јѣз- потврђен је у облицима /иза-/ и /из-/. У примјерима гдје коријен почиње фонемом /ж/ или /ш/, кориштен је облик /иза-/: *изаждѣ* (4, 10), *изажети* (19, 57), *изашила* (30, 94), а испред осталих сугласника облик /из-/: *изведи* (15, 43), *избиа* (22, 72), *извади* (23, 75). Аломорф овог префикса /ис-/ илуструју примјери: *истѣци* (1, 1), *истѣци* (7, 17), *истопи* (15, 42), *ископаи* (16, 45), гдје се не среће /а/ на крају префикса.

г) За разлику од других текстова из овог периода (Mladenović, 1964:p.53; Jović, 2017:pp.42–43), у тексту *Босанске љекаруше* потврђени су само облици приједлога *вѣ- и префикса *вѣ- и *вѣз- у духу народног језика: 8 *винѣ* (2, 3), 8 *води* (7, 14); 8*хвати* (27, 87), 8*зми* (1, 1; 3, 6) и сл.

2. 2. Рефлекси јата

Графема <ѣ> није дио словног система *Босанске љекаруше*. На мјесту етимолошког јата јављају се (и)јекавски и икавски рефлекси и у основи ријечи и у флексији, док је екавски рефлекс потврђен само у основи. У првом случају рефлекс јата биљежен је графемском секвенцом <ие> и графемом <е>, док је у другом случају биљежен графемом <и>. У неколико примјера потврђен је екавски рефлекс кратког јата биљежен графемом <е>.

2. 2. 1. Рефлекси дугог јата

2. 2. 1. 1. Ијекавски рефлекс дугог јата посвједочен је у сљедећим позицијама: а) у основи и б) у наставцима.

а) [/ĕ/ ≡ <ие>] *приесну* (1, 1), *примиешаи* (1, 1), *смиешаиѣ* (1, 1), *тиестѣ* (1, 1), *биеломѣ* (3, 7), *млека* (4, 10), *приешка* (5, 11), *биесна* (5, 12), *миешаи* (7, 18), *млеку* (8, 20), *цело* (17, 49), *млеко* (17, 50), *лиек* (18, 54), *биеле* (27, 86), *лиечити се* (30, 94) и др.;

[/ĕ/ ≡ <е>] *стенам* (3, 6), *корена* (3, 7)⁵, *млека* (4, 10; 12, 33), *коренѣ* (14, 39);

За означавање ијекавског рефлекса дугог јата у основи ријечи користи се и графемска секвенца <ие> и графема <е>, која је употребљена у свега три примјера за биљежење групе /ије/. С обзиром на то да се ови облици не разликују по квантитету јата и да се неке ријечи биљеже и графемском секвенцом

⁵У *Старословенском рјечнику* (по рукописима из X и XI вијека) старословенски облик за ријеч коријен је *коренѣ* (ген. *коренѣ*), а прасловенски *коѣнѣ*, из чега видимо да графема јат није била дио словног састава ове ријечи и да је у питању етимолошко /е/ (Ceytlin, 1994:p.291), тј. да је ријеч о псеудојатизму.

<ие> и графемом <е> (*млека* (4, 10) / *млека* (4, 10)), може се закључити да графема <е> има у наведеним облицима исту гласовну вриједност као и графемски низ <ие>, те да се овим ортографским рјешењима означава ијскавски рефлекс дугог јата.

б) [/ē/ ≡ <ие> И јд. тврде замјеничко-придјевске промјене] *црвениемъ* (2, 1), *биелиемъ* (13, 35), *неварением* (18, 52);

[/ē/ ≡ <ие> А дв. тврде замјеничке деклинације женског рода] *две капле* (25, 81).

2. 2. 1. 2. Икавски рефлекс дугог јата посвједочен је у основи ријечи (а) и у наставцима (б).

а) [/ē/ ≡ <и>] *полививши* (9, 23), *тистомъ* (9, 23), *наливаи* (19, 55), *млика* (20, 60), *бисан* (21, 67);

б) [/ē/ ≡ <и> И јд. тврде замјеничко-придјевске промјене] *добримъ* (1, 1), *тим* (9, 23), *свимъ* (14, 38), *оним* (16, 44), *онимъ* (18, 53);

[/ē/ ≡ <и> Г мн. тврде замјеничко-придјевске промјене] *колиновихъ* (18, 51), *неколикихъ* (28, 90), *зовови* (16, 45);

[/ē/ ≡ <и> А дв. тврде замјеничке деклинације женског рода] *две чести* (1, 1).

2. 2. 1. 3. Могуће је да је у сљедећим примјерима потврђен екавски рефлекс дугог јата: 8 *стенам* (3, 6) и *раздреши* (15, 41). Међутим, не можемо одбацити могућност да је аутор рукописа у овим примјерима писао графему <е> да би означио ијскавски рефлекс јата.

2. 2. 2. Рефлекси кратког јата

2. 2. 2. 1. Рефлекс кратког јата /je/ биљежен је графемом <е>. С обзиром на то да се и у другим примјерима графема <е> користи за биљежење групе /je/, уобичајено је да се тако биљежи и рефлекс кратког јата⁶. Потврђени су примјери у основи ријечи (а) и у наставцима (б).

(а) [/ē/ ≡ <е>] *лекариа* (3, 6), *трпети* (4, 8), *детичаъ* (4, 10), *осенъ* (5, 11), *лекарие* (5, 12), *примесе* (6, 13), *отечъ* (6, 13), *беланица* (7, 17), *деца* (13, 35), *слеа* (13, 36), *детичъ* (14, 39), *девоика* (14, 39), *човек* (16, 45);

⁶ Исти начин биљежења рефлекса кратког јата потврђен је у средњовјековним исправама, на примјер код дијака Ивана у повељама средњовјековне властеле Павловића (1397–1454), док је, као и у овом рукопису, рефлекс дугог јата биљежен графемском секвенцом <ие>. Претпоставља се да је у говору дијака Ивана постојала фонолошка разлика између континуанта дугог и кратког јата (Pavlović, 2018:pp.36–37).

[/ě/ ≡ <je>] *вјерујеш* (12, 33);

[/ě/ ≡ <a>] *ѡраѡва* (5, 11), *ѡраѡхове* (10, 27);

б) [/ě/ ≡ <e> у Л мн. именице средњег рода *pluralia tantum*] у *прсех* (20, 60).

2. 2. 2. 2. Икавска рефлексација кратког јата забиљежена је у сљедећим случајевима: а) у форми прилога: *посли* (16, 45), *ди* (4, 8);

б) у дативу једине именица на -а: *жени* (13, 35; 23, 74; 24, 79), *богородици* (30, 94); в) у локативу једине именица на -а: *на зими* (3, 7), *8 слами* (6, 13), *8 води* (6, 14; 12, 33; 18, 51; 20, 61), *у мврици* (17, 50); г) испред о насталог од л: *диѡ* (7, 15).

2. 2. 2. 3. У појединим примјерима уочено је „неутрализовано јат” иза групе сугласника у којој је посљедњи /р/ (Rešikan et al., 1994:p.126). У таквим примјерима графема <e> има гласовну вриједност /e/: а) у основи ријечи: *крепости* (14, 39), *до времена* (22, 72); б) код префикса *пред-*: *преднега* (23, 74).

Екавски рефлекс јата уочен је и тамо гдје је дошло до неутрализације префикса *не-* у неодређеним замјеничким ријечима (умјесто архаичног *ње-*): *неколико* (3, 7), *неколикихъ* (28, 90).

2.3. Вокално /р/

У текстовима из овог периода постоје бројни примјери са руским рефлексима вокалног /р/, јер се потискивање ових облика на рачун оних са српским рефлексима скоро у потпуности дешава тек у XIX вијеку (в. Milanović, 2010:p.96). Мада је потврђен и један руски рефлекс: *терпети* (12, 33), у овом тексту преовладавају облици вокалног /р/ са српским фонетизмом:

наипрво (1, 1), *црвениемъ* (2, 2), *зрно* (2, 2), *крвъ* (3, 5), *крсти* (4, 8), *трпети* (4, 8), *(з)грчиле* (4, 9), *црнога* (5, 11), *прсію* (5, 11), *жрванъ* (5, 12), *срца* (8, 20), *кртицъ* (10, 26), *врх* (13, 37).

У ријечи *твердъ* (28, 90) /e/ је руски рефлекс вокализованог јаког полу-гласника у групи **тъrt*. У јужнословенској групи језика у групама **тъrt*, **тъlt*, **тъrt*, **тъlt* јерови су се изгубили и на тај начин добијено је чисто вокално /р/ и /л/ (Bošković, 1990:pp.51–53).

Код примјера *дерво* (12, 33) и *сме(р)чеве* (4, 8) није дошло до метатезе лик-вида у групи **tert*.

2. 4. Судбина финалног /-л/

Пред крај XIV вијека сугласничко /-л/ на крају слога и на крају ријечи у новоштокавским говорима почиње прелазити у /-о/ (Belić, 2006:p.74). У тексту анализиране љекаруше финално /-л/ нигдје није потврђено, већ је у свим примјерима дало /-о/:

- а) код именица у номинативу једнине: *диш* (7, 15), *ижегаш* (9, 24), *сзаш* (15, 41) и
- б) код радног глаголског придјева у мушком роду у једнини: *оздравиш* (2, 2), *отргаш* (13, 37), *имаш* (29, 93), *наквтиш* (30, 94), *давао* (2, 2) и *срастао* (13, 37).

2. 5. Остале појаве у вези са вокалима

а) покретни вокал /е/:

- код везника *тере* (6, 13; 10, 27; 11, 31; 11, 32 и др.), поред примјера без вокала /е/: *тер* (3, 7; 15, 43; 16, 44 и др.) и *теръ* (4, 10; 5, 12);
- код прилога/ријечце *ице* (30, 94) и *оце* (13, 36), поред: *иц* (29, 93);

б) колебање између вокала /у/ и /о/: (у) *ютро* (5, 11), *поред њ ютрѧ* и *веч(ер)* (7, 15), *ѧ ютрѧ* (11, 32), (15, 42); *свиши* (10, 27) умјесто *осуши*; *шбоде* (28, 89) умјесто *убоде*;

в) употреба /и/ умјесто /а/ код архаичнијег облика прилога *дости* (23, 74) умјесто *доста*;

г) одступање од сажимања вокала у одричном облику глагола *имати* у трећем лицу једнине: *неима* (14, 39; 15, 41; 23, 75), а у два примјера се пише растављено: *не има* (23, 74; 23, 75).

д) прелазак *љ у /у/ на почетку ријечи: *љнена семена* (18, 54).

ђ) елизија⁷ вокала /о/ у писању замјеница *који* и *што* и замјеничких прилога *гдје* и *како* са замјеницом *оно*: *коино* (5, 12; 22, 70), *котано* (4, 8; 13, 37; 27, 85), *коено* (24, 77), *ицоно* (3, 6; 24, 78; 29, 93), *каконо* (1, 1; 4, 8; 6, 13; 6, 14; 12, 33; 20, 63; 28, 90), *гдено* (30, 94).

⁷ Иако се под елизијом најчешће сматра губљење првог вокала када се они нађу један до другог, Н. Рамић, у вези с уклањањем хијата, под елизијом разматра и губљење другог вокала (Ramić, 1999:p.40).

2. 6. Сугласник /х/

Сугласник /х/ у већини српских народних говора постаје нестабилан од краја XVI до средине XVIII вијека (Belić, 2006:р.96). У овој љекаруши употреба фонеме /х/ уочена је у свим позицијама у ријечи, али уз одређена колебања.

У иницијалној позицији фонема /х/ среће се у сљедећим примјерима: *хоче* (6, 14; 8, 19; 12, 33; 12, 34; 24, 79; 28, 90), *хаптовине* (20, 62). Одсуство фонеме /х/ уочено је само у сљедећим примјерима: *оче* (16, 45) и *оче* (24, 78).

У медијалној позицији ова фонема среће се чешће него у осталим позицијама и то у сљедећим примјерима: *задџхе* (5, 11; 8, 22), *доходи* (5, 12), *сџхе* (8, 22), *ххвати* (9, 23), *враихове* (10, 27), *михирџ* (11, 31), *сџха* (14, 39), *сџхе* (14, 40), *малахна* (17, 50), *гљхоче* (23, 76), *дџхана* (26, 84), *грахово* (26, 84), *закџџха(ј)* (28, 90). У овој позицији фонема /х/ није биљежена у сљедећим примјерима: *враџва* (5, 11), *меирџ* (14, 40), *праџм* (16, 44), *џити* (23, 75; 24, 77). У свим наведеним примјерима фонема /х/ се губи између два вокала. Иако у примјеру *враџва* (5, 11) није забиљежена, само неколико редова касније она се биљежи: *враџхове* (10, 27)⁸. Ријеч *праџм* (16, 44) налази се у истој реченици као и ријеч *праџџ* (16, 44), али се /х/ у овом примјеру чува. Ипак, као што се види из наведених примјера, у већем броју случајева фонема /х/ чува се у медијалној позицији.

У финалној позицији фонема /х/ посвједочена је у сљедећим примјерима: *врх* (13, 37), *гљх* (19, 55), 8 *прсех* (20, 60), *гљх* (23, 76). С обзиром на то да графема <џ> нема гласовну вриједност у другој половини 18. вијека и да представља писарски манир, и за сљедеће примјере можемо рећи да чувају фонему /х/ у финалној позицији: *рџџџџџ* (4, 9), *ногџџџџџ* (4, 9), *праџџ* (5, 12; 12, 33; 16, 44), *колиновихџ* (18, 51), *ногџџџџџ* (27, 85), *трџџџџџ* (28, 89), *неколикихџ* (28, 90). Једини примјер у коме се фонема /х/ губи је *зовови* (16, 45).

За поједине говоре уобичајено је да се на мјесту фонеме /х/ након њеног губљења појављује нека друга фонема (нпр. /в/, /ј/, /г/, /к/ и сл.)⁹. Најчешће се то дешавало у медијалној позицији, гдје се након губљења ове фонеме стварао хијат, али је посвједочено и у иницијалној и финалној позицији. Међутим, у тексту *Босанске љекаруше* нису забиљежени такви примјери. Једини примјер у којем је могућ покушај замјене другом фонемом јесте ријеч *сџхе* (14, 40).

⁸ Иста нестабилност фонеме /х/ уочена је и у *Тештеру хаџи Гавра* (1684–1751) (Bjelaković, 2021:р.388), а у сличним позицијама /х/ се угуби и у путопису *Поклоњеније гробу Господњу* (Jović, 2017:р.51).

⁹ Замјена /х/ са /к/ и /ф/ потврђена је у дјелима Јована Рајића (Mladenović, 1964:р.77). Замјена /х/ са /в/, /ј/ и /ф/ потврђена је у штампаним дјелима Павла Соларића (Babić, 2012:рр.106–107).

2. 7. Јотовања

а) Старословенски и српскословенски рефлекс */шт/* и */жд/* нису потврђени као резултати старог јотовања група **tj* и **dj*. У анализираним примјерима потврђен је само штокавски рефлекс */ћ/*: *за нощъ* (1, 1), *ѡд велике немоч(и)* (2, 2), *ѡче* (16, 45), *хоче* (24, 79), *печъ* (16, 44);

б) ново јотовање: *тречъ* (1, 1), али се не врши у примјерима присвојног придјева на *-ији*: *ѡд голѡба дивега* (3, 6)¹⁰;

в) специјално јотовање потврђено је у примјеру: *докле проче* (27, 85).

2. 8. Сугласничке скупине *шт/шћ, жд/жђ*

Рефлекси старијих скупина **st` (\*sk`)*, **zd` (\*zg`)* у *Босанској љекаруши* своде се на */шт/* и */жд/*, што је још једна особина штокавске скупине говора (Ресо, 1989:р.39), а рефлекси */шћ/* и */жђ/* нису потврђени: а) */шт/*: *звѡцѡра* (16, 44), *бриѡтана* (6, 14), *ѡлѡшти* (27, 88), *наѡце* (8, 20), *ѡѡце* (13, 36), *ѡѡц* (29, 93); б) */жд/*: *изаждѡ* (4, 10).

2. 9. Сугласничке групе */чр-/*, */вс-/* и */чт-/*

Ове сугласничке групе потврђене су у појединим примјерима у другим рукописима из XVIII вијека писаним народним језиком, иако и у њима налазимо народне облике */чр-/*, */вс-/* и */шт-/* (в. Јовић, 2017:рр.55–56). Међутим, у *Босанској љекаруши* потврђени су само народни облици ових сугласничких група.

Група */чр-/* умјесто српскословенске варијанте */чр-/* једна је од општих особина штокавских говора (Ивић, 1985:р.17; Ресо, 1989:рр.37–38). Као што је већ речено, потврде су пронађене само за народну варијанту: *с црвениемъ вином* (2, 4), *црнога пелина* (5, 11), *у црвеномъ винѡ* (11, 32), *ѡд ѡвѡце црне* (19, 58) и др. Идентична ситуација је и са сугласничком групом */вс-/*, која је забиљежена само у народном облику */св-/*: *све* (9, 23; 26, 84), *свимъ* (14, 38), *сваке мѡке* (30, 94), као и са групом */чт-/*, која је посвједочена само у облику */шт-/*: *ѡѡ* (2, 2), *ѡѡно* (3, 6), *заѡѡ* (14, 39).

¹⁰ Н. Рамић наводи да су у ливањско-дувањском говорном типу придјеви типа *дивљи* на *-ији*, те да у таквим примјерима не долази до јотовања, нпр. *дивија* (Рамић, 1999:р.329).

2. 10. Остале појаве у вези са сугласницима

Међу општештокавским промјенама у сугласничким групама примијећене су:

а) асимилација по звучности: *здобримъ ѿцтомъ* (1, 1), *раствка(в)иши* (2, 2), *растопи* (4, 8), *ископаш* (16, 45), *распасти* (12, 33), *истваци* (18, 51), *згрие* (26, 84), као и њено изостајање: *ѿдчинице се* (13, 37), *ѿбчинен* (25, 83), *вребца* (24, 77);

б) асимилација по мјесту творбе: *кѡпѡишакъ* (10, 28);

в) асимилација по звучности: *ѡтогаиъ* (2, 3), *ѡ тога* (3, 6), *ѡтога* (11, 30), *ѡ тогаи* (22, 72), *ѡтогаѿ* (23, 76), *ѡ тога* (30, 94);

г) дисимилација: *не сѡмлаиъ* (12, 33), *црленого листа* (19, 58);

д) губљење сугласника:

- губљење сугласника /х/ (примјере в. у 2. 5),
- губљење сугласника /в/: *ѿд еверице* (28, 90),
- губљење сугласника /г/: *ди* (4, 8),
- губљење сугласника /д/ у приједлогу /од/: *ѡ змие* (2, 2), *ѡтогаиъ* (2, 3), *ѡбожѡра* (14, 39), *ѡ запоѡа* (17, 49), *ѡ голѡба* (23, 73), *ѡ поганице* (25, 82), *ѡ зелие* (29, 92), *ѡ сваца ѿ сваке мѡке* (30, 94), *ѡ тога* (3, 6), *ѡтога* (11, 30), *ѡ тогаи* (22, 72);
- сонант /ј/ губи се у другом лицу једнине императива у одређеним примјерима: *привиѡ* (1, 1) и *ѡми* (13, 36);

ђ) метатеза сугласника: према старијем *кѡто* у анализираном тексту јавља се, осим облика *ко* (3, 5; 8, 20; 15, 42 и др.), и облик *тко* (11, 32; 17, 46; 23, 76);

е) језички ротацизам /ж/ у /р/:

- *морешъ* (4, 8; 6, 13; 6, 14), *море* (7, 15), *мореш* (11, 29; 12, 33) и сл., иако су потврђени и примјери са /ж/, који су у мањини: *не може* (3, 5; 7, 15; 25, 80) и *може* (9, 23); *тер* (3, 7), *теръ* (4, 10; 5, 12), *тере* (6, 13; 7, 15; 10, 26) и *ер* (17, 47);

ж) африкатизација: *ѡ цакло* (24, 79), *ѿд цабла* (13, 37);

з) алтернација /к/ у /ц/ испред /и/ у примјеру: *тере вари ѡ винѡ тере завиѡи млацимъ* (12, 33)¹¹.

¹¹ Резултати палатализације велара уклоњени су у овој категорији у народном језику (Belić, 2006:р.107). Сличне примјере у којима се чува ова гласовна промјена налазимо и у сарајевским писмима из XVII и XVIII вијека (Jović, 2018:р.204).

3. Закључак

Фонетске одлике *Босанске љекаруше* припадају прије свега српском народном језику, чији је удио веома висок због ниже жанровске припадности текста. Осим тога, поједине фонетске одлике припадају рускословенском језику.

Општије српске народне фонетске црте анализиране љекаруше јесу рефлекс /у/ приједлога *въ- и префикса *въ- и *въз-: *8 вин8* (2, 3), *8хвати* (27, 87), *8зми* (1, 1); вокално /р/ са српским фонетизмом: *наипрво* (1, 1), *црвениемъ* (2, 2), *зрно* (2, 2); употреба покретних вокала /е/ и /у/: *тере* (6, 13); прелаз финалног /л/ у /о/: *диw* (7, 15), *оздравиw* (2, 2); губљење сугласника /х/: *wраwва* (5, 11), *праwм* (16, 44); сугласник /ћ/ као резултат старог јотовања дентала /т/: *за ночъ* (1, 1), *wче* (16, 45); вршење новог и специјалног јотовања: *тречъ* (1, 1), *докле проче* (27, 85); промјене у сугласничким групама (асимилација, дисимилација, африкатизација, губљење сугласника).

Рефлекс дугог јата углавном је ијекавски, а потврђен је и икавски те (можда) екавски у примјеру: *8 стенам* (3, 6). Кратко јат најчешће има јекавску замјену, у неколико примјера икавску и екавску у групи /ре/ и у префиксу /не-/ у неодређеним замјеничким ријечима. Рускословенске фонетске особине тичу се мањег броја примјера са рускословенском вокализацијом полугласника *твердъ* (28, 90) и рефлексом вокалног /р/ *терпети* (12, 33).

Неке од специфичних особина ове љекаруше јесу чување резултата палатализације велара у примјеру гдје је ова промјена уклоњена у народном језику *тере вари 8 вин8 тере завиаи* млацимъ (12, 33); према старијем *кѣто* јавља се облик *тко* (11, 32); одступање од новог јотовања у примјеру присвојног пријева на -ији: *wд голѣба дивега* (3, 6); прелазак *љ у /у/ на почетку ријечи: *8нена семена* (18, 54); одступање од сажимања вокала у одричном облику глагола *имати* у трећем лицу јединине: *неима* (14, 39); елизија вокала /о/ у писању замјеница *који* и *што* те замјеничких прилога *гдје* и *како* са замјеницом *оно*: *коино* (5, 12), *щоно* (3, 6), *гдено* (30, 94), *каконо* (4, 8).

Досадашња анализа пружила је основу за сагледавање језичких особина рукописа *Босанске љекаруше*, али она остаје први корак у ширем истраживању. Сљедећи корак јесте анализира морфолошких одлика текста како би се стекао бољи увид у језичке карактеристике и упливе одлика других језика (српскословенског, руског и сл.). За доношење поузданијих и свеобухватнијих закључака неопходно је упоредити овај рукопис са другим рукописима из истог периода. Најприје би ваљало размотрити дјела истог жанра јер ће она омогућити уочавање заједничких црта и могућих одступања. Потом би требало

да се истраживање прошири и на друге текстове писане српским народним језиком са територије историјске Херцеговине и Босне. Такав поступак омогућио би шире сагледавање не само језика рукописа, већ и развоја језичких токова у којима је настао.

На крају напомињемо и сљедеће. Структура ексерпиране грађе није нам дала поуздане изоглосе на основу којих бисмо прецизније или конкретно одредили говорни тип који налазимо у датој љекаруши. Та чињеница даје нам за право и да опрезно разматрамо Романову претпоставку о аутору љекаруше и његовом језику (в. т. 1. 2). Наиме, литература коју доносе описи наших говора са простора Босне и Херцеговине указује на факат да интерференција између различитих говорних типова може показивати управо супротно од оног што закључује Романо, те је на овом мјесту најреалније остати на констатацији презентованих чињеница, а прецизније закључке тражити након евентуалне компарације са неким корпусом сродне грађе богатијим од оног који је био предмет наше анализе.

Извори

1. *Босанска љекаруша (Помоча од сваке болести кои има)*, друга половина 18. века. Архив САНУ, Етнографска збирка 236-1-6, 30 стр.
2. *Босанска љекаруша (Помоча од сваке болести кои има)*, рашчитала Анастасија Марић

Литература

1. Белић, А. (2006 [1956]) *Историја српског језика. Фонетика. Речи са деклинацијом. Речи с конјугацијом. Изабрана дела Александра Белића* (пр. А. Младеновић), четврти том, Београд, Завод за уџбенике и наставна средства.
2. Бјелаковић, И. (2018) Медицинска терминологија у трима лекарушама из Босне (XVIII И XIX век). *Српско писано насљеђе и историја средњовјековне Босне и Хума*, 175–195.
3. Бјелаковић, И. (2021) Језик Тефтера хаџи Гавра (1684–1751). *Српско писано насљеђе и историја средњовјековне Босне, Хума и Травуније*, 379–399.
4. Бојанин, С. (2012) Лечење биљем у средњовековној Србији. Основни преглед. *Годишњак за друштвену историју*. Год. 19, св. 1, 7–34.
5. Ивић, П. (1985) *Дијалектологија српскохрватског језика. Увод и итокавско наречје. Друго издање*. Нови Сад, Матица српска.
6. Јовић, Н. (2017) *О језику путописа Поклоњеније гробу Господњу (1734) Андреја Петковића*. Ниш: Центар за црквене студије.

7. Јовић, Н. (2018) Српскословенске одлике језика сарајевских писама из XVII и XVIII века. *Српско писано наслеђе и историја средњовековне Босне и Хума*, 195–215.
8. Катић, Р. (1958) *Медицина код Срба у средњем веку. Посебна издања*. СССХ, књига 12. Београд, САНУ, Одељење медицинских наука.
9. Катић, Р. (1990) *Медицински списи ходошког зборника. Избор*. Београд, Народна библиотека Србије.
10. Милановић, А. (2010) *Кратка историја српског књижевног језика*. Београд, Завод за уџбенике.
11. Младеновић, А. (1964) *О народном језику Јована Рајића*. Нови Сад, Матица српска.
12. Павловић, С. (2018) Фонолошке одлике српских повеља средњовековне властеле Павловића. *Српско писано наслеђе и историја средњовековне Босне и Хума*, 25–49.
13. Пешикан, М., Јован Ј., Мато П. (1994) Правопис српског језика. I. Правила и њихови основи. II. Речник уз правопис. Нови Сад, Матица српска.
14. Рамић, Н. (1999) Ливањско-дувањски говорни тип. *Српски дијалектолошки зборник*. XLVI, 263–426.
15. Цейтлин, Р. М., Радослав В., Эмилия Б. (1994) *Старославянский словарь (по рукописям X-XI веков)*. Москва, Русский язык.
16. Ресо, А. (1989) *Pregled srpskohrvatskih dijalekata. Četvrto izdanje*. Beograd, Naučna knjiga.
17. Romano, J. (1973) *Jugoslovenska bibliografija lekara i narodnih medicinskih rukopisa*. Beograd, Naučno društvo za istoriju zdravstvene kulture Jugoslavije.
18. Siraisi, N. G. (1990) *Medieval and early Renaissance medicine: an introduction to knowledge and practice*. Chicago–London, The University of Chicago Press.

Georgina B. Šipovac
University of Banja Luka
Faculty of Philology
Department of Serbian Studies

**PHONETIC AND PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES OF
BOSANSKA LJEKARUŠA (POMOĆA OD SVAKE BOLESTI KOI
IMA) FROM THE 18TH CENTURY**

Summary

This paper presents the phonetic and phonological features of *Bosanska Ljekaruša (Pomoć od svake bolesti koi ima)* from 18th century. Ljekaruša is a term that refers to folk remedy books which usually contain plant-based medical recipes and verbal healing practices such as prayers, incantations and

amulets. This manuscript is preserved in the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade. *Bosanska Ljekaruša* was found in Bosnia, from which it derives its geographically motivated name. The manuscript consists of 30 pages and it includes recipes for the treatment of 47 human ailments and one ailment affecting domestic animals. Research demonstrates that the phonetic features of the Bosnian *ljekaruša* primarily correspond to the Serbian vernacular, and that, in addition, certain phonetic features are characteristics of the Russian Church Slavonic language. This is best illustrated by the fact that the preposition *въ- and the prefixes *въ- и *въз- have the reflex /u/; vocalic /r/ exhibits Serbian phonetic features; final /l/ shifts to /o/; the consonant /h/ is lost in some instances; the results of Old iotation show the dental /t/ as /č/. The reflex of the long *yat* is predominantly ijekavian, although ikavian and (possibly) ekavian reflexes are also attested. The short *yat* most frequently shows a jekavian reflex, except in the group /re/ and in the prefix /ne-/ in indefinite pronominal forms. Russian Church Slavonic features are less frequent and primarily concern the Russian Church Slavonic vocalization of semi-vowels and the reflex of vocalic /r/. In conclusion, the structure of the excerpted material does not provide reliable isoglosses on the basis of which the speech type present here could be precisely determined.

► **Key words:** *Bosanska Ljekaruša*, phonetic and phonological features, vernacular language, reflexes of *yat*, Russian Church Slavonic phonetic features.

Sources

1. Bosanska Ljekaruša (Pomoča od svake bolesti koi ima), druga polovina 18. veka. Arhiv SANU, Etnografska zbirka 236-1-6, 30 str.
2. Bosanska Ljekaruša (Pomoča od svake bolesti koi ima), raščitala Anastasija Marić

References

1. Belić, A. (2006 [1956]) *Istorija srpskog jezika. Fonetika. Reči sa deklinacijom. Reči s konjugacijom. Izabrana dela Aleksandra Belića* (pr. A. Mladenović), četvrti tom, Beograd, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva.
2. Bjelaković, I. (2018) Medicinska terminologija u trima lekarušama iz Bosne (XVIII i XIX vek). *Srpsko pisano nasljeđe i istorija srednjovjekovne Bosne i Huma*, 175–195.
3. Bjelaković, I. (2021) Jezik Teftera hadži Gavra (1684–1751). *Srpsko pisano nasljeđe i istorija srednjovjekovne Bosne, Huma i Travunije*, 379–399.
4. Bojanin, S. (2012) Lečenje biljem u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji. Osnovni pregled. *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju*. God. 19, sv. 1, 7–34.
5. Ceytlin, R. M., Radoslav V., Emiliya B. (1994) *Staroslavjanskyy slovar (po rukopisyam X–XI vekov)*. Moskva, Russkiy yazyk.

6. Ivić, P. (1985) *Dijalektologija srpskohrvatskog jezika. Uvod i štokavsko narječje. Drugo izdanje*. Novi Sad, Matica srpska.
7. Jović, N. (2017) *O jeziku putopisa Poklonjenije grobu Gospodnju (1734) Andreja Petkovića*. Niš: Centar za crkvene studije.
8. Jović, N. (2018) Srpskoslovenske odlike jezika sarajevskih pisama iz XVII i XVIII veka. *Srpsko pisano nasljeđe i istorija srednjovjekovne Bosne i Huma*, 195–215.
9. Katić, R. (1958) *Medicina kod Srba u srednjem veku. Posebna izdanja*. SSSH, knjiga 12. Beograd, SANU, Odeljenje medicinskih nauka.
10. Katić, R. (1990) *Medicinski spisi hodoškog zbornika. Izbor*. Beograd, Narodna biblioteka Srbije.
11. Milanović, A. (2010) *Kratka istorija srpskog književnog jezika*. Beograd, Zavod za udžbenike.
12. Mladenović, A. (1964) *O narodnom jeziku Jovana Rajića*. Novi Sad, Matica srpska.
13. Pavlović, S. (2018) Fonološke odlike srpskih povelja srednjovekovne vlastela Pavlovića. *Srpsko pisano nasljeđe i istorija srednjovjekovne Bosne i Huma*, 25–49.
14. Peco, A. (1989) *Pregled srpskohrvatskih dijalekata. Četvrto izdanje*. Beograd, Naučna knjiga.
15. Pešikan, M., Jovan J., Mato P. (1994) *Pravopis srpskoga jezika. I. Pravila i njihovi osnovi. II. Rečnik uz pravopis*. Novi Sad, Matica srpska.
16. Ramić, N. (1999) Livanjsko-duvanjski govorni tip. *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*. XLVI, 263–426.
17. Romano, J. (1973) *Jugoslovenska bibliografija lekaraša i narodnih medicinskih rukopisa*. Beograd, Naučno društvo za istoriju zdravstvene kulture Jugoslavije.
18. Siraisi, N. G. (1990) *Medieval and early Renaissance medicine: an introduction to knowledge and practice*. Chicago–London, The University of Chicago Press.

Преузето: 30. 9. 2025.
Корекције: 21. 11. 2025.
Прихваћено: 1. 12. 2025.



КЪИЖЕВНОСТ

Игор М. Симановић¹
Универзитет у Бањалуци
Филолошки факултет
Студијски програм српског језика и књижевности

АНДРИЋ И КЈЕРКЕГОР: ИРОНИЈСКО ОБЛИКОВАЊЕ ЛИКА АЛИЈЕ ЂЕРЗЕЛЕЗА (СА СТАЛНИМ ОСВРТОМ НА СОКРАТА)

Апстракт: *У раду се анализира Андрићева рана приповијетка Пут Алије Ђерзелеза (1920) из перспективе филозофских поставки данског филозофа Серена Кјеркегора, који се редовно узима као један од битнијих узора који су, у одређеној мјери, утицали на формирање његовог књижевног опуса. С обзиром на то да се до сада углавном тај утицај препознавао и показивао на Андрићевим поетским збиркама (Ех Ponto, Немири), што је и сам писац истицао као неспорну чињеницу, овдје се настоји тај оквир сродности са Кјеркегором показати и на прозном првијенцу, који је фактички открио и најавио Андрићев огромни стваралачки потенцијал. Конкретно, иронијска транспозиција фолклорног лика Алије Ђерзелеза темељи се на Кјеркегоровој капиталној расправи – О појму ироније (са сталним освртом на Сократа), при чему се не испушта из вида ни Или – или. Дакле, овдје није ријеч о томе да се Кјеркегор механички учита у Андрићев текст, већ да се, у маниру праве компаратистике, омогући шире сагледавање везе између два мислиоца, повезана врло блиским начином исказивања властите визије свијета и човјекове егзистенције у њему, што је резултирало врхунским књижевним јунаком.*

Кључне ријечи: *иронија, Сократ, Иво Андрић, Серен Кјеркегор, Алија Ђерзелез, маска, напетост, дезинтеграција.*

¹ igor.simanovic@ff.unibl.org

Увод: Андрић и Кјеркегор

Однос Иве Андрића и Серена Кјеркегора у нашој књижевнокритичкој литератури, која се првенствено бавила пишчевим духовним формирањем и многобројним узорима који су се укључивали у постепено обликовање Андрићеве оригиналне књижевне визије свијета и човјека у њему, препознат је и назначен. Полазећи од чињенице да је Андрић дошао у додир са Кјеркегором још прије Првог свјетског рата,² те да Андрићеве биографи, редом, понављају податак да је филозофска расправа *Или – или* вјерно пратила писца кроз тамничке дане: ‘У Сплиту, када је ухапшен, иследник – неки млад Бечлија, дозволиће му да пошаље послужитеља да му из пансиона где је био одсео, донесе нешто одеће и књига. У тај завежљај, који му је опремила у затвор, газдарица ће му ставити насумце и те две књиге које су се нашле на столу – Кјеркегорово *Или ... или*. Из сплитског затвора, где су им обично одузимали књиге, захваљујући доброј вољи једног стражара, Андрић ће успети да извуче ово дело из магацина, где су им држали одузете ствари, и од њега се неће више одвајати током свих својих наредних тамница’ (Karaulac, 1980:p.112).³ Много већи проблем представља дефинисање нивоа утицаја који је Кјеркегор извршио на Андрића. Како је и сам наводио, Кјеркегор је засигурно утицао на његове ране поетске збирке, *Ex Ponto* и *Немире*,⁴ али је сматрао преувеличаним ставове критичара који су његово духовно формирање покушали чвршће везати за Кјеркегора, инсистирајући на томе да су ‘народна свест и епика’ много више утицали на њега. Посебно је Андрић категоричан кад је ријеч о томе да Кјеркегор суштински није утицао на његово прозно стварање: ‘Моје је уверење да је овај Данац

²Радован Вучковић упозорава на погрешност става да је Андрић први Југословен који је открио Кјеркегора, наводећи чланак Пере Слијепчевића *Лав Толстој*, из 1912. године (дакле, двије године прије Андрићевог рада о Матошу), гдје се пореде велики руски писац и дански филозоф (Вучковић, 2011:p.47). У студији *Рани Андрић*, Мирослав Караулац подсећа на чињеницу да се почетком вијека у Њемачкој објављују Кјеркегорова сабрана дјела, те да Андрић 1913. године међу књигама које набавља долази и до Кјеркегоровог *Или – или*, ‘у два тома, штампано у Јени, веома лепо опремљено и спаковано у картонску кутију’ (Karaulac, 1980:p.111).

³Колико су књиге у том тешком периоду живота значиле Андрићу, и сам је неријетко потврђивао: ‘Мене су у мариборском казамату књиге спасиле. Да није било њих, ко зна како бих поднео тамницу’ (Jandrić, 1982:p.87).

⁴‘Што се мене тиче, не бих могао оповрћи тврдњу да нека места у *Ex Ponto* и *Немирима*, у којима се говори о стрепњи и страху душе, нису настала под извесним утицајем Кјеркегора. Али, ја сам осетио меру и време кад се треба ослободити тог утицаја. [...] Кјеркегор је одговарао мојој младој души. То је сасвим извесно, као што се мора признати да је он извршио одређен утицај на моју рану поезију. Ваља имати на уму да је Кјеркегор тада био у моди и веома омиљен код младих интелектуалаца’ (Jandrić, 1982:pp.439–440).

и данас ближи песницима него прозним писцима. То је ваљда стога што се Кјеркегор бави одређеним стањима душе, а кад је душа у питању, ту песницима морамо скинути капу' (Jandrić, 1982:p.439). Иако овдје покушава да повуче прилично ригидну границу између поетског и прозног опуса, дистанцирајући Кјеркегора од овог другог, Андрић ниједног тренутка не пориче чињеницу да управо данском филозофу дугује 'расуђивање о страху, стрепњи и премоћи зла' (Jandrić, 1982:p.439). Чини се да овдје долазимо до једне контрадикторности: ако нема потребе да посумњамо у Андрићев став кад је ријеч о утицају ових мотива на поетско обликовање раних збирки, како их је могуће искључити из прозних тематско-мотивских склопова у каснијем стваралаштву, а притом је савршено јасно и очигледно њихово присуство? Осим тога, врло је симптоматичан и Андрићев став кад је ријеч о угледању на друге писце, а што опет стоји у супротности са претходним раздвајањем Кјеркегоровог утицаја на прозни и поетски дио његовог књижевног дјела: 'Што се угледања тиче, мислим да су утицаји нужни и да нема писца који се није *снабдео* код неког узора. То је природно. У свему томе треба имати на уму да је књижевност својина света и да оно што је настало врши снажан утицај на стварање и будућа дела. Ја нисам против тога да се писац послужи позајмљеном, односно туђом метафором, описом, дијалогом, па чак и техником писања. Не треба замерити књижевнику на томе, јер нема тог писца у чијој реченици неће строг критичар открити утицај других писаца. Још једном ћу вам рећи: није то никаква срамота! Грех је бити слаб писац!' (Jandrić, 1982:p.131)⁵

Колико се Андрић *снабдио* Кјеркегором, вјероватно и несвјестан присуства кјеркегоровске филозофске осјећајности у *Путу Алије Ђерзелеза*?

С обзиром на то да је приповијетка *Пут Алије Ђерзелеза* хронолошки најближа настанку *Ex Ponta* и *Немира*, не изненађује Вучковићев став да не треба 'сувише оштро подвајати ни Андрићев приповедачки рад од песничког, особито не кад је у питању прва његова штампана приповетка [...]' (Вучковић, 2011:p.121), те без обзира на то што је ријеч о лирским дневничким записима, с једне стране, и причи о муслиманском епском јунаку с друге, ове три књиге треба посматрати у јединству, јер '*Ex Ponta* и *Немири* значили су директно лирско одсликавање песникових субјективних расположења и немира, а *Пут Алије Ђерзелеза* њихову приповедачку и ироничну објективизацију' (Вучковић, 2011:p.122). Даље, Вучковић јасно уочава и сличности у погледу употребе

⁵ Колико овдје проговара Гете (на кога се Андрић неријетко и позива), и његово увођење појма *свјетске књижевности* (weltliteratur), односно схватање књижевности као система, гдје се све појаве посматрају и прихватају у међузависности, као дио једног јединственог развојног процеса!

изражајних средстава, као и у композиционом избору триптиха који води до психолошке катарзе, како субјективне тако и катарзе јунака приче Алије Ђерзелеза. Међутим, занимљиво је да, иако у тексту о *Ex Pontu* непрекидно успоставља релације према Кјеркегору, у анализи *Пути Алије Ђерзелеза* Радован Вучковић ни на једном мјесту не функционализује ово јако добро запажање о блискости три рана Андрићева дјела, иако се, несумњиво, бројни закључци с лакоћом могу препознати и у структури приповијетке. Тако ће уочити да у *Ex Pontu* Андрић слиједи филозофску оријентацију која се наслања на Кјеркегора, а манифестује се ‘у њеном захтеву да се о стварима мисли из перспективе искустава појединачне егзистенције, а не у општим формулама’ (Вучковић, 2011:р.129); даље, блискост између Андрића и Кјеркегора препознаје и у његовом схватању модерног човјека као ‘бића у ћорсокаку, са којим је живот дошао у крајност’ (Вучковић, 2011:р.131); Кјеркегор у стилу и презентацији идеја ‘обележава пут од непосредно-емотивне перцепције доживљаја тескобе и резигнације’ до трансценденталног оптимизма, а млади пјесник не трага за коначним рјешењима већ ‘осећа тескобу личне егзистенције и варира тек могућности изласка из ње’ (Вучковић, 2011:р.134); коначно, сви облици резигнације субјекта у *Ex Pontu* – меланхолија, страх и самоћа – свој коријен црпи из кјеркегоровске осјећајности (Вучковић, 2011:рр.136–139).⁶ Још ако узмемо у обзир и општи Вучковићев став о односу Андрића према Кјеркегоровој филозофији парадокса, која му је морала бити јако блиска управо због ‘осетљиве и болне резигнације над властитим бићем и неком врстом меланхоличног, у духу католицизма одгајаном, медитирања над понором живота, у који се уплиће субјективни доживљај као превасходан’ (Вучковић, 2011:рр.48), чини се потпуно оправданим поставити питање: због чега сви ови елементи нису препознати као кјеркегоровски темељи Андрићевог књижевног обликовања фолклорног лика Алије Ђерзелеза, а претходно се, врло зналачки, указало на иманентно јединство *Ex Pontu*, *Немира* и *Пути Алије Ђерзелеза*?

Илустрације ради, наводимо један цитат из *Или* – или који савршено осликава позицију Андрићевог Ђерзелеза: ‘Када се паук баца доле са чврсте тачке у свој понор, види стално празан простор пред собом, где не може наћи чврст ослонац за ноге, ма колико се батргао. Тако пролазим и ја; видим пред собом

⁶ Наравно, сви ови елементи код Андрића су трансформисани, што опет одговара његовом изразито зрелом поимању угледања: ‘Није лоше угледати се, само човек у томе треба да зна меру и да вазда има на уму свој пут и своје опредељење. Није никаква срамота угледати се на овог или оног писца, на ово или оно дело. И Гете је то признао Екертману. Али, још једном ћу Вам рећи, треба у прави час осетити кад се морате ослободити туђег утицаја и сами испливати на обалу’ (Jandrić, 1982:р.122).

само празан простор, и што ме вуче напред, понор је који лежи иза мене. Овај живот је преокренут и ужасан да се не може издржати' (Kierkegaard, 1990:p.26). Чини се да је блискост у осјећајности, стилу и начину исказа толико изражена, да би се овај Кјеркегоров цитат могао пресадити у Андрићеву приповијетку, а да притом не изгуби ништа на својој функционалности, из простог разлога што врло сликовито исказује све елементе кјеркегоровске осјећајности претходно евидентиране у Вучковићевој анализи.

