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SADRŽAJ/TABLE OF CONTENTS

vi

Uvodna reč

vii

A Word from the Editors

NAUKA O JEZIKU/LINGUISTICS

1

BORIS HLEBEC

Defining English and Serbian Verbs of Damage

23

IJULIA A. NENASHEVA

Functional Hybridization In Discourse: Turning Imperatives into Discourse Markers

41

NINA ĐUKIĆ

Great Aspirations: Examining VOT of Word-Initial Voiceless Stops in English and Serbian in Serbian EFL Speakers

53

ANĐELA MILADINOVIĆ

Kritička analiza metafora u medijskom diskursu o veštačkoj inteligenciji na srpskom jeziku

PRIMENJENA LINGVISTIKA/APPLIED LINGUISTICS

75

ADRIANNA KOSTIC / ANDREA BURAI

Digital Media and Slang in the ESL Classroom: Hungarian ESL Teachers and Students' Views

101

NATKA JANKOVA-ALAGOZOVSKA, NINA DASKALOVSKA, ADRIJANA HADJI-NIKOLOVA

Intercultural Communication Sensitivity – A Prerequisite for Developing Intercultural Communication Competence

113

BOJANA VIDOVIĆ

Grammar and Communication: Two Language Teaching Approaches

121

MAJA ŽARKOVIĆ MCCRAY

Subject-Verb Agreement in Popular Music and its Potential Impact on Linguistic
Development of Non-Native English Learners

NAUKA O KNJIŽEVNOSTI/LITERARY STUDIES

133

SVJETLANA OGNJENOVIĆ

Patologija (ne)normalnog u drami *Bolnica u doba revolucije* Keril Čerčil

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Novi broj naučno-stručnog časopisa *Philologia* donosi devet članaka iz oblasti nauke o jeziku i nauke o književnosti. Misija ovog časopisa je da unapredi naučno-istraživački rad na prostorima Srbije, ali i da nova naučna saznanja širi i van tih granica.

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Glavni i odgovorni urednik
Prof. dr Biljana Čubrović

■ A WORD FROM THE EDITORS

Philologia is a peer-reviewed academic journal whose primary objective is to promote and advance research in the humanities. The journal comes out annually and is published by the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Philology, Serbia.

Philologia publishes original articles, critical essays, book reviews, interviews, conference reports grouped into the following sections: Linguistics, Applied Linguistics, Literary Studies, Cultural Studies, Translation Studies, Scientific Interviews, (Conference) Reports and Book Reviews. The *Philologia* journal is an Open Access journal. All previous issues are available at: www.philologia.org.rs. The journal is indexed in the following databases: DOAJ, EBSCO, ERIH PLUS and MLA Bibliography.

This year's issue of *Philologia* brings nine full articles in the fields of linguistics and literary studies. We hope you will find these papers inspirational and thought-provoking. The Editorial Board is endlessly obliged to the Reviewing and Advisory Council which includes both Serbian and international reviewers. We are thankful for more than two full decades of fruitful collaboration with all the colleagues who participated in the founding and maintenance of this journal. Together with reviewers, the Editorial Board keeps implementing strict criteria when selecting papers for publication. This is our contribution to raising the quality of science and research, both in Serbia and abroad. We are also very much indebted to our colleagues who sent the papers for publication. Without their trust in the work of the Editorial Board and Advisory Council, it would have been impossible to have this journal published.

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■ DEFINING ENGLISH AND SERBIAN VERBS OF DAMAGE

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Leksičko polje koje čine osnovni glagola oštećenja u srpskom i engleskom jeziku semantički je definisano autorovom kolokacijskom metodom kako bi se što objektivnije zaključilo o sličnostima i razlikama dva jezika. Utvrđeno je znatno češće pojavljivanje klaseme „pojava stvorena/doživljena u srpskom“, a „priroda“ i „mentalna pojava o nekome“ u engleskom. (Po)kvariti i upset imaju najveću polisemiju. Izneseni su i drugi podaci o distribuciji značenjskih elemenata ovog polja.

Ključne reči: kontrastivna analiza, kolokacijski metod, glagoli, semantičko polje, engleski, srpski.

1. INTRODUCTION

“Verbs of damage” comprise a small set of verbs that share the definition “cause to get in bad state”. In terms of a semantic definition, which tends towards semantic atoms, this becomes <#sb/sth# makes #sth# come to not be good> (‘not good’ = ‘bad’), where the seme “come to be’ reflects perfective aspect/aspectuality (= sudden change of state) and therefore implies that something was previously good (so that ‘[any longer]’ can be added redundantly) or evaluatively neutral (neither good nor bad). The evaluative connotation of the object noun #sth_v# flanked by ‘make’ and ‘come to not be good’ is ‘not bad’ even if ‘good’ is not already present in its definition. For instance, *economy* is evaluatively neutral, unlike *prestige* or *peace* with their invariantly positive connotation, but *damage economy* implies that the previous state of economy was not bad. Owing to ‘make ... come to not be good’, the nouns in the subject slot <#sth_x# are understood to connote ‘bad’ even if their definitions do not contain ‘bad’, as *shoe* in *The shoe hurt my toes*.

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Why the formulation 'not good' rather than 'bad'? GOOD is a semantic atom, having wider application than 'bad', though in Goddard and Wierzbicka (1994) BAD also appears on the list. GOOD rather than 'bad' was one of six metaphysical terms posed by the English philosopher William Occam. *Good* can be both marked and unmarked, while *bad* is only marked. (Cf. – *How good is your car? – It's very good/bad* vs. – *How bad is your car? – It's very bad/*good*.) The antonyms *good* and *bad* belong to Cruse's Group II (1986: 207), the positive member behaving with a default value. Thus, *Your car is bad, but it is better than mine* vs. *Your car is good, but it is worse than mine*. Whereas *not good* is equivalent to *bad*, *not bad* may refer to 'neither good nor bad', in addition to '{slightly}good' (braces enclose 'typical senses'). The same differences hold in Serbian.

The meaning of *dobar* and *good* is quite vague and varies according to the context (Nida 1975: 13).

"Verbs of damage" are distinguished from "verbs of destroyal" (Cruse 2004: 73, 83, and Greenbaum 1970: 73; such as *destroy*, *ruin*, *shatter*; *uništiti*, *razoriti*, *skršiti*), defined as <#sb/sth_x# makes #sth_y# not exist any longer>.

In this article, specialized and dated usage have not been treated.

2. AIMS AND PROCEDURE

In order to compare the semantic content of the verbs examined, the present author will employ his collocational method (CM), also applied in Hlebec 2008c, 2011, 2012, 2015a, 2016 and other works. It is a variant of the distributional semantics, according to which if two words tend to have a similar distribution (i.e. if they both co-occur with a third word), they belong to the same language class (stated by the pioneer of the distributional method Zellig Harris, e.g. Harris 1954, 1968). Both CM and Patrick Hanks' Corpus Pattern Analysis (CPA; 2013) are grounded in exploring the meanings of verbs by their patterns of use. CM is more rigorous and ambitious in being applied to all parts of speech including function words (cf. Hlebec 2015b). Unlike CPA, CM proceeds from verbal collocations to uncovering semantic noun categories, not merely enlisting noun sets.

The tenets of CM are the following. As a first step, investigators provide for a list of collocators of a particular verb, adjective, adverb, or preposition, which is called "collocating node (pivot)". In order to establish a semantic definition of these parts of speech, the investigator should proceed to search for the common content of collocators for each sememe. This content is essentially the condition for felicitous co-occurrence with the node, and at the same time it generates a lexical category (a "classeme"). A definition is necessarily tentative before at least 20,000 most frequent words have been defined and the whole basic lexical net got interconnected.

To quote Roos: "What Bierwisch (1970: 184) suggests for semantic analysis applies to contrastive collocational analysis, too: it must "start with small, clear subsystems, developing thereby the necessary basic concepts. Such islands might then be extended to larger complexes..." (Roos 1976: 75).

This second stage of the procedure uses the paradigmatic axis of language and follows the distributional semantics thesis about linguistic items with similar distribution having similar meanings (Rubenstein/Goodenough 1965).

The part of an adjective's or verb's definition that establishes the link with the collocating nouns is called "directive" (Wiggins 1971: 26). It is a slot signalled by a pair of

hashes # #, in Serbian couched in the accusative. Oblique cases other than the accusative are indicated by double-angle quotation marks « ». The additional information on a particular oblique case is acquired from the “analysis”, the rest of the definition outside the directive (labelled so in Wiggins 1971: 26).

In the third step polysemy is determined. An auxiliary test of non-humorous zeugma can be applied to settle the question of monosemy vs. polysemy, *Paljenje plavog svetla pokvarilo je izgled prostorije (8) i raspoloženje gostiju (5)*. ‘Switching on blue light marred the look of the room (1) and the guests’ mood (2)’ is acceptable, unlike **Tragična vest pokvarila je izgled prostorije i raspoloženje gostiju*. “*The tragic news marred the look of the room and the guests’ mood”. But in science fiction one can imagine a device which could react to thoughts and change the ambient because in the long run “what is a distinct meaning is not fixed but appears to depend on the context (as represented by the various polysemy tests)” (Geeraerts 1992: 230).

The realization of particular collocations depends on the situation in reality. Some of them will be unlikely, but linguistically acceptable and not impossible, like *Branches disturbed my dream* when a sleeper is lying outdoors close to branches that rustle or touch him/her.

The present tense in semantic definitions is employed as a canonical form standing for all tenses.

If an entity in the first slot can also be used in the role of INSTRUMENT, its role as an AGENT is mediated through the indirect connection. To take an example, *Running damaged her muscled* is tantamount to *She damaged her muscles by running* as distinct from **Running damaged her muscles by her/running*. A double bar || indicates the indirect connection, and a treble bar ||| stands for the doubly indirect connection. Round brackets within a directive enclose its expansion via indirect connection (Hlebec 2003). Indirect connection conjoining subjects or objects within a clause produces a stylistically rather than semantically awkward effect. ? *The athlete damaged her spine and hearing*. ?? *Ann and John's words hurt my feelings*. *Ann hurt my feelings, and so did John's words (hurt 2)*. Such borderline cases of polysemy have been traditionally marked in dictionaries by subscripts (like 1a, b).

A slant or a comma within the directive separate alternate senses and do not contribute to the proliferation of sememes; e.g. *Smoking injured her lungs and her health in general (injure 1)*.

The seme ‘sth’ comprises ‘non-living thing’, ‘substance’ and ‘phenomenon’. ‘Thing’ comprises ‘non-living thing’ and ‘living thing’. The latter covers ‘sb’, ‘animal’ and ‘plant’. ‘Sb’ and ‘animal’ are living things that can move (= change place on its own). The seme ‘phenomenon’ includes ‘event’, ‘state’, ‘process’, ‘habitualness’, ‘energy’, and even ‘living thing invisible to the naked eye’. A state “is conceived of as existing, rather than happening, and as being homogenous, continuous and unchanging throughout its duration” (Lyons 1977: 483). An ‘event’ is a happening, with a dynamic change during its duration. For Jackendoff (1991) a super-category uniting semantic primes ‘state’ and ‘event’ is called “situation”.

We present some other rules of inclusion (“redundancy rules” in generative linguistics).

'body part' → (is included in) 'non-living thing'

'emotion' → 'mental phenomenon'

'man-made thing using energy to function' → 'man-made thing' → 'non-living thing'

'mental phenomenon' → 'psychological phenomenon'

'perception' → 'psychological phenomenon'

'perceptual ability' → 'body phenomenon'

'thought' → 'mental state' → 'mental phenomenon'

'thought of sb_x a lot more than one about sb_y' → 'social phenomenon'

'time' → 'state'

Based on its definition, a noun can be attached to various verb collocators via their directives. Thus, *red* 'order' can be 'psychological state' in *(po)kvariti* (7) or 'social state' in *(po)kvariti* (6).

3. DEFINITIONS

***drmati* impf., *uzdrmati* pf.**

1. *epidemija* 'epidemic', *klimakterijum* 'menopause', *kriza* 'crisis', *naučnik* 'scientist', *opozicija* 'opposition', *pubertet* 'puberty', *revolucionar* 'revolutionary' || *rat* 'war', *revolucija* 'revolution'

+ *ekonomiju* 'economy', *evro* 'euro', *finansije* 'finances', *konkurenciju* 'competition', *presto* 'throne (figuratively)', *temelje* 'privrede' 'foundations of economy', *valutu* 'monetary currency' || *državu* 'state, country', *javnost* 'the public', *svet* 'world', *tim* 'team', *vladu* 'government'

<#(social event made by) sb_x, bodily and psychological state# makes #(sb_x/y making/experiencing) social state# come to not be good [socially]>

***kaljati* impf., *ukaljati* pf.** (literary)

1. *nitkov* 'rascal' || *greh* 'sin', *krađa* 'theft', *strah* 'fear'

+ *čast* 'honour', *ime* 'name', *obraz* 'face' || *roditelja* 'parent'

<#(event made by) sb_x# makes #social state of sb_x made by thought of sb_y a lot more than one about sb_{x/z}# come to not be good [in minds of sb_y as regards sb_{x/z}]>

***krnjiti* impf., *okrnjiti* pf.**

1. *predsednik* 'president' || *afera* 'affair', *napad* 'attack', *politika* 'policy', *skandal* 'scandal' + *bratstvo* 'brotherhood', *imidž* 'image', *duhovno nasleđe* 'spiritual heritage', *položaj* države 'country's position', *pravo* 'right', *renome* 'renown', *slavu* 'glory, fame', *status* 'status'

#(social phenomenon_x made by) sb_x# makes #social state_y of sb_{x/y} {a lot more than one}# come to slightly not be good [socially]>

2. *proneveritelj* 'embezzler', *sin* 'son' || *krađa* 'theft', *rastrošnost* 'prodigality'

+ *budžet* 'budget', *darove* 'gifts', *dobro* 'landed property', *gotovinu* 'cash money', *imanje*

'estate', *interes* 'profit', *kapital* 'capital', *nasledstvo* 'heritage'

<#(phenomenon made by) sb# makes #property# come to slightly not be good [as regards financial value]#>

3. *pisac* 'author' || *agresija* 'aggression', *ironija* 'irony'

+ *autoritet* 'authority', *celovitost* 'integrity', *egzistenciju* 'existence', *ideju* 'idea', *istinu* 'truth', *punoću* 'fullness of life', *sadržaj* 'content', *slobodu* 'freedom', *spoznaju* 'cognition', *talenat* 'talent', *značaj* 'importance' <#(phenomenon_x made/experienced by) sb_x# makes #mental state made/experienced by sb_x/_y# come to slightly not be good [mentally]#>

***kvariti* impf., *pokvariti* pf.**

1. *bakterije* 'bacteria', *buđ* 'mould', *loša prerada* 'bad processing', *toplota* 'warmth'

+ *hranu* 'food', *jabuke* 'apples', *masline* 'olives', *ribu* 'fish' || *ručak* 'lunch'

<#phenomenon# makes #(event of eating) food# come to not be good irreparably [in terms of eating]>.

2. *Marko* 'Mark', *gljivice* 'fungi', *pasulj* 'beans', *ujed pauka* 'bite of a spider', *oticanje žlezda* 'swelling of glands' || *doručak* 'breakfast', *pogrešna ishrana* 'wrong nutrition', *kiselost* 'acidity'

+ *stomak* 'stomach', *zube* 'teeth', *želudac* 'stomach'; ? *jednjak* 'oesophagus'

<#(phenomenon made by) sth/sb# makes #body part for processing food# become not good [functionally] {and not easily repaired}>.

3. *bol* 'pain', *korona* 'corona virus', *jaka svetlost* 'strong light'

+ *njuh* 'sense of smell', *sluh* 'hearing', *ukus* 'sense of taste', *vid* 'sight' || *oči* 'eyes' **nos* 'nose', **uši* 'ears'

<#phenomenon_x# makes #phenomenon_y experienced through perceptual ability, (eyes used for) perceptual ability# come to not be good [in terms of perception] {and not easily repaired}>

4. *hladnoća* 'cold', *nedostatak snega* 'lack of snow', *radijacija* 'radiation', *zagađenje* 'pollution'

+ *leto* 'summer', *vazduh* 'air', *vreme* 'weather'

<#sth {event in nature}# makes #weather# come to not be good [experientially]>

5. *gaf* 'gaffe', *gradonačelnik* 'lord mayor', *kišni dan* 'rainy day', *korov* 'weeds (plant)', *jutarnje novine* 'morning paper', *pas* 'dog', *podrigivanje* 'belching', *polen* 'pollen (causing allergy)', *loše vesti* 'bad news', *voda* 'water'

+ *apetit* 'appetite', *atmosfera* 'atmosphere', *budućnost* 'future', *iznenađenje* 'surprise', *mir* 'peace of mind', *odmor* 'rest', *osećaj* 'feeling', *plan* 'plan', *raspoloženje* 'mood', *red* na polici 'shelf order', *san* 'dream', *savršenstvo* 'perfect state', *šansu* 'chance', *teoriju* 'theory', *utisak* 'impression', *zadovoljstvo* 'pleasure', *život* 'life' || *Božić* 'Christmas', *festival* 'festival', *gozbu* 'feast', *igru* 'game', *izlet* 'outing', *olimpijadu* 'Olympiad', *red* reči 'word order', *ručak* 'lunch', *slavlje* 'festivity', *vašar* 'fair', *zabavu* 'entertainment' || *dan* 'day', *rođendan* 'birthday'

<#sth# makes #(time of ({social} phenomenon that makes)) psychological state# come to not be good [psychologically] {and not easily repaired}>

6. *đak* 'pupil', *vlada* 'government'

+ *dobre mere* 'good measures', *harmoniju* 'harmony', *ocenu* 'mark in school', *odnose*

'relations', *posao* 'business', *prijateljstvo* 'friendship', *račun(e)* 'calculation(s)', *red* 'social order', *sliku o nekome* 'image of sb', *ugled* 'reputation', *uspeh* 'success'

<#sb_x# makes #social state of sb_x/y# come to not be good [socially] {and not easily repaired}> (= *iskvariti*)

7. *Petar* 'Peter' || *doktrina* 'doctrine', *gramzivost* 'avarice' ||| *novac* 'money', *televizija* 'TV' + *dušu* 'soul', *moral* 'morality, morals', *um* 'mind' || *mladež* 'young people', *prijatelj* 'friend', *tim* 'team' (e.g. by letting them quarrel among themselves), *učenike* 'pupils'

<#((sth connected with) phenomenon made/experienced by) sb_x# makes #(sb_y experiencing) moral state# come to not be good [psychologically] {as regards morals} {and not easily repaired}>

8. *kiša* 'rain', *pisac* 'author', *violinista* 'violinist', *zgrada* 'building' || *buka* 'noise', *ljuta hrana* 'hot food', *nervoza* 'nervousness', *neznanje* 'ignorance', *promuklost* 'coarseness of voice', *škripa* 'screech'

+ *frizuru* 'hair-style', *izgled* 'appearance, look', *melodiju* 'melody', *odelo* nošenjem 'suit by wearing', *pesmu* 'song; poem', *recept* 'recipe', *rukopis* 'handwriting', *scenario* 'screenplay', *sliku* 'painting', *ukus* 'flavour'

<#(phenomenon made/experienced by) sb, event# makes #sth man-made intended to be experienced aesthetically/sensually# come to not be good [aesthetically/sensually] {and not easily repaired}>

***ljuljati* impf., *poljuljati* pf.**

1. *nastavnik* 'teacher' || *neznanje* 'ignorance', *ponašanje* 'behaviour'

+ *odlučnost* 'resoluteness', *poverenje* 'confidence', *sigurnost* 'sureness', *conviction* 'uverenje', *veru* 'faith'

<#(phenomenon made/experienced by) sb_x# makes #strong mental state made / experienced by sb_x/y# become slightly not good and weak [mentally]>

2. *novinar* 'journalist' || *afeta* 'affair', *informacija* 'information', *neznanje* 'ignorance'

+ *politički sistem* 'political system', *rezultate* ankete 'results of the poll', *ugled* 'reputation' || *ministra* 'minister', *Vladu* 'Government'

<#(phenomenon_x made/experienced by) sb_x# makes #(sb_x/y making) social state_y# come to slightly not be good [as regards social state_y]>

***mutiti* impf., *pomutiti* pf. (literary)**

1. *sudski pozivar* 'summoner', *zavičaj* 'hometown', *kanabis* 'cannabis', *zmija* 'snake' || *alergija* 'allergy', *konfuzija* 'confusion', *mržnja* 'hatred', *mučne misli* 'troubled thoughts', *strasna nežnost* 'passionate tenderness', *ekonomske informacije* 'economic information', *njene obline* 'curves of her body', *sastav vlasti* 'composition of authorities', *slike* 'images', *sumnja* 'doubt', *varka* 'guile', *verovatnost* 'probability'

+ *čistotu duše* 'purity of soul', *duh* 'spirit', *euforiju* 'euphoria', *izglede* za nečim 'prospects of sth', *izražavanje osećanja*, 'expression of feelings', *jasnost predodžbi* 'clarity of images', *koncentraciju* 'concentration', *lagodnost* 'ease', *mozak* 'brain', *osećanja* 'feelings', *pamćenje* 'memory', *planove* 'plans', *poverenje* 'confidence', *radost* 'joy', *razum* 'intellect', *dnevnu rutinu* 'daily routine', *sliku o čoveku* 'image of man', *spokoj* 'tranquility', *srce* 'heart', *sreću* 'happiness', *bistro suđenje* 'clear judgment', *tišinu* 'silence', *um* 'mind', *vedro raspoloženje* 'happy mood', *značenje* 'meaning' || *dane života* 'days of life', *kupca* 'buyer'

<#(phenomenon made/experienced by) living thing_x# makes #(sb_y experiencing, time of) psychological phenomenon# come to slightly not be good [psychologically]>

2. *izdajnik* 'traitor' || *izdaja* 'treason', *nedostatak* sloge 'lack of unity', *ponašanje* 'behaviour', *primer* ponašanja 'an example of behaviour', *spin* 'spin'

+ *bratstvo* 'brotherhood', *četvrt* veka države 'a quarter of century of a state', *herojsko držanje* 'heroic bearing', *pobedu* 'victory', *prijateljstvo* 'friendship', *slavu* 'glory', *uspeh* 'success', *veselje* 'joy'

<#(phenomenon made/experienced by) sb_x# makes #social state of sb_{x/y}# come to strongly not be good [socially]>

3. *bol* 'pain', *tama* 'darkness', *oblaci* 'clouds', *suze* 'tears', *umor* 'fatigue' + *crte lica* 'features (of face)', *pogled* 'view', *sjaj* 'shine', *vid* 'sight', *vidike* 'perspective' || *oko* 'eye'

<#sth# makes #(body organ used for) state of seeing# become slightly not good [as regards vision]>

***narušiti* pf., *narušavati* impf.**

1. *galamdžija* 'noisy fellow', *soliter* 'high-rise building', *stanar* 'tenant', *uljez* 'intruder', *vuk* 'wolf' || *buka* 'noise', *hladnoća* 'distance towards sb', *korov* 'weed', *požar* 'fire', *rat* 'war', *sirena* 'alarm siren'

+ *čistoću* 'cleanliness', *disciplinu* 'discipline', *jedinstvo* 'unity', *mir* 'peace', *ravnotežu* 'balance', *red* 'order', *sklad* 'harmony', *stabilnost* 'stability', *tišinu* 'silence'

<#sth/sb# makes #state of order# come to not be good>

2. *bolest* 'illness', *droga* 'drug', *klice* 'germs', *komarac* 'mosquito', *sused* 'neighbour' || *buka* 'noise', *hladnoća* 'cold'

+ *funkcionisanje* organa 'functioning of organs', *san* 'dream', *zdravlje* 'health'

<#phenomenon made/experienced by sth# makes #bodily phenomenon# come to not be good [with regard to body]>

3. *kozmetičarka* 'beautician', *starost* 'old age' || *nesloga* 'discord', *ožiljak* 'scar', *podatak* 'data'

+ *bezbriznost* 'freedom from care', *duh* sporazuma 'spirit of agreement', *izgled* 'appearance, look', *kvalitet* 'quality', *lepotu* 'beauty', *mir* 'peace', *prijateljstvo* 'friendship', *samopouzdanje* 'self-assurance', *sigurnost* 'security', *sliku* image || *teoriju* 'theory'

<#(phenomenon_x made by) sb_x, phenomenon_x experienced by sb_x# makes #(phenomenon_y making) psychological state of sb_{x/y}# come to not be good [psychologically]>

4. *direktor* 'manager', *kvar* 'fault', *nedostatak* 'lack', *nestašica* 'shortage', *poplava* 'flood'

+ *funkcionisanje* 'functioning', *tehnološki proces* 'technological process', *stanje* proizvoda 'state of product'

<#sth/sb# makes #process, state# come to not be good [functionally]>

5. *agresor* 'aggressor', *arhitekta* 'architect' || *gubitak* 'loss', *kriza* crisis, *napad* 'attack', *nedostatak* 'lack', *štampanje* novca 'printing money'

+ *autonomiju* 'autonomy', *autoritet* 'one's authority', *branu* od inflacije 'protection against inflation', *arhitektonski dizajn* 'architectural design', *državu* 'state (country)', *funkcionisanje* 'functioning', *kontakt* 'social contact', *kredibilitet* 'credibility', *radne obaveze* 'labour duties', *odnose* 'relations', *ekonomsko ponašanje* 'economy policy', *poslovanje* 'business', *pravo* 'right', *prijateljstvo* 'friendship', *primirje* 'armistice',

samostalnost 'independence', *etnički sastav* 'ethnic composition', *tradiciju* 'tradition', *ugled* 'reputation', *veselje* 'merrymaking'
 <#(social phenomenon_x made/experienced by) sb# makes #social phenomenon_y# come to not be good [socially]>.

naškoditi pf., škoditi impf.

1. *roditelj* 'parent', *savez* 'union', *senator* 'senator' || *izbor* 'election of the president', *koncept* 'concept', *svađa* 'quarreling',
 + *braku* 'marriage', *reputaciji* 'reputation', *časti* 'honour', *karijeri* 'career', *nezavisnosti* 'independence', *projektu* 'project', *vezama* 'connections' || *društvenoj grupi* 'social group', *manastiru* 'monastery', *stranci* 'political party', *timu* 'team'

#(phenomenon made/experienced by) sb_x# makes «(sb_x/y making) social state» come to not be good [socially]>

2. *gljivice* 'fungi', *ishrana* 'nutrition', *brzo jedenje* 'eating fast', *kiselost* 'acidity', *oticanje žlezda* 'swelling of glands', *nerviranje* 'getting upset', *pušenje* 'smoking' || *doručak* 'breakfast', *papagaj* 'parrot', *pečurke* 'mushrooms',

+ *sluhu* 'hearing', *snu* 'sleep', *srcu* 'heart', *organizmu* 'organism', *varenju* 'digestion', *zdravlju* 'health', *zubima* 'teeth' || *detetu* 'child', *ženi* 'woman'

<#(sth making) phenomenon_x# makes «(sb_x experiencing) sb_x's body part(s)/bodily phenomenon_y» come to not be good [as regards state_x]>

3. *gaf* 'gaffe', *gradonačelnik* 'lord mayor', *jutarnje novine* 'morning paper', *pas* 'dog', *podrigivanje* 'belching', *polen* 'pollen (causing allergy)', *teroristi* 'terrorists', *loše vesti* 'bad news', *voda* 'water'

+ *apetitu* 'appetite', *atmosferi* 'atmosphere', *iznenađenju* 'surprise', *miru* 'peace of mind', *odmoru* 'rest', *planu* 'plan', *raspoloženju* 'mood', *savršenstvu* 'perfect state', *šansi* 'chance', *teoriji* 'theory', *utisku* 'impression', *užitku* 'enjoyment', *životu* 'life'

<#sth/sb# makes «psychological state» come to not be good [psychologically]>

4. *bakterije* 'bacteria', *buđ* 'mould', *kišni dan* 'rainy day', *korov* 'weeds (plant)', *loša prerada* 'bad processing', *sneg* 'snow', *vrućina* 'heat'

+ *hrani* 'food', *jabukama* 'apples', *maslinama* 'olives', *stablu* 'tree trunk', *usevima* 'crops', *voću* 'fruits'; **ručku* 'lunch'

<#phenomenon# makes «(plant {used as/to make food}, food)» come to not be good [in terms of food (production)]>

5. *bubnjar* 'drummer', *korona* 'corona virus', *reflektor* 'floodlight' || *bol* 'pain', *buka* 'noise', *ljuta hrana* 'hot food', *jaka svetlost* 'strong light', *škripa* 'screech', *zaraza* 'infection'

+ *njuhu* 'sense of smell', *osećaju dodira* 'sense of touch', *sluhu* 'hearing', *ukusu* 'taste' || *izgledu* 'appearance, look', *muzici* 'music', *snu* 'dream', *očima* 'eyes', *ušima* 'ears' ||| *starcu* 'old man'

<#(sth_x making) sth_y, sb# makes «((sb with) body part used for, phenomenon experienced through) perception» come to not be good [in terms of perception]>

oštetiti pf., oštećivati impf.

primary meaning *grad* 'hail' *oluja* 'storm' *vandal* 'vandal' + *kola* 'car', *kuća* 'house', *slika* 'painting'

<sb/sth# makes # man-made thing_x# come to not be good [as regards function]>

1. *dečak* 'boy', *mačka* 'cat', *mraz* 'frost' || *aktivnost* 'activity', *zamor* 'fatigue'
+ *funkciju* 'function', *sistem* 'system', *mentalni sklop* 'mental framework', *vid* 'sight' |||
ligamente kolena 'knee ligaments', *oko* 'eye', *srce* 'heart', *um* 'mind', *želudac* 'stomach',
živce 'nerves'

<#(phenomenon made by) living thing, event in nature# makes #({inner} body part affected by) state of body# come to not be good [physically]>

2. *dabar* 'beaver', *mraz* 'frost', *oluja* 'tempest', *izletnik* 'holiday-maker'

+ *koru* 'bark', *lišće* 'leaves', *plod* 'fruit' || *jabuke* 'apple trees', *voćnjak* 'orchard'

<#sth/living thing# makes #(plant(s)_x with) part of plant_x# come to slightly not be good>

3. *ministar* 'minister', *prevarant* 'pretender', *sudija* 'judge, umpire' || *krađa* 'theft', *raspored* 'playing schedule'

+ *budžet* 'budget', *imanje* 'estate', *kasu* 'treasury', *pravo* 'right' || *državu* 'state (country)', *firmu* 'firm', *fudbalera* 'soccer player', *prijatelja* 'friend', *stranku* 'person making official request', *Švajcarsku* 'Switzerland's team', *učenika* 'friend'

<#(phenomenon made by) sb_x# makes #(sb_x{/y} who possesses) thing possessed, right# come to not be good [financially/as regards right by having less of sth]>

poremetiti pf., remetiti impf.

1. *alergija* 'allergy', *gljivice* 'fungi', *huligan* 'hooligan' || *alkoholizam* 'alcoholism',
+ *imunitet* 'immunity against illness', *mir* 'peace', *rad srca* 'functioning of the heart',
ravnotežu 'poise; balance', *javni red* 'public order', *um* 'mind'

<#(phenomenon made by) living thing, phenomenon in nature# makes #state of order_x# come to not be good {temporarily}[by unsettling state of order_x]>

2. *devojčica* 'girl' || *hrana* 'food', *pečurke* 'mushrooms'

+ *creva* 'entrails', *stomak* 'stomach'

<#(food taken into body by) sb# makes #inner body part for processing food taken into body# come to {temporarily}not be good [functionally]>

3. *grmljavina* 'thunder', *muž* 'husband', *poreznik* 'tax-collector', *komarac* 'mosquito',
kaktus 'cactus', *nesanica* 'insomnia' || *izveštavanje* 'reporting', *varanje* 'cheating', *zujanje* 'buzzing'

+ *govor* 'speech', *duševni mir* 'peace of mind', *pamćenje* 'memory', *plan* 'plan', *san* 'dream',
sluh 'hearing', *sud* 'judgement', *tok ideja* 'train of thoughts', *um* 'mind' || *protivnika* 'opponent', *pukovnika* 'colonel'

<#(phenomenon_x made by) living thing_x, phenomenon_x without control# makes #(sb_x/y experiencing) mental phenomenon_y experienced/made by sb_x/y# come to not be good [mentally]>

4. *strah* 'fear', *kamiondžija* 'lorry driver', *odron* 'land-slide', *parlament* 'parliament', *stado ovaca* 'flock of sheep' || *sankcije* 'sanctions'

+ *novčane tokove* 'monetary circulation', *rečni tok* 'river flow', *rad creva* 'functioning of bowels', *saobraćaj* 'traffic', *snabdevanje* 'supplying electric current', *srčani ritam* 'heart rhythm'

<#(phenomenon_x made/experienced by) sth_x/sb_x/y# makes #phenomenon_y made/experienced by sth_y/sb_y come to not be good [deviating from the usual]>

potresti pf./tresti impf.

1. *kardinal* 'cardinal', *vlada* 'government' || *inflacija* 'inflation', *skandal* 'scandal' + *položaj* 'position', *školstvo* 'school system' || *državu* 'state, country', *javnost* 'the public', *krunu* 'crown'

<#(social event made by) sb_x# makes #(sb_x/y making/experiencing) social state# come to not be good [socially]>

2. *nerviranje* 'irritation', *tragedija* 'tragedy'

+ *društvo* 'community' || *mozak* 'brain', *živce* 'nerves'

<<#phenomenon# makes #(body organ connected with) psychological state# come to strongly not be good [psychologically]>

povrediti pf., vrediti impf.

1. *bik* 'bull', *brat* 'brother', *grana* 'branch', *vrelina* 'heat' || *metak* 'bullet', *naporan rad* 'hard work', *žalfija* 'sage prepared as tea'

+ *mišić* 'muscle', *mozak* 'brain', *rebro* 'rib', *srce* 'heart', *stomak* 'stomach', *želudac* 'stomach', *živce* 'nerves' || *sluh* 'hearing', *vid* 'sight'

<#(sth made by) living thing# makes #(perception made by) body part# become {slightly} not good [functionally]>

2. *sin* 'son' || *ponašanje* 'behaviour', *kritika* 'criticism'

+ *ego* 'ego', *osećanje* 'feeling', *ponos* 'pride', *emocionalnu ranu* 'emotional wound' || *majku*

<#(phenomenon_x made by) sb_x# makes (#)(sb_y experiencing) psychological event_y {about sb_y}(#) come to not be good [when experiencing psychological event_y]>

pozlediti pf., pozleđivati impf.

1. *dečak* 'boy', *čičak* 'plant burr', *kamen* 'stone in the nature', *ovan* 'ram' || *kamen* 'stone thrown', *udarac* 'blow'

+ *koleno* 'knee', *mišić* 'muscle', *ranu* 'wound', *ogrebotinu* 'scratch' || *sestru* 'sister'

<# event made/non-living thing_x used | by) living thing_y# makes #(sb with) {bad}outer body part# slightly not good [physically]>

2. *nastavnik* 'teacher' || *primedba* 'remark'

+ *ego* 'ego', *osećanje* 'feeling', *ponos* 'pride', *ranu na srcu* 'emotional wound' || *drago biće*

<#(phenomenon_x made by) sb_x# makes (#)(sb_y experiencing) psychological event_y {about sb_y}(#) come to not be good [when experiencing psychological event_y]>

raniti pf., ranjavati impf.

1. *bik* 'bull', *grad* (tuča) 'hail', *radnik* 'worker' || *metak* 'bullet', *udarac* 'blow'

+ *jelena* 'deer', *prolaznika* 'passer-by'

<# event made/non-living thing used | by) living thing_x that can move# makes #living thing_x/y that can move#come to strongly not be good [physically] touching thing_x/y's body part>

2. *direktor* 'director', *šef* 'boss' || *pogled* 'look, glance', *primedba* 'remark', *uvreda* 'affront'

+ *osećanje* 'feeling', *ponos* 'pride' || *dušu* 'soul', *srce* 'heart' || *drago biće* 'dear creature'

<#(phenomenon made by) sb_x# makes (#)((sb_y with) body part connected with) mental event about sb_x/y(#) come to strongly not be good [as experienced by sb_y]>

unakaziti *impf.* (informal)

1. *premijer* 'prime minister' || *politika* 'policy'

+ *ekonomiju* 'economy', *jezik* 'language', *ličnost* 'personality', *konkurenciju* 'competition', *poeziju* 'poetry', *ugled* 'prestige' || *državu* 'state', *pesnika* 'poet', *svet* običnog čoveka 'world of a man in the street'

<#(social event made by) sb_x# makes #(sb_y {a lot more than one} experiencing) {social} /psychological state# become strongly strongly not good [socially/psychologically]>

2. *eksplozija* 'blast', *male boginje* 'measles', *frizer* 'haircutter' || *šišanje* 'hair-cutting'

+ *frizuru* 'hairdo', *lice* 'face' || *devojkju* 'girl'

<#(event made by) sb_x, event# makes #(sb_{x/y} with) sight of body# become strongly not good [visually]>

uzburkati *pf.*, **uzburkavati** *impf.*

1. *novinar* 'journalist', *Uran* 'Uranus' || *dogadaj* 'event', *film* 'movie', *glas* 'rumour', *napis* 'written article', *revolucija* u umetnosti 'revolution in art'

+ *duhove* 'tempers', *osećanja* 'feelings', *strasti* 'passions' || *administraciju* 'administration', *Balkan* 'the Balkans', *fudbal* '(world of) soccer', *javnost* 'the public', *palanku* 'small town', *svet* 'world'

<#(psychological phenomenon made/experienced by) sb_x# makes #sb_y a lot of more than one making/experiencing) social events# become strongly not good [psychologically]

uznemiriti *pf.*, **uznemiravati** *impf.*

1. (literary) *čamdžija* 'boatman', *vetar* 'wind' || *brod* 'ship', *izlivanje* 'pouring out', *veslo* 'oar'

+ *more* 'sea' || *površinu* jezera 'surface of the lake' || *sliku* u vodi 'image in the water'

<#(sth made by) living thing, sth in nature# makes #((image on) surface of) liquid substance# become not in spatial inactive state{for a while}>

2. *država* 'state, country', *potres* 'quake', *sin* 'son', *tigar* 'tiger' || *berza* 'stock-market', *briga* 'worry', *buka* 'noise', *dim* 'smoke', *izjava* 'statement', *miris* 'scent', *osmeh* 'smile', *snimak* 'snapshot'

+ *duhove* 'tempers', *misao* 'thought', *san* 'dream' || *srce* 'heart', *um* 'mind' || *građane* 'citizens', *javnost* 'the public', *papagaja* 'parrot'

<#(phenomenon made/experienced by) living thing_x# makes #(body part of (living thing_y that can move experiencing)) mental phenomenon of living thing_y# come to not be good [mentally] {for a while}>.

All these definitions can be optionally expanded with 'using sth', which surfaces as the instrumental case in Serbian and the preposition *with* or *by* in English. For instance, *Uznemirio si mi dete bukom* 'living thing_x (you) makes (made) living thing_y (baby) affecting «sb_z» (mine) come to not be good mentally (using «sth_x» with noise)'. Only one »sth« may be activated in such sentences and it functions as the indirect subject. For instance, **Buka je dete uznemirila bukom* = **Noise disturbed the child with noise*. Notice the Serbian dative of damage represented by 'affecting «sb_z»', which corresponds to the much broader category of the English possessive.

The wording in English definitions cannot convey the Slavic verbal aspect. In order to evoke the meaning of the Serbian imperfective aspect, 'make' should be changed to 'is

making' for the progressive. 'Customary' or 'repeatedly' should be added at the end of the definitions for the habitual aspectuality. Thus, the definition of the imperfective *tresti* should read <#(social event made by) sb_x# is making #(sb_x/_y making/experiencing) social state# come to not be good [socially]> for the progressive meaning, and <... makes #(sb_x/_y making/experiencing) social state# come to not be good [socially] repeatedly> for habitual phenomena. Perfective *potresti* is <... comes to make (i.e. 'switch to a different state').#(sb_x/_y making /experiencing) social state# come to not be good [socially]>. (For a deeper insight into the relationship between aspects in English and SerboCroat see Hlebec 1990).

agitate

1. *journalist, manager* || *difficulty, movie, news + feeling* || *sister*
 <#(phenomenon made/experienced by) sb_x# makes #(sb_y experiencing) emotion# become strongly not good [emotionally]>

bruise

boss || *defeat, encounter, event, experience, report*
 + *confidence, ego, hope, reputation* || *him, star*
 <#(event experienced/made by) sb_x# makes #(sb_x/_y experiencing) psychological/social | state of sb_x# come to not be good [mentally/emotionally]>

damage

primary meaning *hail/storm/vandal + car/house/painting*
 <sb/sth# makes # man-made thing_x# come to not be good [as regards function]>
 1. *bull, sportsman* || *attack, inhaling, parsley*
 + *function of liver, health, hearing, sight* || *artery, eyes, kidney, muscle, nerve, organ, tissue, wing*
 <#(event made/food used | by) living thing# makes #(body part_x affected by) state of body part_x# come to not be good [as regards function]>
 2. *journalist, pandemic, student* || *failure, bad moves, scandal, strike, school system, virus, angry words*
 + *business, career, character, competitiveness, credibility, education, ego, image, marriage, morale, prestige, quality of knowledge, reputation, standing* || *child, country, university*
 <#(social phenomenon_x made by) sb_x/phenomenon_x# makes #(sb_y/_x {a lot more than one} experiencing) {social}/psychological state_y# come to not be good [socially / psychologically]>
 3. *goat, miner, weed* || *pollution, radiation, scheme*
 + *ecology, ecosystem, habitat* || *wildlife*
 <#(phenomenon made/experienced by) living thing# makes #(living things living in) state/space | of nature# come to not be good [existentially]>

dent

1. *defeat, gambling, news*
 + *hope, idea, pride, reputation*
 <#phenomenon made/experienced by sb_x# makes #thought of sb_x a lot more than one about sb_x# come to not be good and not strong [psychologically]>

disturb

1. *noisy camper, camomile, owl, wind* || *gunshot, noise, rustling*
+ *calm, concentration, peace, repose, serenity, silence, sleep* || *night*
<#(event made by) living thing, phenomenon in nature# makes #(time of) inactive state# come to not be good [by activation]>
2. *branch, dog, smoke* || *allegations, arrival, barking, book, ideas, running*
+ *arrangements, dream, memory, plan, privacy, relations, train of thoughts* || *country, neighbour, oneself, robber*
<#(phenomenon_x made by) living thing_x, sth_y in nature# makes #(sb_x/y experiencing) mental phenomenon_y# come to not be good [mentally]>
3. *fox-glove, gang, stress, wolf* || *cough, howling, pepper, pork*
+ *abdominal muscles, heart, stomach*
<#(phenomenon made by/substance used by) living thing, phenomenon without control# makes #body part | for digesting food/connected with thoughts# become temporarily not good [functionally]>
4. *bees, catkin, drummer* || *noise, poverty, radiation*
+ *childhood, exam, growth, motion, work, reign* || *ruler*
<#(phenomenon_x made/experienced by) living thing_x, sth in nature# makes #(sb_y making) process_y# come to not be good [at making process_y]>

harm

1. *bully, tick* (insect) || *needle, reading in poor light*
+ *eye, health* || *baby, people, sister*
<#(event made/non-living thing_x used | by) living thing_y# makes #(sb_y with/ experiencing) body part/state of sb_y# come to not be good [physically]>
2. *insect, dam, factory, frost* || *chemical, gas, pollution, process*
+ *fabric, garden, ozone layer, plant, structure*
<#(sth_x made by) living thing# makes #sth_y in nature# come to not be good [for living]>
3. *parent, teacher* || *being away, quarrelling, watching violence*
+ *child's development* || *child, oneself*
<#(phenomenon_x made/experienced by) sb_x# makes #(sb_x/y experiencing) phenomenon_x/y# become not good [psychologically]>
4. *insider* || *gossip, publication, restrictions, revolution, scandal*
+ *career, chance of winning, economy, reputation* || *local community, minister*
<#(event made by) sb_x# makes #(sb_y making) {social}/psychological phenomenon# come to not be good [socially/psychologically]>

hurt

1. *horse, nettle, ram, shoes* || *rod, study, weeding, hard work*
+ *ankle, back, ear, foot, leg, lung, muscle* || *garden, lion, oneself*
<#(event made/non-living thing_x used | by) living thing_y# makes #(living thing_z with) {outer} body part(#) come to not be good [physically]>
2. *foe* || *allegation, criticism, remark, unkindness*
+ *dignity, feeling, pride* || *daughter*
<#(phenomenon made by) sb_x# makes #(sb_y experiencing) mental event about sb_y(#)

come to not be good [as experienced by sb_y] > The syntactic pattern It + Vs/is ADJ + sb + TO-INFINITIVE conveys the meaning 'make sb experience mental phenomenon'. As confirmed by 'It hurts me to see her ruin her life or It disturbed her to hear that...' (Hlebec 2019: 266).

