

# PHILOGIA

Naučno-stručni  
časopis  
za jezik,  
književnost  
i kulturu



broj 22 • 2024. • godina XXII • eISSN 1820-5682 • Beograd



---

eISSN 1820-5682

Naučno-stručni časopis za jezik, književnost i kulturu  
broj 22 • 2024. • godina XXII • Beograd

# PHILOLOGIA

Academic journal for language, literature and culture  
Volume 22 • 2024 • year XXII • Belgrade

---

**Izdavač • Published by**

UNIVERZITET U BEOGRADU – FILOLOŠKI FAKULTET

**Kontakt adresa • Contact**

Studentski trg 3, 11000 Beograd, Srbija

[www.philologia.org.rs](http://www.philologia.org.rs)

Email: philologia.journal@gmail.com

**Za izdavača • For the publisher**

Prof. dr Iva Draškić Vićanović

**Glavni i odgovorni urednik • Editor-in-chief**

Prof. dr Biljana Čubrović

Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filološki fakultet

**Urednik za Nauku o književnosti • Editor**

Doc. dr Željka Janković

Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filološki fakultet

**Urednik za Nauku o jeziku • Editor**

Doc. dr Andrej Bjelaković

Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filološki fakultet

**Pomoćnik urednika • Editor's Assistant**

Msr Aleksandar Radović

Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filološki fakultet

**Grafički dizajn • Graphic design**

Doc. dr Vojislav Ilić

**Dizajn korice • Cover design**

Srđan Đurđević

**Prelom • Graphic preparation**

Predrag Žižović

Izdavanje časopisa finansijski pomaže Ministarstvo nauke, tehnološkog razvoja i inovacija Republike Srbije.

Radovi su licencirani prema odredbama licence  
Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.



# SADRŽAJ/TABLE OF CONTENTS

vi

Uvodna reč

vii

A Word from the Editors

## NAUKA O JEZIKU/LINGUISTICS

1

MATIJA NEŠOVIĆ

Desinonimizacija kroz prizmu korpusne i vektorske analize kontekstualnih preferenci  
leksema *kompjuter* i *računar*

15

ADRIANNA KOSTIĆ

Minorities in the Digital Space: Vojvodina Hungarians' Digital Presence, Language  
Choices, and Language Use Online

53

OLEKSANDR KAPRANOV

An Ecolinguistic Approach to the Framing of King Charles III's Climate Change-Related  
Activities by the Leading American and British Media

## PRIMENJENA LINGVISTIKA/APPLIED LINGUISTICS

75

ALEKSANDAR M. NOVAKOVIĆ

Priručnici inostranih univerziteta i zavoda u nastavi srpskog kao stranog jezika nakon  
Drugog svetskog rata

93

ANDREA BURAI

Using a Bilingual (English-French) Teaching Method to Aid L3 French Vocabulary Learning

111

OULD EHINE H'MEIDE

Factors Influencing Method Choices of EFL Teachers in Mauritania: A Reflective  
Perspective



## NAUKA O KNJIŽEVNOSTI/LITERARY STUDIES

133

**JELENA B. OGNJENović**

Satira u pripovetkama Radoja Domanovića

143

**JELENA MARINKOV**

Logoreja u pesničkoj zbirci Branislava Petrovića *Moć govora*

161

**MATEJA MATIĆ**

Princip ili Ferdinand? Mori Ogai o početku Prvog svetskog rata

173

**MAHDI SAFARI MONFARED / ERFAN ZAREI**

The Mannequin as an Active Agent: Decentered Subjectivity in Ian McEwan's "Dead as They Come"

187

**VELIMIR MLADENOVIĆ**

La réception des romans d'Elsa Triolet dans l'hebdomadaire *Les Lettres françaises* (1957-1968)

## PRIKAZI/BOOK REVIEWS

205

**JELENA KOJIĆ**

Robert Lecker (ed.), *Do You Want to Be Happy and Write?: Critical Essays on Michael Ondaatje*. Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2023, pp. 488.

## Uređivački odbor • Editorial Board

Prof. dr Radmila Bodrič, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, Filozofski fakultet  
Prof. dr Biljana Čubrović, Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filološki fakultet  
Prof. dr Dipanitta Datta, The Neotia University, India  
Prof. dr Branislav Ivanović, Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filološki fakultet  
Prof. dr Marija Krivokapić, Univerzitet Crne Gore, Filološki fakultet u Nikšiću  
Prof. dr Bojana Milosavljević, Univerzitet u Beogradu – Fakultet za obrazovanje učitelja i vaspitača  
Prof. dr Aleksandra Nikčević-Batričević, Univerzitet Crne Gore, Filološki fakultet u Nikšiću  
Prof. dr Petar Penda, Univerzitet u Banjoj Luci, Filološki fakultet  
Prof. dr Draga Zec, Cornell University, USA  
Prof. dr Nevena Ceković, Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filološki fakultet  
Prof. dr Daniel Ślapek, Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland  
Prof. dr Andrej Stopar, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia  
Prof. dr Divna Tričković, Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filološki fakultet  
Doc. dr Andrej Bjelaković, Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filološki fakultet  
Doc. dr Željka Janković, Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filološki fakultet  
Doc. dr Goran Radonjić, Univerzitet Crne Gore, Filološki fakultet u Nikšiću  
Doc. dr Phoebe Tsai, National Taipei University, Taiwan

## Recenzenti • Reviewers

Dr Milan Ajdžanović, redovni profesor, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, Filozofski fakultet  
Dr Željka Babić, redovni profesor, Univerzitet u Banjoj Luci, Filološki fakultet  
Dr Lidija Beko, redovni profesor, Univerzitet u Beogradu – Rudarsko-geološki fakultet  
Dr Marko Čudić, redovni profesor, Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filološki fakultet  
Dr Zorica Đergović-Joksimović, redovni profesor, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, Filozofski fakultet  
Dr Borko Kovačević, redovni profesor, Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filološki fakultet  
Dr Goran Maksimović, redovni profesor, Univerzitet u Nišu, Filozofski fakultet  
Dr Jelena Novaković, redovni profesor, Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filološki fakultet  
Dr Jelena Bakaluca, vanredni profesor, Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filološki fakultet  
Dr Nikola Bjelić, vanredni profesor, Univerzitet u Nišu, Filozofski fakultet  
Dr Vera Jovanović, vanredni profesor, Univerzitet u Kragujevcu, Filološko-umetnički fakultet  
Dr Vesna Krajišnik, vanredni profesor, Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filološki fakultet  
Dr Sanja Maričić Mesarović, vanredni profesor, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, Filozofski fakultet  
Dr Zoran Skrobanović, vanredni profesor, Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filološki fakultet  
Dr Nenad Tomović, vanredni profesor, Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filološki fakultet  
Dr Danijela Vasić, vanredni profesor, Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filološki fakultet  
Dr Monika Bala, docent, Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filološki fakultet  
Dr Ana Đorđević, docent, Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filološki fakultet  
Dr Aleksandra Janić Mitić, docent, Univerzitet u Nišu, Filozofski fakultet  
Dr Nemanja Karović, docent, Univerzitet u Beogradu – Fakultet za obrazovanje učitelja i vaspitača  
Dr Vesna Nikolić, docent, Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filološki fakultet  
Dr Anica Radosavljević Krsmanović, docent, Univerzitet u Kragujevcu, Filološko-umetnički fakultet  
Dr Ksenija Bogetić Pejović, research associate, Institute of Culture and Memory Studies, The Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts  
Dr Nina Muždeka, nezavisni istraživač  
Dr Marija Sloboda Anđelković, Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filološki fakultet  
Dr Olja Vasileva, Univerzitet u Kragujevcu, Filološko-umetnički fakultet, Centar za proučavanje jezika i književnosti

## ■ UVODNA REČ

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

Časopis *Philologia* je jedan od časopisa koji izdaje Filološki fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu. Pored stalnih članova Redakcije, u pripremi ovog broja učestvovao je veći broj recenzenata kojima dugujemo ogromnu zahvalnost na strpljivom i pravičnom ocenjivanju radova. Redakcija časopisa uz pomoć recenzentskog tima bezrezervno insistira na održavanju visokih kriterijuma selekcije radova koji su zasnovani na modernim pristupima proučavanju jezika i književnosti. Redakcija posebno želi da izrazi zahvalnost kolegama koji su nam poslali radove za svesku koja je pred nama.

Svi prethodni brojevi časopisa *Philologia* dostupni su u otvorenom pristupu na [www.philologia.org.rs](http://www.philologia.org.rs). Časopis se indeksira u sledećim bazama podataka: DOAJ, EBSCO, ERIH PLUS i MLA Bibliography. Redakcija časopisa poziva sve potencijalne autore na saradnju. Poziv za radove je otvoren tokom cele godine, radovi se predaju anonimno na veb-stranici časopisa putem platforme OJS/PKP. Za sva dodatna pitanja potencijalni autori Redakciji se mogu obratiti i putem imejl-adrese časopisa ([philologia.journal@gmail.com](mailto:philologia.journal@gmail.com)).

Sve pojedinosti vezane za uređivačku politiku, izdavačku etiku i rokove za predaju radova mogu se naći na veb-stranici časopisa: [www.philologia.org.rs](http://www.philologia.org.rs).

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](http://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* offers eleven full articles in the field of linguistics and literary studies, as well as one book review. 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, it would have been impossible to have this journal published.

*Philologia* Editorial Board



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18485/philologia.2024.22.22.1>

UDC: 811.163.41'373.421

811.163.41'37

## ■ DESINONIMIZACIJA KROZ PRIZMU KORPUSNE I VEKTORSKE ANALIZE KONTEKSTUALNIH PREFERENCI LEKSEMA *KOMPJUTER* I *RAČUNAR*

MATIJA NEŠOVIĆ<sup>12</sup>

Institut za srpski jezik SANU

Beograd, Srbija

 <https://orcid.org/0009-0004-5822-6675>

Koristeći elektronski korpus *Serbian Web Corpus PDRS 1.0*, kao i računarski alat za pretvaranje reči-tokena u vektore *word2vec*, u ovom radu smo analizirali primere upotrebe leksema *kompjuter* i *računar* kako bismo utvrdili stepen njihove semantičke bliskosti. Dobijeni rezultati pokazuju da pomenute imenice preferiraju načelno različita kontekstualna okruženja, zbog čega zastupamo tezu da ih ne treba smatrati istoznačnicama u savremenom srpskom jeziku. Sprovedeno istraživanje ilustruje mogućnost primene raznovrsnih kompjuterskih resursa prilikom rešavanja kako praktičnih, tako i teorijskih lingvističkih pitanja.

Ključne reči: *kompjuter*, *računar*, sinonimi, desinonimizacija, distribuciona semantika, kontekst, korpus, *word2vec*.

### 1. UVODNA RAZMATRANJA

Interesovanje za formalne i sadržinske odnose među rečima (uključujući i sinonimiju) postojalo je i mnogo pre formiranja lingvistike kao naučne discipline. Ovim pitanjima bavili su se, između ostalog, i antički filozofi, uglavnom nastojeći da preko jezičkih reprezentacija prodru u suštinu odnosa između jezika i stvarnosti (v. Ivić 1970: 12–14; Kotzia/Chriti 2013: 127–128). Osim toga, leksičke relacije čine okosnicu velikog broja retorskih figura (poput tautologije, antiteze itd.), zbog čega je njihov praktični potencijal bio prepoznat od samih početaka besedništva (isp. Herrick 1996: 41).

Razvoj leksikografske prakse, koji je posebno obeležio epohu prosvetljenosti, nametao je potrebu za izučavanjem značenjskih odnosa među leksemama (v. Sudilovskaya 2018: 5). Ipak, data pitanja počinju da se razmatraju na čvrstim naučnim temeljima tek sa pojavom strukturalizma. Jedan od pionira leksičke paradigmatske bio je nemački naučnik Jost Trir, koji je u lingvistiku uveo pojam leksičkog polja. U pitanju

1 Kontakt podaci (E-mail): [matija.nesovic@isj.sanu.ac.rs](mailto:matija.nesovic@isj.sanu.ac.rs)

2 Ovaj rad finansiralo je Ministarstvo nauke, tehnološkog razvoja i inovacija Republike Srbije prema Ugovoru broj 451-03-47/2023-01 od 17. 1. 2023. godine, koji je sklopljen sa Institutom za srpski jezik SANU.

je apstraktna struktura koja objedinjuje različite reči u okviru istog pojmovnog domena. U skladu sa strukturalističkom paradigmom, elementi datog skupa nisu samostalni, već su uzajamno zavisni; promene na nivou pojedinačnih entiteta neizostavno utiču na sistem u celini (isp. Kleparski/Rusinek 2007: 188–190). Evidentno je da je ovakav teorijski konstrukt (koji „okuplja“ značenjski povezane leksičke jedinice) u tesnoj vezi sa semantičkim odnosima, i to naročito sa sinonimijom i hiponimijom. Razvojem učenja o semskoj strukturi i polisemiji istraživanja u ovom pravcu dobila su novu dimenziju; veliki doprinos na tom polju pružili su ruski semantičari (za kratak pregled v. Sudilovskaya 2018: 6–8), a kod nas eminentni lingvisti poput Milke Ivić, Irene Grickat Radulović, Darinke Gortan Premk, Stane Ristić, Rajne Dragičević i dr., zahvaljujući čijim zalaganjima je pod okriljem tzv. Beogradske leksikografske škole formiran tim vrsnih stručnjaka koji su na polju teorijske i praktične leksikologije postigli (i nastavljaju da postižu) rezultate vredne pažnje (v. Dragičević 2017). Koristeći se poglavito komponencijalnom analizom kao metodom, istraživači su sada na naučnoj osnovi mogli da ispituju tanane značenjske nijanse po kojima se, na primer, razlikuju relativni sinonimi.

Pored ove tradicionalne linije fundamentalnih istraživanja, na Zapadu se od sredine XX veka intenzivno razvija i formalna semantika, posebna interdisciplinarna oblast koja, ukrštajući temeljne lingvističke fenomene (poput ambigviteta, referencije i sl.) sa strogim metodološkim aparatom formalne logike, problematiku značenja prenosi sa verbalnog na rečenični plan, čime se fokus premešta sa paradigmatskog na sintagmatski nivo. Pored toga, kognitivna lingvistika, kao jedan od vodećih pravaca ne samo u lokalnim (američkim) već i u globalnim okvirima, iako okrenuta „atomizovanim“ konceptima kao diskretnim strukturama (često obeležavanim pojedinačnim rečima) iza kojih se krije naša predstava o određenim fragmentima stvarnosti, počiva na obuhvatnom metodu semantičke analize. Tako, na primer, prilikom razmatranja koncepta LJUBAV istraživač mora, osim stožerne lekseme, uzeti u obzir i širi kontekst u kojem se ona upotrebljava (npr. *Leteo je na krilima ljubavi*), druge reči iz istog semantičkog polja (npr. *voleti*) i njihove sintagmatske realizacije, kao i primere u kojima centralna leksema izostaje, ali tematski korespondira sa rečeničnom situacijom (npr. *Razišli su im se putevi*). Takođe, pojam leksičkog značenja dovodi se u vezu i sa enciklopedijskim znanjem, a prilikom semantičkog opisa koriste se širi strukturni modeli (poput scenarija i frejmova) (v. Dragičević 2007: 92–93).

Intenzivan razvoj korpusne lingvistike postavio je nove standarde istraživanja na polju leksičke semantike. Danas je u svetskoj nauci gotovo nezamislivo da se o značenjskim fenomenima govori bez pokrića u obimnoj i kvantitativno obrađenoj građi. Zaključci se donose na osnovu praćenja leksičke jedinice „u pogonu“, a ne na osnovu njenih sistemskih obeležja i relacija. Uopšte uzev, može se reći da savremenu lingvističku misao odlikuje izrazit empirizam i usmerenost na jezičku upotrebu. S tim u vezi, sve više su u fokusu kontekstualna svojstva leksema, a sve manje njihove apstraktne semantičke crte i paradigmatski odnosi.

### 1.1. RAĐANJE DISTRIBUCIONE SEMANTIKE: ŠTA JE (I GDE JE) ZNAČENJE?

Kao što smo iz navedenog kratkog prikaza videli, stručnjaci su se kroz istoriju bavili različitim aspektima semantičke problematike. Ipak, nezavisno od konkretnog istraživačkog cilja (besednička praksa, pisanje rečnika ili pak teorijsko utemeljenje

koncepta semantičkog polja, te razmatranje logičke strukture iskaza), sve predstavljene pravce objedinjuje neizostavna usmerenost na značenjske odnose među leksemama na paradigmatskoj i (posebno u novije vreme) sintagmatskoj ravni. Naravno, takav pristup nameće i potrebu za omeđivanjem samog pojma leksičkog značenja.

Značenje, kao centralno pitanje leksikologije, tradicionalno se određuje kao odnos između jezika, mišljenja i stvarnosti (v. Dragičević 2007: 54). Ovakav model, prema kojem je prostor značenja, metaforički rečeno, „oivičen“ (i određen) stranicama čuvenog Ogden-Ričardsovog trougla, omogućava da se efikasno sagledaju neke od ključnih distinkcija u okviru leksičke semantike, poput one između denotacije i designacije. Međutim, iako je dati pristup čvrsto teorijski utemeljen, njegov praktični potencijal je upitan.<sup>3</sup>

Kroz istoriju lingvistike u više navrata su (de)fokusirani neki od ponuđenih triju parametara; tako, na primer, De Sosir naglašava da „označeno“ predstavlja konceptualnu projekciju stvarnosti koja je u našem mentalnom prostoru povezana sa psihičkim otiskom zvuka (isp. De Saussure 2011 [1916]: 12), dok se za formalne semantičare značenje nalazi u spoljnom svetu (v. Portner 2005: 11–12).

Treća mogućnost, prema kojoj bi se leksičko značenje crpilo samo iz jezika, postulirana je, između ostalog, u okviru tzv. distribucione semantike. Naime, ova disciplina, koja se naročito intenzivno razvija od početka XXI veka, počiva na pretpostavci da je značenje reči moguće odrediti prema tome u kakvom se kontekstu ona javlja. Ova hipoteza može se slikovito parafrazirati naširoko citiranim rečima britanskog lingviste Dž. R. Ferta (Firth 1962 [1957]: 11): „You shall know a word by the company it keeps!“ Korene ovakvog pristupa treba tražiti u američkom (harisovskom) distribucionalizmu, koji u izvesnom smislu predstavlja radikalnu nadgradnju strukturalizma – u njemu se, naime, raskida svaka veza sa mentalizmom, a kako bi se leksema valjano semantički analizirala, treba razmotriti njene (empirijski dostupne i proverljive) kontekstualne preference. Distribicioni semantičari odlaze korak dalje i, osim metodološke, predlažu i eksplanatornu (kognitivnu) dimenziju date postavke: linearna kombinatorika leksičke jedinice počinje da se tumači i kao srž njene semantike u svesti govornikâ; drugim rečima, njena sintagmatika *postaje* i njena paradigmatika (naročito u „jačoj“ verziji ove teorije) (isp. Lenci 2008: 4–7). Naravno, ovako smela teza dočekana je u naučnim krugovima sa podozrenjem, budući da, pre svega, delimično ili potpuno zanemaruje čulno i motoričko iskustvo kao konstitutivne činioce značenja. Ipak, nezavisno od toga da li se okruženje u kojem se određena leksema javlja posmatra kao suština ili tek posledica njenog značenja (u vezi sa ovim pitanjem v. Lenci 2008), treba istaći da su distribicioni semantičari umnogome zaslužni za afirmaciju konteksta kao ključnog pojma moderne nauke o jeziku. Upravo su temeljne ideje razvijene u okviru ove lingvističke škole dale snažan zamah empirijski orijentisanim istraživanjima, kao i razvoju korpusne i računarske lingvistike (uključujući i vektorske modele, koji su predstavljeni u ovom radu).

## 1.2. KONTEKST I KOLOKATIVNOST KAO INDIKATORI LEKSIČKOG ZNAČENJA

S obzirom na to da metodološki imperativ distribucione semantike čini promatranje reči u kontekstu, i ne čudi što se sam termin *kolokacija* tradicionalno vezuje za ime Dž. R.

3 Ovo se naročito odnosi na primenjivost datog obrasca u računarstvu. Kako bi kompjuter uspeo da „dopre“ do značenja, neophodno je da ono bude „opipljivo“ (a ne internalizovano), numerički merljivo (a ne deskriptivno) i uporedivo sa ostalim članovima iste klase (a ne izolovano).



Ferta (v. Dražić 2014: 28). Kao što je poznato, ovaj pojam je u literaturi definisan na različite načine. To je i razumljivo ako se uzme u obzir potreba da se on razgraniči prema srodnim i isto tako nedovoljno omeđenim lingvističkim konceptima poput slobodnih leksičkih veza i idioma. T. Prčić (2016: 147–148) određuje kolokacije kao spojeve koje odlikuje moguća ili minimalna zamenljivost, relativno slaba postojanost (što podrazumeva izvesnu gramatičku „fleksibilnost“) i (semantička) prozirnost. Na ovaj način se (nasuprot frazemima) potcrtava kompozicionalni karakter kolokacija, ali se istovremeno ističe i njihova delimična ustaljenost (naspram slobodnih leksičkih kombinacija).