Оваје нам није намјера да претходно издвојене аспекте, који недвосмислено упућују на Кјеркегорове филозофске оквире, посебно разматрамо, из простог разлога јер су их скоро сви тумачи *Пути Алије Ђерзелеза* препознавали, иако, скоро у правилу, нису имали у виду повезницу са извориштем. Радован Вучковић, нажалост, није искористио своје сјајно запажање, али је указао на могућност разумијевања неких битних, чворишних тачака обликовања лика Алије Ђерзелеза, из перспективе кјеркегоровске иронијске филозофске концепције, гдје расправа данског филозофа *О појму ироније са сталним освртом на Сократа* представља полазну и темељну тачку промишљања.⁷

I. Проблем ироније – Кјеркегор према Хегелу

Кјеркегорова магистарска теза (тада еквивалентна докторској дисертацији), *О појму ироније са сталним освртом на Сократа*, одбрањена 1841. године, несумњиво представља један од темељних радова за разумијевање ироније. По нашем мишљењу: кључни рад за схватање функционализације сократовске ироније у књижевном тексту.

Општеприхваћено је да Кјеркегор, начелно, стоји у опозицији према Хегеловој филозофији. Оваје се нећемо посебно бавити питањем Кјеркегоровог оспоравања одређених Хегелових ставова о Сократу. Ипак, несумњиво је да Кјеркегорово поимање иронијског не може бити одвојено од Хегела, већ је с њим снажно спрегнуто, што и сам Кјеркегор директно исказује: 'Но, очигледно је да Хегел означава тачку преокрета у разумевању Сократа. Због тога ћу почети с Хегелом и завршићу с Хегелом, и с једне стране нећу обратити пажњу на његове претходнике пошто су они, уколико су нешто значили, своје потврђивање налазили у његовом схватању, а с друге стране нећу се бринути за његове настављаче, пошто њима у поређењу са Хегелом припада ипак само условна вредност' (Kierkegor, 2020:p.228).

⁷ Књига је преведена код нас тек 2020. године, што је у великој мјери искључило могућност да се иронијски аспекти књижевно-умјетничке транспозиције лика Алије Ђерзелеза покушају сагледати и из ове перспективе.

Износећи став да се слобода самосвијести, као израз бесконачне субјективности, огласила у Сократу и кроз њега, Хегел је Сократов принцип препознао у настојању да човјек до истине долази сам од себе, 'да он у самом себи има да нађе шта је његова намена, шта је његова сврха, шта је крајња сврха света, шта је истинито, оно што постоји по себи и за себе' (Hegel, 1964:p.41).⁸ *Сократов метод спознаје* развио се као дијалектичка форма која је природно слиједила и подржавала ту интенцију, а *иронија* као суштина те методе, по Хегелу, није само њен дух, него одражава слободу мислеће личности и представља слободан простор дијалошког мишљења, а ту негдје темељи се и сама филозофија, у *збуњености свијести у њој самој*.⁹ Сократова иронија има субјективан облик дијалектике – 'дијалектика представља образложење ствари, иронија је на-

⁸ Иако овдје свјесно заобилазимо поимање ироније као реторичке фигуре, јер би нас то непотребно одвукло од примарне намјере рада, лако је уочити блискост у промишљању: 'Што се тиче шала, будући да су, како се чини, од неке користи у споровима и, будући да треба, као што је Горгија с правом говорио, противнику озбиљност ниподаштовати шалом, а шалу озбиљношћу, то смо у *Поетици* рекли колико их је врста, од којих једне слободном човеку пристају, а друге не пристају, како би свако могао одабрати шалу која је у складу с његовим карактером. Иронија је ближа широкогруднијем карактеру но лакрдија, јер у првом случају човек прибегаваша шали и смеху ради самога себе, док у другом случају то чини због других' (Aristotel, 2017:p.1419b). Такође, Аристотел у *Никомаховој етици* начин односа према духовитостима одређује према 'унутарњим кретањима карактера', гдје несумњиво 'постоји разлика између начина шаљења слободног човека и роба, образованог и необразованог' (Aristotel, 2003:p.89). Ако бисмо указали на неке битне тачке у одређењу феномена ироније, једно од кључних је Бергсоново, јер стоји у темељу свих каснијих теоријских ставова. Говорећи о могућностима комичке транспозиције, Анри Бергсон уочава супротност између реалног и идеалног, која се изводи или у правцу хумора (када ћемо 'потанко описивати оно што јесте, правећи се да верујемо као да би баш тако требало да буде'), или у правцу ироније, гдје 'ћемо истаћи оно што треба да буде, претварајући се да верујемо да је то управо оно што постоји. [...] Иронија се појачава кад се заносимо идејом о добру коју би требало остварити: зато се иронија може појачати изнутра, док не постиже на неки начин, речитост под притиском' (Bergson, 1995:p.61). Тако, Женету преостаје да се наслони на Бергсона, и сагласи да иронија функционише као чињенична антифраза (очигледно лажна негација чињенице), а хумор као аксиолошка антифраза (антифраза вриједности), али га ипак надграђује у једној битној тачки. Наиме, док хумор, по Женету, 'увећ жели да буде шалив', иронија 'нема понекад ништа шаливо', због чега 'је увек полемичког карактера' (Ženet, 2002:p.216). Женет је опрезан и нема намјеру да иронију потпуно ослободи *подсмјеха*, јер, потпуно исправно, сматра да је некад тешко разлучити да ли је нека досјетка иронична или хумористичка. Међутим, пребацијући тежиште на нужно *полемички карактер ироније*, чини се да проналази једну битну дистинкцију. Управо полемички карактер ироније можда је њена кључна одредница када је ријеч о функцији ироније у књижевном тексту, која је увијек спрегнута са одређеним контекстом, јер ниједан текст не може бити ироничан сам по себи.

⁹ 'Оно чиме филозофија уопште мора да почне то је збуњеност коју она производи себе ради; у све мора да се сумња, све се претпоставке морају напустити да би се оне поново задобиле као нешто појмом произведено' (Hegel, 1964:p.61).

рочити начин понашања особе према особи. Оно што је он тиме желео да издејствује састојало се у томе што је требало да се други изјасне, да изложе своја основна начела. И из свакога одређеног начела, или на основу његовог разлагања, он је изводио супротност онога што је дотично начело изражавало; то јест он не тврди ту супротност насупрот оном начелу или дефиницији, већ узима ту одредбу па на њој самој показује како се у њој налази њена властита супротност' (Hegel, 1964:p.54).

На основама које је поставио Хегел, свакако дијелом и полемички према њему, Кјеркегор успоставља своје разумијевање сократовске ироније које, као почетну и крајњу консеквенцу има став да је *Сократово постојање иронија*, а да његов сазнајни метод не одређује дијалектика форме питања, већ *дијалектика која полази од ироније, враћа се иронији и бива ношена иронијом* (Kjerkegor, 2020:p.133). Јер, на примјеру Платонових дијалога *Гозба*, *Федон*, *Протагора* (којима се даје примат у односу на Ксенофана) Кјеркегор дубински, детаљно пропитује Сократов метод и закључује да Сократова намјера којом се пита није спекулативна, тј. да његова намјера није да добије одговор који је испуњен и богат значењем, односно одговор који претпоставља неку пуноћу; Сократ пита 'не ради одговора, већ да би се питањем исказао привидан садржај, а потом иза себе оставила празнина', у чему се, насупрот *спекулативном* поступку, исказује *ироничан*, а у коме се управо 'испољавала Сократова нарочитост' (Kjerkegor, 2020:p.41). Или, како то већ Кјеркегор сликовито приказује: 'Попут Самсона, Сократ се хвата за стубове који носе знање, па све руши у ништа незнања' (Kjerkegor, 2020:p.45).¹⁰

Свакако да промишљања из једне овакве студије, по нама најбоље и најцјеловитије о феномену ироније, није лако обухватити на једном мјесту. Међутим, чини се да то овдје није неопходно: битно је препознати оне аспекте ироније које Кјеркегор нуди као појмовно одређујуће, а који се функционализују у правцу наше анализе. Тако, када промишља сократовску иронију у дијалогу *Гозба*, Кјеркегор издваја три њена аспекта на којима се вриједи зауставити, а који воде ка разумијевању процесуалности ироничног поступка: маска – напетост – дезинтеграција: 'Но, суштина је ироније да никада не скине маску, а с друге стране је исто толико суштинско да се маска протејски мења; [...] Заграбуњеност и тајанственост, коју она по себи има, отворено телеграфско саобраћање (иро-

¹⁰ Неке Кјеркегорове слике, написане у намјери да се иронија што пластичније представи, заиста су оригиналне и занимљиве. На примјер: 'Ироничар је вампир који је онеме који воли исисао крв и притом га расхладио, уљуљао у сан и мучно немирним сновима' (Kjerkegor, 2020:p.55). Или констатација да Сократ 'не љушти кору да би дошао до језгра, него истискује језгро' (Kjerkegor, 2020:p.50).

ничар, наиме, стално мора да буде разумљен из даљине), бесконачна симпатија коју претпоставља, пролазан али неописив тренутак разумевања који у истом моменту бива потиснут стрепњом неразумевања – све то окуива неразмрсивим везама. [...] Даље, пошто је за ироничара битно да никада не изговара идеју као такву него само да је површно наговести, једном руком да узима оно што другом даје, да идеју поседује као приватно власништво, онда тај однос тиме, наравно, постаје још напетији. Тако се тихо у индивидуи развија она болест која је управо онолико иронична колико и свака друга исцрпљеност, па се индивидуа најбоље осећа када је најближа својој дезинтеграцији' (Kjerkegor, 2020:pp.54–55). Јасно је да се Кјеркегор овде наслања на претходно цитиран Хегелов став, али га у битном и проширује. Очигледно, иронија не постоји уколико нема *напетости* унутар самог појма који се мисли: искључивање те напетости представља свођење појма на једнозначну форму у коју се не може исказати сумња. Иронија је дијалошког карактера, претпоставља сумњу и полази од ње: иронија је у самом темељу *мишљења*, јер *мишљење* не може бити понављање, већ пропитивање општеприхваћеног и канонизованог.¹¹ Иронија је по својој природи амбивалентна: она руши и поништава, али с интенцијом да на том темељу изнова изгради и породи. Уколико нема те амбивалентности, не може се говорити о иронији, као најинтелигентнијем облику комике, јер се искључује њен коначни циљ: спознаја. Без спознаје, као крајње тачке којој иронија тежи, иронијско поимање свијета подводи се под бројне спекулативне моделе пародије и сарказма, који немају ту снагу, јер не воде ка постваарењу самосвијести.

II. Иронијско обликовање лика Алије Ђерзелеза

За разумијевање иронијског поступка у грађењу лика Алије Ђерзелеза, а гдје је одражен сократски метод у правцу *маска–напетост–дезинтеграција*, како га Кјеркегор изводи у његовој суштини, нужно је непрекидно имати у виду Андрићеву ауторску позицију. Иво Андрић је мајстор књижевног поступка, несумњиво један од највећих у историји свјетске књижевности: процес иро-

¹¹ 'Зато иронија кружи, тка, али и одмах пара своје ткање, као што и Пенелопа кружи увијек парајући оно што је исткала, како би се заштитила од просаца. [...] тако и Сократу површинско кружење иронијског ткања служи да стрпљиво укаже на сунце једне дубље (позадинске) истине' (Arsović, 2012:p.281). У критичкој рецепцији Андрића већ је препознат елемент Андрићевог наративног поступка демитологизовања Ђерзелезовог лика, у: Драгомировић, Д. (2012) Хронотоп пута и сусрета у Андрићевим приповијеткама *Пут Алије Ђерзелеза и Јелена, жена које нема*, *Годишњак Друштва чланова Матице српске у Републици Српској*, 2/2012, 241–256.

нијске детронизације и дезинтеграције фолклорног лика Алије Ђерзелеза то савршено показује. Дакле, оваје нам није намјера да понављамо већ изречене ставове о Андрићевој транспозицији фолклорног лика у књижевноумјетнички, нити о иронијској објективизацији. Не доводећи у сумњу до сада изречено, интенција је да се, стављањем фокуса искључиво на иронијски аспект, те инсистирајући на блискости са Кјеркегором, промишљање о приповијести прошири у правцу разумијевања иронијског као чистог сократског манира вођења јунака до властите самосвијести: фокус је искључиво на разоткривању Андрићевог *модела* грађења лика.

На почетку приповијетке, након стварања почетног оквира и евидентирања ликова који се скупљају у хану на обали ријеке, као на већ припремљену позоришну сцену, Андрић уводи главног јунака, Алију Ђерзелеза. У том тренутку Андрићева *иронијска маска* идеално је прилагођена епској слици свијета из кога јунак израћа,¹² али и потпуно потчињена њој. Јер, кад прије описа епског јунака, свог утопљеног у јуначки епски амбијент, потпуно стопљеног са коњем, као и скоро побожног страхопоштовања оних који га дочекују, Андрић изговори да је пјесма 'ишла пред њим', он врло прецизно и јасно одређује властиту почетну стваралачку позицију која нимало не одступа од фолклорне. Доводећи себе, прецизније властити однос према предмету причања на ниво усменог ствараоца и његовог односа према предмету пјевања, Андрић између себе и Ђерзелеза успоставља стваралачку дистанцу карактеристичну за фолклорни оквир. Дефинишући темељне жанровске црте епа, односно епског схватања свијета, Бахтин је ауторску оријентацију оног који изговара епску ријеч означио као оријентацију 'човека који говори о њему недоступној прошлости, поклонички став потомка. Епска реч је по свом стилу, тону, карактеру сликовности, бесконачно далеко од речи савременика о савременику, упућене савременицима [...]. И певач и слушалац, иманентни епу као жанру, налазе се у истом времену и на истом вредносном (хијерархијском) нивоу, али приказивани свет јунака налази се на сасвим другом и недостижном вредносно-временском нивоу, одвојеном епском дистанцом. Између њих посредује национално предање' (Bahtin, 1989:pp.445–446).

¹² О специфичностима фолклорног лика Алије Ђерзелеза, као и о аспектима Андрићеве књижевне трансформације, видјети: Krnjević, Hatidža, Đerzelez Alija u usmenoj tradiciji i u pripovesti Ive Andrića, u: Krnjević, H. (1980a) *Živi palimpsesti ili o usmenoj poeziji*. Nolit, Beograd, 165–185; Krnjević, Hatidža, Đerzelez Alija – između epskog trijumfa, u: Krnjević, H. (1980b) *Živi palimpsesti ili o usmenoj poeziji*. Nolit, Beograd, 186–208. Иако се ауторка практично не бави питањем ироније, ови радови су добри и врло корисни због прецизне и тачне анализе разлика и сличности између епског и Андрићевог јунака.

Стављајући на себе маску фолклорног ствараоца, те прихватајући Ђерзелезову епску *оспољеност*, гдје се његов унутрашњи свијет не види већ је потпуно изједначен са вањском епском љуштуром кроз коју се не продире, већ се поклонички прихвата, Андрић у уводној слици креира максималну стваралачку дистанцу између себе и свог јунака. Потпуно је уклоњен индивидуални однос и лично гледиште, а ауторски став изједначен са колективном представом о Ђерзелезу. Ова дистанца омогућује Андрићу да створи довољан одмак од предмета свог интересовања, и под *кринком* оног који само евидентира предање о јунаку, почне да *раскринкава* његову нутрину, при чему је субјективни однос заклоњен.¹³ Андрић нема намјеру да подучава и паметује, већ у сократовском маниру показује да ‘површинско кружење иронијског ткања служи да стрпљиво укаже на сунце једне дубље (позадинске) истине. Оно што је дубоко, воли маску’ (Arsović, 2012:p.281).

У сагласности са Кјеркегоровим ставом да прави ироничар никада не скида маску, али да се она протејски мијења, постепено, наизглед и даље незаинтересовано, Андрић почиње да деформише фолклорни лик и устаљене епске обрасце, тако што јунака из епске прошлости урања у савремени животни оквир у коме идеализоване епске представе губе своју вриједност, трансформишући и властиту ауторску позицију: ‘Ако посматрате догађај на истом вредносно-временском нивоу са вама самима и вашим савременицима (па према томе, и на основу личног искуства и маште) – значи чините радикалан заокрет, прекорачујете из света епа у свет романа’ (Bahtin, 1989:p.446).

Чим раздвоји Ђерзелеза од коња, једна од битних димензија епског јунака бива одузета, јер сада се види ‘да је необично низак и здепаст и да хода споро и раскорачено као људи који нису навикли да ходе пјешнице’, та да су му руке ‘несразмјерно дуге’; у разговору је невјешт, ‘сваки час му је недостајала ријеч, као што то бива код људи од дјела, и онда би ширио своје дуге руке и кружио прецрним очима, као у кунића, у којима се није разликовала зјеница’ (Andrić, 1976:pp.10–11). Дезинтеграција почетне слике је почела: Андрић иронијски пропитује Ђерзелеза, кружи око њега, помало разбија ту недодирљиву и општеприхваћену епску љуштuru, производећи јасну *напетост* унутар самог лика, а која ће кулминирати појавом Венецијанке. У том тренутку, из те *унутрашње напетости* исказује се *амбивалентност* лика Алије Ђерзелеза, који ће код Андрића, додуше, остати *славан*, али истовремено постати *несрећан и*

¹³ Не треба испустити из вида да се Андрић овдје наслања на велику традицију у свјетској књижевности: у истом маниру велики Еразмо исписује *Похвалу Лудости*; Шекспир својим јунацима неријетко навлачи маске како би се разоткрила и спознала истина.

смијешан, вјечито разапет између своје епске херојске снаге и моћи, а опет трагичне људске неспособности и немоћи да досегне оно што је свима доступно. Занимљиво је једно Кјеркегорово размишљање о природи фолклорних јунака: 'Основна песничка снага целокупне народне књижевности испољава се, између осталог, у томе да је довољно снажна жеља њених јунака. У поређењу с тим је жеља људи нашег доба уједно грешна и досадна јер они желе што жели ближњи. Народна књижевност је потпуно свесна тога да ближњи поседује исто толико мало што она тражи као она сама. Али где њена жеља постаје грешна, она је тако вапијућа да мора потрести човека. Ту се не може ништа од трезвених прорачуна вероватноће' (Kierkegaard, 1990:p.25).

Задивљујућа је Андрићева прецизност: он врло добро зна да почетну ауторску фолклорну оријентацију не може напустити тек тако, напречац, и да је нужно колективну представу о Ђерзелезу рашчинити опет кроз визуру других ликова, с којима се стапа његов ауторски глас. Оно почетно страхопоштовање, 'пуно удивљења и поштовања', такође се *дезинтегрише*: од тренутка 'кад је сишао с коња, као с неког пиједестала, поче да се губи страх и респект, и као да се изједначио с осталима, почеше му прилазити и започињати разговор', до тога да је 'за неколико дана посве ишчезао чаробни круг око Ђерзелеза; један по један, приближавали су му се ови бјелосвјетски људи с несвјесном жељом да се с њим изједначе, или да га подреде себи' (Andrić, 1976:pp.10–11).

Иронијски, сократски оквир више је него очигледан: од почетне позиције стваралачке инфериорности према епском јунаку прво га треба *изједначити* са собом, а потом га *потчинити* како би се његова свијест отворила и учинила спремном да се у њој *породи* истина. Завршну тачку *иронијске дезинтеграције*, испровоцирану директним сусретом са недостижном љепотом Венецијанке, означава тренутак кад се Ђерзелез 'занио и, наравно, постао смијешан. Грађани и скитнице су му одмах стали прилазити с те слабе стране' (Andrić, 1976:p.10).

У Бахтиновој методологији изучавања романа смјеховно начело позиционира се као кључни елемент разарања дистанце и успостављања зоне непосредног контакта са незавршеном савременошћу, као нужна етапа у развоју научноспознајног и умјетничко-реалистичког стваралаштва: 'Управо смех уништава епску и уопште сваку хијерархијску (вредносно-удаљавајућу) дистанцу. У даљинској слици предмет не може бити смешан; он мора бити приближен да би постао смешан; [...] Смех поседује изванредну моћ да приближи предмет, он уводи предмет у зону блиског контакта где се он може непосредно опипати са свих страна, превртати, изврнути наопако, загледати од врха до подножја, [...]. Смех разгони страх и пијетет пред предметом, пред светом, чини

га предметом блиског контакта и тиме припрема његово апсолутно слободно изучавање. [...] У бити, то је дестронизација, то јест управо извлачење предмета из даљинског плана, разарање епске дистанце, напад и рушење даљинског плана уопште' (Bahtin, 1989:pp.455–456). Управо у сократовском дијалогу Бахтин препознаје први жанр који је истовремено одразио рођење научног схватања и нове умјетничкопрозне романескне слике: '[...] стапање смеха, сократовске ироније, читавог система сократовских приземљавања са озбиљним, високим и први пут слободним истраживањем света, човека и људске мисли. Сократов смех (пригушен до ироније) и Сократова приземљавања (читав систем метафора и поређења преузетих из приземних сфера живота – заната, свакодневице и сл.) приближавају се и фамилијарно окрећу свету, да би га без бојазни и слободно изучавали' (Bahtin, 1989:p.458).¹⁴

Андрићев иронијски поступак овиме је окончан и заокружен, досљедно, без остатка: Кјеркегорова иронијска основа ишчитана из сократовског дијалога, *маска – напетост – дезинтеграција*, савршено је функционализована у правцу разарања епске дистанце. Сада, када је Ђерзелезова епска љуштура разбијена; када његова доминантна испољеност узмиче пред аналитичким, проицијивим, истраживачким погледом, који има интенцију да продре унутра и на површину изнесе ону најдубљу и најскривенију, чини се и најболнију, егзистенцијалну тајну; када су оквири епског поимања свијета поништени реалношћу која не трпи узвишено; Андрић увјерљиво потврђује своју изборену стваралачку књижевноумјетничку оријентацију у наредна два дијела приче, слободно се крећући кроз лавиринте Ђерзелезове свијести. Без обзира што ће Ђерзелез начелно и даље носити епску ауру типичну за усмену предају, у наставку Ан-

¹⁴ Иако не узима директно у разматрање теоријске аспекте ироније, све што Бахтин успоставља као принципе свог критичког система води ка *иронијском схватању свијета*, онако како га је Сократ утемељио, а Хегел и Кјеркегор препознали и експлицирали. Јер, карневалски поглед на свијет, као једна од кључних премиса Бахтиновог књижевнотеоријског концепта, био је „супротан свему што је готово и завршено, свему што је тежило да буде окамењено и вечно, тражећи израз у динамичним и променљивим ('протејским') живим и игривим формама. Све форме и симболи карневалског језика прожети су патосом промена и обнове, као и сазнањем о веселој релативности владајућих истина и моћи“ (Bahtin, 1978:p.18). Такође, бавећи се жанровским карактеристикама романа Достојевског, које, по њему, полази од карневалске развојне линије, Бахтин анализу усмјерава ка *сократовском дијалогу* који, по њему, има карневалску основу: „Само Сократово откриће дијалошке природе мисли и истине претпоставља карневалску фамилијаризацију односа између људи који су ступили у дијалог, и укидање свих дистанци међу њима; још више, оно претпоставља фамилијаризацију односа према самом предмету мисли, ма колико он био висок и значајан, и према самој истини“ (Bahtin, 1967:p.197). На темељу оваквог разумијевања, Бахтин не оклијева да *сократовску иронију* означи као *редуковани карневалски смијех*.

дарићеве приче треба га посматрати искључиво као *књижевног јунака*, јер једном изречена истина о *славном и смијешном* јунаку, до које се дошло поступком иронијске дезинтеграције, више се не може поништити успостављањем нове епске дистанце. У рецепцији читаоца, који је, посљедично, наслањајући се на промјену Андрићевог ауторског става, изашао из позиције фолклорног слушаоца и поклоничког прихватања истине као чињеничног факта, иронијска детронизација Алије Ђерзелеза и истина која из ње произилази нужно заклања уводну, засјепајућу епску слику јунака. Читалац је сада већ припремљен за сусрете са Земком и Катинком: јасно је да у Ђерзелезу обитава нешто много снажније и јаче од његове епске снаге и моћи, што не може да побиједи, нити да му се опхрва. Различит ситуацијски оквир суштински не може утицати на промјену ауторске позиције, нити читалачког односа према лику: све је успостављено и дефинисано у првом дијелу приче. Касније се само варира већ *раскринкана* Ђерзелезова трагикомична личност, чија је судбина да остане *несрећан, славан и смијешан*, сâм 'са својим смијешним гњевом и сувишном снагом'. Завршна слика код Јекатерине, једине до које 'се иде право', показује до које границе је Андрић спреман да 'гурне' свог јунака и колика је супротност између уводне и тренутне стваралачке перспективе, односно између улазне и излазне слике Алије Ђерзелеза. Док му је глава положена у Јекатеринино крило и док га она милује, Ђерзелез као да сабира властито биће у неразмрсив чвор: 'И још се једном јави мисао с којом је сто пута заспао, нејасна, никад докраја домишљена, а увредљива и јадна мисао: зашто је пут до жене тако вијугав и тајан, и зашто он са својом славом и снагом не може да га пређе, а прелазе га сви гори од њега? Сви, само он, у силној и смијешној страсти, цио свој вијек пружа руке као у сну. Шта жене траже?' (Andrić, 1976:p.32).

Умјесто снажног епског јунака који *дјела*, и у том дјелању сажима смисао властите егзистенције, на крају преостаје слаби и збуњени човјек који *мисли*, а управо овај тренутак искрене запитаности над самим собом и треба прихватити као мучан и тежак почетни корак досезања властите самоспознаје.

Управо то је оно чему иронијска дезинтеграција коначно и смјера.

Извлачећи свог јунака из затвореног и недодирљивог епског простора, те проводећи у правом сократовском маниру процес иронијске детронизације, Андрић бриљантно и увјерљиво изграђује слику *модерног човјека*, чија борба се, умјесто према вани, усмјерава унутра и води у оквиру властите самосвијести, као тешко разрјешив скуп сумњи, питања и недоумица.

Извори

1. Andrić, I. (1976) Put Alije Đerzeleza, u: Andrić, I. (1976) *Znakovi*. Sabrana djela Ive Andrića, knjiga osma, Svjetlost – Mladost, Sarajevo.

Литература

1. Вучковић, Р. (2011) *Велика синтеза*. Ниш, Београд, Алтера, Београд – Филозофски факултет.
2. Драгомировић, Д. (2012) Хронотоп пута и сусрета у Андрићевим приповијеткама *Пут Алије Ђерзелеза и Јелена, жена које нема, Годишњак Друштва чланова Матице српске у Републици Српској*, 2/2012, 241–256.
3. Aristotel (2003) *Nikomahova etika*. Novi Sad, Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića.
4. Aristotel (2017) *Retorika*. Beograd, Štampar Makarije.
5. Arsović, Z. (2012) *Sokrat: melodija filozofije*, Beograd, Fedon.
6. Bahtin, M. (1967) *Problemi poetike Dostojevskog*. Beograd, Nolit.
7. Bahtin, M. (1978) *Stvaralaštvo Fransoa Rablea i narodna kultura srednjega veka i renesanse*. Beograd, Nolit.
8. Bahtin, M. (1989) *O romanu*. Nolit, Beograd.
9. Bergson, A. (1995) *Smeh*. Beograd, Lapis.
10. Ženet, Ž. (2002) *Figure V*. Novi Sad, Svetovi.
11. Jandrić, Lj. (1982) *Sa Ivom Andrićem*. Sarajevo, Svjetlost.
12. Karaulac, M. (1980) *Rani Andrić*. Beograd, Prosveta – Sarajevo, Beograd, Svjetlost.
13. Kierkegaard, S. (1990) *Ili – ili*. Sarajevo, Svjetlost.
14. Kjerkegor, S. (2020) *O pojmu ironije sa stalnim osvrtom na Sokrata*. Beograd, Dereta.
15. Krnjević, H. (1980) Đerzelez Alija u usmenoj tradiciji i u pripoveci Ive Andrića. U: Krnjević, H. (1980) *Živi palimpsesti ili o usmenoj poeziji*, Beograd, Nolit, pp. 165–185.
16. Krnjević, H. (1980) Đerzelez Alija – između epskog trijumfa. U: Krnjević, H. (1980) *Živi palimpsesti ili o usmenoj poeziji*, Beograd, Nolit, pp. 186–208.
17. Hegel, G. V. F. (1964) *Istorija filozofije 2*. Beograd, Kultura.

Igor M. Simanovic
University of Banja Luka
Faculty of Philology

ANDRIĆ AND KIERKEGAARD: THE IRONICAL
FORMATION OF THE CHARACTER OF ALIJA ĐERZELEZ
(WITH CONSTANT REFERENCE TO SOCRATES)

Summary

This paper analyzes Andrić's early short story *The Journey of Alija Đerzelez* (1920) from the perspective of the philosophical framework of the Danish philosopher Søren Kierkegaard, who is often considered one of the significant influences that, to some extent, shaped the formation of his literary corpus. Given that this influence has primarily been recognized and demonstrated in Andrić's poetry collections (such as *Ex Ponto*, *Nemiri*), which the author himself emphasized as an indisputable fact, the aim here is to extend this connection with Kierkegaard to his prose debut, which effectively revealed and anticipated Andrić's immense creative potential. Specifically, the ironic transposition of the folkloric character Alija Đerzelez is based on Kierkegaard's seminal work *On the Concept of Irony* (with constant reference to Socrates), while also not overlooking *Either/Or*. Therefore, the focus is not on mechanically imposing Kierkegaard's philosophy onto Andrić's text, but rather, in the manner of proper comparative studies, to facilitate a broader understanding of the relationship between the two thinkers, connected by their very similar ways of expressing their own vision of the world and human existence within it, which ultimately resulted in a remarkable literary hero.

► **Keywords:** Irony, Socrates, Ivo Andrić, Søren Kierkegaard, Alija Đerzelez, mask, tension, disintegration.

References

1. Aristotel (2003) *Nikomahova etika*. Novi Sad, Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića.
2. Aristotel (2017) *Retorika*. Beograd, Štampar Makarije.
3. Arsović, Z. (2012) *Sokrat: melodija filozofije*, Beograd, Fedon.
4. Bahtin, M. (1967) *Problemi poetike Dostojevskog*. Beograd, Nolit.
5. Bahtin, M. (1978) *Stvaralaštvo Fransoa Rablea i narodna kultura srednjega veka i renesanse*. Beograd, Nolit.
6. Bahtin, M. (1989) *O romanu*. Beograd, Nolit.
7. Bergson, A. (1995) *Smeh*. Beograd, Lapis.

8. Dragomirović, D. (2012) Hronotop puta i susreta u Andrićevim pripovijetkama *Put Alije Đerzeleza i Jelena, žena koje nema, Godišnjak Društva članova Matice srpske u Republici Srpskoj*, 2/2012, 241–256.
9. Hegel, G. V. F. (1964) *Istorija filozofije* 2. Beograd, Kultura.
10. Jandrić, Lj. (1982) *Sa Ivom Andrićem*. Sarajevo, Svjetlost.
11. Karaulac, M. (1980) *Rani Andrić*. Beograd, Prosveta – Sarajevo, Beograd, Svjetlost.
12. Kierkegaard, S. (1990) *Ili – ili*. Sarajevo, Svjetlost.
13. Kjerkegor, S. (2020) *O pojmu ironije sa stalnim osvrtom na Sokrata*. Beograd, Dereta.
14. Krnjević, H. (1980) Đerzelez Alija u usmenoj tradiciji i u pripoveci Ive Andrića. U: Krnjević, H. (1980) *Živi palimpsesti ili o usmenoj poeziji*, Beograd, Nolit, pp. 165–185.
15. Krnjević, H. (1980) Đerzelez Alija – između epskog trijumfa. U: Krnjević, H. (1980) *Živi palimpsesti ili o usmenoj poeziji*, Beograd, Nolit, pp. 186–208.
16. Vučković, R. (2011) *Velika sinteza*. Altera, Beograd – Filozofski fakultet, Niš, Beograd.
17. Ženet, Ž. (2002) *Figure V*. Novi Sad, Svetovi.

Преузето: 27. 8. 2025.
Корекције: 16. 9. 2025.
Прихваћено: 17. 11. 2025.

Sultan Komut Bakinc¹
Istanbul Kultur University
Faculty of Science and Letters
Department of English Language and Literature

FRAGMENTED IDENTITY OF THE SPEAKING SUBJECT IN BECKETT'S *FOOTFALLS*: THE AUTHENTIC SELF AND ITS INTERNAL OTHERS

Abstract: *The act of “seeing” or more precisely, realizing “the ill around and within us” necessitates a mode of expression that does not mask disturbance but instead echoes its fractured rhythms. Samuel Beckett’s Footfalls, marked by its fragmented structure, spectral characters and playful language, falls into this category. Drawing on Cathy Caruth’s theory of trauma as a belated, unassimilable experience that resists narrative coherence, this paper explores how the play reflects and enacts psychological trauma. At the center is May, a ghostly figure engaged in repetitive pacing and fragmented dialogue with a Woman’s Voice who is presumed to be her mother but arguably a projection of May’s own fractured psyche. Through this lens, the play becomes more about dramatizing the breakdown of a unified self. Accordingly, May is not an authentic, coherent subject but an embodiment of the internal other. Employing Jacques Derrida’s concepts of différance and the instability of presence, the paper argues that Footfalls disrupts conventional binaries such as self/other, presence/absence, and voice/silence and accordingly, the ambiguity of the speaking self, combined with the lack of verifiable reality within the play’s world, destabilizes reader/audience expectations and invites multiple, even contradictory interpretations. The play, thus, becomes a site where language falters, the self dissolves, and trauma endlessly replays, foregrounding the impossibility of arriving at a final or stable truth.*

Keywords: *Identity, Trauma, différance, Internal other, Ambiguity.*

¹ s.komut@iku.edu.tr / komuts@gmail.com

Nontruth is the truth. Nonpresence is presence. Différance, the disappearance of any originary presence, is at once, the condition of possibility and the condition of impossibility of truth. At once. "At once" means that the being-present (on) in its truth, in the presence of its identity and in the identity of its presence, is doubled as soon as it appears, as soon as it presents itself.

(Derrida, 2010:p.1732)

I.

Literature does not merely reveal the emotional and psychological depths of others; it draws us, often willingly, into the intense realms of affect, desire and suffering that belong to lives not our own. In doing so, it offers a paradoxical duality: both an escape from the burden of selfhood and a confrontation with the very traumas we seek to elude. Literature functions as a vehicle through which psychological wounds become accessible, inviting us to acknowledge and interpret what has been repressed. Trauma theory in literary studies emphasizes this interplay between language and psychological rupture, seeking to facilitate what Geoffrey Hartman terms the capacity to 'read the wound' through textual engagement (1995:p.537). To Hartman, trauma communicates through a bifurcated form of knowledge: on the one hand, the traumatic event is 'registered rather than experienced,' bypassing conscious perception and embedding itself directly in the unconscious; on the other, a residual memory of the trauma persists, manifesting as a recurring figuration, a 'perpetual troping' within the fragmented psyche (1995:p.537). Building upon this foundation, Kurtz (2018) expands the discussion by foregrounding the intricate relationship between memory and identity. He argues that personal and collective memories intersect in complex and often fraught ways, shaped by the interplay of biological, psychological, political and cultural forces. Thus, identity is not a fixed or isolated construct, but one that is continuously reconstructed through a dynamic interaction with familial, socio-political and cultural environments.

Hartman explains the intricate interplay between dreams and trauma, asserting that in literature, 'shock and dreaminess collude' (1995:p.546). Drawing on Donald Winnicott's psychoanalytic insight that 'the mother is always traumatizing,' he suggests that while children may idealize the constant presence of the mother, a presence that fosters a foundational sense of trust, this very attachment renders them perpetually vulnerable to psychic wounding. The mother, then, becomes a figure both of security and of potential rupture. In this light, life itself may be conceived

as a continuum of accessible wounds, making it nearly inconceivable to imagine any work of art entirely devoid of trauma's imprint. If one accepts Winnicott's premise, this assumption gains further legitimacy. As a consequence, language, far from being a neutral or purely aesthetic medium, serves as a conduit to the originary site of trauma. As Hartman articulates, 'Literary verbalization, however, still remains a basis for making the wound perceivable and the silence audible' (2003:p.259). In this sense, words assume the role of a mythic (religious) healer, akin to *Lokman*—*an allegorical figure believed to possess the power to cure even the most incurable of wounds through his extraordinary gift of healing*.

Trauma, by its very nature, resists closure, denying the sufferer the possibility of forgetting, instead returning unbidden, unsummoned and unwelcome. These intrusive recurrences force the traumatized subject to relive the original experience, creating a cycle of repetition that becomes both symptom and structure. Hartman contends that 'flashbacks compel the sufferer to involuntarily tell his story again and again' (2003:p.268), underscoring the compulsive aspect of traumatic memory. Such repetitions, while potentially cathartic, more often suggest a lingering, unassimilated shock: 'a rhythmic or temporal stutter' that suspends the sufferer in a purgatorial state, perpetually anticipating the next traumatic resurgence (Hartman, 1995:p.543). Literature, accordingly, often reflects this dynamic through narrative and stylistic repetition. Authors who depict traumatized characters frequently employ these repetitions to embody the enduring and unresolved nature of trauma. In this vein, as Riquelme asserts, truly perceiving the suffering 'around and within us' requires a mode of expression that mirrors the disturbance, one that echoes the illness rather than feigning normalcy or composure (2000:p.587).

Samuel Beckett's *Footfalls* exemplifies this literary engagement with trauma, memory, and the fractured self. The play masterfully disorients its reader/audience through an ambiguous plot structure and the absence of clear character boundaries. As a postmodern text, it resists definitive interpretation, allowing for the possibility that the suggested narrative (a daughter mourning her deceased mother) is itself a constructed illusion. Rather than representing discrete characters, Beckett may be staging fragmented manifestations of a single disintegrated psyche. In this reading, no character possesses tangible presence; all may be spectral projections of trauma's afterlife. Beckett, thus, deftly manipulates both reader and audience by presenting an unreliable, dissociated figure lost within the labyrinth of memory. In doing so, he destabilizes interpretation itself, compelling us to question not only the narrative but the very nature of perception, identity, and reality.

In his pioneering work, *Dissemination*, Jacques Derrida writes that 'A text is not a text unless it hides from the first comer, from the first glance, the law of its composition and the rules of its game' (2010:p.1697). Beckett's *Footfalls* fits very well into this category, particularly through the playwright's deliberate composition of the characters. It is worth noting that Beckett wrote the play specifically for Billie Whitelaw, who gave the piece's world premiere performance at the Royal Court Theatre as part of the Samuel Beckett Festival, on May 20, 1976 with Beckett in the director seat. Beckett deeply trusted the actress and was confident that Whitelaw would be capable of performing this particular character who could be interpreted as embodying multiple selves that would collide with the authentic self. Seeing as the play clearly resists fixed meaning, perpetually deferring resolution and undermining the stability of signification, *Footfalls* could well be analysed with Derridean terms employing concepts such as *différance*, trace and the dialectics of absence and presence. As Derrida posits, meaning is never fully present but is always deferred within a system of relational differences. The term 'trace' in his theory of *différance* refers to the absence that makes up meaning; each signifier carries the mark of what it is not within, a remnant of what has been and what will be. As identity is always reconstructed and tainted by otherness, this idea undermines any chance of a set meaning or origin. Through this Derridean lens, *Footfalls* might be interpreted, especially in its eerie interplay between presence and absence of the authentic self and how [if] it is dislocated to create individual voices (internal others) throughout the text.

II. A Traumatic, Authentic Self with Internal Other(s)

Footfalls seems to be a rather short and simple play; yet, Beckett readers know very well that nothing is as simple as it seems with Beckett. Mel Gussow from *The New Times* writes that 'The drama apparently centers on a lady who has dedicated her life to caring for her elderly mother. Ritually, the daughter marches back and forth on a small section of floor, with the writer meticulously defining the area and the motion' (March 24, 1994). This comment serves as a strong example of the general perception and interpretation of the plot by the average reader; that it portrays a woman whose life has been consumed by caring for her mother, with the resulting trauma visibly reflected in the performance and appearance of the main character on stage. Although the word 'apparently' is used to avoid fixing the interpretation too rigidly, this reading remains problematic.

Not only does *Footfalls* resist a straightforward, reductive interpretation of its plot, but through deliberate ambiguity and manipulation, the playwright also sug-

gests far more than what appears on the surface. *Footfalls* centres on a middle-aged woman, May, who paces back and forth throughout the play, engaging in dialogue with an unseen female voice whose presence gradually diminishes, growing increasingly hesitant and eventually fading altogether, evoking the impression that she may not exist at all. The minimalist and fragmented exchange between May and the Voice suggests that the latter could be a projection of May's inner, perhaps more authentic self. In simpler terms, while May and the Voice engage in dialogue or what may in fact be a monologue, depending on interpretation during the first two scenes, the audience is subsequently introduced to other figures, namely Mrs. Winter and Amy, in the third Scene. In the final Scene, however, no characters are present. Beckett masterfully constructs a sense of ambiguity from the outset, leading us to perceive the play as a portrayal of a psychologically fractured, traumatized figure, while simultaneously prompting us to question the ontological status of characters such as Amy and Mrs. Winter. We are left uncertain as to who or what they truly are: manifestations of May's disturbed memory, figments of her imagination, or, as I contend, internal others within her authentic self.

Footfalls, in this way, exemplifies what Derrida describes as a text that is "forever imperceptible" (2010:p.1697), not only in its elusive character construction but also in the pervasive ambivalence it conveys. Derrida asserts that a text's law and its rules 'can never be booked, in the present, into anything that could rigorously be called a perception' (2010:p.1697), suggesting that meaning itself is always deferred rather than hidden. The act of perceiving, therefore, becomes an ongoing process of uncertainty and re-evaluation, particularly evident as each Scene in *Footfalls* unfolds. In *Scene I*, the sparse stage design and gloomy atmosphere create a space of confrontation between May and the disembodied voice of her deceased mother. This Voice is widely interpreted not as a separate character but rather as a manifestation of May's unresolved trauma, specifically her inability to reconcile with her mother's death, which leaves her suspended in a state that resembles presence without life. Katherina Weiss, for instance, suggests that 'May has remained a prisoner to her trauma' (2013:p.57). One of the clearest indications of this psychological entrapment is her incessant pacing. Through the repetitive sound of May's footfalls, the oppressive silence of the stage is disrupted, while the play's gothic visual and atmospheric elements further intensify the sense of ambiguity. The fragmented dialogue offers insight into both the mother's deteriorating physical state and May's tormented psyche. In this opening Scene of the play, Beckett introduces the central character in conflict, confronting a painful reality that will be gradually deconstructed in subsequent scenes. *Scene I* is, thus, crucial in framing

the play's exploration of trauma, as it acquaints the audience with a psychologically fractured figure and, in doing so, invites a deeper engagement with the ensuing ambiguity. As Dominick LaCapra suggests, trauma can create 'holes in existence,' allowing presence to be interpreted as absence, and absence as presence (qtd. in Kurtz, 2018:p.5).

Just as Derrida locates the text's meaning in what resists perception, Beckett locates the self in what resists articulation. In attempting to understand Beckett's manipulation of language, it is essential to attend closely to the stage directions throughout *Footfalls*, not only those that frame the dialogue but also those embedded within a single character's speech. The recurring silences in the text function as more than mere pauses; they can be interpreted as manifestations of trauma, moments where speech is fractured by the weight of unprocessed experience. As Shoshana Felman argues, such silences may also constitute 'a positive avoidance—and erasure—of one's hearing, the positive assertion of a deafness, in the refusal not merely to know but to acknowledge—and henceforth respond to, answer to—what is being heard or witnessed' (1992:p. 183). May, incapable of acknowledging her past, remains trapped in its shadow. Her silence, then, is not simply the absence of speech, but an active suppression of awareness: 'the active voiding of the hearing, the voiding of witnessing of a reality whose transmission to awareness is obstructed and whose content is insistently denied as known—insistently asserted (reasserted) as not known—because essentially remaining unacknowledged' (Felman, 1992:p.183).

It is important to recognize that trauma does not reveal itself transparently or neutrally; it demands both inward reflection and external articulation. May's silences represent not only a denial of trauma but, following Felman, an 'affirmative declaration of deafness,' a refusal to listen, to engage, and ultimately to respond (1992:p.183). In this context, silence becomes a form of resistance against the existential imperative to confront and acknowledge one's own past. May observes her life from a distance, yet actively resists its implications. Thus, the Beckettian examination of the self as a shadowy, frequently inaccessible presence is echoed by her silences, which impede the presence of a unified, continuous self. Rather than expressing a coherent and stable identity, May embodies an absence shaped by fragmentation and refusal. This resistance generates a painful yet essential tension: silence serves as both a rejection and a means of enduring. It enables May to evade being overwhelmed by the traumatic truth while also highlighting her solitude and pain. In this vein, silence not only deepens the play's psychological resonance but also contributes to the layering of textual ambiguity that defines the play. The

following quote exemplifies how Beckett stages silence not merely as absence but as the dialogue's very structure, a rhythm of interruption, repetition, and deferred understanding.

M: What age am I now?

V: And I? [Pause. No louder.] And I?

M: Ninety.

V: So much?

M: Eighty-nine, ninety.