3. *enemy, school mate* || *behaviour, loss, publication, statement, to admit that..., wearing a dress*

+ *dignity, name*

<#(event made by) sb_x# makes #thought of sb_{x/y} a lot more than one about sb_{x/z}# become not good [in minds of sb_y as regards sb_{x/z}] >

4. *losing game, adverse publicity, regulation*

+ *business, social cause, credibility, economy, government, morale, sales, tourism*

<#social phenomenon_x# unintentionally makes #social phenomenon_y# become slightly not good [socially] >

impair

1. *age, boiling, drink, illness, injury, lack of sleep, noise, drug, dim light, microbes*
+ *ability of trees to photosynthesize, appearance, beauty, character, circulation, concentration, digestion, driving, efficiency, flavour, liver function, health, hearing, immunity, judgement, mobility, quality, speech, structure, taste, visibility*

<#{phenomenon_x}, substance# makes #{body} phenomenon_y made/experienced# come to not be good [functionally] >

2. *heavy drinking, poverty* || *alcohol, prison*

+ *chance of getting a job, marriage prospect*

<#(sth that makes) phenomenon # makes #thought about sb's future/ # come to not be good [as regards possibility to become true] >

3. *fraudulence, scandal, weakness*

+ *fame, name, reputation*

<#phenomenon made by sb_x# makes #thought of sb_y a lot more than one about sb_{x/z}# come to not be good [in minds of sb_y as regards sb_{x/z}] >

4. *fire, heat, pests, woodcutter*

+ *fauna, flora, garden, greenery, growth of trees, vegetation*

<#sth_x# makes #living things_y in nature# come to not be good [existentially] >

injure

1. *cactus, John, thorn* || *bomb, hatchet*

+ *arm, health, knee, tissue* || *child, himself, people, puppy*

<#(non-living thing_x used by) living thing_y# makes #(living thing_{y/z} with/experiencing) body | part/ state#{unintentionally} become{strongly}not good [physically] >

2. *I, Jane* || *folly, objection, angry words*

+ *feeling, pride, self-esteem* || *Mark, myself*

<#(phenomenon made by) sb_x# makes #(sb_y experiencing) mental event about sb_y#{unintentionally} become{strongly}not good [as experienced by sb_y] >

3. *journalist* || *gossip, libel*

+ *character, dignity, fame, honour, pride, reputation*

<#(social event made by) sb_x #makes #thought of sb_{x/y} a lot more than one/z about

sb_{x/z}# become {strongly}not good [in minds of sb_y as regards sb_{x/z}]>

4. *dumped goods, dumping, recession*

+ *article of merchandise || industry*

<#sth# makes #(habitual phenomenon of making) sth man-made to be sold# {unintentionally} become {strongly}not good [as regards making]>

mar (usually emphatic and emotive, literary or slightly formal)

1. *age, blood, cables, graffiti, broken nose, scar, scratch, smudges*

+ *beauty, building, face, feature, footprints, landscape, torso*

<#sth_x# makes #sth_y# come to not be good [visually]>

2. *sister || accident, argument, behaviour, cruelty, envy, extravagance, government, noise, prejudice, violence*

+ *celebration, character, day, erudition, friendship, game, happiness, health, initiative, life, mind, race, reputation, style, test, victory*

<#(event made by) sb_{x/y}# makes #phenomenon made/experienced by sb_x# become slightly not good>

shake

1. *blogger, competitor || accident, affair, controversy, death, experience, news, report, telling that..., violation, virus*

+ *marriage, peace, relationship, reputation, self-confidence, standing || child, country, government, world*

<#(social) phenomenon_x/thing made/experienced by) sb_x# makes #(sb_y experiencing/making) social/psychological phenomenon{state}_y# become suddenly strongly not good [when experiencing social/psychological phenomenon {state}_y]> The construction *It shook me that...* also fits in with the definition as “the meaning of [introductory] *it*₂ often combines with the meaning of a *that*-clause, which is <sb’s thought>” (Hlebec 2013: 39).

spoil

1. *frost, pepper, hot weather*

+ *food, meat, soup || crops, environment, fruit*

<#sth# makes #(plants used to make) food# come to not be good [as regards function] {and become useless}>

2. *frost, hiccupping, summoner, wife || accusation, divorce, walking*

+ *appetite, calculation, dinner, enjoyment, everything by rudeness, fun, health, holiday, sb’s image, trip, vision, work || ballot paper, machine*

<#(event without control), (event made by) sb_x# makes #(non-living thing_y used to make) phenomenon made/experienced by sb_y# {become irretrievably}not good [as experienced by sb_y]>

3. tall *building, company* (business organization), *fence, mould, sun, weeds || washing*

+ *carving, clothes, coastline, complexion, painting, view*

<#(event made by) thing_x# makes #{thing_y}/state | viewed aesthetically# come to not be good [aesthetically]>

4. *grandparent + child, the youth*

<#sb_x# makes #sb_y young# come to not be good as regards character>

stain (literary, formal)1. *daughter* || *scandal*+ *character, dignity, fame, honour*<#(event made by) sb_x# makes #social state of sb_x made by thought of sb_y a lot more than one about sb_{x/z}# come to not be good [in minds of sb_y as regards sb_{x/z}]>**tarnish**1. *media* || *embezzlement, incident, revelation, years of reign*+ *character, dignity, fame, image, pride*<#(event made by) sb_x# makes #mental phenomenon about sb_x, social state of sb_x# come to not be good [socially/psychologically]>**unsettle**1. *father, deep grass, hornet* || *changing schools, decision, news, noise, rumour, shock, talk of death*+ *aim, brain, conviction, issue, opinion, question, theory, wits* || *batsman, company, kid, market, opponent, shareholder*<#{phenomenon_x made by) living thing_x, phenomenon_x experienced by sb# makes #(sb_{x/y} experiencing) mental state_y# come to not be good [mentally]>2. *bacteria, beer, food, mushroom*+ *stomach* || *mother*

<#phenomenon, substance, food# makes #(sb with) body part for digesting food # become temporarily not good>

3. *rhinoceros, rowdy kid* || *fatigue, molesting*+ *discipline, harmony, peace, speed, stability, symmetry, unity* || *elevator, vehicle*<#(phenomenon experienced by) living thing_x# makes #(man-made thing_y functioning in) state of order# come to not be good [functionally]>4. *investigator* || *attack, book, protest, queues, satire*+ *authority, business, political scene*<#(social phenomenon_x made by) sb# makes #social phenomenon_y# become not good [socially]>**upset**1. *minister, parent* || *change, document, hatred, programme, quarrelling, speech*+ *atmosphere, incentive, leadership, relationship, union* || *government, world*<#(social/psychological phenomenon_x made by) sb_x# makes #(sb_{x/y} experiencing / making) social state_y# come to not be good [socially/psychologically]>2. *crowd, father, pests* || *accident, accusation, death, decision, disappointment, foolishness, violence*+ *arrangement, expectations, plan* || *heart, mind* ||| *dog, oneself, people*<#(phenomenon made/experienced by) living thing_x# makes #(body part of (living thing_y that can move experiencing)) mental phenomenon of living thing_y {of sb about future}# come to not be good [psychologically]>3. *boss, crowd, dam* || *incapacity, littering, rush*+ *daily activity, balance, ecology, practice, routine, schedule* || *mechanism, system*

<#(phenomenon_x made by) thing_x# makes #(thing_y functioning in) habitual phenomenon_y# come to not be good [functionally]>

4. *food, polluted air*

+ *bowels, liver, lungs*

<#substance taken into body# makes #body part {for processing food}# become slightly and temporarily not good [physically]>

5. *Arsenal*

+ *Chelsea*

#sb_x more than one# makes #sb_y more than one# become slightly and temporarily not good in sports event>

violate (literary)

baby, owl || *gunshot, noise*

+ *calm, peace, silence*

<#(event made by) living thing that can move# makes #inactive state without sound# come to not be good [by becoming active with strong sound]>

wound

1. *gunman, lion, owner* || *bullet, hitting, horn*

+ *arm, heart* || *lover*

<#(event made/non-living thing_x used | by) living thing_y that can move# makes #(sb_{x/y} with) body part# come to not be good physically>

2. *lover* || *criticism, curiosity, rejection, suggestion, words*

+ *affection, delicacy, feeling, manhood, pride, sense of decency, vanity* || *father*

<#event of using words by) sb_x# makes #(sb_y experiencing) mental event about sb_x{y}# become strongly not good [as experienced by sb_y]>

3. *noise, scene* (literary)

+ *sight* || *ear*

<#event# makes #(body part used for) perception# come to not be good [in terms of perception]>

Some of the classemes above have been testified in previous investigations as well: 'man-made thing' (Hlebec 2008a: 189), '(sb who makes)...' (Hlebec 2008a: 176, 184, 189), 'food' (Hlebec 2008a: 179, 187, 'thing in nature' (Hlebec 2008a: 187), '(event made by) sb' (Hlebec 2003: 115, 2008a: 186), 'psychological phenomenon' (Hlebec 2008b: 70).

4. CONCLUSIONS

The following observations have been made on the basis of a small domain, and pending further investigation into other similar verbs, should not be generalized too soon.

As an extension of the indirect connection in the subject position, the classeme 'phenomenon made/experienced by' occurs more often in Serbian (15 vs. 7 in English: *krnjiti* 3, *kvariti* 3, 7, 8, *ljuljati* 1, 2, *mutiti* 1, 2, *narušiti* 2, 3, *naškoditi* 1, *poremetiti* 3, 4, *uzburkati*, *uznemiriti* 2; *damage* 3, *dent*, *disturb* 4, *shake*, *unsettle* 1, 3, *upset* 2). This may be the reflection of the cognitive tendency to mix up humans and their acts as agents. Such indeterminacy will provoke one to emotionally react to damage unintentionally done by

human agents in the same way as if it was intentional. Nature is in the focus of interest of the Anglo-Saxons, as testified by: *agitate*, *bruise* 2, *damage* 3, *disturb* 1, 2, 4, *harm* 2, *impair* 4, (included in 'event without control') *spoil* 2; *kvariti* 4, *oštetiti* 1, *poremetiti* 1, (included in 'event without control') 3. 'Mental phenomenon about sb' is present in 9 English sememes: *dent*, *hurt* 2, 3, *impair* 3, *injure* 2, 3, *stain*, *tarnish*, *wound* 2, against 3 Serbian: *povrediti* 2, *pozlediti* 2, and *raniti*. (Perhaps this has to do with importance attached to public opinion, and 'social state' has been recorded in one sememe more in English (10: 9)). 'Time' (as an extension of the indirect connection) occurs only in *kvariti* 5 and *mutiti* 1. Seeing seems to be more important in Serbian (*kvariti* 3 in indirect connection, *mutiti* 3). 'Property' and 'possession' emerge in *krnjiti* 2 and *oštetiti* 3. Planning is a centre of attraction in English (*upset* 2 'thought about future'). 'Use of language' is systematically incorporated in *wound* 2. 'Substance' (*impair* 1, *unsettle* 2, *upset* 4) and 'habitual phenomenon' (*injure* 4, *upset* 3) are solely Anglo-Saxon concern. 'Food' has received an almost equal number of mentions, large for a small lexical field (*kvariti* 1, 2, *naškoditi* 4, *poremetiti* 2; *bruise* 2 (typically), *damage* 1, *disturb* 3, *unsettle* 2, *upset* 4, which is redolent of the indispensability of nutrition for all people.

Polysemy is most prolific for (*po*)*kvariti* (7 sememes), *upset* following with 5 sememes. *Damage*, *disturb*, *harm*, *hurt*, *impair*, *injure*, and (*po*)*remetiti* have 4 sememes each. There is regular polysemy exhibited in two cases. First, in both languages all verbs (*hurt* only in American English, e.g. *rain* + *hurt* + *dress*) with 'man-made thing' (or 'non-living thing' in *disturb* 3) also denote body parts in distinct sememes. The lexemes *drmati*, (*o*)*krnjiti*; *dent*, *shake*, *stain*, and *tarnish* join 'non-living/man-made thing' and 'body part' within a single sememe 'thing', and need not connote a 'not good' event, while the usage of *unsettle* with 'man-made thing' is dated. Second, 'social state' is always accompanied by, or conjoined with 'psychological phenomenon' or some other seme included in it.

Two pairs of absolute synonyms have been found – *pozlediti* 2: *povrediti* 2 and (*uz*)*drmati* : (*po*)*tresti*, and three pairs of absolute correspondents – (*u*)*kaljati* : *stain*, *narušiti* 5 : *unsettle* 4, and (*po*)*remetiti* 3 : *disturb* 2.

The primary sememes of (*o*)*krnjiti* 'chip', (*po*)*kvariti* 'break (a device)', (*po*)*ljuljati* 'rock', (*po*)*mutiti* 'make muddy by stirring', (*po*)*remetiti*, 'put out of gear', (*po*)*tresti* 'shake', *uprskati* 'spatter', *uzburka(va)ti* 'agitate', (*uz*)*drmati* 'shake, jolt'; *bruise*, *dent*, *disturb*, *shake*, *spoil*, *tarnish*, and *upset* 'knock over' denote concrete events affecting things or substances. Their definitions share 'not good' as association rather than as part of the semantic definition. For example, the primary sense of (*o*)*krnjiti* is defined as <#sth/sb# makes #hard thing_x# come to be without a part, which is not good> and of *bruise* <#(event made by) hard thing_x# makes #outer | body part/part of plant {used as food}# change colour by strong contact with thing_x, which is not good>.

This association comes to the fore in secondary meanings. It should be stressed that the "shadow" meaning, i.e. primary meaning which influences and "casts shadow" on another sense of a lexeme (Chafe 2000) plays a more important role in the choice of collocates than usually believed (Hlebec 2019: 493). Thus, Mackenzie and Mel'čuk (1988: 77) show that the connotation of pregnant ('X is very full of Y') is justified by the existence of pregnant's primary sense; they "share a non-trivial semantic component". The impact of the primary meanings accounts for the semantic difference between *poljuljati* 2 and *narušiti* 5. Their definitions are very much the same except that the former has #(sb_x/y

making) social state_y# in the object, as distinct from #social phenomenon_y# of the latter, with the addition of 'slightly' for *poljuljati*. The primary meaning of *poljuljati* is 'slightly upset balance of #sb#', so that 'sb' and 'slightly' reappear in *poljuljati* 2, and not in *narušiti* 5, which lacks both, being associated with the primary, physical sense of (s)*rušiti* 'demolish, pull down'. Also, the primary meanings of *uzburkati* and *agitate* share the definition <#(event made by) sb/sth in nature# makes #((image on) surface of) liquid substance, (thing containing) liquid substance# become strongly not in spatial inactive state>, as in: falling *leaves, hippopotamus, swimmer, wind* || pouring + *agitate + pool, solution, water* || smooth *surface* of the lake, *tank* ||| *image* in the lake. It seems that the majority of other verbs of damage also constitute absolute correspondents when their concrete meanings are involved. The inference is that semantic isomorphism tends to decrease in secondary, derived senses, which may be a universal phenomenon.

Mentioning adverbials like socially or when experiencing psychological event, which illuminates the aspect of goodness, usually appears to be redundant (as shown by square brackets) because they merely repeat information contained in the definitions.

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SUMMARY

DEFINING ENGLISH AND SERBIAN VERBS OF DAMAGE

Applying his own collocational method in line with the distributional semantics, the author provides definitions of causative “verbs of damage” in Serbian and English. In this way the two lexical subfields can be compared, and relevant conclusions drawn about their similarities and differences. “Verbs of damage” comprise a small set of verbs that share the definition ‘cause to get in bad state’, and they are to be distinguished from “verbs of destruction”. This common parlance definition is reduced to a semantic definition stated in terms of semantic atoms, and the graphic devices used in the definitions are explained. Its implications are commented on, as well as the evaluative connotation of the object nouns. Collocational method is a variant of distributional semantics, and the article expounds its main principles and states the three steps to be taken when applying the method. In connection with this matter, the acceptability of collocations is discussed. Implications are given of broad semantic categories like ‘sth’, and ‘phenomenon’ by offering narrower categories. Translations into English of the Serbian collocating nouns are provided throughout.

KEYWORDS: contrastive analysis, collocational method, verbs, semantic field, English, Serbian.

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■ FUNCTIONAL HYBRIDIZATION IN DISCOURSE: TURNING IMPERATIVES INTO DISCOURSE MARKERS

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Autor se bavi diskursnim markerima (DM), sugerišući da su oni funkcionalne, ali ne i kategoričke jedinice. U radu se pokazuje da čitajući naglas, u specifičnim diskursnim uslovima, čitaoci pretvaraju imperative u jedinice koje podsećaju na uzvike, slične diskursnim markerima. Ova konverzija se sprovodi kroz obradu i prilagođavanje prozodijskih obeležja imperativnih iskaza, a prema funkciji koju obavljaju u diskursu, može se definisati kao „funkcionalna hibridizacija“. Rezultati ovog rada potvrđuju prethodna istraživanja u sledećem: 1) prema našim nalazima, prozodijska struktura „funkcionalno hibridizovanih“ imperativa čini ih bliskim uzvicima, a njihova funkcija u diskursu se menja kako bi privukla pažnju na nove informacije, ili izrazila „emfazu“; 2) „funkcionalno hibridizovani“ imperativi, poput DM-a, odlikuju se specifičnim formalnim karakteristikama: čini se da je početna pozicija preduslov za njihovu autonomiju, a osim početne pozicije „funkcionalno hibridizovani“ imperativi imaju tendenciju da budu enklitika prethodne reči. Faktori koji olakšavaju „funkcionalnu hibridizaciju“ imperativa su: 1) formulaična/ikonička struktura imperativa, 2) početna pozicija, 3) emfatička priroda iskaza.

Ključne reči: diskursni markeri, pragmatika, prozodija, imperativi, intonacijske konture.

1. BACKGROUND

Literature on discourse markers (DMs) (Schiffrin 1987, 2001; Fraser 2009; Maschler, Schiffrin 2015) basically focuses on the term “Discourse Markers” and on what falls under the term. One can find more reading on the topic in Schiffrin (1987, 2001), Fraser (2009), Maschler and Schiffrin (2015).

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1.1. DISCOURSE MARKERS: TERMINOLOGY, STRUCTURE, FUNCTIONS

We would point out some instances that appear significant to the present research. There is no agreement on the name itself; the researchers use different terms to label units with the pragmatic role, which signal some semantic relationship between components in discourse: Discourse Markers (Schiffrin 1987, 2001; Maschler/Schiffrin 2015), Discourse Particles (Aijmer 2002), Pragmatic Connectives (Van Dijk 1979), Pragmatic Markers (Brinton 1996: 30–31). Kaltenböck names units like “I think”, “I believe” “Comment Clauses” (2008, 2013), though structurally they are the same as units studied by Dehe and Wichmann. Dehe and Wichmann state that structurally the same units like “I think” can function as main clause, comment clause or discourse marker (Dehe/Wichmann 2010: 36). Dehe argues that the same structural units can perform different functions in discourse, and characteristics of these units can serve as cues to which particular function is employed in the discourse (Dehé 2014: 38, 65, 212).

Neither do the researchers agree on the role and functions of those units in discourse. There are four perspectives most frequently cited in current research on DMs. Those perspectives differ in the approach to the subject. Halliday and Hasan approached the DMs from the semantic perspective on cohesion and focused on the cohesive roles of the units that represent DMs (Halliday/Hasan 1976: 240–241, 267). Schiffrin employed discourse perspective with sociolinguistic approach, she looked at these units as means that do not only function as language units, but also as tools of social interaction. It conditioned the interdisciplinary character of her work: combination of quantitative and qualitative methods accounts for the distribution and frequency of these units in discourse as well as their formal, or structural characteristics and their role in social speech interaction (Schiffrin 2001: 55–58; Maschler/Schiffrin 2015: 190–192). According to Fraser, the pragmatic role played by these units is more significant. Thus, these units “do not contribute to the meaning of the proposition, *per se*. However, they do signal aspects of the message the speaker wishes to convey” (Fraser 2009: 295). Fraser states that he treats DMs as “potentially having both conceptual and procedural meaning, though not in equal proportions”, putting more significance on pragmatics. Inequality in question is conditioned by both linguistic context and pragmatic principles “to signal which of the uses of the DMs is occurring on a given occasion” (Fraser 2009: 307–308). The last approach to discuss is proposed by Maschler, who suggests that DMs must meet two requirements: semantically they must refer to the interpersonal relations between participants, and/or to their cognitive processes (Maschler 2009: 17).

Structural characteristics of these units, or classes to which they should be assigned, are not agreed upon either. Van Dijk puts conjunctions into this category (Van Dijk 1979: 449). Aijmer and Schiffrin include phrases like “you know”, “that’s right”, as well as words like “actually”, or “no”, or interjections (Schiffrin 1987: 37; Schiffrin 2001: 55; Aijmer 2002: 2; Maschler/Schiffrin 2015: 189). Fraser excludes interjections, attitudinal adverbs, evidential adverbs, focus particles, modal particles from the list of DMs (Fraser 2009: 299).

However, there is one thing all authors agree on, even though they concentrate on different aspects of how these units function in the text: the markers are devices that work at their full capacity on a discourse level. It proves that discourse analysis should be applied to understand how these units work. And, among other methods, corpus analysis appears to be the most informative, as it allows to explore great volumes of

texts to describe the distribution, frequency, positioning and co-occurrence of these units (Aijmer 2002; Maschler/Schiffrin 2015). This is significant for our research as it allows us to explore and compare two different corpora to answer the research questions we set further.

1.2. DEVELOPMENT OF DMS

Another thing the researchers agree on is the development of DMs. Wichmann, Simon-Vandenberg and Aijmer sum the evidence on the development of the DMs and state that as the DMs by definition are “lexical expressions” (Fraser 2009: 297), they follow the process of grammaticalization, typically developing into items that occur in defined syntactic positions. Within this process lexical units become fixed in the syntactic structure, the meaning of the unit is generalized (desemanticization), its pragmatic function increases (pragmaticalization), and its connection with the speaker attitude also grows (subjectification) (Wichmann *et al.* 2010: 105). Thus, the result is that DMs start indexing the utterances within which they are positioned to the surrounding discourse. It involves both structuring the discourse and sending signals to the addressee about ways to interpret the speaker’s position (Wichmann *et al.* 2010:106). In interpreting the term “utterance”, we follow Harris who defines utterance as “any stretch of talk by one person, before and after which there is silence on the part of that person” (Harris 1951: 14). By “silence” we mean pauses.

Kaltenböck mentions the position of DMs in the sentence and how it can influence the prosodic realization of the utterance (Kaltenböck 2013: 293–294; Kaltenböck 2008: 83). Pons Bordería Salvador states that grammaticalization happens within the boundaries of the utterance, so left (initial position) and right (final position) peripheries of the utterance become highlighted *which is enough for linear prosodic structure* (Pons Bordería Salvador 2018: 334). It is supported by Molinelli who states the following properties of DMs: 1) procedural, rather than propositional meaning – DMs are characterized by triggering and directing cognitive functions of utterance interpretation; 2) their position is variable, they appear on the periphery of an utterance, thus the position of the DM determines its pragmatic function; 3) they have specific prosodic form and appear between pauses (Molinelli 2018: 273–274). Therefore, DMs represent a specific heterogeneous group of language units which: 1) are lexical; 2) acquire specific functions in discourse; 3) typically are positioned on the periphery of the utterance; 4) have specific prosodic structure.

As DMs only function in discourse, and they make a highly heterogeneous group, we would like to quote an observation made by Schiffrin: “... how do we know that these are the only word classes from which discourse markers could be drawn, or if all the items from such a class are potential discourse markers?” (1987: 40).

1.3. PROSODY AND DMS

Shiffrin made another observation on DMs, which we consider important:

But intonation has not received nearly as much attention as two other factors in my analysis: the expression being used as a marker (its linguistic properties) and the conversational (textual, interactional, etc.) context of the expression. It is my

hope that an understanding of these two factors will act as a foundation for a more thorough analysis of the prosody of discourse markers (Schiffrin 2001: 9).

With all the abundance on information on DMs, the literature is rather scarce when it comes to prosody. It has not been until recently that the authors turned to this subject. Empirical research shows rich evidence that prosody is a significant tool, not only for production but also for comprehension of DMs in discourse. Aijmer states that prosody serves as the signal that helps to process the meaning of the marker itself and the whole utterance, she also mentions prosodic features, such as prosodic phrasing, tone, pausing, that serve as important clues to identify and distinguish between functions of markers (Aijmer 2002: 27). Dehe and Wichmann show that prosody reflects the speakers' choice of the function that is assigned to the unit (Dehe/Wichmann 2010: 64–65), which is supported by Wichmann, Simon-Vandenberg and Aijmer, who look upon the development of units into DMs and state that in this process “typically DMs move to the left periphery of the sentence and acquire new meanings, new syntactic constraints and new prosodic characteristics” (Wichmann *et al.* 2010: 105).

Findings state that there are consistent tendencies that characterize prosodic organization of studied units termed as DMs, and prosody demonstrates cognitive work readers perform to identify functions of DMs and reproduce their prosodic cues in spoken speech within specific discourse. With all the disagreement on the terminology, structure and functions of DMs, the researchers are rather unanimous on prosodic features of DMs, which features they deem to be essential, or at least frequent enough to be considered important. Even Fraser, while tagging prosodic features as “non-definitional properties”, still states that intonational contour is a frequent property of DMs, as DMs are prosodically separated from the rest of the utterance.

Often, a DM has an intonation contour which separates it prosodically from the rest of the segment, but this depends on the particular DM and the linguistic context. While every DM may occur in segment-initial position, some DMs may occur in the segment medial, and/or segment final position, depending on the particular DM. This is determined by the DM's syntactic analysis and what it specifically signals (Fraser 2009: 298).

So, by combining qualitative and quantitative analysis as suggested by Schiffrin (1987: 64), we attempt to answer the following research questions:

Research Question 1: Could words from word classes other than mentioned in previous research, or even bigger than word structures, function as DMs in discourse? Are there statistically supported tendencies to identify discourse environment in which words from these other classes, or even bigger structures, can acquire characteristics similar to those of DMs?

Research Question 2: Will these words belonging to other word classes, or even bigger than word structures, acquire prosodic features same or similar to the prosodic features of DMs mentioned in previous research? Will these prosodic features be different from standard prosody associated with these words belonging to other word classes, or even bigger than word structures?

2. METHODS AND DATA

As spontaneous speech appears to be produced under a complex of factors which influence the structure of spontaneous speech in a relatively unpredictable and variable ways, the best way to perform our research would be to use partially controlled discourse – reading aloud. When using the term “reading”, we follow Falé, Costa, Luegi in “by ‘reading speech’ we mean a planned speech instance, in which prosody is strongly constrained by punctuation and layout, resulting in a temporal organization most predictable than in spontaneous speech” (Falé *et al.* 2016: 826). Reading fiction falls within this definition, as the readers’ speech production is constrained by the written text with all its punctuation, authors’ remarks and other means of facilitating comprehension and further phonetic and prosodic reproduction. This reproduction is more predictable than spontaneous speech. When reproducing dialogue interaction between the fiction text characters, readers produce and comprehend prosodic structures as systematic patterns associated with linguistic meanings (Turnbull *et al.* 2017; Webman-Shafran 2018). Thus, the way they organize the utterance on all levels of discourse shows that different aspects of this organization make it possible to predict how discourse prosody will be produced, perceived and comprehended (Cangemi *et al.* 2015).

Another benefit for the researcher is the volume and variety of direct speech within the sample represented by fiction. Fiction provides ample opportunity to employ corpus analysis methods to study the frequency and distribution of the words comprising the discourse context that can condition the prosodic structure of read-aloud utterances (Kubryakova 2012:133). The above-mentioned suggests that if there is any specific discourse environment that may cause elements of discourse to develop into DMs, it should be revealed through analysis of reading speech with its constraints and predictability.

According to the information presented in the Introduction part of the present paper, we believe that another definition of DMs should be given to include all features that make DMs autonomous discursive units. According to this definition, DMs represent a specific heterogeneous group of language units which: 1) have specific prosodic structure; 2) are pragmatic, that is they acquire specific functions in discourse; 3) the meaning of these units is generalized (desemanticization), their main function becoming activating and directing cognitive functions of utterance interpretation; 4) are lexical, but undergo grammaticalization, thus typically are positioned on the periphery of the utterance. We address the topic of conversion of units, previously not associated with DMs into DMs/DM-like units in discourse. Prosodic adjustment accompanies this conversion. We suggest that while reading aloud the readers process prosodic features of imperatives and converting imperatives that meet requirements stated in our definition of DMs into interjection-like units (DMs).

To answer the research questions, we have applied methodology of Experimental Discourse Analysis (Fedorova 2014: 114–115). This methodology combines quantitative & qualitative methods of analyzing and evaluating the data. This methodology allows us to: 1) regulate and control the experiment by using partially controlled speech – reading aloud, which represents reproduced/imitated real-life discourse in direct speech interaction between the characters of a fiction text; 2) use the corpus analysis to identify and differentiate discourse conditions by identifying and categorizing words accompanying

direct speech and functioning as markers that indicate the specific discourse conditions and primers that activate the readers' cognitive processes. Direct speech passages with imperatives from fiction texts in written and spoken forms underwent corpus analysis for the written form (Kilgarriff *et al.* 2014) and acoustic analysis for the spoken form. Prosody of the spoken imperatives was evaluated against the discourse environment of the said imperatives to identify similar and distinctive features of imperatives functioning in different discursive conditions.

To answer our research questions, we have chosen specific type of syntactic structure – an imperative utterance, also known as “command” (Aikhenvald 2010, 2017). Premises for choosing this structure fall into two categories. The first premise can be named structural: imperatives as structures have never been associated with DMs in any previous research, though they are closely related to interjections etymologically (Kruchinina 1980: 618–619). As the research question is whether words from word classes other than mentioned in previous research/structures bigger than word can become DMs/DM-like units, we decided to use the utterance characterized by specific grammatical/syntactic structure (Mood) and linguistic meaning (illocution) – canonical imperative utterances/commands (Aikhenvald 2010: 5, 72; Aikhenvald 2017: 18, 56). The second, psychological premise that restricts the usage of canonical imperative utterances/commands, stipulated the choice of the utterances, the premise being: 1) the illocutionary power of the commands restricting their versatility in discourse. Even when the commands “do not command” (Aikhenvald 2010: 241, 248), their meanings fall into a specific category of iconic nature: greetings, curses, “dramatic imperative” (Isachenko 2003: 488–502); 2) the peculiar combination of structural simplicity/iconicity, frequency in speech supported by imperative strategy utility (Aikhenvald 2010: 329).

In present research we used the sample containing over 8000 canonical imperative utterances imitating direct speech from read-aloud texts. The sample was taken from 22 fiction texts by British authors (3 male/3 female) read by British voice actors (3 male/3 female). Texts were targeted at two groups of readers (Young Adult/Adult) and belonged to two genres (Fantasy/Mystery). The sample included canonical imperative sentences (direct speech) with verbs denoting the production of the direct speech/activity accompanying the production of the direct speech, and modifiers to these verbs (Examples 1–5).

- (1) “Look!”
- (2) “Listen,” I began, “this is an established, traditional form that...”
- (3) “Wait,” he said, “I want a guarantee that this creature won’t try to destroy my mind.”
- (4) “Stop it!”
- (5) “RUN!”

The spoken form of the utterances under analysis was analyzed with PRAAT (Prosogram script) (Mertens 2004, 2019; Boersma/Weenik 2022), which allows the researcher to receive stylized intonation contours with data on prosodically prominent phonetic syllables in semitones. The script also automatically divides sound continuum into syllables. Thus, the data used in corpus analysis included 22 texts containing over 2.1 million words, the data used in acoustic analysis included over 8000 utterances (direct speech, overall duration about 2 hours).

3. RESULTS

3.1. PROSODY OF IMPERATIVES

Findings show that imperative utterances/commands do not always behave prosodically according to what is expected of them. Specific prosodic behavior is found in a number of utterances under investigation (670 utterances) which makes 7.6% of the sample. Characteristic feature of these utterances is that they possess only one phonetic syllable as identified by Prosogram (Mertens 2019). This specific behavior is expressed through specific arrangement of prosodic characteristics and their quantitative characteristics. The research shows that not all prosodic features are found in the utterances under analysis.

All prosodic realizations of imperatives under analysis fall into three groups. The first group – the smallest in number (22 utterances, 3.2% of 670 utterances) – contains utterances that possess no tonal characteristics at all. These utterances possess only intensity as an acoustic characteristic and show much variation in minimum intensity.

	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. Error	Max.	Min.	Median	K-S Dist.
Min. Intensity (dB)	27.064	14.336	3.128	62.820	6.160	26.760	0.111
Max. Intensity (dB)	72.643	6.722	1.467	84.080	59.610	70.920	0.151
Aver. Intensity (dB)	65.573	6.614	1.443	77.750	52.780	64.750	0.144

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of intensity (1st group of imperatives)

By having intensity as the only prosodic component these utterances are perceived as noises more than as actual utterances with identifiable meaningful syllables or words. Corpus analysis shows that 79% of utterances in the first group are marked as “emphatic”, the markers varying from punctuation (exclamation mark) to verbs/phrases denoting specific conditions of speech production (*shout, exclaim, scream*). Syntactically all utterances in the first group are represented by one-syllable imperatives detached from other discourse elements by pauses longer than 150 milliseconds. Absence of tonal characteristics shows that prosodic features of imperative utterances that are close to those of the 1st-type interjections (3.2% of the 670 utterances) (Kruchinina 1980) which are perceived as unusual noises/sounds/sequences of sounds.

The second group (8.3% of the 670 utterances) comprises 56 imperative utterances that preserve some, but not all, prosodic features. Syntactically these utterances are represented by one- or two-syllable imperatives detached from the rest of the discourse by pauses longer than 150 milliseconds. These imperatives have both dynamic (intensity) and tonal (pitch) properties, but there is no identifiable intonation contour (Mertens 2019; Boersma/Weenik 2022). These utterances show even more variation in show more variation in minimum intensity.

	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. Error	Max.	Min.	Median	K-S Dist.
Min. Intensity (dB)	28.540	14.319	1.913	51.940	0.350	32.500	0.121
Max. Intensity (dB)	75.188	6.537	0.873	87.110	58.690	75.940	0.112
Aver. Intensity (dB)	67.530	6.421	0.858	79.930	52.880	67.830	0.0789

Table 2. Descriptive statistics of intensity (2nd group of imperatives)

Corpus analysis shows that 55% of utterances in the second group are marked “emphatic”, the markers varying from punctuation (exclamation mark) to verbs/phrases denoting specific conditions of speech production (*roar, cry (out), exclaim*).

The third group of imperative utterances (88.5% of the 670 utterances, that makes 591 utterances) preserves all prosodic features. Syntactically these utterances are represented by one- or two-syllable imperatives with short (one- or two-syllable words/word groups) accompanying subordinate members of the sentence. Imperatives of the third group are detached from the rest of the discourse by pauses longer than 150 milliseconds. Only 32.2% of the third group utterances are marked ‘emphatic’, the markers varying from punctuation (exclamation mark) to verbs/phrases denoting specific conditions of speech production.

Prosodic characteristics of imperative utterances in the second and the third groups demonstrate significant differences in the following table.

	Statistically significant differences		2 nd group imperatives (56 utterances). Median	3 rd group imperatives (591 utterances). Median
Aver. syllable duration (sec)	+	P = <0.001	0.04	0.07
Min. F ₀ (Hz)	+	P = 0.002	111.4	144.2
Min. F ₀ (semitones)	+	P = 0.002	1.87	6.41
Min. F ₀ (ERB)	+	P = 0.002	3.3	4.13
Max. F ₀ (Hz)	+	P = 0.001	175.7	254.2
Max. F ₀ (semitones)	+	P = 0.001	9.71	16.15
Max. F ₀ (ERB)	+	P = 0.001	4.83	6.44
Aver. F ₀ (Hz)	+	P = <0.001	145.3	208.6
Aver. F ₀ (semitones)	+	P = <0.001	6	12.4
Aver. F ₀ (ERB)	+	P = <0.001	4.1	5.5
Range F ₀ (Hz)	+	P = 0.034	49.5	81.9

Table 3. Statistically significant differences in the median values between the two groups of imperatives

Table 3 shows statistically significant differences in some F₀ measures, but not in all of them. There are no statistically significant differences for both groups in measures of mean absolute slope of F₀.

	Statistically significant differences		2 nd group imperatives (56 utterances). Median	3 rd group imperatives (591 utterances). Median
Absolute mean slope (Hz/sec)	-	P = 0.416	514	610
Absolute mean slope (semitones/sec)	-	P = 0.054	68.4	54.3
Absolute mean slope (ERB/sec)	-	P = 0.990	12.6	12.5
Absolute mean slope, no octave jumps (semitones/sec)	-	P = 0.650	45.7	46.7

Table 4. Statistically significant differences in absolute mean slope measures between the two groups of imperatives

Table 4 shows that pitch dynamics are similar in the utterances of the second and the third groups. Even though imperatives of the second group do not possess any identifiable intonation contour, pitch behavior within them is similar to that in the prosodic structure of the third group utterances.

Unlike utterances of the first and second groups, imperative utterances from the third group possess identifiable stylized intonation contours. However, stylized intonation contours of the imperative utterances in the third group are different from what is expected, according to the codified intonation standard (O'Connor 1973; Wells 2006; Ward, 2019). As over 30% of these utterances are marked as 'emphatic', one would expect to see High Fall, High Rise, or complex Fall-Rise or Rise-Fall tones in at least 30% of the intonation contours (O'Connor 1973: 170, 191, 214; Wells 2006: 61–64; Ward 2019: 189). However, the majority of the utterances in the third group have Level tone (67.8% of the group, 401 utterances), that is no tonal movement is found within the phonetic syllable. Among those utterances that have tonal movements (32.2% of the group, 190 utterances), 82% have Fall in their intonation contour, and the rest was equally distributed among Rise, Rise-Fall and Fall-Rise (6% each). Utterances with Level Tone (no tonal movement) display statistically significant differences in all F_0 features but average F_0 as shown in Table 5 below.

	Statistically significant differences		2 nd group imperatives (56 utterances). Median	3 rd group imperatives (591 utterances). Median
Absolute mean slope (Hz/sec)	-	P = 0.416	514	610
Absolute mean slope (semitones/sec)	-	P = 0.054	68.4	54.3
Absolute mean slope (ERB/sec)	-	P = 0.990	12.6	12.5
Absolute mean slope, no octave jumps (semitones/sec)	-	P = 0.650	45.7	46.7

Table 5. Statistically significant differences in F_0 median values within the third group of imperatives

Table 5 shows that there are statistically significant differences in all F_0 measures that make the range of tonal movement wider: minimum F_0 in utterances with tonal movement is lower, and maximum F_0 in them is higher. However, average F_0 does not

show statistically significant differences, which means that the tonal range expands proportionally on both extreme measures, leaving average F_0 similar in both subgroups. Therefore, this expansion has purely perfunctory value, allowing more space for tonal movement.

3.2. PROSODY INDICATING CHANGES IN SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS OF THE IMPERATIVES

As identified prosodic features do not correspond to what is expected of those belonging to imperatives, it was necessary to find whether those features are conditioned by specific discursive environment. As we have found before, 79% of the utterances in the first group are marked as “emphatic”. The same utterances possess specific prosodic structure – only some prosodic components are present, which makes these utterances prosodically close to interjections, elements traditionally included into DMs. Thus, utterances of the first group are produced by the readers as unusual noises, which makes it impossible for those imperatives to function as proper imperatives.

The percentage of utterances marked as ‘emphatic’ in the second and the third groups is lower – 55% of the utterances in the second group and 33.2% in the third group. As we have found before, F_0 measures of these two groups do not show statistically significant differences, so the pitch components behave similarly in prosodic structures of these utterances. We have studied the F_0 measures within the third group utterances (no tonal movement), which contains both marked and unmarked as ‘emphatic’ utterances. Table 6 shows statistically significant differences found within F_0 measures of marked and unmarked as “emphatic” utterances of the third group with no tonal movement.

	Statistically significant differences		3 rd group imperatives unmarked as ‘emphatic’ (no tonal movement, 170 utterances). Median	3 rd group imperatives marked as ‘emphatic’ (no tonal movement, 231 utterances). Median
Min. F_0 (Hz)	+	P = <0.001	129.61	182.05
Min. F_0 (semitones)	+	P = <0.001	4.48	10.37
Min. F_0 (ERB)	+	P = <0.001	3.76	4.97
Max. F_0 (Hz)	+	P = <0.001	214.99	267.99
Max. F_0 (semitones)	+	P = <0.001	13.25	17.06
Max. F_0 (ERB)	+	P = <0.001	5.67	6.70
Aver. F_0 (Hz)	+	P = <0.001	168.74	229.92
Aver. F_0 (semitones)	+	P = <0.001	8.54	13.97
Aver. F_0 (ERB)	+	P = <0.001	4.66	5.94
Range F_0 (Hz)	-	P = 0.889	62.76	64.52
Range F_0 (semitones)	-	P = 0.077	5.46	5.13
Range F_0 (ERB)	-	P = 0.606	1.24	1.31

Table 6. Statistically significant differences (F_0 measures of marked and unmarked as ‘emphatic’ utterances of the third group)

Table 6 shows that utterances of the third group, even when marked as “emphatic”, do not necessarily possess any relevant tonal movement that would be present in the stylized intonation contour. Unlike F_0 variations presented in Table 5, F_0 variations in Table 6 include statistically significant differences found within Average F_0 values, but not within Range F_0 values. It shows that F_0 variations and absence/presence of tonal movement within unmarked and marked as “emphatic” imperatives are conditioned by two discursive functions. F_0 variations are responsible for making the imperative sound “emphatic”, absence/presence of tonal movement are responsible for making the imperative sound as a DM, not like a proper imperative.