Iako je, kao što je već predočeno, naučna relevantnost sintagmatskog jezičkog nivoa dovođena u pitanje u okviru određenih lingvističkih pravaca, to ne poništava činjenicu da kontekst (u najmanju ruku) stoji u očiglednoj korelaciji sa značenjskim svojstvima reči (isp. npr. Shmelev 1973: 160; Gortan-Premk 1997: 49; Dragičević 2007: 222–223). S tim u vezi, kolokaciona analiza predstavlja vrlo koristan metod za utvrđivanje i poređenje semantičkog sadržaja leksema. Ipak, kako primećuje Lj. Gotštajn (1986: 41), leksička kompatibilnost *in potentia* ne mora se uvek realizovati u vidu odgovarajuće kolokacije. Drukčije rečeno, „kolokacione sile“ mogu određene spojeve preferirati, a druge (uprkos ispunjenosti semantičkih uslova) – odbacivati. Ovo bi, bar teoretski, moglo predstavljati metodološki problem prilikom semantičke analize, budući da, prema ovakvoj postavci, sintagmatika jedinice ne mora sasvim precizno odražavati njenu paradigmaticu. Na primer, iako su imenice *učenik* i *đak* nesumnjivo sinonimi, naporedna konstrukcija *učenik i učitelj* u građi je potvrđena daleko većim brojem primera od istoznačne konstrukcije *đak i učitelj*. Međutim, ako je korpus dovoljno reprezentativan, ovakva (ređa) razilaženja ne mogu značajno uticati na dobijene rezultate.

Takođe, treba istaći da se termin *kolokat* u ovom radu koristi u širem značenju nego što je to iznad precizirano, što je upravo u skladu sa ranije predstavljenom distribucionalističkom doktrinom. Naime, vektorski modeli (iz t. 3) obično su zasnovani na obradi znatno šireg konteksta (npr. u rasponu od -5 do +5), te „kolokatom“ centralne lekseme nazivamo svaku reč sa kojom se ona udružuje u proizvoljno zadatom opsegu. Kada je reč o korpusnoj analizi (iz t. 2), dato određenje je u većini slučajeva opravdano i objektivnim svojstvima razmatranih spojeva: najrelevantniji među njima (npr. *laptop računar*, *tablet računar*, *prenosivi računar* i sl.) poseduju glavne karakteristike kolokacija (isp. Dražić 2014: 80).

### 1.3. SINONIMIJA I DESINONIMIZACIJA

U literaturi se, prema kriterijumu semantičke sličnosti, najčešće polazi od podele na dve osnovne vrste sinonima: apsolutne (istoznačnice) i relativne (bliskoznačnice) (isp. Dragičević 2007: 245). Istoznačnice se obično definišu kao reči koje su međusobno zamenljive u svim kontekstima (v. Cruse 1986: 268). U skladu tim, test supstitucije pominje se kao jedan od glavnih metoda za utvrđivanje potpune značenjske podudarnosti među analiziranim leksemama. Ako pak navedeno određenje prevedemo sa sintagmatske na paradigmatsku ravan, možemo zaključiti da su posredi lekseme čije se polisemične (ili češće – monosemične) strukture u potpunosti poklapaju. S druge strane, bliskoznačnice se mogu razlikovati kako po opsegu polisemične strukture (*kuća* i *dom* dele samo neka značenja), tako i po određenoj komponenti konkretnog leksičkog značenja (designaciji,

konotaciji, upotrebnoj vrednosti i sl. – isp. graduelne sinonime *topao* i *vreo*) (up. Šipka 1998: 45–46). Nezavisno od toga koji je model relativne sinonimije posredi, njene posledice su uvek iste – zamenljivost zahvaćenih leksema u kontekstu nije potpuna, već ograničena.

U nauci vlada konsenzus da su apsolutni sinonimi u praksi izuzetno retki, budući da se njihovo postojanje protivi zakonu jezičke ekonomije. Osim toga, ako se u određenom sinhronom preseku i može ustanoviti potpuna značenjska ekvivalencija dveju (ili više) leksema, obično se smatra da će ona biti kratkog veka, pošto istoznačnice teže desinonimizaciji, tj. semantičkoj diferencijaciji. U pitanju je proces koji tipično podrazumeva sužavanje (specijalizaciju) značenja jednog od sinonima (up. Dragičević 2007: 248–249), usled čega se novouspostavljeni semantički odnos neretko transformiše u hiponimiju.

Ako prihvatimo ovde iznetu tezu o važnosti konteksta u proceni sinonimičnosti (uz nužne ograde koje su iznete u prethodnom poglavlju) i pokušamo na taj način da ustanovimo stepen značenjske sličnosti među određenim rečima, smatramo da je najbolje koristiti elektronske korpuse i druge računarske alate koji omogućavaju automatsku i obuhvatnu analizu distribucionih karakteristika leksema. Ukoliko je pažnja istraživača usmerena na semantičke promene koje su reči pretrpele u određenom vremenskom okviru (kao što je to delom slučaj u ovom radu), naročito su korisni korpusi koji dopuštaju filtriranje rezultata pretrage prema godini u kojoj su zabeleženi primeri.

Naposletku, kako uopšte nastaju sinonimi? Kao jedan od glavnih izvora leksičke sinonimije (osim stvaranja ekspresivne leksike, polisemije i derivacije) izdvaja se upravo pozajmljivanje – naporedno sa preuzetom leksemom u jeziku-primaocu obično već postoji ili se naknadno formira i domaća reč sa istim značenjem (v. Dragičević 2007: 249–250).

#### 1.4. ZNAČENJSKI ODNOS ANGLICIZMA I ODGOVARAJUĆE DOMAĆE LEKSEME

Kako u ovom radu poredimo značenja lekseme preuzete iz engleskog jezika (*kompjuter*) i njenog prevodnog ekvivalenta (*računar*), potrebno je osvrnuti se i na problematiku semantičke adaptacije anglicizama u srpskom jeziku i njihovog odnosa prema odgovarajućim domaćim rečima.

Budući da nove predmete ili koncepte načelno usvajamo zasebno („jedan po jedan“) i uniformno (sa jedinstvenim kriterijalnim obeležjima), anglicizme (i pozajmljenice uopšte) obično preuzimamo u svega jednom ili malom broju značenja (isp. Filipović 1986: 65).<sup>4</sup> Taj proces u jeziku-primaocu neretko prati i stvaranje značenjskog ekvivalenta od domaćeg leksičkog i tvorbenog materijala. Formirani leksemski par u početku može predstavljati apsolutne sinonime (ili tzv. trenutne „leksičke dublete“), ali, kao što smo istakli u prethodnom potpoglavlju, s vremenom među njima mora nastupiti semantička diferencijacija na denotativnom i(li) konotativnom (u najširem smislu) planu, što je mehanizam koji se tipično „prelama“ na samoj pozajmljenici (isp. Milić 2013: 110–111).

Za predmet ovog rada naročito su važna razmatranja T. Prčića (2019: 148) o tzv. hiposinonimiji, koja podrazumeva hibridni semantički odnos između anglicizma i domaće lekseme: prema autoru, ovakve reči „istovremeno se nalaze u dvostrukom

4 Naravno, pozajmljenica u jeziku-primaocu sekundarno može razviti dodatna značenja, strana izvornoj leksemi (isp. Filipović 1986: 66; Nežović 2023).

odnosu: i sinonimije (zbog istovetnog osnovnog značenja) i hiponimije (zbog dodatnih obeležja anglicizma), pri čemu funkciju hiperonima vrši semantički opštija postojeća reč, dok funkciju hiponima vrši semantički specifičniji anglicizam (očigledni ili sirovi)“. Prčić kao primere navodi parove *đus* prema *voćni sok*, *hamburger* prema *pljeskavica*, *dil* prema *dogovor* itd. Navedeno određenje hiposinonimije nije najjasnije, budući da nije precizirano šta se podrazumeva pod „istovetnim osnovnim značenjem“: ta istovetnost primarnih značenja (barem u datim primerima) može figurirati samo u međujezičkoj relaciji izvorne engleske lekseme (npr. *deal*) i srpskog ekvivalenta (*dogovor*), ali se gubi u okvirima jezika-primaoca (*đus* označava samo sok od narandže). Ipak, čini se da je autor na pravom tragu kada sinonimiju i hiponimiju razmatra kao srodne, isprepletene i temeljne značenjske odnose u koje (simultano ili sukcesivno) stupaju pozajmljenica i odgovarajuća domaća leksema.

Najzad, od toga kako ćemo odrediti relaciju između anglicizma i njegovog srpskog ekvivalenta (kao apsolutnu sinonimiju, relativnu sinonimiju ili pak hiponimiju) umnogome zavisi i odgovor na pitanje da li nam je određen anglicizam u jeziku uopšte potreban (up. Prčić 2019: 129–134).

### 1.5. PREDMET, METODOLOGIJA I CILJEVI RADA

Na tragu ideja distribucionih semantičara, u ovom članku želimo da pokažemo da se određene računarske metode mogu koristiti za procenu sinonimičnosti dveju ili više leksema. Centralni deo rada čine dva poglavlja: prvo ćemo, koristeći elektronski korpus (*PDRS 1.0*), sprovesti kolokacionu analizu reči *kompjuter* i *računar* (t. 2), a zatim ćemo pomoću odgovarajućeg modela za obradu teksta (*word2vec*) predstaviti i uporediti vektorske reprezentacije navedenih leksema (t. 3). Na kraju ćemo dobijene rezultate razmotriti iz teorijske vizure i izneti glavne zaključke istraživanja (t. 4).

Neposredni povod za pisanje ovog rada predstavlja sledeći pasaż iz udžbenika *Leksikologija srpskog jezika* Rajne Dragičević (2007: 248): „У садашњем часу, на пример, лексеме *компјутер* и *рачунар* представљају истозначнице у савременом српском језику [i RSJ ih tretira na isti način – M. N.]. То, међутим, вероватно, неће дуго трајати. Једна од њих ће или нестати или ће спецификовати значење.“ Želeli smo da utvrdimo da li se autorkina pretpostavka u međuvremenu obistinila, tj. da li su ove dve reči podlegle procesu desinonimizacije, što bi bilo u skladu sa uobičajenim shvatanjem sinonimije kao „jezičkog trenutka“ i fenomena koji se suprotstavlja načelu jezičke ekonomije.

Dakle, cilj rada jeste da se ustanovi da li su lekseme *kompjuter* i *računar* istoznačnice. Još važnije od toga, pokušaćemo da skrenemo pažnju na neke od prednosti računarske obrade leksičkih odnosa.

## 2. KORPUSNA ANALIZA

Za potrebe ovog dela istraživanja korišćen je veb-korpus *Serbian Web Corpus PDRS 1.0* (izrađen u okviru projekta *Javni diskurs u Republici Srbiji*), koji sadrži više od 700 miliona tokena. Građa za ovaj korpus ekscerpirana je sa internet sajtova sa domenom *.rs*.

Pomoću jednostavnih upita ([lemma = 'računar'] i [lemma = 'kompjuter']) i opcije za izdvajanje najčešćih kolokata u opsegu -1, došli smo do leksema koje obično

prethode rečima *računar* i *kompjuter* (tim redom). Rezultati su predstavljeni u sledećim tabelama<sup>5</sup>.

Collocate	Freq	Coll. freq.	logDice
desktop	755	3618	8.7738
PC	758	6104	8.7174
laptop	814	10524	8.716
personalan	716	4880	8.6654
tablet	562	5093	8.3107
prenosan	507	6678	8.1232
tvoj	1064	75327	8.0869
notebook	299	1016	7.5054
vaš	2334	507312	7.093
kvantni	234	3551	7.0855
prenosiv	188	5593	6.7185
disk	177	14857	6.4194
memorija	166	15264	6.3182
stoni	128	4902	6.181
kućni	191	40440	6.0671

Collocate	Freq	Coll. freq.	logDice
kvantni	80	3551	7.3157
personalan	66	4880	6.9261
board	43	539	6.7117
voice-input	31	31	6.2952
dt	27	445	6.0504
adresa	194	104100	5.7637
ekran	76	36459	5.6568
bord	21	1003	5.6288
ronilački	21	1334	5.5949
desktop	20	3618	5.3098
ispred	116	85024	5.2786
putni	53	32002	5.2733
pomoću	61	39585	5.251
tastatura	21	5658	5.2123
trip	15	1555	5.0872

Kao što se iz priloženih tabela vidi, minimalni levi kontekst lekseme *računar* (ako zanemarimo zamenice) uglavnom sačinjavaju reči koje preciznije određuju vrstu uređaja – prema frekvenciji dominiraju *laptop* (pored ređeg *notebook*), *PC*, *desktop* (uz znatno ređe *stoni*) i *personalan*, a odmah iza njih su *tablet* i *prenosan* (uz *prenosiv*). Dakle, ispostavlja se da leksema *računar* primarno označava bilo koji veći („ne-džepni“) elektronski uređaj koji ima ekran i odašilje neki vizuelni signal, interaguje sa korisnikom i ispunjava određene „računarske“ operacije (otvara, izvršava i zatvara programe i sl.).

Što se tiče lekseme *kompjuter*, njen najčešći levi kolokat predstavlja reč *adresa* (Freq: 194). Ređe se javljaju lekseme koje se odnose na vrstu kompjutera – *kvantni*, *personalan* (kalk prema engl. *personal computer*), *putni* / *(on) board* (oba predstavljaju kompjuterske sisteme u automobilima), te (u malom broju slučajeva) *ronilački*, *desktop*. Pored toga, činjenica je da većina navedenih atributa upućuje na gabaritne ili ugrađene (nemobilne) uređaje, što bi moglo da govori u prilog tvrdnji da leksema *kompjuter* tipično označava veliki, neprenosivi („stoni“) računar koji se sastoji od monitora i kućišta i mora biti priključen u struju da bi radio. O tome posredno svedoči i izostanak kolokata kao što su *laptop*, *prenosni*, *tablet* i sl., kao i relativno mali ukupan broj antepozicioniranih leksema kvalifikativnog tipa, što se može objasniti tezom da je reč *kompjuter* značenjski već dovoljno specifikovana.

5 U svakoj koloni predstavljen je jedan parametar analize: apsolutna frekvencija pojavljivanja datog kolokata na prvoj poziciji s leve strane (Freq), apsolutna frekvencija pojavljivanja datog kolokata na bilo kojoj poziciji (ne samo prvoj levoj) u okviru istog primera (Coll. Freq.), kolokacioni „potencijal“ (logDice), koji uzima u obzir ne samo apsolutnu frekvenciju već i učestalost pojavljivanja primarnog i sekundarnog kolokata van konteksta zadate kolokacije. Ovim parametrom (kojem su, inače, tvorci korpusa s razlogom pridali najveći značaj u kolokacionoj analizi) meri se koliko su analizirane reči „zavisne“ jedna od druge. Kao što se vidi, ukupno je prikazano po 15 kolokata za svaku reč, koji su rangirani prema pomenutoj vrednosti logDice.

### 3. VEKTORSKA ANALIZA

Pored elektronskih korpusa, postoji još nekoliko računarskih metoda pomoću kojih se mogu analizirati semantički odnosi među leksemama. To su, između ostalog, modeli zasnovani na neuronskim mrežama, koji spadaju u domen veštačke inteligencije (AI). Oni pokazuju visoku efikasnost kada je reč o obradi prirodnog jezika (engl. *NLP – natural language processing*), zahvaljujući čemu su implementirani u mnoge alate koji se koriste za računarsku obradu i produkciju teksta – npr. za mašinsko prevođenje, čet-botove, optimizaciju pretraživača, analizu sentimenta, parafraziranje, pretvaranje govora u zapis itd. Međutim, ovi resursi zasad se vrlo malo koriste u teorijski orijentisanim istraživanjima. Indikativan je podatak da u srpskoj lingvistici, koliko je nama poznato, nije objavljen nijedan rad u kojem bi se autor služio nekim od dostupnih AI-alata pri razmatranju određenog fundamentalnog pitanja.<sup>6</sup>

Jedan od takvih resursa jeste tzv. *word2vec*, koji je uobličen pre deset godina (Mikolov *et al.* 2013). Uprošćeno rečeno, on funkcioniše tako što se isprva unosi velika količina građe (obično u milionima reči). Nakon što model identifikuje i obradi kolokate svake reči u zadatom kolokacionom opsegu, svim rečima se dodeljuje odgovarajući multidimenzionalni vektor (obično od sto ili više dimenzija). Na ovaj način se prvobitni tekstualni input pretvara u brojnu vrednost, koja se potom može podvrgavati različitim matematičkim operacijama – vektori se mogu upoređivati (može se meriti stepen njihove sličnosti), pa čak i sabirati i oduzimati (tako bi, na primer, u dobrom korpusu rezultat izraza *kralj - muško + žensko* trebalo da bude – *kraljica* (v. Mikolov *et al.* 2013: 2)).

Trebalo bi objasniti kako se ovaj metod razlikuje od korpusnog. Naime, i u jednom i u drugom slučaju uzimaju se u obzir kolokati određene lekseme, a kolokacioni opseg se može ciljano podešavati (iako smo se u ovde sprovedenoj korpusnoj analizi ograničili isključivo na poziciju -1, tu vrednost je moguće promeniti). Ipak, razlika je u tome što *word2vec* automatski poredi vektore stotina hiljada reči. S tim u vezi, zahvaljujući mašinski izmerenoj kosinusnoj sličnosti među njima, možemo za svaku reč iz građe utvrditi, na primer, još deset (ili više) reči koje su joj najbližnje po svom kontekstualnom ponašanju. Nasuprot tome, javno dostupni korpusi daju uvid u najčešće kolokate tražene lekseme (ili, eventualno, većeg broja njih), ali ne omogućavaju automatsku identifikaciju značenjski bliskih reči iz čitavog korpusa. Drugim rečima, korpusnim metodom možemo pouzdano ustanoviti sintagmatiku određene jedinice, a vektorskim – i pomoću nje „obračunatu“ paradigmatiku.

Mi smo za potrebe ovog istraživanja napravili sopstveni neanotirani korpus. On je znatno manjeg obima nego što je to preporučljivo kada se koristi vektorski metod – sadrži svega 16007 primera i 30110 unikatnih reči. Međutim, ovaj nedostatak pokušali smo da premostimo pažljivim odabirom građe, koju smo direktno preuzimali iz već pomenutog javno dostupnog korpusa *PDRS 1.0*, ali ne nasumično, već ciljano kopirajući isključivo one primere u kojima je upotrebljena neka od sledećih leksema: *kompjuter, računar, laptop, tablet, telefon, televizor, uređaj, aparat*. Na taj način smo, po ugledu na neka ranija istraživanja (Dusserre/Padró 2017), fokus modela preusmerili ka onim rečima

6 Nasuprot tome, teorijski potencijal ovakvih alata bolje je prepoznat u inostranstvu, te su oni korišćeni u nezanemarljivoj broju radova posvećenih različitim lingvističkim pitanjima (v. npr. Antipenko/Mitrofanova 2019; Savytska *et al.* 2021).

koje će nam biti potrebne u krajnjoj analizi (a čija je frekvencija sasvim zadovoljavajuća). Pošto naš korpus nije lematizovan, sve morfološke realizacije gorenavedenih leksema sveli smo pomoću regularnih izraza na njihov osnovni oblik (kako bi odgovarajući vektor bio povezan sa čitavom paradigmom, a ne sa svakom formom ponaosob).

Za implementaciju datog modela korišćen je programski jezik *Python*. Upotreba metoda *word2vec* omogućena je posredstvom besplatne biblioteke *Gensim*. Osim toga, odabran je standardni algoritam *CBOW*. Za svaku reč određen je 100-dimenzionalni vektor, a u obzir je uziman kontekst u opsegu -5 do +5 (tj. postavljen je hiperparametar *window = 5*)<sup>7</sup>.

U nastavku ćemo navesti po pet reči čiji je vektorski profil najbližiji u odnosu na vektore leksema *računar* i *kompjuter*.<sup>8</sup>

<i>računar</i>	<i>kompjuter</i>
[(‘uredjaj’, 0.8961764574050903), (‘tv’, 0.8953549861907959), (‘aparatus’, 0.8803419470787048), (‘wifi’, 0.880127489566803), (‘mejla’, 0.8756557106971741)]	[(‘ovde’, 0.9074090719223022), (‘ekran’, 0.9051103591918945), (‘drugi’, 0.903938889503479), (‘svoj’, 0.9033220410346985), (‘pomoc’, 0.8988338708877563)]

Iako je očigledno da predstavljeni vektori, usled određenih nedostataka samog korpusa (manji broj primera i tokena, većinska nelematizovanost, prisustvo gramatičkih reči), nisu idealni, ipak se mogu zapaziti određene tendencije. Naime, leksema *računar* bliska je rečima kao što su *uredjaj* i *aparatus*, koje imaju krajnje uopšteno značenje. Ove imenice (uključujući i *tv*) često su postponirane u odnosu na neki atribut koji specifikuje njihovo značenje (isp. spojeve tipa *klima-uredjaj*, *smart tv* i sl.). U prošlom poglavlju pokazali smo da se i leksema *računar* ponaša na sličan način (npr. *desktop računarski*, *tablet računarski*, *laptop računarski*), tako da je ovakva veza očekivana. Kao što se može videti, leksema *kompjuter* tipično ne pokazuje takva kontekstualna svojstva.

Do sličnih zaključaka možemo doći i ako razmotrimo vektorske mreže reči *uredjaj* i *tablet*.