V: I had you late. [Pause.] In life. [Pause.] Forgive me again. [Pause. No louder.] Forgive me again. [M resumes pacing. After one length halts facing front at L. Pause.]

M: What age am I now?

V: In your forties.

M: So little?

V: I'm afraid so. [Pause. M resumes pacing. After first turn at L.] May. [Pause. No louder.] May.

M: [Pacing.] Yes, Mother.

V: Will you never have done? [Pause.] Will you never have done ... revolving it all?

M: [Halting.] It?

V: It all. [Pause.] In your poor mind. [Pause.] It all. [Pause.] It all' (I, 240).

This dialogue subtly exposes a profound disorientation of identity, particularly through the characters' ambiguous relationship with time and memory. Neither character appears to know their own age, which is one of the first aspects of self-awareness. While V's unawareness may be rationalized by her spectral or posthumous nature (assuming she represents the deceased mother, and is therefore no longer a fully conscious entity) May's uncertainty is more unsettling and psychologically charged. Her inability or refusal to recall her own age may be read as a symptom of trauma. This interpretive framework resists readings that seek to stabilize character identity, for such an approach ignores the inherent fluidity and instability Beckett often embeds within the dramatic form. The ambiguity deepens as the dialogue discloses that V gave birth to May sometime after her forties, a notably late age for motherhood. This temporal detail, though only implied, introduces a possible causal relationship between V's late motherhood and May's psychological fragmentation. V's request for forgiveness suggests a latent guilt which could be tied to the burden May has borne as her mother's caretaker. Yet,

Beckett sustains the tension of uncertainty, ensuring that no single interpretation can anchor the play's elusive psychological landscape.

May's repetitive pacing, and V's curious use of the future perfect tense while asking whether May will 'have been revolving it all' intensifies the play's temporal and existential indeterminacy. The phrase 'revolving it all' becomes a site of semantic instability: What is being revolved, a memory, a trauma or a perpetual thought-loop? The use of future perfect to describe an ongoing, compulsive action further complicates temporal logic, suggesting a recursive temporality where past, present, and future collapse into one another. As Katherina Weiss observes, the elusive 'it' of the play 'remains hidden, perhaps repressed' (2013:p.56), and the memory it references 'is so horrific she cannot face "it"' (2013:p.58). Building on Weiss's insight, I would argue that the inability to confront this unbearable memory leads to the fragmentation of identity. In response to trauma, the authentic self becomes untenable, and thus generates alternative selfhoods as a means of psychic survival. The speaking subject, therefore, is not stable but shifts according to which version of the self can momentarily bear witness to the traumatic experience. Beckett's *Footfalls* thus stages not only the effects of trauma but also the disintegration of the speaking subject under its burden.

'V: I walk here now. [Pause.] Rather I come and stand. [Pause.] At nightfall. [Pause.] She fancies she is alone. [Pause.] See how still she stands, how stark, with her face to the wall. [Pause.] How outwardly unmoved. [Pause.] She has not been out since girlhood. [Pause.] Not out since girlhood. [Pause.] Where is she, it may be asked. [Pause.] Why, in the old home, the same where she- [Pause.] The same where she began. [Pause.] Where it began. [Pause.] It all began. [Pause.]' (II, 241).

The quoted lines further complicate any straightforward interpretation of the play. Contrary to the commonly held assumption in the opening Scene, (that May is engaged in a conversation with her prematurely deceased mother) Voice asserts, 'She fancies she is alone.' This statement destabilizes the reliability of the Scene itself, suggesting that the Scene may be no more than a projection of May's traumatic memory. Consequently, the Scene cannot be taken at face value. Yet, to embrace this interpretation, one must paradoxically place trust in the voice of V—a spectral, possibly posthumous figure whose ontological status is itself in question. This reliance on a ghostly voice renders the interpretive act even more absurd than trusting a visibly traumatized and unreliable subject. Beckett, in this way, leads the audience into a carefully orchestrated ambiguity, a deliberate and profound

manipulation that deconstructs narrative coherence and stability. At this point in the play, the reader/ audience is compelled to relinquish faith in any source of narrative authority, whether the characters or even the playwright himself. This pervasive unreliability collapses the traditional boundaries between observer and participant. As our interpretive anchors are stripped away, the 'real' play begins: we, the audience, are drawn into the performance not merely as spectators, but as active agents in the meaning-making process. Beckett confronts us with *a certain uncertainty*, a paradox that demands our complicity. It is only when we accept this interpretive burden, this act of assigning meaning in the face of irresolvable ambiguity that *Footfalls* fully unfolds, not as a closed narrative, but as an existential and epistemological experience.

Enoch Brater contends that 'May is a presence, not a person—certainly not a person who has ever been properly born outside of the imagination. She is neither more nor less substantial than any other stage character' (1978:p.39). This perspective aligns closely with my own reading of *Footfalls*, particularly in its rejection of the conventional narrative that treats May as a psychologically coherent character engaged in a dialogue with her deceased mother. However, while Brater's interpretation resists the traditional storyline, it nonetheless risks reinstating a new kind of closure by asserting that May exists solely as a figment of imagination. In other words, by denying the assumed realism of the narrative, it imposes a different kind of determinacy, one that limits May to the status of a theatrical abstraction, devoid of ontological substance. Yet Beckett, in characteristic fashion, does not allow even this interpretation to settle. With each successive Scene, he escalates the ambiguity rather than resolving it, destabilizing every interpretive foothold just as it begins to take shape. The play resists finality at every turn, continuously undermining both narrative and ontological certainty. Rather than allowing us to anchor our reading to a definitive understanding, Beckett confronts us with proliferating possibilities. *Footfalls*, then, operates as a sustained challenge to the very impulse toward interpretive closure, inviting us not to resolve its meaning, but to dwell within its structured indeterminacy. In this way, Beckett withholds resolution not merely to frustrate, but to implicate the audience in the act of meaning-making, compelling us to remain suspended within the ever-deepening space of ambiguity.

'Till one night, while still little more than a child, she called her mother and said, Mother, this is not enough. The mother: Not enough? May-the child's given name -May: Not enough. The mother: What do you mean, May, not enough, what can you possibly mean, May, not enough? May: I mean, Mother, that I must hear the feet, however faint they fall. The mother: The motion alone is

not enough? May: No, Mother, the motion alone is not enough, I must hear the feet, however faint they fall' (II, 241).

May exists in a liminal state, simultaneously present and absent, her identity shaped by a ghostly repetition that suggests a being haunted by the very void of her own existence. She does not so much inhabit the stage as she haunts it. Her ceaseless pacing, accompanied by a disembodied maternal voice, evokes Derrida's notion of the *trace*, the mark of an absence that structures presence. In *Footfalls*, May becomes the embodiment of this trace, moving rhythmically across the stage in what appears to be a conversation with her offstage mother. Within the first two scenes, Derrida's principle that absence is always at the heart of meaning is powerfully enacted. The mother's voice, intangible and possibly imagined, undermines the security of origin and selfhood. May's repetitive motion becomes not merely a physical act but a theatrical manifestation of *différance*; a spectral echo of being, deferred and fragmented, a ritual of presence without substance. In this way, *Footfalls* stages a meditation on the precariousness of human subjectivity and the impossibility of full presence, dramatizing Derrida's philosophical insights with haunting precision.

These ambiguities are further amplified in the third Scene, where the instability of identity intensifies. Though only one actress appears on stage, under Beckett's direction, May ostensibly transforms into Amy, while Voice assumes the name Mrs. Winter. One reading suggests these are entirely new characters; another, perhaps more compelling, interprets them as projections from May's fractured consciousness, iterations of herself and her mother seen through a distorted interior lens. Thus, not only does the narrative elude closure, but the very catalogue of characters destabilizes. The boundary between self and other, fiction and memory, dissolves, inviting speculation about the multiplicity of the self, perhaps even aligning with Whitman's assertion that we 'contain multitudes'.² Conversely, this proliferation of personae may signal not multiplicity but negation, the possibility that none of these figures exist at all. This interpretation finds support in Beckett's own directorial instruction. Billie Whitelaw, who performed as May, recounts Beckett's cryptic guidance: 'Well, let's just say you're not quite there' (1996:p.143). Such a statement, coming from the playwright-director himself, underscores the ontological indeterminacy Beckett sought to evoke. The character is not simply elusive; she is existentially unanchored, a spectral trace rather than a grounded subject. This

²Walt Whitman, "Song of Myself"

'Do I contradict myself?

Very well then I contradict myself,

(I am large, I contain multitudes.)'

profound absence at the core of the performance invites the audience to engage not with concrete meaning, but with the unsettling awareness of its perpetual deferral.

Accordingly, in S. E. Gontarski's view, *Footfalls* is not 'a reversal of the iconography of dismemberment' in his earlier works, but rather 'its culmination, an absent presence, or a present absence' (1985:p.162). Gontarski's words ('an absent presence, or a present absence') not only remind us Derridean *différance* but also support my claim that the play's character list is manipulative and that neither Beckett nor the characters can be trusted when putting the pieces together to understand the ambiguities that exist in *Footfalls*.

'M: Sequel. [Pause. Begins pacing. Steps a little slower still. After two lengths halts facing front at R. Pause.] Sequel. A little later, when she was quite forgotten, she began to – [Pause.] A little later, when as though she had never been, it never been, she began to walk (III, 242)'.

Here, the phrase 'she had never been' turns into yet another potent Derridean marker of absence that haunts the present. In this instance, the character's disappearance from recollection ('as though she had never been') enacts a type of ontological erasure in which the past perfect undermines existence and frames it in the conditional. Her previous presence is reinterpreted as non-being, a ghostly remnant within language itself, rather than being simply forgotten. Yet, because the very articulation of absence requires a past presence to deny, this negation paradoxically validates her having-been. By destabilizing binary oppositions such as presence/absence and being/non-being, the quote reveals how identity is constructed in the spaces between inscription and silence, memory and oblivion.

We should not forget that through the construction of such a complex and deliberately unstable dramatic structure, Beckett powerfully conveys the psychological fragmentation wrought by trauma. It may be said that *Footfalls* does not merely depict trauma; it enacts it, disassembling narrative coherence and destabilizing identity to mirror the disintegration experienced by the traumatized subject. What emerges by the play's end is not resolution, but a condition of certain uncertainties. Drawing on Ruth Klüger's reflections on Auschwitz, Geoffrey Hartman characterizes trauma as a *Fremdkörper*, a 'foreign body' embedded in the psyche, like 'an inoperable bullet' that remains lodged, continually emitting 'strange signals' (2003:p.257). This metaphor aptly captures the disjointed and often incoherent reverberations of trauma, which refuse assimilation into a cohesive narrative. *Footfalls* resonates with this insight: each line, each pause, each echoing phrase operates as one of those strange signals, offering up new interpretive possibilities only to overturn previous

assumptions. The result is a text that perpetually dazzles and disorients, compelling the reader/ audience to inhabit the fractured, recursive temporality of trauma itself.

‘Amy: No, mother I did not. Mrs. W[inter]: Perhaps it was just my fancy. Amy: Just what exactly Mother, did you perhaps fancy it was? (Pause.) Just what exactly, Mother, did you perhaps fancy this...strange thing you observed? (Pause.) Mrs. W: You yourself observed nothing strange? Amy: No, Mother, I myself did not, to put it mildly. Mrs. W: What do you mean, Amy, to put it mildly, what can you possibly mean, Amy, to put it mildly? Amy: I mean, Mother, that to say I observed nothing... strange is indeed to put it mildly. For I observed nothing of any kind, strange or otherwise. I saw nothing, heard nothing of any kind. I was not there. Mrs. W: Not there? Amy: Not there.’ (III, 243)

In light of the exchange quoted above, the character of Mrs. Winter may also be interpreted as an embodiment of the internal other, an extension or inversion of the self that destabilizes boundaries between identity and alterity. Notably, her name later appears only as ‘W’, almost the inverted form of ‘M’, suggesting a possible mirroring or reversal of May. Whether this is a deliberate symbolic move or a coincidental typographic play is not easily dismissed. Given that Beckett notoriously delayed the printing of his plays until after their stage performances, allowing performance itself to finalize the text, such minor textual choices are unlikely to be arbitrary. Moreover, with an author so meticulously attentive to form, rhythm and spatial arrangement, what might be a coincidence in another writer’s work could be read as intentional in Beckett’s. These subtle shifts function within the play’s broader strategy of ontological and linguistic destabilization.

In this context, the introduction of the character Amy can be read as yet another manifestation of May’s fractured psyche, an internalized other, a dissociated self-state that has become estranged from the original identity. Rather than a distinct character, Amy may signify a splintered identity that exists in tension with May, a psychic fragment externalized through the dramatic form. Beckett’s portrayal thus enacts a haunting vision of self-division, where the boundaries between characters, voices, memories and identities dissolve entirely. *Footfalls* becomes a dramatization of the internal other: a performative exploration of self-fragmentation wherein May exists as a split subject, endlessly disintegrating across the play’s shifting relational dyads—May and the Mother’s Voice, May and Amy, the Mother’s Voice and Mrs. Winter and even May and Mrs. Winter.

May’s very existence appears to be constructed through compulsive repetition—her pacing not merely theatrical but psychological, as if the internal other were

persistently eroding the authentic self through the cyclical re-enactment of trauma. This repetition aligns with Cathy Caruth's observation that the traumatic flashback is not a recollection but a re-living that, in its very recurrence, can re-traumatize the individual. As she explains, the recurrence of traumatic experience poses a threat to the brain's chemical makeup and may eventually cause deterioration (1996, 63). From this perspective, May's disintegrating self becomes more intelligible: her psyche emits 'strange signals', as Hartman would say, precisely because it is fragmented, caught in a loop of unresolved trauma that manifests through internal division. In *Footfalls*, Beckett does not merely represent trauma; rather, he constructs a theatrical apparatus that enacts the ongoing collapse of the self, staging both the internal other and the impossibility of a stable, coherent identity.

'Amy. [Pause. No louder.] Amy.

[Pause.] Yes, Mother. [Pause.] Will you never have done?

[Pause.] Will you never have done ... revolving it all?

[Pause.] It? [Pause.] It all. [Pause.] In your poor mind.

[Pause.] It all. [Pause.] It all.' (III, 243)

The above quote is taken from the third Scene, yet it features a repetition of the first Scene with a striking difference that supports my analysis thus far. In the first Scene (see page X), a dialogue occurs between May and V. (Mother's Voice), with V. calling May's name. Here, by contrast, only Mrs. W (not even Mrs. Winter) speaks to herself after Amy claims not to be there.

'Amy: I mean, Mother, that to say I observed nothing ... strange is indeed to put it mildly. For I observed nothing of any kind, strange or otherwise. I saw nothing, heard nothing, of any kind. I was not there.

Mrs. W: Not there?

Amy: Not there.' (III, .243)

At this point, the dialogue terminates at this juncture, after which only Mrs. W remains engaged in a soliloquy. The speech is punctuated by pauses that fragment both the sentences and Mrs. W's pacing, thereby enhancing the disjointed and disrupted cadence of the monologue. Within this speech, both Amy and Mrs. W are represented; it ceases to be a dialogue between two distinct entities and instead becomes Mrs. W addressing and embodying Amy simultaneously: 'Mrs. W: But I heard you respond. (Pause.) I heard you say Amen. (Pause.) How could you have responded if you were not there (Pause) How could you possibly have said Amen if, as you claim, you were not there?' (III, 243). As previously noted, this passage constitutes a reiteration of the same dialogue, though ostensibly delivered

by different characters. This instance further corroborates my contention that each re-experiencing of the traumatic figure precipitates a systematic fracturing of the authentic self, engendering multiple internal others who, in essence, remain facets of a unified identity. Consequently, it is conceivable that recurrent engagement with the traumatic memory exacerbates the disintegration of the authentic self.

James Knowlson characterizes *Footfalls* as a 'ghost story,' designating May as the spectral presence that permeates the play due to her ethereal appearance and ambiguous ontological status throughout the text. Knowlson anchors his interpretation in the influence of Carl Jung on Beckett, particularly referencing Jung's patient who was 'never properly born,' and asserts that 'If Jung's girl patient has haunted Beckett for so long, it is because she epitomized for him a permanent sense of existence by proxy, of being absent from true being' (2012:p.271). Beckett's documented attendance at a Jungian conference concerning this patient is thus crucial in elucidating the dialectic of absence and presence in the play. Knowlson also addresses the characters Amy and Mrs. Winter, identifying them as mental constructs fabricated by May (2012:p.269). This stance diverges from my interpretation, which posits them as manifestations of the authentic self's internal division. Beckett also stipulates that the third Scene should be performed as if May has documented it for posterity (Asmus, 2012:p.256). Nevertheless, as a recipient of the work, I take the liberty to propose that Amy constitutes the split self, an internal other, whose existence is recorded and mediated by the authentic self, in accordance with the playwright's intentions.

In his rehearsals for the 1976 German premiere of *Footfalls*, Beckett referred to the play as 'a very small play, but a lot of problems concerning precision' (Asmus, 2012:p.258). This remark captures the paradox at the play's core: formally minimal yet semantically dense. The play resists fixed interpretation, instead functioning as a fragmented space where language, time, and identity collapse into repetition and absence. One fruitful method of engaging with the play's ambiguity is to reverse the conventional binary of the mother-daughter relationship, interpreting May not simply as the daughter of the disembodied voice, but potentially as a grieving mother herself. Such a reversal opens a path toward a different axis of trauma, centred not on maternal loss but on the loss of a child. The destabilizing use of the pronoun 'it,' particularly following the gendered 'she,' becomes key to this interpretation. While critics such as Weiss (2013:p.58) have attempted to identify 'it' as a symbolic stand-in for trauma, such readings often overlook the linguistic and ontological shift enacted by Beckett through this pronoun change. The move from *she* to *it* signifies not only depersonalization but disappearance, a transition from subjectivity to objectivity. In this regard, Cathy Caruth's theorization of trauma as

an experience that 'is not fully assimilated as it occurs', and that returns belatedly in fragmented, symptomatic forms (1966:p.5), becomes especially pertinent. May's compulsive pacing (her footfalls) functions not simply as a theatrical device but as a non-verbal statement of unprocessed grief, a corporeal echo of something lost and unnamed.

This recursive movement can also be situated within what Steven Connor identifies as Beckett's poetics of repetition, where meaning is never stable but endlessly deferred. In *Samuel Beckett: Repetition, Theory and Text*, Connor emphasizes that repetition in Beckett is not merely mechanical but philosophical; it signals a condition in which language communicates around a lack (1988:p.39), endlessly revisiting an origin that can no longer be reached or named. May's walk, marked by exact steps, pauses and silences enacts this very condition: each return to the end of the strip marks both an approach and a deferral, a performance of absence. The line 'where it began' thus becomes less a reference to biographical origin and more a pointer to the unrepresentable moment of psychic rupture. In this interpretive framework, May *may* be understood as a split subject—one who simultaneously occupies the positions of daughter, mother and mourner. This tension between ritual precision and semantic instability echoes both Caruth's model of trauma as unclaimed experience and Connor's analysis of repetition as a gesture toward, rather than a resolution of, meaning. Ultimately, *Footfalls* stages a theatre of deferred recognition and unresolved grief, where every utterance and every step mark both presence and erasure.

Not only the characters but also the voices in *Footfalls* may be interpreted as traces that emphasize the incessant deferral of meaning, thereby positioning the audience within the unresolved dialectic of presence and absence. Throughout the play, we observe not only the gradual physical disintegration of May's body but also the simultaneous dissolution of her voice. Her movements decelerate and she progressively fades, mirroring the disappearance of other presences within the dramatic space. This trajectory culminates in the final stage direction: '[Pause. Fade out on strip. All in darkness. Pause. / Chime even a little fainter still. Pause for echoes. Fade up to even a little less still on strip. / No trace of MAY. / Hold ten seconds. Fade out.]' (IV, 243). This passage explicitly reinforces the play's pervasive ambiguity by enacting the complete erasure of the already fragmented figure of May, emphasizing that there remains 'No trace of MAY'. Such a rare and unequivocal declaration invites the interpretation that *Footfalls* offers no stable or authentic presence; rather, all manifestations including May herself, may be construed as spectral emanations of a disintegrated self, one that perhaps never fully existed or that emerges solely as an illusion conjured by the failures and limitations of language.

III.

Footfalls purposefully resists narrative closure and psychological resolution, enacting a postmodern aesthetics of uncertainty. As Brater asserts, the play 'makes us suspect that there is far more in his play than first meets the eye' (1978:p.37). It is never intended as an open text to be understood directly; rather, through Beckett's repeated linguistic manipulations, it stands as a hallmark of postmodern ambiguity, a space for multiple, often conflicting readings, where each interpretation risks undoing or erasing the last. Derrida insightfully describes this dynamic as 'a web that envelops a web, undoing the web for centuries; reconstituting it too as an organism, indefinitely regenerating its own tissue behind the cutting trace, the decision of each reading' (2010, 1697). Beyond the traces inherent in language itself, I argue that Beckett intentionally implants deliberate traces throughout *Footfalls* that defer meaning, continually shifting the terrain between absence and presence.

At first glance, the play seems to depict a traumatic subject recalling conversations with her deceased mother, whose late maternity may intensify the trauma. Yet the emergence of new characters, most notably Amy, a name cleverly crafted as an amalgam of May, provokes doubt about the presence and identity of the original figure, May, whose very name ironically suggests renewal and presence. The introduction of an absent male figure identified only by 'his arm' further unsettles meaning, inviting speculation that the authentic self may be mourning an unborn child. It is arguable that Amy, rather than May, embodies the authentic self, fractured repeatedly; May, Mother's Voice, Mrs. Winter and W serve as internal others, each reflecting trauma in divergent ways that fragment both language and subjectivity. Thus, the subject is reduced to ritualistic repetition and a relentless erasure of authenticity, culminating in a final scene where presence becomes a contested site between authentic self and internal others. How, then, can we trust such a manipulative interplay of language, characters, and playwright to yield any fixed or stable meaning amid these floating traces? It must be emphasized that a postmodern text such as *Footfalls* precisely compels us to question everything: every utterance, every interpretation, even our own selves. Each attempt to understand the text, each sentence we form, may only give rise to new mysteries, new uncertainties. In this vein, Derrida offers a crucial reflection on the perils and possibilities of criticism:

'There is always a surprise in store for the anatomy or physiology of any criticism that think it had mastered the game, surveyed all the threads at once, deluding itself, too, in wanting to look at the text without touching it, without laying a hand on the 'object,' without risking—which is the only chance of getting into

the game, by getting a few fingers caught—the addition of some new thread.’
(2010:p.1697)

This acknowledgment of risk or the necessity of engaging with the text, even at the cost of partial failure or entanglement is the ‘only chance’ for entering the play’s game. It is precisely this spirit that I embrace: admitting that I have not mastered the game, yet relishing the steps taken along the way, the generative potential of new readings, and the ever-unfolding possibilities of discovering new threads within Beckett’s intricate web.

Finally, *Footfalls* leaves us unable to definitively locate the speaking subject, whether it is the authentic self or one of the internal others that haunt the text. The voice may belong to May, to Amy, to the Mother or to a fractured amalgamation of all three, making any stable identification elusive. In this way, Beckett sustains the play’s postmodern refusal of resolution, where subjectivity is dispersed across voices, silences, and spectral presences that resist containment.

References

1. Asmus, W.D. (2012) Rehearsal notes for the German premiere of Beckett’s *That Time* and *Footfalls*. In: Gontarski, S.E. (ed.) *On Beckett: Essays and Criticism*. London, Anthem Press, pp. 253–264.
2. Beckett, S. (1984) *The Collected Shorter Plays*. New York, Grove Press.
3. Brater, E. (1978) A footnote to “Footfalls”: Footsteps of infinity on Beckett’s narrow space, *Comparative Drama*, 12(1), 35–41. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23293696> [Accessed: 30 July 2025].
4. Caruth, C. (1996) *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History*. Baltimore, MD, Johns Hopkins University Press.
5. Connor, S. (1988) *Samuel Beckett: Repetition, Theory and Text*. Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
6. Derrida, J. (2010) Dissemination, in Leitch, V.B. (ed.) *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*. 2nd edn. New York, W.W. Norton & Company, pp. 1697–1734.
7. Felman, S. and Laub, D. (1992) *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*. London, Routledge.
8. Gontarski, S.E. (2015) Samuel Beckett and the “idea” of theatre: Performance through Artaud and Deleuze. In: Van Hulle, D. (ed.) *The New Cambridge Companion to Samuel Beckett*. New York, Cambridge University Press, pp. 126–141.
9. Gussow, M. (1994) Modify Beckett? Enter, outrage, *The New York Times*, 24 March. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/1994/03/26/arts/modify-beckett-enter-outrage.html> [Accessed: 30 July 2025].

10. Hartman, G. (1995) On traumatic knowledge and literary studies, *New Literary History*, 26(3), 537–563. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20057300> [Accessed: 30 July 2025].
11. Hartman, G. (2003) Trauma within the limits of literature, *European Journal of English Studies*, 7(3), 257–274.
12. Knowlson, J. (2012) Footfalls. In: Gontarski, S.E. (ed.) *On Beckett: Essays and Criticism*. London, Anthem Press, pp. 265–272.
13. Kurtz, J.R. (ed.) (2018) *Trauma and Literature* (Cambridge Critical Concepts). Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. DOI:10.1017/9781316817155.
14. Riquelme, J.P. (2000) Toward a history of Gothic and Modernism: Dark modernity from Bram Stoker to Samuel Beckett, *Modern Fiction Studies*, 46(3), 585–605. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26286066> [Accessed: 1 June 2025].
15. Weiss, K. (2013) *The Plays of Samuel Beckett*. London, Bloomsbury Publishing Plc–Methuen Drama.
16. Whitelaw, B. (1996) *Billie Whitelaw...Who He? An Autobiography*. London, Sceptre.

Sultan Komut Bakindž

Univerzitet Kultur u Istanbulu

Fakultet nauka i umjetnosti

FRAGMENTISANI IDENTITET GOVOREĆEG SUBJEKTA U BEKETOVOJ DRAMI *FOOTFALLS*: AUTENTIČNO JA I NJEGOVI UNUTRAŠNJI DRUGI

Rezime

Ovaj rad proučava *Footfalls* Samjuela Beketa kao snažnu dramatizaciju psihološke traume i fragmentacije sopstva, tvrdeći da sama forma drame – njen rascjepkani okvir, sablasna prisustva i isprekidani jezik – ostvaruje poremećaj koji nastoji da prikaže. Polazeći od teorije Ketii Karut o traumi kao odloženom, neasimilabilnom iskustvu koje se opire koherentnoj naraciji, analiza postavlja *Footfalls*, u okviru kojeg daje prednost rascjepu i nesigurnosti u odnosu na razrješenje. Beketov izraz ne prikriva poremećaj; naprotiv, on ga ogoljuje i ponavlja njegove prelomljene ritmove. U središtu drame nalazi se Mej, sablasna granična figura čije ritualno hodanje i isprekidani razgovori sa Ženskim Glasom – za koji se pretpostavlja da pripada njenoj majci, ali može biti i projekcija njenog vlastitog rascjepljenog uma – predstavljaju raspad jedinstvenog subjekta. Iz ove perspektive, Mej nije autentična, koherentna ličnost, već oličenje unutrašnjeg Drugog, glasa među mnogima u razbijenom sopstvu.

Koristeći Deridove pojmove *différance* i nestabilnosti prisustva, rad dalje tvrdi da *Footfalls* sistematski potkopava tradicionalne binarnosti poput ja/drugi, prisustvo/odsustvo i glas/tišina. Ambigvitet koji okružuje identitet govornika i neodređenost stvarnosti unutar drame zajedno destabilizuju očekivanja publike i tumača. Becketov tekst podstiče mnoštvo čitanja: svako novo tumačenje otvara mogućnosti, ali istovremeno poništava prethodne izvjesnosti. Kako primjećuje Brejter, drama 'navodi da posumnjamo da u njoj ima mnogo više nego što se na prvi pogled vidi' (1978:p.37). Ona odbija da bude proziran, otvoren tekst; naprotiv, kroz Beketove namjerne jezičke manipulacije postaje obilježje postmodernističke dvosmislenosti – složen prostor u kojem se značenje stalno odgađa, rascjepljuje i iznova obnavlja.

Deridini uvidi u igru teksta ključni su za ovo razumijevanje. On opisuje interpretaciju kao 'mrežu koja obavija mrežu, razara mrežu vijekovima; ali je i ponovo uspostavlja kao organizam, beskrajno obnavljajući sopstveno tkivo iza reza svake interpretacije' (2010:p.1697). *Footfalls* ostvaruje upravo ovu Deridinu dinamiku, u kojoj značenje nikada nije fiksirano, već se stalno pomjera između prisustva i odsustva. Becket namjerno usađuje tragove u dramu koji pomjeraju i destabilizuju razumijevanje, primoravajući čitaoca ili gledaoca da preispita svaku rečenicu, svaki zvuk i čak sopstveno tumačenje. Na narativnom nivou *Footfalls* izgleda kao prikaz traumatizovanog subjekta koji priziva razgovore sa preminulom majkom, čije kasno majčinstvo može dodatno pojačati bol kćerke. Ipak, iznenadno pojavljivanje novih figura – naročito Ejmi, čije ime spaja *A* i *May* – dodatno rascjepljuje identitet. Ova jezička igra izaziva sumnju u autentičnost ili čak postojanje same Mej, čije ime ironično priziva obnovu i prisustvo. Pominjanje odsutne muške figure poznate samo po *njegovoj ruci* još više komplikuje osjećaj sopstva, sugerišući slojeve gubitka i žalovanja koji se ne mogu neposredno izraziti. U ovom pomjerenom pejzažu, Ejmi, Mej, Glas Majke, gospođa Vinter i V postaju potencijalni fragmenti jednog razbijenog uma, odražavajući različite oblike ponavljanja i unutrašnjeg djelovanja traume.

Kako drama odmiče, identitet subjekta rastvara se u ritualnom ponavljanju, a autentičnost postaje nemoguća za održavanje. Završna scena ostavlja pojam prisustva duboko neodređenim: nije moguće jasno odrediti ko govori, a granica između sopstva i unutrašnjih drugih potpuno se briše. Ova nerazriješenost potvrđuje Beketovu postmodernu estetiku nesigurnosti. *Footfalls* ne nudi psihološko razrješenje ni stabilno središte – samo sablasnu igru glasova i tišine u kojoj se subjektivnost raspada u mnoštvo prisutnih i odsutnih glasova.

Deridina razmišljanja o prirodi kritike – njenom riziku, zapletenosti i neizbježnoj nepotpunosti – oblikuju i kritičku poziciju ovog rada. On nas podsjeća

da nijedan tumač ne može 'gledati tekst a da ga ne dodirne', da se ne uplete u njegove niti, i da je takav rizik 'jedina šansa da se uđe u igru' (2010:p.1697). Slično tome, svaki pokušaj interpretacije *Footfalls* zahtijeva spremnost da se uđe u Beketovu mrežu odloženih značenja, uz svijest da je potpuno ovladavanje nemoguće. Sam čin čitanja postaje proces zaplitanja – produktivan, uznemirujući i beskrajno stvaralački.

Na kraju, *Footfalls* se opire svakoj potrebi da se pronade jedinstven, stabilan govorni subjekt. Glas može pripadati Mej, Ejmi, Majci ili njihovom spoju. Beketova odluka da ne razjasni ovu dvosmislenost osigurava da drama ostane otvorena, nerazriješena i duboko samorefleksivna. Ona prikazuje raspad identiteta, kolaps narativne koherentnosti i vječni povratak traume koja se ne može asimilovati. Na taj način *Footfalls* postaje i odraz i ostvarenje postmoderne nesigurnosti – prostor u kojem jezik posrće, značenje se rasipa, a svako tumačenje ostaje samo još jedan trag u Beketovoj beskrajno obnavljajućoj mreži.

► **Keywords:** Identitet, trauma, *différance*, unutrašnji Drugi, višeznačnost.

Preuzeto: 30. 9. 2025.
Prihvaćeno: 28. 10. 2025.

Marija N. Gagić¹

A COMMEMORATION OF WOUNDS ENDURED: WRITING AS RESISTANCE IN MARGARET ATWOOD'S *THE BLIND ASSASSIN*

Abstract: *Margaret Atwood's The Blind Assassin depicts repressive patriarchal practices such as insistence upon the cult of Victorian womanhood and the sacrificial angel trope imposed on women in 1930s and 1940s Canada. Focusing on the protagonist, Iris Chase Griffen, the paper will explore the ways in which female voices are silenced within patriarchal structures, finding an outlet of resistance in the act of writing. The Blind Assassin utilizes the mode of fictional autobiography to challenge dominant male perspectives, as Iris rewrites her own history, realizing the potential for female agency and self-expression.*

Keywords: *Margaret Atwood, The Blind Assassin, fictive autobiography, l'écriture féminine, personal trauma narrative, self-sacrifice.*

1. Introduction

A fictional memoir, told against the backdrop of wartime upheaval and ensuing economic dislocations, *The Blind Assassin* offers an insight into a deeply masculinist system that sanctions objectification of and sexual transgressions against women. A powerful confessional impulse pulsates throughout the novel, one compelling Iris Chase Griffen, the novel's narrator, to produce a memorial – “a commemoration of wounds endured” (Atwood, 2000:p.508) which would depict a personal history of victimization inflicted on her and her sister Laura. Building on the personal trauma narrative, the novel weaves a commentary on how societal structures and cultural norms perpetuate women's victimization.

In *The Blind Assassin*, Margaret Atwood exposes the constraints, contradictions, and deceptions present in the gender ideology of 1930s and 1940s Canada to which

¹ The author is a PhD student at the Faculty of Philology in Belgrade (Serbia). E-mail address: marija.gagic4@gmail.com

the Chase sisters are forced to conform. One of the most prominent ways the novel demonstrates the harmful impact of these norms is through the portrayal of the cult of domesticity or the “trivialized Victorian angel in the house” (Gilbert and Gubar, 2020:p.20) paradigm. Namely, Iris is compelled to play the role of a wholly passive virginal bride who lives a pathetic life of cloistered ordinariness picked out for her by her father and husband:

‘For in the metaphysical emptiness their “purity” signifies they are, of course, selfless, with all the moral and psychological implications that word suggests [...] She ... leads a life of almost pure contemplation. ... in considerable isolation on a country estate ... a life without external events — a life whose story cannot be told as there is no story. [...] She has no story of her own but gives “advice and consolation” to others, listens, smiles, sympathizes.’ (Gilbert & Gubar, 2020:pp.21, 22)

Marriage is established as a trade market where women are exchanged as commodities to uplift men to higher places in society or politics. It is an oppressive institution that forces Iris and her female predecessors to subordinate their needs and desires to their husbands. Another avenue of victimization to be explored is the way women are silenced in phallogocentric discourse. The way characters like Laura and Iris are silenced in sharing their story of abuse with the wider society demonstrates “the severity of the male text’s “imposition” upon women.” (Gilbert & Gubar, 2020:p.20)

The novel challenges the gilded image of the self-sacrificing angel, exposing its role in maintaining women’s subordination and their blind acceptance of their own oppression. This paper will explore the subversive approach to modes of Victorian femininity inscribed in the text, as well as the underlying power dynamics and the traumatic consequences of conforming to societal norms.

Furthermore, the act of female writing, or *l’écriture féminine* will be explored as a way to dialogically contest the male-inscribed version of history. Women’s textual self-representation is explored as an avenue for escaping entrapment in literary and cultural constructs. Iris weaves her contradictory account navigating through inherited male-dominated texts, only to emerge beyond hegemonic categorizations: ‘Acting as an assassin by occupation, Iris writes and unwrites others’ identities, along with her own, leaving them open for change in ways to improve her progeny’s vistas’ (Hembrough, 2017:p.3). It is through the destruction of gender norms that female forebearers may leave a fruitful heritage for the generations to come. *The Blind Assassin* can therefore be seen as a postmodern narrative about Iris as a writer assassin who writes her own story in order to deconstruct female constructs singularly defined by the masculinist social strictures.

2. Masculinist Constructs and Female Identity

In addition to being a confessional memoir depicting personal family history, *Blind Assassin* also documents the ways in which social and political forces of a given time collude to shape and confine women into predetermined gender and class roles. It is a story centered on domestic life that gradually reveals larger patterns about history and identity. The personal traumas and sacrifices Iris and Laura go through under an oppressive patriarchal system are indicative of a classic, generationally transmitted cultural script available to women of the twentieth century.

The social myth of female sacrifice is also described in Gilbert and Gubar's seminal work *The Madwoman in the Attic*. They describe the cult of the "angel-woman" in terms of fragility and delicate beauty, these women are seen as compliant, ready to reduce themselves to art objects, they are 'slim, pale, passive beings whose "charms" eerily recalled the snowy, porcelain immobility of the dead' (Gilbert & Gubar, 2020:p.25). The Victorian formula valorizes surrender of the self and one's own comfort and finds nobility in death. Victorian women were seen as angelic figures whose primary purpose was to create a haven for their husbands, offering emotional support and a respite from the challenges of the outside world. The authors imply that these eternal types such as the angel in the house are masks, impositions invented by male artists in their attempt to fight off inconstancy and to possess women more thoroughly (Gilbert & Gubar, 2020:p.17)

The masks Iris is forced to wear are socially constructed roles of the self-sacrificial daughter and sister, virginal bride and dutiful wife and mother. These roles also closely resemble the Victorian ideals of purity and passiveness. In *The Victorian Woman Question in Contemporary Feminist Fiction*, Jeanette King describes "the madonna" as one of the polarizing images underpinning the Victorian vision of womanhood. It led to a gender ideology in which temptations of the flesh were rebuked and obedience and silent submissiveness favored. (King, 2005:p.11) Women who followed the Virgin Mary ideal of purity and self-sacrifice were sanctified, and others were associated with evil and disobedience:

'Images of the Madonna and of angels therefore contribute to the formation of the Victorian feminine ideal, in both visual and literary representations. What emerges out of this iconography is a highly idealised picture of woman as disembodied, spiritual, and, above all, chaste. Chastity, moreover, meant for many not only a lack of sexual experience, but a lack of sexual feeling, or "passionlessness"'. (Davies in King, 2005:pp.10,11)

In *The Blind Assassin*, the enduring lineage of these gender ideals of “good women” is underlined by the descriptions of Iris and Laura’s mother and grandmother. Their grandmother Adelia was married off, irrespective of her free will, as a commodity expected to “refine” the crude Chase money. The arranged marriage is described as her duty, and she is expected to use her taste and culture to uplift her husband in society. Iris romanticizes her grandmother by imagining her with agency – taking up a lover, or eating her food with her fingers once the nice company left, acutely aware of the improbability of such prospects.

Adelia constructs their family home as an Arcadian retreat reminiscent of Tennyson’s idyllic fantastical landscape, however, Iris detects its hollowness: ‘Surely Adelia’s choice of name signifies how hopelessly in exile she considered herself to be: she might be able to call into being by sheer force of will some shoddy facsimile of a happy isle, but it would never be the real thing’ (Atwood, 2000:p.61). While dying of cancer, Adelia still “bites the bullet”, has perfect posture, and dresses beautifully despite the tremendous pain she is in. And when Reenie recounts the story of her death to Iris, she wonders if there is a hidden message in the story – ‘that I too should display such fortitude—such defiance of pain, such bullet-biting’ (Atwood, 2000:p.64).

Their mother Liliana is similarly depicted in terms of a sense of duty which mars one’s personal desires. She is a devout Christian, of frail health, and yet steeped in altruistic pursuits of missionary work with the poor and wounded soldiers. Self-sacrifice is more than evident in Iris’s account of her mother, she recognizes a desire to pursue virtue at the price of her health and strength: ‘Nobody is born with that kind of selflessness: it can be acquired only by the most relentless discipline, a crushing-out of natural inclination, and by my time the knack or secret of it must have been lost. Or perhaps I didn’t try, having suffered from the effects it had on my mother’ (Atwood, 2000:p.73).

Iris also recognizes the perils of this selflessness, “its tyranny” (Atwood, 2000:p.77). The silent grudges that materialize between her parents after her mother passively accepts the devastating effects of war on her husband – the mistresses, the atheism, and the drinking, as she ‘understood that she was supposed to understand’ (ibid.) and her father’s resentment of her forgiveness. Ultimately, her mother dies from a miscarriage, becoming a victim of self-denial prescribed by the domestic ideal of motherhood. Iris and Laura, although aware of the deadliness of being a sacrificial good woman, still internalize the social script of female sacrifice. Iris carries the generational burden of self-sacrifice and bemoans her inability to shed the weight fastened onto her by her mother’s idea of her goodness:

'But I had no words to express this, my disagreement with my mother's version of things. I didn't know I was about to be left with her idea of me; with her idea of my goodness pinned onto me like a badge, and no chance to throw it back at her (as would have been the normal course of affairs with a mother and a daughter—if she'd lived, as I'd grown older).' (Atwood, 2000:p.94)

Consequently, Iris and Laura grow up walking a precarious line between their legacy of compliance and sacrifice and their awareness of its devastating effects. When girls reach adolescence, Norval Chase decides to reinforce Reenie's lessons about proper femininity and social respectability. The values her father demands from his daughters are tantamount to those of an army: 'neatness, obedience, silence, and no evident sexuality' (Atwood, 2000:p.159), symptomatic of broader Victorian ideas of femininity and sexuality. As the girls grow older, he becomes much stricter, insisting on their obedience and silence. As a way to instill these values, he subsequently hires a tutor, Mr. Erskine, who subjects them to emotional and physical abuse, teaching them about their cultural role as submissive sexual objects and victims:

'He was fond of the suicide of Dido—or from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the parts where unpleasant things were done by the gods to various young women. The rape of Europa by a large white bull, of Leda by a swan, of Danae by a shower of gold—these would at least hold our attention, he said, with his ironic smile. He was right about that. For a change, he would have us translate Latin love poems of a cynical kind. *Odi et amo* —that sort of thing. He got a kick out of watching us struggle with the poets' bad opinions of the kinds of girls we were apparently destined to be.' (Atwood, 2000:p.163)

Iris and Laura also internalize the rules of femininity through exchanges with Mr. Erskine who shames them for supposedly female traits of mental deficiency, propensity for daydreaming, and "sloppy" sentimentality. He also sexually molests Laura, a fact that remains hidden from her father and wider society. Even Iris remains apprehensive when it comes to fully believing Laura's account. Laura's experiences with Mr. Erskine foreshadow her later victimization by Richard Griffen and the way she learns how to 'subtract herself in the blink of an eye' (Atwood, 2000:p.164), disassociate, and passively endure her tutor's abuse becomes her automatic response to Richard. Mr. Erskine represents the repressive forces of the masculinist society and the way the story of Laura's sexual trauma becomes concealed in the novel's multiple narratives mirrors the long cultural denial of sexual trauma.

Tara Hembrough describes Iris as ‘a captive of some masculinist-created stronghold’ (Hembrough, 2017:p.9), tied to sterile and antiquated male-dominated Victorian spaces. Images of enclosure and escape are embedded in the description of architecture which mirrors their entrapment in phallogocentric literary constructs. Avilion bears the mark of patriarchal trappings Iris is exposed to – her parents’ requests to take up the burden of Laura’s wellbeing, Reenie’s sanctimonious teachings about sexuality, and her father’s request to save their family name from ruin by marrying Richard. Ostensibly a romantic place of Tennysonian ideals of heroes and fairytale lovers, it proves to be a preparatory ground for sacrificial maidens to be consumed as masculinist society’s products: ‘Perhaps he considered [Avilion] itself her true monument. And so Laura and I were brought up by her. We grew up inside her house; that is to say, inside her conception of herself. And inside her conception of who we ought to be, but weren’t’ (Atwood, 2000:p.62).

Iris’s house with Richard, decorated by Winifred who is completely immersed in the world of predatory patriarchal expectations, ends up resembling Laura’s asylum. It becomes the symbol of patriarchal confinement, sterility, and isolation as both Iris and Laura become trapped in a patriarchally constructed universe. Her one form of escape is her rock garden, again symbolically empty of life, barren. When she revisits the house as an old woman, Iris describes it as ‘unowned, transient, like a picture in a real-estate flyer’ (Atwood, 2000:p.297), she is devoid of any emotion and disconnected from the home she used to occupy. At that moment, she imagines her past self, disembodied, gazing out the window, plotting her escape that never came to fruition. During the entirety of her youth, Iris seems to be trapped in an ivory tower, gazing at a proverbial glass ceiling, through which she can never escape just like “a decorated and bejewelled prisoner” (ibid. 132) from Sakiel-Norn.