In intonation contours with relevant tonal movement this tonal movement is produced on lower than average/average pitch level.

Column	Mean	Median	25%	75%	Std Dev	Std. Error	K-S Prob.
Normalized Q2 F_0 , Hz	1.002	1.011	0.987	1.045	0.0976	0.00402	<0.001

Table 7. Descriptive statistics of normalized Q2 F_0 (3rd group of imperatives)

Intonation contours with tonal movement (190 utterances) contain 237 stylized tonal movements, that is, some contours contain more than one tonal movement within the intonation contour. Another significant F_0 property is that F_0 range in 68% of these movements is from 4 to 10 semitones, in 28% of these movements it is less than 4 semitones, in about 4% it is more than 10 semitones.

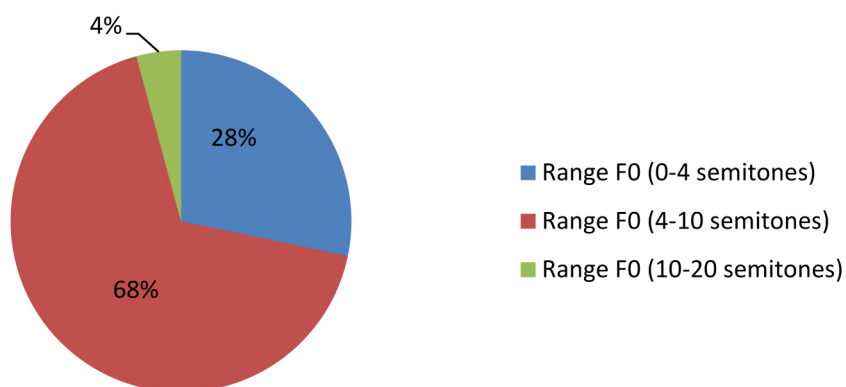


Figure 1. Range F_0 values

3.3. POSITIONING OF THE IMPERATIVES

It should be noted that utterances of the third group with Level Tone cannot be interpreted as the part of the previous intonation contour, as they are separated from the previous syntactic structures by long pauses. Actually, in the sample (8703 utterances) the percentage of imperative utterances that belong to a longer syntactic structure in the written text and are not separated from the previous part with pauses, is about 20% of the sample. Over 20% of utterances are separated from the bigger syntactical structure of the written text with pauses not shorter than 150 ms. 60% of utterances in the sample

are autonomous syntactic structures in written text. All utterances belonging to the three groups described in the present research are separated from the rest of the sound continuum with distinguishable pauses and contain only one phonetic syllable. It shows that the readers quite successfully identify utterances within the longer discourse and produce them according to their function in discourse.

It also appears that the position of the imperative structure within the bigger syntactic structure is important: the initial position is prerequisite for autonomy of the “hybridized” imperatives.

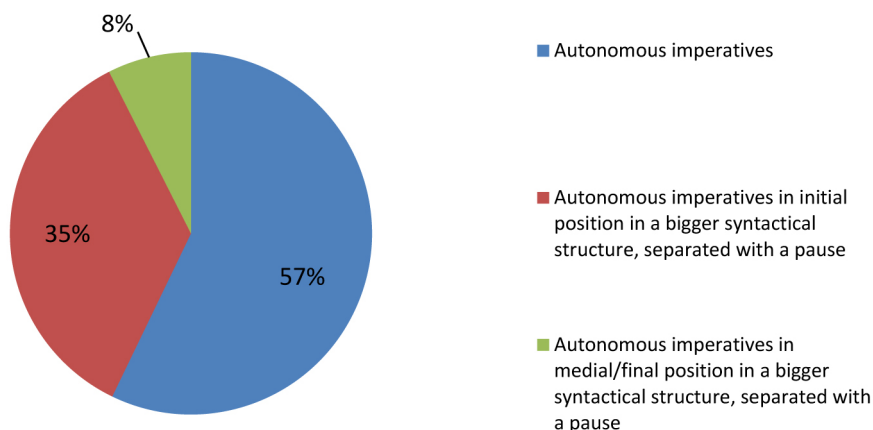


Figure 2. Position of the imperative

More than half of imperative utterances in all three groups (670 utterances) represent fully autonomous utterances in both their spoken form, where they are separated from previous and following discourse with a pause, and their written form, where they are separated from previous and following sentences with graphic means. 35% of the utterances are autonomous imperatives in initial position in a bigger syntactical structure, separated with a pause, and 8% are autonomous imperatives in medial/final position in a bigger syntactical structure, separated with a pause. All imperatives that appear in medial/final position in a bigger syntactical structure and are separated from the rest of this structure with a pause belong to compound sentences with two, or more, similar imperative structures (Examples 5–7).

(6) “...come on || , come and get me || ... **up you get** || , now...”

(7) “Get out, || **get out**, || I don’t want to see you in this office ever again!”

4. DISCUSSION

Research Question 1. Could words from word classes other than mentioned in previous research, or even bigger than word structures, function as DMs in discourse? Are there statistically supported tendencies to identify discourse environment in which words from these other classes, or even bigger structures, can acquire characteristics similar to those of DMs? The answers to the first research question appear to be “yes” and “yes”.

While studying the prosodic realizations of imperatives in partially controlled discourse, we found a though relatively small, but still clearly identifiable group of imperative utterances/commands that behave like DMs in specific discourse environment. Their behavior complies with all requirements put to DMs: these imperatives have specific prosodic structure, unlike that regular for imperatives; they are pragmatic, as they acquire specific functions in discourse – to indicate the emphatic state of the utterance and/or to give a signal to other participants in discourse; 3) their meanings are unidentifiable due to their prosodic realisation, are made redundant due to the structure of the bigger written sentence read aloud, or the readers desemanticize their meanings, according to their perception of the sentence; 4) these imperatives are lexical, but they undergo grammaticalization: they have specific prosodic form (only one phonetic syllable), one-word structure, and are typically are positioned on the periphery of the bigger syntactical structure of the written sentences. Thus, these discourse elements behave fully similar to DMs, even though they do not belong to any word classes that are included into DMs, as stated in previous research. Our research supports functional approach to DMs and states that it appears more informative in terms of, and not only words, but also units bigger than words may fulfill functions that traditionally are referred to DMs.

We suggest that discourse units that behave like DMs in discourse undergo a specific transformation, that we name “functional hybridization”. During this prosodic transformation in discourse, some imperatives partially lose their conventional characteristics and acquire those of DMs. “Functional hybridization” is a gradual process, the research shows that the degree of changes in the sample decreases as discourse environment becomes less specific. As this transformation is performed in specific discourse environment, “functional hybridization” appears in discourse as the result of the speakers’ adjustment to the discourse conditions. We have found three groups with different degrees of prosodic changes in the imperatives within the sample, these groups making 7.3% (670 autonomous utterances) of the sample (8703 utterances) The distribution of utterances in these groups is statistical. Prosodic transformation of imperatives is at its fullest degree in the first group, which is the smallest among the three – 3.2% of the imperative utterances with specific prosodic features. The second group constitutes 8.3% of the imperative utterances with specific prosodic features, and the third group takes up the rest 88.5%. This shows that modification of prosodic features does not happen to all imperatives equally; it occurs to imperative utterances in distinctive discursive contexts and exhibits to a certain degree. Thus, frequency of “functional hybridization” has probabilistic nature and is conditioned by the constraints put by the particular discursive context. The functional character of “functional hybridization” shows that it would be incorrect to speak about this transformation of imperative utterances/commands as a permanent change. Imperative utterances with the same syntactic structure function in their own capacity in different discourse environment.

We shall discuss discursive factors that facilitating “functional hybridization” and condition the degree of “functional hybridization”, accordingly. The first factor is the one-syllable structure of the imperative. It appears that the size of the discourse units matters: imperative utterances that undergo “functional hybridization” are autonomous separate utterances, small enough for PRAAT to find no more than one phonetic syllable

in them. It also appears to be a prerequisite that assists the “formulaicity” of imperatives that undergo “functional hybridization”. As defined by Hudson and Wiktorsson (2009: 81; Lin 2018), formulaic word sequences are “evidently more constrained in their usage together than usual”. The term “formulaic” itself implies desemanticization, thus, discourse units constrained in their usage more than usual, lose some of their conventionally identified semantic content, on the one hand. Formulaic words/phrases are associated with certain functions in specific communicative contexts (Lin 2018: 16), which supports the pragmatic character of the imperatives that underwent “functional hybridization”.

The second factor is pragmatic. As it has been mentioned above, “formulaicity” that the imperatives undergoing ‘functional hybridization’ acquire, implies that they, on the one hand, lose some of their conventional semantic content. On the other hand, they acquire pragmatic meaning, as they are associated with specific functions, those functions being “realizing functions” such as expressing emphasis, or “transacting specific information in a precise and understandable way” such as signaling about new information, attracting attention to the following words (Schmitt/Carter 2004: 3). Imperatives undergoing “functional hybridization” cannot fully perform their conventional illocutionary function, as they do not possess all or some prosodic features which makes it difficult for the listeners to perceive them as fully-fledged imperatives.

The third factor that conditions “functional hybridization” is formal: position of the imperative in relation to other discourse elements. Research shows that imperatives of the first and second groups always represent initial autonomous one-syllable utterances detached from other discourse elements with pauses. These imperatives either coincide with a single sentence in their written form, or with the initial part of a bigger syntactical structure – written sentence. Imperatives from the third group may also include one-syllable utterances detached from other discourse elements with pauses, which coincide with the medial or final part of a bigger syntactical structure – written sentence. But all such imperatives constitute only a small part of the third group (8%). When found in non-initial positions, the imperatives are rarely separated from the previous part of the sentence with a pause, more often they act as enclitics to the preceding discourse element. The degree of “functional hybridization” in such imperatives is lowest.

All of the above complies with requirements set for DMs (Maschler 2009): 1) “functional hybrids” – imperatives of the three described groups – have a metalingual interpretation in the context: they perform functions other than conventional imperatives, phonetically these imperatives can be no more than unusual sounds, which places them close to interjections; 2) “functional hybrids” manifest predominantly in initial structural position and change of the position affects the degree of ‘functional hybridization’, and 3) “functional hybrids” – imperatives of the three described groups – are always detached by pauses from other elements of discourse.

As we answer Research Question 2, we shall study “functional hybridization” from a different angle. Research Question 2: Will these words belonging to other word classes, or even bigger than word structures, acquire prosodic features same or similar to the prosodic features of DMs mentioned in previous research? Will these prosodic features be different from standard prosody associated with these words belonging to other word classes, or even bigger than word structures? And the answer is “yes, but partially”.

As we have identified and described three groups of imperatives that undergo the 'functional hybridization' in the sample, we have stated that prosodic transformation in those imperatives happens to different degrees as the imperatives occur in varying discursive environment. The closer discursive environment of the imperatives is to that of DMs, the higher degree of "functional hybridization" is. "Functional hybridization" concerns both semantic and pragmatic content of the imperatives and manifests in prosodic realization different from what is conventional for a proper imperative. So this appears to be double-sided: to be identified as having some specific function in discourse, imperatives are expected to be prosodically different from what is statistically frequent, and in speech production one has to use the imperatives with specific prosody appropriately to express a certain meaning. Lin (2018) raises an interesting question of how to evaluate prosodic cues. As found by the present study pausation only marks the modification of the discursive function of the utterance but it does not initiate it alone. To initiate prosodic modification a number of factors should be involved, and their interaction produces different degrees of change. Thus, "functional hybridization" is probabilistic in nature: whenever all the factors coincide in their full form, the "functional hybridization" is complete and the modification is full – the imperative turns into a sound/sound sequence, that includes imperatives from the first group. Otherwise, the change is partial, it concerns certain acoustic features and manifests in partial prosodic changes. When "functional hybridization" is at its lowest, the prosodic structure of the imperative has all its components, but its manifestation differs from what is traditionally expected of such utterances.

5. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we should say that "functional hybridization" in discourse results from the readers' cognitive work. The readers comprehend information from the written text and reproduce it in accordance with their own understanding of the functions different elements perform in discourse. When doing this they transform different discourse elements so that they are better suited to perform needed functions. We call this transformation "functional hybridization" and demonstrate how it works on imperatives. Imperatives may acquire special pragmatic functions in discourse and they manifest those functions through transformation of prosodic realizations. We call this process "hybridization", because imperative do not change fully, their written forms remain the same, but their prosody changes either completely and the imperatives are perceived as unusual sounds/sound sequences, or partially and the imperatives sound different from what they are expected to sound. The imperatives lose part of their semantic content and acquire pragmatic content characteristic of other discourse elements, namely DMs, thus becoming somewhat "hybrid". Those "hybrids" can be described in accordance with their formal and structural features and organized into three groups according to the established features.

Probabilistic nature of "functional hybridization" predicts that DMs do not constitute a closed group, imperatives can become very close to DMs both in their spoken realizations and in their pragmatic function. However, not every imperative can become that close to a DM. "Functional hybridization" is predetermined by both structural features of the imperatives themselves and specific discursive context. In its

full form “functional hybridization” results in a complete transformation of all prosodic features of the imperative, in its least form “functional hybridization” manifests through transformation of the intonation contour, so that the intonation contour differs from its phonological equivalent. Further experimental research is to be done to investigate the character of “functional hybridization” concerning units other than imperatives to observe this dynamic discursive phenomenon predetermined by the interaction of numerous structural and contextual factors.

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SUMMARY

FUNCTIONAL HYBRIDIZATION IN DISCOURSE: TURNING IMPERATIVES INTO DISCOURSE MARKERS

The author addresses discourse markers (DMs), suggesting that DMs represent functional, but not categorical, units. The paper shows that in reading aloud, under specific discourse conditions the readers convert imperatives into interjection-like units similar to DMs. This conversion is carried out through processing and adjusting prosodic features of imperative utterances, according to the function they perform in discourse, and can be defined as “functional hybridization”. The findings of the present paper support previous research in that: 1) according to our findings, prosodic structure of “functionally hybridized” imperatives places them close to interjections, and their function in discourse changes to attract attention to new information, or express “emphasis”; 2) “functionally hybridized” imperatives, like DMs, are characterized by specific formal features: initial position appears prerequisite for their autonomy, in other than initial position “functionally hybridized” imperatives tend to act as an enclitic to the previous word. Factors facilitating “functional hybridization” of imperatives are: 1) the formulaic/iconic structure of the imperative, 2) initial position, 3) emphatic nature of the utterance.

KEYWORDS: discourse markers, pragmatics, prosody, imperatives, intonation contours.

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■ GREAT ASPIRATIONS: EXAMINING VOT OF WORD-INITIAL VOICELESS STOPS IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN IN SERBIAN EFL SPEAKERS

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Uloga aspiracije (pozitivno vreme nastupa zvučnosti) značajno se razlikuje u engleskom i srpskom jeziku. Dok pozitivno vreme nastupa zvučnosti ima distinktivnu funkciju u razlikovanju zvučnih i bezvučnih ploziva u engleskom, to nije slučaj u srpskom jeziku. Stoga bi jasan kontrast između dugih ploziva engleskog jezika i kratkih ploziva srpskog jezika mogao biti izazov za srpske govornike engleskog jezika. Ovaj rad ispituje stepen aspiracije kod bezvučnih ploziva u inicijalnoj poziciji u rečima na srpskom i engleskom jeziku kod dve ciljne grupe srpskih govornika engleskog: pet govornika srednjeg nivoa i pet naprednih govornika engleskog jezika. Osnovno pitanje istraživanja jeste u kojoj meri maternji jezik (L1) utiče na izgovor stranog jezika (L2) i na koji način se to ispoljava kod ove dve grupe ispitanika. Uzorci za analizu dobijeni su uz pomoć programa *Praat* (Boersma/Weenink 2022), snimanjem govora ispitanika koji čitaju rečenice sa ciljnim rečima u kojima se bezvučni plozivi nalaze u početnoj poziciji. Za svaki uzorak meri se vreme nastupa zvučnosti, odnosno interval između realizacije ploziva i početka fonacije sledećeg glasa, izraženo u milisekundama (ms). Rezultati pokazuju da se aspiracija naprednijih govornika engleskog podudara sa izvornim govornicima. U ovom ispitivanju zabeleženi su i neočekivani rezultati, konkretno L2 transfer, gde isti napredni govornici plozive na srpskom jeziku izgovaraju sa izraženom aspiracijom, što odstupa od uobičajenih fonetskih karakteristika izvornih govornika srpskog. Rezultati takođe pokazuju da, iako realizacija ploziva sa produženom artikulacijom kod govornika srednjeg nivoa engleskog nije podudarna izgovoru maternjih govornika, ova grupa ispitanika pravi jasniju razliku kada je u pitanju primena vremena nastupa zvučnosti u maternjem i stranom jeziku.

Ključne reči: aspiracija, vreme nastupa zvučnosti, L1 transfer, L2 transfer, srpski govornici engleskog.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Though learning a foreign language is primarily associated with acquiring the correct sentence structure or gradually expanding one's vocabulary, the process, in fact, begins with acquiring L2 phonetics and phonology. In other words, together with acquiring new lexis, learners simultaneously aim to produce and understand L2 sounds on a level that enables comprehensible communication. Specifically, phonetic features of a language include sounds, together with their contextual allophones or specific features of connected speech (Čubrović 2009).

However, the process of L2 sound acquisition entails the existence of an L1 set of phonemes that has been previously acquired through one's mother tongue. The relationship between these two sets has already been explored and linguistic evidence confirms the effect L1 has on L2 pronunciation and various phonetic features (Flege 1992; Flege *et al.* 1995). Such an effect is, in practice, reflected in foreign-accented speech. This phenomenon, thus, implies that the L2 speaker has yet to acquire and apply all phonetic features that are characteristic of that foreign language. The necessity of emulating a native-like accent, however, stands as a separate issue, since, as Zsiga explains, rules of pronunciation ought to be understood as "descriptive, rather than prescriptive" (2020: 48).

In terms of English as a foreign language, its pronunciation challenges vary depending on the learner's L1. That is to say, while some speakers struggle with a specific group of sounds e.g. /b/ and /v/ or dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ (Flege/Eefting 1987) others find the allophones of English or its intonation patterns rather challenging.

For Serbian speakers of English, one of the possible challenges could be one of the less evident features – aspiration. This feature is an integral part of speech for native English speakers, as it serves to distinguish between voiced and voiceless stops, which will be explained further in the following section. On the other hand, no records have been made regarding aspiration in the Serbian language, or at least not about its distinctive function as is the case in English. For this reason, the aim of this paper is to, firstly, assess to what degree the participants are able to use aspiration when speaking English and, secondly, examine the presence of aspiration in Serbian. Due to its alleged lack of presence in Serbian, it can be assumed that, as an example of L1 transfer, Serbian EFL speakers will have some issues acquiring and applying this feature fully.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Aspiration is directly connected to the stop sounds of English and, specifically, to their manner of articulation. Namely, all English stops, /b d g p t k/, are produced as a combination of complex movements within the vocal tract, the key point being the highest degree of stricture – closure – where the articulators are in firm contact (Čubrović 2009: 35). This closure can form in several places within the tract, which is why the stops can be categorized according to their place of articulation. Regardless of their position, all stops go through the same three stages of articulation: approach, hold or compression and release stage (Čubrović 2009: 36). The final stage includes a sudden release of air with an explosive noise. Energy levels during the release, however, vary depending on their voicing.

Depending on the vibrations of the vocal folds, typically, these stops are grouped into voiced /b d g/ and voiceless /p t k/. Halle *et al.* introduce alternative terms for dividing stops by using the terms tense and lax stops (1957: 107), otherwise known as fortis and lenis stops (Čubrović 2009: 37). The reason why this kind of labelling is often deemed more precise is related to the exact manner of articulation of these two groups. With tense stops, /p t k/, there is significantly more pressure that builds up against the closure, resulting in a more powerful release (Halle *et al.* 1957: 107). On the other hand, lax stops, /b d g/, also include bursts, i.e., have their release stage. However, the key difference is the presence of aspiration, which is significantly more pronounced with tense and not lax stops. Though aspiration can be heard in speech, what remains is the question of recording and perceiving this feature on a waveform, i.e. on audio recordings. The aforementioned difference between aspirated and unaspirated consonants can, in fact, be found owing to VOT or voice onset time, which refers to the amount of time that elapses between the release of the consonant and the onset of voicing of the following sound (Zsiga 2020: 131). Clear segmentation might be a challenge, however, what remains as a clear rule is that we generally differentiate positive/long-lag, negative/short-lag and zero VOT where positive refers to a certain delay between the release of the plosive and the onset of vocal fold vibration. Negative VOT entails vocal fold vibration prior to the plosive release, while zero VOT means that the plosive release and vocal fold vibrations approximately coincide (Zsiga 2020: 189). In this way, by measuring VOT on a particular waveform, linguists have been able to explore the significance of aspiration and compare it across various languages and among different speakers (Halle *et al.* 1957; Cho/Ladefoged 1999; Kim 2011; Shimizu 2011).

Cho and Ladefoged examined 18 different endangered languages so as to discover VOT universals across different languages. These potential universals would effectively enable a somewhat accurate prediction of VOT values, depending on place of articulation of the consonant in question. In their pursuit, the authors discovered various patterns across examples from completely separate language families. One of the most significant universals for this particular study concerns VOT duration of stops, the authors stating that “velar stops always have a longer VOT (Cho/Ladefoged 1999: 218)”. This regularity, however, applies only to languages that do not have uvular stops. Furthermore, in both aspirated and unaspirated stops, VOT is shortest before bilabial stops and intermediate before alveolar stops, with the exception of the unaspirated stops in Tamil and the aspirated stops in Cantonese and Eastern Armenian (Cho/Ladefoged 1999: 208)”. Proof from 18 different languages led the authors to arbitrarily create four different classes of stops across languages, the main criterion being VOT duration with roughly set limits (in ms). The four categories are “unaspirated (30ms), slightly aspirated (50ms), aspirated (90ms) and highly aspirated stops (over 90ms)” (Cho/Ladefoged 1999: 223). The authors acknowledge that obvious exceptions exist, even in their own selected sample of languages. Nonetheless, such a generalization can help predict VOT values for different types of stops, speech cues necessary for their perception, as well as to predict the success rate of producing aspiration upon acquiring a foreign language.

The study conducted by Halle *et al.* presents on acoustic research of plosives and describes, firstly, the general phonetic features of English stops, illustrating their spectral features with sonograms. An equally important aspect of this research is a twofold

experiment, which includes both articulation and perception of plosives. Interestingly, the participants needed to identify English plosives in isolation and in syllable form, with alternating plosive positions (initial vs final), which proved feasible, but, nonetheless, a true challenge, according to the authors (1957: 108). Their findings imply that all correct answers were given owing to plosive transitions, i.e. in clearer contexts where they were followed or preceded by a certain vowel (Hale *et al.* 1957: 115). In other words, it was aspiration that proved to be one of the more significant factors of perception for native speakers.

For non-native speakers, however, the significance of aspiration varies depending on their mother tongue. As a long-established lingua franca, English has been examined as an L2 in context of various L1 languages. As Flege explained (1992), upon acquiring a foreign language, L1 and L2 contact is imminent, and, for this reason, transfer of various features arises as an interesting point of linguistic investigation.

A contrastive study conducted by Kim (2011) compares two languages with aspiration as their prominent feature: English and Korean. Namely, this paper examines the degree of aspiration used by Korean speakers of English with the aim of determining whether an accurate use of aspiration is directly related to language proficiency. The experiment is conducted with two native speakers (NS) of English and seven non-native (NNS), Korean speakers. Values collected from NS recordings are then used as a reference for those produced by NNS. Additionally, as our present study has no native speakers, the VOT values recorded by Kim will also be used as reference points here. Considering that VOT of Korean plosives are significantly longer than those of English (Kim 2011: 4), proficient speakers are expected to, consequently, shorten their VOT when speaking English. The results confirmed this initial hypothesis, together with the fact that less proficient speakers prolonged their VOT in English as well. However, an additional finding is that the initially mentioned contact between L1 and L2 (Flege 1992) is, in fact, mutual. The author has noted that, regardless of the NNS's English proficiency, Korean speakers shortened the VOT in their mother tongue which directly points at the cross language phonetic influence (Kim 2011: 8), i.e., that L1 is also susceptible to such effects.

Similarly, Shimizu conducts a more extensive analysis of Korean, Thai and Mandarin Chinese as opposed to English in terms of aspiration. The author identifies a possible challenge for NNS of English from this group of L1 languages since they have more complex types of aspiration: "Korean has a three-way contrast of tense, lax and aspirated stops. Thai also has a three-way contrast of voiced, voiceless unaspirated and aspirated stops, and Mandarin Chinese has a two-way contrast of voiceless unaspirated and voiceless aspirated stops in their stop series" (Shimizu 2011: 1818).

For this reason, this experiment included minimal pairs and triplets in respective L1 languages and English, all presented within carrier sentences. Acoustic analysis has shown that significant L1 transfer is present in the production of English plosives where NNS produce these sounds with a "considerable delay of voicing" (Shimizu 2011: 1818) and with strong aspiration. Another significant conclusion confirms that it is velar stops across all four languages are aspirated more prominently in comparison with bilabial and alveolar stops.

3. METHODOLOGY

A total of seven participants took part in this experiment. Three participants are in their first year of bachelor studies, studying for a degree that is not related to English (medicine and electrical engineering). Nonetheless, all three participants studied English during their primary and secondary education. The remaining four are all graduate students of the Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade, particularly the English Department. All participants are female and their age ranges between 20 and 26. For the purpose of distinguishing between these two groups of participants, the three participants who do not have a degree in English will hereinafter be referred to as "advanced speakers" as opposed to "proficient speakers", who have obtained a degree, merely for the sake of labelling, without necessarily implying an accurate level of English.

The recording materials consist of target words with word-initial plosives in both English and Serbian, all of which were embedded into carrier sentences. For English, the words used were: *pat, cat, bat and tat*, while the Serbian counterparts included *Pata, tata, Kata* and *baba*. For the purpose of this research, only the tokens containing /p t k/ in Serbian and English were analyzed, while the two words with /b/ in word-initial position were used as distractors. All recordings were made directly in the latest version of the *Praat* software (Boersma/Weenink 2022), at the input frequency of 44100 Hz, while the participants read sentences shown on PowerPoint slides. Each participant read the sentences three times, which amounted to a total of 126 tokens to be analyzed for both languages, i.e. 63 in Serbian and 63 in English. After the recording was completed, each target word was cut from the original recording and analyzed separately as a token. All VOT values were then entered into a table in Excel, which was used to calculate mean values for each participant and draw conclusions.

4. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Prior to listing all values collected through the recordings of this research, it is necessary to present reference values for English stops produced by native speakers of English so as to compare and assess the results of this study. As it has been stated previously, the mean values stated here have been taken from Kim (2011) and will be used as reference points for drawing more reliable conclusions.

Table 1 confirms the universals regarding VOT duration, velar stops having the longest offset interval, followed by intermediate alveolar VOT and, finally, VOT of bilabial /p/ being the shortest (Cho/Ladefoged 1999: 208).

The measurement of VOT in our experiment was done for the interval between the release of the plosive and the onset of voicing of the following sound and expressed in milliseconds (ms). Since every target word had three repetitions per speaker, the values presented in the following table for each individual speaker is an average value for /p t k/. Firstly, all tokens were analyzed for advanced speakers (P1-P3 in Table 2, see Appendix A) and the average measurements for each participant were entered separately in Table 2 (see Appendix A).

Upon comparison with the reference values, it is evident that, though advanced speakers do produce a more prominent lag when it comes to word-initial stops, VOT is still not similar enough to the native speaker's level of production. Based on the

presented mean values, we can confirm that velar stops do have the most prominent VOT (Cho/Ladefoged 1999) in both respective languages. Mean VOT values for Serbian, too, remain in line with the initial hypothesis, as they are not prominent and the VOT duration is significantly shorter, unlike English.

The values for proficient speakers (P4–P7 in Table 3, see Appendix A) are firstly presented separately. What can immediately be noted is that the values are significantly closer if not fully in line with the native speakers' VOT values. However, there are a few surprising observations to be made: the average VOT value for the velar stop /k/ is the most prominent one, slightly longer than the native speakers themselves especially for P4 in both Serbian and English, presented in bold. On the other hand, the values for the Serbian /k/ are significantly higher than those of advanced speakers. A spectral representation of an unusually longer VOT in English and Serbian can be seen in Spectrogram 1 and Spectrogram 2, respectively (see Appendix B).

As participant P4 is a proficient EFL speaker and since the average VOT values for all four proficient speakers are significantly higher than those of P1–P3, it can be assumed that higher proficiency and increased exposure to a language with a long-lag aspiration feature can have an effect on the non-native speaker's VOT production in their own mother tongue. These results coincide with Kim's findings (2011) and in this way confirm the "bi-directional influence" (Grosjean 1989) of languages. In other words, in cases of significant exposure to a foreign language, that L2 is likely to affect a learner's L1 production as well.

To explore this matter further, what follows is a presentation of VOT values in Serbian produced by advanced as opposed to proficient speakers of English (Table 4, see Appendix A).

Based on the side-by-side comparison in Table 4, we can conclude that proficient speakers (P4–P7 in Table 4, see Appendix A) are more likely to assign longer VOT intervals even to Serbian plosives, mostly likely as a direct consequence of L2 transfer. However, Table 4 also confirms the existence of aspiration in the Serbian language for all 7 participants, though not as prominent and not as distinctive as in the English language.

The comparison of VOT in English between advanced and proficient speakers is presented separately in Table 5 (see Appendix A).

Regardless of NS reference values, it is immediately evident that proficient speakers have acquired the aspiration feature on a higher degree and have virtually no issues with applying it in their pronunciation. Conversely, though advanced speakers do have a stable command of English, in comparison with proficient speakers, they show a slightly less prominent use of aspiration in English.

5. FINAL REMARKS

The study presented in this paper examined VOT values of English and Serbian voiceless plosives produced by Serbian EFL speakers. Apart from direct comparison, one of the key aims of this research was to confirm whether a correlation exists between a speaker's language proficiency and the degree of positive VOT as expected in voiceless plosives. An additional aspect of this study was describing the status of aspiration in Serbian, as there are no clear records on this phonetic feature as it has no distinctive function in this language.

Though the results of this research answer the initial questions, they have also brought about the topic of L2 transfer. In the values presented earlier, it was to be expected that all non-native speakers who took part in the experiment would make a clear distinction between aspiration in English vs Serbian, as this feature is significantly less prominent in their mother tongue where it is not distinctive. Since the more proficient speakers have shown greater precision when producing aspiration, it can be maintained that a correlation between proficiency and accurate use of aspiration does exist.

Though the less proficient speakers have been somewhat less precise in terms of aspiration, they are more consistent when it comes to maintaining a clear distinction between aspiration in their L1 and L2. Conversely, the yielded values show that it is, in fact, the more proficient speakers that produce longer VOT in their mother tongue, which also points at the fact that, due to longer exposure and overall better command of English, L2 transfer has occurred over time, the interference causing cross phonetic influence between languages.

Since this study did not have its own pool of native speaker samples and had a limited number of participants, a larger sample of recordings needs to be made for both native and non-native speakers in order to draw more general conclusions.

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APPENDIX A

The appendix contains five tables with average VOT values for different groups of participants in both English and Serbian, each specified below.

	p	t	k
Native Speakers	58	70	80

Table 1. Native speakers' mean VOT values for English (Kim 2011: 4)

participants	SRB			ENG		
	p	t	k	p	t	k
P1	13.08	15.95	39.33	57.42	49.61	64.07
P2	12.32	14.98	41.23	55.41	42.82	68.54
P3	12.97	15.65	43.03	56.09	45.03	60.05
AVG	12.79	15.53	41.2	56.31	45.82	64.22

Table 2. Advanced speakers' mean VOT values for Serbian & English

participants	SRB			ENG		
	p	t	k	p	t	k
P4	17.12	20.5	70.32	63.37	68.2	84.17
P5	16.32	19.02	59.67	61.54	69.13	83.87
P6	13.21	17.8	35.6	62.44	70.01	83.2
P7	16.87	20.02	60.89	62.89	66.78	84.03
AVG	15.88	19.335	56.5425	62.56	68.53	84.3525

Table 3. Proficient speakers' mean VOT values for Serbian & English

	SRB		
participants	p	t	k
P1	13.08	15.95	39.33
P2	12.32	14.98	41.23
P3	12.97	15.65	43.03
P4	17.12	20.5	70.32
P5	16.32	19.02	59.67
P6	13.21	17.8	35.6
P7	16.87	20.02	60.89

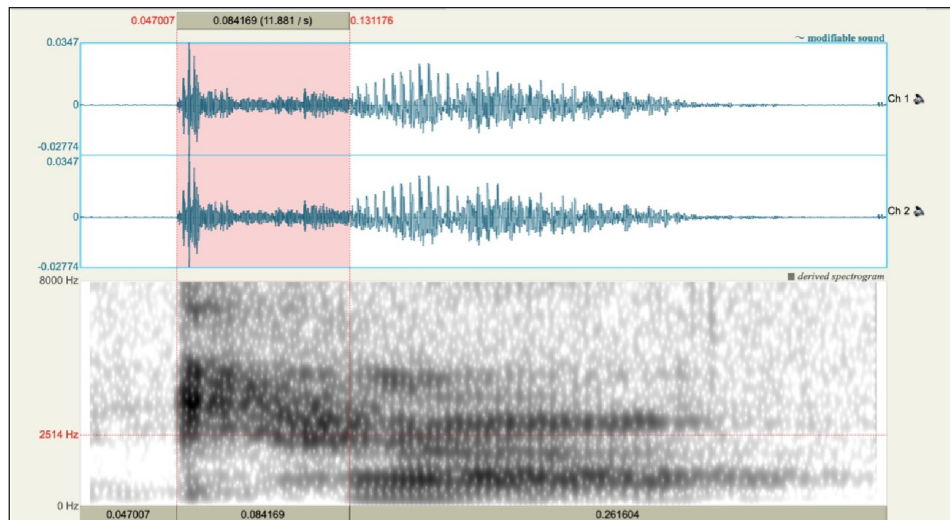
Table 4. All participants' VOT values for Serbian

	ENG		
participants	p	t	k
P1	57.42	49.61	64.07
P2	55.41	42.82	68.54
P3	56.09	45.03	60.05
P4	63.37	68.2	84.17
P5	61.54	69.13	83.87
P6	62.44	70.01	84.2
P7	62.89	66.78	84.03

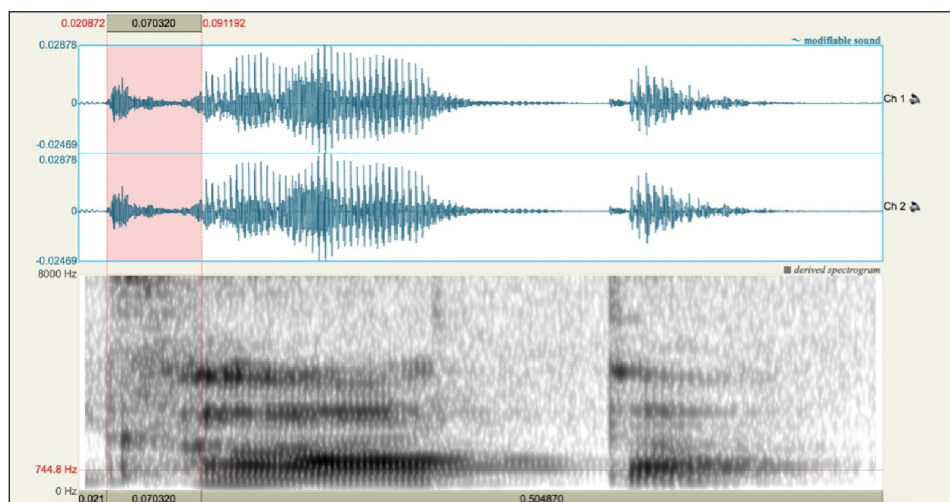
Table 5. All participants' VOT values for English

APPENDIX B

The appendix contains 2 spectral representations of recorded speech by speaker P4, who belongs to the proficient group of non-native speakers in this study.



Spectrogram 1. Word /kæt/ by participant P4



Spectrogram 2. Word /ká:ta/ by participant P4

SUMMARY

GREAT ASPIRATIONS: EXAMINING VOT OF WORD-INITIAL VOICELESS STOPS IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN IN SERBIAN EFL SPEAKERS

The role of aspiration (positive VOT) in English and Serbian differs significantly. While positive VOT helps distinguish between voiced and voiceless plosives in English, it has no distinctive function in Serbian. For this reason, a clear contrast between long-lag stops of English and short-lag stops of Serbian might prove challenging for Serbian EFL students. For this reason, this paper examines the degree of aspiration in initial voiceless stops in both Serbian and English with two separate target groups: five intermediate and five highly proficient speakers of English. The aim of this study is to determine to what extent L1 affects L2 speech and how this is reflected in the two groups of speakers. All participants are asked to read sentences containing target words with voiceless stops in initial position while being recorded with the help of *Praat* (Boersma/Weenink, 2022). For every token, we measure VOT for the interval between the release of the plosive and the onset of voicing of the following sound, expressed in milliseconds (ms). The results show that more proficient EFL speakers reach native-like VOT values. This experiment, however, yielded some striking results, specifically the proof of significant L2 transfer, where the same proficient speakers pronounce their stops with a significant degree of aspiration in Serbian, which deviates from the phonetic habits of native speakers of Serbian. Results also show that, even though the use of long-lag stops in intermediate users does not resemble that of native speakers, they make a clearer distinction when it comes to applying VOT in their L1 and L2 respectively.

KEYWORDS: aspiration, VOT, L1 transfer, L2 transfer, Serbian EFL speakers.

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■ KRITIČKA ANALIZA METAFORA U MEDIJSKOM DISKURSU O VEŠTAČKOJ INTELIGENCIJI NA SRPSKOM JEZIKU

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Mada je veštačka inteligencija kao pojam nastala u dvadesetom veku, značajni napredak u ovoj oblasti zabeležen je upravo u dvadeset prvom veku. Na današnji dan, u medijskom diskursu o veštačkoj inteligenciji ogleda se podeljeno javno mnjenje: da li su roboti, mašine i četbotovi prijatelji ili neprijatelji čovečanstva? Predmet ovog rada je kritička analiza metafora u medijskom diskursu o veštačkoj inteligenciji po metodološkom okviru koji je formulisao Džonatan Čarteris-Blek, a cilj rada je uočavanje prisustva ideoloških poruka u ovoj vrsti diskursa, kao i analiziranje pretpostavke da su u člancima koji predstavljaju korpus za analizu u ovom radu ideološke poruke o veštačkoj inteligenciji dominantno negativne prirode. Analiza se zasniva na kombinovanju kognitivne lingvistike, pragmatike, kritičke analize diskursa i korpusne lingvistike, a vrši se u tri koraka: identifikacija, interpretacija i objašnjenje metafora i metaforičkih izraza. Rezultati potvrđuju da u analiziranim člancima preovlađuje negativna percepcija veštačke inteligencije, kao i da ih prožimaju razne ideološke poruke. Implikacije istraživanja odnose se na to da je neophodno biti svestan mogućih ideoloških poruka u medijskom diskursu i uzimati ih u obzir pri objektivnom rasuđivanju o bilo kojoj tematici.

Ključne reči: kritička analiza metafora, veštačka inteligencija, kritička analiza diskursa, kognitivna lingvistika, medijski diskurs.

1. UVOD

Prvu polovinu 2023. godine obeležio je snažan pomak u oblasti izučavanja veštačke inteligencije. Ono što je nekad najčešće povezivano sa naučnom fantastikom počinje da se pojavljuje u realnosti, što dovodi do podeljenog javnog mnjenja, kao i do određenog straha od mogućnosti da veštačka inteligencija prevaziđe ljudsku i otrgne se kontroli. U medijima se često postavlja naizgled sudbonosno pitanje: da li nam je

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veštačka inteligencija prijatelj ili neprijatelj? U ovom radu, medijski diskurs o veštačkoj inteligenciji izučava se kroz kritičku analizu metafora, kako bi se otkrile ideološke poruke koje mediji šalju pišući o tehnološkim inovacijama.

Džonatan Čarteris-Blek, začetnik kritičke analize metafora, kombinuje oblasti kao što su kognitivna lingvistika, pragmatika, kritička analiza diskursa i korpusna lingvistika kako bi definisao ideološke motivacije za upotrebu metaforičkih izraza (Charteris-Black 2004: 2, 28). U ovom radu, njegov metodološki okvir koristi se za analizu metafora u medijskom diskursu o veštačkoj inteligenciji. Šest članaka koji su preuzeti sa medijskih portala *RTS*, *Politika*, *Blic*, *Danas*, *Ona.rs* i *Insajder* analiziraju se u tri koraka (izbor članaka i detalji o istim razjašnjeni su dalje u radu). Najpre se *identifikuju* metafore i metaforički izrazi prisutni u svakom od njih (po metodi MIP), kao i njihova semantička tenzija u skladu sa lingvističkim, pragmatičkim i kognitivnim kriterijumima. Posle toga, sledi *interpretacija* ovih metafora i metaforičkih izraza: definišu se pojmovne metafore koje iz njih proističu, kao i frekventnost upotrebe pojmovnih metafora sa pozitivnom, neutralnom i negativnom evaluativnom vrednošću. Poslednji korak vezan je za *diskusiju* o prethodno dobijenim rezultatima analize i formulisanje pojmovnog ključa koji povezuje sve prethodno navedene pojmovne metafore, a koji ilustruje suštinu čitavog diskursa. Uzima se u obzir i kontekst diskursa, kako bi rezultati bili što precizniji.

Motivacija za ovo istraživanje, kao i njegov cilj, zasnivaju se na činjenici da je ideologija, kao što Goutli sugerise, „često neprimetna i sveprisutna kao i vazduh kojim dišemo“³ (Goatly 2007: 1). Neophodno je skrenuti pažnju na značaj prepoznavanja skrivenih ideoloških poruka u medijskom diskursu, kako bi pojedinac mogao objektivno da presudi o određenoj tematici, svesno uzimajući u obzir i preispitujući ideologije koje su mu nametnute u procesu informisanja. S tim u vezi je i hipoteza: pretpostavlja se da će ideologija biti povezana sa odabirom određenih metafora, kao i da će u analiziranim člancima ideološke poruke vezane za veštačku inteligenciju biti dominantno negativne prirode.

2. PREGLED LITERATURE

2.1. KOGNITIVNA LINGVISTIKA I KRITIČKA ANALIZA DISKURSA

Kognitivna lingvistika i kritička analiza diskursa dugo nisu izučavane zajedno, iako je sam pojam *ideologije*, ključan za kritičku analizu diskursa, tesno povezan sa ljudskom kognicijom. Po rečima van Dajka, ideologije su oblik društvene kognicije, „sistemi verovanja koji su zajednički za određenu zajednicu“, a predstavljaju koren podele na *Mi* i *Oni*: ideološke zajednice imaju tendenciju da „presuđuju“ u korist svoje ideologije, tretirajući je kao ispravnu, ujedno smatrajući ostale ideologije neispravnim i/ili negativnim (Van Dijk 2013: 177–178). Goutli ističe da ne veruje u to da postoji mišljenje koje nije zasnovano na određenoj ideologiji, jer se ona nalazi „kako u glavi, tako i u diskursu“ (Goatly 2007: 1–2).