<i>uredjaj</i>	<i>tablet</i>
[(‘ajped’, 0.9112445712089539), (‘aparatus’, 0.9073323011398315), (‘internetu’, 0.9047685861587524), (‘racunarski’, 0.8922036290168762), (‘tv’, 0.8921940922737122)]	[(‘mobilni’, 0.9259875416755676), (‘desktop’, 0.8949421048164368), (‘preko’, 0.8930915594100952), (‘televizor’, 0.8896180391311646), (‘vasem’, 0.8843291997909546)]

7 Ova odluka doneta je u skladu sa tezom da se semantički bliske reči najbolje određuju preko relativno užeg konteksta, dok se širi kontekst (npr. -10 : +10) može koristiti za dobijanje reči koje pripadaju istom pojmovnom domenu, ali nisu nužno sličnog značenja, tj. ne moraju deliti istu arhisemu (isp. Levy/Goldberg 2014).

8 Inače, ovi rezultati mogu se i vizuelno predstaviti u koordinatnom prostoru (preko biblioteke *Matplotlib*) nakon što se vektori svedu na dve dimenzije (što je izvodljivo pomoću statističke funkcije *t-SNE* u okviru dostupne programske biblioteke *scikit-learn*).



Kao što smo i očekivali, leksema *uređaj* uporediva je sa imenicama šireg značenja, uključujući *računar*. S druge strane, reč *tablet* upotrebljava se u sličnom (adnominalnom) kontekstu kao i *mobilni, desktop* – isp. spojeve *tablet / desktop računar, mobilni telefon*.<sup>9</sup>

#### 4. DISKUSIJA I ZAKLJUČAK

Kada je reč o teorijskom nivou istraživanja, sprovedena analiza pokazala je da lekseme *računar* i *kompjuter* ne predstavljaju apsolutne sinonime u savremenom srpskom jeziku, budući da nisu zamenljivi u svim kontekstima (*\*laptop kompjuter, \*tablet kompjuter, \*desktop kompjuter* itd.). Ipak, nije lako precizno utvrditi kako je tekao proces njihove desinonimizacije. Možemo pretpostaviti da su ove dve reči u početku (sa pojavom kompjutera) zaista i predstavljale istoznačnice (što je i tipično za parove stranih i domaćih termina (v. Dragičević 2007: 245)). Međutim, razvoj i ekspanzija novih elektronskih uređaja koji obavljaju iste osnovne operacije kao i kompjuteri, ali se od njih po određenim inherentnim svojstvima razlikuju (npr. po obeležju prenosivosti) – poput laptopova i tableta – doveo je, kako nam se čini, do širenja semantike lekseme *računar*, te se ona počela koristiti kao opšti naziv za različite uređaje koji su funkcionalno bliski. Ovakav mehanizam u suprotnosti je sa značenjskom specijalizacijom kao tipičnim mehanizmom kojim se razrešava sinonimija (isp. Dragičević 2007: 248–249). Ipak, iako se nameće zaključak da domaća leksema *računar* danas ima nešto drugačije značenje od pozajmljenice *kompjuter*, iz sprovedene analize nije najjasnije kako bi trebalo predstaviti njenu polisemičnu strukturu. Naime, ne treba zanemariti pretpostavku (koju bi valjalo potvrditi psiholingvističkim eksperimentima) da i danas leksema *računar* najpre pobuđuje mentalnu predstavu stonog računara (tj. kompjutera). Šta nam to govori o njenom (tradicionalno shvaćenom) leksičkom značenju? Naime, mogli bismo reći da je ova leksema monosemična. U tom slučaju njena designacija (kao apstraktan skup obaveznih svojstava) bila bi znatno šira (i „objedinjavala“ bi kako prenosive, tako i neprenosive uređaje), ali njena denotacija (kao realan, prototipičan predstavnik objekta (isp. Dragičević 2007: 58)) i dalje bi bila čvrsto spregnuta sa slikom desktop računara.<sup>10</sup> Ovakva postavka može se dovesti u vezu sa semantičkom nespecificovanošću kao jednim od koncepata koji se detaljnije razrađuju u modernoj lingvistici (v. Murphy 2010: 84, gde se kao primer navodi reč *clock*, koja može označavati različite tipove satova: digitalne, analogne, budilnike i sl.), ali i sa similibijom (v. Gortan-Premk 1997: 59–67; Dragičević 2007: 136–137), koja podrazumeva suptilnu hijerarhiju između srodnih značenjskih subrealizacija (npr. a. *glava* [čoveka], b. *glava* [životinje]). Zapravo, čini se da je značenjski „preobražaj“ lekseme *računar* još uvek u povoju; on se, figurativno rečeno, odigrava pred našim očima. Data leksema još uvek nije raskinula čvrste semantičke „niti“ koje je vezuju za izvorni koncept, ali istovremeno pokazuje jasnu tendenciju ka širenju

9 U datoj tabeli interesantan je i odnos između reči *tv* i *televizor*, od kojih se prva kontekstualno ponaša kao imenica opštije, a druga – specifičnije semantike. Zašto je to tako? Pretpostavljamo da odgovor leži u činjenici da ćemo skraćenicu *TV* mnogo češće čuti u preuzetom izrazu *smart TV*, dok će se imenica *televizor* obično koristiti bez atributskog determinatora. Ovaj primer nas istovremeno podseća da nas kompjuterski obrađena građa ponekad može navesti na pogrešne zaključke.

10 Fazičnu značenjsku strukturu lekseme *računar* bilo bi sasvim prikladno analizirati i iz perspektive teorije prototipa: u njenom centru bio bi kompjuter, bližu periferiju činili bi prenosivi računari poput laptopova, a dalje – tableti i slični uređaji.

svog polaznog značenja; dakle, ona prema leksemi *kompjuter* zauzima ambivalentan odnos – može se tumačiti kao njen relativni sinonim ili pak hiperonim (povodom datog teorijskog problema v. Dragičević 2007: 296–297). S obzirom na sve što je iznad rečeno, ovde je umesno poslužiti se Prčićevim (2019: 148) hibridnim terminom *hiposinonimija*, budući da on odlično odražava fazičnu i kompleksnu prirodu semantičkih relacija u koje stupaju analizirane lekseme. Najzad, s obzirom na hiperprodukciju novih računarskih sistema i ubrzano zastarevanje postojećih (uključujući klasične kompjutere), možemo očekivati dalju semantičku generalizaciju lekseme *računar* i potencijalni razvoj pravog opšteg značenja (v. Dragičević 2007: 135–136), koje je apstraktno i „nevidljivo“, ali natkriljuje sve pojedinačne i ravnopravne semanteme bez jasne hijerarhije među njima (kao što, na primer, leksema *kora* označava tvrdi spoljni omotač različitih entiteta: drveta, plodova, hleba itd.). Naravno, ovaj proces pratiće i stabilizacija uskog, specijalnog značenja anglicizma *kompjuter* (‘stoni računar’).

Iz svega navedenog proističe zaključak da su obe reči našle svoje mesto u leksičkom sistemu, kao i da su potrebne srpskom jeziku. S tim u vezi, možemo reći da su neopravdani normativistički naponi da se jedna od ovih dveju leksema odbaci (*kompjuter* jer je u pitanju pozajmljenica, odn. *računar* jer nije razvio razgranatu mrežu derivata). Ovaj slučaj još jednom potvrđuje tezu da sinonimija podleže spontanoj samoregulaciji, zbog čega spoljne intervencije najčešće i nisu neophodne.

Smatramo da je najveći doprinos ovog rada metodološke prirode. Naime, pokušali smo da pokažemo da se teorijskim pitanjima leksičke semantike može pristupiti i uz oslanjanje na najnovija dostignuća računarske lingvistike i informatike. Duboko smo uvereni da se o značenju reči najobjektivnije može suditi upravo na osnovu kvantitativne analize njenih kontekstualnih preferenci. Pošto je takav istraživački postupak složen (naročito kada se operiše većim brojem jedinica), naučnici se mogu poslužiti brojnim tehnološkim alatima koji su im na raspolaganju, poput ovde pomenutih elektronskih korpusa i vektorskih semantičkih modela.

Najzad, procena sinonimičnosti (i drugih semantičkih parametara) može, naravno, imati i primenu u leksikografskoj praksi. Informacije o značenjskim vezama među leksemama dragocene su za različite vrste opštih i specijalnih rečnika (među njima, podrazumeva se, i za sinonimske). Kako bi takvi važni podaci bili što pouzdaniji, poželjno je sakupiti obimnu i raznovrsnu građu, koju bi zatim trebalo statistički obraditi. Osim toga, kvantitativna semantika mogla bi predstavljati i okosnicu za osmišljavanje raznovrsnih digitalnih rečnika i drugih elektronskih jezičkih resursa.

## LITERATURA

- Antipenko, A. A. i O. A. Mitrofanova. 2019. Исследование ассоциативных связей слов в корпусе социальных сетей с помощью дистрибутивносемантических моделей. *Компьютерная лингвистика и вычислительные онтологии* 3, 77–91.
- Cruse, A. 1986. *Lexical Semantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dragičević, R. 2007. *Leksikologija srpskog jezika*. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike.
- Dragičević, R. 2017. Srpska leksikologija danas: sadašnje stanje i perspektive. *Južnoslovenski filolog LXXIII(3–4)*, 259–290.



- Dražić, J. 2014. *Leksičke i gramatičke kolokacije u srpskom jeziku*. Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet.
- Dusserre, E. and M. Padró. 2017. Bigger does not mean better! [Internet]. Dostupno na: <https://aclanthology.org/W17-6908.pdf> [1. 12. 2023].
- Filipović, R. 1986. *Teorija jezika u kontaktu : uvod u lingvistiku jezičnih dodira*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti: Školska knjiga.
- Firth, J. R. 1962. A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory, 1930-55. In J. R. Firth (ed.) *Studies in Linguistic Analysis. Special Volume of the Philological Society*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1-31.
- Gortan-Premk, D. 1997. *Polisemija i organizacija leksičkog sistema u srpskome jeziku*. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva.
- Gotštajn, Lj. 1986. *Sinonimija u kolokacijama (sa primerima engleskog jezika naučne argumentacije)*. Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet.
- Herrick, J. 2005. *The History and Theory of Rhetoric: An Introduction*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Boston: Allyn and Beacon.
- Ivić, M. 1970. *Pravci u lingvistici*. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.
- Kleparski, G. and A. Rusinek. 2007. The tradition of field theory and the study of lexical semantic change. *Studia Anglica Resoviensia* 4, 188-205.
- Kotzia, P. and M. Chriti. 2014. Ancient Philosophers on Language. In G. Giannakis et al. (eds.) *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 124-133.
- Lenci, A. 2008. Distributional semantics in linguistic and cognitive research. *Rivista di Linguistica* 20(1), 1-31.
- Levy, O. and Y. Goldberg. 2014. Dependency-Based Word Embeddings. [Internet]. Dostupno na: <https://aclanthology.org/P14-2050.pdf> [1. 12. 2023].
- Mikolov, T. et al. Efficient Estimation of Word Representations in Vector Space. [Internet]. Dostupno na: <https://arxiv.org/pdf/1301.3781> [1. 12. 2023].
- Milić, M. Anglizmi kao sinonimi u srpskom jeziku. [Internet]. Dostupno na: <https://digitalna.ff.uns.ac.rs/sadrzaj/2013/978-86-6065-166-4> [1. 12. 2023].
- Murphy, M. L. 2010. *Lexical Meaning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nešović, M. 2023. Anglizmi u srpskom i ruskom omladinskom žargonu (morfosintaksički i semantički aspekt). *Slavistika XXVII(1)*, 180-197.
- Portner, P. 2005. *What is Meaning? Fundamentals of Formal Semantics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Prčić, T. 2016. Semantika i pragmatika reči. [Internet]. Dostupno na: <https://digitalna.ff.uns.ac.rs/sadrzaj/2016/978-86-6065-356-9> [1. 12. 2023].
- Prčić, T. 2019. Engleski u srpskom, treće izdanje. [Internet]. Dostupno na: <https://digitalna.ff.uns.ac.rs/sadrzaj/2019/978-86-6065-512-9> [1. 12. 2023].
- Savytska, N. V. et al. 2021. Using Word2vec Technique to Determine Semantic and Morphologic Similarity in Embedded Words of the Ukrainian Language. [Internet]. Dostupno na: <https://ceur-ws.org/Vol-2870/paper21.pdf> [1. 12. 2023].
- de Saussure, F. 2011. *Course in General Linguistics* (eds. P. Meisel and H. Saussy, trans. W. Baskin). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Shmelev, D. N. 1973. *Проблемы семантического анализа лексики (на материале русского языка)*. Москва: Издательство „Наука“.
- Sudilovskaya, V. G. 2018. *Введение в лексикологию: учебное пособие*. Санкт-Петербург: Балтийский государственный технический университет «Военмех».
- Šipka, D. 1998. *Osnovi leksikologije i srodnih disciplina*. Novi Sad: Matica srpska.

## SUMMARY

### DESYNONYMIZATION THROUGH THE LENS OF CORPUS AND VECTOR ANALYSIS OF THE CONTEXTUAL PROPERTIES OF THE WORDS *KOMPJUTER* AND *RAČUNAR*

In this paper, we discuss the meanings of the Serbian words *kompjuter* and *računar* ('computer') in terms of their semantic proximity. Using web corpus data, as well as *word2vec* method for measuring the cosine similarity between their vector representations (based on their contextual preferences), we conclude that, contrary to popular belief, these words should not be considered absolute synonyms. Specifically, we propose that the loanword *kompjuter* has a narrower sense ('PC', 'desktop computer'), whereas its loan-translation counterpart *računar* carries a broader meaning ('any larger computational device'). This conclusion is based on the fact that the two lexemes in question do not share distributional patterns: while *kompjuter* is typically used as a syntactically free expression, *računar* is often preceded by various attributes that specify the meaning of the entire nominal phrase (e.g. *laptop računar*, *tablet računar*, *iPad računar*). Consequently, these words are not always contextually interchangeable. Additionally, we propose that computational resources should be utilized when addressing various practical and theoretical linguistic problems.

**KEYWORDS:** *kompjuter*, *računar*, synonyms, desynonymization, distributional semantics, context, corpus, *word2vec*.

PODACI O ČLANKU:

Originalni naučni rad

Primljen: 2. oktobra 2023.

Ispravljen: 12. decembra 2023.

Prihvaćen: 12. decembra 2023.



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18485/philologia.2024.22.22.2>

UDC: 811:323.15(497.113)

316.774:004.738.5

## ■ MINORITIES IN THE DIGITAL SPACE: VOJVODINA HUNGARIANS' DIGITAL PRESENCE, LANGUAGE CHOICES, AND LANGUAGE USE ONLINE

ADRIANNA KOSTIC<sup>1</sup>

University of Szeged

Szeged, Hungary

 <https://orcid.org/0009-0007-4032-3997>

U radu se istražuje upotreba digitalnih medija i tendencije koje se tiču upotrebe jezika kod mađarske manjine u Vojvodini, što pruža uvid u njihovo učešće u digitalnim prostorima, u njihove jezičke preferencije i faktore koji utiču na njihov izbor jezika kako „onlajn“ tako i „oflajn“. Kroz niz istraživačkih pitanja, rad ima za cilj da identifikuje obim digitalne uključenosti i angažovanja vojvođanskih Mađara, kako koriste svoje jezike u onlajn i oflajn okruženju, kao i ulogu koju digitalni prostori imaju za njih kao manjinu. Rezultati ukazuju na to da, premda vojvođanski Mađari redovno konzumiraju digitalne medije i razne sadržaje na internetu na mađarskom, srpskom i engleskom jeziku, oni nisu preterano aktivni u kreiranju onlajn sadržaja. Dok mađarski ostaje dominantan u komunikaciji licem u lice, engleski neznatno nadmašuje mađarski u konzumiranju onlajn sadržaja. Pored toga, mlađi učesnici su pokazali jače digitalno prisustvo i skloniji su višejezičnom mešanju jezika. Uprkos izazovima, učesnici izražavaju podršku višejezičnosti i prepoznaju njegove prednosti u snalaženju u ličnom i profesionalnom kontekstu.

Ključne reči: upotreba digitalnog jezika, manjine u digitalnom prostoru, digitalne navike, višejezično okruženje, onlajn prostori u kojima dominira engleski jezik, mađarska manjina, izbor jezika, višejezičnost, vojvođanski Mađari.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Over the past 20–25 years a digital world has emerged and become populated in ways we could not have imagined before. This predominantly English medium (Lee 2016) with new communicative properties has had a great impact not only on our daily tasks and habits but also profoundly influenced our language use (Prensky 2001; Lee 2014; Darvin 2016). Given digitization's deep and ongoing impact on languages, it is increasingly important to examine its effects on minority languages due to the fact that speakers of minority and majority languages experience the digital space in various ways (Kelly-Holmes 2004; Lee 2014; Lynn *et al.* 2015; Jongbloed-Faber *et al.* 2016). Minorities are

---

1 Kontakt podaci (E-mail): [adrianna.r.kostic@gmail.com](mailto:adrianna.r.kostic@gmail.com)

often in disadvantaged positions in the physical world as they and their native language coexist with another, more dominant language and community in a country where the official language of the state is not theirs. Their minority position can often prevent the use of their native language in a number of private and public domains, which tends to bring about unfortunate situations that leave them at a disadvantage. The pressure to assimilate causes further disposition, which has been found to permeate online spaces too (Durham 2007; Lee 2014; Lackaff/Moner 2016; Cunliffe 2019). Considering the lack of studies on digital media consumption, language choices, and general language use in the largest minority Hungarian communities, in countries neighbouring Hungary, the present study is part of a larger project that seeks to map out, in detail, the Vojvodina Hungarian minority's digital media practices and language use tendencies. In order to describe Vojvodina Hungarians' digital presence, language knowledge, language use, and language choices in both digital and face-to-face situations, the present study seeks to find answers to the following research questions:

1. To what extent are the Vojvodina Hungarians involved in digital spaces and digital content creation and content sharing?
2. How do Vojvodina Hungarians use their languages in digital spaces?
3. To what extent do digital (i.e. online) vs. face-to-face (i.e. offline) language use and language choices differ for Vojvodina Hungarians?
4. What factors affect the language choices of Vojvodina Hungarians in digital spaces?
5. What roles and functions do digital spaces play/have for the Vojvodina Hungarians as a minority?

Section 2 reviews the literature relevant to digital language use, language choices and factors affecting those, as well as minorities in the digital space. Section 3 discusses hypotheses, data collection and analysis, and gives a detailed description of the participants of the present study, which are further analysed in Section 4. Last, a conclusion is drawn in Section 5 along with some of the limitations faced in the study as well as avenues for further research.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1. CMC, DIGITAL MEDIA, AND LANGUAGE CHOICES

While sociolinguistic studies have traditionally focused primarily on the spoken forms of languages, scholars have also been increasingly interested in researching computer-mediated communication (CMC) within multilingualism research (Danet/Herring 2007; Androutsopoulos 2013, 2015). Multilingualism is the "use and production of texts in any situation where two or more languages are involved [...], regardless of degrees of speakers' proficiency or power relations between the languages concerned" (Lee 2016: 10). In this context, there is "a shift of focus from linguistic systems to multilingual speakers and practices" and a move is made "towards theorising 'fluid' and 'flexible' relations between language, ethnicity and place [...], linguistic practice and the ownership of language," as Androutsopoulos explains (2015: 186). Language choices have a variety of factors affecting them. Like face-to-face situations, online interactions also often require the use of specific languages to perform particular roles, depending on

the communicational or personal-relational goals of the individual. These roles could be influenced by familial relations (where people use the languages they are used to using within closer family), or outside factors, where using English in online forums instead of their native language is preferred to fit in more with international wider audiences and communities (Durham 2007; Lee 2014), or even avoiding the use of English out of fear of receiving judgment from other online users (Lee 2014). In minority communities, some of the same reasons have been found to influence language choices and even language use online (Kelly-Holmes 2004; Durham 2007; Lee 2014; Lackaff/Moner 2016; Lee 2016; Cunliffe 2019). The vast majority of studies in CMC have focused on the digital and digital-linguistic habits of younger groups (Chen 2007; Spilioti 2009; Lee 2016), leaving older individuals under-researched, which, in combination with minority speaker situations, becomes even more intriguing (Lee 2016) for generational, social, cultural, and linguistic reasons. Since more prestigious and widely spoken languages like English, French, and German continue to dominate online platforms, there is a risk that lesser-spoken languages may become further marginalized (Kelly-Holmes 2004). As Lee (2016) further notes, researching multilingual practices online requires the consideration of broader social, financial, and linguistic factors. Additionally, in order to gain better understanding of online linguistic diversity, researchers should also strive to focus on analysing both the resources people use online as well their CMC exchanges across a variety of online platforms (Lee 2016). Previous research shows how extensively social media affects the language use of its users (Merchant 2001; Baron 2008; Tagg 2015; Lee 2016), especially the group that scholars describe as Digital Natives (Prensky 2001; Helsper/Eynon 2010). It has been believed in the past that the concept of Digital Natives is strictly tied to the birthyear of an individual, however, more recent studies suggest that anyone with ample amount of contact and experience with the internet and technology can become a Digital Native (Helsper/Eynon 2010), making them an expert in using technology to their advantage. In contrast, Digital Immigrants do not turn to the internet predominantly when looking up information, or when intending to communicate with others (Prensky 2001).