The mise-en-abyme structure of Atwood’s novel allows a more in-depth analysis of the social strictures that shape female identity as these multiple discourses mirror each other thematically. In Alex’s science fiction story featured in *The Blind Assassin*, he describes a society predicated upon the suffering of sacrificial virgins of Sakiel-Norn that corresponds to the suffering of women like Iris who are trapped in paternally arranged marriages. He precisely describes one of them as a “pampered society bride” (Atwood, 2000:p.29), decorated with a veil and flowers, taught to lay her life freely and selflessly with her tongue removed to prevent any vocal resistance to the ritual sacrifice she is forced to undergo. Sacrificial virgins ‘were taught to walk with downcast eyes, and to smile with gentle melancholy, and to sing the songs of the Goddess, which were about absence and silence, about unfulfilled love and unexpressed regret, and wordlessness’ (Atwood, 2000:p.29). Their tonguelessness

is not seen as mutilation but as an improvement showing that Sakiel-Norn, a fictitious dystopian place born in Alex's imagination is not a far cry from a sanitized Victorian world of decorous self-sacrifice.

In establishing a connection between Iris and Laura and the sacrifice of the virgins in the science fiction story, Atwood showcases how violence against women is culturally and historically ubiquitous, and the repetitive nature of women's sexual victimization in the novel shows how this type of traumatization is often institutionalized.

When it comes to Laura, she is described as having "saintly impulses", and she becomes the mute sacrificial virgin in Richard's blackmail scheme who sexually sacrifices herself due to a religious devotion she feels for Alex: 'It was horrible, but I had to do it. I had to make the sacrifice. I had to take the pain and suffering onto myself. That's what I promised God. I knew if I did that, it would save Alex' (Atwood, 2000:p.487). Laura becomes the ultimate victim of the self-sacrificial mode of thinking and behavior when she commits suicide by swerving off the bridge. Similarly, in her childhood, faced with the finality of her mother's death, she attempts to drown in the Louveteau, hoping that her sacrifice would bring her mother back. By being present only in textual form, through the lens of her sister's perception of her, Laura becomes an archetypal composite of textual representations of the female self-sacrificial victim., showing just how ruinous this ideal can be to female subjectivity:

'Laura is a kind of missing person in the text, existing somewhere between the realms of social realism and cultural myth, suggests that the utterly "good" sacrificial woman is both a kind of textual illusion and a lingering female and cultural fantasy in the postfeminist world of the late-twentieth and early-twenty-first century.' (Bouson, 2003:p.252)

The core issues embedded in the plot of *The Blind Assassin* are "the social construction of female identity and the cultural denigration of the female body" (Bouson, 2010:p.2). Namely, Margaret Atwood outlines the traumatic effects of enacting the social ideal of feminine self-sacrifice. It shows femininity as being socially developed by repressive forces of masculinist culture that presuppose quiet suffering and selfless sacrifice. However, Atwood also explores subversive female writing as a way to rewrite the masculine code of subordination and escape the entrapment of cultural constructs.

3. Rewriting the Madwoman: Trauma and Textuality

Female writing, as Gilbert and Gubar suggest, assaults and deconstructs societal values which created the patriarchal paradigm of the angel in the house, reconstructing images of women inherited from male literature. Female writing can therefore be used to remove the mythic masks of the phallogocentric discourse that impose submissiveness, silence, and domesticity: “Women must kill the aesthetic ideal through which they themselves have been “killed” into art.” (Gilbert & Gubar, 2020:p.7)

There is a split in Iris’s identity as she attempts to navigate the socially imposed pattern of an obedient and dutiful politician’s wife and clandestine meetings with Alex Thomas in which she performs the role of a mistress, further emphasized by elderly Iris’s attempt to bridge the gap between her past and present selves. The contradictory roles she needs to perform leads to a schism in her subjectivity (Hembrough, 2017:p.5). The fractured identity that emerges as a result is not seen as dysfunctional in Atwood’s postmodernist discourse, though, the ontological fluidity is seen as empowering. She is free to position herself as ‘a victim, product, villain, and avenger’ (Hembrough, 2017:p.3), which helps constitute a larger, more diverse sphere of identities to be recognized and identified with by women.

Bouson (2003) mentions not only the aforementioned roles imposed on the sisters by social strictures in terms of “femininity as a kind of formative trauma” (p. 255), but she also provides a deeper insight into Iris’s complicity and collusion with these harmful practices. In her view, the internalization of ideals of self-restraint and self-sacrifice causes Iris’s blindness and denial when it comes to Laura’s victimization by Richard, and her memoir is seen as an attempt to attenuate her culpability and ease her consciousness. Tara Hembrough further posits Iris as ‘a casualty, product, villain, and usurper of her masculinist culture’ (Hembrough, 2017:p.2). The fluidity of given identities allows the reader to contest Iris’s initial narrative of ‘the conventional Edwardian female roles as dutiful daughter, “good sister to Laura,” (...) appropriately dressed and frivolous Toronto society wife and mother in a loveless arranged marriage’ (Howells, 2003:p.44). Iris’s account of the truth may at times be interrupted by intrusion of other voices such as Laura’s that contest her self-portrait and tell an entirely different story. These contradictory fragments are important as they show that even though Iris can keep secrets or tell half-truths or lies in an attempt to hide the fact that she participates in her role as a social product, the act of her telling her own story is still important as it challenges logocentric masculinist truths.

After her engagement, Iris feels “erased, featureless” and observing her trousseau before her honeymoon, she ponders how full of emptiness, empty space – surely her way of subconsciously fighting off the signifiers imposed upon her by masculinist discourse. Perhaps Iris recognizes the same script her mother observed that arguably killed her in the words her father utters to her before the proposal: ‘A certain amount of resolve might be required. A certain amount of courage. Biting the bullet and so forth’ (Atwood, 2000:p.226). Ultimately, Iris’s noble act of self-sacrifice proves futile as her father’s factories still shut down and she fails to protect Laura, which leads her to the discovery similar to those of the sacrificial maidens in the story who ‘realize they were being murdered as lip service to an outworn concept’ (ibid. 29). Faced with the fact that her whole life has been authored by her father and husband, older Iris writes a story in an attempt to get away from their definitions. A woman must learn how to assimilate and transcend these extreme images, which, for Iris, is done through her memoir. It is a written attempt at self-definition, i.e. the “killing” of the imposed aesthetic ideal, through which she can replace the patriarchal definitions she conformed to in her girlhood.

Atwood further implies that through the act of writing, women can erect a memorial for the buried female voices from the past, allowing for its reparation which will allay the fears of upcoming generations of women. ‘Your legacy from him is the realm of infinite speculation. You’re free to reinvent yourself at will,’ Iris tells her granddaughter Sabrina (Atwood, 2000:p.513). According to Coral Ann Howells, Iris intends to free her granddaughter from ‘the constraints of legitimating myths of origin’ (Howells, 2003:p.51). By emphasizing the illegitimacy of Laura and Sabrina’s origin and the fact that Alex Thomas is her real grandfather, Iris shakes the foundation of predetermining structures of identity. It is a hopeful ending, which suggests that Sabrina, as an exponent of the newer generation can reinvent herself, unburdened with culturally constructed entrapment her predecessors were defined and confined by.

Hélène Cixous’ essay *The Laugh of the Medusa* outlines a strategy for women to subvert and reclaim the patriarchal discourse that has marginalized them throughout history:

‘If woman has always functioned “within” the discourse of man, a signifier that has always referred back to the opposite signifier which annihilates its specific energy and diminishes or stifles its very different sounds, it is time for her to dislocate this “within,” to explode it, turn it around, and seize it; to make it hers, containing it, taking it in her own mouth, biting that tongue with her very own teeth to invent for herself a language to get inside of.’ (Cixous, 1976:p.887)

According to Cixous, the only position within the existing order is one of compliance with masculine standards, however, female writing possesses both destructive and regenerative potentials. It is volcanic and subversive towards the established order and it dismantles the patriarchal system. It is also a radical reimagining of feminine self-expression. Cixous challenges the patriarchal dominance of language and narrative by ironically contesting the idea that female desires, pleasures, and identities were accurately represented by the male discourse (Cixous, 1976:p.888). This new revolutionary feminine language, which will meld body and text, will dismantle patriarchal power structures and create a language capable of expressing the fullness of women's experiences:

‘Women must write through their bodies, they must invent the impregnable language that will wreck partitions, classes, and rhetorics, regulations and codes, they must submerge, cut through, get beyond the ultimate reserve-discourse, including the one that laughs at the very idea of pronouncing the word “silence,” the one that, aiming for the impossible, stops short before the word “impossible” and writes it as “the end.”’ (Cixous, 1976:p.886)

Similarly, Madeleine Davies (2006) analyzes power politics through the connection between the female body and the text. It is an approach that echoes Spivak's idea that ‘there is no such thing as an uncoded body’ (Spivak in Davies, 2006:p.60) and that the body bears the mark of cultural and political forces. Davies sees the body as a blank page, a figurative text encoded by others, in the case of *The Blind Assassin* the proof of the cruelty enacted by Iris's abusive husband who leaves bruises on her body.

Iris's self-authored narrative about endured abuse is an attempt to erase old codes and reclaim authorship of her own story and her own body, which she feels were taken from her: ‘I sometimes felt as if these marks on my body were a kind of code, which blossomed, then faded, like invisible ink held to a candle. But if they were a code, who held the key to it? I was sand, I was snow—written on, rewritten, smoothed over’ (Atwood, 2000:p.371). Her subversive narrative confession is a rejection of cultural myths that favor silenced female voices: ‘Muffled throughout their history, they have lived in dreams, in bodies (though muted), in silences, in aphonic revolts. (Cixous, 1976:p.886)

Cixous argues that women have been historically excluded from writing and their bodies by patriarchal forces. She suggests that women should inhabit their bodies fully and thus reclaim their bodies and subsequently their voices through writing. By writing from their bodies, women can create a female language that subverts historical and political constructions as well as the dominant linguistic order.

In a metafictional remark she makes in the novel, Iris recognizes in herself the urge for 'a thread thrown onto the empty page, into the empty air' (Atwood, 2000:p.473). Roberta White recognizes this impulse as indicative of Atwood's view of art as a strategy for survival (White in Bloom, 2009:p.159). Atwood explores how personal experiences, particularly traumatic childhood events, can shape an artist's work. These internal processes, in Iris's case navigating the world of culturally sanctioned misogyny lead to the urge for artistic creation by which she would re-engage with society on her own terms.

Introducing the perspective of the Gothic, Coral Ann Howells suggests that Margaret Atwood uses this genre as a dark lens through which history can be perceived from a different angle (Howells, 2003:p.28). As the Gothic positions the uncanny other as a threat to the official narratives of history, a parallel can be drawn with female storytelling. Women, who have been politically marginalized, but also the victims of political and social structures of history, offer an alternative story that undermines any totalizing narratives. The author believes that in *The Blind Assassin*, Atwood uses the genre of fictive autobiography to tell the history of the feminine gender posited as an alternative to the existing male-inscribed master narrative (Howells, 2003:p.27).

Furthermore, fictive autobiography can be imagined as a constructed representation of the self. It poses a question about the authenticity of Iris's identity and the role her text plays in shaping it – how much of it is self-presentation and how much concealment. And more widely, fictive autobiography highlights the challenges of defining a stable female identity in fiction:

'Such "life writing" immediately raises questions about the historical and social contexts within which identity is constructed, just as it encourages questions about concepts of the self. Is there an authentic self, or is the self only a construction with different multiple figurings constructed through the text? If this is so, then the fictive autobiography becomes a kind of textual theater where a changing self displays and hides itself through a series of disguises and a parade of doubles, always eluding fixed representation. In this case the fictive autobiography, far from constructing a coherent identity, foregrounds nothing so much as the problematic construction of female subjectivity in fiction.' (Howells, 2003:p.29)

Atwood's multidimensional novel explores the complex interplay between identity, memory, and the nature of autobiographical text. It blurs the lines between the past and the present, objective and subjective reality, fact and fiction. Iris sees

herself as disembodied from the writing process, as a severed hand detached from her consciousness, writing about the past, and her writing as a kind of hemorrhaging until the final silencing of death:

‘Sometimes it seems to me that it’s only my hand writing, not the rest of me; that my hand has taken on a life of its own, and will keep on going even if severed from the rest of me, like some embalmed, enchanted Egyptian fetish or the dried rabbit claws men used to suspend from their car mirrors for luck. Despite the arthritis in my fingers, this hand of mine has been displaying an unusual amount of friskiness lately, as if tossing restraint to the dogs. Certainly it’s been writing down a number of things it wouldn’t be allowed to if subject to my better judgment.’ (Atwood, 2000:p.373)

Describing the narrative duplicity in *The Blind Assassin* Magali Cornier Michael states that a prerequisite for the production of a liberating and multifaceted identity lies in women uncovering all the aspects of their lives which were silenced by socially sanctioned representations of them. (Cornier Michael in Bouson, 2010:p.102) Moreover, by writing the story of her life Iris puts forward a fuller, multi-dimensional identity that goes beyond what was available to her in a patriarchal society. Textual self-representation is consequently seen as constitutive of female agency and subjectivity.

4. Conclusion

The Blind Assassin is a poignant exploration of the repressive effects of masculinist ideologies present in 1930s and 1940s Canada. Atwood’s novel unveils the existing class and gender norms that shaped Iris’s formative years, which she, having once internalized, ventures to deconstruct in her narrative. The novel challenges the idealized image of the self-sacrificing “angel in the house” by showing how it can come to shape and confine women’s lives. The text subversively explores the modes of Victorian femininity inscribed within it, highlighting the underlying power structures and the devastating effects of patriarchal dominance. Having publicly performed all the prescribed cultural roles, Iris in her old age chooses to go against societal strictures and delve into taboo topics once deemed inaccessible to her.

Writing is herein seen as a form of silent resistance, which helps her subvert the norms that circumscribe her. The act of female writing, or *l’écriture féminine* – a form of specifically female discourse in which the female body is written in the text emerges as a powerful tool to contest the male-inscribed version of history and make previously silenced voices heard.

The purpose of *The Blind Assassin's* labyrinthine story may be found in what Atwood calls 'the Ancient Mariner element, the Scheherezade element, a sense of urgency. *This is the story I must tell*' (Atwood, 1989:p.xviii). The Atwoodian novel such as this one therefore often possesses the writing impulse, what she calls a "voice" — 'a speaking voice, like the singing voice in music, that moves not across space, across the page, but through time' (ibid. xiv). She views words and writing as a lifeline cast into the unknown, a stratagem to survive the precariousness of a woman's modern existence, or a thread of ink thrown onto an empty page, in the hope that it will be witnessed by someone, even in another time.

References

1. Atwood, M. (1989) Introduction: Reading Blind. In: Atwood, M. and Ravenel, S. (eds.) *The Best American Short Stories 1989*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, pp. xi–xxiii.
2. Atwood, M. (2000) *The Blind Assassin*. New York, NY, Anchor Books.
3. Bloom, H. (2009) *Bloom's Modern Critical Views: Margaret Atwood*. New York, Chelsea House.
4. Bouson, J.B. (2003) A Commemoration of Wounds Endured and Resented: Margaret Atwood's *The Blind Assassin* as Feminist Memoir. *Critique: Studies in Contemporary Fiction*. 44(3), pp. 251–269.
5. Bouson, J.B. (2010) Introduction: Negotiating with Margaret Atwood. In: Bouson, J.B. (ed.) *Margaret Atwood: The Robber Bride, The Blind Assassin, Oryx and Crake*. London, Continuum, pp. 1–22.
6. Cixous, H., Cohen, K. and Cohen, P. (1976) The Laugh of the Medusa. *Signs*. 1(4), pp. 875–893.
7. Davies, M. (2006) Margaret Atwood's Female Bodies. In: Howells, C.A. (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Margaret Atwood*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 58–71.
8. Gilbert, S.M. and Gubar, S. (2020) *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*. New Haven, CT, Yale University Press.
9. Hembrough, T. (2017) From an Obscured Gaze to a Seeing Eye? Iris as Victim, Villain, and Avenger in the Role of Writer-as-Assassin in Margaret Atwood's *The Blind Assassin*. *Sage Open*. 7(1).
10. Howells, C.A. (2003) *Contemporary Canadian Women's Fiction: Refiguring Identities*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan.
11. King, J. (2005) *The Victorian Woman Question in Contemporary Fiction*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.
12. Michael, M.C. (2010) Narrative multiplicity and the multi-layered self in *The Blind Assassin*. In: Bouson, J.B. (ed.) *Margaret Atwood*. New York, NY, Continuum, pp. 88–102.

Marija Gagić

*ZNAMEN ZA PRETRPLJENE RANE: PISANJE KAO OTPOR U
SLEPOM UBICI MARGARET ATVUD*

Rezime

Slepi ubica Margaret Atvud prikazuje represivne patrijarhalne prakse kao što je insistiranje na kultu viktorijanske ženstvenosti i figuri žrtvenog anđela nametnute ženama u Kanadi 1930-ih i 1940-ih godina. Fokusirajući se na protagonistkinju, Iris Čejs Grifen, rad će istražiti načine na koje se ženski glasovi utišavaju unutar patrijarhalnih struktura, pronalazeći otpor u činu pisanja. *Slepi ubica* koristi žanr fiktivne autobiografije kako bi izazvao dominantne muške perspektive, dok Iris ponovo ispisuje sopstvenu istoriju, ostvarujući potencijal za žensko delovanje i samoizražavanje.

► **Ključne reči:** Margaret Atvud, *Slepi ubica*, fiktivna autobiografija, „žensko pismo“, narativ lične traume, samožrtvovanje.

Preuzeto: 29. 1. 2025.
Korekcije: 7. 12. 2025.
Prihvaćeno: 9. 12. 2025.



Ljiljana Ž. Stević¹
University of Banja Luka
Faculty of Philology
Sinology Department
Željka Lj. Babić
University of Banja Luka
Faculty of Philology
English Studies Department

BETWEEN MEMORY AND MODERNITY: THE VISUAL AND SONIC LANGUAGE OF WONG KAR-WAI'S CINEMA

Abstract: The paper deals with Wong Kar-wai's (王家衛) films Chungking Express (重慶森林) (1994) and In the Mood for Love (花樣年華) (2000), focusing on mood, music, and clothing as conduits for cultural messages. By situating these films within the framework of globalisation, the study explores how Wong's aesthetic choices engage with transnational identity, nostalgia, and cultural hybridity. Drawing on film theory, cultural studies, and historical analysis, the paper argues that Wong Kar-wai's films articulate a unique dialogue between local and global cultural dynamics, offering insights into Hong Kong's shifting identity in a globalised world. The primary objective of the study is to investigate how Wong Kar-wai's cinematic techniques—particularly his use of mood, music, and costume design—construct cultural narratives that resonate both locally and globally. The paper seeks to analyse the aesthetic and emotional impact of these elements in Chungking Express and In the Mood for Love. We also attempt to examine the films' engagement with Hong Kong's cultural identity amid the forces of globalisation and to explore the interrelationship between nostalgia, modernity, and transnationalism in Wong's visual storytelling. Several themes are explored throughout the argumentation, including mood and aesthetic sensibility, music as a cultural memory, the choice of soundtracks in constructing nostalgia, and bridging local and global sensibilities, as well as the use of costumes as a means of cultural semiotics.

¹ ljiljana.stevic@ff.unibl.org

Keywords: *Wong Kar-wai, culturalist theory, cultural displacement, poetics, identity, nostalgia, globalisation.*

1. Introduction

The appeal of Wong Kar-wai's work to Western audiences continues due to the versatility and uniqueness of his expression, which openly challenges not only Eastern norms and traditions but also Western views on the role of contemporary Asian, particularly Chinese, film in today's cinema. Additionally, the sense of connection experienced when engaging with his films, combined with a general appreciation for life amid globalisation and alienation, prompted us to explore issues in this paper that we consider essential for a deeper understanding of both his culture and cinematic oeuvre. Wong Kar-wai is seen not only as a representative of the new Chinese cinema but also as a pioneer of changes that constantly reshape our understanding of global cultural trends and flows.

2. Theoretical and Methodological Considerations

This paper adopts an interdisciplinary approach to examine Wong Kar-wai's (王家衛) stylistic choices, for the complexity with which the multimodal approach to discussing the particularity of Hong Kong as a space and place within the cinematic world calls for it.

Firstly, we turn to Cultural Studies, specifically Hall's (2019) concept of cultural identity and diaspora, and Appadurai's (1996) notion of global cultural flows, to contextualise Hong Kong's place in international cinema. In culturalist theory, cultural disappearance refers to the process by which cultural traditions, languages, practices, and identities gradually decline or vanish due to external pressures, internal changes, or shifts in social and economic structures. This concept is often linked to globalisation, modernisation, and dominant cultural influences that overshadow or replace local and indigenous cultures. The process is ongoing, and the number of contemporary research issues directed towards it adds more zest to its attractiveness and importance. Referring back to Wittgenstein's (1922:p.189) widely-exploited quote in which he states that "whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must keep silent", it is more than evident that cinematic multimodality enables transformation of aural silence into visual screams by means of movement, colours, mise-en-scène, etc, in which cultural issues offered present the way of deciphering and overcoming the obstacles, because if language is unable to transfer something

for whichever reason, the culture steps in there as a mediator through its specific symbols and rituals which are used for transmission and expressions of values which are uniquely human.

The key aspects of cultural disappearance are given by Tomlinson (1999:p.106) and can be summarised as follows:

1. hegemonic cultural influence – more dominant cultures (often Western or economically powerful) spread their values, media, and consumer habits, leading to the erosion of smaller or less globally influential cultures.
2. linguistic erosion – as major world languages spread (e.g., English, Mandarin, Spanish), minority languages face decline, leading to loss of cultural knowledge embedded in those languages.
3. commercialisation and homogenisation – Traditional practices may be commodified or altered to fit global markets, stripping them of their original meaning.
4. modernisation and urbanisation – rural and indigenous communities often shift towards urban lifestyles, leading to the loss of traditional ways of living, such as folk arts, craftsmanship, or religious customs.
5. state policies and cultural integration – governments may promote national unity by discouraging regional or ethnic cultural expressions, leading to cultural assimilation or suppression.

Secondly, various theoretical perspectives are taken into account when discussing the research issues, apart from the aforementioned Hall's (2019) notion of *cultural identity*, where he argues that historical and cultural forces continuously shape it, and that when dominant cultures impose their narratives, marginalised cultures may fade, we deemed it essential to pinpoint Pierre Bourdieu (1977; 1985; 1996) and his *cultural capital theory* which suggests that when a culture lacks social and economic power, its practices may be devalued and eventually disappear. Consequently, it was necessary to include Said's (1993) notion of *cultural imperialism*, i.e., how dominant powers reshape or erase local cultures through representation and discourse, as the geographical, political, social, and cultural specificities of Hong Kong and its artists present an inexhaustible source of discussion points related to them.

Thirdly, in film studies, poetics refers to the formal analysis of how films create meaning through their structure, visual style, and narrative techniques. It focuses on the internal mechanics of cinema—editing, cinematography, sound, mise-en-scène—rather than external sociocultural influences. David Bordwell, a key figure in cinematic poetics, argues that films should be studied based on their aesthetic

strategies rather than ideological or cultural contexts. Poetics seeks to answer: How is a film constructed? What techniques shape audience perception? What stylistic choices define a filmmaker's artistic signature? Since one of Bordwell's cinematic poetics postulates a claim that "[C]ulture not only divides us; it unites us" (Bordwell, 2001:p.23 cited in Battinson, 2019:p.21), it also adds the possibility of mediation between the cinema and the society it portrays, thus putting the film in the top-most position during the process of analysis.

While these two types of analysis seem opposed, they can also be complementary. A poetic analysis might examine how a filmmaker constructs a scene, while a culturalist approach asks why these choices matter in a broader societal, historical and political context. We attempt to analyse the two Wong Kar-wai films using these two approaches, giving a slight advantage to the culturalist approach, as we find it more familiar and closer to our understanding.

Finally, we will mention just a few of the recent studies which aim to shed light on Wong Kar-wai's cinematic oeuvre. The interest which his film raises both in the West and the East never ceases, showing the necessity of the application of novel theories and approaches to his work. Wang (2023) focuses on the analysis of technical skills applied in a chosen movie, which is seen as an alternative approach to researching late 20th-century Hong Kong cinema. Ning (2025) studies the characteristics of Wong Kar-wai's films using the method of literature, Wei (2024) researches on narrative characteristics, colour and composition in *Chunking Express* and Rodríguez Ortega (2023:p.1177) focuses on Hong Kong as "a nodal component of the worldwide grid of interconnected spaces across borders". Lastly, Lei (2023) focuses on mobile women in his films, Liang (2024) on the connection between Hong Kong and Argentina, and Lee (2024), using the auteur theory, investigates the relationship between the director's ideology and the thematic elements present in his cinematic works. From the aforementioned, it is evident that Wong Kar-wai's films present a research challenge that scientists willingly take to explore the intricate depths of his cinematic oeuvre.

3. Results and Discussion

Wong Kar-wai's films subtly reflect cultural disappearance through themes of nostalgia, loss, and the fading of traditional identities in the face of modernity and globalisation. His cinematic style effectively captures the tension between past and present, personal memory and historical change, and the erosion of cultural roots resulting from urban transformation. Wong Kar-wai does not explicitly discuss

cultural disappearance, but his films feel like a meditation on it. Through urban alienation, lost traditions, and the changing landscape of Hong Kong, he captures the anxiety of a culture in transition—one that is constantly looking back at what it has lost while struggling to define what remains. Historical Analysis of Hong Kong's sociopolitical transformations and their reflection in Wong's films belongs to the culturalist theory approach, whilst textual analysis of key cinematic scenes, focusing on visual composition, soundtrack, and sartorial elements, will be based on the poetics theory.

There are several key aspects we will look into:²

a) fading cultural spaces and nostalgia: *In the Mood for Love* (花樣年華) (2000) depicts 1960s Hong Kong, a time of transition when traditional values and community life were slowly giving way to modern urban anonymity. The film's setting—old tenement buildings, narrow corridors, and intimate social ties—evokes a cultural world that is disappearing. The destruction of these physical spaces (like the demolition of the apartment complex) symbolises the vanishing of a cultural identity tied to a specific time and place.

b) displacement and rootlessness: Wong often portrays characters who feel disconnected from their cultural origins. In *Chungking Express* (重慶森林) (1994), Hong Kong's neon-lit, globalised spaces replace a sense of cultural belonging with transient relationships and isolation. His characters, often migrants or outsiders (e.g., Su Li-zhen in *In the Mood for Love*), navigate a city that is both familiar and alien, reflecting the loss of a stable cultural identity.

c) language as a marker of cultural shift: In Wong's films, characters speak a mix of Cantonese, Mandarin, Shanghaiese, and English, mirroring Hong Kong's shifting linguistic landscape under colonial and post-colonial influences. This multilingualism reflects the fading dominance of certain linguistic traditions.

d) globalisation and the loss of local identity: *In the Mood for Love*, we see neighbours packing and announcing their imminent departure from Hong Kong in the wake of the transition of administrative governance of Hong Kong to China. Also, the music used in both films shows a transition to modernity and globalised trends.

e) the role of memory and impermanence: Wong's films are deeply melancholic, reinforcing the idea that cultural identity is fluid and constantly slipping away. His signature use of slow motion, step-printing, and voiceover reflections heightens the sense of longing for something irretrievable.

²The concepts originate from migration studies, diasporic cinema, cultural studies, and globalisation theory, and we utilised language in cinema as a significant indicator of cultural change and identity. All this is mainly used for analysing the cultural narratives in Wong Kar-wai's films.

3.1 Chunking Express – mood, colour and music

Chungking Express (1994) is an exemplar of Hong Kong's postmodern cinematic landscape, capturing urban alienation, fragmented time, and the transient nature of human connections. The film, divided into two loosely connected stories, explores themes of loneliness, chance encounters, and the interplay between the local and the global, all within the unique spatial dynamics of 1990s Hong Kong. Wong Kar-wai employs frenetic handheld camerawork, step-printing techniques, and unconventional framing to convey a sense of displacement and urban chaos (Bordwell, 2000). The film's claustrophobic mise-en-scène mirrors the characters' emotional isolation, reinforcing Hong Kong as a transient space where relationships are fleeting. (Teo, 2005). The dimly lit neon ambience and rapid camera shifts create an atmosphere of restlessness and nostalgia, aligning with Wong's signature melancholic tone. The first story, involving Cop 223 (Takeshi Kaneshiro) and the mysterious woman in a blonde wig (Brigitte Lin), employs step-printing to distort movement, symbolising temporal disjunction and emotional disorientation.

The soundtrack plays a crucial role in *Chungking Express*, reinforcing the film's thematic concerns. The repetition of The Mamas & The Papas' *California Dreamin'* underscores themes of longing and escapism, reflecting the transient identities of the protagonists. Similarly, Faye Wong's Cantonese cover of The Cranberries' *Dreams* bridges East and West, symbolising cultural hybridity and the fluidity of Hong Kong's postcolonial identity. Faye Wong's character dancing in the snack bar to *Dreams* encapsulates a moment of personal liberation, counterbalancing the film's prevailing melancholy. Costume design subtly reinforces character identity and the film's cultural hybridity. Faye Wong can be compared to the 90s American icon Winona Ryder in another movie that explores generational issues, *Reality Bites*.

Meanwhile, Faye Wong's casual attire and playful demeanour contrast with the rigid, emotionally repressed world of Cop 663 (Tony Leung), illustrating a generational shift in attitudes towards love and spontaneity. The final exchange between Faye Wong and Cop 663 at the Midnight Express snack bar highlights the contrast between youthful spontaneity and emotional restraint, which is accentuated through their costumes and body language. Through its disjointed narrative, evocative soundtrack, and distinct visual style, Wong Kar-wai constructs a cinematic meditation on isolation, desire, and the globalising effects of urban modernity.

When it comes to the musical themes, Garry Bettinson discusses what he calls eclectic music choice to "narratively coherent unity" (Bettinson, 2019:p.27). The usual framework applied to analyse Wong's choice of music is postmodernism,

which reveals his close connections to Tarantino and the modernist *nouvelle vague* (Bettinson, 2019:p.28). The music in his film, in some ways, interrupts the storyline and is often described by critics as MTV moments. Music as a visual element points to the transcultural trends. Cantpop itself represents cultural hybridity, fusing Chinese, Latina and Western music into a unique Hong Kong style. *California Dreamin'* as the theme song of the second part of the movie implies Faye's fear of change and simultaneously her desire to leave and travel, a notion so much present during the nineties (Bettinson, 2019:p.34). The femme fatale (Brigitte Lin) wears a blonde wig and trench coat, evoking noir aesthetics while subverting traditional gender expectations in Hong Kong cinema.

When discussing fading cultural spaces and nostalgia, it becomes clear that Chungking Express is rooted in the urban topography of Hong Kong—specifically, Chungking Mansions and the Midnight Express snack bar. These spaces represent a liminal Hong Kong caught between tradition and modernity. The crowded corridors, neon-lit interiors, and transitory diners suggest cultural spaces in flux, on the verge of disappearing with the city's redevelopment. Wong films these environments with romantic melancholy, turning them into sites of nostalgia, even as they continue to exist in the present. The fast-moving crowd shots underline how the local cultural fabric is being eroded by time and by forces of globalisation. For Abbas (1997), this is the condition of *déjà disparu* — a city experiencing its disappearance even before it vanishes. Wong's camera lingers on hallways, counters, and shadows, transforming them into reservoirs of nostalgia for a city whose identity slips away under redevelopment and impending political transition.

Both narratives, displacement and restlessness, depict characters in constant movement, yet unable to find stable connections. Cop 223 (Takeshi Kaneshiro) runs endlessly, eats canned pineapple with expiry dates, and wanders through the city trying to outrun heartbreak. Cop 663 (Tony Leung) drifts through his routines in a daze, displaced emotionally after his breakup. The women, too —the blonde-wigged smuggler and Faye Wong's character —embody forms of dislocation, either through illicit survival or through daydreaming about escape to California. Restlessness is thus both a personal and a collective condition, mirroring Hong Kong's unease before the 1997 handover. Their wandering is both intimate and collective, mapping the psychic terrain of displacement. On the other hand, it also evokes generational sentiments of displacement and nostalgia, with Fay Wong becoming the icon of the cool girl of the nineties, epitomising all these elements and crossing borders and generations.

As far as language is concerned, the film serves as a marker of cultural shift, foregrounding the polyglot reality of Hong Kong. Cantonese dominates, but English and Mandarin intrude: the Indian and South Asian traders in Chungking Mansions speak in multiple tongues, the blonde woman's identity is tied to her Western appearance, and pop music (e.g., Faye Wong's cover of *California Dreamin'*) arrives in English. Language becomes a marker of cultural layering and shift, symbolising a city negotiating its hybrid colonial/postcolonial condition. Miscommunication and code-switching reinforce the sense of cultural uncertainty. Chow (1998) argues that this linguistic mixture is symptomatic of Hong Kong's in-betweenness: belonging everywhere and nowhere, its identity constantly shifting under the pressures of colonial legacies and global flows.

The import-export economy of smuggling, fast-food culture, and American pop songs encapsulate Hong Kong's entanglement with global flows, thus emphasising the aspect of globalisation and the loss of local identity. The Midnight Express snack bar, with its hybrid menu, epitomises how local culture gets diluted under global influences. The characters long for elsewhere — California, new relationships, escape from crowded streets — signalling a loss of rootedness. Even the canned pineapples with their expiry dates metaphorically suggest that Hong Kong's cultural moment is temporary, commodified, and always approaching obsolescence. Global commodities — canned pineapple, fast food, jukebox singles — dominate Wong's mise-en-scène. These objects, circulating like people through airports and cargo ships, reduce intimacy to expiration dates and imported soundtracks. Stephen Teo (2005) suggests that Wong renders globalisation not as an abstract force but as textures of everyday life, embedding loss of locality into the rhythms of consumption. Hong Kong's porousness to global currents makes identity unstable: is Faye's dream of California an escape, or merely the fantasy of becoming absorbed into another empire?

Wong Kar-wai's cinema thrives on memory's fragility. In *Chungking Express*, memory is tied to objects: canned food, towels, soap, keys left behind. These tokens evoke people who are no longer present, and yet they cannot stop time's flow. Cop 223's fixation on expiry dates literalises impermanence, while Cop 663's apartment becomes a site of memory haunted by his absent girlfriend. Wong's use of step-printing, slow motion, and fragmented narration visually captures the fleetingness of time, reinforcing the idea that nothing—love, places, or identities—lasts. Wong Kar-wai's cinema is memory written in light and shadow. In *Chungking Express*, memory attaches itself to objects: keys, towels, empty soap bottles, a flight ticket never used. Yet these tokens cannot prevent decay. The film's step-printing tech-

nique visually materialises temporariness, stretching instants into fading traces. As Wong reflected in a recent interview (Wong, 2025), cinema itself is “a medium of memory that always disappears as it plays.” The film is haunted by its own transience: lovers vanish, spaces fade, identities dissolve, and only the melancholy of impermanence remains.

Chungking Express dramatises the urban anxiety of Hong Kong in the 1990s: a city suspended between colonial past and uncertain future, between local identity and global absorption. Fading cultural spaces, displacement, linguistic hybridity, globalisation, and memory's fragility all converge to paint a portrait of impermanence. We see how the director transforms the ordinary (snack bars, canned pineapples, apartments) into metaphors for cultural and emotional transience. The film ultimately conveys a longing for stability and a sense of belonging in a world defined by restlessness and change.

By accident, our upbringing in a totally different culture on the other side of the world during the disintegration of Yugoslavia evoked similar emotions and identification with the emotional transience and disappearing world. In this way, *Chungking Express* resonates beyond the specificities of Hong Kong's late colonial moment, extending to other cultural geographies, such as Yugoslavia, which was defined during the 1990s by fragmentation, displacement, and a sense of impermanence. For a generation of young people negotiating exile, migration, and the collapse of familiar structures, music and film functioned as a fragile anchor of identity, echoing the repeated refrains that shape Wong's cinematic world. The figure of Faye, with her restless energy, refusal of permanence, and attempt to reimagine intimacy through music and small gestures, may be read as a symbolic counterpart to the migrant subjectivity formed in the Balkans during the same decade. Her insistence on listening, translating and inhabiting foreign sounds mirrors a diasporic negotiation of selfhood between inherited memories and unstable presents. To identify with Faye's role is not merely to see oneself reflected in a character but to recognise how Wong's poetics articulate a condition of searching for stability, for connection, and for a future not yet guaranteed. In this light, *Chungking Express* becomes not only a film about Hong Kong's fleeting moment before transition, but also a transnational meditation on the shared fragility of worlds disappearing in the 1990s, whether in East Asia or in the fractured spaces of the former Yugoslavia.

3.2 *In the Mood for Love* - nostalgia, timbre and qipao

The film that premiered at the Cannes Film Festival on 20th May, 2000 — exactly 25 years ago — was far from the project Wong Kar-wai had initially imagined when he began developing it around 1997. What would become *In the Mood for Love* emerged out of a series of unfinished, overlapping ideas. At one stage, there was *Summer in Beijing*, a light comedy. At another, a triptych film about food, in which Wong particularly wished to craft a vignette about 1960s Hong Kong and the quiet domestic revolutions brought by the rice cooker — a symbol of modernisation and shifting gender roles. Wong was also drawn to Liu Yichang's (劉以鬯) novel *Intersection* (對倒), a fragmented narrative of adultery and longing that fascinated him but which he refused to adapt in conventional melodramatic form. Other influences hovered: Alfred Hitchcock's *Vertigo* (1958), with its exploration of obsession and the darkness of male desire, and Wong's own *Days of Being Wild* (阿飛正傳) (1990), which suggested the possibility of reuniting characters across decades.

What ultimately took shape was not one of these projects but the residue of all of them — sculpted, whittled, and reshaped through Wong's famously improvisational process. The film's eventual title came, characteristically, from elsewhere: a Bryan Ferry song. Just as *Happy Together* (1997) borrowed its title from The Turtles, *In the Mood for Love* gestured toward a global cultural repertoire refracted through Wong's local vision.

The narrative that survived tells the story of two neighbours, Mr. Chow (Tony Leung) and Mrs. Chan (Maggie Cheung), who gradually discover that their spouses are having an affair with one another. Instead of succumbing to betrayal and vengeance, the two enter into a tentative, restrained intimacy, rehearsing scenarios of what their partners may be doing, while keeping their own desires unspoken. Here, Wong inverted the adultery genre: the act itself is never shown, and in fact never consummated between the protagonists. Instead, longing, silence, and proximity generate a different kind of intensity.

This aesthetic of restraint was hard won. A sex scene was filmed but cut, as was an entire 1970s sequence that would have extended the affair across time. Instead, Wong closed the film with a coda at Angkor Wat in 1966, a temporal and spatial rupture that broke from the film's claustrophobic interiors and pointed to the impossibility of resolution. The cutting-room floor was littered with discarded possibilities, yet what remained was pristine — a paradox, since the finished film was assembled hurriedly in time for Cannes (Teo, 2005).

Like *Chungking Express*, *In the Mood for Love* is centrally concerned with impermanence, memory, and cultural displacement, but it inverts the earlier film's restless speed with hushed slowness. If *Chungking Express* staged Hong Kong's transitional identity through fast cuts, pop songs, and fragmented spaces, *In the Mood for Love* reimagined it through repetition, ritual, and stillness. Christopher Doyle's cinematography and William Chang's art direction frame narrow corridors, dim stairwells, and cramped apartments, evoking a city simultaneously intimate and suffocating. Maggie Cheung's cheongsams, each exquisitely tailored and yet worn only fleetingly, become visual emblems of ephemerality: beauty that cannot be held.

Music underscores this temporality. The repeated strains of Shigeru Umebayashi's *Yumeji's Theme* cycle through the film like memory itself — insistent, melancholic, and unresolved. Nat King Cole's Spanish-language ballads overlay Hong Kong with an imagined elsewhere, reinforcing how colonial and global influences shaped its soundscape. Much as Faye Wong's cover of *California Dreamin'* in *Chungking Express* reinterpreted the West through a local voice, these borrowed melodies in *In the Mood for Love* blur temporal and cultural boundaries, binding nostalgia to displacement (Chow, 2007:p.77).

The film also engages deeply with the politics of Hong Kong identity. By setting the story in 1962, Wong simultaneously returned to the city of his parents' generation and projected onto it the uncertainties of Hong Kong's 1997 handover to China. As Abbas (1997) argued, Hong Kong culture lives in a condition of *already disappearing*. In this sense, *In the Mood for Love* stages a love that cannot be spoken as an allegory for a city whose identity is suspended, caught between colonial memory and an uncertain future.

Even after its release, the film refused to settle. Wong returned to the material in the short film *In the Mood for Love 2001*, which is nearly impossible to see, and in *2046* (2004), a sequel of sorts that reimagined its characters and themes. In 2021, he supervised a remaster of his films featuring a yellow-leaning colour palette, which divided audiences. "These are not the same films, and we are no longer the same audience," Wong insisted, framing the act of restoration itself as an invitation to impermanence and renewal (Wong, 2025).

Today, *In the Mood for Love* is widely considered one of the greatest films of world cinema, often ranked alongside *Mulholland Drive* (2001) as the defining masterpiece of the turn of the century. Yet Wong himself has suggested that the project remains unsettled for him, unfinished in spirit. Perhaps this is fitting: a film about longing, silence, and the impossibility of resolution could only itself stay in flux.

In an attempt to pinpoint the notions of fading cultural spaces and nostalgia, we turn to Wong Kar-wai himself. In a 2025 interview with the British Film Institute (Wong, 2025), he reflected on the formative cultural environment that shaped both his childhood and his cinema:

‘When my family arrived from Shanghai in 1963, Hong Kong was a collision of dialects and customs. What struck me most was how living spaces forced people together. We shared flats with strangers. There was no such thing as privacy; your life was an open book that everyone read over your shoulder. Today, we barely know who lives next door. But in those days, the walls were thin and the connections were thick. The characters in *In the Mood for Love* are inventions, but the world they move through came straight from my childhood memory.’

This statement reveals not only the autobiographical dimensions of *In the Mood for Love* (2000) but also Wong’s broader preoccupation with memory, nostalgia, and the vanishing social geographies of Hong Kong. His recollection of shared tenements and thin-walled intimacy highlights the collective experience of migrant families, many of whom had arrived from Mainland China in the mid-twentieth century. In these cramped dwellings, privacy was scarce, yet human connection flourished. Wong positions this contrast against the atomised reality of contemporary urban life, where proximity does not guarantee intimacy, and neighbours remain strangers despite physical closeness.

The nostalgic tone here is crucial. *In the Mood for Love* was released at the turn of the century, just three years after the 1997 Handover of Hong Kong to China. The film’s temporal setting in 1962 functions as both a personal recollection and a cultural palimpsest, evoking a transitional moment when old Shanghai émigré traditions intersected with the emergent modernity of Hong Kong. Wong’s evocation of thin walls and thick connections signals a social texture that had already begun to disappear by the time of filming. Thus, nostalgia in the film does not merely reflect personal longing; it becomes an act of cultural preservation, an attempt to hold onto a disappearing way of life through cinematic reconstruction.

This layering of memory is also reflected in Wong’s shifting creative intentions. The project that would eventually become *In the Mood for Love* began, according to the director, as a story about food and daily encounters (Teo, 2005). Yet as the narrative developed, the focus turned toward secrecy, repression, and unspoken desire. In retrospect, this transition is deeply resonant: food as a symbol of everyday cultural exchange gave way to the more elusive theme of hidden emotions, mirroring the gradual erosion of communal life. Wong’s childhood tenements provided the

architecture of proximity, but the final film captures the silences, the glances, and the untold stories that emerge from such enforced closeness.

In this sense, Wong's cinema functions as an archive of disappearing cultural spaces. The nostalgic recreation of 1960s Hong Kong in *In the Mood for Love* is less about historical fidelity than about affective truth: the atmosphere of narrow staircases, the smell of shared kitchens, the quiet rhythms of neighbours brushing past one another in hallways. These details, reconstructed from memory, create a *poetics of space* that foregrounds the fragility of intimacy in a changing urban fabric (Bachelard, 1994). Wong's nostalgia, therefore, should not be mistaken for simple romanticisation; it is instead a critical reflection on cultural loss and the shifting meanings of home, belonging, and memory at the edge of modernity.

If nostalgia in *In the Mood for Love* is rooted in Wong Kar-wai's reconstruction of shared cultural memory, it is equally shaped by an acute sense of displacement. The characters of Mr. Chow and Mrs. Chan live in transit: migrants from Shanghai or Guangdong who find themselves in Hong Kong's crowded boarding houses, suspended between traditions and an uncertain future. This condition reflects Wong's own biography as the child of Shanghai émigrés arriving in Hong Kong in 1963, an experience that shaped his sensitivity to fractured identities and transient homes.

The film does not offer its protagonists a stable ground; instead, their world is one of constant movement through rented rooms, narrow corridors, and cheap noodle stalls. The boarding house, which might be imagined as a site of community, becomes, in Wong's framing, a reminder of impermanence. People come and go, walls are porous, and belongings are meagre, often contained within a single suitcase. Wong captures this restlessness visually: doors opening and closing, staircases traversed repeatedly, and characters perpetually passing one another without resolution. These motifs emphasise the provisional nature of life in Hong Kong's migrant neighbourhoods during the 1960s.