Kritička analiza diskursa je interdisciplinarna oblast analize usmenog i pismenog diskursa uz čiju pomoć se skreće pažnja na često nesvesne lingvističke „prenosnike“ određenih ideologija kao što su rasizam, seksizam, i mnogih drugih. Veza kritičke analize

3 Ovaj i sve naredne citate preuzete iz engleskih izvora prevela je na srpski jezik autorka rada.

diskursa i kognitivne lingvistike sastoji se u tome što „kognitivna lingvistika povezuje *ideologiju u jeziku* sa pojmovnim i jezičkim pojavama koje formiraju specifične, iako često nesvesne, stavove... ili usmeravaju govornike prema određenim stavovima“ (Dirven *et al.* 2007: 1224). Jedne od mnogih takvih lingvističkih pojava, ili, metaforički rečeno, lingvističkih prenosnika koji se mogu pojaviti u raznim tipovima diskursa, prilično univerzalne i ubedljive, jesu upravo metafore.

Muzolf navodi da je metaforički govor bio ključan za retoriku još od antičkog doba, ali i da je već tada metafora smatrana opasnom stilskom figurom (Musolff 2012: 302). Prema rečima Lejkofa i Džonsona, shvatiti metaforu samo kao nešto što se pojavljuje u rečima pesnika kako bi se jeziku pridodala raskošnost je u korenu pogrešno – naprotiv, metafora je sveprisutna, pre svega iz razloga što je „veći deo našeg pojmovnog sistema u stvari metaforički“ (Lakoff/Johnson 2003: 12). Revolucionarnu ideju koju su ova dva autora formulisala jednostavno je objasniti na sledeći način: izgovarajući rečenice kao što su „*pobio* mi je svaki argument“ ili „nikad nisam *pobedio* u raspravi sa njim“, ljudi povezuju pojam RASPRAVE sa metaforičkim izrazima koji upućuju na RAT, čime dolazi do formiranja *pojmovne metafore* RASPRAVA JE RAT (Lakoff/Johnson 2003: 12–13). Pojmovna metafora se konstruiše prema formuli CILJNI DOMEN JE IZVORNI DOMEN, te je u prethodno pomenutoj pojmovnoj metafori RASPRAVA – ciljni domen, koji se percipira kroz izvorni domen – RAT. Kroz prizmu pojmovne metafore moguće je uočiti ideologije, stavove, vrednosti određenog društva, a njihov pozitivan aspekt je prednost koju govornik dobija njihovim korišćenjem – primera radi, ukoliko neko upotrebi pojmovnu metaforu POLITIČKI PROTIVNIK JE PARAZIT, „umesto da demonstrira i potkrepljuje svoje tvrdnje činjenicama koje mogu biti kritički analizirane i preispitane, govornik/pisac poziva slušaoce/čitaoce da pristupe svom znanju o tome da je bolest nepoželjna i da je treba lečiti“ (Musolff 2012: 303). Međutim, Muzolf napominje da ovakva moć može biti iskorišćena i u pogrešne svrhe, jer se pod velom figurativnog govora mogu skrivati i ekstremistički stavovi, što je vidljivo iz nacističke propagande ili rasističkog diskursa koji su skloni dehumanizovanju svojih „protivnika“ (Musolff 2012: 302–303). Neophodno je imati u vidu ovakav uticaj ideologije izražene kroz kognitivno-lingvističke elemente kao što je pojmovna metafora, i u skladu sa tim postupati pri usvajanju pismenih i usmenih poruka, pre svega u medijima – medijski diskurs je poznat kao plodno tle za ideologiju izraženu kroz pojmovne metafore, i često se pojavljuje u kritičkoj analizi diskursa koja pomaže da se razvije kritički odnos prema porukama koje dobijamo putem medija (O’Keeffe 2011: 441).

2.2. VEŠTAČKA INTELIGENCIJA

Od trenutka kada je nastao, pojam *veštačka inteligencija* (VI) povezivan je više sa svetom naučne fantastike nego sa stvarnošću. Započinjući svoj članak o istoriji veštačke inteligencije, Henlajn i Kaplan navode reči pisca naučne fantastike Artura Klarka o tome da je napredna tehnologija toliko neverovatna da ju je nemoguće razlikovati od magije (Haenlein/Kaplan 2019: 2). I Cvetković pominje u svom članku pisca naučne fantastike, ovaj put Isaka Asimova, koji je u svoje vreme, pre osam decenija, formulisao zakone robotike (Cvetković 2023: 23). Kako se tehnološki napredak ubrzava iz godine u godinu, ovakva književnost prestaje da bude svet mašte, i donekle počinje da poprima oblik stvarnosti – u svakom slučaju, dovoljno da se ljudi zabrinuto zapitaju: da li postoji mogućnost da čovečanstvo izgubi kontrolu nad svojim izumom?

Veštačka inteligencija kao termin ozvaničena je 1956. godine od strane Marvina Minskog (Marvin Minsky) i Džona Makartija (John McCarthy), kada je postala i punopravna oblast akademskog istraživanja, a precizno se definiše kao „sposobnost sistema da ispravno tumači eksterne podatke, da uči iz ovih podataka, kao i da koristi stečeno znanje za postizanje specifičnih ciljeva i izvršenje zadataka putem fleksibilne adaptacije“ (Haenlein/Kaplan 2019: 1, 3). Ipak, njeno „rođenje“ povezuje se sa prethodno pomenutim piscem, Isakom Asimovim, 1942. godinom i njegovom pričom koja je inspirisala generacije naučnika u sferi robotike, a koja uključuje i poznata *Tri zakona robotike* kako bi se sprečio scenario u kom bi roboti prevladali nad ljudima (Asimov 2004: 37). Jasno je da je već tada postojao određeni strah da bi, hipotetički, veštačka inteligencija mogla da nadmaši ljudsku i bude opasna po čovečanstvo. Međutim, ovo je tek začetak takvih ideja. U isto vreme, engleski matematičar Alan Tjuring (Alan Turing) izumeo je prvog „robota“, što predstavlja otkriće koje je pokrenulo istraživanja u oblasti veštačke inteligencije, a u dvadeset prvom veku inovativna tehnologija *dubokog učenja* (engl. *deep learning*) uvela je veštačku inteligenciju u široku primenu kroz pametne zvučnike, autonomna vozila, društvene mreže – tehnologiju koju ljudi koriste u svakodnevnom životu (Haenlein/Kaplan 2019: 2–4).

Na današnji dan, po rečima Cvetkovića, na korak smo bliže tzv. „Asimovljevom dobu“ koje podrazumeva da „čovek i prirodni fenomeni prestaju da budu jedini pokretači društvenih zbivanja“ (Cvetković 2023: 25) – primera radi, savremena veštačka inteligencija u stanju je da nezavisno od čoveka zaključuje šta je u konkretnoj situaciji najbolje rešenje. Zajedno sa ovakvim tehnološkim napretkom, povećava se i ljudski strah: rezultati istraživanja *Rojtersa* ukazuju na to da 61% stanovništva SAD-a smatra da veštačka inteligencija predstavlja opasnost po sudbinu čovečanstva (Tong 2023), dok *YouGov* ilustruje da je ovakva vrsta zabrinutosti prisutna i u Britaniji (Smith 2023). Ovakav stav javnosti dominantan je i na globalnom nivou, a tri od pet osoba zabrinuto je i da će veštačka inteligencija preuzeti ljudska radna mesta (Shah 2023) – kao što je to opisao Cvetković, čovek strahuje da ne postane „suvišan“ u radu, ali i u odlučivanju vezanom za rad (Cvetković 2023: 24). Međutim, on navodi i da „današnji programi za razgovor (*ChatGPT* i dr.)... još uvek oblikuju odgovore i tekstove samo na osnovu unesenih podataka“, iako se to može promeniti u svakom trenutku, čime bi veštačka inteligencija postala „zaseban oblik života“ i započela „borbu za opstanak“ (Cvetković 2023: 25). Ipak, primećuje se i druga tačka gledišta. Postoje studije o tome kako veštačka inteligencija može doprineti mnogim oblastima: od obrazovanja, gde može pomoći, između ostalog, asistiranjem studentima i personalizovanjem preporuka za učenje (Biswas 2023: 5), pa sve do medicine, gde već postoje raznovrsne aplikacije koje donekle olakšavaju posao medicinskim radnicima (Beam *et al.* 2023). Nepoznato je u kom pravcu će se kretati inovacije vezane za veštačku inteligenciju, i do koje mere će ona postati autonomna, možda čak i svesna. Međutim, za analizu metafora, kognitivno-lingvističkih elemenata koji odražavaju ljudsku svest o određenoj tematici, neophodno je uzeti u obzir ova podeljena mišljenja kako bi se kompletno razumela motivacija za izbor određenih metafora, bilo svesna, bilo nesvesna.

2.3. TEORIJSKI OKVIR: TEORIJA POJMOVNIH METAFORA I KRITIČKA ANALIZA METAFORA

Prethodno je već rečeno da se spoj kritičke analize diskursa i kognitivne lingvistike pokazao kao odličan za prepoznavanje ideologije skrivene u pojmovnim metaforama u diskursu. Iz tog razloga, Džonatan Čarteris-Blek formulisao je teoriju koja spaja ove dve lingvističke oblasti, zasniva se na *teoriji pojmovnih metafora* po Lejkofu i Džonsonu (Lakoff/Johnson 2003), i služi upravo za definisanje i objašnjenje upotrebe pojmovnih metafora u raznim tipovima diskursa – *kritičku analizu metafora* (Charteris-Black 2004).

Teorija pojmovnih metafora koju su uveli Lejkof i Džonson posmatra metafore kao deo ljudskog pojmovnog sistema – ukoliko ne bi bile ukorenjene u ljudskom mišljenju i razumevanju sveta, ne bi postojale ni kao jezički izrazi (Lakoff/Johnson 2003: 14). U ovoj teoriji smatra se i da metaforički izrazi odražavaju fundamentalne pojmove i kulturne vrednosti u okviru određenog društva, na šta ukazuju i primeri koje su autori naveli, u skladu sa prethodno predstavljenim u ovom radu šablonom za konstrukciju pojmovne metafore (CILJNI DOMEN JE IZVORNI DOMEN): društveno-kulturna vrednost „više je bolje“ odgovara pojmovnim metaforama VIŠE JE GORE (MORE IS UP) i DOBRO JE GORE (GOOD IS UP), dok „manje je bolje“ istim ne odgovara (Lakoff/Johnson 2003: 29). U suštini, može se reći da su metafore neka vrsta mosta između individualnog i kolektivnog razumevanja, i njihova sistematičnost (povezanost metaforičkih jezičkih izraza i metaforičke konceptualizacije) ih čini ključnim za razumevanje metaforičke prirode ljudskih aktivnosti (Lakoff/Johnson 2003: 15).

Dodatno, Čarteris-Blek ističe da je metafora stilska figura koja ima, pre svega, moć ubeđivanja; poreklo ovog pojma su grčke reči *meta* (sa/posle) i *pherein* (nositi), što zajedno ukazuje na *preneseno značenje* (Charteris-Black 2004: 7, 19). On izričito definiše metaforu kao „jezičku pojavu koja je rezultat prenošenja upotrebe reči ili fraze iz kontekstualne situacije ili domena u kojem se očekuje da će se pojaviti u drugu kontekstualnu situaciju ili domen gde se ne očekuje da će se pojaviti, zbog čega dolazi do *semantičke tenzije*“ koja se zatim razrešava u okviru pojmovne metafore (Charteris-Black 2004: 21–22). Autor ponavlja da korišćenje metafora zavisi od određene ideologije (Charteris-Black 2004: 8), i upravo u tome se sastoji primarna veza između teorije pojmovnih metafora Lejkofa i Džonsona i kritičke analize metafora Čarteris-Bleka: prva istražuje sveukupnu vezu metafora sa ljudskim mišljenjem i razumevanjem sveta, dok se druga konkretno bavi društvenim implikacijama metafora u ideološkom smislu.

Po rečima Čarteris-Bleka, ključni element njegovog pristupa sastoji se u tome da on uzima u obzir lingvističke, pragmatičke i kognitivne karakteristike metafore, a spaja oblasti kao što su kognitivna lingvistika, pragmatika, kritička analiza diskursa i korpusna lingvistika (Charteris-Black 2004: 2, 28). Njegov teorijski okvir zasniva se na pomenutim pojmovnim metaforama koje su formulisali Lejkof i Džonson (Lakoff/Johnson), što predstavlja kognitivno-semantički pristup analizi metafora, a kombinuje se sa pragmatičkim faktorima vezanim za kontekst komunikacije u okviru koje se određena metafora koristi – ovo je, zapravo, *kritički deo kritičke analize metafora*, vezan i za kritičku analizu diskursa, jer se samo kroz intencije govornika može celokupno kritički sagledati čitava analiza (Charteris-Black 2004: 9, 10–11). Što se tiče korpusne lingvistike, Čarteris-Blek potencira da je analiza korpusa važan korak u pravilnoj identifikaciji metaforičkih izraza koji posle formiraju pojmovnu metaforu, pre svega kako bi se odredila njihova

pragmatička funkcija – da li ukazuju na pozitivnu ili negativnu evaluaciju određenog fenomena (Charteris-Black 2004: 32).

Primeri primene kritičke analize metafora ukazuju na mogućnost pronalaska pojmovnih metafora u raznim vrstama diskursa. Musolf se detaljno bavi političkim diskursom i pre svega prepoznaje jasan metaforički prikaz diplomatije, energetske krize, terorizma i „većeg dela oblasti političke debate“, ali i medicine i politike javnog zdravlja, kroz vokabular vezan za borbu, rat (Musolf 2016: 12). Zanimljivo je obratiti pažnju na to da je isti izvorni domen pronašao i Čarteris-Blek, ali u medijskom diskursu o sportu, gde se primećuje pojmovni ključ SPORT JE RAT, a na njega se nadovezuje i SPORT JE BORBA ZA OPSTANAK (Charteris-Black 2004: 132–133). Između ostalog, metafore RATA i SPORTA izdvaja i Silaški u pandemijskom diskursu na srpskom jeziku – metafore predstavljaju „zahvalno i pouzdano retoričko oruđe“ (Silaški 2023: 27, 34), zbog čega se uočava tako raznolika upotreba istih domena u raznim vrstama diskursa. Što se tiče ostalih metafora u političkom diskursu, Musolf skreće pažnju i na izvorni domen PORODICA koji se koristi u svom prototipskom smislu i predstavlja „idealizovani kognitivni model“, a česti primeri u okviru ovog domena su odnos RODITELJ-DETE, BRAČNI ŽIVOT i LJUBAV/BRAK (Musolf 2016: 26–27, 31–32). Korišćenje ovog domena vezuje se kako za teorije o državi iz antičkog vremena, tako i za današnju Evropsku uniju (Musolf 2004: 13), što se može reći i za pojmovnu metaforu DRŽAVA JE TELO (Musolf 2004: 83; Musolf 2016: 55, 57).

Još jedan od mnogih primera korišćenja kritičke analize metafora vezuje se za diskurs o imigraciji – Čarteris-Blek u govorima političke desnice na izborima u Britaniji 2005. godine identifikuje pojmovne metafore kao što su IMIGRACIJA JE PRIRODNA NEPOGODA i BRITANIJA JE SADRŽATELJ koje se tiču emocionalnog domena straha i želje za zaštitom i impliciraju nužnost pojačanih graničnih kontrola i regulisanja promena u društvu (Charteris-Black 2006: 563, 579). Pojam prirodne nepogode figurira i u medijskom diskursu o finansijama, gde je jedna od identifikovanih pojmovnih metafora LOŠE TRŽIŠTE JE ZEMLJOTRES, ali je primetno da se u ovoj vrsti diskursa koriste i metafore vezane za druge tipove katastrofa – poput LOŠE TRŽIŠTE JE NUKLEARNA KATASTROFA (Charteris-Black 2004: 169). Shodno tome, Silaški i Đurović vrše komparativnu analizu metaforičke konceptualizacije globalne finansijske krize kroz pojam PRIRODNE SILE na srpskom i engleskom jeziku (Silaški/Đurović 2011). Autorke zaključuju da dolazi do značajnog preklapanja u upotrebi predmetnog pojma u finansijskom diskursu na ova dva jezika, kao i da je ovaj pojam korišćen kako bi se čitaocima pažnja skrenula sa pravog uzroka finansijske krize (Silaški/Đurović 2011: 243). Međutim, pojam PRIRODNE SILE se, naravno, ne vezuje isključivo za finansijski diskurs. Primera radi, u prethodno pomenutom pandemijskom diskursu se virus COVID-19 konceptualizuje kao prirodna nepogoda kroz metafore vezane za razne vrste katastrofa, vatru, vodu, vazduh/vetar, zemljotres i vulkan (Silaški/Đurović 2022: 166–173; Silaški 2023: 30–32).

Za kraj, vredno je pomena da se Čarteris-Blek takođe bavi i religijskim diskursom: on pronalazi metaforičke izraze u Bibliji i Kuranu i izdvaja pojmovne ključeve u istim (primeri iz Biblije su: LJUDI SU ŽIVOTINJE, ISUS JE SVETLOST, SATANA JE MRAK, DUHOVNO JE PRIRODNO, LJUDSKA BIĆA SU BILJKE, DUHOVNO JE TELESNO, iz Kurana: DUHOVNI ŽIVOT JE PUT, OKOLNOSTI SU VREMENSKE PRILIKE, ALAH JE SVETLOST, DUHOVNO JE PRIRODNO), obraćajući pažnju čitalaca na to da su u religijskom diskursu metafore ključni alat za ubeđivanje i prenošenje religijske poruke (Charteris-Black 2004: 200–201, 238–240). Sumarno, kritička analiza metafora pokazala se kao adekvatno rešenje za analizu ideologije u raznim vrstama diskursa.

2.4. ISTRAŽIVANJA O METAFORIČKOJ KONCEPTUALIZACIJI VEŠTAČKE INTELIGENCIJE

Kako je veštačka inteligencija privukla pažnju šire javnosti, tako je postala i predmet lingvističkih istraživanja sa fokusom na njenu metaforičku konceptualizaciju. U daljem tekstu sumirana su neka od ovih istraživanja, pre svega kako bi se stvorila podloga za implicitno upoređivanje sa situacijom koja je sada aktuelna, a koja će biti jasna nakon analitičkog dela rada.

Svoje istraživanje Valenbornova započinje pitanjem „VI⁴ kao leteći plavi mozak?“ (Wallenborn 2022) – na ovaj način, autorka upečatljivo ilustruje pojam metaforičke konceptualizacije u okviru diskursa o veštačkoj inteligenciji. Ona skreće pažnju na to da je za ljude karakteristična težnja ka antropomorfizmu (davanju ljudskih karakteristika životinjama, biljkama, pojavama); ovakve tendencije uočljive su i u drevnim mitologijama, i u mnogim religijama (Carbonell *et al.* 2016: 150; Wallenborn 2022). Štaviše, dvosmernost pojmovne metafore MOZAK JE KOMPJUTER pokazuje da ljudi rado prihvataju određenu „sličnost“ između svojih karakteristika i karakteristika neživog sistema (Wallenborn 2022). Autorka ukazuje na izražajnu snagu i heurističku vrednost ove vrste metafora, ali i na to da one „pomažu da upravljamo nepoznatim kroz isticanje određenih karakteristika“ (Wallenborn 2022). Sa ovim se slažu i Kim i Meher koje pristupaju ovoj temi iz perspektive dizajnera novih tehnologija (Kim/Maher 2020). Autorke analiziraju tri metaforička pojma za „pametnu okolinu“ (engl. *smart environment*): *uređaj* (pojam koji ističe mogućnost korisnika da kontrolišu tehnologiju), *robot* (pojam koji ističe mogućnost autonomije i automatizacije tehnologije) i *drug* (pojam koji ističe asistenciju nalik ljudskoj), i zaključuju da ovi pojmovi pomažu da se formiraju zajednički mentalni modeli koji adekvatno predstavljaju najnovija tehnološka otkrića poput veštačke inteligencije (Kim/Maher 2020: 13–14). Još primera korišćenja pojmovnih metafora kako bi se objasnio nov tehnološki pojam pružaju Karbonel *et al.*, poput PODACI SU RESURSI, SOFTVER JE NOVAC, SOFTVER JE NOVI GRAĐEVINSKI MATERIJAL (Carbonell *et al.* 2016: 148). Međutim, autori upozoravaju na to da metafore mogu oblikovati razvoj tehnologije u istoj meri kao što sam razvoj tehnologije oblikuje metafore – dakle, proces je dvosmeran (Carbonell *et al.* 2016: 152). Konačno, Figar u svom istraživanju o diskursu *Njujork Tajmsa* o *ChatGPT* koristi teoriju pojmovne metafore, semantičkih okvira i slikovnih shema kako bi identifikovao najčešća metaforička uokviravanja (Figar 2023: 381–382). Pokazalo se da su to pre svega metafore SADRŽATELJA, KRETANJA, SILE I ŽIVOG BIĆA, a u manjoj meri i SUKOBA i ALATA, i one se često sreću zajedno i uzajamno su zavisne (Figar 2023: 394). One imaju razne retoričke funkcije, od upućivanja na osećaj sigurnosti i zaštite od pretnje koju predstavlja VI, pa sve do pomenutog antropomorfizma koji se ispoljava kroz metaforičko „oživljavanje“ programa za razgovor (Figar 2023: 394).

Sumarno, težnja ka metaforičkom poimanju veštačke inteligencije uočljiva je na globalnom nivou, što još jednom potvrđuje Ganešova (Ganesh 2022: 61). Kao što se vidi i iz njene analize, od diskursa ruske vlade u kom se može pronaći pojmovna metafora PODACI SU NOVA NAFTA i Španije koja nove tehnologije povezuje sa „zlatnom groznicom“, pa sve do Nemačke u kojoj se veštačka inteligencija pominje u kontekstu pretnje i Japana koji kroz metafore humanizuje robote (Ganesh 2022: 60–61), pojmovne metafore u diskursu o veštačkoj inteligenciji predstavljaju temu koja otkriva uticaj koji one imaju na ljudsku kogniciju, na formiranje određene slike o veštačkoj inteligenciji kod ljudi.

4 VI je skraćenica za veštačku inteligenciju.

3. METODOLOGIJA I KORPUS

Metodološki okvir u ovom radu je u osnovi kritička analiza metafora koju je definisao Čarteris-Blek (Charteris-Black 2004), modifikovana tako da bi odgovarala jeziku rada, njegovoj dužini i korpusu. Analiza podrazumeva tri osnovna koraka: *identifikacija, interpretacija, diskusija*.

Prvi korak, *identifikacija*, sažet je tako da bude koncizan i relevantan za ovu vrstu korpusa i istraživanja, a odnosi se pre svega na prikupljanje korpusa, u ovom slučaju članaka sa interneta iz različitih medijskih portala na srpskom jeziku. Svaki članak preuzet je sa drugačijeg medijskog portala kako bi se u tom smislu povećala raznovrsnost korpusa, a portali u pitanju su: *RTS* (1052 reči), *Politika* (239 reči), *Blic* (1619 reči), *Danas* (357 reči), *Ona.rs* (775 reči) i *Insajder* (222 reči). Datumi objavljivanja članaka odabranih za analizu u ovom radu (okvirno prva polovina 2023. godine, od januara do jula) odnose se na konkretno vreme kada je *ChatGPT*, napredni program za razgovor koji se oslanja na veštačku inteligenciju (tzv. duboko učenje), dobio veliki broj korisnika – sto miliona već u januaru 2023. godine (Duarte 2023) – zbog čega je tema veštačke inteligencije postala česta u medijima, između ostalog i srpskim. Sami članci su birani metodom Gugl pretrage i pretrage u okviru medijskih portala, popularnijih (*Blic, Danas, Politika, RTS*) i manje popularnih (*Insajder i Ona.rs*), s tim što su glavni kriterijumi bili da članci moraju da sadrže metaforičke izraze i da govore o raznim aspektima veštačke inteligencije, kako pozitivnim, tako i negativnim. Izbor medijskih portala *Blic, Danas, Politika* i *RTS* svakako je vezan za njihovu popularnost i raznovrsnu čitalačku publiku, dok je izbor portala *Insajder* i *Ona.rs* vezan za sam sadržaj članaka, koji već na prvi pogled pružaju drugačiju perspektivu u odnosu na većinu prethodno pomenutih. Dodatno, neophodno je napomenuti da je članak sa portala *Ona.rs* delimično preveden sa engleskog jezika, ali je autor/ka tog članka vršio/la izbor šta da dopiše i šta da izostavi, pa je ovaj članak uzet u obzir upravo kako bi ilustrovaio i tu stranu medijskog diskursa na srpskom jeziku – izbor šta predstaviti srpskoj čitalačkoj publici.

Identifikacija metafora predstavlja kombinaciju precizne metode MIP (*Procedura za identifikaciju metafora*) i metodologije Čarteris-Bleka. Metoda MIP podrazumeva, pre svega, pažljivo čitanje teksta radi njegovog dobrog razumevanja (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 3). Zatim se u tekstu određuju leksičke jedinice i značenje istih u konkretnom kontekstu u kojem se koriste (kontekstualno značenje) – ukoliko je savremeno značenje leksičke jedinice u drugim kontekstima osnovnije nego u ovom kontekstu (konkretnije, preciznije, istorijski starije ili vezano za telesne aktivnosti), i ukoliko se predmetno kontekstualno značenje leksičke jedinice razlikuje od osnovnog, ali može da se razume kad se uporedi sa osnovnim, onda je leksička jedinica metaforičke prirode (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 3). Posle toga se traži *semantička tenzija* na lingvističkom, kognitivnom ili pragmatičkom nivou, vezana za prelazak iz jednog domena u drugi (Charteris-Black 2004: 35). Tri moguća kriterijuma semantičke tenzije Čarteris-Blek objasnio je na sledeći način (Charteris-Black 2004: 21):

Lingvistički kriterijum

1. Opredmećenje (engl. *reification*) – govori se o nečemu **apstraktnom** koristeći reč ili frazu koja se u drugim kontekstima odnosi na nešto što je **konkretno**.
2. Personifikacija (engl. *personification*) – govori se o nečemu **neživom** koristeći reč ili frazu koja se u drugim kontekstima odnosi na nešto što je **živo**.

3. Depersonifikacija (engl. *depersonalization*) – govori se o nečemu **živom** koristeći reč ili frazu koja se u drugim kontekstima odnosi na nešto što je **neživo**.

Pragmatički kriterijum

Metafora se indirektno koristi tako da utiče na mišljenje ili procenu. Često je skrivena i zavisi od konteksta.

Kognitivni kriterijum

Metafora je uzrokovana (i može biti uzrok) promene, „prenošenja značenja“ u pojmovnom sistemu. Uslov za ovu promenu je određena sličnost među atributima izvornog i ciljnog domena.

Rezultati dobijeni u ovoj fazi analize su predstavljeni u obliku šest odvojenih tabela, od kojih svaka predstavlja metafore i metaforičke izraze, kao i njihovu semantičku tenziju u okviru jednog od članaka iz prethodno pomenutih medijskih portala.

Druga faza analize, *interpretacija*, uključuje definisanje metafora i metaforičkih izraza kroz pojmovne metafore po formuli CILJNI DOMEN JE IZVORNI DOMEN kako bi se razrešila semantička tenzija. Rezultati dobijeni u ovoj fazi analize su predstavljeni u obliku jedne tabele u kojoj su prikazane sve metafore i metaforički izrazi i relevantne pojmovne metafore koje iz njih proističu, a zatim se radi preglednosti rezultata ova tabela prikazuje u obliku grafikona, gde su pojmovne metafore podeljene na osnovu njihove evaluativne vrednosti, pozitivne, neutralne ili negativne, kao i frekventnosti upotrebe.

Poslednji korak u ovoj vrsti analize odnosi se na *objašnjenje* prethodno dobijenih rezultata, što je ujedno i *diskusija* koja sledi nakon analitičkog dela istraživanja. Ovo objašnjenje je neophodno kako bi se definisala ideološka podloga upotrebljenih pojmovnih metafora, kao i razlog njihove ubedljivosti. Zaključci se donose na osnovu čitavog analiziranog korpusa, a ne pojedinačno za svaku pojmovnu metaforu, jer je neophodno uočiti vezu među pojmovnim metaforama koja definitivno ukazuje na određenu ideologiju, a koja se ispoljava u obliku *pojmovnog ključa*. Pojmovni ključ „razrešava semantičku tenziju skupa pojmovnih metafora tako što ilustruje njihovu vezu“, a bitan je i za razumevanje suštine celokupnog diskursa (Charteris-Black 2004: 22). Takođe, uzima se u obzir i kontekst samog diskursa, kako bi se što preciznije mogle objasniti uočene tendencije.

Jedan od nedostataka ove analize odnosi se na relativno mali korpus u okviru kog se analiziraju pojmovne metafore. Razlog tome je što se u radu ne vrši generalizacija rezultata i oni se ne vezuju za čitav medijski diskurs o veštačkoj inteligenciji, koji je svakako opširan i konstantno se menja, već se skreće pažnja na mogućnost prisustva ideoloških poruka čak i u ovoj vrsti diskursa. Kritičkom analizom metafora postiže se detaljan uvid u konkretnih šest članaka o veštačkoj inteligenciji, i rezultati istraživanja odnose se upravo na ovih šest članaka i mogu služiti tome da podstaknu dalju diskusiju o predmetnoj tematici, kao i dalja istraživanja na većem korpusu.

4. ANALIZA I DISKUSIJA

4.1. IDENTIFIKACIJA

Prva faza analize, identifikacija, odnosi se na prepoznavanje metafora i metaforičkih izraza vezanih za ciljni pojam – veštačku inteligenciju. Metafore i metaforički izrazi iz članka RTS-a predstavljeni su u Tabeli 1, zajedno sa kriterijumima semantičke tenzije

koji se na njih odnose. Charteris-Blek potencira da metafore mogu imati „bilo koji ili sva tri prethodno pomenuta lingvistička kriterijuma“ (Charteris-Black 2004: 21), što je, naravno, bitno uzeti u obzir u toku analize i što je vidljivo u tabelama koje slede.

metafora ili metaforički izraz	kriterijum semantičke tenzije		
	lingvistički ⁵	pragmatički ⁶	kognitivni
veštačka inteligencija – između gospodara i sluge	opred.	+	vlast
kako da vam četbot ne ukrade posao	pers.	+	konkurencija/ kriminal
veštačka inteligencija je izbacila i druge kolege	opred.	+	konkurencija
„borba“ protiv robota	pers.	+	sukob
čovek četbotu ipak može da uruči otkaz	pers.	+	konkurencija
inteligentni četbotovi	pers.	-	inteligencija
može li „običan“ čovek da pobedi mašinu	pers.	+	sukob
mašina, emotivni invalid	pers.	+	emocije
[mi] možemo da „pobedimo“ VI	opred.	+	sukob
[naša] „pobeda“ nad VI	opred.	+	sukob
ne treba ni da se [mi] borimo protiv VI	opred.	+	sukob
tehnologija je dobar sluga, ali zao gospodar	opred.	+	vlast
mašine neće tako lako moći da nas precrtaju	pers.	+	uklanjanje
VI nije svemoćna	opred.	+	vlast
roboti se motaju oko radnih mesta	pers.	+	konkurencija
mašine bi mogle da „ukradu“ profesije	pers.	+	konkurencija/ kriminal
savezništvo sa mašinama	pers.	+	saradnja
[mi] sklopimo savezništvo sa robotima	pers.	+	saradnja
roboti nam kucaju na vrata	pers.	+	gost

Tabela 1. Identifikacija metaforičkih izraza u članku *RTS-a*

- 5 Skraćenice su upotrebljene radi optimalnog čuvanja prostora u okviru tabele, a odnose se na opredmećenje (opred.) i personifikaciju (pers.).
- 6 Mogućnost uticaja na čitaoce putem metaforičkog izraza u okviru pragmatičkog kriterijuma (koji se ispoljava kroz upotrebu reči sa izrazito negativnom ili pozitivnom konotacijom) označena je sa „+“, a ukoliko mu to nije ključna funkcija, oznaka je „-“.

U Tabeli 1 je veoma očigledno da se semantička tenzija većinom pojavljuje u okviru svih kriterijuma. Lingvistički kriterijum u ovim metaforama podrazumeva opredmećenje i personifikaciju, iz razloga što se priča ili o apstraktnom pojmu *veštačka inteligencija*, ili o neživim objektima kao što su *roboti*, *mašine* i *čebotovi*. Pragmatički kriterijum zadovoljen je u svim primerima osim jednog, iz razloga što su u metaforičkim izrazima često korišćene reči sa izrazito negativnom ili izrazito pozitivnom konotacijom, a to je osobina ideološkog diskursa izraženog kroz metafore koje na taj način utiču na čitaoce. Što se tiče kognitivnog kriterijuma, koji se odnosi na prethodno pomenuto „prenošenje značenja“ koje je karakteristično za metaforičke izraze, percipirana sličnost među atributima metaforičkih domena često se odnosi na negativne radnje kao što je sukob, ali i na borbu među veštačkom inteligencijom i ljudima u smislu konkurencije ili borbe za prevlast. Na kraju, nekoliko metaforičkih izraza ukazuje i na mogućnost saradnje.

Sledeća tabela, Tabela 2, odnosi se na metaforičke izraze (identifikovane u skladu sa metodom MIP i metodom Čarteris-Bleka) u članku iz *Politike*, pod naslovom „Veštačka inteligencija uskoro će početi da uči decu da čitaju“. U Tabeli 2 nije teško primetiti značajnu razliku u odnosu na Tabelu 1. Ta razlika odnosi se na kognitivni kriterijum, a konkretnije na prisustvo pozitivnih percipiranih sličnosti među atributima metaforičkih domena. U ovoj tabeli, za razliku od prethodne, nema ni jednog negativnog pojma u okviru ove kategorije, što ukazuje ne samo na drugačiju tematiku čitavog članka, već i na drugačiju ideološku podlogu metaforičkih izraza.

metafora ili metaforički izraz	kriterijum semantičke tenzije		
	lingvistički	pragmatički	kognitivni
veštačka inteligencija uskoro će početi da uči decu	opred.	+	obrazovanje
čebotovi bi mogli da uče decu	pers.	+	obrazovanje
veštačka inteligencija će biti dobar učitelj	opred.	+	obrazovanje
veštačka inteligencija će postati pomoćnik nastavnicima i profesorima	opred.	+	obrazovanje

Tabela 2. Identifikacija metaforičkih izraza u članku iz *Politike*

Tabela 3 odnosi se na identifikaciju metaforičkih izraza i semantičke tenzije u članku sa portala *Blic*, pod naslovom „SVI NA ZEMLJI BI PALI MRTVI ISTE SEKUNDE“ Ovo je 5 načina na koje bi veštačka inteligencija mogla da UNIŠTI SVET“. U ovom članku, dominantni su hiperbolični izrazi – čistih metaforičkih izraza skoro da nema, jer se o većini hipotetičkih situacija poput „uništenja ljudi“ govori prilično bukvalno, iako kroz hiperbolu. Osim toga, kod metaforičkih ili delimično metaforičkih izraza koji su identifikovani, kognitivni kriterijum semantičke tenzije vezan je za attribute pretnje, uklanjanja, kontrole i inteligencije.

metafora ili metaforički izraz	kriterijum semantičke tenzije		
	lingvistički	pragmatički	kognitivni
veštačka inteligencija bi mogla da uništi svet ⁷	opred.	+	pretnja
možemo da očekujemo da ćemo biti izbrisani (od strane VI)	opred.	+	uklanjanje
mašine koje kontrolišu planetu ⁸	pers.	+	kontrola
„mozak“ GPT-4 „sličan mozgu veverice“	pers.	+	inteligencija

Tabela 3. Identifikacija metaforičkih izraza u članku iz *Blica*

Tabela 4 odnosi se na članak sa medijskog portala *Danas* pod naslovom „Kako bi veštačka inteligencija mogla da uništi čovečanstvo?“. U ovom članku, kao i u prethodnim, dominantne razlike, ali i određene sličnosti, odnose se na kognitivni kriterijum semantičke tenzije: veštačka inteligencija i mašine predstavljaju se kao pretnja, koja bi zbog svoje nadmoćne inteligencije mogla da postane neposlušna i da prevlada nad čovečanstvom.

metafora ili metaforički izraz	kriterijum semantičke tenzije		
	lingvistički	pragmatički	kognitivni
kako bi veštačka inteligencija mogla da uništi čovečanstvo? ⁹	opred.	+	pretnja
veštačka inteligencija se mora zauzdati	opred.	+	kontrola
mašine će prerasti ljudske kapacitete	pers.	+	inteligencija/ razvoj
mašine će pobeći ljudskoj kontroli	pers.	+	neposlušnost
mašine će odbiti da se isključe	pers.	+	neposlušnost
„eksplozija inteligencije“ [veštačke inteligencije]	opred.	+	inteligencija
ako superinteligentne mašine žele da unište čovečanstvo ¹⁰	pers.	+	pretnja

Tabela 4. Identifikacija metaforičkih izraza u članku iz *Danas-a*

U Tabeli 5 su identifikovane metafore i metaforički izrazi u članku sa portala *Ona.rs*, pod naslovom „Veštačka inteligencija kao najbolji fitness saveznik: Kako će doprineti zdravlju i navikama pojedinca“. Ovde, prvi put do sada, vidimo da je u jednom primeru metaforičkog izraza izostavljen lingvistički kriterijum: ova pojava ima veze sa tim da se,

7 Ovaj izraz može se shvatiti kao metafora sa elementima hiperbole.

8 Ovaj izraz može se shvatiti kao metafora sa elementima hiperbole

9 Ovaj izraz može se shvatiti kao metafora sa elementima hiperbole

10 Ovaj izraz može se shvatiti kao metafora sa elementima hiperbole.

u ovom slučaju, apstraktan pojam veštačke inteligencije ne povezuje sa rečju ili frazom koja bi u drugim kontekstima ukazivala na nešto što je konkretno; umesto toga, povezuje se sa rečju *magija*, koja ne samo što je i sama apstraktan pojam, već se i najčešće vezuje za apstraktne situacije poput „bacanja čini“. Osim toga, kognitivni kriterijum semantičke tenzije u ovom članku obuhvata sličnost na nivou saradnje, moći, nedokučivosti, trenera, pa čak i kulinarstva ili tajne – skoro svi ovi pojmovi, za razliku od većine navedenih u prethodno analiziranim člancima, mogu se posmatrati kao pozitivni.

metafora ili metaforički izraz	kriterijum semantičke tenzije		
	lingvistički	pragmatički	kognitivni
veštačka inteligencija kao najbolji fitness saveznik	opred.	+	saradnja
aplikacije deluju kao virtuelni treneri	pers.	+	trener
magija velikih podataka za AI	-	+	nedokučivost
veliki podaci su „tajni začin“	pers.	+	kulinarstvo/ tajna
daje AI i mašinskom učenju „supermoći“	opred.	+	moć

Tabela 5. Identifikacija metaforičkih izraza u članku sa portala *Ona.rs*

Metaforički izrazi iz poslednjeg članka na ovom nivou analize preuzeti su sa portala *Insajder*, a naslov je: „Dokumentarni film *Veštačka Inteligencija: Vaš novi mozak*“. Za razliku od svih prethodnih članaka, u ovom članku se na nivou metaforičkih izraza percipira određeni balans između metafora koje po kognitivnom kriterijumu semantičke tenzije ukazuju na sličnosti koje su i pozitivne, i neutralne, i negativne prirode. *Inteligencija/organ* bi se mogla svrstati u pozitivne attribute, *tajna* i *civilizacija* – u neutralne, i *vlast* – u negativne.

metafora ili metaforički izraz	kriterijum semantičke tenzije		
	lingvistički	pragmatički	kognitivni
veštačka inteligencija: vaš novi mozak	opred.	+	inteligencija/ organ
[VI] krije se iza kompjutera, pametnih telefona, tableta, interneta	opred.	-	tajna
veštačka inteligencija gospodari našim svetom	opred.	+	vlast
svet veštačke inteligencije	opred.	-	civilizacija

Tabela 6. Identifikacija metaforičkih izraza u članku iz *Insajdera*

Prva faza analize, identifikacija metafora i metaforičkih izraza, jasno je pokazala da su atributi domena u metaforičkim izrazima vrlo često povezani kognitivnom sličnošću koja je negativne prirode, iako postoje i članci u kojima ovo nije slučaj, a u kojima je sličnost pozitivna ili neutralna. Osim toga, lingvistički kriterijum semantičke tenzije ovde je isključivo ili *opredmećenje*, ili *personifikacija*, što se može objasniti time da je reč o metaforama koje se odnose ili na apstraktan pojam veštačke inteligencije, ili na nežive objekte poput robota, mašina, četbotova, itd. Pragmatički kriterijum semantičke tenzije najčešće je zadovoljen, posebno u metaforičkim frazama koje uključuju reči sa izrazito negativnom ili pozitivnom konotacijom, što se povezuje sa njihovim ciljem da utiču na čitaoce ovih članaka.

4.2. INTERPRETACIJA

Ova faza analize podrazumeva definisanje identifikovanih metaforičkih izraza kroz pojmovne metafore kako bi se razrešila semantička tenzija koja je u svakoj zastupljena. Rezultati su prikazani u Tabeli 7, tako što je za svaki metaforički izraz u levoj koloni definisana njegova pojmovna metafora u desnoj koloni.

metafore i metaforički izrazi	pojmovne metafore
veštačka inteligencija – između gospodara i sluga	vi je gospodar i sluga
kako da vam četbot ne ukrade posao	vi je konkurencija vi je kradljivac
veštačka inteligencija je izbacila i druge kolege	vi je konkurencija
„borba“ protiv robota	vi je neprijatelj
čovek četbotu ipak može da uruči otkaz	vi je konkurencija
inteligentni četbotovi	vi je inteligencija
može li „običan“ čovek da pobedi mašinu	vi je neprijatelj
mašina, emotivni invalid	vi je nedostatak emocija
[mi] možemo da „pobedimo“ VI	vi je neprijatelj
[naša] „pobeda“ nad VI	vi je neprijatelj
ne treba ni da se [mi] borimo protiv VI	vi je neprijatelj
tehnologija je dobar sluga, ali zao gospodar	vi je gospodar i sluga
mašine neće tako lako moći da nas precrtaju	vi je uklanjanje
VI nije svemoćna	vi je moć
roboti se motaju oko radnih mesta	vi je konkurencija
mašine bi mogle da „ukradu“ profesije	vi je konkurencija vi je kradljivac
savezništvo sa mašinama	vi je saveznik
[mi] sklopimo savezništvo sa robotima	vi je saveznik

roboti nam kucaju na vrata	vi je gost
veštačka inteligencija uskoro će početi da uči decu	vi je učitelj
čebotovi bi mogli da uče decu	vi je učitelj
veštačka inteligencija će biti dobar učitelj	vi je učitelj
veštačka inteligencija će postati pomoćnik nastavnicima i profesorima	vi je pomoćnik
veštačka inteligencija bi mogla da uništi svet	vi je pretnja
možemo da očekujemo da ćemo biti izbrisani (od strane VI)	vi je uklanjanje
mašine koje kontrolišu planetu	vi je kontrola
„mozak“ GPT-4 „sličan mozgu veverice“	vi je inteligencija
kako bi veštačka inteligencija mogla da uništi čovečanstvo?	vi je pretnja
veštačka inteligencija se mora zauzdati	vi je kontrola
mašine će prerasti ljudske kapacitete	vi je inteligencija
mašine će pobeći ljudskoj kontroli	vi je neposlušnost
mašine će odbiti da se isključe	vi je neposlušnost
„eksplozija inteligencije“ [veštačke inteligencije]	vi je inteligencija
ako superinteligentne mašine žele da unište čovečanstvo	vi je pretnja
veštačka inteligencija kao najbolji fitness saveznik	vi je saveznik
aplikacije deluju kao virtuelni treneri	vi je trener
magija velikih podataka za AI	vi je nedokučivost
veliki podaci su „tajni začini“	vi je tajna
daje AI i mašinskom učenju „supermoći“	vi je moć
veštačka inteligencija: vaš novi mozak	vi je inteligencija
[VI] krije se iza kompjutera, pametnih telefona, tableta, interneta	vi je tajna
veštačka inteligencija gospodari našim svetom	vi je gospodar
svet veštačke inteligencije	vi je civilizacija

Tabela 7. Interpretacija metaforičkih izraza

Kako bi rezultati bili pregledniji, pojmovne metafore grupisane su u grafikonu pod nazivom Tabela 8. Podeljene su u tri grupe po tome koja je njihova evaluativna vrednost u odnosu na veštačku inteligenciju: pozitivna, negativna ili neutralna, a pored svake izdvojene pojmovne metafore u zagradi je specifikovana frekventnost upotrebe u analiziranim člancima.