## 2.2. MULTILINGUALISM AND CHALLENGES OF DIGITAL MEDIA FROM MINORITY SPEAKERS' PERSPECTIVE

Very often, technology and digital spaces are not equipped with the necessary tools for certain languages and communities around the world, which can result in the lack of "written representation of minority or migrant languages" (Androutsopoulos 2015: 188). These shortcomings have been found to weaken the desire for active online participation. In some cases, the internet user might need to resort to using a more dominant and widely spoken language over their own mother tongue (Kelly-Holmes 2014; Lee 2014), or it might even discourage them to create content altogether and, instead, turn them into passive consumers. Androutsopoulos (2015) too emphasizes that while digital media does establish an array of new opportunities for minority individuals in documenting their languages, there are still obstacles such as linguistic insecurity and fear of discrimination that may discourage them from using their vernaculars online in writing. As a result, they might opt for communicating in other (often more dominant and widely spoken) languages online, which can especially be true for minorities. While

Cunliffe (2007) argues that minority individuals should not be seen as victims of the digitalized world, very often it is the lack of digital skills, available internet, tools (e.g. keyboards, orthography, and input language), and supportive community that create the obstacles and lead to discouragement from active participation online. Knowing how to navigate the internet and technology in itself can also become frustrating. Fortunately, many new tools and resources keep arising and becoming available that users can repurpose for their own needs. Experienced and well-networked users, who Androutsopoulos (2015) refers to as networked actors, can adapt a variety of linguistic, orthographic, and visual features they encounter online to suit their own communication styles or to fit within specific online communities or contexts. These digital tools have also been researched by Vaisman (2011), who uncovered that already around the 2010s, younger generations were making use of any resources (e.g. scripts, punctuation, and anything visual) available to them in order to create personalized and creative pieces of text online. The term 'networked multilingualism' becomes prevalent here, which Androutsopoulos defines as follows:

[a] cover term for multilingual practices that are shaped by two interrelated processes: *being networked*, i.e. digitally connected to other individuals and groups, and *being in the network*, i.e. embedded in the global digital mediascape of the web. Networked multilingualism encompasses everything language users do with the entire range of linguistic resources within three sets of constraints: mediation of written language by keyboard-and-screen technologies [...], access to network resources ('Network resources'), and orientation to networked audiences ('Networked audiences'). (Androutsopoulos 2015: 188)

While it does take some time, patience, and practice for older generations and some minorities to adapt to this fast-paced virtual realm, taking advantage of social media (instead of traditional, more static websites, according to Cunliffe 2019) and other platforms like YouTube are essential as they make sharing videos and audio recordings possible to anyone anywhere with established internet connection and access to devices (Tagg 2015). Familiarizing ourselves with digital media and practicing digital skills becomes a very valuable tool in making connections online and becoming networked (Androutsopoulos 2015). Multilingualism becomes an asset in the digital world, where using one's known and spoken languages in combination with other languages in creative ways can strengthen and support linguistic diversity and make visible minority languages in the process (Jones/Uribe-Jongbloed 2013; Soria *et al.* 2016). Additionally, with the availability of online translators accessible through the internet, people can also write in languages they may not even speak. Platforms like YouTube that do not necessarily require written text can be very useful as they mainly work on the basis of video and sound. These tools are especially resourceful for minority individuals who might be lacking direct contact with their community, heritage, and mother tongue and wish to maintain or revive it (Galla 2009; Jones/Uribe-Jongbloed 2013; Tagg 2015; Stern 2017; Cunliffe 2019). Although lack of access to devices and the internet is still prevalent in many countries, the idea would be to inspire more and more minorities to begin actively participating, creating material, and connecting with their origins or at least with others



who share similar experiences to establish a support system that they might not have in person (Cunliffe 2007; Cormack 2013; Tagg 2015). Cunliffe (2007: 147) further argues that we should recognize the potential minorities hold in becoming “active shapers” of the internet and technology, who could also potentially repurpose already existing digital tools to fit their own needs locally, culturally, and linguistically, as long as they have the means to do so. While the internet does have its downsides, it nevertheless has provided an array of opportunities, and a limitless platform where minority languages can become more noticeable to the world (Cunliffe/Herring 2005; Danet/Herring 2007; Lee 2016). Efforts of all kinds have been made online from revitalizing endangered languages with the help and creation of online visual and textual resources (like the Yami in Taiwan in Rau/Yang 2009) to individuals from minorities creating their own Facebook groups for communicative and community building purposes (Paricio-Martín/Martínez-Cortés 2010; Cunliffe 2019). All languages are prone to change upon contact with others one way or another. In some drastic cases, these influences in combination with specific social, sociolinguistic, geographical, and even financial factors could lead to some degree of language shift online (e.g. preference for English language use due to prestige and growing popularity among South African isiXhosa speakers in Deumert/Masinyana 2008; or in Tanzania in Mafu 2004). However, the growing presence of content in more widely spoken languages (especially English) can simultaneously bring about the opposite effect in the audience, where the sense of national, cultural, local, and linguistic identity becomes more strengthened and could encourage more participation in both local and virtual settings (Bornman 2003; Kelly-Holmes 2004; Androutsopoulos 2015; Belmar/Glass 2019).

Content creation and active online participation of Vojvodina Hungarians have not been researched much in the past. Vojvodina has a multilingual, multinational, and multiethnic population (Balla *et al.* 2012; Petrovich 2016; Jánk/Rási 2023), and online language practices are yet to be explored in depth. Based on the findings of previous studies, digital media consumption (Székely 2018) takes place on a regular (daily) basis in Vojvodina, especially among younger generations, but older generations have also reported to use mobile phones, laptops, and especially social media like Instagram and TikTok, where they regularly encounter English language media. National identity and belonging have also been approached in order to uncover the viewpoints of minority Hungarians living outside Hungary (Székely 2018; Jánk/Rási 2023), which have turned out to be varying predominantly between neutral and positive. A recent study by Jánk and Rási (2023), on seven Hungarian minority territories neighbouring Hungary, uncovered that the proportion of Hungarian speakers has declined due to assimilationist language policies in the respective countries and minorities are still facing challenges related to negative language attitudes towards non-standard varieties, very often from Hungarians from Hungary. As Jánk and Rási state, the reason behind their disadvantaged position is as follows:

[a] social structure which is strongly standard-centred and mono-normative, both linguistically and in general, which treats linguistic differences as a fault and as a target of stigmatisation. This attitude, however, is detrimental to the preservation of the language and, in this context, to the survival of the Hungarian minority, since



almost the entire Hungarian minority living beyond the border speaks some kind of non-standard dialect. This means that they are not only confronted with the less supportive or downright repressive language policy of the state in which they live, but also with the exclusionary linguistic attitudes and prejudices of their own Hungarian language community. (Jánk/Rási 2023: 15)

Similar results showed a steady weakening in most areas including Vojvodina and a rather strong tendency to assimilate to the majority language and nation in Slovakia (often due to friendships with the majority). However, the results also uncovered that the regular use of the Hungarian language along with nurturing connections with the Hungarian community do support Hungarian identity (Székely 2018) as well as language use. Overall, the results of previous research suggest that for maintaining good relations with the community (both in terms of the immediate minority and other Hungarians from neighbouring regions) there is need for more support and opportunities that could ensure or at least promote the use of Hungarian both online and offline (Pásztor-Kicsi 2016; Székely 2018). With the help of the internet, various new and free platforms are available for building community, establishing communication, and nurturing national and regional ties (Pásztor-Kicsi 2016; Székely 2018).

### 3. METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1. HYPOTHESES, DATA COLLECTION, AND DATA ANALYSIS

Based on the findings of previous studies on contact with social media and English dominated online spaces (Durham 2007; Lee 2014; Lackaff/Moner 2016; Cunliffe 2019), the first hypothesis of this study was that those who had frequent contact with the internet would have differing language choices in online spaces as opposed to face-to-face situations, especially when it comes to English in online settings. Additionally, considering that Vojvodina is a vastly multilingual and multiethnic region (Balla *et al.* 2012; Petrovich 2016; Jánk/Rási 2023), language mixing of Hungarian and Serbian in face-to-face (and to some extent online) communication would also be an expected outcome. Finally, the level of experience, extent of interaction, and the nature of online engagement may also indicate an age-based division concerning digital presence (Prensky 2001; Helsper/Eynon 2010), active participation online, the type of digital activities, as well as the preference towards using English in online communication and platforms (Durham 2007; Lee 2014).

The participant selection happened randomly, as the questionnaire was shared on Facebook, where anyone could fill it in, with the only criteria being that the participants' mother tongue was Hungarian and that they were from Vojvodina, Serbia. For a clearer view, the questionnaire (see Appendix) was divided into four sections, each covering a different aspect.

To begin with, section one (Appendix, *A. Background Information*, questions 1–10) covered the basic and necessary background information about the participants (age, gender, educational background, occupation, and place of residence). The second section (Appendix, *B. Language Knowledge and History*, questions 11–28) covered language knowledge and self-reported proficiency in spoken languages, while the third section

(Appendix, *C. Language Use*, questions 29–38) focused on questions about language use in general (in several different domains) and gathered additional information on language use, language choices, and functions, while the last section (Appendix, *D. Internet use and active online language use*, questions 39–45) included questions related to digital media consumption and habits.

The Appendix has been formulated in a way that it both represents the questions used in the data collection process, as well as the general tendencies and results. The results are most often expressed in figures within the Discussion (these include: question 13 – Figure 1, question 18b – Figure 2, question 19 – Figure 3, question 20 – Figure 4, question 21– Figure 5, question 24 – Figure 6, question 29 – Figure 12, question 30 – Figure 13, question 31 – Figure 14, question 40 – Figure 7, question 41 – Figure 8, question 42 – Figure 9, question 43 – Figure 10, and question 44 – Figure 11) as well as in tables under the respective questions within the Appendix for easier management, organization, and representation. The data collection for the present study was done with the help of a Google Forms online questionnaire, while the gathered responses were analysed and summarized with the help of Microsoft Excel.

### 3.2. PARTICIPANTS

The total number of participants in the present study is 63 (28 male and 35 female), of which 12 (19%) are under 18, 11 (17%) between the ages of 18 and 25, 11 (17%) between the ages of 26 and 35, 15 (24%) between the ages of 36 and 45, 10 (16%) between the ages of 46 and 55, and 4 (6%) participants are over 55. The birthplaces of the participants varied but can be categorized into two geographical regions, Bačka and Banat. A total of 40 (63%) participants claimed to have been born in and currently reside in Bačka (settlements included Novi Sad, Bačka Topola, Subotica, Stara Moravica, Palić, Vrbas, and Čantavir), and 20 (37%) individuals in Banat (settlements included Zrenjanin, Senta, Rabe, and Kikinda). With the exception of 4 (6%) individuals who have moved abroad, to Hungary, and one other person, to Ireland, the rest of the participants still reside in the same settlements they were born in or close to them. Concerning the educational background of the participants, 7 (11%) individuals claimed to have finished only elementary school (with the exception of 1 older individual, the other 6 are currently in high school), 2 (3%) have associate degrees, 12 (19%) hold bachelor's degrees, 27 (43%) high school diplomas, and 15 (24%) postgraduate degrees. Their current employment situation is the following: 5 (8%) are unemployed and looking for a job, 20 (32%) are students, 4 (6%) work remotely, and 34 (54%) go to work every day. More specifically, their areas of work include administration (5 individuals), media (4 individuals), commerce (4 individuals), industry (11 individuals), education (11 individuals), law enforcement (3), and 20 individuals are still in school. As for nationality, 59 (94%) individuals claimed to be Hungarian, 2 (3%) Serbian, and 2 did not wish to answer. When asked which languages they grew up speaking most and considered as their mother tongues, 54 (86%) answered Hungarian, while 9 answered both Hungarian and Serbian. However, answers to question 2 of the questionnaire further uncovered that each participant considered Hungarian to be their mother tongue if they had to choose only one. Of the 63 individuals, 19 have spent over 6 months abroad, predominantly in places like Hungary (10 individuals), Germany (6), Austria (7), England (2), and Denmark (2) for employment related purposes.

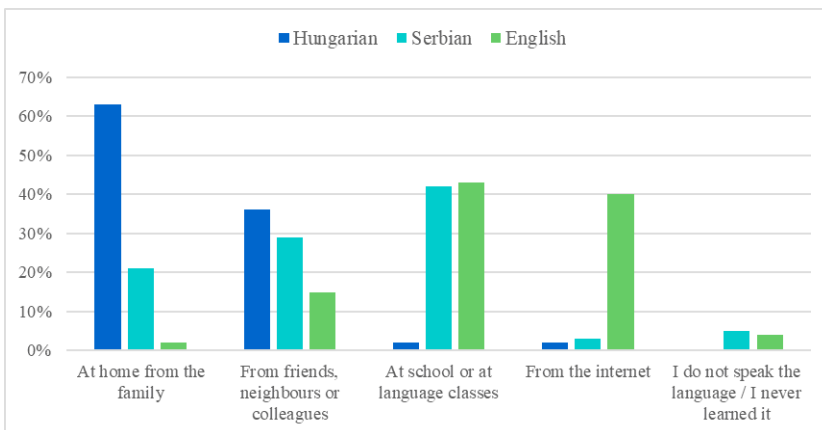
In the following section, the results are presented, and areas where there were variations in digital habits, language use, and language preferences based on age, are highlighted.

## 4. DISCUSSION

### 4.1. LANGUAGE KNOWLEDGE, PERSONAL HISTORY WITH LANGUAGES, AND GENERAL LANGUAGE USE TENDENCIES

In order to understand the participants' digital habits, language choices, and digital language use, a section in the questionnaire (*B. Language Knowledge and History*, questions 11–28) focused solely on gathering data on their overall language knowledge and their history with languages. Besides Hungarian, Serbian, and English, German (intermediate level) was the most commonly known and spoken additional language, although questions 25 and 26 uncovered that 60% of participants did not know or speak languages other than Hungarian, English, and Serbian. Of the 63 participants, 5 mentioned that they did not know Serbian and 4 mentioned that they did not know English at all. Those participants who denied knowing English belonged to the age group of over 55 and between ages 46–55, while those who denied knowing Serbian were from various age groups, including 26–35, 36–45, and under 18.

To begin with, the participants reported that they learnt the three mentioned languages (Hungarian, Serbian, and English) slightly differently. While Hungarian was most commonly acquired at home, in the family and the neighbourhood at an early age (see question 13 in Appendix and Figure 1 below), Serbian and English were learnt at school and from friends or colleagues mainly. However, for some participants, along with Hungarian, Serbian was also a language they had contact with in their family homes and neighbourhoods from an early age. The most striking difference between these three languages is that English is the only one out of the three that was reported to be learnt and encountered almost exclusively on the internet and in language classes.



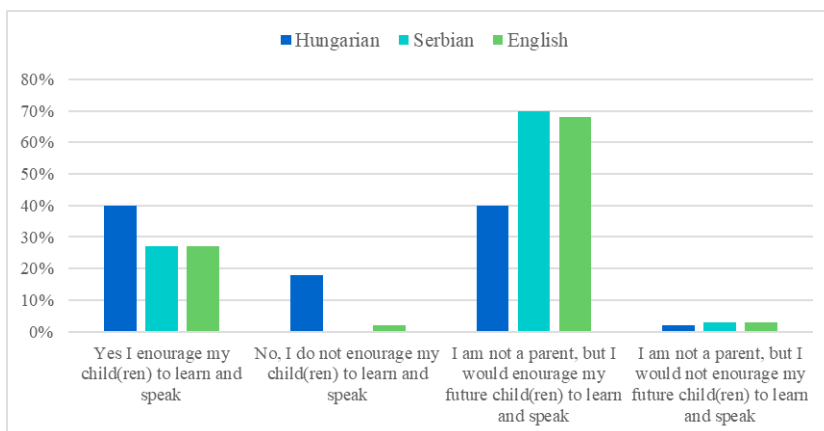
**Figure 1.** Distribution of the ways participants learnt Hungarian, Serbian, and English growing up

Question 14 uncovered further details on the family language history of the participants. A total of 73% of participants claimed that their grandparents used only Hungarian with them as kids, 21% used both Hungarian and Serbian, and only 2% claimed their grandparents used only Serbian with them when they were young. A decline in these percentages can be seen as nowadays, as 67% participants claimed to use Hungarian with their grandparents, 13% use both Hungarian and Serbian, and 20% of participants reported this question no longer applied to them, indicating they no longer have contact with their grandparents for unspecified reasons. Concerning language use with their mothers and fathers in the past, 84% participants reported that they used Hungarian with their mothers and 82% with their fathers, 8% used both Hungarian and Serbian with their mothers and 7% with their fathers, 7% used only Serbian with their mothers, and 5% with their fathers. In both cases, about 3% of the participants reported that the question did not apply to them. While lately, 82% of the participants use Hungarian with their mothers and 75% with their fathers. The use of both Serbian and Hungarian was reported for 5% of participants with their mothers and 5% with their fathers, while 7% claimed to use only Serbian with mothers and 3% with fathers. The answers show that 15% of the participants no longer have contact with their fathers and 8% with mothers. With the exception of 13% of participants who do not have any siblings, the use of Hungarian with siblings applied to 75% of participants in the past and 70% in the present; the use of both Serbian and Hungarian was reported by 8% (in the past) and 7% (in the present) of participants, while the use of Serbian with siblings rose from 2% to 10%. As for the participants' closest friends, in their childhood, the most common languages used amongst friends were Hungarian (70%), Hungarian and Serbian (18%), and Hungarian and English (7%), while in more recent times the use of Hungarian (68%) fell slightly as the use of all three languages (Hungarian, Serbian, and English) with friends was reported by 20% of participants. Answers to question 15 also revealed that most often the participants' parents used Hungarian among each other (69%), or both Hungarian and Serbian (33%), and the sole use of Serbian occurred in 7% of the answers. Apart from 75% of participants, those who have children also shared that the most common languages they heard their children speaking was Hungarian (mentioned by 14 participants), English (mentioned by 12), Serbian (mentioned by 9), and German (mentioned by 3 participants).

Speaking multiple languages in a multilingual environment has also shown to produce conversations where language mixing and code-switching occurs on a regular basis (Lee 2014; Lynn *et al.* 2015; Jongbloed-Faber *et al.* 2016). In my data, those who claimed that they mixed languages in conversation seem to be rather open to it and supportive of the practice, seeing it as a special part of their local identity. Mixing languages in conversations (questions 22 and 23, Appendix) has also proven to be familiar and broadly accepted among participants as 90% of them do not mind when their conversation partners switch between languages during conversations, especially if they are proficient in the other language(s). However, regarding the mixing of those languages that the participants do not speak or are not as proficient in, 41% expressed that they found it distressing.

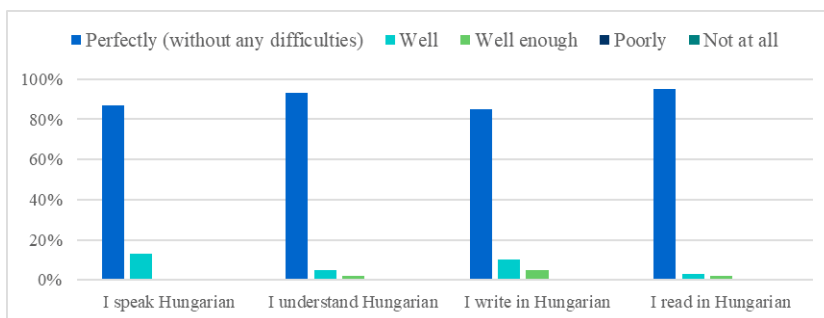
When it comes to outside factors on language preferences, the participants shared that they almost never experienced someone else trying to discourage them or

their parents from using, teaching or exposing their children to Serbian or English (at most 3% of participants), but experienced it a lot more often with Hungarian (24%). A similar distribution can be observed in the answers to question 18, however, here the encouragement for the use, exposure, and teaching of Serbian was experienced by over half of participants (52%), while with Hungarian and English, encouragement was experienced at a much lower rate (35% in both cases). Answers to question 18b (see Figure 2 below) additionally revealed that those participants who have children do support all three languages and encourage their children to use them. Interestingly, 70% of those who did not have children at the time of filling in the questionnaire answered that they would encourage their future children to learn and speak Serbian and English, while only 40% of these participants would encourage them to learn and speak Hungarian.

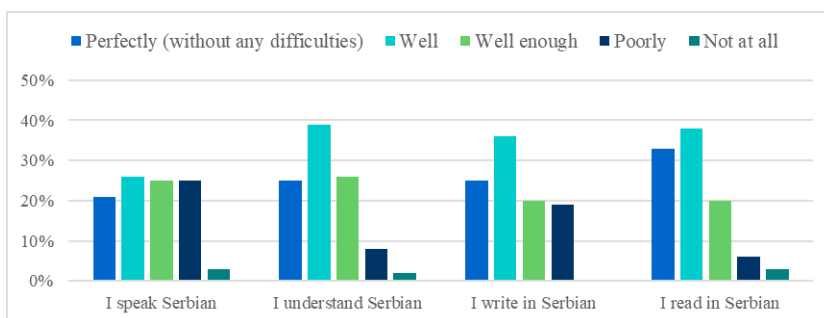


**Figure 2.** Results to question 18b: Do you try to encourage your child(ren) to (learn and) use the following languages?