Displacement also manifests on an emotional level. Both Chow and Chan are trapped in marriages marked by betrayal, yet their connection remains unfulfilled. They circle one another, share fleeting intimacies, but cannot anchor their desire in permanence. Wong structures this rootlessness into the narrative itself: time slips forward in elliptical jumps, scenes fade into others without clear transitions, and the possibility of a stable romantic resolution is repeatedly deferred. This reflects what Abbas (1997) calls *the culture of disappearance* in Hong Kong, where spaces and identities are constantly in flux, always on the verge of vanishing.

At the turn of the millennium, *In the Mood for Love* thus embodies a double displacement: historical, in recalling a Hong Kong on the cusp of modern trans-

formation, and personal, in dramatising the emotional exile of two individuals caught between duty and desire. Wong's nostalgic gaze reconstructs a lost world, yet it simultaneously acknowledges that this world was never entirely secure. The characters' rootlessness mirrors the broader condition of Hong Kong itself, a city historically shaped by migration, colonialism, and political transition.

The film's final gesture — Chow whispering his secret into a hollow at Angkor Wat — makes this rootlessness a global phenomenon. The protagonists' unspoken love migrates from Hong Kong to Cambodia, from one sacred space to another, suggesting that memory itself becomes a kind of exile. In this way, *In the Mood for Love* renders displacement not only as a social reality but as the very condition of desire and remembrance.

Language in *In the Mood for Love* functions as a subtle but powerful indicator of cultural transition. The film's world is populated by Shanghai émigrés who carry with them the linguistic rhythms, idioms, and cultural codes of their place of origin. Within the boarding houses and noodle stalls, Shanghaiese dialects and Mandarin intermingle with the dominant Cantonese of Hong Kong, creating a sonic tapestry that reflects the city's hybridity. This multiplicity of tongues not only situates the characters historically but also reveals the fragile boundaries of identity in a society shaped by migration and displacement.

Wong Kar-wai has often emphasised how his childhood was marked by linguistic plurality: arriving from Shanghai, he grew up listening to Cantonese outside while speaking Shanghaiese and Mandarin at home. This constant shifting between idioms created, in his own words, both a sense of intimacy and estrangement. *In the Mood for Love* preserves this layered experience by embedding language into the texture of daily life, where accents and speech patterns become markers of class, belonging, and otherness. The very act of ordering food at a noodle stall, or conversing across the thin walls of the apartment, carries with it cultural histories that are on the verge of fading.

The film's deployment of language thus signals a broader cultural shift taking place in mid-20th-century Hong Kong: the gradual dominance of Cantonese in public life, set against the slow erosion of Shanghaiese migrant enclaves. This shift, although subtle on screen, has profound implications for how characters perceive their relationship to their community. Mrs. Chan, for example, straddles both Shanghaiese traditions and Hong Kong modernity, her identity marked as much by her speech as by her qipao. Mr. Chow, who moves between different cultural registers, embodies the linguistic adaptability required in a city where survival often depended on negotiating multiple languages.

At a symbolic level, Wong's attention to language underscores the themes of displacement and rootlessness. As Abbas (1997) argues, Hong Kong's cultural identity has often been defined by *the politics of disappearance*, where traditions dissolve under the weight of modern transformation. The fading of Shanghainese speech in Hong Kong reflects not just demographic change, but also the gradual erasure of cultural memory. In *In the Mood for Love*, language becomes both an echo of a disappearing world and a marker of the city's relentless cultural reconfiguration.

Ultimately, language in the film is more than dialogue — it is atmosphere. Just as Wong reconstructs vanished spaces through sound and décor, he uses language to evoke the texture of a past moment that is no longer recoverable. The shifting tones and dialects heard in passing gestures remind viewers that cultural identity is never fixed but always negotiated, suspended between memory and modernity.

One of the most visually striking aspects of *In the Mood for Love* is the recurring presence of the qipao, the high-collared, body-hugging dress worn by Mrs. Chan (Maggie Cheung). Wong Kar-wai uses the qipao not merely as a costume but as a central narrative device, a cultural symbol, and an aesthetic motif through which memory, time, and desire are expressed.

The qipao is deeply embedded in the cultural history of twentieth-century China. Emerging in Shanghai during the 1920s and 1930s, it came to symbolise modern femininity, urban sophistication, and cosmopolitanism (Finnane, 2008:pp.1–2). In the diasporic context of Hong Kong, the qipao carried with it an aura of cultural continuity, linking émigré communities back to a nostalgic vision of Shanghai modernity. By situating his protagonist in this garment, Wong not only reconstructs his own childhood memories of Shanghai émigré women in Hong Kong boarding houses but also inscribes Mrs. Chan into a broader cultural narrative of displacement and nostalgia. The dresses she wears throughout the film become material traces of a displaced world, echoing the broader themes of cultural memory and disappearance.

Wong's use of repetition is especially significant. Mrs. Chan appears in more than twenty different qipao designs, but they often reappear in similar settings or visual contexts, creating a rhythm that mirrors the cyclical structure of memory. This recalls Assmann's (2011:pp.15–16) notion of cultural memory as repetitive, ritualised, and performative, rather than linear. Each reappearance of a qipao design functions like a refrain, stabilising the fragmented temporality of the film while reinforcing the persistence of memory. The dresses thus operate as what Pierre Nora (1989:p.7) would call *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory), embodied in fabric, pattern, and colour.

The colours and patterns of the qipao enrich this mnemonic role. The dresses frequently feature floral motifs, visually resonant with the film's title, as flowers serve as metaphors for both ephemeral beauty and the fleeting nature of desire. Their palette shifts from bold reds and greens to muted beige and grey, silently charting emotional trajectories that the characters cannot articulate verbally. Roland Barthes (1983:p.35) argued that clothing is never a neutral object but a sign system, capable of encoding cultural and emotional meanings. In Wong's film, the qipao becomes a silent language of repression and longing. Each hue, pattern, and silhouette functions as an affective sign, marking emotional intensities otherwise suppressed by social norms.

Visually, the qipao is framed against the narrow corridors, staircases, and doorways of Hong Kong's crowded apartments, emphasising its dual role as both ornamental and constraining. The fitted silhouette accentuates elegance, yet within Wong's *mise-en-scène*, it also symbolises restriction, echoing Mrs. Chan's position as a woman confined by societal expectations of propriety. This dynamic resonates with Barthes's (1983:p.51) idea of clothing as both an *armour* of identity and a form of social discipline. The qipao, in this sense, embodies the paradox of Wong's female protagonist: poised and graceful, yet bound by invisible social and cultural walls.

By the late 1960s, when the film is set, the qipao had already begun to fade from daily wear in Hong Kong, replaced by Western fashions. Wong's insistence on foregrounding it is therefore an act of cinematic remembrance. As theorists of cultural memory, such as Assmann (2011), remind us, objects can serve as *memory bearers*, materialising what might otherwise disappear from collective consciousness. The qipao in *In the Mood for Love* is precisely such a bearer: it reconstructs a vanishing cultural form while embedding it into the visual archive of cinema.

In this light, the qipao is more than fashion; it is a mnemonic device. Its repetition across the film's elliptical narrative reflects the cyclical nature of memory, its colours silently register the emotional intensities of longing, and its cultural connotations inscribe Wong's characters into a vanishing Shanghai-Hong Kong milieu. In *In the Mood for Love*, the qipao becomes the material embodiment of nostalgia, displacement, and the haunting persistence of memory.

4. Conclusion

Wong Kar-wai's films offer a profound meditation on cultural disappearance, capturing the tension between memory and modernity, as well as the interplay between individual experience and collective history. Through *In the Mood for*

Love and *Chungking Express*, he constructs cinematic worlds where nostalgia, loss, and impermanence dominate, reflecting the erosion of traditional identities amid rapid urban and sociopolitical change.

The analysis demonstrates how Wong's use of spatial environments, from narrow corridors and tenement buildings to neon-lit urban streets, embodies the fragility of community and the vanishing of cultural spaces. These physical settings are inseparable from the emotional landscapes of his characters, who experience displacement, rootlessness, and a pervasive sense of alienation. By portraying individuals caught between personal memory and shifting cultural norms, Wong emphasises the fragility and fluidity of identity in a globalised, rapidly transforming city.

Language emerges as a key marker of cultural transition in his work, where the coexistence of Cantonese, Mandarin, Shanghainese, and English reflects both historical migration patterns and the changing social fabric of Hong Kong. Similarly, sartorial elements, particularly the repeated use of the qipao in *In the Mood for Love*, function as materialised memory, evoking vanished aesthetics, traditions, and forms of feminine subjectivity. Music and soundtrack choices further reinforce the juxtaposition of local cultural memory against the homogenising pressures of globalisation, highlighting the tension between the particular and the universal.

Ultimately, Wong Kar-wai's films operate as cultural texts that transcend national borders while remaining deeply anchored in Hong Kong's local specificity. Through his poetic cinematic style — combining visual composition, step-printing, voiceover, and repeated motifs — he transforms individual longing into a collective meditation on impermanence, loss, and nostalgia. These films remind viewers that cultural identity is neither static nor easily recoverable: it is constantly negotiated, fleeting, and intimately tied to the spaces, languages, and memories that shape human experience.

Wong Kar-wai's oeuvre reveals the aesthetic and emotional dimensions of cultural disappearance, offering a poignant reflection on the impermanence of memory, tradition, and identity in the modern city. His cinema not only preserves the traces of a vanishing world but also illuminates the universal human experience of longing for what has been lost.

References

1. Abbas, A. (1997) *Hong Kong: Culture and the Politics of Disappearance*. Minneapolis and London, University of Minnesota Press.
2. Appadurai, A. (1996) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

3. Assmann, J. (2011) *Cultural Memory and Early Civilisation: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
4. Bachelard, G. (1994) *The Poetics of Space*. Boston, Beacon Press.
5. Bettinson, G. (2019) *The Sensuous Cinema of Wong Kar-wai: Film Poetics and the Aesthetic of Disturbance*. Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press.
6. Bordwell, D. (2000) *Planet Hong Kong: Popular Cinema and the Art of Entertainment*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press.
7. Bourdieu, P. (1977) Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction. In: Karabel, J. & Halsey, A. H. (eds.) *Power and Ideology in Education*. New York, Oxford University Press, pp. 487–511.
8. Bourdieu, P. (1986) The Forms of Capital. In: Richardson, J. (ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. Westport, Greenwood, pp. 241–258.
9. Bourdieu, P. (1996) *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.
10. Barthes, R. (1983) *The Fashion System*. Berkeley, University of California Press.
11. Chow, R. (2007) *Sentimental Fabulations, Contemporary Chinese Films: Attachment in the Age of Global Visibility*. New York, Columbia University Press.
12. Finnane, A. (2008) *Changing Clothes in China: Fashion, History, Nation*. New York, Columbia University Press.
13. Hall, S. (2019) *Essential Essays, Volume 2: Identity and Diaspora*. Durham and London, Duke University Press.
14. Ning, K. (2025) Analysis of Director Wong Kar Wai's Personal Style and Movie Characteristics — Taking *2046* and *Chungking Express* as Examples. *Communications in Humanities Research*. 64, 122–127. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.54254/2753-7064/2024.19147>.
15. Nora, P. (1989). Between memory and history: Les lieux de mémoire. *Representations*. 26, 7–24.
16. Lee, D. (2024) Exploring Philosophical Dimensions in Wong Kar-wai's Filmography. *Journal of Global Research in Education and Social Science*. 18(3), 16–22. <https://doi.org/10.56557/jogress/2024/v18i38753>.
17. Lei, C. P. (2023) 'Take the longest way to cross the street': mobile women in Wong Kar-wai's films. *Gender, Place & Culture*. 31(5), 595–613. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2023.2228510>
18. Liang, W. (2024) Wong Kar-wai's Argentine Affair: Happy Together as a Translingual and Multimodal Adaptation. *Adaptation*. 17(2), 230–252. <https://doi.org/10.1093/adaptation/apae010>
19. Liu, D. (2017) An Analysis of the Narrative Mode of Wong Kar-wai's Films: A Case Study of *Chungking Express*. *Audiovisual*. 7, 74–75. DOI:10.19395 j.cnki.1674-246x.2017.07.040.

20. Rodríguez Ortega, V. (2023) Hong Kong and Taipei in the 1990s: From Wong Kar-Wai's to Tsai Ming-Liang's Cinematic Works. *Quarterly Review of Film and Video*. 42(5), 1177–1198. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10509208.2023.2265779>
21. Said, E. W. (1993) *Culture and Imperialism*. New York, Vintage Books.
22. Teo, S. (2005) *Wong Kar-wai: Auteur of Time*. London, British Film Institute.
23. Tomlison, J. (1999) *Globalisation and Culture*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
24. Wang, C. (2023) A Study of Film Aesthetics of Wong Kar-wai - Taking *Fallen Angels* as an Example. *Communications in Humanities Research*. 21(1), 72–77. DOI: 10.54254/2753-7064/21/20231418
25. Wei, J. (2024) Wong Kar-wai's Film Aesthetics: An Analysis of *Chungking Express* from the Perspective of Film Studies. *Journal of Education, Humanities and Social Sciences*. 33, 78–84. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.54097/hq19yz65>
26. Wittgenstein, L. (1922) *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc.
27. Wong, K.-w. (2025) Wong Kar-wai on *In the Mood for Love* at 25 [Interview]. *Sight & Sound*. Retrieved from: <https://www.bfi.org.uk/sight-and-sound/interviews/wong-kar-wai-mood-love-25>

Љиљана Ж. Стевић
Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Филолошки факултет
Катедра за синологију
Жељка Љ. Бабић
Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Филолошки факултет
Катедра за англистику

ИЗМЕЋУ СЈЕЋАЊА И МОДЕРНОСТИ: ВИЗУЕЛНИ И ЗВУЧНИ ЈЕЗИК ФИЛМОВА ВОНГА КАРВАЈА

Резиме

Филмови Вонга Карваја дубоко су атмосферски, јер спајају визуелне, музичке и одјевне елементе како би створили наративе који превазилазе националне и временске границе.

Овај рад испитује филмове *Чунгкинг експрес* (1994) и *Расположени за љубав* (2000), усредсређујући се на расположење, музику и одјећу као канале преношења културалних кодова. Смјештајући филмове у оквир глобализације, рад истражује како се Вонгови естетски избори повезују са транснационалним идентитетом, носталгијом и културном

хибридношћу. Ослањајући се на теорију филма, културалне студије и историјску анализу, овај рад тврди да Карвајеви филмови остварују јединствен дијалог између локалне и глобалне културне динамике, нудећи увид у промјенљиви идентитет Хонгконга у глобализованом свијету. Основи циљ рада јесте да истражи како Карвајеве кинематографске технике – посебно његова употреба расположења, музике и костимографије – конструишу културалне наративе који одјекују и локално и глобално. Рад настоји да анализира естетски и емоционални утицај ових елемената у два одабрана филма. Такође, покушава да испита везе филмова са културним идентитетом Хонгконга у доба глобализације и да истражи међусобни однос носталгије, модерности и транснационализма у Вонговом визуелном приповиједању. Обрађује се неколико тема као што су расположење и естетски сензибилитет, музика као култура сјећања и избор музичке подлоге (кантопоп, латино цез, западни класици) који конструише носталгију и премошћује локалне и глобалне сензибилитете. Најзанимљивија је тема костима као извора културалне семиотике, која истражује како одјећа у Вонговим филмовима преноси темпоралност, класу и чежњу, посебно у филму *Расположени за љубав* са својом симболиком ћипаоа, традиционалне кинеске женске хаљине из доба династије Ђинг. Посљедња тема јесте разумијевање како филмови Вонга Карваја управљају историјским и друштвено-политичким транзицијама Хонгконга унутар ширег глобалног кинематографског пејсажа.

► **Кључне ријечи:** Вонг Карвај, културална теорија, културално измјештање, поетика, идентитет, носталгија, глобализација.

Preuzeto: 5. 9. 2025.
Prihvaćeno: 7. 9. 2025.

Ivana Ercegovac¹
Higher Colleges of Technology
Faculty of Applied Media, Faseel Campus Fujairah
United Arab Emirates

Romana Srncova
Higher Colleges of Technology
Faculty of Applied Media, Faseel Campus Fujairah
United Arab Emirates

Fajar Mohamed Alhanaee
Higher Colleges of Technology
Faculty of Applied Media, Faseel Campus Fujairah
United Arab Emirates

DIGITAL RITUALS AND EVERYDAY NARRATIVES: A VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY OF SHORT-FORM VIDEO CULTURE

Abstract: This paper examines how short-form video platforms transform everyday routines into recognizable narrative and visual patterns. Through qualitative content analysis of 21 videos from TikTok, Instagram Reels, and YouTube Shorts, this pilot study identifies how compressed sequences of action become procedural micro-narratives. These videos rely on minimal cues of setup, shift, and closure, reinforced by visual grammars and culturally coded symbols that ensure legibility at feed speed. The analysis shows how repetition and template use function as digital rituals that both reflect and standardize everyday storytelling. By combining narratology, semiotics, and digital anthropology, the study contributes to understanding how short-form platforms not only distribute content but also actively shape cultural expression and identity. Methodologically, the adoption of the micro-narrative as a unit of analysis enables comparison across languages and platforms, while also highlighting the influence of algorithmic curation on sample formation. The findings open paths for future research using larger datasets

¹iercegovac@hct.ac.ae

and mixed methods, offering insights into how platforms shape the forms and rhythms of everyday narratives over time.

Keywords: *short-form video, digital rituals, visual anthropology, procedural micro-narrative, platform aesthetics, semiotics, TikTok, Instagram Reels, YouTube Shorts.*

1. Introduction

Scrolling through TikTok, Reels, or Shorts doesn't just kill time. It rewires how time itself is perceived. In place of long-form storytelling or reflective posts, short-form video now dominates the way people document, interpret, and aestheticize their daily lives (Social Insider, 2024). From 20-second skincare routines to silent coffee montages, everyday moments are compressed, filtered, and looped until they become instantly recognizable visual patterns. This transformation is not incidental. It reflects a deeper, systemic shift in how self-presentation, communication, and meaning are structured in the digital age.

Short-form content functions within a specific logic: brevity, rhythm, repetition, and modularity. These elements are not just stylistic choices, but requirements imposed by platform infrastructure itself (Chen et al., 2024). The formats are built to promote behaviors that are easily scannable, emotionally immediate, and infinitely repeatable. This accelerates not only content circulation but also the normalization of certain rituals, aesthetics, and moods. The daily scroll becomes a collective choreography of sameness – comforting in its predictability, but also algorithmically governed. These aesthetic forms emerge from the economic and political architecture of platforms. Under platform capitalism, visibility is currency, and attention becomes the raw material extracted from users (Srniczek, 2016:pp.27–32). The value of content is not measured by its depth, but by its ability to capture a viewer within the first two seconds. Within this dynamic, creators are not just individuals expressing themselves, but also unpaid micro-producers feeding a system that rewards speed, volume, and conformity.

What appears spontaneous is, in fact, highly structured. The performance of the self, now packaged in under a minute, is shaped by norms that are infrastructural as much as cultural. Platform design, algorithmic incentives, and interface feedback loops define what gets seen and what disappears (van Dijck, 2013:pp.9–14). The banal becomes spectacular not because it's meaningful, but because it aligns with a platform's logic of engagement, shareability, and affective efficiency. Nevertheless, not all short-form content is interpreted as narrative. For many users, these videos function more like visual mood boards or rhythmic rituals than storytelling de-

vices. They are patterns of affective display, structured enough to be familiar, but open enough to be endlessly adapted. Whether or not they are consciously read as “stories”, they still perform narrative functions: they suggest order, intention, and identity through visual repetition (Marwick, 2013:pp.186–195).

The paper explores, through this pilot study, how everyday rituals, once anchored in personal habit or cultural tradition, are restructured into visual narratives within short-form video platforms. The central research question is: How are daily routines transformed into structured visual narratives through short-form video formats? To answer this, the paper focuses on TikTok, Reels, and Shorts, identifying how ordinary actions are framed, stylized, and ritualized under platform constraints. Beyond mapping narrative patterns and aesthetic codes, the aim is to understand the cultural and systemic forces that render these forms not only viable but dominant.

2. Theoretical Framework

Understanding the identity-forming potential of short-form video requires a layered theoretical lens, combining classical narratology, digital storytelling, and contemporary media-specific narrative strategies. These perspectives jointly ground the analysis in questions of how meaning, identity, and ritual are produced within digital environments. The framework therefore integrates narrative theory, semiotics, and digital anthropology to explain how short-form video aesthetics transform everyday actions into recognizable cultural expressions.

2.1 Narrative Structures in Digital Contexts

Narrative, in its most fundamental sense, is not merely a story but a structured act of meaning-making. Traditional narrative theory identifies essential components such as temporal order, causality, and the presence of narrative agents, which help organize events into coherent sequences (Abbott, 2008:pp.13–20). These structures are not neutral as they frame how information is processed, remembered, and interpreted. This shift from heroic arcs to patterned everyday storytelling on TikTok has already been observed (Frenette et al., 2024). In digital media, however, narrative forms have been reshaped by both the medium’s constraints and its affordances. Unlike linear storytelling rooted in print or film, digital storytelling emphasizes fragmentation, modularity, and interaction. It operates less as a fully developed arc and more as a mosaic of moments, impressions, and cues (Alexander, 2011). But even though it has been fragmented and modular, the core narrative remains the

same. Even a six-second clip often contains a setup, a shift, and a resolution, only compressed, visual, and indexical rather than explicitly verbal. These compressed forms do more than economize time; they also activate memory and emotional processing differently. When narrative fragments are decontextualized or repackaged for new platforms, users engage them with different cognitive frames, often reconstructing story logic on the fly (Chiossi et al., 2023:pp.4–6). Such shifts are not incidental as they speak to a new semiotic economy in which coherence is expected to emerge not within the video, but across the feed. While TikTok's fragmentary storytelling relies on ultra-short, feed-based coherence, YouTube represents the earlier phase of digital narration, where longer vlog formats allowed for more sustained narrative arcs and self-presentation routines.

Digital platforms, particularly YouTube, have fostered the rise of vlog-based micro-narratives that balance between authenticity and scripted structure, a format later adopted and compressed by short-form platforms such as TikTok. These narratives typically rely on recurring formats, character tropes, and pacing strategies to simulate spontaneity while retaining narrative cohesion (Vlahović, Ercegovac & Tankosić, 2023:pp.30–33). In these cases, the performance of “everyday life” becomes a narrativized genre that invites audience participation while maintaining creator control. At a deeper level, narrative in the digital age functions not only to entertain or inform, but to construct identity and shape perception. Storytelling is one of the fundamental ways individuals make sense of experience, positioning themselves and others within frameworks of meaning, belonging, and intention (Bruner, 1991:p.5). When creators repeat themes, visual styles, and emotional arcs, they are not just telling stories, they are telling the story of themselves, repeatedly, in slightly modified but highly recognizable forms.

2.2 Semiotics and Visual Coding

In short-form digital video, meaning is shaped not only by language or story structure but also through visual signs and codes that function within broader cultural frameworks. The difference between denotation and connotation helps explain how seemingly simple images carry complex cultural meanings and reinforce ideological positions (Barthes, 1972). A cheerful emoji or a wide-angle drone shot may seem neutral but often signals deeply coded messages about mood, aspiration, or even social status.

Core semiotic categories such as icon, index, and symbol, alongside the concept of interpretive codes, offer tools to decode the underlying logic of visual content

(Chandler, 2022: pp.14–28). For instance, a steaming cup of coffee may function as an index of warmth and comfort, a symbol of routine, and an icon of lifestyle aesthetics simultaneously – depending on how it is framed within the feed. In algorithm-driven feeds, these signs function as fast-loading shortcuts to narrative cues, inviting the viewer to recognize, react, and scroll within milliseconds. Their repetition across formats creates a shared semiotic grammar that reinforces platform-specific aesthetics. Semiotic theory positions meaning as fluid and negotiated, rather than fixed or author-driven. Eco's concept of the "open text" supports the notion that visual materials gain significance through viewers' cultural positioning and interpretive habits (Eco, 1979:pp.8–13, 57–67).

This flexibility makes short-form videos particularly powerful in constructing multiple, sometimes conflicting, layers of meaning – depending on the context in which they are consumed. The structure of visual language in media – gaze, framing, composition, and layout – functions as a communicative grammar, guiding how meaning is constructed and which values are encoded (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021). For example, a downward camera angle combined with pastel color grading may produce entirely different affective responses than tight framing in saturated tones. These choices are rarely accidental; they signal genre, mood, and even social hierarchies.

Recent analyses of social media images demonstrate how content creators rely on culturally resonant symbols to shape audience engagement. Visuals are used not only to express identity but also to implicitly communicate norms and aspirations (Nikulina et al., 2024:pp.609–611). A clean, minimalistic interior or a vintage filter does not merely reflect taste – it projects a semiotic package of lifestyle, values, and belonging, pre-coded for recognition. Recent multimodal work shows that such value-laden signals are detectable at scale in TikTok influencer content (Starovolsky-Shitrit et al., 2025).

2.3 Digital Rituals and Platform Aesthetics

Short-form video platforms do not only disseminate content, but they also cultivate habits, impose rhythms, and encourage symbolic behaviors. These patterns, often repeated and collectively recognized, can be understood as digital rituals. They include practices such as mimetic participation in trends, comment-driven interactions, or the use of specific filters and soundbites (Trillò, Hallinan & Shifman, 2022; Schellewald, 2024). Rituals on social media serve dual purposes: they foster a sense of community through shared behaviors, and they increase algorithm-

mic visibility. This blend of social cohesion and performative visibility redefines ritual not as tradition-bound, but as algorithm-responsive and context-sensitive. Everyday sharing practices on TikTok function as social scripts that stabilize these routines (Schellewald, 2024).

Alongside these ritualized behaviors, platform aesthetics guide how content should look, feel, and unfold. On TikTok, for example, aesthetic conventions are often marked by informal camera work, direct address, rhythmic editing, and everyday *mise-en-scène*. These features collectively establish what has been described as a “contemporary ethnographic aesthetic” – a mode of expression that simulates authenticity while conforming to implicit platform norms (Braun & Vollmer Mateus, 2024:pp.197–201). Even when creators present spontaneous or personal moments, the visual and sonic grammar of their videos tends to follow repeatable, learnable patterns optimized for discoverability. On Instagram, visuality itself operates as an affordance that steers production routines, pacing, and what counts as publishable (Kallio & Mäenpää, 2025).

Anthropological theories help anchor these observations in a broader framework. Turner’s notion of liminality, the in-between space where transformation occurs, resonates with the scrolling rhythm of platform navigation, where users move from one transient moment to the next (Turner, 1969:pp. 94–97). Each post offers a fleeting entry into a symbolic world with its own rules, roles, and affects. Similarly, the view of culture as a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms finds its equivalent in the digital sphere: here, symbols include emojis, audio snippets, filters, and pacing styles that structure perception and frame social reality (Geertz, 1973).

Empirical studies support the view that adolescents, in particular, navigate these ritualized environments not only for entertainment but to manage visibility, social risk, and identity. On TikTok, young users adapt their privacy strategies, self-presentation, and engagement patterns in line with evolving platform conventions and peer expectations (Ebert et al., 2023:pp.227–230). Their behavior illustrates that digital rituals reflect norms while actively producing and regulating them.

These theoretical foundations function both as a contextual frame and as a practical tool for analyzing visual and narrative patterns in short-form video. In this research, they support the interpretation of digital rituals and aesthetic conventions as signs rooted in platform logic and cultural codes, rather than isolated stylistic choices. This perspective focuses the analysis on how identity is shaped through everyday content, its forms, repetitive structures, and algorithmically optimized expressions.

3. Methodology

This research applies qualitative content analysis to examine narrative and visual patterns in short-form video formats. The focus is on everyday rituals represented in digital media and how these rituals visually and symbolically encode meaning. This method allows for detailed interpretation of recurring narrative and semiotic structures that may not be visible through quantitative techniques. By systematically coding visual and audio elements, qualitative content analysis uncovers how small aesthetic and procedural choices contribute to broader cultural meanings. The dataset, drawn from publicly accessible short-form videos, offers an empirical basis for comparing how different platforms shape routine-based storytelling and the construction of identity.

3.1 Sampling and selection

The sample comprises 21 videos from three platforms, TikTok (9), Instagram Reels (9), and YouTube Shorts (3), assembled in 2025 from openly accessible feeds. Items were drawn from platform discovery surfaces (For You/Explore/Shorts feeds) and targeted queries/hashtags. Only posts published in 2024–2025 were eligible, to reflect current format conventions and platform practices (Social Insider, 2024). To keep the sample culturally varied, the set includes videos from multiple countries (e.g., UAE, Canada, Morocco, USA, Finland, Serbia, India). Inclusion criteria targeted ordinary routines: morning rituals, beverage preparation, walking, cooking, and comparable repetitive actions visually coded in recognizable ways. Exclusions covered brand advertisements, compilation edits, and reposts/duplicates; no more than one video per account was retained, while all videos were between 30 to 90 seconds long. These patterns correspond to a typology of digital rituals that function as cultural markers of identity and belonging (Trillò et al., 2022:pp. 2–5). The platform mix and the 2024–2025 eligibility window were selected to reflect current distribution and format conventions on short-form platforms (Social Insider, 2024). Because the analysis operates at the event and frame level, a focused corpus is appropriate; $N = 21$ is sufficient for pattern discovery and cross-platform contrast in an exploratory, theory-building design (Zhao, 2024; Trillò et al., 2022; Braun & Vollmer Mateus, 2024).

Shorts is treated as a control reference for speed and template legibility, providing an upper bound against which contrasts on TikTok and Reels are read. Preference was given to creators not yet positioned as influencers. Operationally, inclusion favored accounts without verification badges, recent sponsorship tags or

paid-partnership labels, and without prominent shop/affiliate integrations in recent posts. The intent was to observe everyday routines with minimal confounding from branding incentives and commercial scripting, which can reshape format choices and performance style (Marwick, 2013).

3.2 Analytic approach and codebook

The analysis combines visual analysis and narrative analysis. Comparative statements focus on TikTok and Reels; Shorts serve as a reference baseline for template-forward pacing. Coding categories include: (1) narrative structure (implicit beginning, turning point, closure), (2) visual and semiotic codes (color schemes, camera movement, composition), (3) platform logic and rituals (aesthetic templates associated with algorithmic promotion), (4) affect and cultural codes (calm mood, ideal lifestyle, regional or global markers), and (5) audio–text interaction. Platform engagement and recommendation dynamics are treated as contextual factors for interpreting form (Zannettou et al., 2024).

3.3 Reliability

A pilot pass on a small subset was used to refine operational definitions. A random 20% subset ($n = 5$) was independently double-coded against the final codebook. There was one coding discrepancy across the grid, yielding an overall percent agreement of 98.8% (79/80 binary decisions; five clips $\times$ sixteen codes). Cohen's κ (nominal, binary), averaged across the principal categories, was $\kappa = 0.98$. Given the small subset and the presence of several low-prevalence codes, κ should be read as indicative rather than definitive; the single disagreement was resolved by discussion prior to coding the remainder.

3.4 Reflexivity and ethics

Only publicly accessible videos were observed; there was no interaction with creators, no re-uploads of content, and only minimal verbatim quoting. Researcher account status and browsing routines were documented to acknowledge possible feed shaping; positionality and platform presence were addressed following reflexive guidance for experimental digital ethnography (Zhao, 2024).

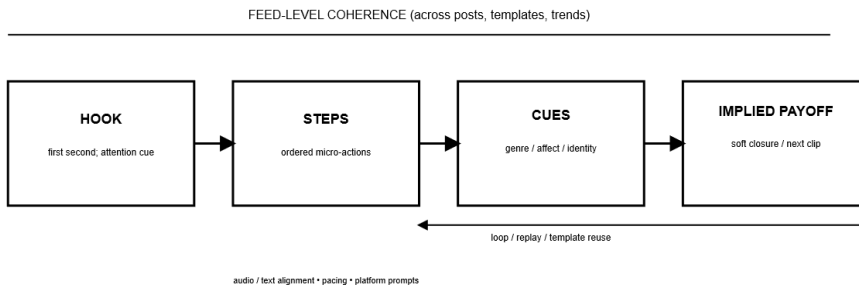
4. Analysis

The results back the core hunch: what looks like casual life-logging is patterned work. Everyday actions are cut, timed, and styled until they read as micro procedures the feed can understand. All figures refer to code frequencies within the 21-video sample and are descriptive only.

4.1 Narrative Patterns of Everyday Life

Across the sample, everyday activity is organized as procedural sequence rather than plot, consistent with narratological emphasis on ordered events and agented action. A situational introduction appears in 16/21 clips (76%), most often via explicit captioning (“morning routine,” “day in the life,” “join me”), first-frame cues (getting out of bed, stretching), or an establishing object (mug, cleanser) that locates the viewer in the first second. Action then proceeds as a chain of steps legible without voiceover. As shown in Figure 1, a typical clip moves from hook to short steps and recognizable cues, with an implied payoff and looped circulation at the feed level.

Figure 1. Micro-narrative unit and feed-level coherence on short-form platforms



Source: Own research

Turning points are rare (2/21; 9.5%). Where coded, they are marked by an edit or visual shift (e.g., a finger snap that triggers a one-off event, or a move from indoors to outdoors) rather than by complication in the classical sense. Closure is present in 6/21 (28.6%) and typically relies on a small visual gesture (covering the lens with a hand; turning off lights), a text cue (“Ok bye”), or a return to rest (sitting to study). In the remaining clips, sequences end at progression rather than resolution. This distribution aligns with feed-level, modular narration in digital formats, where coherence accrues across posts more than within single clips.

Two supports make these compressed sequences readable at speed. Indexical cues appear in 18/21 clips (85.7%): hands entering frame, zips, pours, footsteps, and other micro-gestures that provide tactile proof the action is happening now. Identity-performance cues also appear in 18/21 (85.7%) and include dress, décor, product choice, and age/gender presentation (e.g., creator on camera; “66-year-old mom” skincare; student desk setting). These cues stabilize persona across posts while keeping single videos minimal in exposition – compatible with accounts of narrative as a mode of making sense (Bruner, 1991) of experience and positioning the self.

The dominant template is setup → ordered action → visible end-state. Within that template, three recurrent configurations are evident in the coding notes:

Step-chain routine. Tightly cut tasks with steady cadence (skincare steps; coffee grind → pour → sip), often concluded by a tactile completion (plated dish; finished cup).

Before/after transition. Minimal setup, a single edit beat (snap/wipe), then a reveal (clean counter, outfit). Here the “turn” is an editing device rather than a narrative event.

Route slice. Door → transit → destination, where movement carries the sequence; arrival may be elided or underplayed.

Platform-conditioned pacing is reinforced by algorithm-oriented structuring in 17/21 clips (81.0%), including salient first frames, hashtags, and follow prompts, trendy music, and links or brand tags (“link in bio,” products listed). Captions often double as orientation (“4 a.m. morning routine,” “sunny Stockholm”), reducing interpretive load. Taken together, the coding shows that intention, progress, and completion are conveyed through ordered steps, edit-marked shifts, and small closural gestures, while captions and indexical moves carry most of the explanatory burden.

4.2 Visual Codes and Cultural Symbolism

Meaning is borne primarily by visual form. Framing is coded in 18/21 clips (85.7%), keeping objects large and steps legible on a phone screen; indexical cues also appear in 18/21 (85.7%), providing tactile proof that something is happening now (e.g., a hand entering the frame, a zipper, a pour). Together these two elements make short routines readable with minimal text. Editing choices align with platform pacing. Algorithm-oriented structuring, salient opening frames, compact step displays, beat-matched cuts, follow prompts, and links/tags, is marked in 17/21

clips (81.0%). The edit rhythm carries the viewer from cue to cue so that intention and progress are clear without extended narration.

Color is used as a fast affective signal. Color palette/filter is explicitly coded in 11/21 clips (52.4%): soft neutrals correlate with calm morning scenes, while higher contrast supports speed and emphasis. Camera motion appears in 6/21 (28.6%), typically as short glides or angle shifts that mark beats rather than plot turns. Where color and motion are combined, they steer attention lightly, highlighting the next step or emphasizing completion, without changing the underlying sequence.

Identity is communicated through style rather than exposition. Identity-performance cues are present in 18/21 clips (85.7%), including dress, décor, product choice, and on-camera presence. These cues stabilize persona across posts so that viewers can recognize the author's "kit" immediately, even when the face is not central to the frame.

Objects do symbolic work in a subset of clips. Culturally coded objects are noted in 5/21 (23.8%); when present, recurring household items or branded packaging act as compact markers of routine, transition, care, mobility, or aspiration. Their function is primarily indexical-symbolic: they both prove the action and label its social meaning. Cultural marking splits into two patterns. Neutralized imagery appears in 14/21 clips (66.7%), with generic interiors, global brands, and broadly legible captions. Local markers appear in 5/21 (23.8%), for example, regional food plating, street signage, or packaging language, adding specificity while retaining the same procedural form. This mix suggests a preference for exportable style with room, in some cases, for regional texture. Sound supports mood and pacing more than semantic anchoring. Music/ambient sound is active in 14/21 clips (66.7%), while strict text-audio syncing is rare (1/21; 4.8%). Audio thus reinforces the step-by-step flow and affective tone rather than carrying narrative information on its own. In combination, these elements form a compact visual system: framing segments the task, indexical gestures certify presence, color sets tone, motion marks beats, identity cues bind clips to a persona, and objects carry social meanings. The result is a quickly readable package through which ordinary activity registers as a small, shareable unit of cultural sense.

4.3 The Aesthetic of Routine and the Ritualization of the Mundane

The dataset shows a stable aesthetics-of-routine: ordinary tasks are presented as legible, repeatable, and finishable units. A routine-type ritual is coded in 16/21 clips (76.2%), while a transition-type ritual, an action that signals a shift, such as

leaving home or changing state, appears in 5/21 (23.8%). Completion is usually tactile rather than dramatic: a surface is wiped, a cup is set down, a face is checked in the mirror.

Styling is consistent. Framing appears in 18/21 clips (85.7%), segmenting action into small steps; indexical micro-gestures, hands entering frame, pours, zips, footsteps, also appear in 18/21 (85.7%), certifying that the action is happening now. Algorithm-oriented structuring is present in 17/21 (81.0%): salient openings, compact step displays, beat-matched edits, follow prompts, and product links/tags. These choices keep the pace quick while preserving step-by-step clarity.

Mood tilts toward quiet satisfaction. Calm affect is coded in 14/21 clips (66.7%), and an aspirational register in 10/21 (47.6%). The combination produces tidy surfaces and soft colors rather than escalation or conflict. Identity-performance cues show up in 18/21 (85.7%), dress, décor, product choice, on-camera presence – binding otherwise short, fragmentary posts to a recognizable persona across uploads.

Cultural coding favors exportability with pockets of specificity. Neutralized imagery, generic interiors, international brands, globally legible captions, appear in 14/21 clips (66.7%), while local markers, regional plating, signage, packaging language, appear in 5/21 (23.8%). Color palettes/filters are marked in 11/21 (52.4%) and camera motion in 6/21 (28.6%); both serve as soft guides for attention rather than drivers of narrative change. Music/ambient sound is active in 14/21 (66.7%), while strict text–audio sync is rare (1/21; 4.8%), indicating that audio mainly carries tone and cadence. Platform distributions reinforce this ritual aesthetic in different ways: Reels concentrates routine-type clips (8/9; 88.9%) with occasional transition marks (2/9; 22.2%) and a high calm rate; Shorts standardizes the format (routine 3/3; 100%; transition 2/3; 66.7%) with full neutralization; TikTok shows the widest tolerance for texture (routine 5/9; 55.6%; transition 1/9; 11.1%) and more local markers. Read together, the elements that ritualize the mundane are straightforward: stable framing, indexical proof, compressed edits, and light identity signals. The result is not drama but a codified presentation, an everyday activity packaged as a small, shareable unit that completes cleanly on screen.

4.4 Variations Across Platforms and Cultural Contexts

Across the dataset, comparable routines take on different shapes on TikTok, Reels, and Shorts, with platform norms and audience expectations guiding how they are staged and edited. Platform contrasts are reported primarily for TikTok

and Reels, while Shorts are treated as a control reference for speed and template legibility rather than a full comparison partner.

4.4.1 Instagram Reels (n = 9)

Reels most often delivers a polished micro-arc: introductions 8/9 (88.9%), closures 4/9 (44.4%), turns 2/9 (22.2%). Framing and indexical cues are universal (9/9 each), while algorithm-oriented structuring is frequent (8/9; 88.9%). Color notes emphasize neutrals (“beige,” “off-white,” “natural light”), and comments repeatedly flag hashtags, a follow prompt, and trendy music as front-loaded cues. Endings are often small gestures such as “lights off,” “hand over lens,” or simply sitting down to study, consistent with the higher incidence of closure. Cultural coding skews neutralized (6/9; 66.7%) with occasional local markers (e.g., “Scandinavian interior”) in 2/9.

4.4.2 TikTok (n = 9)

TikTok favors progression without resolution: introductions 6/9 (66.7%), closures 1/9 (11.1%), turns 0/9. Framing and indexical cues are present but less uniform (6/9; 66.7% each). Algorithm-oriented structuring appears in 6/9 (e.g., “hashtags + trendy music” as a standard pairing). Notes point to “pastel/off-white” palettes, wide or mid-shots, and on-camera presence (“young woman,” “young couple”) with face sometimes out of frame. Affect ranges from slow/ASMR to upbeat jump-cuts. Cultural marking mixes neutralization (5/9; 55.6%) with the sample’s highest incidence of local markers (3/9; 33.3%), often small contextual details rather than overt national symbols.

4.4.3 YouTube Shorts (n = 3)

Shorts is the most template-forward in this set: framing 3/3 (100%), indexical cues 3/3 (100%), algorithm-oriented structuring 3/3 (100%), color theme 3/3 (100%), identity performance 3/3 (100%), and full cultural neutralization 3/3 (100%). Introductions 2/3, closures 1/3, turns 0/3. Notes consistently mention caption + trendy music as the opening scaffold and bold, legible palettes (“neon pink,” “white/purple,” “grey”). The footprint is small (n = 3), but the pattern is clear: rapid legibility, minimal local texture.

4.4.4 Cross-platform comparison

The contrasts cluster into four recurring dimensions, narrative resolution, standardization, affect/aspiration, and cultural coding.

Narrative resolution. Reels shows the highest incidence of closure (44.4%) and the only turns (22.2%); TikTok rarely resolves (11.1% closure); Shorts sits between on closure (33.3%) with no turns. Reels often start with a labeled or visually explicit setup (“morning routine,” first-frame bed-making); TikTok frequently opens with a quick collage or caption (“New month reset”) before steps; Shorts relies on caption + trendy music for immediate orientation.

Standardization. Shorts maximizes standardization across framing, indexicality, color, and algorithmic scaffolding (100% on each in this sample). Reels is close behind on framing/indexicality (100%) with strong, but not universal, algorithmic cues (88.9%). TikTok is more variable (66.7% for framing/indexicality; 66.7% algorithmic).

Affect and aspiration. Reels leans “calm” (88.9%) with moderate “aspirational” (55.6%); TikTok shows a mixed affect (calm 44.4%, aspirational 33.3%) of both ASMR-style and upbeat edits; Shorts registers calm and aspirational in 66.7% each.

Cultural coding. Neutralization dominates overall, but Shorts is fully neutralized (3/3), Reels is mostly neutralized (6/9), and TikTok carries the most local texture (3/9).

The sample spans 15 countries/regions (Canada, Croatia, Germany, India, Italy, Mongolia, Morocco, Poland, Portugal, Serbia, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, UK, USA). Despite this spread, the dominant pattern is exportable styling with pockets of locality: neutralized interiors and global brands are common, while local presence surfaces as plate presentation, signage language, or interior style (e.g., Nordic design cues). Platform norms moderate how much of that specificity remains visible: most on TikTok, least on Shorts, with Reels in between.

5. Discussion

Short-form video in this dataset reads as a feed-native grammar: repetition, compression, and indexical proof stabilize everyday acts into portable forms that travel across audiences. Meaning rides on semiotic kits and platform design, while identity is assembled from serial fragments optimized for quick recognition (Barthes, 1972; Eco, 1979; Marwick, 2013; Srnicek, 2016; van Dijck, 2013).

5.1 Ritual or Representation?

Across the dataset, routine does not unfold as plot so much as format. Actions arrive pre-cut into learnable sequences; orientation is front-loaded; endings are sealed with small gestures. The balance of codes, high introduction (16/21), high indexicality (18/21), high identity performance (18/21), strong algorithm-oriented structuring (17/21), low turns (2/21), and selective closure (6/21), indicates that everyday activity is packaged to be recognized quickly rather than narrated in full (see Table 1).