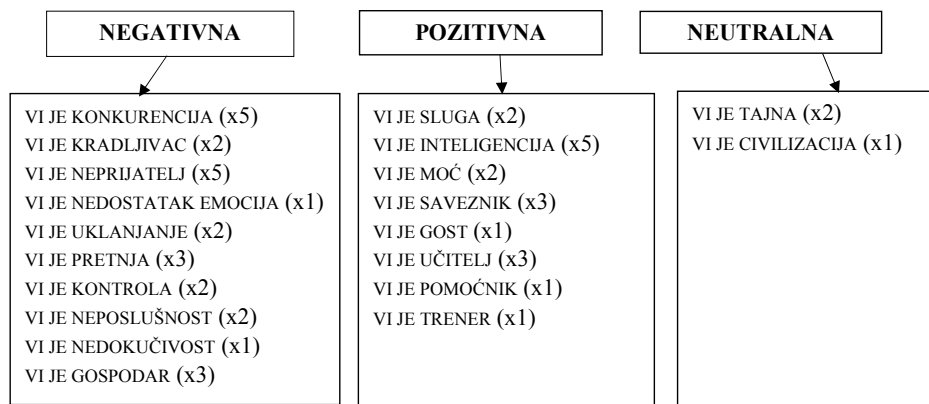


Tabela 8. Grafički prikaz evaluativne vrednosti pojmovnih metafora u analiziranim člancima sa frekventnošću upotrebe

Dakle, u ovoj fazi analize jasna je tendencija da se u predmetnim člancima veštačka inteligencija prikaže ili na pozitivan, ili na negativan način – identifikovane su samo dve neutralne pojmovne metafore koje se ne koriste izrazito često. Pojmovne metafore sa negativnom evaluativnom vrednošću upotrebljene su ukupno 26 puta, a pozitivne 18 puta, što ukazuje na to da negativni prikaz preovlađuje. U okviru analiziranih članaka, najučestalije su sledeće pojmovne metafore: VI JE KONKURENCIJA, VI JE NEPRIJATELJ i VI JE INTELIGENCIJA. Prve dve odnose se na strahove ljudi vezane za mogućnost da veštačka inteligencija preuzme određene poslove od ljudi, čime će smanjiti potrebu za ljudskom radnom snagom i mnoge lišiti radnih mesta, kao i za pretpostavku da veštačka inteligencija može biti uzrok uništenja ljudske rase. Poslednja se vezuje za očiglednu inteligenciju najnovijih tehnologija, a može se odnositi kako na ljudsko divljenje ovakvim tehnologijama, tako i za strah da će veštačka inteligencija prevazići ljudsku i oteti se kontroli. S tim u vezi su i relativno često korišćene pojmovne metafore kao što su VI JE GOSPODAR, VI JE PRETNJA – najgori scenario koji se često ponavlja u ovim člancima je upravo vezan za pretnju da veštačka inteligencija može da zagospodari svetom ukoliko se i dalje bude unapređivala. Međutim, ovi izgledi su izrazito preterani, što se vidi iz toga da su pojedini metaforički izrazi zapravo metafore sa elementima hiperbole. Kao kontrast prethodno navedenim pesimističkim pogledima na veštačku inteligenciju, iz analize se izdvajaju i pojmovne metafore poput VI JE SAVEZNIK i VI JE UČITELJ. Kroz ovakvo poimanje veštačke inteligencije prepoznaje se njen potencijal za asistiranje ljudima u raznim poslovima, za olakšavanje pojedinih zadataka i njihovo brže rešavanje.

4.3. DISKUSIJA

U okviru analiziranih članaka, kao što je prethodno sugerisano, postoji tendencija da se veštačka inteligencija konceptualizuje ili kao pozitivna pojava, ili kao negativna, što već ukazuje na određenu ideološku podlogu. Još u pregledu literature nagovešteni su podeljeni stavovi vezani za brz napredak veštačke inteligencije: neki na ovu vrstu inovacije gledaju kao na pretnju po opstanak ljudi, a neki je percipiraju kao odličnog pomoćnika. Međutim, postoji nešto što je zajedničko za ova suprotstavljena mišljenja –

konceptualizovanje robota, mašina, četbotova i ostalih tehnoloških izuma kao živih bića, čime se dolazi do pojmovnog ključa VEŠTAČKA INTELIGENCIJA JE OSOBA.

Ovaj pojmovni ključ spaja prethodno navedene pojmovne metafore na jedan vrlo logičan način. Uzimajući u obzir i lingvistički kriterijum semantičke tenzije, ovaj zaključak je nagovešten od samog početka: *opredmećenje* i *personifikacija* ukazuju na prelazak nečega apstraktnog ili neživog u domen konkretnog i živog, što je u predmetnim člancima veoma transparentno. Štaviše, konceptualizovanje veštačke inteligencije kao ljudskog bića objedinjuje i pozitivne i negativne pojmovne metafore: kao i bilo koja osoba, veštačka inteligencija može biti i dobra, i loša; i saveznik, i neprijatelj. Ovakva tendencija može se objasniti željom da se ljudima pojam veštačke inteligencije pojednostavi u i približi, u okviru njima najrazumljivijeg pojma – ljudskog bića, ali i da im se predstavi kao prijatelj ili neprijatelj u zavisnosti od primarne ideologije članka.

U nekoliko analiziranih članaka može se primetiti da je učestalost primene metaforičkih izraza najveća na početku teksta, dok se dalje ona počinje smanjivati. To je primetio i Čarteris-Blek u svojoj analizi političkog diskursa, i objasnio je to tako da je prvi deo teksta najčešće najbitniji u smislu funkcije ubeđivanja i stvaranja ideološke podloge za dalji tekst (Charteris-Black 2004: 55). Primera radi, u članku RTS-a, metaforičke izraze koji prerastaju u pojmovne metafore sa negativnom evaluacijom najlakše je primetiti u prvom delu teksta, dok se u poslednjem delu, u kom se priča o savezništvu sa robotima, metaforički izrazi ne pojavljuju toliko često. Ovo može da se objasni time da je ideološka podloga članka koncipirana tako da čitaocu, pre svega, unese nemir, predstavi najgori scenario putem pojmovnih metafora kao što su VI JE NEPRIJATELJ I VI JE KONKURENCIJA, a zatim ga umiri objašnjenjem da se taj scenario ne mora realizovati. Slična tendencija vidljiva je i u članku iz medijskog portala *Danas*, gde su relevantne pojmovne metafore primarno negativne i konceptualizuju veštačku inteligenciju kao pretnju koju je neophodno kontrolisati, dok je iz konteksta samog članka jasno da se tekst završava donekle umirujućim rečima da roboti sami po sebi nisu zli. U članku iz *Blica* primećuje se mali broj metaforičkih izraza u odnosu na relativno značajnu dužinu samog teksta (1619 reči), što može ukazati na to da autor nije skrivao svoju ideološku podlogu, što je logično i zbog samog konteksta: članak je o hipotetičkih pet načina kako bi veštačka inteligencija mogla da uništi čovečanstvo. Međutim, bitno je uzeti u obzir da su i ovde prisutne primarno pojmovne metafore sa negativnom evaluacijom.

Za razliku od tri prethodno pomenuta članka u kojima je veštačka inteligencija uz pomoć metaforičkih izraza prikazana u negativnom svetlu, *Politika*, *Ona.rs* i *Insajder* ilustruju drugu stranu diskursa o veštačkoj inteligenciji. U *Politici* i *Ona.rs*, na veštačku inteligenciju se gleda kroz prizmu onoga čime ona može da doprinese, što dovodi do pojmovnih metafora kao što su: VI JE UČITELJ, VI JE TRENER, VI JE POMOĆNIK, itd. U ovim člancima, ideološka podloga nije vezana za formiranje negativne slike o veštačkoj inteligenciji, već naprotiv, za potenciranje pozitivnih stvari koje ona može da učini za svakog pojedinca. Interesantno je i da se u *Ona.rs* sreću pojmovne metafore kao što su VI JE TAJNA I VI JE NEDOKUČIVOST, što ukazuje na to da članak ne nastoji da objasni samu pojavu veštačke inteligencije, već da je predstavi kao nešto tajanstveno, nedokučivo. U poslednjem od analiziranih članaka, koji je preuzet sa portala *Insajder*, može se primetiti možda i najneutralnije viđenje veštačke inteligencije od svih prethodno analiziranih. U članku su pomešane neutralne pojmovne metafore VI JE TAJNA I VI JE CIVILIZACIJA sa negativnom

VI JE GOSPODAR i pozitivnom VI JE INTELIGENCIJA, što ukazuje na dobar balans unutar članka i odsustvo nametljive ideološke poruke. Ovo se vidi i iz samog članka, koji nastoji da objasni razne pojmove u okviru veštačke inteligencije na jedan vrlo objektivan način, koristeći i odgovarajuću terminologiju.

U okviru pojmovnog ključa VEŠTAČKA INTELIGENCIJA JE OSOBA, a uzimajući u obzir pojmovne metafore sa pozitivnom, negativnom i neutralnom evaluacijom, u analiziranim člancima može se primetiti tendencija da se veštačkoj inteligenciji pripisuju ljudske odlike kao što su osećaj neprijateljstva ili prijateljstva prema ljudima, želja za dominacijom ili pomaganjem. Međutim, u ovih šest članaka poruka koja je vezana za destruktivnost veštačke inteligencije ipak prevladuje, čime se implicitno formira i produbljuje ljudski strah – ovo potvrđuju i prethodno navedena istraživanja *Rojtersa* i *YouGov*.

5. ZAKLJUČAK

Suština rada ogledala se u kritičkoj analizi metafora u medijskom diskursu o veštačkoj inteligenciji na srpskom jeziku po metodološkom okviru koji je formulisao Čarteris-Blek (Charteris-Black 2004). Pre svega su *identifikovane* metafore i metaforički izrazi, kao i njihova semantička tenzija u okviru članaka sa medijskih portala *RTS*, *Politika*, *Blic*, *Danas*, *Ona.rs* i *Insajder*. Nakon toga su rezultati *interpretirani* tako što su izdvojene pojmovne metafore negativne, pozitivne i neutralne evaluacije. Za kraj, ponuđeno je *objašnjenje* čitave analize i zajednički pojmovni ključ. Cilj rada, uočavanje ideološke podloge u ovim člancima, je postignut, a pretpostavka da će ideološke poruke u istim biti dominantno negativne je opravdana. Uopšteno, roboti, mašine, četbotovi i ostale tehnološke inovacije se u ovim člancima konceptualizuju kao živa bića – ovo se može objasniti time da veštačka inteligencija na ovaj način postaje razumljivija i bliža, a sam pojmovni ključ VEŠTAČKA INTELIGENCIJA JE OSOBA obuhvata kako pojmovne metafore kao što su VI JE NEPRIJATELJ ili VI JE KONKURENCIJA, tako i suprotstavljene njima pozitivne pojmovne metafore VI JE UČITELJ ili VI JE SAVEZNIK.

Kritička analiza metafora pokazala se kao produktivna metodologija za ovu vrstu istraživanja. Ipak, kako je u ovom radu analiza rađena na veoma ograničenom korpusu, u radu se ne vrši generalizacija rezultata i isti se ne vezuju za čitav medijski diskurs o veštačkoj inteligenciji. Preporučuje se proširivanje istraživanja na korpus znatno većeg obima, koji bi potencijalno uključio i medije sa raznih jezičkih područja u cilju komparativnih istraživanja. Osim toga, još jedno ograničenje predmetnog istraživanja je njegova kvalitativna priroda. Moguće je u budućnosti iskombinovati ovaj metodološki okvir sa kvantitativnim istraživanjem kako bi se rezultati, koje trenutno treba uzeti sa rezervom, proverili. U svakom slučaju, inovacije u oblasti veštačke inteligencije nižu se velikom brzinom, pa je stoga diskurs vezan za nju veoma dinamičan i sklon promenama, zbog čega je uvek pogodan za istraživanja.

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SUMMARY

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF METAPHORS IN MEDIA DISCOURSE ON ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE IN SERBIAN

Although artificial intelligence as a concept was created in the twentieth century, significant progress in this field has marked the twenty-first century. Nowadays, media discourse on artificial intelligence reflects a divided public opinion: are robots, machines and chatbots friends or enemies of humanity? The subject of the paper is a critical analysis of metaphors in media discourse on artificial intelligence in accordance with the methodological framework formulated by Jonathan Charteris-Black. The aim of the paper is to observe the presence of ideologies in this type of discourse and challenge the assumption that ideologies related to artificial intelligence are predominantly negative in the articles representing the corpus for the analysis in this paper. The analysis is based on combining cognitive linguistics, pragmatics, critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics, and is performed in three steps: identification, interpretation, and explanation of metaphors and metaphorical expressions. The results confirm that the negative perception of artificial intelligence prevails in the analysed articles, as well as that they are permeated by various ideological messages. The implications of the research refer to the fact that it is necessary to be aware of possible ideological messages in media discourse and to take them into account when objectively reasoning about a certain topic.

KEYWORDS: critical metaphor analysis, artificial intelligence, critical discourse analysis, cognitive linguistics, media discourse.

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■ DIGITAL MEDIA AND SLANG IN THE ESL CLASSROOM: HUNGARIAN ESL TEACHERS AND STUDENTS' VIEWS

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Sleng je oduvek bio sastavni deo upotrebe jezika, što se ne sme zanemariti kada se ispituje svakodnevna razgovorna upotreba jezika. Pojavom digitalnih medija, uključujući društvene mreže, značajno su se promenili i trendovi u upotrebi slenga, što je važno istražiti ukoliko želimo da steknemo dublji uvid u ulogu slenga u ovom medijumu i lične stavove koji se sa njim vezuju. Cilj ovog istraživanja je dvostruk: prvo, da se stekne uvid u to kako mađarski učenici i nastavnici engleskog kao drugog jezika (ESL) koriste i percipiraju sleng; i drugo, da se proceni u kojoj meri je sleng prisutan u ESL učionicama. Istraživačka pitanja su se fokusirala na to kako su učenici i nastavnici ESL-a koristili svoje L1 i L2 u digitalnim (društvenim) medijima (1), koju su ulogu digitalni mediji i sleng imali u njihovim ESL učionicama (2), i koji su bili stavovi nastavnika i učenika o uključivanju slenga u ESL učionice u smislu praktičnosti i korisnosti (3). Rezultati su otkrili da se upotreba digitalnih i društvenih medija smatra važnom kao i sastavnim delom svakodnevne rutine učesnika, što rasprostranjeno i među nastavnicima i među učenicima. Nalazi su takođe pokazali ogromnu potrebu učesnika za poznavanjem i upotrebom slenga u svom svakodnevnom životu. Uprkos ovakvim stavovima, većina ispitanika je istakla i činjenicu da sleng nije prisutan u učionicama mađarskog ESL-a, te da ne dobijaju dovoljnu pomoć i podršku u školama kada su u pitanju neformalniji načini upotrebe jezika.

Ključne reči: sleng, digitalni mediji, ESL učionica, mađarski kontekst.

1. INTRODUCTION

Slang and the classroom have long been separated from one another due to slang's ephemeral and informal nature (Coleman 2014; Eble 1996). While national curricula in

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Hungary emphasize the importance of engaging in both formal and informal language learning, informal language learning and the implementation of digital media are rarely elaborated on, like in the case of the Hungarian NCC (2020). Due to the same issues, previous studies have attempted to experiment with incorporating informal language learning into formal language learning within the classroom in order to see if this novelty could bring about any changes in the language learning process and environment (Berg 2011; Krstic 2016; Robinson and Kakela 2006), since several actively used curricula rely on traditional tools. The results showed heightened motivation on the student's side and ensured less monotony in the syllabus, with more life-like language use in the classroom (Krstic 2016; Rets 2016).

Keeping the above in mind, the aim of the present study is to uncover how native Hungarian ESL high school teachers and their students interpret their social media activity and consumption, as well as the role of Hungarian and English slang, both in their everyday lives and in the ESL classrooms. An online Google Forms questionnaire was created in the summer of 2023, focusing on the participants' habits and views on the use of digital media and slang both in real life settings and the ESL classroom. To gain a deeper understanding of the experience of participants, they were further inquired on their language and slang preferences, L1 and L2 use, and how they regarded the role of slang in the ESL classroom. An additional section tested their slang knowledge and familiarity for the purpose of uncovering how well slang is integrated into their language use. In light of the above, we set out to do research on the topic, focusing on the following research questions: 1. "How do ESL students and teachers use their L1 and L2 in the digital media?"; 2. "What role do slang and digital media play in the ESL classrooms?"; 3. "What are teachers' and students' views on the usefulness of teaching slang in the classrooms?"

In the following section, we discuss some of the main findings and concerns voiced in previous studies about slang, the use of digital platforms as aids in language learning, and the Hungarian National Core Curriculum. Following that, section 3 introduces the methodology used to carry out the study, while section 4 entails an in-depth description of the findings, which are then interpreted in light of previous findings.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. DEFINING SLANG AND SOCIAL MEDIA

Slang has long been the topic of debate among linguists and teachers alike. Due to slang's ephemerality and context-sensitivity, it has been difficult to define it comprehensively (Coleman 2014; Eble 1996; Mattiello 2014). There have been collaborative attempts at defining this linguistic phenomenon either by focusing on slang's functions, users (most frequently youth), or the environments slang appears in (Coleman 2014; Eble 1996, 2009). In the broader sense, slang can be defined as a "linguistic expression of social affiliation" (Eble 2009: 82), that is an "extremely context-dependent and informal way of self-expression," whose "complexity can be attributed to the variety of social, environmental, and cultural factors that keep it in constant flux" (Kostic 2023: 14). The negative connotations inherent in slang's informal nature and prior association with lower social strata have contributed to its lack of incorporation

into curricula, which is often translated to the idea that the use of slang is discouraged altogether (Krstic 2016; Rets 2016). As of late, researchers have tended to foreground the advantages of slang use instead of only focalizing the disadvantages (Coleman 2014; Eble 2009; Krstic 2016; Mazer/Hunt 2008). For one, Eble's (1996, 2009) research demonstrated that slang comprises a vital part of language, despite the beliefs accompanying it, is used to signify belonging and solidarity, and is used primarily for the social function it serves.

Though many teachers are wary of the use of slang in the classroom, recent studies have documented instances of younger teachers who considered the implementation of slang into language classes more beneficial than detrimental (Mazer/Hunt 2008; Bardsley 2014; Krstic 2016; Kostic 2023), as long as those were appropriate to the students, bearing in mind their age and general social background. Mazer and Hunt (2008: 45) differentiated between positive slang ("to signal identification with the listener") and negative slang ("verbal obscenities—that listeners may perceive as offensive") in order to test out how their use affected students and their motivation. As Mazer and Hunt (2008: 46) argue, "the use of language [slang] and communicator style are central to developing a positive classroom climate and influencing student motivation and affective learning," which can be connected to Krstic's (2016) idea about bringing in real-life language use into the classroom, including slang (Richmond 2002). Mazer and Hunt's (2008: 55) division of positive (e.g., "What's up?") and negative slang (e.g., "How the hell are ya?") needs to be kept in mind when teachers are attempting to introduce slang into the classroom setting, as their findings also indicated a difference in student reactions and motivation, where negative slang use resulted in the students being less enthusiastic.

Defining social media might also seem like a difficult task: although the word itself has been around for a couple of decades, it has been given many different definitions. One of such definitions is the one given by Russo *et al.* (2008: 22), who stated that social media incorporates "those that facilitate online communication, networking, and/or collaboration." Similarly, Kaplan and Haenlein (2010: 61) argued that it can be interpreted as "a group of Internet based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of User Generated Content." One of the most recent definitions was given by Carr and Hayes (2015: 48), who interpreted it as an "Internet-based, disentrained, and persistent channels of mass personal communication facilitating perceptions of interactions among users, deriving value primarily from user-generated content." While there is still no common agreement among scholars regarding the definition of social media, all of these approaches highlight the manifold social and communicative aspects and possibilities this digital platform provides for its users.

2.2. DIGITALIZATION: THE USEFULNESS OF DIGITAL MEDIA

The rapidly changing nature of the digital world not only affects our personal lives, but also our language-learning practices. To understand how the newer generations work and what teaching methods are more advantageous and resourceful, we need to take generational differences into consideration. As Prensky explains, nowadays "teachers have to learn to communicate in the language and style of their students. This

doesn't mean changing the meaning of what is important, or of good thinking skills. But it does mean going faster, [...] with more random access" (2001: 4), which includes the use of tools that were previously unimaginable within a classroom setting. Online interactive platforms have been considered to promote the expansion of linguistic repertoires, as long as their users are in frequent contact with digital devices. The likelihood of developing digital literacies (the skills related to digital reading, writing, editing, and critical thinking, also referred to as *new literacies* in Berg 2011) is also high, which arguably enhances in-class performance and promotes creativity, motivation, and open-mindedness (Berg 2011). In her study, Berg (2011) found that students make use of all means and devices at their disposal, very often collaborating and engaging in new practices such as collective text editing, copying, and juxtaposing various forms of data into one cohesive whole, practices that have emerged with the digital era and comprise new literacies.

Prior to the widespread use of smartphones and computers, the main sources of information were the newspaper, radio, and television. Thanks to globalization and advances in technology, the birth of social media and the internet have opened up new possibilities for people, who can now come into contact with one another much more easily. At the same time, many more languages have also become available to consumers of the internet. Television shows (mainly series and cartoons) served similar entertainment functions as do TikTok, YouTube, and Instagram videos nowadays. Previous studies have found that students often spend a lot of their free time visiting social media sites and watching TV series in English instead of dubbed versions (Mihaljević Djigunović/Bagarić 2007; Hasund/Drange 2014; Chapelle 2017), especially Croatian (Mihaljević Djigunović/Bagarić 2007) and Norwegian EFL learners (Hasund/Drange 2014: 143). This latter reference shows results of students having "not only [...] high competence in English (including spelling), but also a high metalinguistic awareness and the ability to exploit the use of English for creative, expressive and humorous purposes." For the same reasons, language learning has also been promoted online, most recently on gaming platforms due to games' storylines that are rich in context (Godwin-Jones 2017). However, as Godwin-Jones (2017: 361) argues, it is still difficult to make use of informal language learning experiences and combine those with classroom learning. Online interactive platforms allow for collaborative language learning in a way that is effortless and intriguing for younger audiences who grew up on digital media and devices (Godwin-Jones 2017). According to Godwin-Jones (2017: 361), these collaborative gaming activities correspond to "current language pedagogy emphasizing shared knowledge construction through task-oriented interactions in a real-world setting," which makes a much more realistic and goal-oriented outcome visible to students and can act as a motivating force.

Lately, more and more streaming services (e.g., Netflix, Disney+, HBO) provide their users with the opportunity to choose between a variety of languages both in the case of subtitles as well as the language of the shows (i.e., dubbing) (Bergfelder 2005; Sánchez-Mompeán 2021). Countries like Luxembourg and Malta have preferred shows in their original languages, and while other countries like Germany, France, Austria, and Spain used to prefer dubbing, they are slowly starting to choose subtitled versions of shows over dubbed ones (Media Consulting Group 2007; Riggio 2010). Another important

region, Serbia, and the former Yugoslavia especially, is and was also more supportive of subtitling over dubbing:

Because of its multicultural character, federal system and less strict ideological system, there was a relatively diverse and liberal media system in former Yugoslavia with many regional and local media. TV channels broadcast a large number of Western programmes in their original language with subtitles.

(EUMAP 2005: 36)

As opposed to the former Yugoslavian (and current Serbian) and Croatian settings, Hungarian television rarely streams undubbed films and entertainment shows, which lessens the chance for children and teenagers in Hungary to come into contact with languages other than Hungarian (Nikolov/Csapó 2002; Mihaljević Djigunović/Bagarić 2007).

The widespread use of digital devices brings about constant connectivity and, simultaneously, digital platforms are now able to fill in this void and provide their users with a much larger amount of data and linguistic material than ever before (Mihaljević Djigunović and Bagarić 2007), which can be concurrently useful and overwhelming. Prior research stressed the importance of exposure to the first foreign language outside the classroom (Mihaljević Djigunović *et al.* 2008; Chappelle 2017; Godwin-Jones 2017), while also highlighting how the physical space is steadily turning into a more hybrid one, where digital tools are implemented in the language learning process (Massey 2005; De Groot 2017; Godwin-Jones 2017;) and are also the reason behind the expansion of new literacies.

2.3. THE HUNGARIAN NATIONAL CORE CURRICULUM

While national curricula are updated regularly, including the Hungarian NCC (2020), where the acquisition of digital literacies is considered a vital outcome, not much emphasis is put on the process of how teachers should reach this goal. The Hungarian NCC (2020) emphasizes the importance of learning foreign languages nearly as well as the Hungarian native language, and states that a fluent and native-like language skills are expected at the end of the process (Petneki 2002; Mikusová 2020). However, language classes are still overpacked and lack digitalization (Mikusová 2020; Hollóy 2021), which often results in both students and teachers becoming overburdened with work and responsibilities (Mikusová 2020). The general approach to language teaching in Hungarian schools is still a traditional one with not much digitalization involved, which Mikusová (2020) argues might be the reason why the performance of Hungarian students is the lowest in Europe (see also Eurobarometer 2012; Csizér/Öveges 2020).

The Hungarian NCC (2020) further emphasizes how important it is that students are able to reach self-regulation by the end of their studies. Self-regulation in this sense refers to students' motivation and ability to self-regulate their time efficiently, which also includes actively learning and practicing their languages during their studies (Mikusová 2020; Csizér/Öveges 2020), while also working on upholding the language-learning process informally outside school hours (Mikusová 2020; Hollóy 2021). Interestingly,

the Hungarian NCC also touches on the subject of informal language use (claiming it to be a crucial aspect of language learning and use) but only mentions it in connection with extracurricular activities outside the school and classroom, which according to Hollóy (2021) would be very useful when incorporated into classroom activities. In addition, the NCC also recognizes that teachers play a crucial role in motivating students (Lesznyák 2000; Mikusová 2020; Hollóy 2021); however, if teachers fail to acknowledge the significance of informal learning, it could unintentionally discourage students from actively engaging in these activities.

Recent studies have also stressed there is a need for more authenticity in the classroom (Robinson/Kakela 2006; Mazer/Hunt 2008; Berg 2011; Krstic 2016), as current curricula rely on more traditional tools and techniques when it comes to teaching in general, and language teaching in particular. As a result, some researchers have attempted to test new methods that involve digital media, applications, and devices (Berg 2011; Rets 2016) along with more life-like language use in the classroom (often incorporating slang), and this has turned out to be fruitful (Krstic 2016; Mazer/Hunt 2008; Rets 2016). According to their findings (Mazer/Hunt 2008; Krstic 2016), the students partaking in the studies were not only more focused during classes, but also more motivated and interested in the material as opposed to previous class sessions where the lack of creativity in tasks resulted in monotony and loss of students' inspiration and willingness to participate.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. AIMS AND PROCEDURES

To gain a better insight into how native Hungarian ESL students and their language teachers view their social media use and the role of slang both in their everyday lives as well as in the ESL classrooms, an online questionnaire was constructed in the summer of 2023. A total of 45 participants were asked to fill in the questionnaire, out of which 14 were ESL teachers teaching at more than 3 schools in Pest County (14% male, 86% female) and the other 31 were students (39% male, 61% female). All of the participants were either teaching or studying English in Hungarian high schools at the time of the data collection. The participants selection happened within the county of Pest, Hungary, with all participants being native speakers of Hungarian. All teachers taught and all students learnt English as their second language in a school setting (with some of the students also receiving private tutoring in English). To begin with, the students (aged 16-17) all attended the same high school and knew one another as they were also classmates (year 10). The teachers were contacted prior to data collection and asked for permission and help in distributing the online questionnaire among one of their taught groups, as well as some of their colleagues, who also taught English at their school or other schools in the county. Of the 45 participants, 31 were female (19 students and 12 teachers) and 14 male (12 students and 2 teachers). Concerning their language learning history and experiences, the students reported on having previous experience with learning a third language (next to their second language being English), which was German. Their language learning experiences varied with English and German, as the students had been actively studying English for an average of 6-8 years, while German for an average of 2-3 years only. The students on average were on a B2 level in English, while there is

no precise information about their proficiency in their third language, German. On the other hand, the 14 teachers, of which 7 individuals taught another school subject as well (which was not another language subject), some reported on speaking another (third) language, but this was not as frequent as it was with the 31 students. On average, the teachers had work experience that ranged from 4 years up to 28 years, which meant that the majority of the teachers (11) were above the age of 35 and had been teaching for longer than 18-20 years, while only 3 teachers were below the age of 35.

The questionnaire was circulated in an online form to the participants, from the end of June to the beginning of July 2023, through Google Forms the platform. The online questionnaire contained 42 questions focusing on the use of digital media (specifically social media), and slang both in real life settings and within ESL classrooms. To get a more detailed picture of the different aspects of this issue, the questionnaire was divided into three main sections. The first section explored the necessary educational, linguistic, and social background of the participants, and how they used different social media platforms, while the second section focused on their L1 and L2 use, their preferences regarding the two languages (online and in real life) and how they regarded the role of slang in the ESL classrooms particularly. The third section was designed to assess the participants' familiarity and knowledge of some recently circulating Hungarian and English slang expressions (collected from social media sites, mainly Facebook, blogs, and TikTok), with ten items each from English and Hungarian. They were then asked to indicate whether they knew the given expressions or not. The ten Hungarian slang expressions were *ezt adom (nagyon adom)* 'enthusiastically agreeing with something', *gyász* 'awful', *pacek* 'good, nice', *aszal* 'to laugh at someone', *zsa* 'let's go', *kajak* 'really, truly', *ez nagyon nagy* 'amazing', *nyomod* 'you're doing great', *bástya* 'a friend one refers to as 'brother', *stabil* 'good'. The English slang expressions were *ghosting* 'suddenly avoiding all communication with someone online', *lowkey* 'used to signal understatement of something', *cringe* 'embarrassing, awkward', *side eye* 'disapproving of someone or something by looking to the side without moving one's face', *spill the tea* 'share the gossip', *sus* 'suspicious', *crush* 'infatuation, admiration', *shook* 'shocked', *glow up* 'a person's physical transformation that is considered an improvement', *salty* 'irritated, angry'. The questionnaire contained Likert-type and multiple-choice questions as well as short-answer questions to assess the responses both qualitatively and quantitatively for a more in-depth analysis. The questionnaire's three sections elaborated on in the previous paragraph were constructed in light of the following three research questions:

- (1) *How do ESL students and teachers use their L1 and L2 in the digital media?*
- (2) *What role do slang and digital media play in the ESL classrooms?*
- (3) *What are teachers' and students' views on the usefulness of teaching slang in the classrooms?*

3.2. HYPOTHESES

With the above questions in mind, the following hypotheses were formulated before the questionnaire was administered to the participants.

(1) How do ESL students and teachers use their L1 and L2 in the digital media?

Based on the findings of previous studies on high school students' linguistic and digital habits (Mihaljević Djigunović/Bagarić 2007; Hasund/Drange 2014; Chapelle 2017) we hypothesized that Hungarian students would use both languages online to some extent, but for different purposes. Furthermore, we assumed that they would all communicate with other native Hungarians, therefore, this (communicative) purpose would be the most important when using their native language. However, as English is widely used as a lingua franca, we also expected students and teachers to report on the usefulness of their second language: stating that they watched films with English subtitles or played English games online. Here, not only would students encounter the language in games available in English, but they would also benefit from it where there were multiple international players. Therefore, in this case, they might encounter real-life language use as well as the scripts of pre-written games, which would allow for more variety and life-like encounters.

(2) What role do slang and digital media play in the ESL classrooms?

As explained earlier, in the Hungarian education system's output requirements (the version of the national core curriculum currently in use) (NCC 2020), the teaching of slang expressions is not included, because students are only encouraged to achieve native like pronunciation, as well as showing a deep understanding of the "native culture." This suggests that students are expected to use standard English and Received Pronunciation, and avoid other varieties of English, including slang expressions. Thus, we hypothesized that teachers would not place great emphasis on teaching slang to their students within the classroom. We also expected teachers to report on the lack of knowledge that they might have considering the slang expressions themselves.

(3) What are teachers' and students' views on the usefulness of teaching slang in the classrooms?

Although it was hypothesized that students and teachers would report on the lack of such materials which focus on teaching slang) in ESL classrooms, we also expected them to express the usefulness of slang. The inclusion of slang might be considered a novel but motivating way to teach new language elements which are useful in the students' everyday lives, as there are different purposes of using it. Knowing how to use the slang of a foreign language can help a lot in situations where the communicative aim is to blend in, make new friends, and become part of a community, whether that takes place online or offline in the physical world. The knowledge and ability to keep up to date with slang terms and expressions is in a sense similar to having certain pragmatic competence specific to a culture or group of people. Concerning the teachers, we hypothesized that they might put more emphasis on the disadvantages of teaching slang, as they might report on the difficulty of incorporating it into the material and the ephemeral nature of the slang terms.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

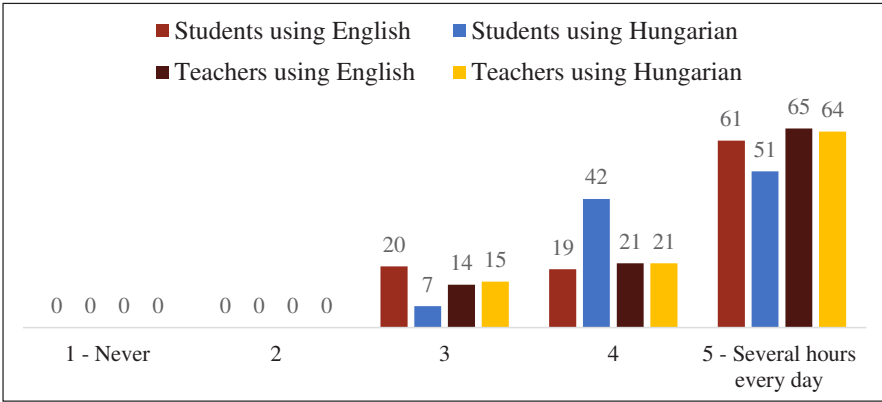
4.1. DIGITAL MEDIA HABITS

The results show the expected outcome formulated in the respective hypothesis: both teachers and students use the internet and digital media as an integral part of their daily lives. The results we discuss in the present section demonstrate the general tendencies of the two groups (teachers and students) separately in order to see if there are any particular and noteworthy differences.

To begin with, the participants reported on using the internet several hours every day (60% of students and 79% of teachers), very often (30% of students and 7% of teachers) or regularly (10% of students and 14% of teachers). On a five-point scale, assessing the frequency of internet usage among the participants, teachers claimed to use the internet with an average of 4.64, while students 4.42. Therefore, they reported on being a part of a digital world where both of their languages were present, although in different proportions. The purpose of internet use was very different regarding the two languages: in the case of English, most of the respondents stated that they used it for watching films (91%), listening to music (82%), seeking information (63%), or communication purposes and games (49%). The same tendencies were true for the two individual groups with only minor differences in percentages, therefore, these two areas have been expressed encompassing all participants, instead of dividing them into two. In contrast, Hungarian was used for fewer purposes: most participants claimed to use it for communication purposes only (98%), seeking information being a second most important purpose (76%), and only some of the participants mentioned games or films (9%).

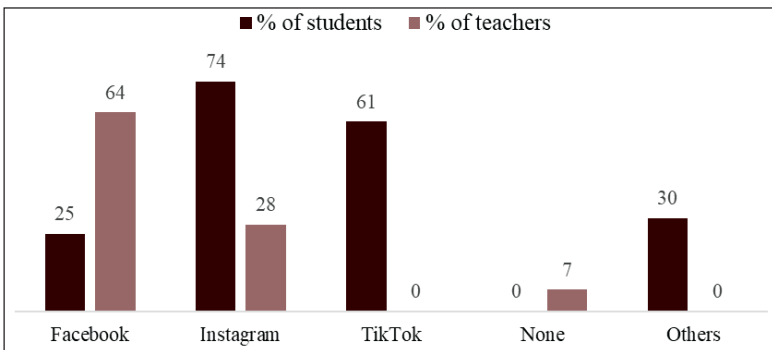
Connected to the question assessing language use on the internet Graph 1), the majority of the respondents reported on using English in the digital media every day (61% of students and 65% of teachers), very often (19% of students and 21% of teachers), and often (20% of students and 14% of teachers). Compared to the question focusing on Hungarian language use in digital spaces (Graph 1), we can clearly see a tendency of the participants strongly needing their second language, as most content on the internet is available only in English, making Hungarian less used in digital spaces. The respondents indicated that they did not use Hungarian as often as they did English, although all of them communicated with their friends online using their native language. Fewer people reported on using their L1 every day (51% of students and 64% of teachers), often (42% of students and 21% of teachers), and on rare occasions (7% of students and 15% of teachers).

The above results clearly show the usefulness of English in a real-life and digital setting as well, where most people encounter the language, even if they do not learn it in an ESL school setting. The percentages show that in most cases, the demand for English knowledge and use can be just as high, if not higher, than the need for their native language use, knowledge, and competence. The need for their L2 use is especially high in the case of Hungarian speakers, where the participants' native language is not widely used internationally, therefore, they must rely heavily on their English knowledge if they wish to enter and interact within the digital world, which is, according to the participants, inevitable. The inevitability is especially true in the case of the young students, who often spend a large amount of their free time playing online games, where they have to interact and communicate with other players, who are most often, not native Hungarians, and the most common language among them is English.



Graph 1. The frequency of participants using English and Hungarian on digital platforms (expressed in percentages)

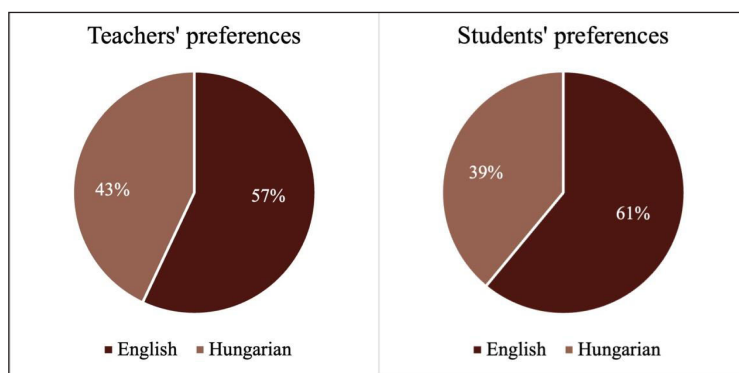
When asked which social media platform they used most regularly, teachers and students gave very different answers. It is apparent that the most widely used platform is Instagram (38%), followed by Facebook (22%) and Messenger, and TikTok (11%). However, when the answers were examined by separating the two target groups from each other, it was clear that there was a large gap between students and teachers. Out of the 14 teachers, 9 individuals (64%) said that they prefer Facebook to all the other social media platforms, 4 teachers also use Instagram (28%) as well, and 1 reported that they do not use any of these platforms. On the other hand, the majority of students (74%) mentioned Instagram as their preferred platform, followed by TikTok (61%), Discord and WhatsApp, and with Facebook only being sporadically mentioned (below 36%) (see Graph 2 for further details). The participants were given the option to choose “other”, with the opportunity to elaborate further, should they want to add other frequently used platforms to the above-mentioned ones. Some of these (not overwhelmingly popular) platforms mentioned were WhatsApp, Discord and Reddit. The average means of the two groups in the case of Instagram were 2.29 for teachers and 3.55 for students, while the average means in the case of TikTok were 1.86 for the teachers and 3.19 for the students. Therefore, the results suggest two major findings connected to social media use of the two different age groups.



Graph 2. The most frequently used social media platforms by students and teachers (expressed in percentages)

To begin with, the fact that students are more open to using different types of social media, and secondly, that the older generation is largely separated from them, by using the platform that is the least preferred by the students. Both the reluctance of trying out new, more modern platforms and the fact that they use digital media differently might be explained by the age gap between the two groups, as these groups are mostly homogeneous and they seldom interact with each other online, in their free time.

When asked which language (between Hungarian and English) participants prefer to come across and use on the internet (Graph 3 shows an average of the two groups) the answer was quite surprising, as 62% of students and 55% of teachers reported that they explicitly preferred English content. This was surprising, as the question did not focus on the ratio of English and Hungarian content they used on the internet, but the preference of using the English or Hungarian language. This result might be related to the fact that both students and teachers experience the quantitative difference between the content that is available on the internet in Hungarian and in English, and they prefer using their L2, with which they can simply find more (and sometimes more relevant and up to date) information on the internet.



Graph 3. Language preference of content on the internet: teachers and students

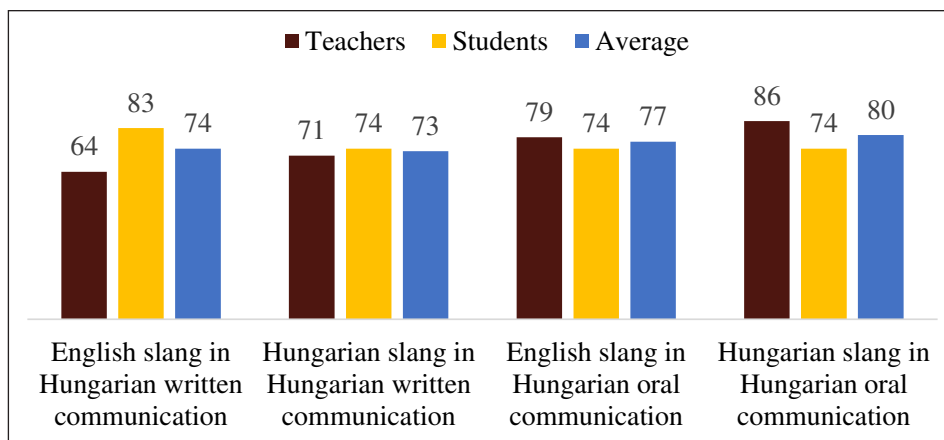
In conclusion, the results strongly suggest that in the 21st century, internet use and social media platforms are heavily relied upon, and the language that is present on them cannot be ignored if we aim to teach life-like, authentic English in the ESL classrooms, like previous studies have also found (Berg 2011; Krstic 2016; Robinson/Kakela 2006; Mazer/Hunt 2008). Moreover, the vast difference between the two age groups of teachers and students also suggests that a common understanding between them might be difficult to achieve in the ESL classrooms, as students and teachers view and use social media platforms and the internet itself in very different ways for different social, educational, and entertainment purposes. Nevertheless, like those of recent studies (Massey 2005; de Groot 2017; Godwin-Jones 2017), the findings in the present study also support the idea that both digital tools and digital language use, of which slang comprises a major part, cannot and should not be avoided in formal language learning settings as they could bring about an abundance of novel and practical tools and outcomes. Students should be given the opportunity to learn about slang as well as digital language use, while simultaneously learning to use digital tools to their advantage if they are to thrive in a world where the future is largely digital and requires people to adapt to changes quickly and accordingly. Even today, the majority of people are already engaging in

digital activities several hours on a daily basis, which requires a lot of patience, work, and adaptability.