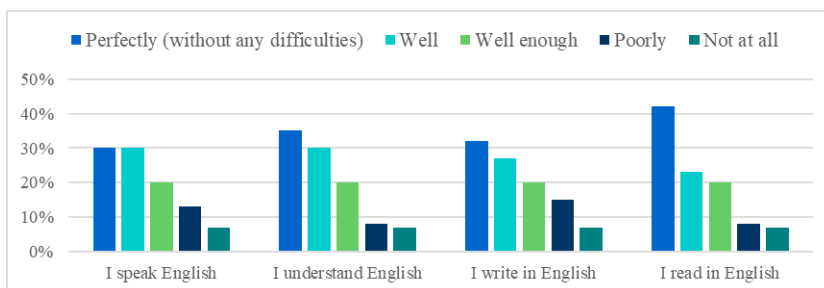
On average, the participants were most confident in their Hungarian language skills from all four aspects (speaking, reading, listening, and writing) listed in question 19 (see Appendix and Figure 3), followed by English language skills (Figure 5), while Serbian language skills (Figure 4) were reported to be the least confident among the participants, which are all portrayed in detail in Figures 3–5 below. Despite more participants reporting not knowing or speaking English at all (7% vs. 3% in the case of Serbian), they still seemed to be less confident in their Serbian language skills compared to English. This could be connected with difficulties that native Hungarians might face during schooling, such as learning and reading the Cyrillic alphabet and maintaining that knowledge long term.



**Figure 3.** The participants' confidence in their Hungarian language skills

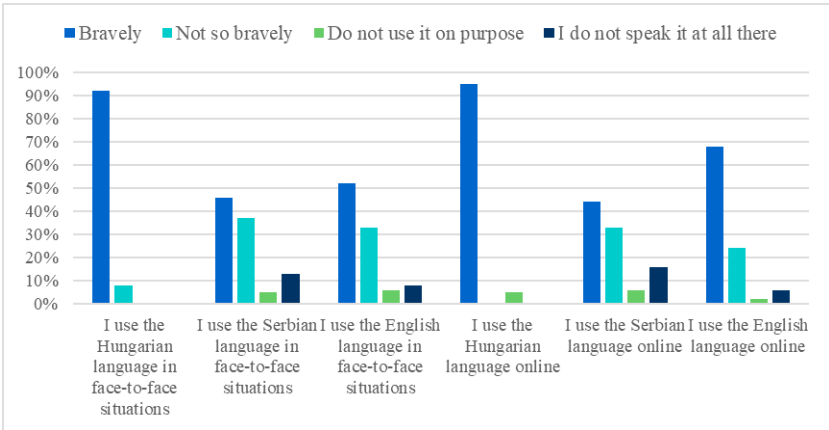


**Figure 4.** The participants' confidence in their Serbian language skills



**Figure 5.** The participants' confidence in their English language skills

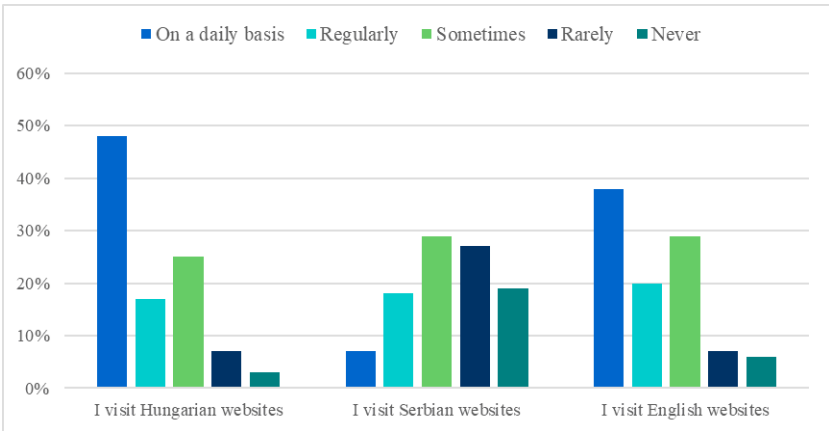
Taking these results into consideration, the results of question 24 (see Figure 6 below) have further supported the same distribution we could see in questions 19–21, as their confidence and bravery are highest when speaking Hungarian (92% face-to-face, 95% online), followed by English (52% face-to-face, 68% online), and lastly by Serbian (46% face-to-face, 44% online). Finally, when comparing language choices in online spaces and in face-to-face situations (questions 27 and 28), the answers provided by the participants show a drastic divide: the bulk of online communication for the participants takes place in English (52% of the time) and Hungarian (43% of the time), and least frequently in Serbian (5% of the time). While in face-to-face communication, Hungarian is predominantly the chosen language (87% of the time) as opposed to both Serbian (6%) or English (6%).



**Figure 6.** Distribution of how bravely/boldly participants use Hungarian, Serbian, and English offline and online

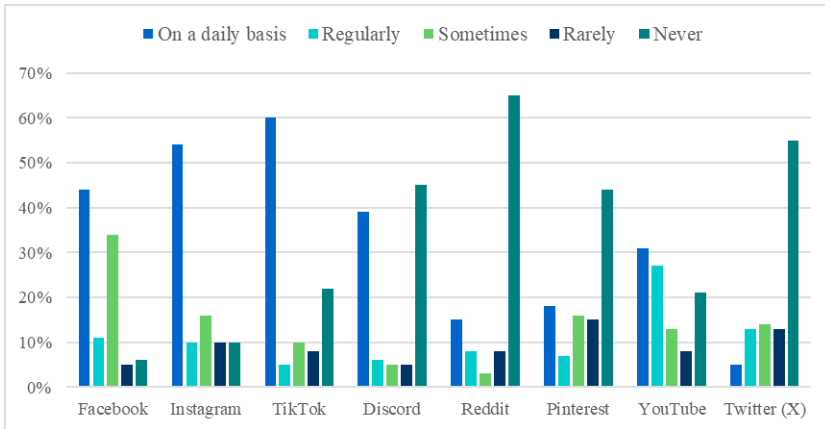
4.2. DIGITAL HABITS, CONTENT CREATION, AND LANGUAGE CHOICES ONLINE

The very last section of the questionnaire focused on digital language use and online activity of the participants (*D. Internet use and active online language use*, questions 39–45). The participants unanimously agreed that they all had access to a variety of internet content (including websites, newspaper articles, news portals, blogs, etc.) in Hungarian, Serbian, and English as well (question 39). Despite having access to all three language websites, the answers to question 40 (see Figure 7 below) revealed that participants most regularly visited Hungarian websites (65%), followed by English websites (58%), and lastly Serbian websites (25%). Question 41 (see Figure 8 below for detailed results) asked the participants about their social media activity rate, and their answers revealed that the most frequently visited platforms were TikTok (65%), Instagram (64%), YouTube (58%), and Facebook (55%). Among the least visited websites were Reddit (65%), Twitter



**Figure 7.** The participants’ access to Hungarian, Serbian, and English websites

(55%). These percentages have been calculated by adding up the percentages in two columns ('on a daily basis' and 'regularly'), which both indicated a rather intense contact with the platforms/websites. Although the overall findings indicated that the majority of the participants used TikTok, Instagram, YouTube, and Facebook, a closer look at the results revealed much more.



**Figure 8.** The participants' social media activity rate

While the percentages in the case of Instagram and TikTok were mostly comprised of participants aged under 18 up to those aged 26–35, the age groups of 36–45, 46–55, and over 55 made up the majority of the percentages in the case of Facebook. Finally, questions 42 and 43 (see Figure 9 and 10 below) asked the participants about their digital practices and their language choices when participating in a variety of online activities, which included social media engagement, commenting, sharing videos, text, and photos, writing blogs, playing video games, and creating videos. Based on the results, the majority of participants usually engage in activities such as commenting and chatting on social media (73% do it on a daily basis), as well as sharing pictures on Instagram (68% on a daily basis), while 50% of participants also share memes with their friends on a daily basis. On the other hand, the results also showed that 86% never create and share their own videos, 83% never make TikTok videos, and 93% never write blog posts. However, those instances of social media activity that require active content creation (such as making and editing videos, blogging, etc., which was characteristic of 14% of participants) were almost exclusively more frequent for participants below the 36–45 group, while commenting and chatting on Facebook were more evenly distributed among all age groups. Figure 9 below displays the averages based on all the answers provided by participants.



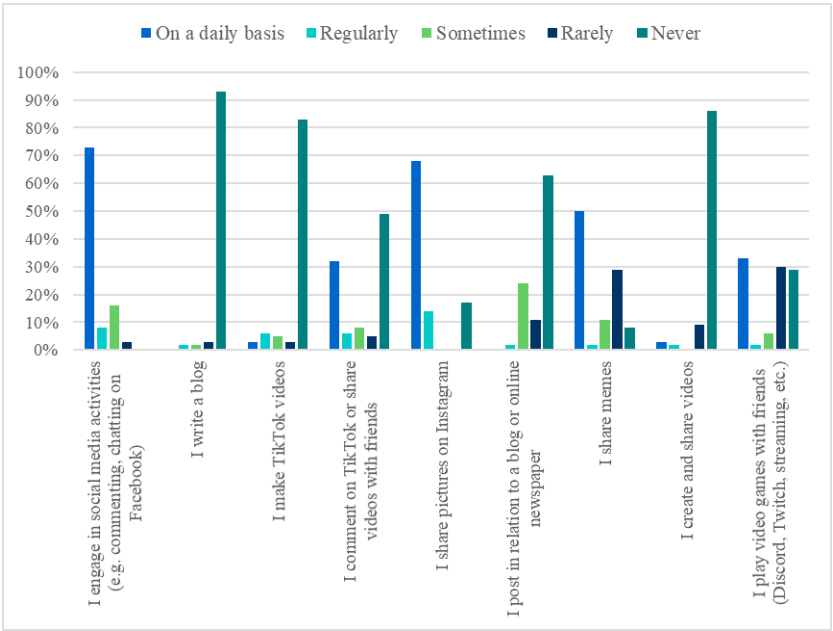


Figure 9. The participants' digital practices and their rate

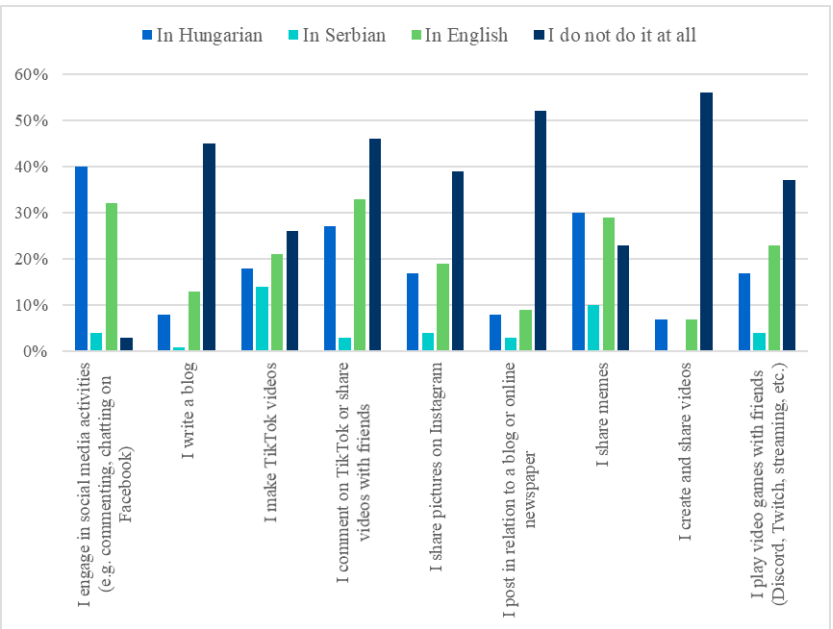
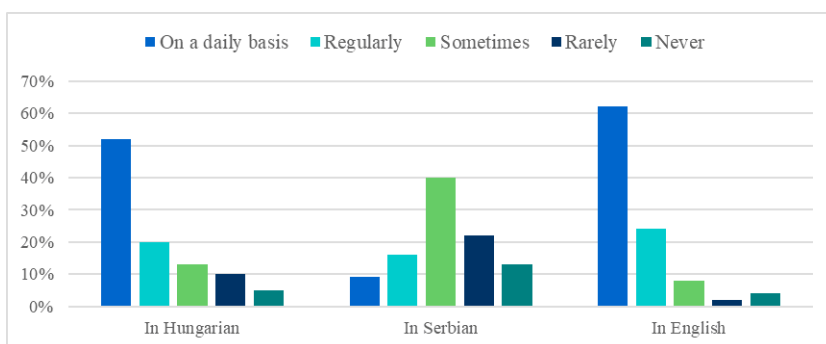


Figure 10. The participants' language choices in a variety of online activities

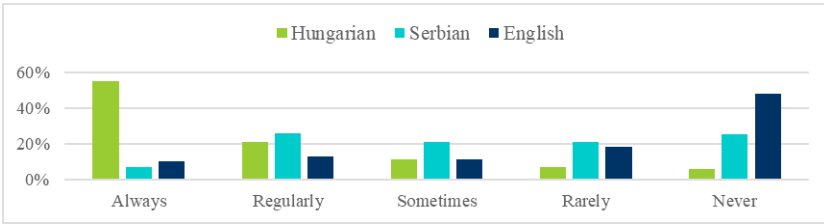
The numbers above indicate that the participants do not usually engage in online activities that involve creating materials and sharing them with others publicly, while they do engage in more traditional activities like chatting and uploading photos to Facebook and Instagram. According to the answers to question 43 (where the numbers in the table indicate the number of times participants chose the given language), with the exception of those who did indicate that they shared videos and other interactive types of content, the participants turned out to be passive observers on the internet rather than active creators. What is also interesting is that these types of activities are a lot more common among those aged under 18 and between 18–25 than those over 35. While 45% of participants (cf. question 43) do not engage in any of the listed activities online, the rest who do often prefer the use of English (25%) and Hungarian (24%), and Serbian is only occasionally chosen for these activities (6%). When it comes to Googling as an activity of the participants on a daily basis, the results showed that they have a habit of Googling topics (question 44, Figure 11 below) they are interested in most often in English (62%) and Hungarian (52%), but not so much in Serbian (9%). These results above can be interpreted in light of the very last question, question 45, of the questionnaire, answers to which revealed that most frequently the language choices participants made when contributing to online discussions heavily relied on the language of comments on the respective websites (75%), the subject of comments or content (55%), and their own mother tongue (44%), while the language they speak best (24%) and their own cultural background (13%) were less influential in these preferences.



**Figure 11.** The participants' language choices when Googling

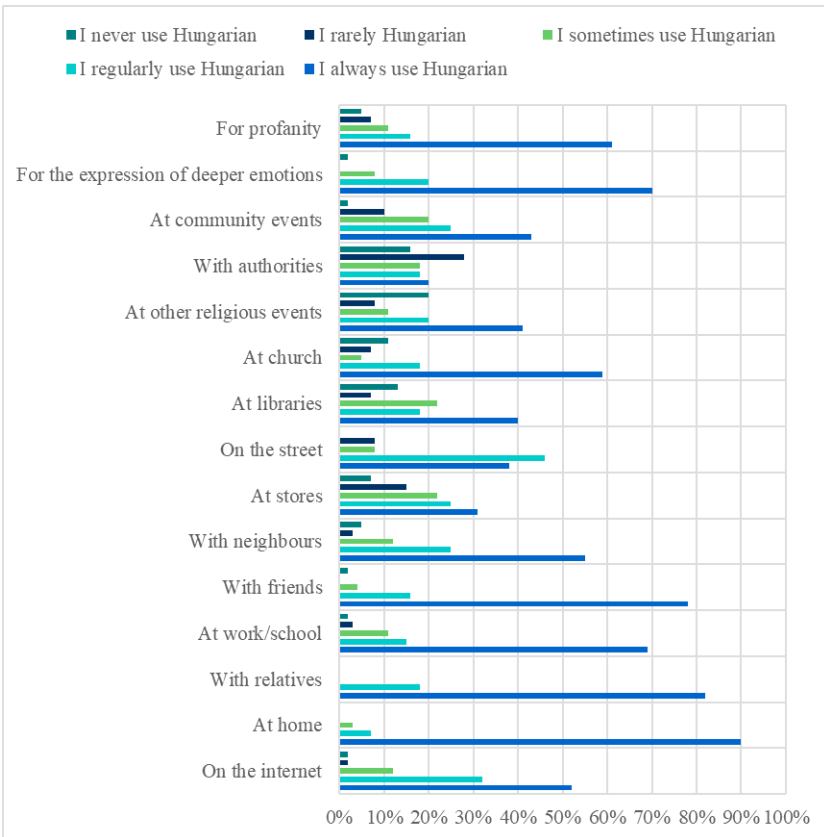
#### 4.3. LANGUAGE USE AND ONLINE COMMUNITIES: PREFERENCES AND FUNCTIONS

The third section of the questionnaire (*C. Language Use*, questions 29–38) focused on the general tendencies regarding the Vojvodina Hungarian participants' language use and language choices. Of the 63 participants, 5 mentioned that they did not know Serbian, and 4 mentioned that they did not know English at all. When we observe the results to questions 29 (see Figure 13 below for detailed results), 30 (see Figure 14 below), and 31 (see Figure 15 below), we can see how frequently the participants use Hungarian, Serbian, and English in a variety of settings for specific purposes. Figure 12 below portrays the general tendencies regarding the participants' language choices and the frequency of these, while Figures 13, 14, and 15 show the distribution in more detail.



**Figure 12.** Distribution of how frequently participants use Hungarian, Serbian, and English in a variety of offline settings

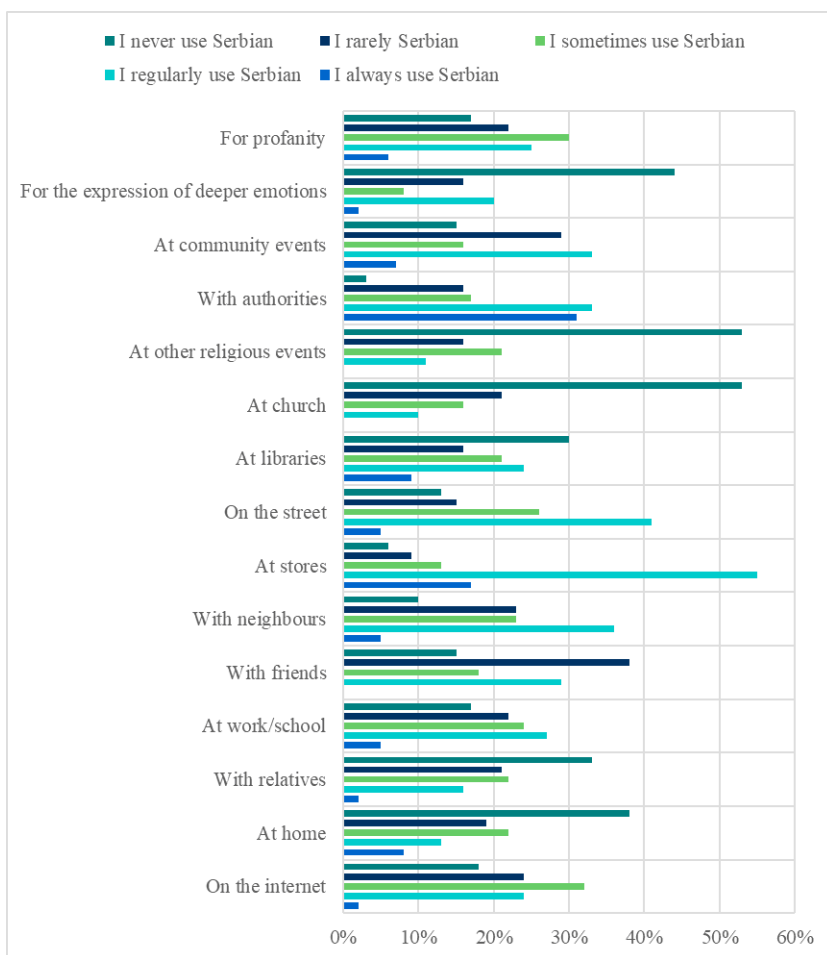
Figure 12 suggests that Hungarian is the most frequently chosen language on a daily basis in a variety of offline contexts (see more detail in Figure 13), while English and Serbian are chosen a lot less and on particular occasions.



**Figure 13.** Settings where participants use Hungarian and their frequency

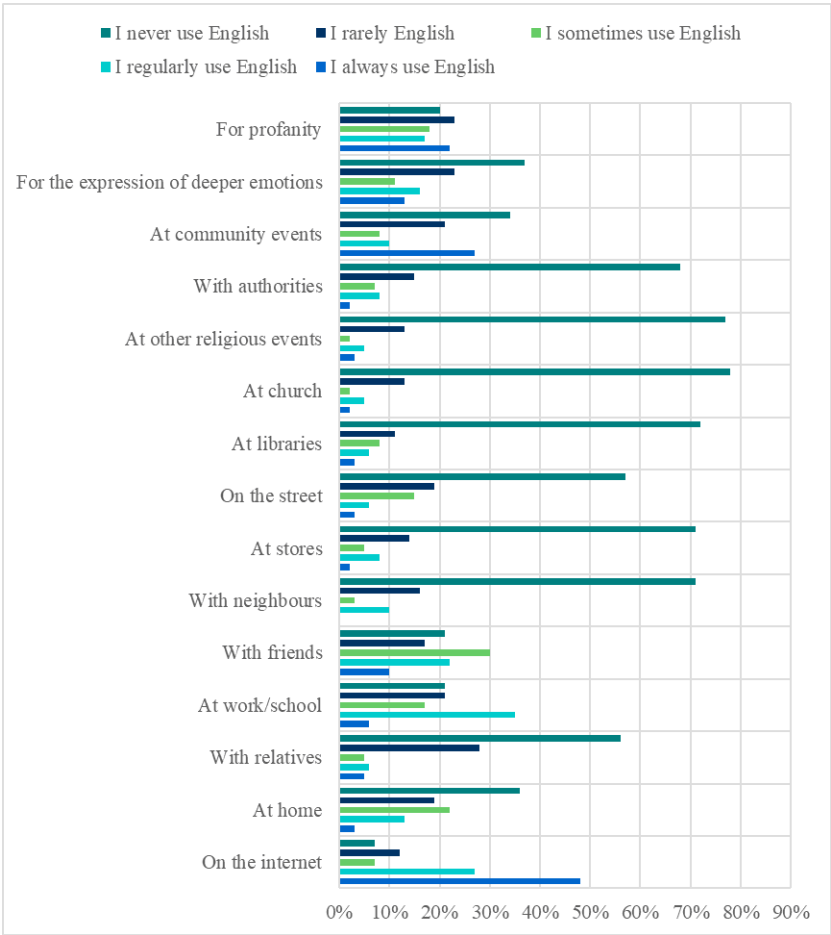
The answers in Figure 13 above indicate that the participants use Hungarian on a regular basis in settings such as the home, work or school, with their friends and relatives and also when they wish to express their deeper emotions. When compared to Figure

14 below, we can see how drastically these percentages differ, indicating that they use Serbian for these same purposes a lot less than Hungarian. With the exception of stores and conversations with authorities, the use of the Serbian language is not as prevalent in the lives of the participants as Hungarian is. Serbian language use on a regular basis was most frequent in settings such as stores, the streets, and with neighbours and authorities, which are all cases where the use of English was a lot less frequent.