Table 1. Markers of ritual format in the dataset (N = 21)

Code	Count	Percent	Functional reading
Routine-type ritual	16	76.2%	Everyday habit packaged as a stable sequence
Introduction	16	76.2%	First-second orientation cue (caption/object/scene)
Indexicality (hands/steps)	18	85.7%	Tactile proof the action is happening now
Identity performance	18	85.7%	Dress/décor/products stabilize persona across posts
Algorithm-oriented structuring	17	81.0%	Salient opening, compressed steps, beat-matched cuts
Closure	6	28.6%	Small end gesture (hand-over-lens, lights off, seated pause)
Transition-type ritual	5	23.8%	Edit/action marks a state change
Narrative 'turn'	2	9.5%	Edit device rather than plot complication

Source: Own research

Read this way, the clips function as digital rituals: repeatable practices that coordinate participation and recognition across the feed (Trillò et al., 2022). The ritual effect comes from stability, step order, familiar props, bounded endings, not ceremony. A “hand-over-lens” or “lights off” acts as a seal, not a climax. Swipe mechanics keep each unit liminal, a brief threshold between one bounded micro-scene and the next, which fits classic accounts of transition and in-between states (Turner, 1969).

At the same time, the material is representational. Persona is assembled from reliable visual cues, lighting, palette, décor, dress, product choice, rather than from exposition. Repetition across posts produces a coherent public self that is easy to

recognize at a glance, consistent with studies of networked self-presentation and taste performance (Marwick, 2013). In this register, mugs, mirrors, sneakers, and labeled packaging do double duty: they certify action (indexical proof) and anchor social meaning (symbolic value), a compact version of culture as shared codes expressed in patterned forms (Geertz, 1973; Barthes, 1972; Eco, 1979).

Crucially, these formats are tuned to circulation. Salient first seconds, compressed step displays, beat-matched cuts, and on-screen prompts reduce interpretive load and reward immediate recognition, features that fit recommendation-driven environments where visibility follows attention metrics (Zannettou et al., 2024; Srnicek, 2016; van Dijck, 2013). What looks spontaneous is learned craft: an “ethnographic” surface of everyday life that signals authenticity while staying inside platform habits (Braun & Vollmer Mateus, 2024).

5.2 Identity and Culture

Identity in the dataset is assembled through repeatable visual kits rather than explicit self-description. Identity-performance cues (style, décor, product choice) appear in 18/21 clips, while framing and indexical cues (hands/steps/micro-gestures) also reach 18/21 each, making persona and action legible at speed, consistent with accounts of narrative self-construction and modular, feed-level storytelling (Bruner, 1991; Alexander, 2011).

Symbolic items (mugs, mirrors, branded packaging, plants, sneakers) operate as condensed markers of taste and aspiration, with meanings stabilized through repetition (Barthes, 1972; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021).

Cultural coding splits between neutralization and local marking. Cultural neutralization is coded in 14/21 clips (generic interiors, international brands, English text), whereas local markers appear in 5/21 (regional dishes, packaging language, neighborhood signage). Platform profiles diverge: Reels and Shorts lean toward neutralization (Reels 6/9; Shorts 3/3), while TikTok shows more local texture (3/9), though still mixed with neutralization (5/9). As shown in Table 2, the counts and proportions by platform make this split explicit (reported as count/N and proportion).

This pattern aligns with analyses of platform aesthetics and infrastructural logics that nudge expression toward exportable styles (van Dijck, 2013; Srnicek, 2016; Braun & Vollmer Mateus, 2024).

Table 2. Identity & cultural codes by platform (count / N, proportion)

Code	Instagram Reels	TikTok	YouTube Shorts	Overall
Identity performance	9/9 (1.00)	6/9 (0.67)	3/3 (1.00)	18/21 (0.86)
Visual symbols	2/9 (0.22)	3/9 (0.33)	0/3 (0.00)	5/21 (0.24)
Visual framing	9/9 (1.00)	6/9 (0.67)	3/3 (1.00)	18/21 (0.86)
Indexical cues	9/9 (1.00)	6/9 (0.67)	3/3 (1.00)	18/21 (0.86)
Calm affect	8/9 (0.89)	4/9 (0.44)	2/3 (0.67)	14/21 (0.67)
Aspirational affect	5/9 (0.56)	3/9 (0.33)	2/3 (0.67)	10/21 (0.48)
Culturally neutralized	6/9 (0.67)	5/9 (0.56)	3/3 (1.00)	14/21 (0.67)
Local markers	2/9 (0.22)	3/9 (0.33)	0/3 (0.00)	5/21 (0.24)

Source: Own research

Affective tone supports the packaging of identity and culture. Calm is present in 14/21 clips, aspirational tone in 10/21, reinforcing a model of tidy, ordered everyday life. Visual grammar, gaze, composition, and layout, structure how these meanings are read, while denotation/connotation frames how seemingly simple objects carry cultural values; contemporary work further shows how images transport norms and value-laden cues in fast-scrolling environments (Barthes, 1972; Chandler, 2022; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021; Nikulina et al., 2024).

Identity and culture appear as immediately readable kits: framing and indexical gestures certify action, affect sets the mood, and recurrent objects carry shared meanings within platform-shaped constraints (van Dijck, 2013; Srnicek, 2016).

5.3 The Role of Platforms in Structuring Narrative

Short-form storytelling is normalized by platform affordances: duration caps, native editors, caption limits, sound libraries, and templates funnel clips toward front-loaded hooks, segmented action, and brief payoffs that match feed pacing (Kallio & Mäenpää, 2025; Chen et al., 2024). Recommender systems reinforce the same mold by rewarding early engagement and steady retention, which privileges legible openings, compact step-chains, and replayable endings (Zannettou et al., 2024; van Dijck, 2013; Srnicek, 2016). Recent findings link short-video format features to shifts in stated evaluations in TikTok and Reels settings (Molem et al., 2024). In practice, the resulting unit is procedural (setup, ordered steps, visible end-state), designed to travel efficiently through the feed.

These constraints settle into platform-specific norms (see Figure 1). In this dataset, Reels most often delivers a tidy micro-arc with soft closure, TikTok tends to stop at progression without resolution, and Shorts maximizes template clarity and

speed (Social Insider, 2024; Kozharinova & Manovich, 2024). Within this dataset, Shorts function as a control reference: their template-forward pacing marks the upper bound of speed and legibility. The shift away from grand plotlines toward patterned everyday sequences echoes recent accounts of how everyday stories replace heroic narrative frames on TikTok (Frenette et al., 2024).

From an anthropological angle, the repeated shapes operate as rituals: trends, sounds, filters, caption formulas, and learned “moves” translate private routines into public, copyable procedures (Trillò et al., 2022). Everyday sharing practices themselves function as a social infrastructure that stabilizes these scripts over time (Schellewald, 2024). Meaning rides on familiar symbols and visual grammars (mugs, mirrors, sneakers; gaze, composition, layout) so that the mundane acquires recognizable value in seconds (Geertz, 1973; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021). What appears spontaneous is patterned performance aligned with infrastructural incentives (van Dijck, 2013; Srnicek, 2016).

TikTok, Reels, and Shorts do not merely host stories; they standardize how stories are built, through technical limits, ranking pressures, and aesthetic defaults that make specific micro-narratives easy to produce, recognize, and circulate (Kallio & Mäenpää, 2025; Chen et al., 2024; Zannettou et al., 2024; Frenette et al., 2024; Schellewald, 2024).

6. Conclusion

This study has shown how short-form platforms transform everyday routines into procedural micro-narratives that circulate smoothly across feeds. Simple acts such as preparing a drink or walking through a city street are organized into compressed sequences that remain legible through familiar cues of setup, shift, and closure. Coherence is achieved less within the single video and more across repeating formats and recognizable trends that allow content to be copied, adapted, and shared within the logic of algorithmic promotion (Chen et al., 2024; van Dijck, 2013; Srnicek, 2016).

The findings contribute to narratology by demonstrating how narrative units persist even under extreme temporal compression. Setup, transition, and resolution remain traceable and provide a workable framework for analyzing micro-stories in platform conditions (Abbott, 2008; Bruner, 1991; Alexander, 2011). From a semiotic perspective, meaning is generated through fast-decoding systems of denotation, connotation, and visual grammar, with culturally charged objects anchoring values in recognizable form (Barthes, 1972; Chandler, 2022; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021; Nikulina et al., 2024). The anthropological dimension of the study lies in framing

repeated formats as digital rituals that standardize everyday storytelling, connecting personal expression with infrastructural incentives and platform aesthetics (Trillò et al., 2022; Braun & Vollmer Mateus, 2024).

Methodologically, the adoption of the micro-narrative as a unit of analysis proved applicable across languages and platforms. The combined codebook allowed description to remain close to the visible form of videos while still supporting comparison between TikTok, Reels, and Shorts. YouTube Shorts were included primarily as a control reference, which clarified how pace and template use appear when algorithmic conventions differ. One important boundary condition remains: material was selected through discovery feeds and targeted searches, which means that access was shaped by algorithmic curation rather than by a neutral or exhaustive sampling frame (Zannettou et al., 2024).

As this is a pilot study, further research should expand the scale of analysis while maintaining comparability. The same codebook could be extended to larger and multilingual datasets, and supported by computational tools, to track how templates evolve with new editing features and policy shifts. Longitudinal approaches would allow changes in ritualized storytelling to be traced over time, while mixed methods could connect formal video features with shifts in audience perception and evaluation (Molem et al., 2024). Such steps would extend the contribution of this study by building a cumulative understanding of how platforms regulate everyday narrative expression.

References:

1. Abbott, H. P. (2008) *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative* (2nd ed.) Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
2. Alexander, B. (2011) *The New Digital Storytelling: Creating Narratives with New Media*. Westport, Praeger.
3. Barthes, R. (1972) *Mythologies*. New York, Hill and Wang.
4. Braun, L. N., & Vollmer Mateus, A. M. (2024) Contemporary Ethnographic Aesthetics: The TikTok Turn. *Visual Anthropology*. 37(3), 195–211. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08949468.2024.2330268>
5. Bruner, J. (1991) The Narrative Construction of Reality. *Critical Inquiry*. 18(1), 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1086/448619>
6. Chandler, D. (2022) *Semiotics: The Basics* (4th ed.) London, Routledge.
7. Chen, Z., Liu, P., Piao, J., Xu, F., & Li, Y. (2024) Shorter is Different: Characterizing the Dynamics of Short-form Video Platforms. *arXiv preprint*. <https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.2410.16058>

8. Chiossi, F., Haliburton, L., Ou, C., Butz, A., & Schmidt, A. (2023) Short-Form Videos Degrade Our Capacity to Retain Intentions: Effect of Context Switching on Prospective Memory. *Proceedings of the 2023 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems (CHI '23)*. Hamburg, Germany (1–15). ACM. <https://doi.org/10.1145/3544548.3580778>
9. Ebert, N., Geppert, T., Strycharz, J., Knieps, M., Hönig, M., & Brucker-Kley, E. (2023) Creative Beyond TikToks: Investigating Adolescents' Social Privacy Management on TikTok. *Proceedings on Privacy Enhancing Technologies*. 2023(2), 221–235. <https://doi.org/10.56553/popets-2023-0049>
10. Eco, U. (1979) *A Theory of Semiotics*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press.
11. Frenette, A., Millette, M., & Desbiens, C. (2024) Out With the Hero: How TikTok Everyday Stories are Re-writing the Arctic. *Social Media + Society*. 10(3). <https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051241283426>
12. Geertz, C. (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures*. Basic Books, New York City.
13. Kallio, S. M., & Mäenpää, J. (2025) Visuality as an Affordance on Instagram News Production. *Digital Journalism*. 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2025.2462558>
14. Kozharinova, M., & Manovich, L. (2024) Instagram as a Narrative Platform. *First Monday*. 29(3), 1–34. <https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v29i3.12497>
15. Kress, G. & van Leeuwen, T. (2021) *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. London, Routledge.
16. Marwick, A. E. (2013) *Status Update: Celebrity, Publicity, and Branding in the Social Media Age*. New Haven & London, Yale University Press.
17. Molem, A., Makri, S., & McKay, D. (2024) Keepin' It Reel: Investigating How Short Videos on TikTok and Instagram Reels Influence View Change. *Proceedings of the 2024 ACM SIGIR Conference on Human Information Interaction and Retrieval (CHIIR '24)*, March 10–14. Sheffield, UK (317–327). ACM. <https://doi.org/10.1145/3627508.3638341>
18. Nikulina, O., van Riel, A. C. R., Lemmink, J. G. A. M., Grewal, D., & Wetzels, M. (2024) Narrate, Act, and Resonate to Tell a Visual Story: A Systematic Review of How Images Transport Viewers. *Journal of Advertising*. 53(4), 605–625. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00913367.2024.2309921>
19. Schellewald, A. (2024) Discussing the Role of TikTok Sharing Practices in Everyday Social Life. *International Journal of Communication*. 18, 909–926. <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/20993>
20. Social Insider. (2024) TikTok vs. Reels vs. Shorts: A Study. *SocialInsider Blog*. <https://www.socialinsider.io/blog/tiktok-vs-reels-vs-shorts>
21. Srnicek, N. (2016) *Platform Capitalism*. Cambridge, Polity Press.

22. Starovolsky-Shitrit, A., Neduva, A., Appel Doron, N., Daniel, E., & Tsur, O. (2025) The Value of Nothing: Multimodal Extraction of Human Values Expressed by TikTok Influencers. *arXiv preprint*. <https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.2501.11770>
23. Trillò, T., Hallinan, B., & Shifman, L. (2022). *A typology of social media rituals*. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*. 27(4), zmac011. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jcmc/zmac011>
24. Turner, V. (1969) *The Ritual Process*. London, Routledge.
25. van Dijck, J. (2013) *The Culture of Connectivity: A Critical History of Social Media*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
26. Vlahović, A., Ercegovac, I., & Tankosić, M. (2023) Unraveling the Narrative Structures in YouTube Vlogs: A Qualitative Content Analysis. *Media Studies and Applied Ethics*. 4(2), 25–42. <https://doi.org/10.46630/msae.2.2023.03>
27. Zannettou, S., Nemes-Nemeth, O., Ayalon, O., Goetzen, A., Gummadi, K. P., Redmiles, E. M., & Roesner, F. (2024, May) Analyzing User Engagement with TikTok's Short Format Video Recommendations Using Data Donations. *In Proceedings of the 2024 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems (1-16)*. <https://doi.org/10.1145/3613904.3642433>
28. Zhao, Y. (2024) TikTok and Researcher Positionality: Considering the Methodological and Ethical Implications of an Experimental Digital Ethnography. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*. 23, 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069231221374>

Ivana Ercegovac

Romana Srncova

Fadžar Mohamed Alhanai

Viši tehnološki koledži (Higher Colleges of Technology)

Fakultet primenjenih medija, kampus Fasil, Fudžajra

Ujedinjeni Arapski Emirati

DIGITALNI RITUALI I SVAKODNEVNI NARATIVI: VIZUELNA ANTROPOLOGIJA KULTURE KRATKIH VIDEO- FORMATA

Rezime

Ovaj rad ispituje kako platforme za kratke video-formate transformišu svakodnevnne rutine u prepoznatljive narativne i vizuelne obrasce. Kroz kvalitativnu analizu sadržaja 21 video-zapisa sa platformi TikTok, Instagram Reels i YouTube Shorts, ova pilot-studija identifikuje načine na koje skraćene sekvence radnji postaju proceduralni mikronarativi. Ovi video-zapisi oslanjaju se na minimalne narativne signale – uvod, promenu i završetak – koje dodatno pojačavaju vizuelna gramatika i kulturno kodirani simboli,

obezbeđujući prepoznatljivost u brzom ritmu pregleda sadržaja. Analiza pokazuje da ponavljanje i upotreba šablona funkcionišu kao digitalni rituali koji istovremeno odražavaju i standardizuju svakodnevno pripovedanje. Kombinovanjem naratologije, semiotike i digitalne antropologije, studija doprinosi razumevanju načina na koji platforme kratkog formata ne samo da distribuiraju sadržaj već aktivno oblikuju kulturni izraz i identitet. Metodološki, usvajanje mikronarativa kao jedinice analize omogućava poređenje između jezika i platformi, uz isticanje uticaja algoritamske selekcije na formiranje uzorka. Nalazi otvaraju prostor za buduća istraživanja sa većim skupovima podataka i kombinovanim metodama, nudeći uvid u to kako platforme oblikuju forme i ritmove svakodnevnih narativa kroz vreme.

► **Ključne reči:** kratki video-format, digitalni rituali, vizuelna antropologija, proceduralni mikronarativ, estetika platforme, semiotika, TikTok, Instagram Reels, YouTube Shorts.

Preuzeto: 29. 8. 2025.
Korekcije: 24. 9. 2025.
Prihvaćeno: 29. 10. 2025.

ПРИКАЗИ

Горан Б. Милашин¹
Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Филолошки факултет
Катедра за србистику

КУЛТУРАЛНО МАРКИРАНА ЛЕКСИКА У СРПСКОМ ЈЕЗИКУ ИЗ УГЛА ЛИНГВОКУЛТУРОЛОГИЈЕ

Драгићевић, Рајна (2024) *Лексиколошка лингвокултурологија*. Нови Сад, Матица српска.

Књига проф. Рајне Драгићевић *Лексиколошка лингвокултурологија*, објављена крајем 2024. године у издању Матице српске, обимна је научна монографија посвећена културално маркираној лексици у српском језику, али је уједно замишљена и као универзитетски уџбеник чији је задатак да студенте филологије детаљно упозна са теоријско-методолошким основама лексиколошког правца у лингвокултурологији, те са најважнијим резултатима лингвокултуролошких истраживања. Овом двојном природом књига истовремено подучава, објашњава, анализира и иновира, постављајући темеље дисциплине коју ауторка именује посебним термином: *лексиколошка лингвокултурологија*. Како се у предговору истиче, она има два изворишта: прво чине професоричине вишегодишње припреме за предавања из предмета Лексикологија 2 и Лингвокултурологија на Филолошком факултету Универзитета у Београду, а друго њени лингвокултуролошки чланци публиковани у домаћим и страним лингвистичким часописима и зборницима. Основна теоријска становишта преузета су из руске лингвокултурологије, али су она употпуњена ауторкиним друкчијим, оригиналним погледима на неке проблеме, те је тако српска лингвистика добила досад најјеловитији и методолошки најконзистентнији увод у лингвокултуролошка истраживања, односно прву систематску типологију извора и метода лексиколошки заснованих лингвокултуролошких истраживања.

Монографија се састоји од једанаест поглавља, подијељених у мање целине, које систематски воде читаоца од теоријских основа до методологије и примјене у корпусним студијама, а структура прати унутрашњу логику развоја

¹ goran.milasin@filf.unibl.org

дисциплине: од концепта културе и њеног односа према језику, преко формирања лингвокултуролошких категорија (концепта, стереотипа, језичке слике свијета), до конкретних извора, као што су рјечници, колокације, прецедентни искази, анкетирање, вербалне асоцијације, појмовне метафоре и књижевност. Из педагошких разлога у књизи се строго раздвајају извори и методе, чиме је добијена помало искривљена слика лингвокултуролошких анализа, будући да се у њима, заправо, обрађени извори и методе прожимају и допуњавају. На крају скоро сваког поглавља приказан је дио студентских истраживања српске културално маркиране лексике, што у великој мјери доприноси обради тема у овој монографији 'јер су студенти изворни говорници српског језика, па га још и студирају, што значи да њихов избор културално маркираних лексема и лингвокултуролошки коментар (који је обавезан део истраживања) није заснован само на теоријском знању стеченом на предавањима већ и на културалној компетенцији изворних говорника' (р.15).

Прво поглавље, *Уводна разматрања* (рр.17–111), отвара преглед размишљања о појму *културе* оних проучавалаца језика који су дали највећи допринос лингвокултурологији. Како запажа ауторка, сва та размишљања обједињује идеја да се појединац учи култури живећи у колективу, гдје од најранијег дјетињства стиче информације о свијету око себе и о начину на који треба вредновати појаве што га окружују, а један од кључних видова упијања културе јесте усвајање и употреба матерњег језика, 'јер између културе и језика постоји нераскидива међузависност' (р.21). У подлози таквог схватања налази се свијест о постојању разноликости култура, упркос чињеници да се културалне заједнице преплићу и утичу једна на другу.

Проф. Драгићевић истиче да се у овој књизи под лингвокултурологијом подразумијева дисциплина која се бави везама између савременог језика и културе, тј. модерна лингвистичка грана која свој постанак дугује унутар-лингвистичким разлозима и ванјезичкој стварности. 'Она је настала (1) зато што су се за то стекли друштвеноисторијски услови (реакција на глобализацију), затим (2) због стања у друштвенохуманистичким наукама (које пред крај XX века постају интердисциплинарне), а настаје и (3) као одговор на генеративизам и когнитивизам у лингвистици, који су се деценијама бавили универзалијама у језичком систему под утицајем универзалних законитости когнитивног развоја, па је након доминације ових праваца дошло време да се у фокусу пажње лингвиста нађу језици лингвокултуралних заједница са свим својим специфичностима, али и међујезичким и међукултуралним преплићањима' (р.46). Лингвокултурологија, дакле, проучава савремену слику свијета

једне лингвокултуралне заједнице, а грађа за њена истраживања налази се у свим функционалним стиловима данашњег језика, нарочито у новинарском, књижевноумјетничком и разговорном. Самим тим, она нема исти предмет проучавања као етнолингвистика, која је дијахронијска дисциплина: 'У идеалном случају, етнолингвистику и лингвокултурологију не треба раздвајати јер се пуна слика добија само укрштањем информација из језичке прошлости и језичке данашњице, из дијалеката и књижевног језика, али етнолингвистика, као дијахронијска дисциплина, користи специфичну методологију која није иста као она која се користи за испитивање савременог језика' (р.47). У руској лингвистици јасно се разграничавају лингвокултурологија и етнолингвистика, али се томе, како запажа ауторка, супротставља врло утицајна пољска етнолингвистичка школа, која је свој идентитет изградила преузимајући понешто из обје ове руске школе и додајући неке нове теоријске и методолошке елементе у своје утемељење.

Осим што се дефинишу култура и лингвокултурологија, у уводном дијелу представљају се три најважније школе које истражују везу језика и културе у словенском свијету: руска (московска) етнолингвистичка школа, пољска (лублинска) етнолингвистичка школа и савремена руска лингвокултурологија, објашњавају се базични појмови, попут *концепта*, *стереотипа*, *прототипа*, *лингвокултуре*, *језичке слике свијета*, *лингвокултуралне заједнице*, *антропоцентризма*, *прецедентног имена*, *прецедентног исказа*, *прецедентног текста*, *лексичке лакуне*, *безеквивалентне лексике*, *примитива* и сл., одређује се садржај означен терминима као што су *конститутивни мит*, *колективни идентитет*, *колективно сјећање*, *културоним*, *идиокултуроним*, *митологема*, *етнокултурни маркери* итд., с тим да се често износе супротстављена становишта различитих аутора. Због свега тога увод ове монографије може се сматрати и важним прилогом учвршћивању теоријско-методолошког оквира лингвокултуролошких истраживања. Из њега се види како намјера ауторке није само да излаже теорију него и да моделује начин научног мишљења у овој дисциплини, при чему јој је једна од основних идеја водиља то да је у лингвокултурологији неопходно испитивати међуутицај културе и језика без обзира на степен културне специфичности, тј. истраживати и културноспецифичне и универзалне концепте.

Друго поглавље, *Речници као извор грађе за лингвокултуролошка истраживања* (рр.113–201), посвећено је, првенствено, улози описних рјечника у истраживању система вриједности и културе једне заједнице. У уводном, теоријском дијелу поглавља ауторка каже да ови рјечници само на први поглед представљају неутралне информаторе о ријечима, а заправо су много више, што

‘најбоље доказује чињеница да су неки од њих били и забрањивани јер нису одговарали моралним и политичким назорима времена у којем су настајали’ (р.114). Такав је случај био са Вуковим *Српским рјечником* (1818) и *Речником савременог српскохрватског књижевног језика* Милоша Московљевића (1966). Након ових запажања, проф. Драгићевић разматра оне елементе рјечника који могу бити носиоци културално релевантних информација, а то су: избор одредница, квалификатори употребне вриједности, дефиниције (у којима се често могу наћи значења мотивисана културом, културолошки коментари, а каткад и одраз мишљења самог лексикографа о неким друштвеним појавама) те примјери којима се илуструју значења лексема.

У наставку поглавља ауторка излаже резултате истраживања неких концепата на језичком материјалу преузетом из различитих рјечника. Прво показује како се из лингвокултуролошке перспективе испитује једна лексема у више рјечника одређеног језика, на примјеру српских лексема *слобода*, *исток*, *запад* и *демократија*, а затим изабрана лексема у одређеном рјечнику једног језика, и то на примјеру лексема *човјек* и *мјесто* у Вуковом *Рјечнику*. Ту износи занимљив закључак: ‘И то је оно што оставља посебан утисак – како год да се анализира Вуков *Рјечник*, која год скупина лексема да се из њега издвоји и обради, и то по било ком критеријуму, увек се добија разноврсна а целовита слика Вуковог света, као да и најмањи део носи особине целине, баш као што зрнце песка има све особине гомиле песка’ (р.155). Након тога проф. Драгићевић објашњава како изгледају лингвокултуролошка истраживања изабране лексеме у више рјечника двају језика, а опредјељује се за лексему *каша*, којом се именује првобитно и главно јело Словена, те приказује дио свог истраживања ове лексеме на језичком материјалу из српских и руских рјечника. Наредна два сегмента посвећена су лингвокултуролошким анализама тематских група лексема – у изабраном рјечнику једног језика, на примјеру имена мјеста, занимања, мјере и људи у *Речнику косовско-метохиског дијалекта* (1932, 1935) Глигорија Елезовића, и у изабраним рјечницима двају језика, на примјеру назива за мјере у лексикографским дјелима *Речник наших старих мера (у току векова)* (1961–1974) Милана Влајинца и *Объяснительный словарь старинных русских мер* (2017) Галине Јаковљевне Романове. Цјелину затвара преглед студентских истраживања културално маркираних лексема у дескриптивним рјечницима савременог српског језика. Кључна теза овог поглавља јесте да рјечник није само инвентар ријечи него и културни документ, у којем се огледају вриједности, идеолошки оквири и појмовни системи једне заједнице.

У трећем поглављу, *Колокације као извор за лингвокултуролошка истраживања* (pp.203–263), ауторка најприје говори о електронским корпусима као извору грађе за дистрибутивну анализу лексичких јединица, а након теоријских запажања о колокацијама и њиховом значају за лингвокултуролошка истраживања представља дистрибутивну анализу придјева којима се означава температура у српском, македонском, руском и другим језицима, при чему су у фокусу придјеви из топлог дијела температурног спектра (срп. *млак, топао, врућ, врео*; мак. *млак, топол, жезок, врел*; рус. *жаркий, знойный, горячий*; швед. *varm, het*). Том анализом потврђено је да су значења изабраних температурних придјева антропоцентричне природе, да се температурни придјеви метафорици и метонимијски често доводе у везу са љубављу и сексуалношћу, да је прави антоним српском придјеву *хладан* лексема *врућ*, а не *топао* итд.

Наредни сегменти поглавља доносе приказ дистрибутивне анализе лексеме *каша* у електронском корпусу SrWaC и лексеме *граница* у електронском корпусу СрпКор. Ове анализе показале су да се статус неке лексеме у лексичком систему не мјери само богатством значења, деривата и израза које је произвела већ и њеним „дубинским” утицајем, који се огледа у способности лексеме да говорницима постане еталон – мјера за неку вриједност. Тако се закључује да лексема *каша* спада у кључне ријечи српске културе, лингвокултуролошке концепте и базичну лексику српског језика. Она нема богату полисемну структуру, деривационо гнијздо и фразеолошки систем као већина лексема из основног лексичког фонда српског језика, али о базичности ове лексеме у лексичком систему свједоче: проширивање њеног значења до нивоа подспецификованости, способност да означава толико базичан појам као што је агрегатно стање и да тиме „разруши” тријаду *гасовито – течно – чврсто*, те способност да буде еталон за јело/храну, али и за било какву густу масу. Кад је ријеч о лексеми *граница*, корпусна анализа показала је да се њена прототипска значења повезују са простором, али да постоје и границе у различитим апстрактним доменима. Сви ови домени упућују на то да границе успоставља човјек, а да ‘извориште имају у идеологији, интелекту, култури, обичајима, предрасудама, развоју цивилизације’ (p.240). Цјелину о колокацијама као извору грађе за лингвокултуролошка истраживања наставља сегмент о експресивним конструкцијама којима се исказују емоције, а које су ексцерпирани из РСАНУ и РМС (нпр. *облачак туге, искрица среће, ватра љубави, пожар мржње, кап страха, румен стида* и сл.), а заокружује сегмент о намјенским корпусима, и то на примјеру корпуса одабраних за истраживање концепата ИСТОК и ЗАПАД, односно СЛОБОДА у српском језику. Ово је поглавље, између осталог, значајно

због тога што доказује да се културалне разлике могу емпиријски потврдити и статистичким методама, што лингвокултуролошке анализе свакако чини објективнијима, а основна идеја јесте да су колокације драгоцјен извор грађе за лингвокултурологију уколико им се правилно приступи.

Четврто поглавље, *Прецедентни искази као извор за лингвокултуролошка истраживања* (pp.265–305), бави се значајем који у лингвокултурологији имају фразеологизми, пословице, изреке и остале општепознате језичке јединице у форми реченице. Ауторка истиче да лексикологу фокус мора бити на лексици коју је народ често понављао и којој се стално враћао: ‘Зато је задатак лексиколога (1) да одреди најфреквентније лексеме у прецедентним исказима; (2) да протумачи концептуализацију појмова који су именовани најучесталијом лексиком у прецедентним исказима, као и културалне и историјске наносе које ти појмови садрже; (3) да одреди статус такве лексике у мрежи културално маркираних лексема, тј. да одговори на питање припадају ли оне језгру или периферији концептосфере – константама, лингвокултуролошким концептима или периферијској културалној лексици’ (p.266). Након објашњења суштинске разлике између лексиколошког и фразеолошког приступа овој врсти грађе, у првом сегменту овог поглавља говори се о лингвокултуролошкој фразеологији, затим о компаративним лингвокултуролошким истраживањима фразеологизама, те о универзалности и националној специфичности фразеолошких јединица.

Наредни одјељак посвећен је дијахронијским истраживањима прецедентних исказа. Помоћу њих, сматра проф. Рајна Драгићевић, могу се уочити промјене у језичкој слици свијета неке лингвокултуралне заједнице, а како би то илустровала, наводи дијелове своје анализе српских пословица које је у *Беседовнику*, објављеном у Млечима 1810. године, изложио свештеник Вићентије Ракић. Послије тога ауторка говори о народним пословицама у лингвокултуролошким истраживањима, тј. о компаративним истраживањима народних пословица, о пословицама и антипословицама, али и „само пословичким ријечима”, какве су *батаљка*, *оплећак*, *упоћак* итд. У четвртом сегменту поглавља пажња се поклања концепту БОГА у српским народним пословицама, а неки од закључака јесу да се Бог у пословицама персонификује, да се човјеков однос са Богом представља тројако: ‘кроз директан однос између човека и Бога, при чему човек моли за себе; кроз однос између човека и Бога, када човек моли за своје пријатеље и непријатеље, и кроз однос између два човека у којем се један другом обраћају поздравима, жељама, благословима, заклетвама, клетвама, а Бог се моли да саговорника награди или казни’ (p.298), те да се у пословицама о Богу може уочити својеврсни смисаони раскол. На

крају поглавља приказани су занимљиви резултати студентских истраживања културално маркираних лексема српског језика у прецедентним исказима.

Предмет разматрања у петом поглављу, под насловом *Еталони као извор за лингвокултуролошка истраживања* (pp.307–324), јесте значај који у лингвокултурологији имају приједлошко-падежни фразеологизми (нпр. *од јутра до мрака, од малих ногу* и сл.) и поредбени фразеологизми или еталони (нпр. *добар као анђео, трчати као зец* и др.). Ријеч је, дакле, о фразеолошким јединицама које не спадају у реченице, а важне су за испитивање језичке слике свијета одређене лингвокултуралне заједнице. Поглавље почиње напоменама о структури и значењу таквих језичких јединица, затим се представљају два компаративна рјечника еталона: *Хрватско-славенски рјечник поредбених фразема* (2006) и *Хрватско-романско-германски рјечник поредбених фразема* (2016), а након тога наводе се још нека запажања из компаративних анализа еталона. Слиједи сегменти о томе како се од поређења долази до поредбеног фразеологизма, како се може утврдити степен „еталоничности”, те о томе које се јединице називају *таутолошким фразеосхемама*. И ово се поглавље завршава прегледом студентских истраживања.

Шесто поглавље, *Анкетирање у лингвокултуролошким истраживањима* (pp.325–375), отвара сегмент посвећен предностима и недостацима анкетирања као технике у лингвокултуролошким истраживањима. Ауторка истиче да се анкетама могу добити подаци који указују на језичке тенденције, а погодни су за квантитативну и квалитативну обраду, али да анкетирање има и своје слабе стране, које се огледају у томе што је тешко сачинити репрезентативан узорак испитаника, добро формулисати питања, али и исправно и објективно тумачити одговоре. ‘Закључујемо да испитивач мора стећи одређено искуство како би могао да се користи анкетирањем као методом’ (p.328).

У наставку поглавља које се бави употребом анкета у лингвокултурологији ауторка детаљно описује неколико великих међународних славистичких пројеката чији је главни задатак да се преко емпиријских истраживања реконструира језичка слика свијета говорника различитих језика. Прво се представља међународни пројекат ЕУРОЈОС, који је организовао и њиме руководио пољски лингвиста Јежи Бартмињски, а циљ је био да се испитају вриједности Словена и њихових сусједа, тј. да се одреди значење лексема којима су исказане вриједности, али и да се опише како говорници једног језика разумију и вреднују дате појмове. Читаоци сазнају које су кључне фазе истраживања, колико су српски лингвисти дали допринос општем корпусу података о словенској слици свијета, а потом се приказују и конкретни резултати којима је

сама ауторка књиге обогатила пројекат, преко анкетних испитивања концепата СЛОБОДА, ИСТОК, ЗАПАД и ДЕМОКРАТИЈА у српској лингвокултуралној заједници. Ови дијелови служе и као практичан водич: будући истраживачи могу видјети разноврсне типове питања која се могу поставити у упитницима, начине обраде прикупљених одговора и методе извођења културолошки релевантних закључака. Даље се описује међународни пројекат о комуникационом понашању Јосифа Абрамовича Стерњина и сарадња српских лингвиста са овим познатим руским истраживачем, а нарочита пажња поклања се ауторкином упоредном истраживању српског и руског комуникационог идеала, чији је један од важнијих закључака то да говорници српског језика код саговорника првенствено цијене умијеће слушања, толерантност, искреност, спремност да савјетује и др. На крају се представља међународни пројекат израде вишејезичног рјечника бионима који води Николај Данилович Гољев, а у коме са српске стране учествују проф. Рајна Драгићевић и проф. Софија Милорадовић. У оквиру овог сегмента детаљно је приказана анкета од четири питања којом су прикупљани подаци о десет одабраних назива за биљке и животиње: *вук, магарац, зец, врана, мува, миш, п(иј)етао, ружа, теле и јабука*. Поглавље се завршава низом примјера студентских истраживања у којима је коришћена упитничка метода, уз преглед концепата које су студенти најчешће бирали за своје мале анкетне пројекте.

Седмо поглавље, *Вербалне асоцијације као извор за лингвокултуролошка истраживања* (pp.377–426), састоји се од неколико цјелина. У првом сегменту доноси се кратак осврт на историјат изучавања вербалних асоцијација, а затим се говори о структури асоцијативне анкете, односно о *ријечима-дражима (стимулусима)*, на које испитаници одговарају *ријечима-реакцијама (асоцијацијама)* – првим ријечима које им падну на памет. Ту се објашњавају појмови попут *асоцијативног поља, омисија, идиосинкратичних одговора* и др., те наводе различите подјеле вербалних асоцијација. Трећи сегмент овог поглавља посвећен је *Асоцијативном речнику српскога језика* (2005) и *Обратном асоцијативном речнику српскога језика* (2011) – мотивима за настанак овог рјечничког комплета, прикупљању грађе, узорима, избору и броју ријечи-дражи, структури рјечничког чланка итд., а затим и о лингвокултуролошким подацима који се ту могу пронаћи и истраживањима у којима је већ искоришћен тај језички материјал (то су, нпр., испитивања родбинских односа, носилаца особина и др.). У посебној цјелини говори се о *Словенском асоцијативном рјечнику* (2004) и његовој функцији у освјетљавању тзв. језгра језичког сазнања. Као примјере компаративних лингвокултуролошких анализа вербалних асоцијација ауторка

наводи три своја истраживања: упоредну анализу асоцијативног поља стимулуса ВУК у српском и руском језику, упоредну анализу концепта БУДУЋНОСТИ у језичкој слици свијета дјеце и одраслих у српској лингвокултуралној заједници, те упоредну анализу етнокултурних стереотипа говорника српског и њемачког језика на материјалу вербалних асоцијација. Као и у већини претходних поглавља, на крају су дати примјери студентских радова у којима је коришћена иста метода, односно лексема које су студенти србистике изабрали за анализу и неки закључци до којих су дошли примјењујући асоцијативну методу.

Наредно поглавље, *Појмовне метафоре као извор за лингвокултуролошка истраживања* (pp.427–477), разрађује идеју о дубокој и плодној вези лингвокултурологије и когнитивне лингвистике. Лингвокултурологија је, како ауторка наглашава, из когнитивне лингвистике преузела и предмет истраживања – проучавање концептуализације и категоризације стварности из перспективе говорника. Разлика је само у томе што когнитивисти трагају за универзалним основама концептуализације и категоризације реалности које се темеље на заједничким когнитивним способностима човјска, а лингвокултуролози трагају за специфичностима ових фундаменталних когнитивних процеса које су карактеристичне за представнике једне лингвокултуралне заједнице. Ипак, и овдје се подвлачи како задатак лингвокултурологије није да по сваку цијену проналази и истиче специфичности неке заједнице: 'Међу важне закључке спадају и они који су у вези са изостанком различитости једне заједнице у односу на другу (или друге) у вези са концептуализацијом стварности' (p.428).

С обзиром на то да је појмовна метафора један од кључних извора за реконструкцију начина на који човјек концептуализује свијет око себе, проф. Рајна Драгићевић у овом поглављу пажњу посвећује културним специфичностима појмовне метафоре са становишта когнитивне лингвистике. На конкретним примјерима показује интеркултуралне и интракултуралне разлике, као и промјенљивост метафоричке концептуализације током времена. Између осталог, читаоци се упознају с тим како се концептуализује БИЈЕС у енглеском, јапанском и зулу језику, те како се с временом мијењала метафоричка слика ПРИЈАТЕЉСТВА у енглеском и српском. У наставку поглавља даје се још низ примјера лингвокултуролошких истраживања у којима су се појмовне метафоре показале као корисно оруђе за изучавање утицаја културе на језик, а нарочито је интересантан сегмент посвећен замрзнутим појмовним метафорама у етимологији неких лексема. Савремена српска језичка слика свијета анализирана је на два начина: од изворног ка циљном домену (на примјерима метафора БРАКА и РАТА у политичком дискурсу) и од циљног ка изворним

доменима (на примјерима метафора чији су циљни домени ДЕМОКРАТИЈА, АУТОМОБИЛ, ЧОВЈЕК у дигитално доба итд.). Веома је занимљив и одјељак о чувеном српском математичару Михаилу Петровићу Аласу и његовом интуитивном бављењу метафором.

Много пажње у овом поглављу посвећено је и питању израде рјечника појмовних метафора, значајног и за когнитивну лингвистику и за лингвокултурологију. 'Јасно је да би овај речник дуго настајао, јер иза пописа појмовних метафора за сваки концепт мора стајати научно истраживање на језичкој грађи, али сваки његов део, свака шира хијерархија која би била исцрпно приказана, представљала би значајан допринос концептуалној лексикографији, когнитивној лингвистици, али и науци о сазнању' (р.471). Иако говори о рјечнику појмовних метафора српског језика, ауторка је свјесна чињенице да би то био универзални рјечник, лексикографско дјело које би важило за већину језика. У завршном сегменту поглавља дат је преглед студентских истраживања културално маркираних лексема на основу појмовних метафора. Студенти су показали да се за појмовним метафорама може трагати у часописима, на друштвеним мрежама, у пословицама, фразеологизмима, вербалним асоцијацијама, па чак и у описним рјечницима.

Девето поглавље, *Књижевна дела као извор за лингвокултуролошка истраживања* (рр.479–508), полази од тога да језички садржаји свих функционалних стилова, укључујући књижевноумјетнички, могу бити погодни за лингвокултуролошке анализе. Ауторка то показује на два своја истраживања. У првом од њих говори се о снази оца и сина у српској слици свијета реконструисаној на основу језичког материјала из ауторске и народне поезије, те података добијених анализом српских народних пословица и вербалних асоцијација. 'Иако подаци пружају привид о томе да отац може бити јачи од сина, да син може бити јачи од оца и да могу бити подједнако снажни, стереотипна слика тог односа подразумева моћног, доминантног оца са богатим животним искуством и недозрелог сина, који је слабији од оца чак и онда када му отац допусти да га надјача' (р.490). Друго истраживање, које, за разлику од претходног, није усмјерено на садржај, него на језик и стил књижевног дјела, за предмет има појмовне метафоре реализоване у пет прича Горана Петровића. Теоријско-методолошки оквир овог истраживања представља когнитивна поетика, при чему се за анализу Петровићевих метафора најадекватнијом показала теорија концептуалне интеграције. Испоставило се да овај писац у својим причама чешће опредмећује него што персонификује свијет идеја и других апстракција.

Основна идеја уткана у ово поглавље јесте да је књижевност богат резервоар културалних наратива.

У десетом поглављу, под насловом *Масовне језичке манифестације као извор за лингвокултуролошка истраживања* (pp.509–531), говори се о томе како све популарније језичке манифестације, као одраз тренутка у којем живимо, могу понудити материјал за освјетљавање савремене језичке слике свијета. Послије кратког прегледа праксе бирања „ријечи године” у различитим земљама, уз истицање добрих и лоших страна таквих манифестација, ауторка се задржава на два домаћа избора која је покренуло Друштво за српски језик и књижевност Србије: *Избор за реч која је обележила 2022. годину* и *Избор за најлепшу реч српског језика*. У ријечима које су пристигле за први избор јасно се огледа дух времена: завршетак пандемије, враћање уобичајеним обавезама, повратак у школу (*буђење, животворност, здравље, исц[ј]ељење, оздрављење, препород* итд.), односно рат у Украјини и нестабилна ситуација (*инфлација, поскупљење, раскол, рат, страх, туга* и др.). Као ријеч која је обиљежила 2022. годину издвојена је именица *исц(ј)ељење*. С друге стране, избор за најлепшу ријеч српског језика даје позитивнију слику: ученици основних и средњих школа најчешће су наводили ријечи *љубав, породица, срећа, мајка, хвала* и сл. ‘Учесталост ових одговора указује на чињеницу да речи у вези са породицом и породичним односима још увек представљају, по свему судећи, кључне речи српске културе’ (p.521). Као најлепша ријеч издвојена је именица *праскозорије*. Подаци из овог избора откривају и ко је дјецу научио најлепшим ријечима, који писци су на њих највише утицали, због чега им неке ријечи звуче посебно лијепо и сл. У једном сегменту поглавља представљен је и занимљив *Речник сувишних речи* (2019) Гордане Ђерић. То је књига гдје су сакупљене лексеме према којима говорници српског језика осјећају изразиту одбојност, односно лексичку антипатију. Међу њима су глаголи типа *искомуницирати, испозирати, испоштовати* итд., али и, изненађујуће, именица *култура*. Проф. Рајна Драгићевић сматра да већину ријечи у овом рјечнику повезује nelaгодност коју осјећамо под теретом празнословља.

Посљедње, једанаесто поглавље у књизи представља *Закључак* (pp.533–540). У њему ауторка сумира своје погледе на лексиколошку лингвокултурологију, коју сматра лексиколошком поддисциплином, а још једном наглашава схватање којим су проткане све претходне цјелине: утицај културе на језик може се уочити на свим језичким нивоима, а предмет лексиколошке лингвокултурологије јесу лексеме, саме по себи и у одређеном контексту. Њена методологија, коју су развили лексиколози како би идентификовали и описали

лингвокултуролошке концепте из своје перспективе, разликује се од методологије фразеолошке лингвокултурологије и етнолингвистике. Закључак књиге је информативан, али и охрабрујући у истраживачком смислу: ауторка позива на даљу реконструкцију српске језичке слике свијета из лексиколошког аспекта, на израду лингвокултуролошког рјечника, на развој методологије и активно укључивање студената у истраживачки процес.