4.2. USING SLANG IN THE ESL CLASSROOMS

The second part of the questionnaire connected to slang use asked the participants to report on how often they used slang in their everyday lives. Four questions focused on whether participants used English and Hungarian slang in Hungarian oral communication and Hungarian written communication, while the subsequent two questions explored the proportion of Hungarian and English slang met on social media by the participants. Graph 4 displays the proportions of both Hungarian slang and English slang expressions in Hungarian written and oral communication, where no major difference can be observed at first glance between the two ways of communication. Of the 45 participants, 74% claimed they used English slang in Hungarian written communication, and a slightly higher proportion of them indicated slang use in Hungarian oral communication (77%). However, when we looked at the two groups separately, we were able to see two cases where results differed: 83% of students and 64% of teachers claimed to use English slang in Hungarian written communication, while 86% of teachers and 74% of students claimed to use Hungarian slang in Hungarian oral communication, which are rather differing outcomes.

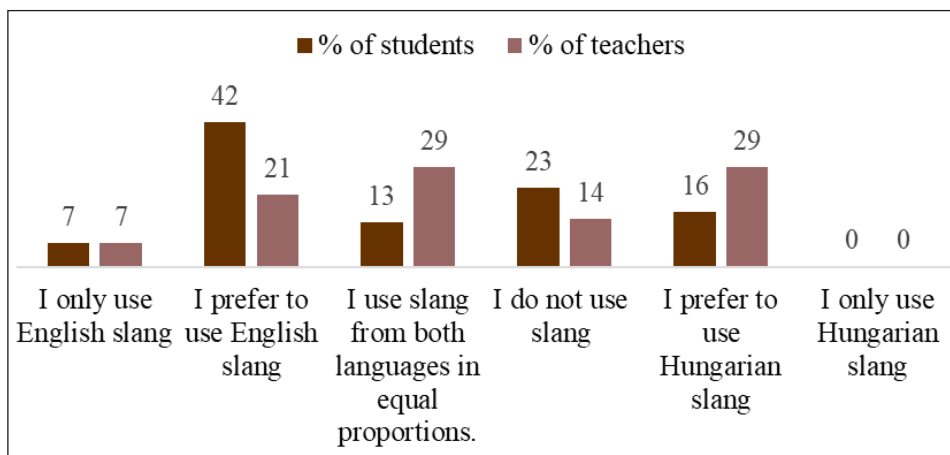
These results indicate that in real life settings, the majority of students (and to some extent teachers) use English slang, while in the case of Hungarian slang, 73% (separately: 71% of teachers and 74% of students) of all participants indicated that they used it in Hungarian written communication and 80% (separately: 86% of teachers and 74% of students) in Hungarian oral communication (see Graph 4 also). Both English and Hungarian slang use was slightly higher in Hungarian oral communication, which might be connected to the participants' perception of slang not being part of formal language and therefore being less acceptable in writing.



Graph 4. Tendencies of students and teachers on English and Hungarian slang use in written and oral Hungarian communication (expressed in percentages)

When asked whether they preferred English or Hungarian slang, respondents clearly highlighted the usefulness and frequency of English language use besides their native language. The biggest proportion of respondents (49% in the case of digital communication and 43% in the case of face-to-face communication) explicitly stated that they preferred English slang (and used it most frequently) to Hungarian slang. Another 22% of respondents in the case of digital communication and 43% in the case of face-to-face communication of stated that they did not use English nor Hungarian slang, while an average of 17% (16% in the case of digital communication and 18% in the case of face-to-face communication) reported on not differentiating between Hungarian and English when choosing to use slang in their speech or writing, and only an average of 16% (13% in the case of digital communication and 20% in the case of face-to-face communication) said that they only used Hungarian slang. Interestingly, when the two groups were analysed separately, differences arose. Graphs 5a and 5b show the difference between the two groups' slang preferences in both online and face-to-face conversations, where it shows that students in general (52%) prefer to use English slang a lot more than teachers (32%) in both digital and face-to-face communication.

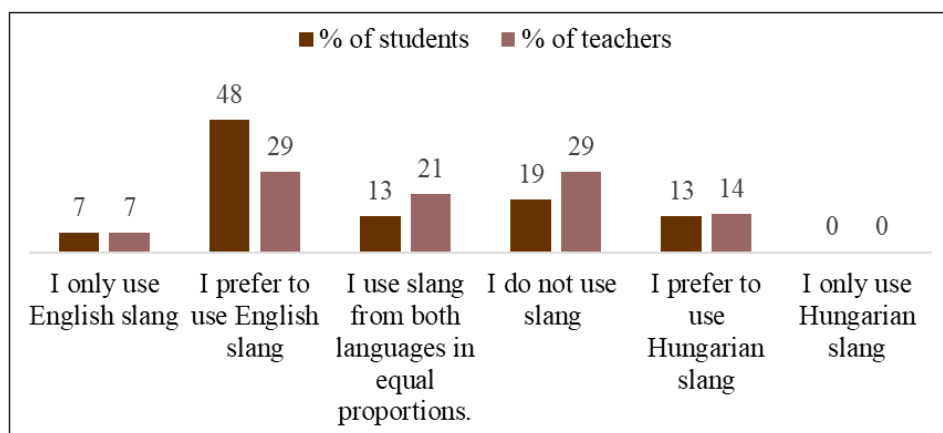
Moreover, it is also very interesting that no respondent chose the option "I only use Hungarian slang" and that a good percentage of teachers were the ones who preferred Hungarian slang to English slang (see also Graphs 5a and 5b). Further observations also indicate that Hungarian slang is used and preferred more in face-to-face conversations rather than those taking place digitally, while English slang is more freely used in digital spaces.



Graph 5a. Slang preferences of teachers and students in face-to-face conversations (expressed in percentages)

The above results indicate that not only is the use of digital media widespread among teachers and students (more so the students), but that the use of slang is also deemed important, especially by the students. As students and teachers come across and voluntarily use slang on many occasions, it would be highly beneficial to also teach them explicitly in high schools, to enhance L2 comprehension of both students and teachers alike, considering the feedback of teachers on their lacking slang knowledge. As has been elaborated on above in section 2, a number of countries choose to put subtitles

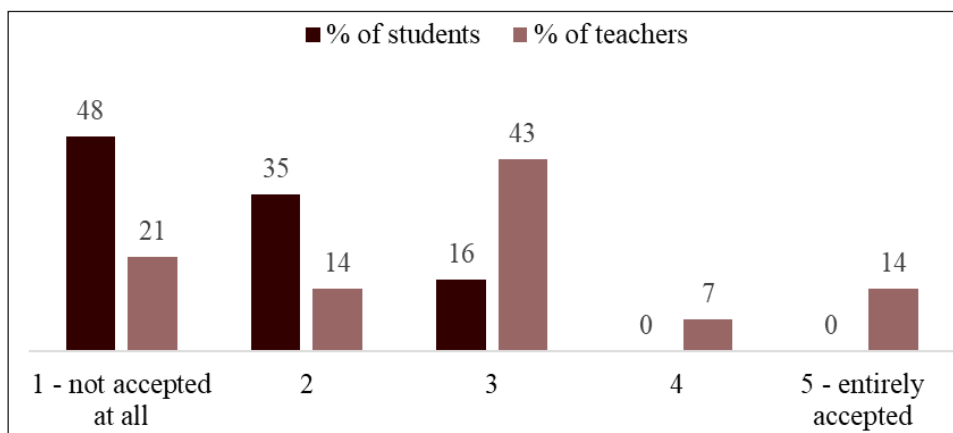
on shows while leaving the shows and films in their original language. Looking at the regions around Hungary, apart from Croatia (Mihaljević Djigunović and Bagarić 2007), Serbia too prefers to provide subtitles in Serbian, but keep the original (often English) version of films, which can comprise a vast percentage of the gained (often passive) language knowledge of those who watch television and browse national television channels online too. Very often, these media (nowadays expanded by social media as well) are the main sources of slang expressions and informal language use, which has also been mentioned by the majority of students partaking in the present study.



Graph 5b. Slang preferences of students and teachers in online conversations (expressed in percentages)

4.3. THE USEFULNESS OF TEACHING SLANG IN THE ESL CLASSROOMS

Even though the previously discussed results highlight the prevalence and importance of slang, the respondents stated that it is not present in ESL classrooms. When asked about their opinion on the acceptance and presence of slang in the ESL classrooms (Graph 6) and in the taught material, we can see two very opposing directions when it comes to the given answers. While teachers more or less found slang to be unacceptable within the classroom (21%) as did 48% of the students, 3 teachers expressed they did not find it unnatural or unacceptable to use slang in the classroom. While these 3 teachers only comprise 21% of the teachers in the current study, all of them belonging to the age group below 35 indicates that they too see and approach teaching differently than their older colleagues. The results indicate that the participants of the present study would be open and supportive of the idea of integrating slang into the classroom, considering that their answers state that slang comprises a large part of their lives. Both students and teachers expressed they saw slang's usefulness in teaching and have also acknowledged the lack of such materials in the educational system. What was even more surprising, was the proportion of people who think it would be beneficial to explicitly teach slang expressions (82.2%), with only 17.8 % of them saying that it would not be beneficial. One interesting finding is that while teachers find that slang is more or less accepted within the classroom (with an average mean of 2.79 of 5), students almost unanimously



Graph 6. Students' and teachers' perceptions of the acceptance of slang in ESL classrooms (expressed in percentages)

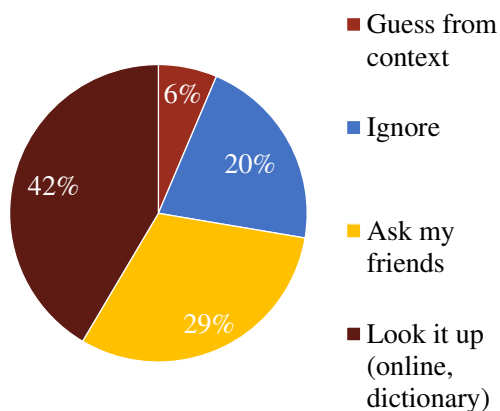
claim the opposite (average mean of 1.68). These numbers too point to the idea students and teachers experience the idea and use of slang in the classroom entirely differently.

To gain insight into the participants' own views on the usefulness of slang, we asked them two subsequent questions: a short multiple-choice question and the other item of the test provided them with the opportunity to give a longer explanatory answer about the reasons. The first question asked them if they thought it would be beneficial to teach slang in ESL classrooms (Yes/No answer), and the second question encouraged them to explain why they chose that particular answer. The majority of participants (82% total, of which 79% teachers and 84% students) stated that they thought teaching slang expressions would help the ESL learning process, enrich the experience, and ensure further benefits along with it. To elaborate on this, some of the benefits the students mentioned were connected to affective factors. For example, students mentioned that "it would be motivating" or "these expressions would be interesting", but also the fact that they need these words in their everyday lives ("I could understand the films better", "I usually come across slang expressions, and I don't know them", "they are part of the language"). Other students mentioned the cultural aspect of understanding native speakers and native language use ("If we go abroad, we meet other people and we would understand them better"). Some of the teachers also mentioned that it is an integral part of the English language and "as the language changes constantly, it is important to follow these changes in the classrooms as well." Affective factors included the relationship between teachers and students, for example, one teacher explained that "it would bring teachers and students closer to each other", which could also ensure a more positive and reinforcing environment, where students might be more inclined to speak and participate, which are two very important factors when it comes to learning a foreign language.

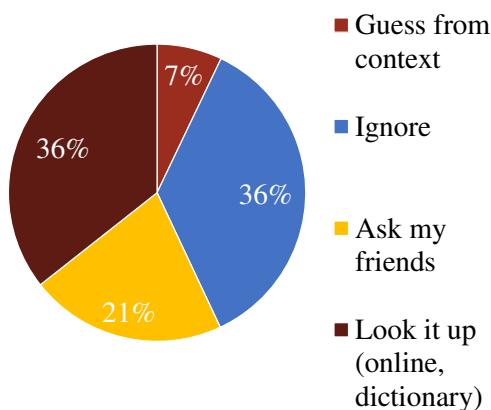
If we examine the answers given by those respondents who claimed it would not be beneficial to teach slang, we can find that some of these answers were not given because the participants truly considered the teaching of slang useless, but because they regard the teaching process difficult or not viable in the Hungarian educational system.

These findings are also in line with Mikusová's (2020) regarding the inflexibility of the Hungarian NCC. To name an example, one teacher stated that "teachers lack the type of knowledge to teach such things", and one student mentioned that "teachers do not understand slang." Lack of time and the fact that students are usually overburdened without additional extra items in the curriculum were also mentioned. These were given as explanations why they opted for the "not useful" option when answering the previous question; however, they cannot be treated as evidently negative answers, as the underlying reason behind them focused on the difficulty of implementation, not the usefulness of the material. One teacher also added an interesting aspect that slang and language varieties themselves help students find and present their own self, meaning that they would be able to express themselves more honestly and freely if slang expressions were incorporated into the English classes.

The subsequent question also highlighted the importance of teaching slang, as all of the participants responded that they occasionally came across words that they did not know (25% students and 35% teachers). Moreover, teachers (with an average of 3.36) claimed they experienced this more often than their students (average of 3.00), which also indicates that teachers are less familiar with newer slang expressions. This shows that there is a practical need for better understanding, and it would be advisable to help the learning process in the school setting, as the results to subsequent question suggest that most people do turn to reliable sources when coming across an unknown word. Graphs 7 and 8 show that when asked about their reaction on finding an unknown slang expression online, most participants (42% of students and 36% of teachers) stated that they looked it up (in either online sources, or in books).



Graph 7. What students do when they come across unknown slang expressions



Graph 8. What teachers do when they come across unknown slang expressions

The second most frequently used strategy was ignoring the words (20% of students and 36% of teachers), and the third, asking friends for help (29% of students and 21% of teachers). As the latter two cannot be considered as reliable methods of finding information, most respondents (62%) do not learn from this experience, although it would be a great learning opportunity if they had access to reliable information about these words. Another reason why teachers might be less familiar with slang can be that 36% of teachers claimed they ignored slang they did not know, while only 20% of students claimed the same, showing that they had more interest in slang words to begin with. Other methods of dealing with unknown words included guessing the meaning and using the context to find out information about it.

4.4. KNOWLEDGE AND USE OF HUNGARIAN AND ENGLISH SLANG EXPRESSIONS

The last section of the questionnaire focused on uncovering the participants' knowledge and familiarity with 10 Hungarian and 10 English slang expressions. The 20 slang expressions were collected from digital sources mentioned above, considering that the internet and more precisely social media is the primary place where these occur. As was stated above in section 2, slang can be found most easily online and between younger individuals conversing with one another either in private messages or publicly in the forms of comments and posts, most often taking place in English. While people (including the participants of the study) may encounter English slang more often on the internet, Hungarian slang seems to be more known among the participants. Hungarian slang was more familiar to both students and teachers, even though they claimed to consume a lot of social media and the language they most frequently came across on the internet was English. Apart from the Hungarian slang expression *pacek* 'good, nice' (with averages of 2.29 for teachers and 2.16 students, where the scale was a 1–3 one), in almost all cases, more students than teachers claimed to know the 10 English and

10 Hungarian slang expressions. The general averages for the students were 2.36 in the case of the English slang expressions and 2.56 in the case of the Hungarian slang expressions, while for the teachers, the numbers are slightly lower in each case of the Hungarian (2.47) and English (2.27) slang expressions. A further look at the averages can be taken below in Table 1.

Taking all our findings into consideration and interpreting them in accordance with Mazer and Hunt (2008) and Krstić's (2016) findings regarding the positive outcome of incorporating slang into the classroom, we can say that slang is also heavily present in the lives of both the teachers and students, who participated in the present study. Due to their deep involvement, a more modern and student-friendly approach should be taken into consideration when rethinking the schedule and curricula. Incorporating not only bits of informal language as well as more digital tools (de Groot 2017; Godwin-Jones 2017) into the classroom could bring about surprisingly positive results, hopefully along with bringing more enthusiasm, variety, and motivation to the students. More and more research is being conducted on the present topic, and many recognize that this type of approach to teaching has long been stigmatized and avoided, yet, recent findings prevail and indicate just how useful this novel approach to language teaching and learning could be (Berg 2011; Krstić 2016; Mazer and Hunt 2008; Robinson and Kakela 2006).

English slang expressions	Students' averages	Teachers' averages
<i>ghosting</i>	2.65	2.71
<i>lowkey</i>	1.74	1.93
<i>cringe</i>	2.77	2.79
<i>side eye</i>	2.32	2.07
<i>spill the tea</i>	1.74	2.33
<i>sus</i>	2.42	1.79
<i>crush</i>	3.00	3.00
<i>shook</i>	2.00	1.93
<i>glow up</i>	2.77	2.57
<i>salty</i>	2.13	2.07
Hungarian slang expressions	Students' averages	Teachers' averages
<i>ezt adom (nagyon adom)</i>	2.84	2.71
<i>gyász</i>	2.52	2.33
<i>pacek</i>	2.16	2.29
<i>aszalni</i>	2.35	1.93
<i>zsa</i>	2.68	2.36
<i>kajak</i>	2.61	2.93

<i>ez nagyon nagy</i>	2.84	2.93
<i>nyomod</i>	2.71	2.93
<i>bástya</i>	2.55	2.29
<i>stabil</i>	2.26	1.93

Table 1. Knowledge and familiarity with slang expressions: Students' and teachers' averages on the English and Hungarian slang expressions

5. CONCLUSION AND LIMITATIONS

The present study looked at Hungarian ESL teachers' and students' language and slang preferences, L1 and L2 use, and how they regarded the role of slang in the ESL classroom, simultaneously with the aim to uncover how well slang was integrated into their language use. Based on our findings, slang is considered an integral part of their language use, which the majority of our participants deemed necessary and useful both in real-life situations as well as more formal contexts. The findings of the present study are also in line with those of previous studies regarding the practicality of incorporating slang into the ESL or any language classroom (Berg 2011; Krstic 2016) in the regions around Hungary, as this act has been shown to bring about positive and fruitful results both for students as well as their teachers. As with every study, the current one has its own limitations. To begin with, the small number of participants and the lack of balance between the respondents (unequal number of participants from each group), also in terms of their gender, makes the findings less reliable and non-generalizable. Moreover, the lack of true in-depth data which could have been collected via interviews, and more adequate knowledge on the participants' language and, to some extent, educational background could have made the results more detailed and elaborate. Considering the rather positive stance and outcome of the present study, it would be interesting to look into the topic in different regions of Hungary with more participants involved. As Krstic (2016), Berg (2011), and Rets (2016) too have found, small but meaningful changes in the classroom could bring about students' willingness along with a much more enthusiastic approach to language learning. These minor changes could well be the keys to bringing about that ideal state of self-regulation the Hungarian NCC (2020) too speaks of.

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SUMMARY

DIGITAL MEDIA AND SLANG IN THE ESL CLASSROOM: HUNGARIAN ESL TEACHERS AND STUDENTS' VIEWS

Slang has always been an integral part of language use, which cannot be ignored when examining people's everyday conversational use of language. With the emergence of digital media, including social media, the trends in slang use have also changed considerably, which is important to explore if we want to gain a deeper insight into the role of slang in this medium and the personal views associated with it. The aim of this study is two-fold: first, to gain insight into how native Hungarian ESL students and teachers use and perceive slang; and second, to assess the extent to which slang is present in the ESL classrooms. The research questions focused on how ESL students and teachers used their L1 and L2 in digital (social) media (1), what roles slang and digital media played in their ESL classrooms (2), and what teachers' and students' views were on the incorporation of slang into the ESL classrooms in terms of practicality and usefulness (3). Results revealed that the use of digital and social media were regarded as important and considered as integral parts of the participants' daily routines, being widespread among both teachers and students. The findings also showed the participants' vast need for knowing and using slang in their everyday lives. Despite these views, most respondents also emphasized the fact that slang is not present in Hungarian ESL classrooms, and they do not get sufficient help nor support in schools when it comes to more informal ways of language use.

KEYWORDS: slang, digital media, ESL classroom, Hungarian context.

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APPENDIX

Questionnaire: The use of digital media and slang among Hungarian ESL students and teachers

The target group of the survey includes Hungarian high school students learning English and teachers of English as a second language.

1.a. Please indicate which applies to you:

- I am a student studying English as a second language.
 I am an English teacher.

1.b. Age: ____

1.c. County of residence: _____

1.d. Years learning both English and German (question applies to students):

1.e. Number of years of teaching experience (question applies to teachers only): ____

1.f. Other spoken languages (number):

2. Your gender:

- Female
 Male
 Other

3. How often do you use the internet? (Circle the number that applies to you!)

1 – Never; 5 – Several hours every day
 1 2 3 4 5

4. How often do you use Instagram? (Circle the number that applies to you!)

1 – Never; 5 – Several hours every day
 1 2 3 4 5

5. How often do you use TikTok? (Circle the number that applies to you!)

1 – Never; 5 – Several hours every day
 1 2 3 4 5

6. Which social media platform do you use most often?

- Instagram
 TikTok
 Facebook
 Other: _____

7. How often do you use English while surfing the internet? (Circle the number that applies to you!)

1 – Never; 5 – Several hours every day
 1 2 3 4 5

8. How often do you use Hungarian while surfing the internet? (Circle the number that applies to you!)

1 – Never; 5 – Several hours every day
 1 2 3 4 5

9. Do you prefer Hungarian or English content on the internet?

- Hungarian
 English

10. Do you use English slang in Hungarian written communication?

- Yes
 No

11. Do you use English slang in Hungarian oral communication?

- Yes
 No

12. Do you use Hungarian slang in Hungarian written communication?

- Yes
 No

13. Do you use Hungarian slang in Hungarian oral communication?

- Yes
 No

14. In what proportion do you use English and Hungarian slang expressions in face-to-face communication?

- I do not use slang expressions.
 I prefer to use Hungarian slang expressions.
 I prefer to use English slang expressions.
 I use slang expressions from both languages in equal proportions.
 I only use English slang expressions.
 I only use Hungarian slang expressions.

15. In what proportion do you use English and Hungarian slang expressions in digital communication?

- I do not use slang expressions.
 I prefer to use Hungarian slang expressions.
 I prefer to use English slang expressions.
 I use slang expressions from both languages in equal proportions.
 I only use English slang expressions.
 I only use Hungarian slang expressions.

16. In your opinion, how accepted is the use of slang in English lessons at school? (Circle the number that applies to you!)

- 1 – Not at all; 5 – Totally accepted
 1 2 3 4 5

17. Would teaching slang help the English language learning process?

- Yes
 No

18. Please explain your answer to question 17 above:

19. How often do you come across slang expressions you do not know? (Circle the number that applies to you!)

1 – Never; 5 – Very often

- 1 2 3 4 5

20. What do you do in these cases?

- I ignore the slang expressions.
 I look them up (book, dictionary, online resources).
 I ask my friends.
 Other: _____

21. For what kind of online content do you often use your English knowledge? (Multiple choice)

- Movies
 Music
 Articles
 Homework (finding information connected to a topic)
 Communication
 Games
 Other: _____

22. For what kind of online content do you often use your Hungarian knowledge? (Multiple choice)

- Movies
 Music
 Articles
 Homework (finding information connected to a topic)
 Communication
 Games
 Other: _____

Do you know the following English slang expressions? (Circle the number that applies to you!)

1 – No

2 – Not perfectly (I have heard of them but do not know their meaning)

3 – Yes

23. Ghosting

No Yes
1 2 3

24. Lowkey

No Yes
1 2 3

25. Cringe

No Yes
1 2 3

26. Side eye

No Yes
1 2 3

27. Spill the tea

No Yes
1 2 3

28. Sus

No Yes
1 2 3

29. Crush

No Yes
1 2 3

30. Shook

No Yes
1 2 3

31. Glow up

No Yes
1 2 3

32. Salty

No Yes
1 2 3

Do you know the following Hungarian slang expressions? (Circle the number that applies to you!)

1 – No

2 – Not perfectly (I have heard of them but do not know their meaning)

3 – Yes

33. Ezt adom (nagyon adom)

No Yes
1 2 3

34. Gyász

No Yes
1 2 3

35. Pacek

No Yes
1 2 3

36. Aszal

No Yes
1 2 3

37. Zsa

No Yes
1 2 3

38. Kajak

No Yes
1 2 3

39. Ez nagyon nagy

No Yes
1 2 3

40. Nyomod

No Yes
1 2 3

41. Bástya

No Yes
1 2 3

42. Stabil

No Yes
1 2 3

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■ INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION SENSITIVITY – A PREREQUISITE FOR DEVELOPING INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION COMPETENCE

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Ovo istraživanje ima za cilj da dokaže da nastavnicima u istočnom delu Republike Severne Makedonije još uvek nedostaje interkulturalna obuka, te da nisu razvili dva preduslova interkulturalne komunikacijske kompetencije: svest o interkulturalnoj komunikaciji i osetljivost na interkulturalnu komunikaciju. Koristeći upitnik za nastavnike koji je distribuiran u srednjim školama u Strumici (R. S. Makedonija) i poslat nastavnicima u Ruščuk (R. Bugarska) onlajn, meren je nivo interkulturalne svesti. Rezultati pokazuju da 63% učesnika ima srednji nivo interkulturalne svesti i da nema razlike u nivou interkulturalne svesti u pogledu mesta življenja, odnosno zemlje.

Ključne reči: interkulturalna komunikacija, nastava engleskog jezika, interkulturalna svest, interkulturalna osetljivost.

1. INTRODUCTION

Today's immigration around the world, and the challenges that it brings in terms of multicultural and intercultural policies justifies the reason to study and implement intercultural communication in everyday teaching and learning. Introducing the term "intercultural communication" for the first time, the scientist Edward. T. Hall,

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differentiated various cultures and their communication as such, giving emphasis of the communicative competence and the cultural context (Hall 1959: 9). The essential elements of intercultural competence are the active awareness of ourselves as a complex cultural being and the effect that our culture has on the way of thinking and acting; awareness of our ability to communicate with others, and to explore the invisible opinions and beliefs that define someone's behavior and goals; the development of readiness to try different ways of thinking and doing things. Intercultural competence gives people the ability to find different perspectives on reality, which makes it more likely to develop a common understanding and collaborative action. Hammer (2015: 483), defines intercultural competence as "...the capability to shift one's cultural perspective and appropriately adapt behavior to cultural differences and commonalities". Thus, there is no separate discipline as one that is enough to grasp and explore the cognitive and behavioral dimensions of the influence of culture on interactions, nor is there a separate theory that provides guidance and approaches to address the challenges and dynamics of intercultural interactions. In order to be interculturally competent one needs to have a deeper intercultural relationship with the interlocutor i.e. they need to be persistent and determined to understand to gain an inner view of the other person's culture (Byram *et al.* 2002: 57). The development of intercultural competences includes aspects such as:

- to be aware of your own cultural identity;
- to know the dominant cultural models;
- to be able to define your own independent position, knowing that it is culturally influenced;
- to strengthen confidence in yourself and from such a position to seek a variety of interaction with others;
- to create interest and active curiosity about otherness, as well as a sense of personal enrichment;
- to maintain tolerance and equality in your interactions;
- the ability to develop and maintain relationships;
- the ability to communicate effectively and adequately with minimal loss and distortion of understanding;
- the ability to reach agreement and cooperation with others.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Chen and Starosta (1996: 7), outline three key components of intercultural communication competence: intercultural sensitivity, intercultural awareness and intercultural skills defined as verbal and nonverbal skills needed to act effectively in intercultural interactions.

D. Deardorff's model known as the Process Model of ICC goes into details of the process of becoming interculturally competent (Deardorff 2006: 245). According to this model, the main elements needed to achieve intercultural communication competence (ICC) are attitudes, knowledge, skills, internal or external outcomes.

Gudykunst is another scientist in the field of intercultural communication who introduced the terms anxiety and uncertainty when encountering strangers. Gudykunst (1993: 169), assumes that effective intercultural communication is essential for developing intercultural communication competence and the theory is named Anxiety/

Uncertainty Management Theory (AUM) whereas the desired result is not the reduced anxiety and uncertainty but effective communication. This theory focuses on encounters between cultural in-groups and strangers (Griffin 2017: 426).

Looking into different theories and concepts about intercultural communication, Bennet's model of cultural competence looks like a very practical and profound concept that can help in achieving higher intercultural competence. Bennet (1993) defines cultural competence as a process through which people learn to value and respect different cultures. Speaking about teaching a foreign language which inevitably involves different cultures, it is crucial for teachers to develop intercultural communication competence which has two prerequisites:

- intercultural communication awareness
- intercultural communication sensitivity

Chen and Starosta (1997: 28), define intercultural awareness as "the cognitive aspect of intercultural communication competence that refers to the understanding of cultural conventions that affect how we think and behave". Thus, intercultural sensitivity is defined as "an individual's ability to develop emotion towards understanding and appreciating cultural differences that promotes appropriate and effective behavior in intercultural communication" (Chen/Starosta 1997: 5). According to Bennett's model (Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity) individuals with intercultural sensitivity tend to transform themselves from the ethnocentric stage to the ethno-relative stage. Bennett's model known as the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) consists of six stages moving from "ethnocentrism" to "ethnorelativism." The ethnocentric stages are denial, defense, and minimization. The ethnorelative stages are acceptance, adaptation, and integration. Each level describes the perception of the cultural difference which is connected to the experiences of other cultures. By identifying the certain cultural difference, predictions about behavior and attitudes can be easily made and education can be organized to facilitate development along the model.

Figure 1 shows how moving from "ethnocentrism" i.e. the feeling that your individual culture is central in reality, towards "ethnorelativism" which means that the experienced the context of other cultures by acceptance, adaptation and integration.

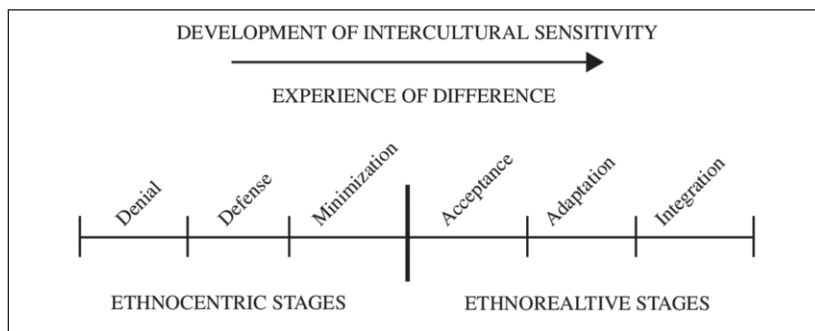


Figure 1. Bennet's model of Intercultural Sensitivity

(source: https://www.researchgate.net/figure/The-Developmental-Model-of-Intercultural-Sensit-ivity_fig1_344750735)

3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As mentioned previously, this study aims to explore if teachers in R.N.Macedonia have sufficient intercultural training and developed the two prerequisites of intercultural communication competence: intercultural communication awareness and intercultural communication sensitivity. According to Bennett (2004:163), the perception of cultural difference is more complex and one's experience becomes more sophisticated when being encountered by different cultures. Having known how cultural difference is being experienced, predictions about the effectiveness of intercultural communication can be made and educational interventions can be tailored to facilitate development along the continuum". In connection to this, the Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS), will be considered in this study and the following research questions and hypotheses are going to be tested using intercultural questionnaires for teachers:

1. To what extent is intercultural communication sensitivity developed by English language teachers towards students from different ethnic backgrounds?
H: Those who have a higher level of intercultural communication sensitivity tend to have a lower level of ethnocentrism and appreciate the student's different cultures.
2. Which factors limit or increase the cultural awareness of teachers?
H: The lack of knowledge in Intercultural Communication limits the English language teachers' awareness of other cultures.

This study aims to analyze intercultural communication cognition among all the English language teachers from the three high-schools from Strumica compared to one school in Ruse, Bulgaria. Up to now, not many studies have been done in terms of intercultural communication cognition and cultural competence of English language teachers. Most of the projects for interethnic integration are oriented towards the students only and that is the reason why the central phenomenon in this case study is the intercultural communication cognition of English language teachers towards students from different ethnic backgrounds. The cognition of English language teachers is going to be measured using intercultural questionnaires for teachers in the state municipal schools in Strumica and finally a suggestion will be proposed about how to increase intercultural awareness which can help in dealing with students from different ethnic backgrounds. The dependent variable in this study is the intercultural communication awareness and the independent variable is the level of ethnocentrism of English language teachers. The variables will be helpful in measuring and comparing the results in order to prove the null hypothesis mentioned before. The questions used in the questionnaire are provided in the appendix below.

4. DEMOGRAPHIC PARAMETERS OF THE SAMPLE – TEACHERS

In Table 1 below are shown the participants of this study i.e. the teachers who agreed to fill in a questionnaire about intercultural communication competence. The table below (Table 1) shows that 19 participants are teachers in Macedonia, and 8 teachers from Bulgaria were surveyed whereas the total number of teachers who have participated in this research is 27.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Macedonia	19	70.4	70.4	70.4
	Bulgaria	8	29.6	29.6	100.0
	Total	27	100.0	100.0	

Table 1. Responded by country

Of all the respondents who are teachers, 18 of them have gained a university level diploma (VII degree) and 9 teachers have gained the title master.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	University degree	18	66.7	66.7	66.7
	Master degree	9	33.3	33.3	100.0
	Total	27	100.0	100.0	

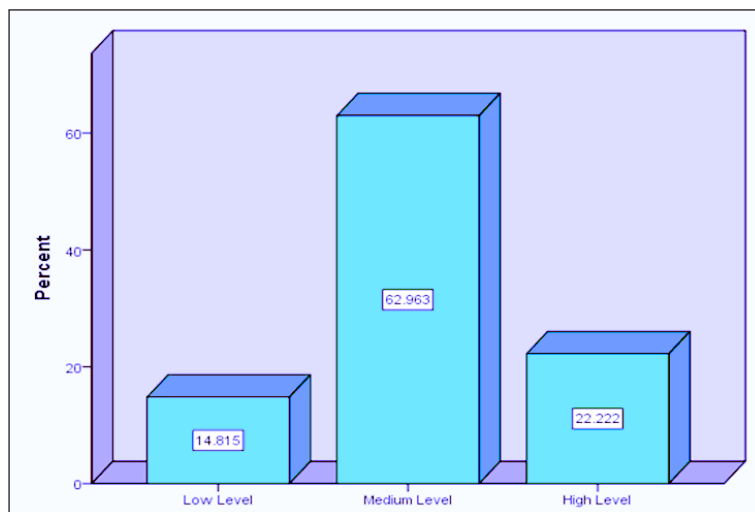
Table 2. Responded by education level

According to the results in table 3 it can be concluded that the relevance and objectivity is on a research level whereas 82% from the surveyed teachers have experience with students from different ethnic backgrounds.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	5	18.5	18.5	18.5
	Yes	22	81.5	81.5	100.0
	Total	27	100.0	100.0	

Table 3. Do you teach students from different ethnic backgrounds?

In order to summarize the answers from the teachers questionnaires, the results will be divided on three needed levels when the general frequencies occur and the level of intercultural awareness of teachers is as follows: 63% from the participants - the teachers have enough or medium level of intercultural awareness, 22% show higher level of intercultural awareness and 15% show lower level of intercultural awareness. These frequencies are shown in graph 2 below:



Graph 2. Level of intercultural awareness of teachers

In terms of the demographic information from the participants in this case the teachers, for the aim of this research the main question is raised considering the level of intercultural sensitivity of English language teachers in the two countries. In Table 4 in the fourth column are shown the mean differences of the intercultural awareness level of teachers according to the country of living and Table 5 shows the coefficient of significant differences:

	Place	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Points Total Teachers	Macedonia	19	36.26	4.318	.991
	Bulgaria	8	36.88	3.182	1.125

Table 4. Difference between mean according to country

	t-test for Equality of Means						
	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
						Lower	Upper
Points Total Teachers	-.360	25	.722	-.612	1.700	-4.112	2.889
	-.408	17.884	.688	-.612	1.499	-3.763	2.539

Table 5. Significance for mean difference - Independent Samples Test

According to the coefficient of significance which is bigger from the second limit of possibility ($0.722 > 0.05$), it can be stated that there is no significant difference of the level of intercultural awareness in the two countries i.e. the level of intercultural awareness is not related to the country of living of the teachers in this research. Moreover, the differences of interculturalism of the teachers is not related or determined by the educational level, according to the coefficient of significance in Table 6 column four ($0.265 > 0.05$) i.e. the intercultural awareness level is not determined by the education level of the teachers in the two countries.

	t-test for Equality of Means						
	T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
						Lower	Upper
Points Total Teachers	-1.139	25	.265	-1.833	1.609	-5.148	1.481
	-1.475	24.171	.153	-1.833	1.243	-4.398	.732

Table 6. Significance for mean difference – Independent Samples Test

However, using t-test with ANOVA, the mean frequencies of the level of intercultural awareness according to the age of the teachers in the two countries was found and according to the two coefficients of significance there is a significant difference only in Macedonia ($0.014 < 0.05$) significant for the second limit of possibility by 0.05 or in order words 95% of the sample shows statistical difference of the level of intercultural awareness particularly in Macedonia i.e. the group aged 60 and above and after this group follows behind the group aged 30-39 etc. In Bulgaria, the situation is different because of the different coefficient of significance which is ($0.567 > 0.05$), and this means that there is a big difference between the teachers in the two countries when speaking about the level of intercultural awareness in this research.

Place		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Macedonia	22-29	1	34.00
	30-39	11	37.09	2.386	.719	35.49	38.69
	40-49	3	38.00	3.606	2.082	29.04	46.96
	50-59	2	27.50	7.778	5.500	-42.38	97.38
	60 and above	2	39.00	1.414	1.000	26.29	51.71
	Total	19	36.26	4.318	.991	34.18	38.34
Bulgaria	22-29	1	40.00
	30-39	2	37.50	.707	.500	31.15	43.85
	40-49	5	36.00	3.742	1.673	31.35	40.65
	Total	8	36.88	3.182	1.125	34.21	39.54

Table 7. Difference between mean according to age

5. DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

- 63% of the participants – teachers have medium level of intercultural awareness, 22% show high level of intercultural awareness and 15% show low level of intercultural awareness.
- There is no significant statistical difference of the level of intercultural awareness of teachers in the two countries i.e. the level of intercultural awareness is not connected to the country of living in this research when speaking about the teachers.
- The level of intercultural awareness of teachers is not determined by gender in this research speaking about the two countries.
- The level of intercultural awareness is not determined by the education level of the teachers in the two countries.
- There is a significant statistical difference of the two countries when speaking about the country R. Macedonia where the teacher's age determines the level of intercultural awareness in this research. Teachers aged 50-59 have a lower level of intercultural communication compared to the teachers aged 60 and above which is a very peculiar result. The reason that teachers aged 50-59 show a very low intercultural awareness result is probably the fact that during their teaching experience they did not have enough intercultural training and experience with students from different cultures. This proves the hypothesis that lack of knowledge in Intercultural Communication limits teacher's perceptions of other cultures.
- There is no significant statistical difference of the level of intercultural awareness according to the teachers' experience with students from different ethnic backgrounds. The intercultural level is higher in Republic of Bulgaria if compared to the teachers from Republic of Macedonia in this research where the participants are teachers from Republic of Bulgaria (city Ruse) and Republic of Macedonia (city Strumica) in this research.

In connection to the final remark, it should be noted that the reason why the level of intercultural awareness in R. Bulgaria is higher compared to the intercultural awareness of the Macedonian participants is because of the fact that R. Bulgaria is part of the European Union; teachers have easier access to European projects and they are willing to participate in them. The teachers who participated in this study have experience with students from different ethnic backgrounds, more precisely with students from Turkish and Armenian origin. According to the ethnic composition of Bulgaria i.e. the city Ruse, there are students and residents from Turkish, Armenian, Jewish, Romanian and Greek origin which confirms the ethnic diversity of this municipality (National Statistical Institute, 2011).

Some of the project in which teachers and students from the high-school "Geo Milev" from Ruse have participated are: "YEPS – Young Europeans Propose Solutions" (2014-2016), "GROWW – Get Ready for the Opportunities of World of Work" (2016 – 2018). Those projects were oriented towards identification of local and global challenges of the young people today and how to find solutions for them. Through these projects the students and the teachers had the chance to improve their social and cultural competence, their cooperative skills for solving problems in groups. One of the biggest benefits they

acquired from this project were the cooperating between the school teams and the creation of the final innovative products. Another activity which happened abroad was the transnational YEPS meeting which happened in Lappeenranta, Finland where all six partner schools from Portugal, Turkey, Romania, Italy and Germany came together to work on the final activities on the project. During the project all partner schools worked on the final product of the project – a portfolio of files presenting the project's development and activities. The experiences the teachers have shared expressed the feelings of satisfaction due to the fact that they have learned a lot about the educational systems in other countries such as the fact that students in Turkey express their problems and feelings with their teachers and most of the school subjects are optional and not obligatory.

Through these projects Bulgarian students and teachers have the chance to find out what are the differences and similarities between the European countries and cooperating with international groups develops their intercultural competence and other strategies and skills that will prepare them for their future careers and the international market.

Apart from the European projects in R. Bulgaria, in R. N. Macedonia there are projects for improving the inter-ethnic relations entitled "Inter-ethnic Integration" covered by USAID. The ethnical diversity in terms of students in Strumica is similar to the ethnical diversity of the city Ruse. According to the Official Cenzus (Makstat database, 2021), in Strumica municipality there are residents from Turkish, Roma, Serbian and Albanian origin. More precisely, high schools in Strumica are ethnically diverse and have students from Turkish and Roma origin. Thus, teachers have to be trained to deal with students from different ethnic backgrounds. The above-mentioned project train teachers in the field of intercultural communication that later is disseminated to both the teachers and the students. The teachers take formal intercultural training while the students do workshops and after some time, they must come up with a final project which can be a portfolio of culture or a performance connected to the traditions of their closest surrounding. Intercultural trainings are rarely offered from universities and not all universities include this course in their curricula.

6. CONCLUSION

Thus, the prime aim of this study about intercultural communication competence is to convince the people involved in the education process that intercultural communication competence is needed but should be learned and implemented in the teaching-learning process and of course previously in the curriculum but in more thorough way. The case in R.N.Macedonia is that the component culture is involved in the needed prerequisites that have to be developed and covered by the teachers, but from the observations of the lessons and the teachers shared experience, it was revealed that they lack more attention to the cultural content. This can be further proved with in-depth analysis and lesson observations, but it is very difficult to achieve this due to the lack of interest and cooperation of the teachers.