**Figure 14.** Settings where participants use Serbian and their frequency

Interestingly, answers to question 31 (see also Figure 15) have also revealed that the use of English on the internet and for expressing profanity is more common than the use of Serbian. While there were some settings (i.e. conversing with relatives, neighbours, authorities, and at places like stores, the streets, libraries, and also the church) where a vast majority of participants claimed to not use English at all, there were still some instances (i.e. for the expression of deeper emotions, profanity, and in settings such as work or school, and on the internet) where the use of English was more favoured than Serbian.



**Figure 15.** Settings where participants use English and their frequency

Overall, the participants find that the Hungarian language does receive support from institutions within Serbia (question 36), and the availability of printed media (question 37) is almost equally available in both Hungarian (90%) and Serbian (100%), but not so much in English (62%). Connecting question 38 to language preferences, when asked which newspaper they would take off the shelf in the store if it was available in three languages (Hungarian, English, Serbian), 69% of the participants said they would choose Hungarian, 21% would choose English, and only 10% of participants would choose the newspaper in Serbian.

These language preferences are further inquired about in question 32, where participants were asked to choose only one language out of Hungarian, Serbian, and English, while also providing an explanation on why they would make that particular choice. The results to question 32 revealed that 44% of participants would choose Hungarian, 37% would choose English, and only 19% would choose Serbian. The distribution of these results shows similarities to the results above in questions 29–31,

where Hungarian is most favoured and is followed by English, while Serbian seems to be the least favoured. Some of their explanations to their chosen language are listed below.

Those in support of English mentioned the following reasons: "English offers more communicative and other types of opportunities, which I could never imagine with Hungarian or Serbian" (aged 18–25); "considering that I plan on working abroad, English would be the most useful one for me, and I also find it to be likable, accepted, and people look up to it a lot more than Serbian or Hungarian" (aged under 18); "English, because I am able to reach a lot more materials online as opposed to Hungarian" (aged 26–35).

Those who chose Serbian mentioned its usefulness in connection with living in Serbia and seeking job opportunities: "For me, knowing Serbian in Serbia is almost indispensable if I want to work here and find a solid job" (aged 26–35); "I think knowing Serbian is like a gateway into knowing or just being able to understand parts of other Slavic languages, which is important to me as I have a lot of friends from those countries" (aged 36–45).

Lastly, those who chose Hungarian took a more personal approach to the topic: "I would choose Hungarian considering it is my mother tongue and I grew up in a small village around people speaking it the most, which makes it a very important part of my identity" (aged 46–55); "I use Hungarian most frequently and I wish to study in Hungary in a few years" (aged under 18); "Since Hungarian is my first language, it is the one I am most confident in. When I want to express myself, I do it best when speaking Hungarian, and it also holds an important place in my heart because of my family" (aged 26–35).

While 22% mentioned that they did not find online communities and groups overly important, their reasoning was usually that they converse with and meet fellow Vojvodina Hungarians on a daily basis, and that was enough contact for them. However, the other 80% of participants agreed that there are online communities (question 33), especially on Facebook, where they can converse, debate, and reminisce about shared histories and relevant topics close to them. The answers to question 34 also revealed that a similar percentage of participants (78%) have expressed rather positive opinions regarding the usefulness and necessity of such online communities. Those who found these online groups useful mentioned their ease of use, the practicality of online communication, and that these kinds of communities provide a good basis for quick and efficient communication, especially in times of emergency (i.e. missing persons, pets, and objects). These online communities are also important to the participants for purposes like maintaining and strengthening relationships, preserving traditions, the occasional commerce, and especially for discussing problems as "there are things that only they [Vojvodina Hungarians] can empathize with, as you know, in unity there is strength, we are similar at the end of the day." Their answers to question 34 were the following:

- (1) *"I think it's important for a particular community to stick together, especially when it comes to a minority community, because this way the bonds remain. The disappearance of the given community either gets delayed a bit or doesn't even occur as a result of this"* (aged 36–45);
- (2) *"It's important to know about each other, to be informed about current issues, and to stand up for each other and for common causes"* (aged 26–35);

- (3) *"I think personal connections are more important; that's where people can truly communicate with each other. If there's no other option, an online community is better than nothing"* (aged 46–55).

Typically, the participants are members of groups (question 35) that revolve around cultural and public affairs (these are often named after the settlements that the members live in, e.g. *Szabadka a mi városunk* "Subotica is our city" or *HORGOS – a mi falunk* "Horgos – our village"), humour (e.g. *University of Bótelótt*, literal translation: "University of the corner store"), workplace, buying and selling goods in Vojvodina (e.g. *Szabadkai Piac 2023* "Subotica market 2023" for the flea market), sports groups, groups for status updating related to border crossing between Hungary and Serbia (*Határfigyelők – Horgos, Gyála, Királyhalom / Röszeke, Tiszasziget, Ásotthalom* "Border watchers – Horgoš, Đala, Bački Vinogradi / Röszeke, Tiszasziget, Ásotthalom"), charity auctions, and students are also frequently visiting the 'Vojvodina Hungarian students studying in Hungary' (*Magyarországon tanuló vajdasági diákok* "Vojvodina Hungarian students studying in Hungary") group.

## 5. RESULTS

To begin with, what the results discussed in detail in section 4.1 tell us is that there are various linguistic, generational, and socio-cultural factors influencing their language choices, confidence in language skills, and their general views on these three languages. While Hungarian remains deeply rooted in familial and social contexts, Serbian and English are predominantly learnt and acquired either through formal education or private language classes, and in the case of English, heavily through online interactions and online presence. Answers to the questions that covered family language practices show that Hungarian is most commonly used within the family, followed by the use of both Hungarian and Serbian, while Serbian is rarely the only language being used. English is used only among friends, especially in more recent times as opposed to the participants' past.

The participants experience language mixing quite frequently and are used to it, perhaps largely due to their multilingual environment and upbringing, and only occasionally find it stressful or irritating when they encounter unfamiliar languages, which is in line with the hypothesis above in section 3.1 on language mixing in multilingual environments.

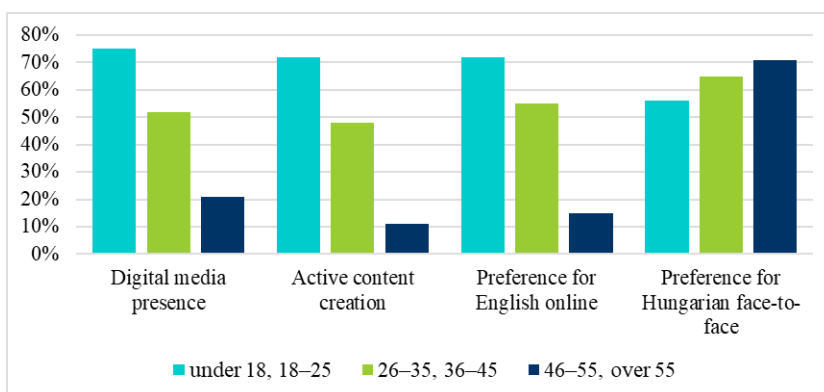
Regarding the encouragement and discouragement of language use, the participants see that with Serbian and English, they face a lot less discouragement from others, than they do with Hungarian growing up. Interestingly, when it came to encouragement, 52% of participants reported that they experienced it with Serbian, but almost never with English or Hungarian. Despite this, they generally support the idea of multilingualism and those who have children actively encourage them to embrace and learn as many languages as possible and consider it to be an advantage rather than a disadvantage.

Their confidence in their own language skills varies, with Hungarian being the most confident and rather closely followed by English, while they are least confident in their Serbian language skills. Furthermore, to answer the 3<sup>rd</sup> research question, language choices seem to be quite different depending on the environment, as the choice to use

English in online contexts is slightly more frequent than Hungarian, but especially frequent in the case of content consumption. As opposed to this, in face-to-face communication Hungarian almost entirely dominates, while Serbian and English are rarely chosen. This division is especially interesting as the preference for using English in online spaces was predominantly reported by those under 36, who also reported using social media and digital devices more intensively than those over 45.

To answer the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 4<sup>th</sup> research questions, section 4.2 on participants' digital habits and language choices in digital spaces revealed that the use of technology and digital media are deeply embedded in the participants' daily lives and routines, just like previous findings in the region show (Székely 2018), but their presence is rather characteristic of passive observation and sharing already existing materials rather than active and new content creation. Despite having access to internet content in Hungarian, Serbian, and English more or less equally, the majority of participants tend to visit Hungarian websites most frequently. Like Hungarian websites, English ones are also regularly visited by the participants, whereas Serbian websites are rarely visited. Social media activity is especially apparent in the case of TikTok, Instagram, YouTube, and Facebook. Upon further analysis (see Figure 16 below), an age-based division was found across these with Facebook being visited by almost all age groups, while sites like TikTok have turned out to be more visited by younger audiences under the age of 35 (over 60% of those who mentioned that they visited TikTok). Traditional activities like commenting and chatting are common, but at the same time, active content creation is less prevalent, especially among older participants.

What we can see regarding language choices, the participants predominantly favour English and Hungarian over Serbian. As expected, younger age groups display higher engagement in active content creation activities (such as creating, editing, and sharing videos, photos, and posts) compared to age groups over 45. Interestingly, as opposed to the findings of Jánk and Rási (2023), my results did not indicate any assimilatory tendencies to Serbian, however, they did to English in online settings where the most common factor influencing the participants' language choices were the language they encountered on websites, while personal (linguistic, and cultural) background proved to be much less of a decisive factor.



**Figure 16.** Age-based distribution of online presence, content creation, and language preferences



Finally, section 4.3 gave additional insight and more detailed answers to the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> research questions. As is evident from the results in 4.3, the participants predominantly use Hungarian in various settings such as the home all the way to community events, which simultaneously indicate a strong preference for their mother tongue. While Serbian is also used in the listed contexts (see questions 29–31), it did not prove to be as prevalent as Hungarian or even English. English was especially preferred for online communication, content consumption, and for expressing emotions, which surpassed Serbian in some instances (such as in the case of the internet and the use of profanity). Participants also favoured Hungarian materials and expressed deeply personal connections to their language choices. From their quotes, it is clear that they find that online communities, particularly on Facebook, play a significant role in maintaining their cultural and local ties, where a variety of topics, including cultural, humorous, professional, and practical matters can be discussed, reflecting the diverse but localized interests and needs of the participants. These results are in line with previous findings that advocated for the usefulness of online groups and communities for a variety of purposes mentioned above, especially in the case of minorities (Cunliffe/Herring 2005; Danet/Herring 2007; Paricio-Martín/Martínez-Cortés 2010; Lee 2016; Cunliffe 2019).

## 6. CONCLUSION

The present study has focused on Vojvodina Hungarians' digital presence, language use tendencies, and language choices both in online and offline settings. The Vojvodina Hungarian participants frequently visit digital spaces, with the majority having access to a variety of internet content in all three languages, Hungarian, Serbian, and English. They show a tendency to consume more than they create, with traditional activities like chatting and uploading photos being more common than active, new content creation (texts, videos, blogs, websites, etc.).

Having looked at their linguistic background, generational language use and preferences, confidence in language skills, and language preferences in a variety of settings, the results revealed that Hungarian and English are often preferred over Serbian. While English was barely present in the upbringing of the participants, in digital spaces, the use of English slightly outweighs Hungarian, particularly in content consumption, while Hungarian dominates in face-to-face communication in the present as it did in the past. This dichotomy is even more apparent among younger participants, who claim to be more digitally engaged. The participants are used to and practice language mixing that tends to include Serbian too, which reflects their multilingual environment. Despite occasional encounters with unfamiliar languages, participants generally support multilingualism and encourage additional language learning, which they understand to be an advantage in navigating professional and personal situations alike. Their lack of preference for using Serbian could be connected to their lack of confidence in their Serbian language skills, which needs to be researched more to uncover the underlying reasons. Their higher confidence in English has also shown that they are less afraid to use it in a variety of settings online and even offline. What we can tell from the results is that age and exposure can impact the language choices and type of online participation people take part in. Additionally, the importance and necessity for online communities, having access to online resources and a platform for Vojvodina Hungarians to connect,

communicate, discuss shared histories and traditions, and maintain cultural ties, was also expressed by the vast majority of the participants.

Considering the size of the sample, one of the limitations to the study is its lack of broader generalizability. In the future, it would be important to investigate the characteristics of language use in the Facebook groups mentioned in 4.3 to gain a better understanding of the actual language practices of Vojvodina Hungarians online. Potential variables such as gender and occupation of participants should also be investigated, which might yield further valuable results. In combination with interviews and a corpus analysis of online communicative practices in communities (e.g. on Facebook), further data could be gathered and contextualized. Additionally, the use of techno-biographical interviews, which tell one's "life story in relation to technologies" (Lee 2014: 94) could also further our understanding of the roles digital devices and media play in the lives of Vojvodina Hungarians as well as how their digital habits changed over time, which would have made the present study richer in context.

## REFERENCES

- Androutsopoulos, J. 2013. Code-switching in computer-mediated communication. In S. Herring, D. Stein and T. Virtanen (eds.) *Pragmatics of computer-mediated communication*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 659–686.
- Androutsopoulos, J. 2015. Networked multilingualism: Some language practices on Facebook and their implications. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 19(2), 185–205.
- Balla, M., S. Buljanović and M. Ilić. 2012. Domains of Hungarian language use in Belgrade. *Jezikoslovlje* 13(2), 565–583.
- Baron, N. S. 2008. *Always on: Language in an online and mobile world*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Belmar, G. and M. Glass. 2019. Virtual communities as breathing spaces for minority languages: Re-framing minority language use in social media. *Adeptus* 14, 1–24.
- Bornman, E. 2003. Struggles of identity in the age of globalisation. *Communicatio: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research* 29(1–2), 24–47. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02500160308538019>
- Chen, S. R. 2007. Code-switching between English and Mandarin Chinese on postings in the college-affiliated bulletin board system in Taiwan: A functional approach. *Lancaster University Postgraduate Conference in Linguistics & Language Teaching* 1, 16–32.
- Cormack, M. 2013. Concluding remarks: Towards an understanding of media impact on minority language use. In E. H. G. Jones and E. Uribe-Jongbloed (eds.) *Social media and minority languages: Convergence and the creative industries*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 255–265.
- Cunliffe, D. and S. C. Herring. 2005. Introduction to minority languages, multimedia and the web. *New Review of Hypermedia and Multimedia* 11(2), 131–137.
- Cunliffe, D. 2007. Minority languages and the internet: New threats, new opportunities. In M. Cormack and N. Hourigan (eds.) *Minority Language Media: concepts, critiques and case studies*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 133–150.

- Cunliffe, D. 2019. Minority languages and social media. In G. Hogan-Brun and B. O'Rourke (eds.) *The Palgrave handbook of minority languages and communities*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 451–480.
- Danet, B. and S. C. Herring (eds.) 2007. *The multilingual internet. Language, culture and communication online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Darvin, R. 2016. Language and identity in the digital age. In S. Preece (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Identity*. Abingdon: Routledge, 523–540.
- Deumert, A. and S. O. Masinyana. 2008. Mobile language choices – The use of English and isiXhosa in text messages (SMS) Evidence from a bilingual South African sample. *English World-Wide* 29(2), 117–147.
- Durham, M. 2007. Language choice on a Swiss mailing list. In: B. Danet and S. C. Herring (eds.) *The multilingual internet: Language, culture, and communication online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 319–339.
- Galla, C. 2009. Indigenous language revitalization and technology from traditional to contemporary domains. In J. Reyhner and L. Lockard (eds.) *Indigenous language revitalization: Encouragement, guidance & lessons learned*. Flagstaff, Arizona: Northern Arizona University, 167–182.
- Helsper, E. J. and R. Eynon. 2010. Digital natives: Where is the evidence?. *British Educational Research Journal* 36(3), 503–520.
- Jánk, I. and Sz. Rási. 2013. Hungarian as a minority and majority language in different language policy contexts. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 1–18.
- Jones, E. H. G. and E. Uribe-Jongbloed (eds.) 2013. *Social media and minority languages: Convergence and the creative industries*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Jongbloed-Faber, L. et al. 2016. Language use of Frisian bilingual teenagers on social media. *Treballs de Sociolingüística Catalana* 26, 27–54.
- Kelly-Holmes, H. 2004. An analysis of the language repertoires of students in higher education and their language choices on the Internet (Ukraine, Poland, Macedonia, Italy, France, Tanzania, Oman and Indonesia). *International Journal of Multicultural Societies* 6(1), 29–52.
- Lackaff, D. and W. Moner. 2016. Local languages, global networks: Mobile design for minority language users. *SIGDOC'16 Proceedings of the 34th ACM International Conference on the Design of Communication*. Silver Spring, Maryland, 1–9.
- Lee, C. 2014. Language choice and self-presentation in social media: The case of university students in Hong Kong. In P. Seargeant and C. Tagg (eds.) *The language of social media: Identity and community on the Internet*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 91–111.
- Lee, C. 2016. *Multilingualism Online*. First Edition. London: Routledge.
- Lynn, T., K. Scannell and E. Maguire. 2015. Minority language Twitter: Part-of-speech tagging and analysis of Irish tweets. *Proceedings of the ACL 2015 workshop in noisy user-generated text*. Beijing, 1–8.
- Mafu, S. 2004. From the oral tradition to the information era: The case of Tanzania. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 6(1), 53–78.
- Merchant, G. 2001. Teenagers in cyberspace: an investigation of language use and language change in internet chatrooms. *Journal of research in reading* 24(3), 293–306.

- Paricio-Martín, S. J. and J. P. Martínez Cortés. 2010. New ways to revitalise minority languages: The repercussions of the internet in the case of Aragonese. *Digithum* 12, 1–11.
- Pásztor-Kicsi, M. 2016. Regionality–Language–Internet. *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, Philologica* 8(2), 35–47.
- Petrovich, P. G. 2016. Hungarian-Slavic bilingualism in Transcarpathia, Vojvodina and Prekmurje. *Ежегодник финно-угорских исследований* (4), 20–30.
- Prensky, M. 2001. Digital natives, digital immigrants. *On the Horizon: The International Journal of Learning Futures* 9(5), 1–6.
- Rau, D. V. and M. Yang. 2009. Digital transmission of language and culture. In M. Florey (ed.) *Language endangerment and maintenance in the Austronesian region*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 207–224.
- Soria, C. et al. 2016. Fostering digital representation of EU regional and minority languages: The digital language diversity project. *Proceedings of the tenth international conference on language resources and evaluation*. Portorož, 3256–3260.
- Spilioti, T. 2009. Graphemic representation of text-messaging: Alphabet-choice and codeswitches in Greek SMS. *Pragmatics* 19(3), 393–412.
- Stern, A. 2017. How Facebook can revitalise local languages: Lessons from Bali. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 38(9), 788–796.
- Székely, L. 2018. Nyelvében él? Külhoni magyar fiatalok nemzeti kötődése. *Kisebbségi Szemle* 3(3), 75–99.
- Tagg, C. (ed). 2015. *Exploring digital communication: Language in action*. London: Routledge.
- Vaisman, C. 2011. Performing girlhood through typographic play in Hebrew blogs. In C. Thurlow and K. Mroczek (eds.) *Digital discourse: Language in new media*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 177–196.

## SUMMARY

### MINORITIES IN THE DIGITAL SPACE: VOJVODINA HUNGARIANS' DIGITAL PRESENCE, LANGUAGE CHOICES, AND LANGUAGE USE ONLINE

The present study explores the digital media practices and language use tendencies of the Vojvodina Hungarian minority, shedding light on their participation in digital spaces, language preferences, and factors influencing their language choices both online and offline. Through a series of research questions, the study aims to identify the extent of the Vojvodina Hungarians' digital involvement and engagement, how they use their languages in online and offline settings, and the roles digital spaces have for them as a minority. The findings revealed that although Vojvodina Hungarians regularly consume digital media and a variety of internet content in Hungarian, Serbian, and English, they are not overly active in online content creation. While Hungarian remains dominant in face-to-face communication, English slightly outweighs Hungarian in online content consumption. Additionally, younger participants displayed a stronger digital presence and are more inclined towards multilingual language mixing. Despite challenges, participants express support for multilingualism and recognize its advantages in navigating personal and professional contexts.