Допринос монографије *Лексиколошка лингвокултурологија* уочава се на више нивоа: теоријско-методолошком, емпиријском и педагошком, али се може говорити и о културолошком значају, будући да се њоме успоставља један могући модел националне лингвокултурологије. Проф. Рајна Драгићевић написала је књигу која ће постати незаобилазна у лингвокултуролошким истраживањима – чињеница да се у њој не само прегледно износе постојећа знања него и постављају темељи нове лексиколошке поддисциплине чини је незамјенљивим ослоном за све који се баве језиком, културом, идентитетом и сл. Књига је драгоцјена и као прилог разумијевању српске културе: показује како се менталитет, историја, вриједности и савремени трендови одражавају у нашој лексици, фразеологији, прецедентим исказима, асоцијативним пољима, метафорама итд. Управо тиме књига испуњава оно што ауторка најављује у уводу – доноси ‘један од могућих увида у везу између културе и језика, имајући у виду и уважавајући и друге приступе’ (р.16). По свему судећи, *Лексиколошка лингвокултурологија*, замишљена, прије свега, као допринос лексикологији, захваљујући комбинацији теоријске конзистентности, емпиријске поткријељености и педагошке јасноће, дуго ће остати референтна, и то не само у домаћој лингвистици.

Марина Љ. Спасојевић¹

Институт за српски језик САНУ, Београд

КОГНИТИВНОЛИНГВИСТИЧКО ИСТРАЖИВАЊЕ ГЛАГОЛСКИХ ПРЕФИКСА У СРПСКОМ ЈЕЗИКУ

Миљковић, Вања (2023) *Протодобађајна семантика глаголских префикса у српском језику*, Београд, Институт за српски језик САНУ.

Монографска студија *Протодобађајна семантика глаголских префикса* аутора др Вање Миљковића, научног сарадника Института за српски језик САНУ, сарадника на изради Речника САНУ, највећим својим делом заснива се на рукопису ауторове докторске дисертације *Когнитивнолингвистичко истраживање глаголских префикса у савременом српском језику*, рађене под менторством проф. др Рајне Драгићевић. Књига је објављена у, сада већ препознатљивој, институтској едицији *Монографије* под бројем 38. За ову прилику обогаћена је опсежним поглављем у коме се анализира префикс *с(а)-*, односно представља његово протозначење – сажимање, док је у докторату пажња посвећена четирма префиксима: *из-*, *у-*, *о-* и *об-*. На почетку студије стоји *Реч аутора* (9) и *Листа скраћеница и ознака на дијаграмима* (11), а сам текст монографије подељен је у седам аналитичких поглавља, сложене структуре: *Уводна разматрања* (13–42), *Сликовне схеме у когнитивнолингвистичкој теорији* (43–60), *Ка каузалној суперсхеми добађаја* (61–120), *Глаголски префикс из- и протозначење ексклузије* (121–218), *Глаголски префикс у- и протозначење инклузије* (219–278), и *Глаголски префикс с(а)- и протозначење сажимања* (279–306), *Глаголски префикси о- и об-* (307–357). За њима следи осмо, завршно поглавље, *Закључна разматрања* (359–375). Особеност ове књиге, уосталом, као и саме докторске дисертације, чини *Речник модела каузалне суперсхеми и протодобађаја* (377–389). Књига је опремљена опсежном библиографијом (391–399), као и резимесима на енглеском (401–404) и руском језику (405–408). На крају се налазе четири регистра: *Именски регистар* (409–410), *Појмовни регистар* (411–414), *Регистар споменутих метонимија* (415) и *Регистар споменутих метафора* (416–419).

¹ marina.spasojevic@isj.sanu.ac.rs

Јединственост и значај истраживачког подухвата др Вање Миљковића огледа се у томе што смо са овом студијом добили прву монографску анализу више глаголских префикса у српском језику из угла когнитивне лингвистике (први пут је из овог угла писала Д. Кликовац² о глаголском префиксу *раз-*).³ Такође од ништа мањег значаја нису ни опсежна разрада теоријско-методолошког приступа изабраног за анализу на почетку студије и речник модела каузалне суперсхеме, који азбучно резимира кључне појмове којима аутор оперише у својој анализи.

Предмет анализе монографије *Протодобајајна семантика глаголских префикса* представља неколико богатих породица глаголских префиксала у савременом српском језику насталих префиксима *из-*, *у-*, *с(а)-*, *о-* и *об-*, применом когнитивнолингвистичког модела, који омогућава откривање догађајне протосхеме. Корпус анализираних глагола броји преко 3500 лексичких јединица, које су ексцерпирани из Речника САНУ, шестотомног и једнотомног речника Матице српске, као и из електронског корпуса srWaC (www.sketchengine.eu).

У првом поглављу под насловом *Уводна разматрања*, кроз два потпоглавља аутор улази директно у тему – како се то на први поглед чини – у срж разилажења између традиционалног приступа глаголској префиксацији (у србистици оличеном у радовима А. Белића, М. Стевановића, И. Грицкат) и новијег, когнитивног приступа (оличеног у анализи руских префикса Л. Јанде). Док традиционална истраживања стоје на поставкама да је префикс несамостална јединица, лишена лексичког значења, која модификује основу, често и са чистом граматичком функцијом да само перфективизује глагол, когнитивисти префиксу придају лексичку вредност и ни у ком случају га не свде на граматичку улогу перфективизатора. Међутим, како се у традиционалном приступу префиксација сматра слагањем (у србистици, рецимо, у системским описима А. Белића, М. Стевановића, све до Клајнове творбе), може се закључити да се префиксу придаје одређена „аутономија”, односно равноправност према другом члану који учествује у творбеном процесу. Такође, улога дијахроније једнако је значајна када синхрони приступ у актуелном моменту препознаје

² Кликовац, Душка (1998) О значењу српског глаголског префикса *раз-* (когнитивно лингвистички приступ). *Наш језик*. XXXII/2–3, 153–167; Кликовац, Душка (2002) О различитим врстама префиксалног значења: лексичко и творбено значење глаголског префикса *раз-*. *Дескриптивна лексикографија стандардног језика и њене теоријске основе*, Београд: САНУ, Институт за српски језик САНУ – Нови Сад: Матица српска, 185–194.

³ Велики допринос осветљавању глаголског префикса *по-* у српском језику из когнитивне перспективе даје и Горан Милашин, уп. Милашин, Горан (2024) *Префикс по- у служби регулатора значења и валентности глагола у српском језику*, докторска дисертација, Нови Сад: Универзитет у Новом Саду, Филозофски факултет.

само граматичка значења јер се трагање за непрозирним значењима префикса премешта у језичку прошлост, како би се ипак дошло до семантичког „еталона”. Стога аутор сматра да треба говорити о основоцентричним и префиксоцентричним приступима, а не о традиционалним и модерним, тим пре што су многа запажања традиционалног приступа оживљена и разрађена у когнитивном приступу. На пример, многа запажања која налазимо у студијама Ирене Грицкат о префиксацији неправедно се могу прогласити иновативним закључцима когнитивне лингвистике. Уосталом, да груба подела на традиционалне и модерне приступе није одржива, суптилно је и имплицитно показала и потврдила у критичким поглављима посвећеним проучавању глаголске префиксације и Милица Стојановић и својој студији *Глаголи са више префикса у српском језику*.⁴

Вања Миљковић је за примену когнитивнолингвистичког модела у истраживању префикса био мотивисан, пре свега, радовима Лауре Јанде, која је, ауторски или коауторски, анализирала префиксе у руском језику. Она свој приступ назива модификовано-структуралистичким: глаголским префиксима се прилази као семантичким јединицама са граматичком функцијом. У центру се налази основно значење префикса, које је углавном повезано са просторним искуством, а од њега се гранају даља значењска чворишта. Префикс не модификује основу, већ њен семантички садржај прикључује општијем догађајном обрасцу, односно има улогу класификатора.

У другом поглављу, *Сликовне схеме у когнитивнолингвистичкој теорији*, представља се развој и редеофинисање *сликовне схеме* као једног од темељних појмова когнитивне лингвистике који проистиче из разумевања метафоре (аутор се одлучује за дефиниције које дају, с једне стране, Грејди и, с друге, Мандлер и Кановас). Такође је истакнута разлика између сликовних схема и суперсхема као најапстрактнијих.

И наредно, треће поглавље, *Ка каузалној суперсхеми догађаја*, посвећено је разради теоријског модела. У њему се, на крају, презентује нацрт каузалне суперсхеме догађаја – идеализованог когнитивног модела у коме се одвија граматичка концептуализација глаголских аргумената. Модел догађајне каузалности темељи се на проучавањима Л. Талмија (динамика силе и каузативне конструкције) и В. Крофта (динамика силе у моделу каузалног ланца). Кључни појмови за модел, који ће бити представљен на крају, јесу термини трајектор, оријентир, фигура и позадина, са посебним освртом на њихов статус у тео-

⁴ Стојановић, Милица (2023) *Глаголи са више префикса у српском језику*, Београд: Институт за српски језик САНУ.

ријским моделима Талмија и Ланакера. Наредна четири поглавља представљају примену предоченог модела.

Четврто поглавље, *Глаголски префикс из- и протозначење ексклузије*, посвећено је сагледавању значењске мреже овог хоризонтално веома разуђеног префикса. Занимљив је за ову врсту истраживања и по томе што се у основно-центричним приступима види и као празан, односно чист граматички префикс – перфективизатор. Аутор претпоставља да сви префиксали са *из-* имају протозначење ексклузије, а да су семантичке разлике последица онтолошких варирања тог протозначења. Значење глаголског префикса *из-* повезано је са сликовном схемом ИЗНОШЕЊА (*извадити, извући, изгурати, истрчати, излетети*), али уочавају се још две сликовне схеме: ИСТИСКАЊА (*исцедити, исисати, измусти, истиксати*) и ИЗЛАГАЊА (*испрксати, исквасити, ишприцати, испљувати*).

Пето поглавље под насловом *Глаголски префикс у- и протозначење инклузије*, посвећено је анализи префикса са готово антонимном протодогађајном семантиком од претходног. Овај је префикс у србистичким описима специфичан по томе што се указује на његово двоструко порекло (*у- < вѣ-* и *у- < оу-*), због чега се оделито посматрају глаголи инлокализацијског значења (*ући, унети*) и глаголи аблативног значења (*украсти, удати, убрати*). Аутор ће у овом поглављу показати заправо њихову синхронијску семантичку повезаност у савременом српском језику засновану на протозначењу инклузије. Протозначење инклузије остварује се кроз неколико сликовних схема заснованих на односу САДРЖАТЕЉА и ОМОТАЧА. Протосхема инклузије повезује се са два примарним сликовним схемама: УНОШЕЊЕ (које се заснива на статичном САДРЖАТЕЉУ) и УМОТАВАЊЕ (које се заснива на динамичном ОМОТАЧУ). На њих се ослањају још две сликовне схеме, инвазивно УБАДАЊЕ (као варијанта „уношења” у садржатеља структуру, а не у садржатеља простор) и инвазивно УТЕЗАЊЕ (као варијанта „умотавања” у којој се ОМОТАЧ стапа са идејом инвазивног ПРИТИСКА). Аутор уочава још сликовних схема, које су или периферног или прелазног карактера.

Шесто поглавље, *Глаголски префикс с(а)- и протозначење сажимања*, такође обрађује префикс за који се везује оделита семантика аблативности и социјативности. Аутор утврђује да ову префиксалну породицу на окупу држи протозначење КОМПРЕСИЈЕ (САЖИМАЊА), и то као САЖИМАЊЕ РАЗДАЉИНЕ (ЕГЗОКОМПРЕСИЈА: *свезати, сакупити, састати се, саставити, саградити*) и САЖИМАЊЕ ВЕЛИЧИНЕ (ЕНДОКОМПРЕСИЈА: *скратити, смањити, слупати, спалити*). Протозначење компресије уочава се и код глагола непросторне онтологије (домени социјалне интеракције, менталног искуства и сл.).

Седмо поглавље, *Глаголски префикси о- и об-*, у фокус ставља морфемске јединице које неки сматрају и аломорфима. Аутор, уважавајући различите ставове и анализирајући глаголе изабраним моделом, показује да је реч о двама префиксима. Код ових префикса уочава се сликовна схема КРУЖНОГ КРЕТАЊА. Међутим, ипак се издвајају одвојене сликовне схеме: УСПОСТАВЉАЊЕ КРУЖНЕ ПУТАЊЕ И УСПОСТАВЉАЊЕ ПРОСТОРНЕ БАРИЈЕРЕ, које говоре у прилог непоклапању префикса *о-* и *об-*. Семантичка разлика видљива је на нивоу протозначења. Као протозначење префикса *об-* аутор види ИНВОЛВИРАНОСТ (обухваћеност), а као протозначење префикса *о-* АКСИЈАЛНОСТ (усмереност наспрам осе).

Аутор доследно примењује кроз анализу изабрани модел, али узима у обзир и сва сазнања о посматраним префиксима до којих је дошла србистичка наука, систематски их представљајући на почетку сваког поглавља о префиксима *из-*, *у-*, *с(а)-*, *о-* и *об-*. Начин на који разрешава отворена питања и непоклапања показује да је оправдана претпоставка о протосхематској природи префиксног значења. Унутар посматраних префиксалних породица утврђене су сликовне схеме прототипичног (примарног) статуса, којима је са мање типичним (периферним) схемама иста протосхематска основа. Разлике између сликовне схеме и протосхеме пружају могућност да се увиди како се на примарно спациооперцептивно искуство надовезују апстрактнија искуства.

Ова студија, осим бољем познавању семантичког устројства и организације посматраних префикса, што је изложено у централном делу, даје и допринос дериватологији, лексикологији, лексикографији и аспектологији. Њоме се потврђује да префиксацију треба видети као посебан начин творбе, јер префикс и основа немају идентичан семантички статус, будући да префикс обухвата схеме на вишем нивоу категоризације (од предлексичке протосхеме до њене лексичке схематске манифестације, која наспрам префиксала има хиперонимски карактер).

Реализација протозначења кроз конкурентне протодобајаје објашњава истопрефиксну антонимију и префиксалну енантиосемију, важне семантичке појаве повезане са глаголском префиксацијом. Протосемантика самог префикса, тј. могућност њеног варирања доводе до богатије полисемне структуре глаголских префиксала у односу на мотивни глагол.

Овај модел може своју примену наћи и у лексикографској обради префикса, односно дела који се односи на везу са глаголским основама. Појединачна значења односила би се на протодобајајне варијанте, док би подзначења представљала њихову онтолошку дисперзију (латисемију префикса). На тај

начин би се истакао заједнички семантички чинилац, који повезује различита лексичка значења префикса у једну предлексичку појмовност и који постоји на вишем нивоу. Пошто је ово протосхематски модел, граматикализована, односно акционална значења не би била презентована у оваквом речничком чланку јер она спадају у суперсхематска значења. Овакав приступ, из аспектошког угла, прати идеју о семантичкој мотивисаности одабира префикса перфективизатора, коју је поставила И. Грицкат.

Монографија научног сарадника др Вање Миљковића *Протодогађајна семантика глаголских префикса* написана је темељно и студиозно. Аутор је показао изузетан дар за проналажење и конституисање појмовно-теоријских апаратура, на основу изврсног познавања теоријских токова, у првом реду когнитивнолингвистичких, као и страних домаћих лингвистичких увида у проблем префиксације и глаголске семантике. У његовој научној аргументацији нема поларизованости и супротстављености: иако теоријско-методолошки опредељен, са разрађеним когнитивнолингвистичким моделом анализе, све сагледава критички и ослања се на она сазнања и поставке које доприносе расветљавању питања (без обзира на то да ли су то когнитивисти или структуралисти и сл.). Разрадио је врло прецизан метајезик, који му је омогућио егзактну анализу. Може се очекивати да овде презентовани модел добије своје следбенике.

Наташа Ж. Драгин¹
Универзитет у Новом Саду
Филозофски факултет
Одсек за српски језик и лингвистику

КРИТИЧКО ИЗДАЊЕ ДЕЛА МАРКА ПЕЋКОГ²

Пећки, Марко (2024) *Сабрана дела*. Увод, српскословенски текст приредио и на савремени српски језик пренео Томислав Јовановић. Београд, Чигоја штампа.

Проучавање старе српске књижевности незамисливо је без увида у целину рукописног и штампаног наслеђа пре свега српскословенске, али и потоњих епоха, те је стога сваки напор усмерен ка његовом сабирању, научној обради и презентацији вредан посебне пажње, између осталог, и као драгоценост оставштине за будућност. Научни и шири културни допринос оваквих публикација бива још већи када се узме у обзир неизвестан животни век старих споменика, њихов трајни или ређе привремени нестанак из видокруга и домета научне јавности, која онда у различитим, мање или више удаљеним истраживачким периодима располаже неуједначеним корпусом релевантних извора. Један од најновијих подухвата ове врсте је и критичко издање сабраних дела епископа Марка Пећког, чије рукописно наслеђе је такође пратила неизвесност историјског претрајавања. Смештени најпре у културно-историјски амбијент и шири научни контекст, а потом и преведени на савремени српски језик, списи овог угледног црквеног делатника из XIV века заслугом приређивача проф. др Томислава Јовановића сада се могу наћи у корицама једне књиге.

У уводним одељцима монографије најпре се доноси кратка реконструкција биографије писца уз критички осврт на досадашња проучавања књижевног опуса Марка Пећког (7–39), да би за њим уследио преглед рукописног наслеђа везаног за његова дела (41–79), овом приликом допуњен и испитивањем текстолошких односа међу сачуваним преписима (81–97). У кратким цртама (99–115) приређивач се бави и одабраним стилским и у мањој мери језичким

¹ draginnatasa@ff.uns.ac.rs

² Истраживање финансира Министарство науке, технолошког развоја и иновација Републике Србије на основу уговора бр. 451-03-137/2025-03/200166, склопљеног с Филозофским факултетом Универзитета у Новом Саду.

одликама Марковог стваралаштва, да би прву целину књиге заокружио прегледом приређивачких начела (117–118).

Животни пут Марка Пећког може се пратити од 1359/1360. године, када је рођен, до краја XIV столећа. Тачна година смрти није позната, а Томислав Јовановић указује на чињеницу да се досадашње мишљење о 1411. као години до које је Марко неспорно био жив не може сматрати поузданим, будући да се дуктуси писара записа с поменутом годином и писара главног текста Стиховног пролога из 1399. године који је преписао Марко Пећки не подударају. Познато је да га је веома рано, у шеснаестој години, замонашио патријарх Јефрем, с којим ће провести више од две деценије, све до његове смрти 15. јуна 1400. Епископски чин добија, како се претпоставља, између 1390. и 1392. године у „светој Саборној и Великој цркви српској у Пећи”. Марков књижевни опус, који у великој мери одражава његов животни пут и духовно узрастање, чини пет жанровски разноврсних састава. Поред Службе и Житија у част његовог духовног учитеља, патријарха Јефрема, написао је и Службу Светом архиепископу Никодиму. Родитељима, који су се такође замонашили, посветио је Синаксар Герасима и Јефимије, а до нас је дошао и Ктиторски запис о подизању цркве Светог Георгија, који највероватније представља концепт повеће која није сачувана.

Интересовање за његова дела започело је још у XIX веку, када су се појавила прва штампана издања појединих текстова (Србљак митрополита Михаила 1861, Стојан Новаковић 1884), али без прецизног и доследног истицања ауторске припадности. Научно истраживање у односу на друге средњовековне писце започиње релативно касно, а први значајан допринос на том пољу дао је историчар и филолог Душан Вуксан (1925). Он је поставио главне координате када је у питању реконструкција Маркове биографије и књижевног опуса, а бавио се и издавањем његових списа. Овом приликом Томислав Јовановић указује на пропусте који су се поткрали у читању рукописа и жанровском одређењу Марковог опуса. Посебно је занимљива у том смислу судбина књиге коју је Д. Вуксан именовао као Миниј за мај, јуни, јули и август, а коју је 1399. године исписао Марко Пећки. Саставни је део збирке Пећке патријаршије под сигнатуром 50 до Другог светског рата, а потом ће се деценијама сматрати изгубљеном, да би недавно била откривена у фрушкогорском манастиру Беочин и у новоизрађеном каталогу заведена исправно као Пролог стиховни, будући да за наведене месеце садржи пролошка житија са стиховима на почетку. После Д. Вуксана у својим проучавањима средњовековних друштвених и пре свега црквених прилика на радове Марка Пећког позваће се читава плејада

истраживача: епископ Иларион Зеремски (1930), Станоје Станојевић (1933), Радослав Грујић (1934), Миодраг Пурковић (1936, 1976), Никола Радојчић (1940), Михаило Динић (1960), Ђоко Слијепчевић (1962), Леонтије Павловић (1965), Даница Поповић (2006) итд. Највећу пажњу опусу овог писца посветиће ипак проучаваоци српског средњовековног књижевног наслеђа: Ђорђе Сп. Радојичић (1925, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1949–1950), Владимир Мошин (1962, 1971), Ђорђе Трифуновић (1967, 1970), Милан Кашанин (1975), Димитрије Богдановић (1974, 1978, 1980, 1986), Томислав Јовановић (2012, 2013, 2022) и др. Њихов допринос огледа се како у приређивању појединих текстова према сачуваним преписима, тако и у њиховом прецизнијем термилошком одређењу унутар система жанрова старе српске књижевности. Пажња се усмерава и на исихастичку духовну подлогу Маркове поетике, утицаје других аутора и библијских текстова на његова дела, али и њихову документарну вредност у успостављању што потпуније представе о животу самог писца, као и црквених великодостојника којима су списи посвећени. Приређивач скреће пажњу и на заступљеност овог писца у различитим енциклопедијама, лексиконима и антологијама старе српске књижевности, а даје и напомене о постојећим преводима Маркових списа на савремени српски, енглески и пољски језик.

Сасвим очекивано рукописно наслеђе у случају овог писца у највећој мери је на српскословенском језику. Иако невеликог обима, на основу њега може се закључити да је још за Маркова живота започело ширење култова архиепископа Никодима и патријарха Јефрема ван пећког црквеног средишта, док су култови Герасима и Јефимије остали само у повоју. У највећем броју преписа сачувала се Служба Светом архиепископу Никодиму, а најстарији међу њима с почетка XV века саставни је део конволута с текстовима из различитих времена, данас у власништву Филозофског факултета у Новом Саду (Легат Ђорђа Сп. Радојичића при Библиотеци Одсека за српску књижевност). Остали рукописи су нешто млађег датума и припадају следећим збиркама: Пећка патријаршија бр. 78 (осма/девета деценија XV века), Народна библиотека Србије бр. 18 (1525. година), Архив САНУ бр. 86 (рускословенски препис начињен у Дечанима 1805. године). Служба Светом патријарху Јефрему позната је из три преписа: Пећка патријаршија бр. 41 (последња деценија XIV века), Архив САНУ бр. 68 (између 1411. и 1425. године), Народна библиотека Србије бр. 18 (1525. година). Заједно са Службом у наведеним рукописима Пећке патријаршије и Народне библиотеке Србије сачувано је и Житије Светог патријарха Јефрема, док су Синаксар Герасима и Јефимије и Ктиторски запис о цркви Светог Георгија познати само у оквиру Пролога стиховног с краја XIV века, који се

данас чува у манастиру Беочин под инвентарним бројем 1. За све споменике указује се на степен очуваности, број писара, тип ћирилице и правопис којим су писани. Излаже се и детаљан садржај сваке књиге, укључујући и записе, који се наводе у целости. У истраживачки корпус, поред сачуваних рукописа, аутор укључује и следећа издања: 1) штампани Србљак митрополита Михаила из 1861. године, који садржи обе службе Марка Пећког и синаксарско житије као 'скраћени извод из пуног облика *Житија Светог патријарха Јефрема*', објављено на основу изгубљеног рукописа; 2) издање Стојана Новаковића (1884), који Житије штампа према несачуваном знатно прерађеном рускословенском препису; 3) издање Душана Вуксана (1925), који објављује Житије према препису Народне библиотеке Србије бр. 18.

Текстолошка поређења сачуваних преписа и штампаног издања упућују на постојање дужег и краћег типа Службе Светом патријарху Јефрему. Висок степен блискости уочен је између рукописа Пећке патријаршије и Народне библиотеке Србије, док се препис из Архива САНУ знатно разликује у појединим деловима. Одређена проширења могао је увести сам Марко, стварајући тако две варијанте овог списка. И у случају Житија Светог патријарха Јефрема, преписаног заједно са Службом, присутна је блискост поменутих рукописа. Новаковићево издање на основу изгубљеног извора драгоцено је јер открива другачију варијанту у односу на друге две оличене, с једне стране, у рукопису Пећке патријаршије и Народне библиотеке Србије, а с друге у штампаном издању из Србљака митрополита Михаила. Између осталог, оно је интересантно јер је писано српским народним језиком с примесама руских језичких црта. У њему изостају стихови с почетка Житија, али зато у наслову има додаток о слављењу Светог кнеза Лазара истог дана када се слави и Свети патријарх Јефрем. Писац овог додатка није познат, али је по речима Томислава Јовановића могао потицати из манастира Раванице на Фрушкој гори, у коме су се налазиле мошти кнеза Лазара. Сам поступак којим је 'Јефремово Житије преобликовано и *понародњено* неодрживо подсећа на однегован и распрострањен Венцловићев поступак преношења беседа са српскословенског на народни српски језик'. За најстарији препис Службе Светом архиепископу Никодиму, који је настао још за Маркова живота, претпоставља се да је једна од првобитних варијанти, будући да остали, млађи преписи имају знатнија проширења. Посебна пажња у анализи поклања се начину читања паримија, а констатује се и преузимање појединих делова из Службе Светом патријарху Јефрему, али и из Службе Светом архиепископу Арсенију Данила Другог.

Када су у питању стилски поступци примењени у жанровски разноврсним саставима Марка Пећког, може се рећи да он иде трагом својих књижевних претходника, Светог Саве, Стефана Првовенчаног, Доментијана, Теодосија и Данила Другог. Централно место у опусу заузели су ликови патријарха Јефрема и архиепископа Никодима, док су личности Герасима и Јефимије остали само у обрисима. Приређивач Томислав Јовановић посебну пажњу зато посвећује епитетима и њиховој улози у грађењу поетских портрета. Праћењем њихове у начелу високе фреквенције (нарочито у службама) и дистрибуције у различитим делима долази до закључка да су постојала само три заједничка епитета, присутна у свим текстовима, што само по себи говори о разноврсности и богатству поетског израза писца. Указује и на библијску симболику и различита поређења унутар текстова која доприносе сликовитости песничког језика. У лексичком фонду писца пада у очи висока заступљеност сложеница, међу којима доминирају придеви и именице, уз незнатан удео глагола. Посебну продуктивност испојила су образовања са *бого-*, *благо-* и *васе-* у првом делу, што у начелу одражава прилике посведочене у ширем писаном наслеђу сакралног карактера. Све то сведочи о добром познавању српскословенског језика и књижевне традиције. Настала у специфичном историјском интервалу, у духу исихастичког погледа на свет, Маркова дела представљају, како приређивач истиче, 'важну спону између такозваног златног века старе српске књижевности и свега што је настајало у релативно кратком времену владавине деспота Стефана Лазаревића и Ђурђа Бранковића и потом дугог периода турске владавине'.

Као основа приређених дела Марка Пећког на српскословенском језику послужили су следећи рукописи: Пећка патријаршија бр. 41 за Службу Светом патријарху Јефрему, Народна библиотека Србије бр. 18 за Житије Светог патријарха Јефрема, Пећка патријаршија бр. 78 за Службу Светом архиепископу Никодиму, Манастир Беочин бр. 1 за Синаксар Герасима и Јефимије, као и Ктиторски запис о цркви Светог Георгија. Критичким апаратом уз основни текст обухваћени су сви раније поменути споменици и издања изгубљених рукописа.

У трећем делу књиге (193–244) доноси се превод свих пет састава епископа Марка Пећког на савремени српски језик. Ради бољег разумевања текста приређивач прилаже и *Речник мање познатих речи* (305–306) те *Регистар имена и географских назива у делима Марка Пећког* (307–310). Њима претходи *Попис речи у делима Марка Пећког* (245–298) и *Коришћена литература* (299–304). Узбучен списак речи из дела Марка Пећког садржи преко 1700

лексема, с којима се под одговарајућим словом бележе и словне цифре у функцији обележавања различитих бројних вредности. Паралелним упућивањем на стране списка у којима се срећу одређене потврде читалац стиче увид како у контекстуалну реализацију лексема, тако и у њихову општу фреквенцију. Све ово наведени одељак чини драгоценим прилогом бољем познавању речничког фонда српскословенског језика у старој српској књижевности.

Окупљајући, дакле, на једном месту писано наслеђе везано за стваралаштво Марка Пећког, ово издање нуди како теоријски оквир, тако и текстолошку подлогу на којој је могуће засновати нека нова проучавања овог сегмента српског средњовековног књижевног корпуса. Генерације истраживача налазиће у њему без сваке сумње чврст и поуздан ослонац за даља продубљивања научних сазнања о овом још увек недовољно познатом и проученом писцу, који је у одређеној мери остао у сенци својих несумњиво великих литерарних претходника и духовних узора.

Danijela M. Janjić¹
Univerzitet u Kragujevcu
Filološko-umetnički fakultet
Odsek za filologiju
Katedra za italijanistiku

ALBA DE CÉSPEDES TRA LETTERATURA E IMPEGNO POLITICO-CULTURALE

Kovačević, Zorana (2025) *Alba de Sespedes između književnosti i društvenopolitičkog angažmana*. Banja Luka, Univerzitet u Banjoj Luci, Filološki fakultet.

La vita e l'opera della scrittrice Alba de Céspedes vengono per la prima volta presentate in lingua serba nella monografia *Alba de Sespedes između književnosti i društvenopolitičkog angažmana* (Alba de Céspedes tra letteratura e impegno politico-culturale) di Zorana Kovačević, professoressa associata di letteratura e cultura italiana presso la Facoltà di Filologia dell'Università di Banja Luka. La monografia è stata pubblicata nel 2025. La ricerca in essa condotta è organizzata in nove capitoli: *Alba de Sespedes: kosmopolitkinja zaljubljena u književnost* (*Alba de Céspedes: una cosmopolita innamorata della letteratura*), *Rano stvaralaštvo* (*Gli esordi letterari*), *Nikome nema povratka* (*Nessuno torna indietro*), *Doba društvenopolitičkog angažmana* (*L'epoca dell'impegno politico-culturale*), *Pedesete godine: period književne zrelosti* (*Gli anni Cinquanta: il periodo della maturità letteraria*), *Šezdesete godine: odabir Francuske i novi talas kreativnosti* (*Gli anni Sessanta: la scelta della Francia e la nuova ondata di creatività*), *Prevodi Albe de Sespedes na srpskom i hrvatskom govornom području* (*Le traduzioni di Alba de Céspedes in area serba e croata*), *Zaključna razmatranja* (*Considerazioni finali*), *Hronologije* (*Cronologie*). I capitoli sono inoltre per lo più articolati in sottocapitoli e accompagnati da una *Prefazione* e da una *Bibliografia*, nonché da note biobibliografiche sull'autrice della monografia.

Nel primo capitolo (*Alba de Céspedes: una cosmopolita innamorata della letteratura*) Zorana Kovačević mette in rilievo il contesto storico-sociale in cui la scrittrice de Céspedes si forma e si afferma come un'intellettuale che contribuirà

¹ danijelajanjic@filum.kg.ac.rs

in modo decisivo allo sviluppo della cultura italiana, indicando al contempo le ragioni per cui l'opera e il contributo della scrittrice italo-cubana non sono stati, in un determinato periodo, sufficientemente conosciuti e visibili. In quest'ottica, il capitolo offre anche una rassegna delle pubblicazioni dedicate alla de Céspedes, nonché una descrizione dei progetti editoriali che hanno permesso di preservare la sua opera e presentarla alle nuove generazioni di lettori e ricercatori. Il profilo della de Céspedes viene inoltre delineato attraverso i principali dati biografici, il suo stile di vita cosmopolita e la sua visione del mondo. Vengono poi evidenziate le caratteristiche fondamentali della sua produzione letteraria, insieme al suo amore per il giornalismo, il cinema e il teatro.

Il secondo capitolo (*Gli esordi letterari*) si sviluppa a partire dal momento in cui Alba de Céspedes comincia ad affermarsi, negli anni trenta del XX secolo, nonostante la posizione sfavorevole della letteratura femminile dell'epoca. A illuminare questo periodo della sua produzione contribuisce soprattutto l'analisi del suo primo romanzo *Io, suo padre*, attraverso l'esame delle circostanze sociali in esso rappresentate. Particolare attenzione è dedicata anche alle forme di intensa collaborazione tra la scrittrice e la casa editrice Mondadori.

Il terzo capitolo (*Nessuno torna indietro*) è incentrato sull'omonimo romanzo della de Céspedes che le ha portato fama non solo in Italia, ma anche all'estero, e che ha segnato il suo orientamento più deciso verso il genere del romanzo. Sono inoltre esposte le circostanze sfavorevoli a causa delle quali questo periodo non fu privo di tensioni e difficoltà per la scrittrice, proprio in seguito alla pubblicazione di questo romanzo, dal quale all'epoca venne tratto anche un film. Zorana Kovačević sottolinea come valore particolare del romanzo i personaggi femminili, che rappresentano in modo vivido il ruolo e l'importanza delle donne dopo la Prima guerra mondiale. L'analisi delle figure femminili e dei loro destini nel romanzo illustra pienamente la varietà dei modi in cui le donne agiscono in una società che si confronta con le sfide dello scontro tra tradizione e modernità. Questo capitolo della monografia di Zorana Kovačević è ricco di spunti per ulteriori interpretazioni della letteratura della de Céspedes, tanto da poter essere considerato uno studio quasi autonomo, per la sua profondità, all'interno di una ricerca più ampia.

Nel quarto capitolo (*L'epoca dell'impegno politico-culturale*) l'attenzione si sposta dall'attività letteraria della de Céspedes al periodo degli anni Quaranta, quando le circostanze politiche e sociali spingono la scrittrice a lasciare Roma per trasferirsi temporaneamente in Abruzzo, e successivamente a Bari, dove trova persone che condividono le sue idee politiche e ottiene la possibilità di rivolgersi al pubblico attraverso un programma radiofonico su Radio Bari. In seguito si trasferisce a Na-

poli, per poi tornare a Roma, dove dirige la rivista *Mercurio*, presentata in dettaglio da Zorana Kovačević. Parallelamente, in questo capitolo viene descritto anche il lavoro letterario che si sviluppa accanto all'impegno politico della scrittrice.

Il quinto capitolo (*Gli anni Cinquanta: il periodo della maturità letteraria*) segue la scrittrice durante il suo soggiorno quadriennale negli Stati Uniti, segnato anche dalle traduzioni delle sue opere in inglese, nonché dall' suo impegno in varie conferenze che tiene nel 1950. Zorana Kovačević individua negli anni cinquanta, accanto ai nuovi successi giornalistici della de Céspedes, anche una successiva diminuzione della sua attività nel campo del giornalismo. Di grande valore è poi l'analisi del romanzo *Quaderno proibito*, basata sulle caratteristiche protagoniste femminili Valeria e Mirella, attraverso le quali viene simbolicamente rappresentata l'opposizione tra concezioni tradizionali e moderne alla vita, incarnate dai personaggi femminili mentre si confrontano con diverse sfide. L'evoluzione delle figure femminili nell'opera della de Céspedes e il loro rapporto con la società in cui vivono vengono seguiti anche attraverso Irene, personaggio del romanzo *Prima e dopo*.

Il sesto capitolo (*Gli anni Sessanta: la scelta della Francia e una nuova ondata di creatività*) esamina le ragioni per cui la scrittrice si allontana dall'Italia e si trasferisce a Parigi, scelta che contribuirà a creare un'atmosfera favorevole alla nascita delle nuove opere della de Céspedes. Il capitolo segnala anche l'indebolimento della collaborazione con la casa editrice Mondadori e l'avvicinamento ai lettori francesi. La descrizione del soggiorno in Francia e l'analisi della produzione della de Céspedes sono arricchite dalla presentazione della raccolta poetica *Chansons des filles de mai* (*Le ragazze di maggio*), alla quale la critica letteraria non aveva finora dedicato grande spazio.

Il settimo capitolo (*Le traduzioni di Alba de Céspedes in area serba e croata*) mette in luce l'importanza che la de Céspedes attribuiva alle traduzioni e sottolinea il suo impegno nel mantenere i contatti con i traduttori delle sue opere in tutto il mondo. Vengono presentati esempi che illustrano la sua popolarità al di fuori dell'Italia, seguiti da un panorama delle traduzioni in serbo e in croato e delle ragioni per cui non si è giunti a una traduzione sistematica delle opere della de Céspedes. L'analisi delle traduzioni dei romanzi *Nessuno torna indietro* (*Nikome nema povratka*), *Dalla parte di lei* (*Na njenoj strani*) e *Quaderno proibito* (*Zabranjena bilježnica*) è accompagnata dalla spiegazione del contesto e delle circostanze in cui sono state realizzate. Zorana Kovačević riflette sull'utilità di riproporre i romanzi della de Céspedes in nuove traduzioni, ma anche sull'opportunità di tradurre altre opere della vasta produzione dell'autrice.

Nella sua monografia, Zorana Kovačević segue con abilità la vita dinamica e la ricca carriera letteraria e giornalistica di Alba de Céspedes, concentrandosi sui momenti chiave che risultano decisivi per comprendere il valore dell'opera della scrittrice italo-cubana, la quale ha contribuito all'evoluzione dell'importanza delle donne nello sviluppo di nuovi valori culturali e sociali in un'epoca in cui il ruolo delle donne nella società non era ancora sufficientemente riconosciuto. Il lavoro di ricerca qui presentato è ricco di stimoli per ulteriori studi, poiché apre nuove tematiche e allo stesso tempo offre numerosi motivi per tradurre le opere della de Céspedes che, come emerge dalla monografia della Kovačević, potrebbero risultare interessanti anche per il pubblico contemporaneo. La completezza e la precisione dell'esposizione in questa monografia hanno portato a una riuscita rappresentazione del profilo di una scrittrice ancora non abbastanza conosciuta, ma che merita pienamente l'attenzione della critica letteraria. L'autrice non si limita a ripercorrere cronologicamente la vita e l'opera della de Céspedes, ma mette in relazione la sua produzione letteraria con l'impegno politico, il contesto storico e la questione del ruolo delle donne nella società italiana del Novecento, offrendo così una prospettiva critica, organica e coerente. La monografia *Alba de Céspedes tra letteratura e impegno politico-culturale* rappresenta un decisivo contributo alla critica e alla storia della letteratura italiana.

Јована Јоргић¹
Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Филолошки факултет
Катедра за англистику

ЏОЈС И АНДЕРСОН У ПАРАЛЕЛИ: ДОДИРНЕ ТАЧКЕ ВЕЛИКИХ МОДЕРНИСТА

Раљевић, Селма (2025) *У паралели: Даблинци Џејмса Џојса и Вајнзбург, Охајо Шервуда Андерсона*. Сарајево, University Press.

Теоретичарка Селма Раљевић, редовна професорица на Одсјеку за енглески језик и књижевност Факултета хуманистичких наука Универзитета „Џемал Биједић“ у Мостару, објавила је књигу под називом *У паралели: Даблинци Џејмса Џојса и Вајнзбург, Охајо Шервуда Андерсона* (2025). Ова књига представља научну монографију која у својој суштини има улогу поређења два велика писца модернистичког времена и њихових можда најпознатијих дјела, а то су *Даблинци* (1914) Џејмса Џојса и *Вајнзбург, Охајо* (1919) Шервуда Андерсона. Књига је подијељена у пет поглавља означених римским бројевима и насловима, уз увод и закључак. У уводу се детаљно представљају оба писца и њихова дјела, као и општи осврт на тему коју књига покрива, док поглавља која слиједе покривају различите сфере поређења наведених дјела. Закључак доноси проширене увиде у дјела и заокружује цијелу књигу.

Прво поглавље књиге под насловом *Култура, нација и књижевност кроз портрет времена: друга половина 19. и прва половина 20. стољећа* покрива, како се види и из самог наслова, културолошки и историјски контекст у којем су *Даблинци* и *Вајнзбург, Охајо* настали. Селма Раљевић креће од Ирске, те нас историјски смјешта у вријеме када је Џојс писао *Даблинце*. У поднаслову *Ирска* осврће се на политичко стање у Ирској, одвајање од британске империје 1922. године, као и на ирски национални идентитет који произилази из борбе за самосталност. У наредном поднаслову, *Џејмс Џојс и ирски национализам*, започиње причу о настанку самог дјела, осврће се на Даблин као центар сваке приче и цијеле збирке, утицај Џојсовог живота на само дјело, а један дио по-

¹ jovana.jorgic@ff.unibl.org

главља посвећује и представљању најупечатљивијих прича из збирке, попут *Сестара*, *Дана бриљана у одборничкој соби* и *Мртвих*. Други дио првог поглавља посвећује Андерсону, најприје поднасловом *Америка*, гдје Раљевић смјешта самог писца и роман / збирку прича у Америку 19. и 20. вијека. Помиње Охајо и измишљени (а касније и стварни) Ванјзбург, културу тога времена, вријеме цеза, Велику депресију и многа друга обиљежја новонасталог модернизма у Сједињеним Америчким Државама. Иза посљедњег поднаслова првог поглавља, *Шервуд Андерсон и доба индустријализације у САД*, говори се о начину настанка самог дјела и утицаја Андерсоновог живота на дјело. Поред тога, осврће се и на друга Андерсонова дјела, начин на који је измислио Вајнзбург и ликове које је уврстио у приче. Неизбјежна је повезница између Џојса и Андерсона када је у питању утицај њихових живота на ова дјела. Џојс у својој збирци прича поред Даблина помиње и нека дешавања из властитог живота, па чак и читаве реченице које је изговорио или написао његов брат Станислаус Џојс. Андерсон је у својој књизи искористио живот у забаченом, руралном мјесту из свог дјетињства, као и разна сјећања и успомене из тог времена.

Другим поглављем под насловом *Загонетност модернизма* објашњавају се и пореде Џојсове и Андерсонове форме писања – оно што Џојс назива *скрупулозном шкртости* (scrupulous meanness), а Андерсон *новом опуштеношћу* (new looseness). Поднаслов *Џејмс Џојс: Scrupulous Meanness* представља објашњење Џојсовог начина писања и описивања у *Даблинцима*. Професорица Раљевић запажа да Џојсова скрупулозна шкртост заправо и представља шкртост при давању описа и информација, али и да кроз ову форму писања Џојс успијева читаоцима пренијети јасну и парадоксално детаљну поруку. Опис ликова је често штур, уз минималне детаље о пријашњим или било каквим дешавањима која су ликове довела до тренутне ситуације. Помиње се и епифанија као чест начин долажења до климакса радње у причама, а несумњиво је и преклапање различитих историјских догађаја и културних обиљежја са оним у Џојсовим *Даблинцима*. Неријетко су ликови у причама преузети из Џојсовог личног живота, што даје одређену дубину самој збирци. Други поднаслов у овом поглављу, *Шервуд Андерсон: New Looseness*, представља осврт на Андерсонову форму писања у *Вајнзбургу*, *Охају*. Андерсон у свом дјелу постиже исту, минимално детаљну форму писања, што дефинитивно асоцира на Џојсове *Даблинце*. Ипак, Андерсон негира било какво познавање Џојсовог текста прије писања свог дјела. Једноставно објашњење његове форме лежи у једноставности ликова и њихових живота у руралној области Охаја. Сличност Џојсове и Андерсонове форме писања Раљевић описује као 'истовремену отвореност и затвореност

текста' (86), што можда најбоље и описује овај шкрти, а опет отворени начин писања.

Треће поглавље, *Ерфарунг и Ерлебнис Даблинаца и Вајнзбург, Охаја – генеричке осцилације*, осврће се на Џојсову „моралну историју Ирске“ и Андерсонове „моменте америчког малог града“. Ерфарунг (Erfahrung) и Ерлебнис (Erlebnis) објашњени су кроз цитат Рите Бернард из њене књиге *Modern American Fiction*, гдје је Ерфарунг описан у преводу ауторке монографије као 'искуство у смислу мудрости или умијећа развијених током дугог временског раздобља', а Ерлебнис као 'искуство у смислу непосредних дојмова' (121). Први поднаслов овог поглавља, *Џојсова морална историја Ирске*, Раљевић користи да, у том дијелу, опише Џојсов начин приповиједања као 'калеидоскоп новелистичких осцилација *Ерфарунга* и поетичних момената *Ерлебниса*' (121), што показује широки спектар Џојсове форме. Тај дио састоји се из пет дијелова: *Дјетињство*, *Адолесценција*, *Зрелост*, *Јавни живот* и *Мртви*, што уједно представља дијелове Џојсовог живота, а и подјелу свих прича *Даблинаца* по одређеним етапама. Приче *Сестре*, *Арабија* и *Сусрет* спадају у приче о дјетињству, како је изјавио и сам Џојс. У све три приче лице приповједача припада дјечаку, па стога и представљају приче о дјетињству. У њима се налазе теме о откривању свијета одраслих, дјечијим схватањима и незрелости дјетињства. У приче о адолесценцији улазе *Евелин*, *Послије утрке*, *Два кавалира* и *Пансион*. Оне покривају теме жудње за животом и формирања личности. У приче о зрелости убрајају се *Глина*, *Облачић*, *Супротности* и *Жалосни случај*. *Дан бриљана у одборничкој соби*, *Мајка* и *Милост* јесу приче из јавног живота, док прича *Мртви* стоји самостално у истоименој етапи. Други дио поглавља, под насловом *Андерсонови моменти америчког малог града*, подијељен је на два дијела – *Билдунгсроман или збирка приповједака?* и *Побожност*. У првом дијелу разматра се да ли је овај роман заправо роман или је, попут *Даблинаца*, збирка кратких прича. Разлика између два дјела лежи у томе да *Вајнзбург, Охајо* заправо у цијелости и кроз сваку причу повезује главног лика Џорџа Виларда или градић, док је у *Даблинцима* једина повезница сам Даблин. Теме *Вајнзбург, Охајо* из збирке прича прераста у роман о одрастању и личној формацији. Дио поглавља под насловом *Побожност* носи назив истоимене приповијетке и бави се темама главног лика, његовог сазријевања, као и градићем Вајнзбургом и свим стварима које се у њему у току романа дешавају.