The final factors for attitude formation of the students and the teachers are the textbooks. There are still components that must be improved such as teacher training programs, improving the school curricula in every school subject and finally the monoculture school policies which still occur in N. Macedonia. Finally, the English

language teachers who want to raise their intercultural competence should consider the following tips:

- √ Follow the recent trends of intercultural communication of teachers all the time
- √ They as teachers should make the students become aware that stereotypes should disappear, and the system of values will have some potential of making the students understand that this world can be a peaceful place to live in
- √ Improvement of the inter-ethnic relations but firstly with education of the parents, then the students and of course more trainings for the teachers
- √ Skillful teachers are crucial for the achievement of this proposed framework of intercultural competence

Finally, it can be summed up that it is essential to emphasize that the improvement of the current situation in the Republic of Macedonia regarding the implementation of intercultural communication competence in the process of learning and teaching English language is vital. Therefore, it is not acceptable for teachers to avoid the culture component for any reason. Teachers have an important and responsible task to influence the building of the personality of the young people they teach. They should encourage awareness among their students, above all, of their own culture so that they can then understand the foreign culture and learn to appreciate both the similarities, but also the differences between their own culture and other cultures as well.

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SUMMARY

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION SENSITIVITY – A PREREQUISITE FOR DEVELOPING INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION COMPETENCE

This study aims to prove that teachers in the Eastern part of the Republic of North Macedonia are still lacking intercultural training and have not developed the two prerequisites of intercultural communication competence: intercultural communication awareness and intercultural communication sensitivity. Using a questionnaire for teachers which was distributed in high-schools in Strumica (R. N. Macedonia) and sent to teachers in Ruse (R. Bulgaria) online, the level of intercultural awareness was measured. The results reveal that 63% of the participants have medium level of Intercultural awareness and there is no difference of the level of intercultural awareness in terms of the place of living i.e., the country.

KEYWORDS: intercultural communication, English language teaching, intercultural awareness, intercultural sensitivity.

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■ GRAMMAR AND COMMUNICATION: TWO LANGUAGE TEACHING APPROACHES

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U radu se analiziraju dve nastavne metode, gramatičko-prevodna (Grammar-Translation Method, GTM) i komunikativna (Communicative Language Teaching, CLT). Nakon kratkog istorijata i opisa dve metode, njihovih prednosti i nedostataka, sledi praktični deo, koji predstavlja osvrt na kurs poslovnog engleskog za zaposlene u poslovnom sektoru. Cilj kursa bio je obučiti zaposlene za kompetentnu poslovnu komunikaciju na engleskom, naročito usmenu. Dok bi CLT bio očigledan izbor metode za takav kurs, ispostavilo se da je polaznicima različitih nivoa predznanja bila neophodna postepena progresija od GTM ka CLT. U radu je stoga reprodukovan jedan odabir dostupnih vežbanja.

Ključne reči: gramatičko-prevodni metod, komunikativna nastava jezika, poslovni engleski, spoljna i unutrašnja motivacija, prezentacije grafikona.

1. THE GRAMMAR-TRANSLATION METHOD (GTM)

The GTM is practically the oldest language teaching method. It originated from the traditional teaching of Greek and Latin throughout the centuries, hence also called the 'Classical Method' (Larsen-Freeman 2003: 11), the 'Prussian Method', or indeed the 'Ciceronian Method' (Richards/Rodgers 2001: 3). This method was arguably the only possible one in premodern times, when few teachers had regular opportunities to maintain high level of oral fluency in non-native language, nor were the students expected to be orally active. Its prime goal has been to train students for reading literature in other languages. As Richards and Rodgers describe it (2001: 3), it is "a way of studying a language that approaches a language first through detailed analysis of its grammar rules, followed by application of this knowledge to the task of translating sentences and texts into and out of the target language." With the sentence as the elementary teaching unit, vocabulary is likewise perceived as a toolbox for reading prose passages (for successful strategies of learning vocabulary, see Thornbury 2002).

Larsen-Freeman (2003: 19–20) provides a list of some common techniques often associated with, though not exclusive to, the GTM: translation of a passage; reading comprehension questions; antonyms/synonyms; recognizing and memorizing cognates;

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deductive application of grammar rules; fill-in-the-blanks; vocabulary memorization; students create sentences with the new vocabulary items; essay composition (the final task, practicing both vocabulary and grammar).

Teacher's role in GTM is the *ex cathedra* authority providing instructions and feedback and controlling the class dynamics. Since classroom activity can come down to following course-book instructions, often no initiative on the part of the students is necessary. Their participation is segmented, and their contribution restricted to a sequence of prompts and correct responses. The students' role is essentially passive, and their motivation consists in reaching the predefined goal.

Despite the variety of individual steps and assignments, GTM is by far the most traditional method available. In its less inspiring execution, the method can turn out unstimulating. Yet a carefully structured sequence of exercises is necessary on a beginner level, where, among other advantages, the language of instruction can be the students' native language and the tasks can be formulated unambiguously.

2. COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING (CLT)

The Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) "aims to make a communicative competence the goal of language teaching and develop procedures for the teaching of the four language skills [i.e., listening, speaking, reading, writing] that acknowledge the interdependence of language and communication" (Richards and Rodgers 2001: 66). According to Hymes, communicative competence is "what a speaker needs to know in order to be communicatively competent in a speech community" (Hymes 1972: 281). That is, the goal is to know what to say in different situations and how to say it.

Communicative competence thus means applying the knowledge acquired in an artificial classroom environment to real-life situations. As opposed to GTM, CLT treats grammar primarily as a means of support for further advancement of these communicative skills. As postulated by Ur (2006: 5):

Grammar, then, may furnish the basis for a set of classroom activities during which it becomes temporarily the main learning objective. But the keyword here is *temporarily*. The learning of grammar should be seen in the long term as one of the means of acquiring a thorough mastery of the language as a whole, not as an end in itself. Thus, although at an early stage we may ask our students to learn a certain structure through exercises that concentrate on virtually meaningless manipulations of language we should quickly progress to activities that use it meaningfully. And even these activities will be superseded eventually by general fluency practice, where the emphasis is on successful communication, and any learning of grammar takes place only as an incidental to this main objective.

CLT is not a distinct method with clearly defined content or teaching routines: "[t]here is no single text or authority on it, nor any single model that is universally accepted as authoritative. [...] The range of exercise types and activities compatible with a communicative approach is unlimited (Richards/Rodgers 2001: 66, 76). Wesche and Skehan (2002: 208) list some criteria for identifying CLT: activities that require

frequent interaction among learners in exchanging information and to solve problems; use of authentic (non-pedagogic) texts and communication activities linked to “real-world” contexts, emphasizing links across written and spoken modes and channels (for some recent empirical observations, see Vlahović 2011); learner-centered activities, addressing learners’ needs, and goals. Richards (2006: 12) observes that the focus of CLT is encouraging learners to develop communicative competence by experimenting with language and ultimately *discovering* grammar rules. CLT entails not only the importance of what aspects of language are taught, but how they are taught. Howatt (1984: 279) posits an interesting distinction between a ‘strong’ and a ‘weak’ version of CLT:

The weak version which has become more or less standard practice in the last ten years, stresses the importance of providing learners with opportunities to use their English for communicative purposes and, characteristically, attempts to integrate such activities into a wider program of language teaching [...] The ‘strong’ version of communicative teaching, on the other hand, advances the claim that language is acquired through communication, so that it is not merely a question of activating an existing but inert knowledge of the language, but of stimulating the development of language system itself. If the former could be described as ‘learning to use’ English, the latter entails ‘using English to learn it’.

According to Littlewood’s *Communicative Language Teaching* (2001), communicative activities provide “whole-task practice” and improve motivation, while “many aspects of language learning can take place only through natural processes, which operate when a person is involved using the language for communication” (Littlewood 2001: 17–18). A clearly defined purpose of learning is essential. This contributes to merging the extrinsic with intrinsic motivation (classification in Brown 2007: 168–175), or as Gardner and Lambert (1972) call them, “instrumental” and “integrative.” Littlewood (2001: 16–64) distinguishes between two main categories of communicative classroom activities: “functional communication activities” (comparing images; arranging images in a sequence; following oral directions for orientation in a visually represented space, etc.) and “social interaction activities” (dialogues and role plays, simulations, improvisations, debates, etc.; for a distinction between simulations and role plays, see Ladousse 1987: 5).

Clearly, CLT requires more management skills from teachers than the GTM (cf. Jin *et al.* 2005: 6), and CLT classes can become much less predictable (Medgyes 1986). Ideally, teachers’ roles in CLT should vary, from being a controller, an organizer or a prompter, to being a participant, a tutor or an observer (Harmer 2006: 57–64), an explainer, involver, and enabler (Scrivener 2005: 25). Breen and Candlin (1980: 99) list the following roles: facilitator of communication process, independent participant, resource organizer, guide, researcher and learner. Among many other roles, in CLT a teacher should be a general overseer “coordinating the activities into a coherent progression” (Littlewood 2001: 92–93). In a nutshell, one of the teachers’ main duties is to “establish situations likely to promote communication” so that students are ultimately enabled to become responsible “managers of their own learning” (Larsen-Freeman 2000: 128, 129).

3. IN-HOUSE COURSES

In the following section, we shall reflect on these two teaching approaches through some observations from two very similar but independent in-house courses in Business English. They were held in 2022/23 to middle-management employees of a private pharmaceutical trade company and a government public consultancy agency. The former group varied from five to eight employees throughout the year, while the latter consisted of twelve regular course-takers. The required focus of both courses was oral communication, partly for online meetings but mostly for presentations. As all of the students are adult professionals, 'learning to use' English immediately, the 'weak' CLT approach seemed like an appropriate choice. Yet, unsurprisingly, the initial diagnostics showed that the course-takers were to enter the course with considerably different levels of language competence. This meant not only that they had to be divided according to their levels, but that many of them were simply not ready for 'communicative competence' as a starting point only to 'discover' grammar rules along the way.

Some early CLT attempts at presentation workshops indicated that a solid share of course-takers would struggle with grammatical and lexical accuracy to a point where the training would defeat its purpose. The prospect was that of a vicious circle: the language they used was, at best, imprecise and, at worst, inaccurate; the performance appears improvised, clumsy and unprofessional. This produces a sense of frustration and insecurity for the course-takers, leading to poor performance, and so on. For establishing "situations likely to promote communication" (Larsen-Freeman 2000, above), the last thing they needed was to navigate the potentially less predictable course of CLT (Medgyes 1986, above).

Perhaps needless to point out, instruction held two or three times a week during work hours in a non-native environment cannot aspire to amount to an immersion course, where language is absorbed, and rules 'discovered' unconsciously. To paraphrase Penny Ur (quoted above), in order to progress to activities that use language meaningfully, we needed to start with exercises that concentrate on virtually meaningless manipulations of language. In other words, many preparatory steps were necessary before some course-takers were to become "managers of their own learning."

What follows below are suggestions for some phases of this step-by-step process of gradual, coherent progression from GTM to CLT. Each step is designed to build on the previous one and lead to the next one. Adapted and combined from various textbooks (Grussendorf 2007; Freitag-Lawrence 2010; Mascull 2010) and other resources, most of the exercises below were tested in practice in the exact form presented here, while some are excerpted and abbreviated for the sake of the presentation. This selection of lessons and exercises is intended as a sample for orientation purposes; all of them can be expanded or shortened. Most of them can be easily adjusted according to the students' level, and indeed different students can be assigned slightly modified versions at the same time.

For this occasion, one specific goal is chosen, that of learning to present graphs and charts, a skill that all the course-takers needed to acquire.

1. The first step is the vocabulary necessary for presenting graphs and charts, above all the verbs describing statuses and changes. The list below is illustratively presented next to a simple sample of a line chart showing the described movements:

Verbs: *boom / climb / collapse / contract / decline / decrease / double / drop / expand / fall / flatten out / fluctuate / go down / go up / grow / hit a low / increase / level off / pick up / plunge / plummet / reach a high / recover / remain stable / remain steady / rise / rocket / slump / soar / stabilize / stay the same.*

Nouns: *decrease / drop / fall / growth / hike / increase / jump / rise / recession.*

Adjectives and adverbs: *dramatic / drastic / fast / gradual / moderate / rapid / slight / slow / small / steep; dramatically / drastically / gradually / moderately / quickly / rapidly / slightly / slowly / a little / steeply.*

The exercise for this section is, first, classifying the nouns and verbs in three rubrics: upward movement, downward movement, other. Next, finding antonyms, both the more obvious ones, such as *rise/fall, go up/go down*, etc., and those more nuanced: *hit a low/reach a high; fluctuate/remain stable; plummet/soar; rapid fall/gradual growth*, etc.

2. The next step is learning the two most frequently used tenses in presenting graphs, past simple and present perfect. In particular:

Past simple refers to a movement or a trend that happened in the past and is now finished, signaled by expressions such as *last month/year; in April; from 2009-2014; during the period of...*, etc. Present perfect refers to a movement which is not yet finished, signaled by expressions such as, *since (January; 2012; the last report, etc.), for (the three years), over (the past three years)*. Examples: *In September the production **rose** to 2 million. Between January and April the production **fell** by 70%. The investments **have declined** since 2011. The revenues **have grown** rapidly over the past year.*

The exercise in forms is filling a standard table:

past simple	present perfect	infinitive
		go up
	has declined	
fell		
		to recover

3. Moving towards more contextualized tasks, the next assignment is filling the blanks in two graph reports with exact verb forms, by looking at the image of the graph and paying attention to the timeline:

a) *decline / fall / fluctuated / picking up / reached / rose / slumped*

As we can see here, visitor numbers _____ between 3,000 and 3,500 monthly in the last three months. They even _____ moderately in March. In April you can see a

sharp _____ in visitor numbers. The interest of the public _____ to about 2,000 – a _____ of about 30%. As a result, the ticket sales started _____ in June. By the end of August, visitor numbers had _____ just over 2,500.

b) *increase / rocketed / rose / stood / went down*

The figure _____ by about 70,000 in the following year. In 2016, however, sales _____ to 1,2 million. 2017 witnessed a further _____ in sales to 1,4 million. As expected, sales _____ again in 2018 and _____ at just over 1,1 million at the end of the year.

4. The next assignment is matching two graphs with two out of three descriptions offered (or more, depending on their length). This assignment is especially convenient for a tiered approach: course-takers of different levels can be given easier or more difficult choices, the latter being choosing between more nuanced descriptions (e.g., a *rapid* and a *steady rise*). This assignment also leaves sufficient room for engineering the descriptions to address whatever needs to be addressed, such as new phrases or difficult vocabulary.

5. The next assignment is describing a line graph from beginning till the end using the learned phrases and vocabulary. This exercise offers a lot of flexibility. For example, to account for the students' different levels, some can be asked to memorize the phrases and vocabulary in advance, and required not to repeat them, while some others can be given a list. Students can work in separate groups in order to compare results.

6. Next comes learning phrases to be used during the various phases of presentations as a whole; for example, by matching the half-sentences:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>It is interesting to note that</i> | a) <i>you'll see what I mean.</i> |
| 2. <i>On the next slide</i> | b) <i>down now?</i> |
| 3. <i>Can I take this slide</i> | c) <i>to the second graph.</i> |
| 4. <i>You will have</i> | d) <i>seen that sales have peaked.</i> |
| 5. <i>Take a look at this chart and</i> | e) <i>the previous page.</i> |
| 6. <i>There's another example on</i> | f) <i>you can see all the main points.</i> |
| 7. <i>I'd like to draw your attention</i> | g) <i>the number has levelled out.</i> |

Or by arranging the words back into sentences:

- past / this / in / graph / shows / trends / the / the / month*
- more / look / closely / figures / let's / these / at*
- on / table / slide / the / can / you / next / see / the*
- break / for / do / I'll / down / you*
- that / may / sales / noticed / peaked / you / year / have / last*
- popular / is / model / least / the / the / latest*

7. Only now comes the final task of preparing and delivering a complete oral presentation of actual graphs, or even a made-up one simulating the data for presentation purposes.

To conclude, while it is true that in Business English “performance objectives take priority over educational objectives or language learning for its own sake” (Ellis/Johnson 1994: 7), the performance can hardly be successful if language is inadequate. Whereas in ordinary daily communication it will usually get one through to use language unidiomatically but sufficiently comprehensibly, in a business environment the stakes can be higher, especially in oral communication. One need not say something downright wrong; being imprecise, even for a moment, can send a risky message that the speaker is not fully in control of the information. Likewise, an important aspect of any interpersonal interaction, let alone business transaction, are the communicative conventions of the situation (exercise 6). In short, only once the grammar rules and the register are in place can tedious memorization “be superseded... by general fluency practice, where the emphasis is on successful communication” (Ur 2006, cited above).

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SUMMARY

GRAMMAR AND COMMUNICATION: TWO LANGUAGE TEACHING APPROACHES

This paper analyzes two teaching approaches, the Grammar-Translation Method (GTM) and Communicative Language Teaching (CLT). A brief history and description of the two methods, their advantages and disadvantages, is followed by the practical section, reflecting on an in-house Business English course. The goal of the course was to train employees for competent business communication, especially oral. While CLT would have been the obvious choice for such a course, it turned out that course-takers of different levels of background knowledge needed a step-by-step progression from the GTM to CLT. A selection of tiered exercises is reproduced in the paper.

KEYWORDS: Grammar-Translation Method, Communicative Language Teaching, Business English, extrinsic and intrinsic motivation, graph presentations.

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■ SUBJECT-VERB AGREEMENT IN POPULAR MUSIC AND ITS POTENTIAL IMPACT ON LINGUISTIC DEVELOPMENT OF NON-NATIVE ENGLISH LEARNERS

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Ovaj rad ima za cilj istražiti uticaj neslaganja subjekta i predikata u popularnoj muzici na jezički razvoj neizvornih učenika engleskog jezika. Korpus koji smo koristili u radu sačinjen je od 802 pjesme sa više od 200 miliona pregleda na Jutjubu i analiza je urađena uz pomoć deskriptivno-analitičke i statističke metode. Hipoteza istraživanja jeste da u popularnoj muzici često mogu da se uoče brojni primjeri slaganja subjekta i predikata koji odstupaju od pravila standardnog engleskog. Ukoliko se ne skrene pažnja na ovakve primjere u učionici na adekvatan način, mogli bi potencijalno da oštete lingvistički razvoj neizvornih govornika i učenika engleskog jezika. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da je 396 pjesama lingvistički standardno (49.37%) a 406 nestandardno (50.62%). Pjesme sa neslaganjem subjekta i predikata (181 pjesma ukupno) su izuzeto popularne sa 37 pronađenih primjera koji su zabilježili više od milijardu pregleda na Jutjubu dok je većina zabilježila između 200 miliona i preko 5 milijardi pregleda. Pronađeno je ukupno 1506 nestandardnih elemenata u analiziranim pjesmama, 417 nestandardnih elemenata se odnosilo na neslaganje subjekta i predikata. Većina se nalazila u strofama kao i uvodnim i završnim dijelovima pjesama, a pronašli smo ukupno 142 pjesma sa neslaganjem u pomenutim dijelovima. U svega nekoliko pjesama, tačnije 38 ukupno, neslaganje subjekta i predikata je zabilježeno u refrenu. Rezultati se mogu smatrati značajnim za nastavu stranog jezika kao i za proučavanje uloge popularne muzike pri usvajanju stranog jezika. Istraživanje naglašava potencijalno nepovoljan uticaj nestandardnih lingvističkih primjera na neizvorne učenike engleskog jezika i upućuje na značaj adekvatnog pedagoškog nadgledanja pri upotrebi popularne muzike kao autentičnog i interaktivnog alata u nastavi jezika. Rad postavlja osnov za buduća istraživanja na ovu temu i doprinosi boljem razumijevanju moguće uloge koju popularna muzika može da ima pri formalnom usvajanju stranog jezika.

Ključne riječi: slaganje subjekta i predikata u engleskom, jezički osjećaj, neizvorni govornici i učenici engleskog jezika.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Prior research has suggested a range of activities for incorporating songs into language practice, including listening or singing along to songs, discussing musical themes, lyrics, or performers, conducting interviews, and practicing pronunciation, intonation, and stress (Rosová 2007). These activities provide a means of introducing topics, reinforcing language concepts, addressing common learner errors, promoting active listening, encouraging group discussions, and fostering creativity and imaginative expression, all while creating a relaxed and engaging classroom atmosphere (Eken 1996). Even though popular music lyrics were entirely excluded from foreign language classrooms due to their numerous non-standard grammatical features during the mid-20th century (Stocker 1923; Gravenall 1949), we can say that, in later years, they were incorporated only as supplementary materials for leisurely use, without any substantial focus on linguistic instruction (Smith 2003). The use of popular music lyrics in language teaching has remained largely unaddressed, as highlighted in various studies, including Engh (2013) and Langeland Dunsire (2013). Furthermore, the incorporation of grammar instruction in song-based activities in foreign language classrooms and textbooks is limited (Keskinen 2014; Summer 2018; Tegge 2018), focusing primarily on listening comprehension and general writing tasks.

These practices and trends may hinder the development of meta-language awareness in non-native English language learners, which refers to their ability to comprehend and consciously perceive the intricacies of the language during the learning, teaching, and usage processes, with all its variations and complexities. These concerns are not lost on learners, as studies indicate that 77% of them expose themselves to authentic input outside the classroom, with only 23% abstaining from such practices. Of the learners who sought authentic input, 40% listened to music, 36% watched films, 13% watched various TV series, 9% read, and only 2% watched different TV shows (Žarković 2017; Žarković Mccray *et al.* 2021). Non-native English speakers and learners are considered intercultural communicators, demonstrating an interest in participating in real-life communication, which explains their efforts to seek authentic input regularly (Alcon Soler/Safont Jorda 2007). The impact of popular music on their linguistic development outside foreign language classrooms is a relevant research topic and problem given that popular music is a widely consumed form of entertainment and is therefore a significant source of linguistic input for many non-native speakers and learners.

Studies have shown that exposure to popular music can have a significant impact on the language proficiency and linguistic feel of non-native learners, particularly in terms of vocabulary acquisition, pronunciation, sentence structures, and sociolinguistic competence by providing a rich source of input (Millington 2011; Maridueña Macancela *et al.* 2016; Kuśnierek 2016; Borisai/Dennis 2016). However, research has also shown that the linguistic input from popular music can be problematic, as it often contains non-standard grammatical features, pronunciation, and other linguistic forms (Žarković 2017; Žarković Mccray *et al.* 2021). In non-native learners of English, linguistic feel refers to their unconscious and automatic ability to use and understand the grammar of the English language accurately (Bley-Vroman 1999). Non-native learners, in contrast to native learners, may not have had the opportunity to be exposed to the language from an early

age and may have less exposure to the language in their daily lives. This discrepancy in exposure can result in non-native learners having less developed linguistic intuition and proficiency in comparison to native learners. Therefore, it is considered essential to provide non-native learners with targeted education guidance and opportunities to encounter a variety of linguistic registers and features, including both standard and non-standard, to enable them to acquire the necessary knowledge and skills for effective communication in real-world contexts.

The impact of such exposure needs to be addressed in both academic research and classroom instruction, especially if we add that contemporary research results state that learning is optimal when conditions for emotional or arousal and linguistic functions are fulfilled (Schön *et al.* 2008: 982). Music has an uncanny manner of activating neurons which results in relaxing muscle tension, changing pulse, and producing long-range memory (Campbell 1992). All these activities are directly related to the number of neurons activated in the experience. The primary factors influencing and moderating brainwave patterns are sound, especially music, and vibrational patterns, especially rhythm and beats. Millions of neurons can be activated in a single musical experience and through the activation of these neural connections learning takes place (Adkins 1997: 7). Music has a way of utilizing the left half of the cerebrum for language and the right for distinguishing musical intonations through integration via the corpus callosum. Functions of the two halves cannot, however, be completely separated, but that the more connections that can be made in the brain, the more integrated that experience is within memory (Campbell 1992). The inclusion of popular music lyrics in foreign language classrooms can be a valuable tool for creating a positive learning environment, developing meta-language awareness, and improving linguistic proficiency. Therefore, it is important to consider the incorporation of non-standard elements frequently present in these lyrics. The primary objective of this paper is to provide scholarly analysis and attention to popular music lyrics containing non-standard subject-verb agreement examples.

Subject-verb agreement (SVA) is a fundamental aspect of grammar that plays a crucial role in determining the clarity and coherence of a sentence. It is the most important type of concord in English because it establishes the concord of the third person number of subject and verb, i.e. a singular subject requires a singular verb while a plural subject requires a plural verb (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 755; Greenbaum/Quirk 1990: 214). Early research on subject-verb agreement (SVA) in English focused on its syntactic and morphological aspects. Greenbaum and Quirk (1990) investigated the use of SVA in written English and identified various grammatical patterns and irregularities that often occur in real-life language use. Additionally, a study by Leech (1971) explored the influence of stylistic and discourse factors on SVA patterns in English, highlighting the importance of context in shaping SVA patterns. More recent research has sought to extend the study of SVA in English to other linguistic domains, such as sociolinguistics and pragmatics. Research by Eckert (2000) explored the relationship between SVA and social identity, showing how SVA patterns can reflect the speaker's cultural and social background. Non-standard SVA examples are prominent features of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and White Southern dialects, both of which are closely associated with the origins of popular music genres in the Southern United States (Wolfram/Schilling 2016). The origins of

these dialects can be traced back to regional dialects of England, as noted by Trudgill (1999). Therefore, the use of non-standard concord in popular music genres reflects not only the regional and cultural roots of these dialects in the Southern United States but also their historical development from the English language.

2. METHODOLOGY AND SAMPLE

The initial hypothesis is that popular music lyrics exhibit a substantial number of SVA that diverge from standard grammatical rules. The paper aims to analyze the frequency and distribution of non-standard SVA examples and discuss their potential impact on the linguistic development among non-native English speakers and learners. The current analysis will not focus on the origins of non-standard subject-verb agreement examples in regional dialects or vernaculars, but rather leave this topic open for potential future research. Instead, the implications of exposure to non-standard SVA examples in popular music lyrics for second language (L2) instruction is going to be discussed. The main goal of the research is to emphasize the significance of designing language instruction that incorporates the linguistic characteristics of popular culture in order to facilitate the learners' comprehension and usage of the language.

To achieve this, a sample of popular songs with more than 200 million views on YouTube was selected, the songs that were this popular during the research period from March 2015 over July 2022.² These songs were chosen because they are widely known and have been widely viewed by a large number of non-native English learners, making them a suitable representation of the language input that non-native English learners are exposed to through popular music. The sample consisted of a variety of musical genres, including pop, hip-hop, country, rap, dance, funk, rhythm and blues and rock, to ensure a diverse representation of popular music. The selected songs, or more precisely, the lyrics³, were then analyzed for subject-verb agreement. The accuracy of subject-verb agreement was measured by counting the number of instances where the subject and verb agreed in number, and comparing this with the number of instances where subject-verb agreement was not observed. The methods utilized in the research are descriptive, analytic, and statistical methods.

For this study, a sample of 802 popular songs was examined, revealing that 49.37% (396 songs) did not include any non-standard elements, while 50.62% (406 songs) did. Of these, 181 songs exhibited non-standard SVA, which constitutes 22.56% of all songs examined or 44.58% of the subset containing non-standard elements. A detailed description and analysis of some typical examples from the corpus will follow in the following section.

3. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The corpus of popular music lyrics was analyzed with regards to songs containing non-standard SVA. The study examined the frequency of non-standard SVA instances, the

² We cannot say that we analyzed every music video with more than 200 million views because these numbers are updated weekly if not daily and there are no comprehensive lists that contain all videos. Our list was compiled by us.

³ We downloaded lyrics from the following websites: <https://www.azlyrics.com/> and <https://genius.com/>.

position of such instances within songs, and the number of views on YouTube for each song. The results showed that out of the 1506 non-standard elements in the corpus, 417 were related to non-standard SVA, which accounted for 27.69% of all non-standard elements. The songs with non-standard SVA ranged from 200 million to over 5 billion views on YouTube. Among the songs with non-standard elements, 37 had more than one billion views, accounting for 20.44% of the total songs with non-standard elements.

We start presenting examples and the discussion⁴ with the most popular songs in this group, i.e. songs with more than one billion views:

1) Hello from the outside

At least I can say that I've tried
To tell you I'm sorry for breaking your heart
But *it don't matter*, it clearly doesn't tear you apart
Anymore (Adele – *Hello*)

2) There goes Rabbit, he choked, he's so mad but he won't

Give up that easy, no, he won't have it, he knows
His whole back's to these ropes, *it don't matter*, he's dope
He knows that but he's broke, he's so stagnant, he knows
When he goes back to this mobile home, that's when it's
Back to the lab again, yo, this old rhapsody
Better go capture this moment and hope it *don't pass* him, and (Eminem – *Lose Yourself*)

3) Said, "Lil bitch, you can't fuck with me if you wanted to" (ooh)

These expensive, *these is* red bottoms, *these is* bloody shoes (ooh)
Hit the store, I can get 'em both, I don't wanna choose (bah)
And I'm quick, cut a nigga off, so don't get comfortable, look (ooh) (Cardi B – *Bodak Yellow*)

4) My momma called, seen you on TV, son

Said shit done changed ever since *we was on*
I dreamed it all ever since I was young
They said I wouldn't be nothing
Now they always say, "congratulations" (uh)
Worked so hard, forgot how to vacation (uh-huh)
They ain't never had the dedication (uh)
People hatin', say we changed and look, we made it (uh)
Yeah, we made it (uh) (Post Malone and Quavo – *Congratulations*)

5) And what's small turn to a friendship

A friendship turn to a bond

4 For the purpose of illustration, just a small portion of all non-standard SVA that we found in our corpus is going to be listed and discussed.

And that bond will never be broken
 The love will never get lost (and the love will never get lost)
 And when *brotherhood* come first
 Then the line will never be crossed
 Established it on our own
 When that line had to be drawn
 And that line is what we reach
 So remember me when I'm gone (remember me when I'm gone)
 (Wiz Khalifa and Charlie Puth – *See You Again*)

Non-standard SVA instances are striking for various reasons. For example, the songs *Hello* (1), *Bodak Yellow* (3) and *Congratulations* (4) contain non-standard SVA examples in the chorus, which means that the non-standard SVA is repeated many times in the most prominent part of a song. Furthermore, popular songs tend to have a story that becomes a part of popular culture, for example, *Hello* was released in October 2015 and reached one billion views on YouTube by the end of January 2016 and still counting (3 billion in January 2023), Cardi B's *Bodak Yellow* was the first song by a female rapper that reached number one on Billboard Hot 100 in 2017 without the help of any other credited artists, which was historic because it took almost 19 years since Lauryn Hill's *Doo Wop (That Way)* in 1999. Eminem's *Lose Yourself* (2) received the Academy Award for Best Original Song (the first time a rap song ever won this award) in 2003 and according to the *Guinness Book of World Records* became the longest-running single at number one for a rap song. *See you again* (5) broke YouTube record in 2017 for being the most viewed song in 24 hours and went on to become the third most viewed song in the world with 5.7 billion views (in January 2023).

In terms of the position of non-standard elements, the majority of non-standard SVA instances were found in the verses and intro/outro sections of the songs with non-standard SVA, accounting for 78.45% (142 songs). A smaller proportion of non-standard SVA was identified in the chorus, with 20.99% (38 songs) containing such elements:

- 6) I had a premonition that we fell into a rhythm
 Where *the music don't stop for life*
 Glitter in the sky, glitter in my eyes
 Shining just the way I like
 If you're feeling like you need a little bit of company
 You met me at the perfect time (Dua Lipa – *Levitating*)
- 7) There's a time that I remember, when I did not know no pain
 When I believed in forever, and everything would stay the same
 Now *my heart feel like December when somebody say your name*
 'Cause I can't reach out to call you, but I know I will one day, yeah (Maroon 5 – *Memories*)
- 8) Knew he was a killer first time that I saw him
 Wondered how many girls he had loved and left haunted

But if he's a ghost, then I can be a phantom
 Holdin' him for ransom, some
 Some boys are tryin' too hard, *he don't try at all though*
 Younger than my exes, *but he act like such a man, so*
 I see nothing better, I keep him forever
 Like a vendetta-ta (Taylor Swift – *Ready For It*)

9) *Who run the world? Girls (girls)*
Who run the world? Girls (girls)
Who run the world? Girls (girls)
Who run the world? Girls (girls)
Who run this mother? Girls
Who run this mother? Girls
Who run this mother? Girls
Who run this mother? Girls
Who run the world? Girls (girls)
Who run the world? Girls (girls)
Who run the world? Girls (girls)
Who run the world? Girls (girls) (Beyonce – *Run the World (Girls)*)

All the songs are the examples of non-standard SVA in the verses except for Beyonce's *Run the World (Girls)* (9) which featured a chorus entirely composed of non-standard SVA instances. This song was included to illustrate that popular songs can have a significant impact on one's linguistic development, regardless of any interesting pop culture stories surrounding them. This very long chorus repeats twice, and at the end of the song this sentence appears in four lines. The repetition of this non-standard sentence in 29 lines of the song highlights the potential for non-native English learners to develop a weak linguistic feel if not provided with effective language instruction.

If we know that millions of neurons are activated in a single musical experience (Adkins 1997), or that the more connections that can be made in the brain, the more integrated the learning experience is within memory (Campbell 1992), or that songs can motivate learners and act as a cultural database and that songs create a positive learning environment (Krashen 1981; Millington 2011), then we can say that the input we presented is a cause for professional development. It is even more highlighted by the fact that these non-standard SVA examples sometimes repeat more than once in one song. One additional thing that is alarming is the fact that these songs are worldwide popular and have already been repeated and heard in different situations by non-native English speakers and learners. Having said all this, we think that popular music, containing standard and non-standard features, should be a part of formal second language acquisition. Motivated and engaged learners, authentic input that can be utilized as a cultural resource, and a positive learning environment can facilitate the automatization of language development, allowing educators to create a conducive setting that enables learners to use target language expressions in a truly communicative way. Early studies have demonstrated that music is often the primary means of encountering English outside of formal language learning contexts, playing a vital role in promoting language

acquisition (Little 1983; Domoney/Harris 1993). Exposure to authentic English has a direct impact on both the affective filter and automatization processes. When learners are exposed to enjoyable music, they are more likely to pursue it outside of the classroom, which may lead to increased language learning. Recent research indicates that learners typically spend three to four hours a day listening to music (Dethier 2003; Summer 2011), underscoring the importance of incorporating popular culture, particularly music, into language learning curricula to enhance non-native learners' language development.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The present study aimed to examine the potential influence of non-standard subject-verb agreement (SVA) in popular music on the linguistic development of non-native English learners. The corpus that was used for the study consisted of 802 songs with more than 200 million views on YouTube, 396 songs (49.37%) did not include any non-standard elements, and 406 (50.62%) did. There were 181 songs with the non-standard SVA examples, which represents a percentage of 22.56% of all songs or 44.58% of only songs that include non-standard elements. The songs with the non-standard SVA were found to have been viewed between 200 million and over 5 billion times on YouTube. A total of 1506 non-standard instances were found in the songs, with 417 of them related to the non-standard SVA (27.69%). The majority of the non-standard elements were found in the verses and intro/outro sections of the songs, with 142 songs having the non-standard SVA in these sections (78.45%), while fewer were found in the chorus, with 38 songs, which represents 20.99%.

The results of the study confirm our initial hypothesis that popular music lyrics tend to show a high proportion of non-standard SVA instances. Additionally, the high number of views on YouTube for all of the songs in the corpus suggests that the input provided by these songs is widely exposed to non-native English learners, potentially increasing the likelihood that they will be influenced by it.

Furthermore, the position of non-standard SVA examples in the songs highlights the importance of considering the frequency and position of non-standard features in popular music. The results show that the majority of the non-standard elements were found in the verses or intro/outro sections of the songs, but we should not overlook 38 songs where the non-standard SVA examples were found in the chorus, which in both situations suggests that the non-standard examples may be more easily remembered and internalized by non-native English speakers, due to their repetition.

Non-native speakers and learners aim to participate in foreign cultures and use English proficiently and effortlessly. Their tendency to expose themselves to popular music reflects their interest in songs and cultural phenomena, which may not necessarily lead to linguistic accuracy due to the prevalence of non-standard structures. Without proper educational guidance, this approach may hinder their linguistic development. Therefore, language instructors should incorporate popular music into their instruction in a systematic and comprehensive manner that fosters critical thinking and encourages students to reflect on the language's complexities. Teachers can use this research to develop pedagogical strategies, such as listening and analysis activities, in which students identify and discuss non-standard grammar structures and their implications

for communication. Furthermore, instructors can emphasize the importance of using a variety of authentic materials, including music, to supplement their language acquisition. By incorporating popular music into language instruction, instructors can foster intercultural competence while also promoting linguistic accuracy and awareness.

In conclusion, the results of the study provide valuable insights into the nature and extent of the linguistic input provided by popular music and the potential impact of this input on the linguistic development of non-native English learners. Further research is needed to fully understand the impact of popular music on language learning and to determine the most effective strategies for incorporating standard and non-standard features of popular music and culture into foreign language classrooms.

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SUMMARY

SUBJECT-VERB AGREEMENT IN POPULAR MUSIC AND ITS POTENTIAL IMPACT ON LINGUISTIC DEVELOPMENT OF NON-NATIVE ENGLISH LEARNERS

This paper aims to examine the impact of non-standard subject-verb agreement (SVA) in popular music lyrics and its potential effects on the linguistic proficiency of non-native English learners. A corpus of 802 songs with over 200 million views on YouTube was analyzed using descriptive, analytic, and statistical methods. The hypothesis assumes that popular music often contains numerous SVA instances that deviate from conventional Standard English usage. If not adequately addressed in foreign language classrooms, these instances could potentially impede the linguistic development of non-native English speakers and learners. The results indicate that 49.37% (396 songs) of the analyzed songs contain standard grammatical elements, while 50.62% (406) do not. Of the 181 songs with non-standard SVA, 37 have over one billion views on YouTube, with most receiving between 200 million and over 5 billion views. The study identified 1506 non-standard elements in the songs, with 417 related to non-standard SVA. The majority of non-standard SVA examples were found in the verses or intro/outro sections of the songs, with 142 songs containing non-standard SVA in these sections, while 38 songs had non-standard SVA in the chorus. The findings of this study have significant implications for language instruction and the role of popular music in language learning. The present research underscores the potential negative impact of non-standard linguistic input on non-native English learners and highlights the need for proper educational guidance in utilizing popular music as an authentic and engaging tool in language instruction. This study lays the groundwork for future investigations on the potential role popular music may play in formal language acquisition.

KEYWORDS: subject-verb agreement in English, linguistic feeling, non-native English speakers/learners.

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■ PATOLOGIJA (NE)NORMALNOG U DRAMI *BOLNICA U DOBA REVOLUCIJE* KERIL ČERČIL

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Dokumentarna drama Keril Čerčil *Bolnica u doba revolucije* zasniva se na psihološkim izvještajima Franca Fanona o uzrocima i prirodi mentalnih oboljenja o kojima je on ekstenzivno pisao u svojim knjigama *Prezreni na zemlji* i *Crna koža, bijele maske*, kao i na Frojdovoj studiji slučaja Danijela Šrebera, sudije lajpciškog suda koji je patio od paranoidne šizofrenije i o tome pisao u vlastitim memoarima. Drama se naslanja na anti-psihijatrijski model R.D. Laing-a koji zamjera tradicionalnoj psihologiji i psihijatriji na okrutnosti u korištenju nekih terapijskih metoda, a psihološke poremećaje uopšte smatra alternativnim načinima viđenja svijeta. Svrha ovog rada je da ponudi detaljnu analizu drame koja se bavi važnim pitanjem represije nad drugim, bilo da se radi o striktno političkoj torturi kolonizovanih naroda u Alžiru ili ličnoj eksploataciji i gušenju slobodne ličnosti kao što je slučaj u, i dalje popularnom, autoritarnom roditeljstvu.

Ključne riječi: kolonizovani, kolonizator, bolest, psihologija, otrovna pedagogija, revolucija.

1. UVOD

Drama *Bolnica u doba revolucije* (*The Hospital at the Time of the Revolution*) pripada ranijim dramama britanske spisateljice Keril Čerčil poznate po svojoj političnosti i specifičnom, uvijek iznova novom, dramskom izrazu. U ovoj fazi svoga stvaralaštva, K. Čerčil pokazuje interesovanje za psihologiju i načine na koje porodica, društvena sredina i istorijske okolnosti mogu da utiču, oblikuju i uslovljavaju ne samo razvoj ličnosti, već i razne poremećaje ličnosti. Zanimanje za psihologiju, odnosno prirodu mentalnih oboljenja, nije bilo neobično za ovaj period u kome se razvio i anti-psihijatrijski pokret, čija je osnovna zamjerka konzervativnoj psihološkoj praksi bila brutalnost nekih njenih postupaka, a prije svega elektro-šok terapije i lobotomije. Po svojoj tematici, drama se može uporediti sa dokumentarnom dramom *Šreberova nervna bolest* (*Schreber's Nervous Illness*), objavljenom iste 1972. godine, a koja se zasniva na memoarima pacijenta Danijela Šrebera i poznatoj psihoanalitičkoj studiji Sigmunda Frojda o Šreberovom

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slučaju². I dok se ova drama može protumačiti kao indirektna i suptilna polemika sa Frojdom tumačenjem mentalnih poremećaja, u drami *Bolnica u doba revolucije* Keril Čerčil eksplicitno odstupa od tumačenja zasnovanih na frojdojskoj koncepciji psihe, porodice i kulture kao nadistorijskih konstanti, kao i na isto tako neistorijskim, rasnim i genetskim tumačenjima. Za razliku od Frojda koji postulira porodicu kao jedini relevantni kontekst u kome treba razumjeti razvoj čoveka, K. Čerčil u svojim komadima dramatiše čitav ideološki proces pokazujući načine na koje konkretna istorijska, materijalna i ekonomska praksa, postaju određujući faktori ljudskog ponašanja.

Njena istorijsko-sociološka perspektiva temelji se, najprije, na anti-psihijatrijskom modelu R.D. Lainga, koji psihički poremećaj ne smatra vrstom samoobmane (*delusion*), već alternativnim načinom razumijevanja svijeta, koji se suprotstavlja i nadmeće sa dominantnim viđenjima, a onda i teorijama Franca Fanona, psihijatra karipskog porijekla, koji je pokazao u svojim knjigama *Crna koža, bijele maske* (*Black Skin, White Masks*) i *Prezreni na svijetu* (*The Wretched of the Earth*), kako psihičke bolesti i poremećaji ponašanja proizilaze iz društvenih uslova koji nastoje da eliminišu osnovne ljudske potrebe. Psihijatar i tokom života aktivni borac za oslobođenje kolonizovanih naroda, Fanon u ovim knjigama istražuje specifični, najdrastičniji, oblik ovog odnosa, a to su posljedice po ljudsku ličnost koje izaziva rasna diskriminacija, kolonijalno nasilje i borba za dekolonizaciju. U poglavlju posvećenom mentalnim bolestima koje se javljaju tokom rata za oslobođenje od kolonijalnog ropstva u knjizi *Prezreni na svijetu*, Fanon je opisao slučajeve kojima se bavio i iskustvo koje je stekao radeći u psihijatrijskoj bolnici u Alžiru u vrijeme alžirske borbe za nezavisnost koja je trajala gotovo čitavu deceniju i konačno se završila nezavisnošću Alžira od Francuske 1962. godine.