**KEYWORDS:** digital language use, minorities in the digital space, digital habits, multilingual environment, English-dominated online spaces, Hungarian minority, language choices, multilingualism, Vojvodina Hungarians.

## APPENDIX

### Questionnaire

#### A. Background information (1–10)

Circle the answer(s) that best apply to you! The questions that have been starred (\*) are cases where multiple answers can be given or circled.

1. *Gender:* Male, Female, I do not wish to answer, Other: \_\_\_\_\_

2. *Age:* under 18, 18–25, 26–35, 36–45, 46–55, over 55

3. *Place of birth (settlement):* \_\_\_\_\_

4. *Current place of residence (settlement):* \_\_\_\_\_

5. *Highest level of education:* I did not go to school, Elementary school, Secondary school (gymnasium, vocational school), Associate degree, College – university (bachelor's degree), Postgraduate education (Master's, Doctorate)

6. *How can you best describe your current situation in terms of work?* I work outside my home – I go to work, I work from home (e.g. homemaker, teleworking), I am retired, I am looking for a job – I am unemployed, I am a student, Other: \_\_\_\_\_

7. *If you are working, circle your area:* I am unemployed, Education, Administration, Agriculture, Industry, Health, Other: \_\_\_\_\_
8. *Nationality:* Hungarian, Serbian, I do not wish to answer, Other: \_\_\_\_\_
9. *Have you stayed in another country for at least 6 months?* Yes, No
10. *If you have stayed in another country for at least 6 months, which country was it and what was the purpose of travel?* \_\_\_\_\_

### B. Language Knowledge and History (11–28)

If any of the questions below do not apply to you (*for example, if you never have contact with relatives or grandparents, or if they are no longer alive or you do not speak a particular language*), circle "This question does not apply to me."

11. *Which language(s) do you consider your mother tongue (the language(s) you first learnt)?\** Hungarian, Serbian, Other: \_\_\_\_\_
12. *If you have more than one mother tongue, which one would you say as your primary mother tongue/first language?* This question does not apply to me, Hungarian, Serbian, Other: \_\_\_\_\_
13. *How did you learn the following languages?\** (You can mark multiple replies per line.)\*\*

	Hungarian	Serbian	English
At home from the family	63	21	2
From friends, neighbours or colleagues	36	29	15
At school or at language classes	2	42	43
From the internet	2	3	40
I do not speak the language / I never learnt it	-	5	4
	34%	32%	34%

**Table 1.** Results to question 13

14. *If applicable to you, what language(s) did your family and closest friends usually use with you in the past and now? \** (You can mark multiple replies per line.)

	Hungarian	Serbian	English	This question does not apply to me
As a child, your grandparents spoke with you				
As a child, your mother spoke with you				
As a child, your father spoke with you				
As a child, your siblings spoke with you				
As a child, your closest friends spoke with you				
Currently, your grandparents speak with you				
Currently, your mother speaks with you				
Currently, your father speaks with you				
Currently, your siblings speak with you				
Currently, your closest friends speak with you				

15. *What language (did) your parents use among themselves?\** (Multiple answers can be marked.) This question does not apply to me, Hungarian, Serbian, Other: \_\_\_\_\_

16. *What language(s) do(es) your children speak?\** (Multiple answers can be marked.) This question does not apply to me, Hungarian, Serbian, English, Other: \_\_\_\_\_

17. *Have you ever experienced someone else trying to prevent your parents from using certain languages with you? If so, which language(s)?\** (Multiple answers can be marked.) Hungarian, Serbian, English, Other: \_\_\_\_\_

18. *Have you ever had your parents encouraged by someone else to use certain languages with you? If so, which language(s)?\** (Multiple answers can be marked.) Hungarian, Serbian, English, Other: \_\_\_\_\_

18b. *Do you try to encourage your child(ren) to (learn and) use the following languages?\** (Circle the one(s) you do/would encourage them to use and learn.)

	Hungarian	Serbian	English
Yes I encourage my child(ren) to learn and speak	40%	27%	27%
No, I do not encourage my child(ren) to learn and speak	18%	-	2%
I am not a parent, but I <b>would</b> encourage my future child(ren) to learn and speak	40%	70%	68%
I am not a parent, but I <b>would not</b> encourage my future child(ren) to learn and speak	2%	3%	3%

**Table 2.** Results to question 18b

19. *How would you rate your own language skills in Hungarian?*

	Perfectly (without any difficulties)	Well	Well enough	Poorly	Not at all
I speak Hungarian	87%	13%	-	-	-
I understand Hungarian	93%	5%	2%	-	-
I write in Hungarian	85%	10%	5%	-	-
I read in Hungarian	95%	3%	2%	-	-

**Table 3.** Results to question 19



## 20. How would you rate your own language skills in Serbian?

	Perfectly (without any difficulties)	Well	Well enough	Poorly	Not at all
I speak Serbian	21%	26%	25%	25%	3%
I understand Serbian	25%	39%	26%	8%	2%
I write in Serbian	25%	36%	20%	19%	-
I read in Serbian	33%	38%	20%	6%	3%

Table 4. Results to question 20

## 21. How would you rate your own language skills in English?

	Perfectly (without any difficulties)	Well	Well enough	Poorly	Not at all
I speak English	30%	30%	20%	13%	7%
I understand English	35%	30%	20%	8%	7%
I write in English	32%	27%	20%	15%	7%
I read in English	42%	23%	20%	8%	7%

Table 5. Results to question 21

22. If you speak more than one language, do you mix your spoken languages when talking to other Vojvodina Hungarians? (For example: You are talking with a Hungarian acquaintance in Hungarian and you are switching the language of conversation from Hungarian to Serbian back and forth. Language alternation can apply to words alone or to entire sentences.) Yes, No

23. Does it bother you if your interlocutor switches to (an)other language(s) during your conversations? (Circle 1 answer from A and 1 answer from B) **A) If I speak** that other language, it **does not bother me**, **If I speak** that other language, it **does bother me**; **B) If I do not speak** that other language, it **does not bother me**, **If I do not speak** that other language, it **does bother me**

24. *How bravely/boldly do you use the following languages live and online?*

	Bravely	Not so bravely	Do not use it on purpose	I do not speak it at all there
I use the Hungarian language in face-to-face situations	92%	8%	-	-
I use the Serbian language in face-to-face situations	46%	37%	5%	13%
I use the English language in face-to-face situations	52%	33%	6%	8%
I use the Hungarian language online	95%	-	5%	-
I use the Serbian language online	44%	33%	6%	16%
I use the English language online	68%	24%	2%	6%

**Table 6.** Results to question 24

25. *Do you speak any other foreign language(s)?* Yes, no

26. *If you answered yes to the previous question, which language(s) is it/are they and how would you rate your own language skills?*

Language x: \_\_\_\_\_: Beginning / Intermediate / Advanced / Native speaker

27. *Which one of the following languages do you use most online?* (Mark only one.) Hungarian, Serbian, English, Other: \_\_\_\_\_

28. *Which one of the following languages do you use most in face-to-face conversations?* (Mark only one.) Hungarian, Serbian, English, Other: \_\_\_\_\_

### C. Language Use (29–38)

If any of the questions below do not apply to you (*for example, if you never have contact with relatives or grandparents, or if they are no longer alive or you do not speak a particular language*), circle "This question does not apply to me."

## 29. Do you use Hungarian in the following situations and how often?

	I always use Hungarian	I regularly use Hungarian	I sometimes use Hungarian	I rarely use Hungarian	I never use Hungarian
On the internet	52%	32%	12%	2%	2%
At home	90%	7%	3%	0%	0%
With relatives	82%	18%	0%	0%	0%
At work/school	69%	15%	11%	3%	2%
With friends	78%	16%	4%	0%	2%
With neighbours	55%	25%	12%	3%	5%
At stores	31%	25%	22%	15%	7%
On the street	38%	46%	8%	8%	0%
At libraries	40%	18%	22%	7%	13%
At church	59%	18%	5%	7%	11%
At other religious events	41%	20%	11%	8%	20%
With authorities	20%	18%	18%	28%	16%
At community events (e.g., cultural events, festivals, etc.)	43%	25%	20%	10%	2%
For the expression of deeper emotions	70%	20%	8%	0%	2%
For profanity	61%	16%	11%	7%	5%
<i>total</i>	55%	21%	11%	7%	6%

Table 7. Results to question 29

## 30. Do you use Serbian in the following situations and how often?

	I always use Serbian	I regularly use Serbian	I sometimes use Serbian	I rarely use Serbian	I never use Serbian
On the internet	2%	24%	32%	24%	18%
At home	8%	13%	22%	19%	38%
With relatives	2%	16%	22%	21%	33%
At work/ school	5%	27%	24%	22%	17%
With friends	0%	29%	18%	38%	15%
With neighbours	5%	36%	23%	23%	10%
At stores	17%	55%	13%	9%	6%
On the street	5%	41%	26%	15%	13%
At libraries	9%	24%	21%	16%	30%
At church	0%	10%	16%	21%	53%
At other religious events	0%	11%	21%	16%	53%
With authorities	31%	33%	17%	16%	3%
At community events (e.g., cultural events, festivals, etc.)	7%	33%	16%	29%	15%
For the expression of deeper emotions	2%	20%	8%	16%	44%
For profanity	6%	25%	30%	22%	17%
<i>total</i>	7%	26%	21%	21%	25%

Table 8. Results to question 30

## 31. Do you use English in the following situations and how often?

	I always use English	I regularly use English	I sometimes use English	I rarely use English	I never use English
On the internet	48%	27%	7%	12%	7%
At home	3%	13%	22%	19%	36%
With relatives	5%	6%	5%	28%	56%
At work/school	6%	35%	17%	21%	21%
With friends	10%	22%	30%	17%	21%
With neighbours	0%	10%	3%	16%	71%
At stores	2%	8%	5%	14%	71%
On the street	3%	6%	15%	19%	57%
At libraries	3%	6%	8%	11%	72%
At church	2%	5%	2%	13%	78%
At other religious events	3%	5%	2%	13%	77%
With authorities	2%	8%	7%	15%	68%
At community events (e.g., cultural events, festivals, etc.)	27%	10%	8%	21%	34%
For the expression of deeper emotions	13%	16%	11%	23%	37%
For profanity	22%	17%	18%	23%	20%
<i>total</i>	10%	13%	11%	18%	48%

Table 9. Results to question 31

32. If you had to choose between Hungarian, Serbian and English to use only that for the rest of your life, which one would you choose and why?

33. Is there any sort of online community (e.g. Facebook group) where you can communicate with other Vojvodina Hungarians? Yes, No

34. Do you think there is a need for such online communities where you can communicate with other Vojvodina Hungarians? Why yes/no?

35. Are you a member of a Facebook group that includes Vojvodina Hungarians? If so, what is the nature/topic/theme of the group(s)?

36. Are there institutions or people who support the Hungarian language in Serbia? Yes, no

37. *Is there a printed newspaper in the following languages to which you have access?\** (Circle the ones that are available to you.) Hungarian, Serbian, English

38. *Which newspaper would you take off the shelf in the store if it was available in three languages (Hungarian, English, Serbian)?* (Circle only one.) Hungarian, Serbian, English

#### D. Internet use and active online language use (39–45)

39. *Do you have access to internet content (websites, news portals, blogs, etc.) in the following languages?\** (Circle all that you have access to.) Hungarian, Serbian, English

40. *How regularly do you read/visit the following websites?* (One can be selected per line. Mark the one that best applies to you.)

	On a daily basis	Regularly	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
I visit Hungarian websites	48%	17%	25%	7%	3%
I visit Serbian websites	7%	18%	29%	27%	19%
I visit English websites	38%	20%	29%	7%	6%

**Table 10.** Results to question 40

41. *How regularly do you use the following social media sites?* (One can be selected per line. Mark the one that best applies to you.)

	On a daily basis	Regularly	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Facebook	44%	11%	34%	5%	6%
Instagram	54%	10%	16%	10%	10%
TikTok	60%	5%	10%	8%	22%
Discord	39%	6%	5%	5%	45%
Reddit	15%	8%	3%	8%	65%
Pinterest	18%	7%	16%	15%	44%
YouTube	31%	27%	13%	8%	21%
Twitter (X)	5%	13%	14%	13%	55%

**Table 11.** Results to question 41

42. *What online (internet) activities do you participate in and how often? (One can be selected per line. Mark the one that best applies to you.)*

	On a daily basis	Regularly	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
I engage in social media activities (e.g. commenting, chatting on Facebook)	73%	8%	16%	3%	-
I write a blog	-	2%	2%	3%	93%
I make TikTok videos	3%	6%	5%	3%	83%
I comment on TikTok or share videos with friends	32%	6%	8%	5%	49%
I share pictures on Instagram	68%	14%	-	-	17%
I post in relation to a blog or online newspaper	-	2%	24%	11%	63%
I share memes	50%	2%	11%	29%	8%
I create and share videos	3%	2%	-	9%	86%
I play video games with friends (Discord, Twitch, streaming, etc.)	33%	2%	6%	30%	29%

**Table 12.** Results to question 42

43. *In which language(s) do you participate in the following online activities?\** (You can select multiple languages per line!) \*\*

	In Hungarian	In Serbian	In English	I do not do it at all
I engage in social media activities (e.g. commenting, chatting on Facebook)	40	4	32	3
I write a blog	8	1	13	45
I make TikTok videos	18	14	21	26

I comment on TikTok or share videos with friends	27	3	33	46
I share pictures on Instagram	17	4	19	39
I post in relation to a blog or online newspaper	8	3	9	52
I share memes	30	10	29	23
I create and share videos	7	-	7	56
I play video games with friends (Discord, Twitch, streaming, etc.)	17	4	23	37
	24%	6%	25%	45%

**Table 13.** Results to question 43

44. *When you search for something on the Internet (e.g. in Google), in what language do you type the search term?* (One can be selected per line. Mark the one that best applies to you!)

	On a daily basis	Regularly	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
In Hungarian	52%	20%	13%	10%	5%
In Serbian	9%	16%	40%	22%	13%
In English	62%	24%	8%	2%	4%

**Table 14.** Results to question 44

45. *What factors influence the language in which you comment online?\** (Circle all that applies to you.) Your mother tongue, Language of comments on the website, Subject of comments or content, Your own cultural background, The language you speak best, Other: \_\_\_\_

\* Multiple answers can be marked or given.

\*\* The results indicate the number of times participants chose the given language (for the given activity).

ARTICLE INFO:  
Original research article  
Received: May 16, 2024  
Revised: July 1, 2024  
Accepted: July 1, 2024





DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18485/philologia.2024.22.22.3>

UDC: 81'27:551.583(410)

## ■ AN ECOLINGUISTIC APPROACH TO THE FRAMING OF KING CHARLES III'S CLIMATE CHANGE-RELATED ACTIVITIES BY THE LEADING AMERICAN AND BRITISH MEDIA

**OLEKSANDR KAPRANOV<sup>1</sup>**

NLA University College

English Department

Oslo, Norway

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9056-3311>

Oslanjajući se na ekolingvistički pristup medijskom uokviravanju klimatskih promena (Norton/Hulme 2019), članak predstavlja rezultate studije kojom autor nastoji da identifikuje, analizira i tumači način na koji mejnstrim američki i britanski masovni mediji predstavljaju aktivnosti u vezi sa klimatskim promenama kralja Čarlsa III, vladajućeg britanskog monarha, poznatog po svom aktivnom stavu o klimatskim pitanjima. Pored ekolingvističkog okvira, metodologija u studiji se zasniva na interpretaciji uokviravanja medijskog diskursa. Rad nastoji da (i) identifikuje medijske okvire u izveštavanju američkih i britanskih medija o aktivnostima kralja Čarlsa III u vezi sa klimatskim promenama i (ii) da razmotri te okvire kroz prizmu ekolingvističkog pristupa koji postuliraju Norton i Hulme (2019). Rezultati analize pokazuju da su vodeći američki i britanski masovni mediji uokvirili aktivnosti kralja Čarlsa III u vezi sa klimatskim promenama kroz sličan skup okvira, poput sledećih (i) zagovornik ublažavanja klimatskih promena, (ii) izazov da budemo neutralni po pitanju klimatskih promena, (iii) akcija u vezi sa klimatskim promenama, (iv) novac za borbu protiv klimatskih promena, (v) obnovljiva energija i (vi) održivost.

Ključne reči: diskurs o klimatskoj promeni, ekolingvistika, uokviravanje, kralj Čarls III, mediji i komunikacija.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The way mass media frame the issue of climate change is of critical importance to the general public (Boykoff/Rajan 2007; Gavin *et al.* 2011; Gillings/Dayrell 2024) and a variety of stakeholders, for instance, policymakers, scientists, celebrities, and royalty (Kapranov 2015a, 2015b; Weathers/Kendall 2016; Robbins 2018). As far as the representatives of the British royal family are concerned, King Charles III, the current reigning monarch in the United Kingdom, is known for his active stance on the issue of

---

1 Kontakt podaci (E-mail): [oleksandr.kapranov@nla.no](mailto:oleksandr.kapranov@nla.no)

climate change (Hale 2024). In particular, King Charles III has gained a reputation of an ardent public speaker on the issues of climate change and environmental sustainability (Kapranov 2024). Whilst King Charles III's leadership in addressing the issue of climate change is unquestionable (Stickel 2020), currently, however, there are no published studies on how the leading mass media in the UK and the United States of America frame his climate change-related activities. Furthermore, there are no current analyses of the media framing of King Charles III's climate change-related activities through an ecolinguistic prism. In this regard, it should be specified that the lack of prior studies on his climate change-related activities looks surprising, given that the UK has shown leadership in climate change amelioration and mitigation by conducting scientific research activities on climate change and developing climate change-related policy initiatives (Hulme/Turnpenny 2004: 105). Moreover, the lack of relevant research on King Charles III's climate change-related activities seems to be in stark contrast to the burgeoning literature on celebrities and climate change activists (for example, Greta Thunberg), whose climate change-related efforts appear to be profusely elucidated (Kalajžić *et al.* 2022; Kapranov 2022; Wright/Nyberg 2022).

In light of the aforementioned research gap, the present article introduces and discusses a study whose aims are to (i) identify how King Charles III's climate change-related activities are framed by the leading mass media in the UK and USA and (ii) analyse the to-be-identified frames through the lens of an ecolinguistic approach. The first aim of the study is anchored in Entman's (1993, 2010) approach to framing in mass media discourse. It should be specified that Entman (1993: 52) regards framing in the language of mass media as a purposeful selection of an aspect of the news item and its communication in such a manner that it becomes salient and promotes a specific definition of the problem covered in the news item, its interpretation and moral evaluation, and possible ways the problem could be resolved. The second aim of the study is grounded in the ecolinguistic approach to the framing of climate change discourse that is proposed and developed by Norton and Hulme (2019). Their ecolinguistic approach will be further dwelt upon in detail in section 3 of the article.

The literature on discourse and mass communication contends that unpacking the way a climate change-related news item is framed may provide a deeper insight into the issue of climate change and, concurrently, increase public awareness of the issue (Boykoff/Rajan 2007; Weathers/Kendall 2016). Arguably, a qualitative framing analysis of how the leading American and British mass media frame King Charles III's climate change-related activities may foster the public's at large understanding of his climate change agenda as the reigning British monarch. Taking the aforementioned contention into account, the study seeks to answer the following research question (RQ):

**RQ:** How do American and British mass media frame King Charles III's climate change-related activities?

Further, this article is organised as follows. First, in section 2, a review of the literature is provided. The review section is comprised of research studies on the framing of climate change discourse by the leading American and British mass media outlets. Second, in section 3, an ecolinguistic approach to mass media discourse on climate change is

outlined. Third, in section 4 of the article, the present study is introduced and discussed in detail. Finally, in section 5, the conclusions of the study are presented.

## 2. THE FRAMING OF CLIMATE CHANGE BY MASS MEDIA IN THE UK AND THE USA: A PREVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Framing as a research methodology seems to be rather generously employed in research on climate change discourse (Coleman *et al.* 2024; Kapranov 2023). In this regard, Fløttum, Gasper and Clair (2016: 118) note that, indeed, "within the increased scholarly research focused on climate change discourse much work now has considered the framing of studies". Whereas there is a growing acceptance of framing methodology in the studies on climate change discourse, the readers should be informed that a number of linguists warn against over-reliance on framing methodology, which, as they argue, may result in inconclusive results associated with the classification of the frames (Žagar 2010, 2017; Carta/Wodak 2015).

Presently, there is a copious amount of literature on the framing of the issue of climate change by the leading mass media outlets in the UK and the USA (Weathers/Kendall 2016). The literature indicates that the leading media in these two Anglophone countries report on the issue of climate change rather regularly (Lorenzoni *et al.* 2006; Boykoff/Rajan 2007; Good 2008; Kapranov 2017, 2018b; Gillings/Dayrell 2024; Scheuch *et al.* 2024; Steel *et al.* 2024; Strauss *et al.* 2024). The regularity of media coverages on the issue of climate change, however, does not presuppose a uniformed approach to the framing in the UK and the USA, respectively (Good 2008). In particular, Good (2008) argues that the printed mainstream media in the USA refer to the issue of climate change as *global warming*, whereas their British counterparts normally write about the issue as *climate change*. In addition, Good (2008) notes that *climate change* and *global warming* are often employed interchangeably as synonyms by the mainstream mass media in the USA. Notwithstanding the seemingly frivolous use of *climate change* and *global warming* as synonyms, the mainstream media in the USA appear to frame the issue of climate change as a science-based matter (Good 2008).