Четврти дио монографије под насловом *Placing – текст и контекст књижевних свјетова* *Даблинаца Џејмса Џојса и Вајнзбурга, Охаја Шервуда Андерсона*, смјешта два дјела у контекст мјеста и начина живота тог времена.

Први поднаслов *Даблин и Вајнзбург*, односно то потпоглавље, осврће се на саме градове у дјелима: на Даблин како га описује Џојс у *Даблинцима* и на измишљени Вајнзбург који је Андерсон представио у свом роману много прије него што је сазнао да у Охају стварно постоји градић под тим именом. У другом дијелу поглавља *Модерна тјескоба живљења: парализа и гротеска*, ријеч *парализа* везује се за Џојсову збирку прича, гдје је Раљевић приписује граду, грађанима, нацији, па и цијелом свијету. Ријеч *гротеска* приписује се Андерсоновом роману и донекле упоређује са парализом у Џојсовом дјелу: обје ријечи представљају деформитет неке врсте.

Посљедње поглавље *Критике и реакције* враћа дјела у стварни свијет њихове прихваћености и добијених критика у тренутку објављивања. Поднаслов *Даблинци* покрива Џојсове дуготрајне и мукотрпне покушаје да дјело објави, а поднаслов *Вајнзбург, Охајо* говори о лошем прихватању Андерсоновог романа и дугом низу негативних критика које су роман дочекале.

Селма Раљевић у својој студиозној и беспријекорно документованој монографији успјешно повлачи донедавно занемарене повезнице између *Даблинаца* Џејмса Џојса и *Вајнзбурга, Охаја* Шервуда Андерсона. Ослањајући се како на историјске, тако и на најсавременије теоријско-критичке изворе, ауторка у овој компаративној студији убједљиво повезује два капитална модернистичка дјела, што научну књигу *У паралели* чини малом енциклопедијом поређења.

Зорана Ж. Штрбац¹

МЕСИЈАНСТВО ГОРДИХ И ПОНИЗНИХ

Попов, Јован (2024) *Горди и понизни: парадоксалисти Фјодора Достојевског*, Београд, Српска књижевна задруга.

Превести у научни регистар опажајну апоричност људске душе изражену у делима Фјодора Достојевског, односно методолошки систематизовати и објаснити његово полифонијско језичко-уметничко сведочанство о несамерљивим димензијама човекове нутрине, у најмању руку јесте исцрпан и исцрпљујући задатак. Као узоран пример реализације амбициозног подухвата издаваја се седма монографија професора Јована Попова *Горди и понизни* (2024), у чијем се средишту налази питање о противречној психолошкој структури јунака Достојевског. Допуном наслова поднасловом *Парадоксалисти Фјодора Достојевског* јасно се ставља до знања да наслов не упућује на два типа јунака, већ на борбу између антидететичких карактерних својстава која се неретко одиграва у једном лику. Везник *и*, према томе, не означава само спољашњу повезаност гордости и понизности, већ исказује њихову суштинску везу, коју Попов готово уметнички уобличује у последњем делу своје студије: 'Уместо епилога: о чему сањаре смешни људи?'

Полазећи од Жидове дистинкције између понизности, 'као облика понашања', и понижености, 'као друштвеног стања' (19), а имајући у виду целокупни опус Достојевског, аутор превазилази упрошћеност бинарне поделе коју је у свом последњем тексту из 1861. године начинио руски лево оријентисани критичар Николај Доброљубов разликовањем два главна типа јунака Достојевског: кротких и озлојеђених, и то с обзиром на социјално мотивисан принцип угроженог достојанства. Попов у студији *Горди и понизни* показује да се код Достојевског не ради само о политичко-филозофском значењу категорије достојанства, чија би угроженост поделила јунаке на оне који невољу и неправду трпе ћутке, без роптања, и оне који се буне већ да је посреди и достојанственост као врста понашања утемељена 'на човековом настојању да у свакој интеракцији са другима води рачуна о томе да својим речима или поступцима не угрози

¹ Ауторка је студент мастер студија на Филолошком факултету у Београду. Имејл адреса: strbac.zorana99@gmail.com.

ни сопствено ни туђе достојанство' (16). Тако схваћен дигнитет веома често изостаје код јунака Достојевског управо услед њима инхерентне психолошке противречности и својеврсног унутрашњег *вишка*, прекомерности која, између осталог, и потврђује да човек није на просто детерминисан социјалним приликама, да понизни 'не морају бити понижени, као што понижени не морају бити понизни већ, напротив, могу у себи сачувати одређену меру гордости, каткад и врло високу' (19). Будући да се одустаје од образовања структуралистичких дихотомија које би истраживачу и читаоцу олакшале кретање кроз непрегледну материју, ствари се усложњавају, а аргументација развија на неколико нивоа: књижевноисторијском, психолошком, социјалном, биографском и, на првом месту, херменеутичком. Задатак који је Попов себи поставио јесте највиши могући и тиче се синтезе, односно формирања уније која ће обухватити и горде и понизне како би се указало на психолошку сложеност и захтевност јунака Достојевског.

Монографија се састоји од три тематски разноврсна дела: *Слуге*, *Лакрдијаш* и *Еротичари*, при чему је, на супрот првом и другом делу, који представљају одређене друштвене, јавне улоге, трећи квантитативно најдужи и везан за приватну, љубавну и сексуалну сферу, у којој се психолошке противречности појачавају до пароксизма. Тиме се и формално-композиционо подвлачи да аутор не пише књигу из области психоанализе, која би се бавила јунацима Достојевског као zgodним примерима одређених патолошких или здравих феномена, јер се гордост, рецимо код слугу, попут Аполона из *Записа из подземља*, више очитује кроз одступање од социјално дефинисане, односно потчињене улоге, него као сложен амалгам симултаних карактерних особина гордости и понизности, нарочито не у јеванђеоском смислу, који Андре Жид има на памети, а од чијег схватања и сам аутор полази. Попов заправо ствара тематолошку студију која, узимајући у обзир превасходно садржинске аспекте дела, настоји да укаже на континуирани развој и модификацију мотива и тема у опусу Достојевског, те њихово уметничко сазревање и различита семантичка исходишта, све из перспективе анализе душевно сложених јунака, и то као носилаца одређених, из психологије познатих појава. Но, пошто је реч о историчару књижевности, дела Достојевског посматрају се у оквиру романескне и приповедне традиције Гогоља, Тургенева, Гончарова и, на врло занимљив, екскурсни начин, Толстоја, а мотиви се смештају у шири, архетипски оквир свеколике повести. У том смислу, за Попова изразито важна упоришна тачка јесте студија Јелеазара Мелетинског *О књижевним архетиповима*.

Ауторов специфичан интелектуални профил – рационалан, аналитичан, прецизан, с развијеним осећајем за меру, уз то склон сагледавању ентитета у компаративном контексту и с позиције историјски образоване свести – одражава се не само у логички и акрибички заокруженој целини *Гордих и понизних*, већ и на нивоу појединачних елемената текста у којима се у неколико реченица маркира магистрална линија развоја Достојевског, а све с посебном лакоћом изражавања, вероватно најупечатљивијом одликом стила Јована Попова. Као илустрацију изреченог, наводимо сегмент из анализе дела *Понижених и увређених*, посвећен питању: ‘Ако је Вања, у врту поред Наташе, барем на тренутак и могао заборавити на болест, како то да му није сметала туга због мале Нели, са чије су се сахране управо били вратили?’ (262–263), на које се нуди опализирајући одговор:

Чини се, међутим, да је посреди било и нешто [...] што произлази из већ наведене констатације да се у *Пониженима и увређенима* крије заматак многих ситуација, мотива и ликова који ће у доцнијим капиталним романима бити развијени и доведени до велике уметничке снаге. Тако је и са мотивом спокојства у смрти блажених бића и победе радости над тугом. Тај мотив биће разрађен и до метафизичких димензија доведен у *Браћи Карамазовима* [...]. Коси зраци залазећег сунца и поглед на рајски врт – то је обећање срећне будућности из које ни Нели није искључена. Као и Маркел и Иљушечка, и она је могла бити сигурна да њен крај није дефинитиван и да ће своје драге поново видети [...]. Тога је, вероватно, био свестан и он, загладан у Наташине очи. То што је могућност вечите среће са њом била дата у кондиционалу могло је значити неизвесност испуњења, али и оно-страну перспективу. У срцу које у такву перспективу верује радост је кадра да надјача тугу (263–264).

С обзиром на то да наслов ауторове књиге унеколико кореспондира с *Пониженима и увређенима*, као једну од могућих веза можемо видети ову: уколико *Понижени и увређени* представљају заматак одређених типова јунака, ситуација и тематско-мотивских преокупација Достојевског, утолико *Горди и понизни* представљају студију која утврђује генезу свега наведеног. Праћење је понекад врло суптилно; на пример, идеја да је слобода неподношљив терет за човека, која је доведена до максимума у *Легенди о Великом инквизитору*, биће уочена у изјави слуге Григорија Васиљевича Кутузова, дакле готово на минијатурном нивоу.

Отварајући монографију анализом сталног мотива европске књижевности од Хомера па наовамо – мотива односа господара и слуге, Попов показује у којој мери је опус Достојевског гогољевски и молијеровски забаван, а забава је, поучава нас Умберто Еко у *Постилама за Име руже*, ‘веома важна ствар’. Но, урнебесне сцене из *Села Степанчикова* – грађене по основном принципу изазивања хуморног ефекта, спајањем две супротстављене равни, односно озбиљно-узвишеног и ниско-смешног и везане за грађанина Фому Фомича Опискина и начин на који реализује своје дидактичке пориве, те педагошки настоји да интервенише чак и у сновима својих подређених како би уместо ‘грубих, сељачких’ сањали ‘нешто из вишег друштва’ (47) – обележене су, такође, садистичким поигравањем мачке с мишем, самим тим најављују мрачну димензију смеха и карневализације, коју ће Попов, насупротив Бахтину, нарочито истакнути и пратити у другом поглављу, посвећеном разноврсним лакрдијашима код Достојевског, међу којима се као посебна група издвајају демонски лакрдијаши (нпр. Свидригајлов, Лебедев, Фјодор Павлович Карамазов, Иванова визија ђавола). Садомазохистичка компонента јунака Достојевског врхуниће у патолошким испољавањима љубавних страсти, па ће и ове последње постати посебан предмет ауторове анализе, те бити разврстане у три категорије: ‘прва обухвата појаве љубавне патологије и настраног еротизма, друга се бави донжуанизмом, а трећа хомосексуалношћу, ређе реализованом а чешће латентном’ (15). Сходно свему изреченом, монографија се заокружује у знаку апострофиране и различито манифестоване прекомерности јунака Достојевског. Не треба губити из вида да се категорија прекомерности и на плану поступка открива као најважнија ознака хумора руског писца (илити, гогољевски речено, писца бескрајне земље), пошто фреквентно опскрбљује гротескно-карикатурним претеривањима своје јунаке, а пикантне пасаже, које чак и изразити љубитељи прозе Достојевског могу сметнути с ума, аутор вешто апстрахује и укључује у интерпретацију. Издвојмо само један – онај у коме генерал Иволгин, „причајући како је, као десетогодишњак, у време Наполеоновог похода на Русију, не само упознао француског императора, него га је овај узео за свог камер-пажа, зближио се с њим и поверавао му се’ (165), своју фантазију истезе до максимума:

‘Мали! – рећи ће он мени одједном – шта мислиш: ако ја пређем у право-славље па ослободим ваше робове хоће ли Руси поћи за мном?’ – ‘Никад!’ – повикао сам ја негодујући. Наполеон је био запрепашћен. ‘У патриотском сјају очица овог детета – рече он – ја сам прочитао мишљење целог руског народа. Доста, Даву! Све су то фантазије! Изложите други пројекат’ (165).

У коликој мери је реч о брижљиво компонованој и промишљеној монографији, томе у прилог, између осталог, сведочи и следеће: аутор прати генезу односа господара и слуге, и то, напоменули смо, у контексту остварења Гогоља, Тургенјева и Гончарова, како би показао модификацију мотива код Достојевског, која се тиче инверзије – наговештене у *Двојнику*, а развијене у *Записима из подземља* – улога господара и слуге. Изокретање је важно, јер су, примера ради, ‘за еволуцију лика слуге у *Записима из подземља* мање заслужне промене друштвено-историјске околности, а много више чиниоци психолошке мотивације, који, сами по себи, нису били ништа мање револуционарни у домену уметничке прозе’ (63). Попов прати архетипски књижевноисторијски значај споредних ликова и осветљава развој гордих лакеја (рецимо, Петрушка из *Двојника* и Григорије Видопљасов из *Села Степанчиково* префигуришу лик гордог Аполона из *Записа из подземља*), будући да ће позни лакеј, Смердајков, постати истакнути лик у крунском делу Достојевског, *Браћи Карамазовима*, а однос господара и слуге заузети централно место у Зосимином житију, те постати фон на којем ће се развити једна од најважнијих мисли Достојевског – *сви смо криви за све*.

Преокретање социјално дефинисане и традиционалне релације господара и слуге у психолошки агон између покорвања и покорности, потчињавања других и самопотчињавања, поприма најразличитије реперкусије у опусу Достојевског, па се унутрашње одсуство мере и стабилности јунака екстериоризује врло шаролико, а та шароликост постаје предмет пажње Јована Попова. Испрва ограничена интерпретативна тачка гледишта преиначава се у свеобухватну позицију, која захвата сва кључна прозна дела Достојевског, као и она уметнички слабија, на пример поменуто *Село Степанчиково*. Утолико је ауторова монографија упоредива с једним од најбољих интегративних тумачења Достојевског, какво је понудио немачки слависта Максимилијан Браун, али се, такође, у битноме и разликује од њега у свом снажном интересовању за парадоксалност, односно патологије јунака.

Противречност ликова Достојевског није сукцесивна нити реактивна, већ симултано егзистира у *подземљу* њихове нутрине, стога аутор за поднаслов и узима ознаку којом Достојевски одређује свог јунака из *Записа из подземља*, те је уздиже до амблемске вредности. Сразмерно понижењу и ударцима судбине расте гордост, која једине тренутке одушка и среће налази у сањарењима. Горди јунаци страхују да не испадну смешни, зато презиру друге, а смешни људи маштају да буду прихваћени и вољени. С тим у вези, ‘Достојевски је смешног човека преобразио у ходочасника који чврсто одлучује да крене да шири

причу о ономе што је видео и што може бити: *за један дан, за један сат би се све уредило! Главно је – воли друге као себе, ето шта је главно, и то је све, више ништа не треба*” (435). Смешни човек усклицима завршава своју исповест: ‘И поћи ћу да приповедам! Поћи ћу!’ (Исто). Понизност је, каже професор, та која је надвладала гордост. Но, није ли месијанство својеврсни израз управо гордости, тачка сустицања наизглед неспојивих противречности? Можда је због тога аутор ефектно именовао последњи одељак своје студије о *Гордим и понизним* – ‘Уместо епилога: о чему сањаре смешни људи?’. Подстиче ли нас то да се замислимо?

УПУТСТВА ЗА АУТОРЕ

Часопис *Филолог* је научни, рецензирани часопис из области науке о језику, књижевности и културе који има за циљ промовисање савремених теоријских и интердисциплинарних приступа. Оснивач и издавач часописа је Филолошки факултет Универзитета у Бањој Луци. Часопис излази у континуитету од 2010. године.

Објављујемо чланке на стандардним језицима оних филологија које се проучавају на Филолошком факултету Универзитета у Бањој Луци, дакле на српском, руском, енглеском, њемачком, француском и италијанском језику. Рада на неком другом словенском или свјетском језику може се објавити у договору са Редакцијом, по посебној процедури. При томе су појам и именовање српског језика неповредиве категорије и не могу се употребљавати у појмовним конструкцијама или скраћеницама које би одражавале неко друго или другачије именовање овог језика.

Објављујемо чланке који се баве разматрањем савремених теоријских приступа проучавању књижевности, језика и културе, значајем и потребом метатеорије у хуманистичким наукама, примјеном савремених теоријских приступа у анализи текстова и културних појава, интердисциплинарним приступом у изучавању лингвистичких, књижевних и културолошких студија, односом књижевности и језика с другим дисциплинама, приказом најсавременијих теоријских књига из области књижевности, лингвистике и културолошких студија итд.

Да би се обезбједио што већи степен научности, часопис *Филолог* сваки чланак шаље на рецензију прије коначног објављивања. Након иницијалне евалуације, уредништво ће установити да ли поднесени рукопис испуњава основне научне критеријуме. Уколико испуњава, чланак ће бити упућен на рецензију и прегледаће га два експерта из уже научне области. Чланак ће бити штампан у актуелном броју часописа *Филолог* уколико се оба рецензента усагласе да прилог задовољава високе научне критеријуме. Уколико добије позитивне рецензије тек након дораде, прилог може бити објављен у једном од наредних бројева *Филолога*.

Чланци се рецензирају по принципу узајамне анонимности аутора и рецензента. Рок за израду рецензије је мјесец дана. Коначна одлука о прихватању или одбијању рукописа биће упућена аутору заједно са рецензентским сугестијама, образложењем и напоменама.

Часопис *Филолог* излази два пута годишње, у јуну и у децембру.

Часопис *Филолог* омогућава тренутни отворен приступ цјелокупном садржају у складу с увјерењем како јавна доступност истраживачких спознаја потиче већу размјену знања и идеја. Часопис омогућава читаоцима да читају, преузимају, умножавају, дистрибуишу, штампају, претражују или повезују текстове објављених чланака, тј. да их користе у било које законите сврхе. У складу с Будимпештанском иницијативом, чији смо потписници, једино ограничење репродукције и дистрибуције чланака јесте у домену ауторских права, будући да је неопходно да аутор контролише интегритет свога рада, те да буде прописно наведен и цитиран.

Редакција *Филолога* посвећена је одржавању највиших етичких принципа и спречавању злоупотреба при публикавању овог часописа. Чланци који нису у складу са овим стандардима неће бити објављени у часопису *Филолог*.

Сви радови се упућују на провјеру путем антиплагијатског софтвера, који обезбјеђује Универзитет у Бањој Луци. Плагирање научних резултата, фабриковање и фалсификовање истраживачких података, покушаји објављивања већ објављених радова и томе слично, етички су неприхватљиви поступци и биће одбачени у складу с академским кодексом понашања и издавачком политиком часописа *Филолог*.

Уредништво спречава сваки потенцијални сукоб интереса и дискриминацију по било којој основи. У случају притужбе етичког карактера или притужбе о сукобу интереса, уредници поступају у складу са постојећом политиком и процедуром.

Аутори потписаном изјавом преузимају одговорност која се тиче оригиналности и аутентичности достављених радова. Рукописи које шаљу за објављивање у *Филологу* не смију бити објављени, прихваћени за објављивање или у текућем рецензијском процесу у неком другом часопису или публикацији. Рукописи могу да садрже рад који је претходно усмено саопштен на научном скупу или конференцији. У том случају је неопходно дати и јасну напомену о томе. Аутори у истој изјави преузимају одговорност која се тиче коректног цитирања и адекватног реферисања на литературу и изворе. Рукописи које шаљу за објављивање у *Филологу* не смију садржавати плагиране научне резултате, фабриковане и фалсификоване истраживачке податке нити друге етички неприхватљиве поступке или злоупотребе.

Непосредно након подношења рукописа, а прије покретања рецензијске процедуре, аутори потписују изјаву. Аутори потписују изјаву да су сагласни са политиком отвореног приступа коју подржавају уредништво и издавач часописа *Филолог*, односно да су сагласни са биљешком о ауторским правима, која је

наведена у сљедећем пасусу. То значи да, задржавајући ауторска права, уступају право првог публиковања часопису *Филолог*, а у складу са лиценцом CC-BY-NC дају сагласност за отворен приступ и располагање садржајем објављеним на сајту, под условом да се ради о некомерцијалном коришћењу садржаја и под условом да се при томе неизоставно назначе ауторство и мјесто првог публиковања. Остале ауторске одговорности наведене су у тексту обрасца изјаве.

Аутори који објављују у овом часопису пристају на сљедеће услове: аутори задржавају ауторска права и пружају часопису право првог објављивања рада у складу с лиценцом CC-BY-NC, која омогућава другима да дијеле рад уз услов навођења ауторства и изворног објављивања у овом часопису; аутори могу израдити посебне, уговорне аранжмане за неексклузивну дистрибуцију рада објављеног у часопису (нпр. постављање у институционални репозиторијум или објављивање у књизи), уз навођење да је рад изворно објављен у овом часопису.

Рецензенти вреднују и оцјењују пристигле рукописе искључиво на основу садржаја, у складу с највишим етичким стандардима и академским кодексом понашања, објективно, квалификовано и компетентно, научно аргументовано и стручно утемељено, а без дискриминације по било којој основи. Својим сугестијама унапређују квалитет рецензираних рукописа. Рецензентима уредништво обезбјеђује анонимност, а рецензенти су дужни да чувају повјерљивост свих информација у вези с рукописом као и да уредницима пријаве повреду ауторских права, плагирање и сличне етички неприхватљиве поступке или злоупотребе уочене у рукопису који рецензирају. Рецензент који сам сматра да је некомпетентан или неквалификован, да неће моћи обезбиједити правовремену рецензију или да је у било каквом сукобу интереса, обавјештава уредништво о томе и бива изузет из рецензентског процеса.

Часопис *Филолог*, без икаквих рестрикција, омогућава ауторима да задрже ауторска права и права објављивања.

Часопис *Филолог* омогућава ауторима да сами архивирају препринт или постпринт верзије својих чланака, на непрофитним серверима или на сопственим веб-сајтовима, уз напомену о извору и издавачу. Аутори могу користити и публиковану верзију (PDF).

Часопис *Филолог* не наплаћује ауторима обраду нити публикацију чланака.

Часопис *Филолог* обезбјеђује ауторима по један бесплатан примјерак броја у којем су објавили рад.

Упутства за техничку припрему и пријаву рукописа за рецензијску процедуру

Рукописи се пријављују путем налога на интернет сајту, путем имејла или поштанским путем.

Сваки аутор може да креира сопствени налог, према упутствима за регистрацију корисника која су дата на сајту <https://filolog.rs.ba>. Након регистрације, аутори могу поднијети рукопис, пратећи поступак пријаве прилога. Ауторе који креирају налог и рукопис шаљу на овај начин, молимо да попуне сва поља, унесу тражене метаподатке и сл.

Рукописи се, такође, могу слати на имејл-адресу filolog@ff.unibl.org или на поштанску адресу: Редакција часописа *Филолог*, Универзитет у Бањој Луци, Филолошки факултет, Булевар војводе Петра Бојовића 1а, 78000 Бања Лука, Република Српска, Босна и Херцеговина.

Приликом слања рукописа, аутори морају доставити и потписану изјаву, академску биографију, метаподатке као и романизовану верзију библиографије. Образац ауторске изјаве може се преузети на самом сајту. Академска биографија се доставља у краткој форми, до 200 ријечи, у трећем лицу. У првој реченици бионаратива наводи се актуелна функција, наставно односно научно звање и титула. Метаподаци се попуњавају на језику рада и на енглеском језику. Уколико је рад на енглеском језику, метаподаци се дају само на језику рада.

Кроз цијелу процедуру, од пријаве до штампања рукописа, ауторе води секретар Редакције, у складу с политиком отворене и континуиране комуникације у часопису *Филолог*.

Неопходно је да се аутори придржавају сљедећих техничких упутстава за припрему текста за рецензијску процедуру и штампу у часопису *Филолог*:

Текст оригиналног научног рада не смије имати мање од 30.000, ни више од 50.000 карактера, укључујући и размаке. Текст приказа односно научне критике не смије имати мање од 10.000, ни више од 20.000 карактера, укључујући и размаке.

Текстови морају бити достављени у Microsoft Word документу, писани фонтом Times New Roman, величине слова 12 и са проредом 1.5.

У горњем лијевом углу наводи се име и презиме, те научна афилијација аутора. Обавезно је коришћење средњег иницијала, тј. првог слова очевога или мајчиног имена.

За презиме аутора везује се подножна напомена, а она мора да садржи имејл адресу аутора. Уколико је рад коауторски, ово се односи само на првог аутора.

Научну афилијацију наводе само аутори који су стално запослени на универзитету, институту или некој другој научноистраживачкој установи. Научна афилијација наводи се према принципу организационе хијерархије институције, нпр. Универзитет у Београду, Филолошки факултет, Катедра за славистику. Научну афилијацију могу користити и студенти мастер или докторских студија. Као аутори, они у том случају наводе назив институције у чијем је окриљу обављено студијско истраживање, односно писање научног рада. Ако је аутора више, научна афилијација се наводи за сваког аутора.

Неопходно је да аутори доставе и верзију документа с текстом научног рада која ће бити спремна за рецензијску процедуру. Та верзија не смије да садржи име и презиме аутора, афилијацију, имејл адресу као ни друге елементе који би нарушили принцип анонимности. Како би обострана анонимност рецензијског процеса била додатно осигурана, ауторима научних радова препоручујемо техничка упутства која су дата на интернет сајту *Филолога*, у рубрици *Пријаве прилога*.

Уколико су у раду коришћени специфични фонтови или други елементи који захтијевају додатну техничку подршку, неопходно је послати и ПДФ верзију текста те специфичне фонтове који су коришћени у раду.

Испод афилијације, у централном дијелу документа, верзалом и подебљано, наводе се наслов и евентуални поднаслов дјела.

Испод наслова наводи се апстракт, на језику којим је писан и рад (100–250 ријечи). Након апстракта наводе се кључне ријечи (5–10 ријечи). Апстракт и кључне ријечи такође се пишу фонтом Times New Roman, величине слова 12 и са проредом 1.5, и то косим словима (курзивом). Уколико се у самом тексту апстракта или кључних ријечи већ налазе ријечи истакнуте косим словима (попут, рецимо, назива дјела), онда се те ријечи, за разлику од остатка текста апстракта и кључних ријечи, пишу нормалним словима.

Након кључних ријечи долази текст рада. Неопходно је да оригинални научни рад има структуру IMRAD (Introduction, Methods, Results, and Discussion), а пожељно да се увод, поглавља, потпоглавља и закључак нумеришу и насловљавају.

Цитате који су дужи од двије реченице потребно је издвојити из основног текста, и то поштујући следећа техничка упутства: фонт Times New Roman, величине слова 11, проред 1.5 и увучена лијева маргина за 0.5. Овако издвојене цитате потребно је ставити под једноструке наводнике (полунаводнике). Двоструки наводници користе се код управног говора.

Након текста рада наводи се библиографија цитираних текстова (дакле, искључиво текстова који су цитирани у раду или на које се аутори радова директно позивају). У библиографији се одвојено дају извори и литература. Латиничне и ћириличне библиографске јединице не дају се одвојено, него према упутствима која су наведена нешто ниже.

Рад написан на српском језику мора на свом крају имати резиме и кључне ријечи на енглеском језику. У оправданим околностима резиме може да буде и на неком другом страном језику. Радови написани на руском, њемачком, француском или италијанском језику морају на свом крају имати резиме и кључне ријечи на српском или на енглеском језику. Уколико је рад написан на енглеском, резиме и кључне ријечи се дају на српском језику. Резиме је информативни приказ чланка и оквирно не прелази 500 ријечи.

У складу с препорукама Министарства за научно-технолошки развој, високо образовање и информационо друштво Републике Српске као и у складу с Правилником о публиковању научних публикација (Службени гласник Републике Српске, број 77/17, члан 60 и 61), цитирана литература треба да је највећим дијелом из врхунских међународних и републичких научних часописа (преко 80%), а удио радова на свјетским језицима треба да је преко 50%. Радови који не испуњавају најмање један од поменутих критеријума неће бити прихваћени за рецензијску процедуру.

Библиографске јединице (референце) цитирају се у складу са харвардским стилем цитирања (*Harvard Style 2022*). Полазећи од овога правилника, о којем се аутори детаљније могу информисати на интернету, наводимо примјере цитирања најчешћих библиографских јединица. У случају било каквих недоумица, препоручујемо ауторима да се обрате уредништву часописа.

Подаци о цитираним књигама дају се у парентезама у продужетку цитираног текста, и то на тај начин што се у загради, латиничним писмом, назначе сљедећи подаци: презиме цитираног аутора, зарез, година издања, двотачка и број странице без размака:

Примјер:

Крила потврђују став изнет у српској историји књижевности о поетском роману као 'најзначајнијој тековини послератног модернизма и читаве наше модерне литературе' (Deretić, 1983:p.496).

Уколико се име аутора већ помиње у тексту, наводе се само година издања цитиране публикације као и број стране на коју се реферишемо:

Примјер:

Како пише Ј. Деретић, писци у периоду између 1919. и 1923. године стављају акценат на морфологију књижевног дела и његове конструктивне захтеве (1983:р.496).

У библиографији:

Деретић, Ј. (1983) *Историја српске књижевности*. Београд, Нолит.

Ако је ријеч о цитирању научног чланка из часописа, зборника или неке друге сличне публикације, парентезе се дају по истом принципу, док се у библиографији наслов цитираног текста даје без наводника, назив публикације у италику, иза чега долазе подаци о публикацији (година излажења, број свеска и сл.), док се пагинација наводи на крају.

Примјер:

Кончаревић, К. (2016) О појмовно-категоријалном апарату теолингвистике. *Србистика данас - зборник научних радова*. I (1), 7–27.

Николић, М. (2016) Категорија степена и категорија оцјене у српском језику – сличности и разлике. *Филолог – часопис за језик, књижевност и културу*. VII (14), 11–18.

Приликом цитирања са интернета парентезе се дају на следећи начин:

У том тексту анализирају се сличности и разлике између категорије степена и категорије оцјене у српском језику (Nikolić, internet).

У библиографији, тамо гдје је могуће, препоручујемо навођење DOI стринга. Гдје то није могуће, наводи се URL. Ако се наводи DOI, није неопходно наводити датум посљедњег приступа.

Примјер:

Николић, М. (2016) Категорија степена и категорија оцјене у српском језику – сличности и разлике. *Филолог – часопис за језик, књижевност и културу*. VII (14), 11–18. DOI: 10.21618/fl1614011n.

Уколико има више од три или више аутора, критеријум навођења је презиме првог аутора.

Примјер:

Лична заменица *I* релативно је једнозначна у аргументативном писању у поређењу са другим личним заменицама (Biber et al., 1999:р.329).

У библиографији се наводе сва имена, али се само име првог аутора пише у инверзији:

Biber, D., Stig J., Geoffrey L., Susan C. & Edward F. (1999) *The Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. London, Longman.

У радовима на српском језику критеријум редослиједа навођења библиографске јединице је прво слово (првог) презимена (првог) аутора цитираног рада, и то према фонетском, а не према етимолошком принципу. Нпр. латинична библиографска јединица с презименом *Chomsky* наводи се као библиографска јединица на Ч, и то према српском азбучном, односно абецедном редослиједу. Истовремено, у парентезама у тексту, презиме се даје у изворном облику, нпр. (Chomsky, 2000:р.152).

У тексту рада писаног на српском језику цитати се наводе оним писмом којим је писана цитирана литература. Уколико је цитирана литература на српском језику писана латиницом, и уколико нема појмова или имена наведених у етимолошком облику (нпр. *Čomski*, а не *Chomsky*), цитат се може пресловити ћириличним писмом.

За потребе индексирања часописа у међународним базама објављује се и романизована верзија цитиране литературе. Из истог разлога парентезе морају бити дате латиницом. Уз библиографске јединице у обје верзије цитиране литературе и извора пишу се редни бројеви, а наводе се азбучним (српска верзија) и алфабетским (романизована верзија) редослиједом. Цитирану литературу на српском треба, као и остатак текста, писати фонтом Times New Roman, величине слова 12 и са проредом 1.5. Романизована верзија цитиране литературе пише се фонтом Times New Roman, величине слова 12 и са проредом Single. Проред Single употребљава се и у тексту резимеа на крају рада.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR AUTHORS

The *Philologist*, founded by the Faculty of Philology, Banja Luka, is an open access, peer-reviewed journal promoting contemporary theoretical and interdisciplinary approaches from the fields of language, literature, and culture, with an international editorial board. The journal has been published in continuity since 2010.

We publish articles in the respective languages/philological areas studied at the Faculty of Philology (Serbian, English, French, German Italian, and Russian). With regard to other Slavic or world languages, an article may be published following a special procedure and upon agreement with the Editorial Board. In addition, it is essential that the notion and name of the Serbian language be understood as inviolable categories that cannot be used in constructions and abbreviations that would reflect any designation or connotation other than stated.

We encourage the submission of papers that deal with the study of contemporary theoretical approaches to literature, language and culture, of significance and necessity of metatheory in the humanities, with the application of contemporary theoretical approaches in the analysis of texts and cultural phenomena, with the interdisciplinary approach in linguistic, literary and cultural studies, and with the study of language and literature in relation to other disciplines.

In order to provide the highest level of scholarliness possible, every paper submitted to the *Philologist* journal is reviewed before its final version is published.

In order to maintain the necessary level of academic atmosphere around the journal, every article is sent to two anonymous reviewers, whose unanimous opinion on the article meeting high academic standards is requested prior to publishing.

After the initial evaluation, the Editorial Board will determine whether the article submitted meets basic scholarly criteria. If it does, the paper is forwarded to two experts from the field for a double-blind peer review. The paper is published if both reviewers confirm it meets the aforementioned criteria.

The deadline for reviews is one month.

The final decision on the acceptance or refusal of the paper will be sent to the author along with the reviewers' suggestions, comments, and remarks.

The *Philologist* journal is published biannually, in June and in December.

The *Philologist* journal enables instantaneous open access to its whole content in accordance with a belief that public accessibility of research findings prompts a wider exchange of knowledge and ideas. The journal makes its contents open for its readership to read, download, copy, distribute, print, or link to full texts of the published articles, crawl them for indexing, pass them as data to software, or

use them for any other lawful purpose. As one of the signatories of the Budapest Open Access Initiative, we only put a constraint on distribution and reproduction concerning the domain of copyright, since it is necessary for the author to be given control over the integrity of their work and the right to be properly acknowledged and cited.

The Editorial Board of the journal is committed to maintaining the highest ethical principles and to preventing malpractice over the course of its publication. Articles that do not comply with these standards will not be published in the journal.

Plagiarism, fabrication, and falsification of scholarly results, as well as publication of already published papers/articles and other forms of academic misconduct are ethically unacceptable acts that will be discharged in accordance with the principles stated above. The Editorial Board shall prevent any possible conflict of interest or discrimination on any grounds. In addition, the editors must insure the confidentiality of all information concerning the papers submitted prior to publication. In case of a complaint regarding an ethical issue or conflict of interest, the editors shall act upon the existing policies and procedures.

The author takes responsibility regarding the originality and authenticity of the article by signing a statement. The papers sent to the Editorial Board must not be published, accepted for publication, or undergo a reviewing process in another journal or periodical, but may contain a piece of text that was previously used (orally), at a conference or another academic event. In case of the latter, this piece of information must be clearly provided. Furthermore, in the said statement, the author takes responsibility for the correct use of bibliography and sources throughout the article. Finally, the papers sent to the *Philologist* must not contain plagiarised, fabricated, or falsified research data or display any ethically unacceptable action or procedure.

Immediately after the paper submission, and prior to the commencement of the reviewing procedure, the author must sign a statement, which will be sent to them either by the Editorial Board Secretary or the Editor-in-chief. The author will state that they agree with the open access policy, which is supported by the Editorial Board and the Publisher of the *Philologist*, that is, that they agree with the Copyright Notice. It means that, by keeping the copyright, they cede the first publication rights to the Journal, and, according to the CC-BY-NC license, they agree with the open access policy and usage of the contents published on the website providing that the usage of the contents is non-commercial and the author(s) and the origin of the first publication are mandatorily labelled. At the same time, the

author should state that they will follow the guidelines listed in the Publication Ethics and Malpractice Statement. The author should also point out any potential conflict of interest. Other responsibilities of the author are listed in the body of text on the statement form.

The reviewer evaluates the papers submitted solely on the basis of their contents, in an objective, qualified and competent manner, avoiding discrimination on any account and taking into consideration the highest ethical standards and codes of conduct, improving the quality of the article through their remarks. The Editorial Board guarantees them anonymity, and the reviewer, in turn, is obliged to provide confidentiality of all the information concerning the article, and to report any violation of copyright, plagiarism, and other ethically unacceptable procedures or instances of malpractice in the article reviewed. The reviewer who feels incompetent or unqualified regarding the article in question, who thinks he/she will not be able to provide a prompt review, or that he/she may be involved in a conflict of interest, shall inform the Editorial Board. Hence, said reviewer will be exempted from the reviewing process.

Philologist allows the author(s) to hold the copyright and to retain their publishing rights without any restrictions.

Philologist allows the author(s) to self-archive preprint and/or postprint versions of their papers on a non-profit server or on the author's personal website with an acknowledgement of the publication source. Using the published version in PDF is permitted.

Philologist does not ask for article processing charges (APCs), article submission charges or publication fees.

Philologist will provide a free author's copy of the volume in which their paper was published.

Instructions for Technical Preparations and Registration of The Paper for the Reviewing Procedure

Papers are preferably sent by email (filolog@ff.unibl.org) or through an account on the website, or by snail mail (Redakcija casopisa *Filolog*, Univerzitet u Banjoj Luci, Filoloski fakultet, Bulevar vojvode Petra Bojovica 1a, 78 000 Banja Luka, Republic of Srpska, Bosnia and Herzegovina).

Each author can create their own account by following the instructions for user registration provided on <https://filolog.rs.ba>. Upon registration, the author can submit the paper by following the steps describing the procedure. The author that decides to submit his/her paper in this way is then asked to fill in all the fields and provide all necessary metadata.

In the course of submitting the paper, the author must provide a signed copy of the Author's Statement, an academic biography, metadata, as well as a Latin version bibliography. The Author's Statement form can be downloaded from the website. An academic biography is delivered in a short form, up to 200 words, in third person singular. The first sentence of the bio narrative should state the author's current function, that is, the academic title and position. The metadata is provided both in the language used in the paper and in English. If the paper is written in English, the metadata is provided only in English.

The author is guided by the Secretary of the Editorial Board through the entire process, from registration to publication, in accordance with the open and continual communication policy of the *Philologist* journal.

It is necessary that the author should comply with the following technical instructions for the preparation of the paper for the reviewing process and publication:

The text of the original scientific/scholarly paper must be kept within the 30,000-50,000 character range with spaces. The text of a review must be kept within the 10,000-20,000 character range with spaces.

Texts must be submitted in a Microsoft Word document, Times New Roman style, font size 12, and line spacing 1.5.

The full name of the author, as well as their scientific affiliation, is provided in the upper left corner. The author must state their middle name (if any).

A footnote is attached to the surname of the author, containing his/her email address. If the paper is co-authored, this note refers only to the first author.

Only the author fully employed at a university, an institute, or any other scientific research institution states any scientific affiliation. It is stated in accordance with the principle of organisational hierarchy of the institution (e.g. University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philology, Department of Slavic Studies). In addition, it can be used by master's or doctoral studies students. In which case, they must state the name of the institution at which the research was conducted. If there is more than one author, the scientific affiliation is stated for each author separately.

Furthermore, it is necessary that the author should submit the version of the document ready for the reviewing procedure. That version must not contain any element that would compromise the principle of anonymity. In order for mutual anonymity to be maintained throughout this process, we recommend that the author should consult the technical instructions provided on the website of the *Philologist*, on the *Register of the paper* menu.

If there are specific fonts or other elements that require an additional technical support used throughout the paper, it is necessary to send a PDF version of the text, along with the aforementioned specific fonts or elements.

The title and possible subtitle of the paper are stated in the central part of the document, below the affiliation, in bolded capital letters. The abstract is provided below the title, in the language of the paper (100-250 words), which is followed by key words (5-10 words). Both the abstract and key words are written in Times New Roman style, font size 12, line spacing 1.5, and in italics. In case there are already some italicised words in the said elements of the paper (such as the title of a literary piece), they are written in standard print form.

Following the key words is the main body of the text. It is essential that an original scientific paper retain the IMRAD structure (Introduction, Methods, Results, and Discussion), and it is preferable that the sections of the text be numbered and entitled.

Citations longer than two sentences must be singled out from the main body of the text, in accordance with the following technical instructions: Times New Roman style, font size 11, line spacing 1.5, with the left margin indented for 0.5. Such citations require single quotation marks. Double quotation marks are used for quoting direct speech.

The bibliography of works cited (References) follows the main body of the text (only the texts cited in the paper or the texts authors directly refer to). Depending on the nature of research, Sources and References can be provided separately.

The paper written in Serbian must provide a summary and key words in English at the end. In specific circumstances, a summary can be provided in another

language. Papers written in Russian, German, French, or Italian respectively must include a summary and key words in both Serbian and English. If the paper is written in English, a summary and key words are provided in Serbian. A summary is an informative account of the paper and it should not exceed 500 words.

In accordance with the recommendations of the Ministry of Scientific-Technological Development, Higher Education, and Information Society of the Republic of Srpska, as well as the Rulebook on Publishing Scientific Publications (Official Gazette of the Republic of Srpska, issue 77/17, Articles 60 and 61), the works cited should mainly originate from renowned international and national journals (80%), with the share of papers written in world languages exceeding 50%.

References are cited and listed in accordance with Harvard style citing and referencing guides. Detailed information on Harvard Style 2022 can be found on the Internet, and examples of the most common types of citation are provided below. In case of any doubt, we invite authors to consult the Editorial Board.

Reference information about the work cited should be provided in parenthesis following the quoted text. The last name of the author cited (in Latin orthography) is followed by a comma, the year of publication, colon, and page number(s).

Example:

Based on the critics' uniform readings of immigrant texts, it becomes obvious that 'our understanding of the immigrant experience – and in particular that of immigrant suffering – is severely curtailed' (Hron, 2009:p.5).

If the author's name is already mentioned in the text, only the publication year and page number(s) are provided.

Example:

According to Hron, '[t]he scarcity of a direct language of pain does not mean that there is no viable mode of expression for their pain' (2009:p.41).

In a reference list:

Hron, M (2009) *Translating Pain. Immigrant Suffering in Literature and Culture*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

When citing from a journal, book of proceedings, or similar, parentheses are used in the same way. In References, titles are provided without quotation marks, while publication titles should be in italics, followed by volume, issue and page numbers.

Examples:

Heise, U. K. (2013) Globality, Difference, and the International Turn in Ecocriticism. *PMLA*. 128 (3), 636–643.

Fagunleka, O. & Olorunsogo, D. (2022) Modal Auxiliaries in Selected Newspaper Editorials on Medical Brain Drain in Nigeria. *Filolog*. XIII (26), 151–169.

When citing from the Internet, parentheses are given as follows:

The epistemic modals deployed in the editorials are chiefly channeled towards the projected possibilities if the government addresses the issues responsible for the exodus of health workers (Fagunleka & Olorunsogo, Internet).

In References, if applicable, use DOI or URL. When DOI is used, the date of online access is not needed.

Example:

Fagunleka, O. & Olorunsogo, D. (2022) Modal Auxiliaries in Selected Newspaper Editorials on Medical Brain Drain in Nigeria. *Filolog*. XIII (26), 151–169. <https://filolog.rs.ba/index.php/filolog/article/view/316>

or

Fagunleka, O. & Olorunsogo, D. (2022) Modal Auxiliaries in Selected Newspaper Editorials on Medical Brain Drain in Nigeria. *Filolog*. XIII (26), 151–169. DOI: 10.21618/fil2226151f

If there are three, four or more authors / editors, the abbreviation ‘et al.’ should be used after the first author’s name:

The three interrelated concerns and considerations we have discussed (...) contributed to the emergence of more flexible, open-ended, and ethical qualitative research methods, including autoethnography (Adams et al., 2014:p.15).

In References, however, all names are used:

Adams, T. E., Holman Jones, S. & Ellis, C. (2014) *Autoethnography – Understanding Qualitative Research*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.