Alžir je upravo mjesto i doba radnje u istorijskoj drami *Bolnica u doba revolucije* koja, zbog ove utemeljenosti na istinitom istorijskom zapisu, pripada i grupi, ne tako brojnih, dokumentarnih drama K. Čerčil. Karakterizacija likova, kao što su Frasoaz, pacijenti A, B, C i policijski inspektor zasnivaju se skoro u potpunosti na pojedinačnim slučajevima i dijagnozama Fanonovih pacijenata opisanih u knjizi *Prezreni na svijetu*, dok je uticaj Laingove studije o šizofreniji, *Podijeljeno ja* (*Divided Self*, 1969), najočigledniji u prikazu djevojčice Frasoaz i ulozi roditelja u nastanku i simptomima njene bolesti. Dokumentarnosti drame doprinosi i činjenica da je istorijski Fanon jedna od *dramatis personae*. U tom svojstvu, on je uglavnom u pozadini radnje, kao neko ko sluša i malo govori, ali je zato njegovo idejno prisustvo mnogo snažnije u drami čiji je cilj između ostalog i da razotkrije, iza priče o uzvišenim humanim namjerama evropske kolonijalne misije u Africi, dehumanizujući efekat koji kolonijalizam ima na sve njegove učesnike – gospodare i žrtve.

Treba napomenuti da, iako je od pojavljivanja ove drame prošlo čak pola vijeka, njena tematika je i dalje aktuelna uprkos prividnom kraju zvaničnog procesa dekolonizacije i uspostavljanju nacionalnih demokratija na područjima bivših kolonizovanih zemalja. „Manihejski svijet“ koji opisuje Fanon, a drama prikazuje, postoji i danas, mada zvanična retorika globalizacije nastoji da ga prikrije lažnim tumačenjima o nadnacionalnom, slobodnom svijetu, gdje su razlike u privilegijama, pojedinaca ili ekonomskih sistema,

2 Danijel Šreber (1842–1911) bio je sudija apelacionog suda u Lajpcigu koji je proveo deset godina u mentalnim ustanovama u Lajpcigu i Drezdenu, gdje je ustanovljeno da pati od paranoidne šizofrenije i gdje je on napisao memoare o svojoj bolesti i toku liječenja (prim.aut).

stvar umješnosti, snage ili znanja, a ne u sistem ugrađenih nejednakosti i eksploatacijom stečenih superiornosti. Ovakvu istoriju remeti priča o alžirskoj istoriji i borbi za nezavisnost, pojašnjavajući istorijske uzroke savremenih podjela. Kako kaže Homi Baba (Homi Bhabha) u predgovoru Fanonovoj studiji iz 2004. godine, „dvojne ekonomije stvaraju odvojene svjetove u kojima neravnomjerni i nejednaki uslovi razvoja često maskiraju univerzalne skrivene faktore upornog siromaštva i neuhranjenosti, rasnih nepravdi, skrivenih klasnih povreda, eksploatacije ženskog rada i žrtvovanja manjina i izbjeglica“ (u Fanon 2004: xii).³ Stoga se rat Alžiraca za oslobođenje, onako kako ga na osnovu Fanonove studije prikazuje drama K. Čerčil, može smatrati demonstracijom revolucionarnog puta promjene, mogućnosti i potrebe da utopijska misao i aspiracije ožive uprkos pričama o kraju istorije i/ili ideologiji tolerancije i pacifizma kojom nepravedni poredak nastoji sebe da ovjekovječi⁴.

2. BOLESTI OTROVNE PEDAGOGIJE I NAMETNUTE REVOLUCIJE

Bolnica u doba revolucije struktuirana je u deset epizoda koje nemaju naslove ni zajedničkog protagonistu. Likove povezuje psihijatrijska bolnica u koju su primljeni zbog svojih psihičkih tegoba, izazvanih ratom, o čemu saznajemo isključivo iz komentara nekih od doktora, a najčešće iz anamneze pacijenata.

Prva epizoda je najduža u cijeloj drami i posvećena je sedamnaestogodišnjoj Fransoaz koja je fizički potpuno zdrava, ali u čije psihičko zdravlje njeni roditelji počinju da sumnjaju zbog izražene promjene u njenom ponašanju. Osim ove epizode, K. Čerčil će se Fransoaz vratiti još dva puta u toku ove drame i njenim monologom je i okončati. Djevojka koja je, po riječima roditelja, uvijek bila nasmijana i poslušna, „odjednom“ postaje problematična, agresivna, vulgarna, neodgovorna. Fransoaz odbija da jede, prestaje da ide u školu, optužuje majku da želi da je ubije, vrijeđa je, a onda dugo ostaje nepomična i potpuno nijema.

Jedan od najupečatljivijih momenata njene bolesti je epizoda u kojoj se Fransoaz pojavljuje potpuno naga pred gostima svojih roditelja:

Vidite, bio joj je rođendan i ja sam joj napravila prelijepu haljinu sa mnogo bogatih ukrasa i na neki način sve je bilo kao prije jer nije govorila ništa neprilično dok smo šili haljinu. ... Bila je toliko pristojna da smo pomislili kako bismo mogli pozvati neke od naših starih prijatelja u posjetu, koji su znali za naše nevolje i bili jako zabrinuti za nas. ... Moj muž je došao kući ranije, svi smo sjeli i baš smo se jedno vrijeme lijepo zabavljali. Pozvala sam Fransoaz. Kad je sišla niz stepenice možete li da zamislite? Nećete vjerovati šta je uradila. Skinula je haljinu. I ne samo haljinu, pravo da vam kažem. Mene ni muž nikada nije vidio u izdanju u kome je Fransoaz tada ušetala u sobu i smjestila se u fotelju. Usred bijelog dana. U dnevnoj sobi. Pred nama i pred našim starim prijateljima. Svi smo je vidjeli i naravno ustuknuli. Ona nije obratila ni najmanju pažnju. ... Njena prelijepa plava haljina bila je isječena u komadiće preko kojih je poslije izvršila malu nuždu. (Churchill 1990: 137)

3 Svi prevodi u radu su autorkini.

4 O pacifizmu kao buržoaskoj teoriji čiji je cilj da osujeti oslobodilačke anti-kolonijalne pokrete i dekolonizaciju kao nužno nasilnom fenomenu vidjeti Fanonovo djelo *Wretched of the Earth*, 2004, str. 1-52.

Naizgled nerazumljiv i „sumanut“ Fransoazin postupak dobija svoj potresni smisao u njenom završnom monologu. Bez prisustva roditelja, ona konačno dolazi do riječi i povjerava doktoru svoj doživljaj života u porodici, gdje „otrovna haljina“ postaje metafora za represivnu pedagogiju njenih roditelja:

Haljina je izgledala prelijepo ali ja sam ispod nje trulila. Dio po dio sam nestajala. To haljina hoda okolo ali u njoj nikoga nema. Otkopčam je i provučem ruku. Ispod haljine ne mogu samu sebe da nađem. Tako i kad je skinem tamo nikoga nema. Oni ne mogu vidjeti Fransoaz jer je ona ostala gore a dole niko nije sišao niti ušao u tu sobu. Moja majka je napravila tu haljinu da bi me ubila. Izjedala me je. To što sam obukla bila je otrovna haljina. (Churchill 1990: 146)

Ujbeđenost u vlastitu smrt i zavjeru bližnjih česte su sumanute ideje kod šizofrenih pacijenata koje R.D. Laing navodi u svojoj studiji, a kojima Keril Čerčil naročitu pažnju posvećuje u drami *Šreberova nervna bolest*. Kod Šrebera se ova ideja manifestuje kao strah od ubistva duše (inače termin za koji Frojd u svojoj studiji nema objašnjenje), dok se u Fransoazinom slučaju radi o ubistvu čitave njene ličnosti - „jedne male djevojčice“, kako ona kaže. Prema Laingu, ovo sistematsko uništavanje originalne, samosvjesne i nezavisne ličnosti pojedinca počinje u periodu najranijeg djetinjstva. Dijete koje nema pravo da kaže šta misli, čija je volja slomljena još u pre-lingvističkoj fazi, tako da se ono toga ne sjeća, potencijalno je „mrtvo“ dijete koje, iz straha ili želje da se dopadne i prilagodi standardima okoline, a ne svojim vlastitim, razvija lažno ja i tako se doima primjernim djetetom. Od suštinskog značaja u raslojavanju djetetove ličnosti je stav roditelja koji odsustvo volje i originalnosti i slijepi konformizam doživljavaju kao znak etičke svijesti i zdravlja djeteta, pa svojim odobravanjem dodatno onemogućuju pravilan razvoj i sticanje potrebne autonomije koji su preduslov zdrave i normalne ličnosti. Stoga osoba može izgledati potpuno normalno, a da se, zahvaljujući sistemu lažnog-ja koji se izgrađuje od najranijeg djetinjstva, u njoj neopaženo odvijaju najrazličitiji patološki psihički procesi koji je naposljetku dovode do ludila u konvencionalnom smislu ove riječi.

Laingova tvrdnja „da nikada nije upoznao nijednog šizofreničara koji je rekao da ga je nekada neko volio, kao čovjeka, bilo da je u pitanju Bog Otac, Majka Božija ili drugo ljudsko biće“ (1969: 38), u saglasnosti je sa tvrdnjom Edvarda Bonda da su izneverena biološka očekivanja djeteta korijen svih kasnijih poremećaja - od otvorenog nasilja do mazohističkog samoubilačkog prilagođavanja modernom agresivnom društvu zadojenom lažnim moralom:

O ovome se radi: svako dijete rađa se sa određenim biološkim očekivanjima ili ako hoćete sa pretpostavkama vrste - da će njegova nespremnost biti zbrinuta, da će dobiti ne samo hranu, već i emocionalnu sigurnost, da će njegova ranjivost naći skloništa, da će doći na svijet koji ga čeka i koji zna kako da ga dočeka. Ali težina agresivnosti u našem društvu toliko je velika da se dešava nepojmljivo: mi bijemo to dijete. A i onda kada nasilje nije tako surovo, ono je prisutno, sporadično raspoređeno po godinama; finalni efekat je isti, a dramska metafora koju sam koristio [u drami *Spaseni*] da bih ovo opisao bila je kamenovanje bebe u kolicima. Ovo kamenovanje ne sprovode siledžije, već ljudi koji vole drame koje osuđuju siledžije. (Bond/Lear: 6)

Oslobađanje prave ličnosti razotkriva dugo potiskivane zamjerke na račun osobe koja je podržavala konformizam i čiju je naklonost šizofrena osoba nastojala zadržati godinama: „Pojedinač će tada izjaviti da je ova osoba (majka, otac, muž, žena) pokušavala da je ubije; ili da je on ili ona pokušala da ukrade njegovu „dušu“ ili njegov um. Da je on/ona tiranin, mučitelj, ubica, uništitelj djece, itd“ (Laing 1969: 100). U Fransoazinom slučaju, koja je replika Laingove Džuli, ovaj „ubica“ i „uništitelj“ je majka koja ju je godinama, po svemu sudeći, sputavala, kontrolisala, prisvajala, kao da se radi o igrački ili lutki - otuda njena opsjednutost lijepim haljinama i uopšte Fransoaznim spoljašnjim izgledom. Kao i „haljina“ i druge slike koje njena kćerka koristi da opiše svoj život sa majkom imaju rječitu i bogatu preciznost metafore:

... ona hoće da me ubije. Čitav život pokušava da me otruje. Počela je sa mlijekom još dok sam bila beba. Svoj otrov stavlja pomalo u sve što pojedem - ... Samo malo da nema ukusa pa misli da ne primjećujem. Čitav život, tri obroka dnevno, zamislite samo koliko je otrova sad u meni. Jer on ne ide van kad idem u toalet. To je vrsta koja ostaje i gomila se u tebi sve dok ga čitav tvoj stomak i jetra i vene i nervi i glava ne budu prepuni a onda umreš. (Churchill 1990: 112)

Međutim, ono što je najvažnije za argument ove teze jeste Laingov naglasak da je majčin uticaj na dijete često tek poslednja karika u lancu faktora kod ranog formiranja ličnosti kojim se prenose poruke cjelokupnog društvenog miljea. Tu ideologiju sistema po pravilu u patrijarhalnom društvu, pa i u Fransoazinom slučaju, otjelotvoruje otac. „Moja majka je ubila jednu malu djevojčicu“, kaže Fransoaz i nastavlja: „Moj otac ubio je daleko više ljudi“ (Churchill 1990: 114). Odlomak koji slijedi višestruko je značajan, jer otrovne pedagoške tehnike koje su dovele do ubistva Fransoazine duše, K. Čerčil dovodi u vezu sa ratom koji, iako naizgled čini pozadinu njihovih života, zapravo predstavlja neposredan povod, ne samo za pojavu Fransoazine psihoze, već i za dodatnu ljudsku i moralnu degradaciju njenog oca.⁵ Kao patrijarhalni muž i otac, a potom i kao policijski inspektor u kolonijalnom režimu, Gospodin je već stekao potrebnu bezdušnost, ili kako bi Laing rekao, patologiju normalnog. Kao isljednik nad pobunjenim Alžircima on će razviti i simptome onog „narcisoidnog delirijuma“, o kojima govori Julija Kristeva (u Petrović 1997: 49), i koji je krajnji ishod poricanja drugog u patrijarhalnoj psihologiji. Odlomak iz Fransoazine ispovijesti stoga ima ključnu važnost i kao prvi nagovještaj Fanonove teze

5 O štetnom uticaju autoritarne pedagogije pisala je i Alis Miler u knjizi *For Your Own Good* iz 1983. godine koja se može smatrati polemikom sa određenim spornim tumačenjima Sigmunda Frojda. Za razliku od Frojda koji previda ili prihvata autoritarnu pedagogiju kao strategiju nužnu za opstanak civilizacije, a traume koje iz takve pedagogije proizilaze kao univerzalne i neizbježne, Alis Miler razotkriva represivnost ove pedagogije ističući da ona nužno dovodi do raznih aberacija, pa čak i psihoza kao u slučaju Danijela Šrebera. Kritički osvrt A. Miler na destruktivne metode odgoja djece koje je promovisao Šreberov otac (inače, uticajni austrijski pedagog o kome Frojd govori sa velikim poštovanjem i zahvalnošću za doprinos teoriji i praksi odgoja djece) takođe nude možda i najrelevantnije objašnjenje „ubistva duše“. Dok Frojd Šreberovu ideju o ubistvu duše tumači kao aluziju na masturbaciju, A. Miler pominje Mortona Šacmana, čija istoimena knjiga, *Ubistvo duše*, smisao ove metafore vidi u tragičnim posljedicama vaspitnih tehnika pedagoga kakav je bio Moric Šreber: nazivajući ih „otrovnom pedagogijom“, on krivicu za ubistvo duše tako ispravno pripisuje patrijarhalnom društvu u određenoj fazi njegovog razvoja. U prilog uspješnosti Šreberove pedagogije govori podatak da su svo troje njegove djece bili mentalni bolesnici, čija je bolest kod najstarijeg djeteta okončana samoubistvom.

o dehumanizujućem uticaju koji kolonijalna rasna segregacija i rat imaju podjednako na kolonizovane i kolonizatore⁶. Progresivno moralno i psihičko propadanje, evidentno u Gospodinovoj sve većoj ostrašćenosti i sve gnjevnijem insistiranju na sopstvenim iluzijama, pokazuje da Fransoazina „skandalozna“ psihoza i „normalni“ delirijum njenog oca predstavljaju dva, po svom skrivenom smislu, potpuno suprotna odgovora na iste neprirodne uslove života u kolonijalnom društvu. Fransoaz kaže:

FRANSOAZ: Po čitavu noć slušam jauke. Ne znam odakle dolaze. Možda su to moji jauci.

GOSPOĐA: Tako je, to su samo tvoji strašni snovi, jauci su samo u tvojoj glavi.

FRANSOAZ: Ovi jauci prolaze kroz zidove u moju glavu. Jel se tatica ljuti? Tuku me. Nemoj se ljutiti. Frensi je sada dobra djevojčica.

GOSPOĐA: Naravno da se ne ljuti. On se nikada ne ljuti. Tatica se samo se ljuti na nevaljalu Frensi. Tatica voli Frensi i mamicu, a mamica -

FRANSOAZ: Šta ti on radi, jel te tuca flašom? Trpa ti sapunicu u dupe? Mogu ja i začepiti. Znam ja koga on voli a koga ubija, a i koga će sada ubiti. Ali ne možeš me ubiti jer se ja nikad nisam ni rodila. Ovdje ne postoji djevojka sa tim imenom. Možeš uraditi šta ti je volja ali ona neće progovoriti.

GOSPOĐA: Ja zaista ne mogu da slušam ovakav jezik. Momentalno mi pozli.

GOSPODIN: Vodite mi je s očiju, Doktore. Molim vas, vodite je. (Churchill 1990: 114)

Za razliku od majke, koja iskazuje neku vrstu zabrinutosti za Fransoaz, njen otac je potpuno neosjetljiv na stanje svoje kćerke i čak joj zamjera što remeti njihov „idilični“ život svojim nepristojnim ispadima. On u njenom ponašanju vidi bezrazložni prkos i nezahvalnost, a ne pobunu protiv nasilja i laži kojim se nasilje opravdava. Dosljedno se pridržavajući rasističkog i pedagoškog mita da se „samo crna djeca domaćeg stanovništva rađaju nepoštenu i nasilna“ (Churchill 1990: 102), on odbacuje kćerku i istinu koju mu ona otkriva da bi se svojoj „civilizacijskoj“ misiji posvetio samo kao egzekutor nad buntovnim Alžircima:

Stvari su sasvim jasne. Ne znam zašto uopšte sjedim ovdje dok su u toku važne istrage koje zahtijevaju moj konstantni nadzor. U nacionalnom je interesu da krenem. Nju možete zaključati što se mene tiče. To dijete je ludo. Nemamo više

6 Tezu o tome da kolonijalizam dehumanizuje podjednako kolonizovanog i kolonizatora prvi je formulisao Eme Sezer u svom *Diskursu o kolonijalizmu (Discourse on Colonialism)* objavljenom 1955. godine. Nekoliko primjera preuzetih iz kolonijalnih historija koje Sezer navodi potvrđuju ispravnost ove teze, te da niko ne kolonizuje „nevino“, niti nekažnjeno. Tako, na primjer, francuski pukovnik de Montanjak (de Montagnac), jedan od osvajača Alžira, bilježi kako se od nepoželjnih misli branio odsijecanjem „ne artičoka, već ljudskih glava“, dok se jedan drugi oficir francuske vojske, grof Herison (Count d’Herisson), hvali ratnim plijenom u vidu „pune bačve sakupljenih ušiju, par do para, od zatvorenika, bilo prijateljski nastrojenih ili neprijatelja“. Ovim primjerima Sezer dokazuje da kolonizacija dehumanizuje i najcivilizovanijeg od svih ljudi i „da kolonijalna aktivnost, kolonijalno preduzetništvo, kolonijalno osvajanje, koje se zasniva na preziru urođenika i pravda tim prezirom, neizbježno dovodi do promjene one osobe koja se u to upusti; da kolonizator, radi olakšavanja vlastite savijesti, sebi stvara naviku da drugog čovjeka vidi kao životinju, navikava se da ga tretira kao životinju i objektivno nastoji i *sam sebe* da pretvori u životinju. Ovo je taj rezultat koji sam želio istaći, ovaj bumerang efekat kolonizacije“. Ova će razmatranja naročito biti relevantna za razumijevanje eskalacije sadizma kod jednog drugog kolonijalnog službenika iz drame, označenog kao Policijski inspektor. (Cesaire 1972: 3-5)

o čemu da diskutujemo. Ona je slomila srce i meni i svojoj majci, možda joj to pričinjava zadovoljstvo, ne znam. Tugovaću za mojom djevojčicom kao da je mrtva jer ova ovdje osoba ne može biti moje dijete. (Churchill 1990: 105)

Kao što ostaje slijep za istinu koju oličava Fransoazina psihoza, Gospodina isto tako zaslijepljuje lažna slika o situaciji u Alžiru, ne samo ona zvanična, već njegova privatna, koja ne samo da ne odgovara stvarnosti, već je njena potpuna suprotnost. Gospodinova iluzija da „nema rata, nema revolucije“ doima se više kao njegova potreba nego kao isječak iz propagandnog državnog traktata. On priznaje da su vremena teška, ali odbija da uvidi stvarni smisao haosa koji je iznenada provalio u njegov, do tada, sređeni svijet. Bombe koje nepoznati bacaju po kafićima i drugim okupljalištima Francuza, Gospodin naziva „slučajnim incidentima“, uporno insistirajući na tvrdnji da su stvari pod kontrolom. Njegovoj iluziji stvarnosti problem ne predstavlja ni njegova vlastita, očigledno kontradiktorna, izjava da broj ovih „sporadičnih incidenata“ ponekad predstavlja problem zbog čega on posao nosi kući tj. u napuštenim dijelovima kuće sprovodi saslušanja, čija su prpratna pojava upravo jauci koje Fransoaz čuje. Čak i nakon ovog priznanja, Gospodin nastavlja da se čudi: „Ja zaista ne razumijem zašto govoriš kao da smo u ratnom okruženju. Uporno to radiš. Ovi ispadi su veoma rijetki i veoma sporadični“ (Churchill 1990: 116).

Njegova samoobmana evidentna je i u odnosu koji ima prema Alžiru uopšte. On zaboravlja da su Francuzi okupirali Alžir, ne da bi domaće stanovništvo izveli iz mraka divljaštva i podučili zapadnoj kulturi, već da bi zemlju eksploitalisali. Da bi opravdao ovu amneziju, na kojoj je zasnovao svoj životni stav, Gospodinu je potrebno da pobunu naroda protiv okupatora, baš kao i pobunu svoje kćeri protiv porodične tiranije, protumači kao u krajnjoj liniji pojedinačne ispađe ludaka:

Ova zemlja nas treba. To je zemlja mog rođenja. Ja trošim svoje zdravlje u službi svoje zemlje i ponosim se time. ... Nećete pronaći drugi region tako očišćen od subverzivnih elemenata. A bilo je dosta zaluđenih simpatizera. Mi im pomažemo da uvide svoju grešku. A većina ljudi drago mi je što to mogu reći veoma je zahvalna. Oni samo žele da žive u miru. (Churchill 1990: 115)

Ove se riječi mogu protumačiti i kao primjer strateške upotrebe dvojnog, „orvelovskog“, jezika, gdje rat znači mir, a sloboda ropstvo, pri čemu se snaga verbalne ideološke indoktrinacije ogleda u činjenici da Gospodin nije svjesni manipulator. O tome svjedoči njegova ostrašćenost u narednom odlomku:

Ja ostajem ovdje. Ovo je moja zemlja. Moraće da me ubiju prije nego što me otjeraju odavde. Neću popustiti. Ja sam već u Francuskoj. Alžir je Francuska.

(...)

Ja vjerujem u francusku kulturu. Vjerujem u Rasina i Prusta. Doći će dan – svega nekoliko ljudi to razumije. Pa evo vi, Doktore, vi ste se izdigli iznad svoje rase. Ali u većini slučajeva moramo da ih tučemo jer nam se suprotstavljaju i uporno nastavljaju po svom ma šta im radili - a šta je s nama? Šta je s našim životima? Trebamo li mi živjeti? Ja sam rođen ovdje, znate li to? Šta će biti sa mnom ako budem morao da odem odavde? Šta će biti sa mnom? Neću da idem (*plače*). (Churchill 1990: 138)

Već smo nagovijestili da Fransoazina psihoza i samoobmana njenog oca predstavljaju dvije različite vrste patologije, izazvane istim društvenim uzrocima. Gospodinova ideja o žrtvovanju za Alžir predstavlja projekciju represivne patrijarhalne ideologije i, kao i ona, ima za cilj reafirmaciju zakona oca, očuvanje rasnih razlika i kolonijalnog sistema. To je takođe ključna razlika između Fransoazine subverzivne bolesti i Gospodinove patologije normalnog: Fransoazina šizofrenija je utopijska metafora i razumljiv nastavak nakon osujećenja njenog aktivnog pokušaja da pronađe u svom životu realniji utopijski prostor. Ono što je njene roditelje odmah revoltiralo i što su zaustavili bio je simptom zdrave ličnosti koja odbija da prihvati laž za istinu i bude zatrovana izopačenom ideologijom svojih roditelja. Majka se žali doktoru:

Ona uporno bježi od kuće i priča našim komšijama kako mi radimo gomilu strašnih stvari, kako ubijamo ljude i tako to. Znam da zvuči nevjerovatno ali baš je to radila, i optuživala nas kako nju držimo kao zatvorenika. Čak i kad bismo je zaključali, ona bi pobjegla i ponovo počinjala istu priču čim bi nekoga srela, ali srećom bilo je toliko očito da je luda da joj niko nije povjerovao ni riječ. (Churchill 1990: 136)

Cilj epizode o Fransoaz jeste da njenu nagost na kraju drame, koju roditelji tumače kao nedvosmislen dokaz ludila, publika prepozna kao simbolični čin oslobođenja, a duševne poremećaje uopšte dovede u vezu sa potencijalno političkim, odnosno utopijskim govorom.

I ostali likovi u drami mogu se dovesti u međusobni odnos podudaran sa suprotnostima koje smo upravo opisali. Dok rasna diskriminacija dehumanizuje i kolonizatore i kolonizovane, i izaziva pojačanu agresiju i kod jednih i kod drugih, radi se o različito motivisanim i usmjerenim vrstama nasilja, sa suprotnim ciljevima. Primarna agresija upisana je u mit o bijeloj evropskoj superiornosti nad crnim narodima Afrike. Ona je implicitna čak i u komplimentima upućenim onim Alžircima ili crncima, kao što je Doktor Fanon u drami, za koje se kaže da su se obrazovanjem „izdigli iznad svoje rase.“ Po toj rasističkoj teoriji, koju zastupa i mladi francuski doktor u bolnici, Fanon se zahvaljujući školovanju u Francuskoj uspio ostvariti na polju nauke, što je i za Gospodina ravno čudu. Od rasističkih opaski se ne ustručava ni Gospođa, koja od početka strahuje što njenu kćerku liječi crnac – „Šta misliš da će joj uraditi? ... Tako će se preplašiti kada vidi crnca!“ (Churchill 1990: 116) i na kraju svrstava sve obojene u vrstu „goru od životinja, jer su joj životinje drage“ (Churchill 1990: 135). Ipak, možda najopasniji rasizam ostaje onaj oličen u mladom doktoru, jer se, zamaskiran kvazi-naučnim dokazima, generiše i sprovodi nasilje koje ima privid dobronamjernosti i tolerancije.

Stav koji ovaj doktor ima prema domaćim crnim stanovnicima Alžira jeste da su oni „lijena i nezahvalna dječurlija“ koja odbija „pomoć“ i „dobročinstvo“ svoga francuskog roditelja, a ne znaju da bi bez njega bili izgubljeni; da je njegovim crnim pacijentima potreban veterinar, a ne doktor; da svojim učešćem na saslušanjima može „pomoci“ osumnjičenim pacijentima da „prevaziđu unutrašnji konflikt koji im ne dozvoljava da progovore“ i da koristeći lijekove, u njegovom slučaju serum istine, izvrši svoju humanističku dužnost i „umanji patnje ovog rata i privede ga kraju što je prije moguće“ (Churchill 1990: 132). Ovaj doktor je proizvod indoktrinacije mladih obrazovanih bijelaca i izvitopirene slike realnosti u kojoj se mučenje tumači kao saslušanje, manipulativne psihološke strategije kao humane intervencije, a Alžirci kao urođeno zli narod kome je

nasilje prirodna karakteristika, a ne strategija očuvanja identiteta i ljudskog dostojanstva koje im je kolonijalni gospodar osporio.

Kako funkcionišu ove ideološke lekcije vidimo na primjeru alžirskog dječaka koji je usmrtio svog druga, a onda i njegove majku i sestru, zato što su iz čini je bez pitanja pojeli sve masline koje je bio ubrao za sebe. Koristeći se legitimitetom koji su naučne teorije obezbijedile rasizmu, doktor posljedice ovog zločina pripisuje biologiji Alžiraca: „Objašnjenje leži u strukturi njihovog mozga. (...) Alžirci zapravo nemaju korteks. Njima upravlja niži dio mozga kao što je slučaj sa nižim kičmenjacima, a što je potpuno drugačije od Čovjeka kako ga mi znamo, Evropljanina koga od svih ostalih bića izdvaja mišljenje korteksom. Mi koristimo prednji čeonni režanj, a Afrikanci ne.“ (Churchill 1990: 119)

Doktorovo izlaganje je direktna parafraza „naprednih“ teorija profesora Satersa i Poroa sa univerziteta u Alžiru, gdje su se predavale kao poslednja riječ nauke više od dvadeset godina, kao i doktora Karutera iz Svjetske zdravstvene organizacije, koji svoj izvještaj o praksi u Africi iz 1954. godine, zaključuje tezom prema kojoj se normalni Afrikanac ponaša kao lobotomizovani Evropljanin. Doktor ovako parafrazira Karutera:

... to što Afrikanac ne koristi prednji režanj isto je kao da mu je bio odstranjen pa Afrikanca možemo smatrati za lobotomizovanog Evropljanina. To je razlog zašto je on tako impulsivno agresivan, lijen, površan u emotivnim odnosima, potpuno nesposoban da shvati čitav koncept - afričkog karaktera. Ako su oni ovakvi, nije nikakvo čudo da se ponašaju ovako kako se ponašaju. ... Evropljanin bi morao biti lud da se ovako ponaša ali to je upravo ono što možemo očekivati od Afrikanca. (Churchill 1990: 119)

Ovakve teorije su u osnovi zoološke terminologije kojom se kolonizator, kako objašnjava Fanon, koristi kada govori o kolonizovanom: „On pravi aluzije na račun zmijskih pokreta žute rase, zadaha iz „domaćih“ četvrti, hordi, smrada, rojenja, ključanja i njihovih kretanja. U svojim nastojanjima da opiše i nađe pravu riječ za kolonizovanog, kolonizator se stalno oslanja na rječnik basni“ (Fanon 2004: 7).

Stoga je, umjesto da je pripiše evolutivnoj zaostalosti ili nedovoljno razvijenoj ljudskosti, Fanon ubilačku agresivnost alžirskog mladića objasnio upravo kao reakciju na dugogodišnje sistematsko osporavanje ljudskosti i svih ljudskih prava porobljenim Alžircima, pa i prava na odbranu sopstvene zemlje, nacionalnog identiteta i ljudskog dostojanstva. Pokraden u svakom pogledu, a nemoćan da uzvrat, mladi Alžirac je svoj potisnuti akumulirani gnjev mogao da usmjeri samo protiv svojih sunarodnika i njihove sitne krađe, a možda samo neučtivosti. Nasilje kojim je uzvratio sasvim je neproporcionalno šteti koju je od njih pretrpio, ali srazmjerno nepravdi koju su mu nanijeli Francuzi i na koju nije nikada smio da adekvatno reaguje.

Fanon ovim primjerom pokazuje da agresivnost koju ideolozi kolonijalnog sistema falsifikuju svojim fantomskim racionalizacijama o različitoj anatomiji Alžiraca zapravo predstavlja društveno uslovljeno ponašanje naroda kome su oduzeta sva ljudska prava. Kao i pojedinačni slučaj ubistva zbog maslina, i čitav fenomen međusobnih plemenskih sukoba i obračunavanja koji se redovno javljaju u dugotrajno porobljenim zemljama, može se objasniti grčem i muskularnom napetošću koji izaziva gnjev koji kolonizovani ne mogu, ili ne smiju, da usmjere protiv pravog neprijatelja. Ova zatumljena agresija, koja

nije ništa drugo nego bijes protiv kolonizatora, najprije se izliva u krvave sukobe protiv pripadnika sopstvenog naroda, kao što je slučaj sa gore navedenim primjerom dječaka, koji je zbog nekoliko maslina usmrtio tri člana porodice svoga druga. U narednoj fazi ona se po pravilu okreće protiv stvarnog vinovnika nesreće i eskalira u borbi za dekolonizaciju. Kao odgovor na često vjekovno nasilje, dekolonizacija je neizbježno, kaže Fanon, nasilni fenomen. Da je to sasvim drugačije motivisana vrsta nasilja i da, za razliku od kolonijalne agresije koja dehumanizuje, predstavlja nasilje kojim se ponovo uspostavlja poništeni ljudski integritet, Keril Čerčil je u drami istakla suprostavljajući likove Pacijenta A, alžirskog ilegalca i člana oslobodilačkog pokreta, i Policijskog Inspektora u službi kolonizatorske Francuske. Pacijenta A, koji je u sklopu rata za dekolonizaciju učestvovao u terorističkim napadima, priroda njegovog posla, odnosno griža savjesti pri pomisli da je među nastradalim Francuzima bilo nevinih ljudi, natjerala je na pokušaj samoubistva:

Ne mogu da pričam o tome, a da ne zadrhtim iako mi je sve već uveliko poznato. Prihvatam ono što se desilo. Nastojim da prihvatim da ću prosto morati da naučim kako da živim s tim. Taj drugi bar bio je kao svaki drugi pored koga svakodnevno prolazim, a da i ne pomislim na onaj prvi. Jedan mladi Francuz je izašao i sudario se sa mnom. Možda je on previše popio ili ja nisam gledao kuda idem, o toliko sam stvari mislio u tom trenutku. Sudarili smo se i on se nasmijao - znam da to nije mnogo, samo se nasmijao i rekao da mu je žao. Ja ništa nisam mogao da kažem, zavrtilo mi se u glavi i da se nisam pridržao za njega, sigurno bi se srušio. Tu noć nisam mogao da zaspim i samo sam ležao. Znao sam da nije moguće da sam ubio nekog takvog jer je onaj bar u kome sam postavio bombu važio za poznato sastajalište najreakcionarnijih - (...) Prosto moram prihvatiti da ne spavam baš najbolje i da se ponekad osjećam kao da umirem. (Churchill 1990: 127)

Njegova suicidalna depresija, zbog koje želi da prekine sa ilegalnim aktivnostima, govore o superiornoj moralnoj svijesti ovog pacijenta, kao i čitavog alžirskog oslobodilačkog pokreta koji se nikada ne bi opredijelio za terorizam da je bilo drugog načina da učini kraj kolonijalnom teroru.

Za razliku od Pacijenta A, koji hoće da odustane od revolucionarnog nasilja, Policijski Inspektor, zadužen za mučenje zatvorenika, obraća se psihijatru za pomoć da bi *nastavio* sa svojim isljedničkim mučenjima, koji u zadnje vreme kod njega izazivaju uznemirujuće simptome i remete ga u obavljanju dužnosti. Zasnovan na slučajevima 4 i 5 iz Fanonove knjige, lik ovog policijskog službenika još jednom pokazuje kako represija i mučenje koje nad drugim sprovodi kolonizator istovremeno dislociraju i ličnost mučitelja. Inspektorovi košmari, izazvani nasilnom prirodom njegovog posla, pretvaraju se u patološku želju za mučenjem i nanošenjem boli drugim ljudima, ne isključujući ni članove vlastite porodice. Od mučitelja uhapšenih Alžiraca, on postaje mučitelj sopstvene porodice, nesposoban da odoli patološkoj želji da batina vlastitu ženu i djecu. Uzgred, fizičko nasilje nad bespomoćnim djetetom je ovom evropskom „civilizatoru“ sasvim normalna stvar, sve dok ga može kontrolisati i svesti na neku nenaznačenu prihvatljivu mjeru, i postaje mu alarmantno tek onda kada osjeti da ne može da se zaustavi:

Vidite, sad kad udarim jednu od svojih kćerki, ne mogu da se zaustavim. Gledam u njeno povrijeđeno malo lice i njenu lijepu kosu koju obično toliko volim a sve

mislim kako bih je najradije potpuno uništio. Čujem je kako plače i drago mi je što joj nanosim bol. Ne želim da prestanem sve dok ne umre. A Žaklina, to je ova mlađa samo su joj tri godine, prošle sedmice bila je u nesvijesti deset minuta. Moja žena je vrištala i udarala me da prestanem, tako da sam se poslije male, okrenuo njoj i svezao je pojasom od kućne haljine za stolicu, jer je bilo jutro, vidite, za vrijeme doručka se to sve dešavalo. Rekao sam, pokazaću ti ko sam ja, i onda sam je sve vrijeme udarao, vidite, pravo u lice. Onda sam zapalio cigaretu, jer jedan dio odrađujemo cigaretama. Ali onda je Žaklina ponovo počela da plače, a Monika je sve vrijeme urlala pod stolom pa je nastala tolika buka da je komšija zalupao o zid. To me je povratilo. (Churchill 1990: 129–130)

Daleko od moralnog uvida ili pokajanja, koje alžirski terorista osjeća zbog nasilja koje nije izabrao, već mu je kao jedini preostali metod nametnuo manihejski kolonijalni sistem, tvorci i čuvar tog sistema želi od doktora samo efikasnu medikalnu terapiju kojom bi svoju nasilnost sveo na „normalnu“, za očuvanje postojećeg poretka, djelotvornu mjeru.

Treba na kraju pomenuti i način na koji moralna svijest u drami odvaja crnog doktora koji nosi Fanonovo ime od njegovih bijelih kolega. Dok je mladi Francuz, kao što smo vidjeli, toliko indoktriniran da je postao moralno imun na vlastita intelektualna zapažanja, te kao papagaj beskonačno ponavlja predočene mu teorije, Fanon je do te mjere dostojanstven i u svakom pogledu dominantan da mu njegov kolega čak odaje neki izvitopereni vid počasti: „Čovjek nikada ne bi pomislio da nisi bijelac. Nikada niko ne bi rekao da ne koristiš prednji režanj“ (Churchill 1990: 120). Paradoks koji podriva njegove sopstvene tvrdnje o superiornosti Evropljana i životinjskoj prirodi Afrikanaca ovde ima komičan efekat i služi kao primjer pozorišnog oneobičavanja, što je još jedan poziv publici da još jednom preispita ko je zaista superioran, a ko inferioran.

3. ZAKLJUČNE NAPOMENE

Već smo spomenuli kako je na to pitanje sa izuzetnom ubjedljivošću prvi odgovorio Eme Sezer u svom *Diskursu o kolonijalizmu* objavljenom 1955. godine. Ova izuzetna knjiga poslužila je kao inspiracija Francu Fanonu i uobličila njegove početne revolucionarne ideje o kolonijalizmu i rasizmu. Sezer je kategoričan u svojoj ocjeni da je Evropa moralno i duhovno neodrživa i da novostvorene afričke države nikako ne bi smjele da je slijede kao model: Evropa je civilizacija koja se ponosi svojom humanističkom tradicijom i svojim veličanjem čovjeka, a pritom je odgovorna za najveću gomilu ljudskih leševa u istoriji čovječanstva. Tom moralnom debaklu najviše je doprinio kolonijalni poduhvat koji Sezer prikazuje kao „avanturu pirata, veletrgovaca i brodovlasnika, pohlepnika i preprodavaca“ koji su u datom istorijskom trenutku iz čisto ekonomskih razloga morali proširiti svoje tržište izvan granica vlastitih zemalja. Iz ovog poduhvata, tvrdi Sezer, nije proizašla niti jedna vrijedna ljudska emocija. Naprotiv, njen trajni ishod, u vrijeme koje sada već pogrešno zovemo „postkolonijalnim“ jesu pohlepa, rasna mržnja, rat i moralna trulež:

Sa svakom odsječenom glavom i iskopanim okom u Vijetnamu, koje u Francuskoj prihvataju, svaki put kada je djevojčica silovana, a u Francuskoj to prihvataju, svaki

put kada nekog u Madagaskaru muče, a u Francuskoj to prihvataju, civilizacija je na korak bliže svojoj smrti, opšti nazadak je na snazi, gangrena se javlja, a centar za infekcije počinje da se širi; i na kraju ... ubrizgani otrov počinje da kola venama Evrope, a kontinent se polako, ali sigurno, primiče *divljaštvu*. (Cesaire 1972: 3)

O Evropi Sezer stoga ne govori samo kao o bolesnoj, divljačkoj, dekadentnoj, već i kao umirućoj civilizaciji:

Civilizacija koja nije u stanju da rješava probleme koje sama stvara je dekadentna civilizacija.

Civilizacija koja svjesno zatvara oči pred svojim najbitnijim pitanjima je urušena civilizacija.

Civilizacija koja koristi svoje principe za prevaru i obmanu je umiruća civilizacija. (Cesaire 1972: 1)

U predgovoru za Fanonovu knjigu *Prezreni na svijetu*, Žan-Pol Sartr ipak gaji neke nade za budućnost Evrope, ali samo pod izvjesnim uslovima: on naime opominje da ukoliko duhovno mrtva Evropa, posebno Francuska, misli doći do iscjeljenja, reći istinu ne samo da je poželjno, već i neophodno:

Nije u redu, moji zemljaci, zaista nije u redu, da vi koji znate sve o zločinima počinjenim u naše ime makar šapatom ne progovorite i makar jednu jedinu riječ o njima ne prenesete nekome, čak ni svojoj duši, iz straha da ne presudite sebi samima. Isprva niste znali, u redu, u to mogu povjerovati, ali onda ste posumnjali, sada već znate, pa opet ćutite ... ćutanje ima štetan efekat. Sve je uzalud: zasljepljujući odsjaj mučenja visoko je na nebu i preplavljuje čitavu zemlju; pod ovim snopom svjetlosti, nijedan smijeh više ne odjekuje iskreno i nijedno lice nije čisto od boja kojima krije svoj bijes i svoj strah; sada svim našim postupcima odajemo svoje gađenje i svoje saučesništvo. Danas kada se sretnu dva Francuza između njih se nalazi leš. Jesam li rekao jedan...? Francuska je nekada bila ime jedne zemlje; pazite da ne postane ime jedne neuroze... (Fanon 2004: 62)

Sartrovo upozorenje tiče se svih (neo)kolonijalnih zemalja, jer, prema riječima još jednog britanskog umjetnika, Pitera Bruka, Afrika se nalazi u svima nama: „ljudska istina je globalna, a pozorište je mjesto na kome se svi dijelovi ove slagalice mogu povezati u jednu cjelinu“ (Bruk 2000: 90). Ovom, kao i ostalim svojim dramama, K. Čerčil ispunjava svoj zadatak dramaturga, ali i čovjeka, ispunjavajući mrtvu tišinu istinama koje teže da se spoje u jednu cjelovitu mapu na kojoj će uvijek biti mjesta da se ucrtaju utopija.

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SUMMARY

PATHOLOGY OF (AB)NORMAL IN THE PLAY *THE HOSPITAL AT THE TIME OF THE REVOLUTION* BY CARYL CHURCHILL

Caryl Churchill's *The Hospital at the Time of the Revolution* is a documentary play based on Frantz Fanon's psychiatric reports about the causes and nature of mental disorders, described in his books *Wretched of the Earth* and *Black Skin, White Masks*, as well as on Freud's case study of Daniel Schreber, a judge diagnosed with paranoid schizophrenia who wrote about his illness in his own memoirs. The play relies on the anti-psychiatry model by R.D. Laing, who opposed repressive methods of the traditional psychology and psychiatry and defined neurotic disorders as alternative ways of understanding the world. The purpose of this paper is to offer an extensive analysis of the play that deals with the imperative issue of oppressive treatment of the other, be it in the strictly political terms of colonized countries such as Algiers, or personal exploitation and suffocation of one's individual self as in still popular authoritarian parenting.

KEYWORDS: colonized, colonizer, illness, psychology, poisonous pedagogy, revolution.

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