In contrast to the framing of climate change by mass media in the USA, Carvalho (2007) and Boykoff and Rajan (2007) are unanimous in contending that the British media coverages of climate change in the 2000s are framed by scepticism. Specifically, both Carvalho (2007) and Boykoff and Rajan (2007) posit that the British printed media seem to employ a sceptical tonality in their framing of climate change. Their scepticism is manifested by news coverages that feature the opponents of environmental science, who question the realness, scope and magnitude of climate change (Boykoff/Rajan 2007). Furthermore, Boykoff and Rajan (2007) demonstrate that the sceptical framing of climate change by the media in the UK is not fortuitous, but seems to be accounted by either the lack of sufficient data that lend support to climate change theories or the journalists' conflation of facts with impressionistic judgements on the topic. According to Boykoff and Rajam (2007), this leads to a contradictory framing of the issue that foregrounds the contrarian attitudes toward the science-based approach to climate change.

Whilst the comparison of Boykoff and Rajan's (2007) and Good's (2008) studies is suggestive of different approaches to the framing of climate change in the UK on the one

hand and the USA on the other hand, Lorenzoni, Leiserowitz, de Franca Doria, Poortinga, and Pidgeon (2006) indicate that climate change in these two countries is framed as a phenomenon that poses significant risks to their respective societies. At the same time, however, the media outlets both in the UK and the USA frame the issue of climate change as a rather distant threat (Lorenzoni *et al.* 2008). Partially, this framing is explained by the general public's perceptions of climate change as a topic of limited personal importance, i.e. a problem that is normally outside the purview of one's immediate quotidian concerns (*ibid.*). Perceived as such by the public both in the UK and the USA, the framing of climate change as a distant and not-so-personal topic seeps through the media lens, which frames it accordingly (Lorenzoni *et al.* 2006; Kapranov 2017).

It should be noted that the framing of climate change as a distant problem (Lorenzoni *et al.* 2006), which is shrouded in scepticism (Boykoff/Rajan 2007), is increasingly framed by the British mass media as a pressing issue associated with a score of environmental and climate change-related protest groups (e.g., Just Stop Oil) and movements (e.g., Fridays For Future) that demand action to stop and mitigate the current climate crisis (Kapranov 2022, 2023). On this note, Scheuch, Ortiz, Shreedhar, and Thomas-Walters (2024) report that the framing of climate protest movements by the media in the UK is reflective of political allegiances of the British media actors. Specifically, it has been established that conservative-leaning mass media outlets frame climate change protest actions rather unfavourably (Scheuch *et al.* 2024). This finding echoes the results of the framing analysis by Kapranov (2023), who has found that the conservative media outlets in the UK frame climate change protest actions through the prism of legal action and punishment to the climate change protesters. Concurrently with the framing that foregrounds punishment, however, Kapranov (2023) has uncovered that there exists a neutral framing of climate change protest actions by the non-conservative mass media outlets in the UK.

Summarising the literature, it seems reasonable to argue that the framing of climate change by the mainstream mass media in the UK and the USA exhibits several overlapping as well as divergent foci. The overlap is evident from the media coverages of climate change as a risk to society. The divergent focus of the media framing of the issue is manifested by the foregrounding of science-based coverages of climate change in the USA, whereas in the UK it is overshadowed by the sceptical tonality in breaking climate change-related news. Finally, it should be summarised that the framing of climate change by the leading mass media in the UK has undergone a change from a predominantly sceptical tonality associated with a certain distrust of climate science in the 2000s to the current focus on climate change protest movements in the early 2020s.

### 3. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS: AN ECOLINGUISTIC APPROACH TO THE FRAMING OF CLIMATE CHANGE IN THE BRITISH MASS MEDIA

There is a growing bulk of ecolinguistic literature that examines the way mass media frame the issue of climate change (LeVasseur 2015; Döring 2017; Kapranov 2018a; Penz/Fill 2022; Kwaśniewska 2024). Whereas there is a plethora of publications on ecolinguistics, the present study, which is introduced in section 4 of the article, is informed by a fairly recent ecolinguistic approach to the framing of mass media's

coverages of climate change that is formulated by Norton and Hulme (2019). The relevance of Norton and Hulme's (2019) approach to the present study is accounted by the fact that they applied an ecolinguistic lens to cast light onto the framing of climate change by the mainstream British mass media. Given that the aim of our investigation is to provide insight into British and American mass media's framing of climate change-related activities by King Charles III, the choice of the ecolinguistic approach to the framing of the issue of climate change by the British mass media that is formulated by Norton and Hulme (2019) seems relevant.

It should be emphasised that Norton and Hulme's (2019) ecolinguistic approach to the framing of climate change by the mainstream British mass media incorporates an array of elements that stem from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), framing theory, and metaphor theory. Furthermore, the cornerstone of Norton and Hulme's (2019) approach to the framing of climate change by the British media is grounded in Stibbe's (2004, 2014) ecolinguistic framework. That is why prior to continuing our discussion of the theoretical premises of Norton and Hulme's (2019) ecolinguistic approach, it appears logical to outline Stibbe's (2004, 2014, 2015, 2021) views on ecolinguistics.

The underpinnings of Stibbe's (2014, 2015) ecolinguistic paradigm involve the following aspects: (i) ideology, (ii) evaluation, (iii) erasure, (iv) salience, (v) identity, (vi) framing, and (vii) metaphor. In particular, ideology in Stibbe's (2014, 2015) ecolinguistic paradigm is seen as a belief system that is linguistically encoded and shared by the members of a societal group (Stibbe 2014). According to Stibbe (2014, 2015), evaluation is a facet of the narrative that manifests an appraisal pattern (for instance, "worst", "dismal", "decline"), which adds an evaluative colouring to the narrative. Following Stibbe (2014, 2015), erasure is a pragmatic act of backgrounding, excluding, i.e. erasing a certain element in the narrative. In this regard, Stibbe (2015) argues that nowadays the notions of nature and ecological well-being get routinely erased from human narratives. Salience, as stated by Stibbe (2014, 2015), is found in people's narratives as a device that points to the most important aspect of the narrative. In Stibbe's (2004, 2014, 2015) ecolinguistic approach, identity is a form of a story about the self, which is understood as a story that people narrate about themselves to others about who they are (Ma/Stibbe 2022). Framing, in Stibbe's (2014, 2015) view, encapsulates a selection of events, characters, places, and a particular sequence of events that get either foregrounded or erased in the story (Ma/Stibbe 2022). Finally, Stibbe's (2015, 2021) understanding of metaphors resembles framing in the sense that he regards them as a type of framing characterised by two specific and completely different domains.

Having outlined Stibbe's (2004, 2014, 2015, 2021) ecolinguistic paradigm, let us elucidate the ecolinguistic approach by Norton and Hulme (2019), which, largely, incorporates Stibbe's views. Similarly to Stibbe (2014, 2015), Norton and Hulme's (2019) approach is based upon such elements, as ideology, evaluation, identity, etc. (see above). However, Norton and Hulme (2019) employ them as tools in their analysis of media texts in the following manner. Ideology as "a story about how the world was, is and should be in the minds of members of a group" (Norton/Hulme 2019: 116) is used to identify the types of discourses that are common to the group members. Both framing and metaphor are employed in order to identify "trigger words that bring a particular source frame to mind" (Norton/Hulme 2019: 116). Evaluation is applied in order to

look for possible “appraisal patterns i.e. patterns of language, which represent things positively or negatively” (Norton/Hulme 2019: 116). Identity is put to use by Norton and Hulme (2019: 116) to search for the forms of language that characterise people, whereas erasure is utilised in order to identify patterns of language that erase or diminish certain phenomena. Salience is adopted by Norton and Hulme (2019: 116) to single out patterns of language that foreground a certain area of life. Finally, Norton and Hulme (2019) add one more tool to their analysis, namely conviction. It is seen as a story that sheds light onto whether or not a particular description is true, certain, uncertain and/or false. Conviction is employed by Norton and Hulme (2019: 116) to examine “linguistic patterns that represent a description as true, uncertain or false”. The aforementioned tools are further used by Norton and Hulme (2019) in the coding of media texts, which is executed in NVIVO, a computer-aided qualitative software package. The corpus of media texts that is examined by Norton and Hulme (2019) involves 173 editorials that deal with the issue of climate change. Norton and Hulme (2019) indicate that the analysis of their corpus has yielded four qualitatively different types of climate change narratives, which are argued to permeate the discursive space of the mainstream mass media in the UK. These narratives are labelled as (i) Lukewarmer, (ii) Ecoactivist, (iii) Smart Growth Reformer, and (iv) Ecomodernist. The description of the narratives is summarised in Table 1 below.

#	Narrative	Explanation
1	Lukewarmer	The narrative is characterised by the acceptance of climate change as a real issue, which, however, does not pose immediate risks. The Lukewarmer narrative involves metaphoric comparisons of climate change scientists and their supporters with religious zealots, evangelists, and fanatics, who operate with flawed scientific evidence (Norton/Hulme 2019: 118).
2	Ecoactivist	The narrative is characterised by the contention that people destroy the natural world, which leads to an imminent catastrophe. The Ecoactivist narrative contends that climate change increases environmental risks associated with extreme weather events (Norton/Hulme 2019: 119).
3	Smart Growth Reformer	The narrative is characterised by the position that the impact of humankind on the Earth's ecosystems needs to be curtailed. The Smart Growth Reformer narrative promotes a contention that the use of market mechanisms is the most effective way of creating a low-carbon economy and preventing the negative consequences of climate change (Norton/Hulme 2019: 119).



4	Ecomodernist	The narrative is characterised by the contention that human activities need to be decoupled from nature in order to avoid economic and ecological collapse. The Ecomodernist narrative relies on technological innovations and modernisation to mitigate climate change problems (Norton/Hulme 2019: 119).
---	--------------	--

**Table 1.** British mass media's narratives of climate change according to Norton and Hulme (2019)

The aforementioned ecological narratives by Norton and Hulme (2019) are used in the present study as a discursive lens through which I discuss the way the leading mass media in the UK and the USA frame King Charles III's climate change-related activities.

#### 4. THE PRESENT STUDY

As previously mentioned, the present study is entrenched in (i) an ecolinguistic approach postulated by Norton and Hulme (2019) and (ii) the view of media framing formulated by Entman (1993). Whilst Entman's seminal publications on framing are widely known and amply cited in the fields of mass communication and discourse studies (Kapranov 2017; Fløttum 2019), it seems relevant to reiterate that he encapsulates the construal of media framing as selection and salience. Specifically, Entman (1993: 52) argues that to frame means "to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation".

Informed by Entman's (1993) approach to framing, the study aimed (i) to identify and analyse the way King Charles III's climate change-related activities were framed by the leading mass media outlets in the UK and the USA, as well as (ii) to juxtapose the to-be-identified frames in the UK with those in the USA. Guided by the aforementioned considerations and the RQ (see introduction), the study sought to collect a corpus of media coverages by the leading mass media outlets in the UK and the USA that covered King Charles III's climate change-related activities.

The corpus collection was garnered on the websites of the leading mass media outlets in the UK and the USA by means of using the following keywords: *British monarch, Charles III, King Charles III, King Charles, anthropogenic climate change, climate change, climate change adaptation, climate change demonstration, climate change event, climate change mass media coverage, climate change mitigation, climate change policy, climate change protest, climate risk/risks, CO2 absorption, CO2 capture and storage, CO2 emission/emissions, CO2 emission reduction/reductions, extreme weather event/events, extreme drought, extreme rain/rainfall, global warming, green energy, greenhouse gasses/GHG, green technology, net zero, rise in sea level/levels, wind energy, wind farm, the consequences of climate change, and (the) health effects of climate change*. The choice of the keywords was motivated by their use in a number of prior studies on climate change discourse (Koteyko/Atanasova 2016; Fløttum/Gjerstad 2017; Kapranov 2017, 2018a, 2018b; Nerlich/Jaspal 2024). The timeframe of the corpus involved the period of



time from 8 September 2022 (the day the late Queen Elizabeth II died and the throne was passed immediately and without ceremony to King Charles III) to 8 September 2024 (i.e., two years). Following the computer search, the corpus was comprised of 24 news coverages (the total number of words = 26 601, mean words = 1108.4, standard deviation = 574.5) by the leading mass media outlets in the UK and the USA. The description of the corpus was further presented in Table 2 below, which outlined the media outlet and its affiliation, the title of the news coverage, the date the coverage was published online, and the total number (N) of words per each individual coverage.

#	Mass Media	Coverage Title	Date	N words
1	ABC (the USA)	This Is Why Charles III Will Be Known As the 1st Climate King	02.05.2023	2535
2	Associated Press (the USA)	King Charles III Shows His Reign Will Be More about Evolution Than Revolution after Year on the Job	07.09.2023	1012
3	Bloomberg (the USA)	King Charles Urges Action to Slow World's Descent into Danger	01.12.2023	294
4	CBS News (the USA)	What to Know about King Charles III, Britain's New Monarch	06.05.2023	1200
5	CNN (the USA)	Is Charles' Climate Fight over Now He's King?	07.10.2022	1088
6	CNN (the USA)	King Charles Says World Heading for "Dangerous Uncharted Territory" at Global Leaders Summit	01.12.2023	818
7	Fox News (the USA)	King Charles III: A Climate Change of Mind? Not So Quick, Royal Expert Says	04.10.2022	631
8	Fox News (the USA)	King Charles III Launches Climate Clock That Tells Us What to Do and by When	29.07.2023	507
9	Los Angeles Times (the USA)	President Biden and King Charles Zero in on Climate Change in Windsor Castle Meeting	10.07.2023	1117
10	Newsweek (the USA)	How King Charles III Has Become a Target for Climate Change Protesters	27.07.2023	1254
11	PBS (the USA)	Biden and King Charles Meet for Climate Discussion during London Visit	10.07.2023	1077
12	Reuters (the UK)	Britain's King Charles Urges Rapid Environmental Repair in COP28 Speech	01.12.2023	386

13	Sky News (the UK)	King Charles Faces a Tough Test If He Wants to Keep His Personal Climate Fight Alive	13.09.2022	946
14	The Guardian (the UK)	"A Real Pioneer": King Charles Seeks to Embody Green Values in Royal Estate	27.07.2024	1024
15	The Guardian	Cop28: King Charles Warns of "Vast, Frightening Experiment" on Natural World	01.12.2023	1350
16	The Independent (the UK)	Olivia Colman, Idris Elba and Stars Read King's Speeches for New Climate YouTube Channel	26.06.2023	604
17	The Independent (the UK)	King Charles Tells Cop28 Summit "Hope of the World" Rests on Dubai Climate Talks	01.12.2023	1241
18	The New Yorker (the USA)	The Self-Justifying Philosophy of King Charles	29.04.2023	2701
19	The New York Times (the USA)	Promise of a Changed U.K. Comes Wrapped in Royal Tradition	17.07.2024	1206
20	The New York Times (the USA)	King Charles III, Climate Advocate, Delivers Speech at Odds with His Beliefs	07.11.2023	1567
21	The Telegraph (the UK)	King and Queen in France: Charles Calls for Action to Step up Fight against Climate Change	21.09.2023	381
22	The Washington Post (the USA)	How King Charles Can Make Himself Relevant	1.05.2023	1303
23	Time (the USA)	Climate Change Could Strain Relations Between King Charles III and U.K. Prime Minister Liz Truss	12.09.2022	1560
24	Voice of America (the USA)	The Green King: Charles the Environmentalist	11.09.2022	799

**Table 2.** The Corpus of the Study

Following the collection of the corpus, the study proceeded with the analysis, which was based upon the approach to the identification of media framing proposed by Entman (1993, 2010). In line with Entman's (1993) definition of framing, each news item represented in Table 2 was examined for the presence of a climate change-related activity/activities in which King Charles III was engaged in. Furthermore, each of the aforementioned news items (see Table 2) was analysed for (i) the explicit and/or implicit cause/causes of the climate change-related activity/activities King Charles III was engaged

in, (ii) a moral interpretation of his climate change-related activity/activities, and (iii) a possible solution that was associated with his climate change-related activity/activities. Following Entman (1993, 2010), the analysis of the corpus factored in a possibility of the co-presence of qualitatively different frames in each news item. It should be noted that the labelling of the frames in corpus was based upon the recurrent keywords and phrases (Kapranov 2016, 2018c).

Once the identification of the frames in the corpus was completed, they were analysed for their potential fits with Norton and Hulme's (2019) ecolinguistic narratives (i.e., Lukewarmer, Ecoactivist, Smart Growth Reformer, and Ecomodernist). It should be emphasised that the procedure of establishing potential connections with Norton and Hulme's ecological narratives involved the frames that were identified not only in the leading mass media in the UK, as was done in the study by Norton and Hulme (2019), but also in the frames by their counterparts in the USA. Importantly, it should be observed that Norton and Hulme's (2019) ecological narratives were not equated with frames in the present study, given that a frame and a narrative would not be considered identical in the context of climate change discourse (Fløttum/Gjerstad 2017). Rather, the ecological narratives in the sense as postulated by Norton and Hulme (2019) were treated in the study as a superordinate category against which the identified frames could be interpreted. The results of the analysis were given in subsection 4.1 below.

#### 4.1. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The qualitative examination of the corpus has yielded nine frames in total that are presented in Table 3 below.

#	Frames	British Media	American Media
1	An Advocate for Climate Change Mitigation	Sky News, The Independent	Associated Press, CBS, CNN, Los Angeles Times, Newsweek, PBS, The New York Times, The New Yorker, The Washington Post, The Newsweek, Time, Voice of America
2	A Challenge to Be Neutral on Climate Change	Sky News	Associated Press, CNN, Fox News, Newsweek, The New York Times, The Washington Post, Time, Voice of America
3	A Climate Change-Related Action	Reuters, The Independent, The Telegraph	Bloomberg, Fox News, Newsweek, Time
4	A Diplomatic Role in Influencing Climate Change	–	Associate Press, Time
5	King's Climate Change Actions Criticised	–	Newsweek, The Washington Post

6	Money to Tackle Climate Change	The Independent	Bloomberg, CNN
7	Green Technology	The Guardian	-
8	Renewable Energy	The Guardian, Reuters	PBS Voice of America
9	Sustainability	The Guardian, The Independent, Sky News	ABC, CBS, The New Yorker, The Washington Post, Time

**Table 3.** The Frames in the Corpus

Let us discuss the findings that are presented in Table 3 by addressing the differences and similarities in the framing and, afterwards, consider how the findings relate to the ecological narratives postulated by Norton and Hulme (2019). As far as the differences and similarities in the framing of King Charles III's climate change-related activities are concerned, it is evident from Table 3 that the leading mass media in the UK and the USA frame them in a fairly similar manner. Specifically, the following frames have been identified both in the American and British news coverages in the corpus: (i) An Advocate for Climate Change Mitigation, (ii) A Challenge to Be Neutral on Climate Change, (iii) A Climate Change-Related Action, (iv) Money to Tackle Climate Change, (v) Renewable Energy, and (vi) Sustainability. Concurrently with these findings, however, it is seen in Table 3 that the framing of King Charles III's climate change-related activities by the leading mass media in the UK and the USA exhibits a country-specific dimension. Namely, the frame Green Technology is found only in the news coverages by the media in the UK (e.g., The Guardian), whereas the frames A Diplomatic Role in Influencing Climate Change and King's Climate Change Actions Criticised are present exclusively in the coverages by their American counterparts.

Continuing the discussion of the similarities in the framing of King Charles III's climate-change related activities by the leading American and British media, it should be pointed out that the qualitatively similar manner of the framing of the issue at hand is far from being uniformly represented by the media in the UK and the USA. In particular, the frame An Advocate for Climate Action is found only in the news coverages by The Independent and Sky News (the UK), whilst it is present in the coverages by a substantial number of American mass media outlets (see Table 3). The frame An Advocate for Climate Action is further illustrated by excerpt (1), which is taken from The New York Times.

- (1) Climate change — a cause close to the king's heart for decades. King Charles made his first major speech about the environment in 1970, at age 21, and in recent years has been an increasingly vocal advocate for climate action. In a speech in France in September, he urged the world to "strive together to protect the world from our most existential challenge of all: that of global warming, climate change and the catastrophic destruction of nature." (Castle 2023)

One important observation should be made in the discussion section as far as the frame An Advocate for Climate Action is concerned. In the course of the corpus analysis,

it has been noted that whilst the frame foregrounds the idea that King Charles III has a reputation of an ardent campaigner for climate change awareness, the American media, in this respect, use the noun phrase “global warming” interchangeably as the synonym for “climate change”. Whereas the use of “global warming” concurrently with “climate change” does not seem to diminish the fact that King Charles III has been campaigning on the issue for several decades, it has, nonetheless, uncovered a USA-specific media spin that involves reporting on the rise of the global temperatures as the result of anthropogenic climate change, which is seen as “global warming”. This finding lends direct support to Good (2008), whose research indicates that the mainstream media in the USA either prefer to use “global warming” in their news coverages on the issue or do so as a synonym of “climate change”.

Just as An Advocate for Climate Action, the frame A Challenge to Be Neutral on Climate Change is present in the British and American media alike. However, this frame is employed, predominantly, in the news coverages by the leading mass media outlets in the USA, particularly, Associated Press, CNN, Fox News, Newsweek, The New York Times, The Washington Post, Time, and Voice of America. This frame is further exemplified by excerpt (2) below.

- (2) His vocal stances on issues including the environment have prompted some criticism that he is departing from constitutional norms which see the royal family remain politically neutral at all times. Charles has repeatedly vowed to remain true to constitutional practices, as recently as this week when he ascended to the throne. But he may not see environmental and conservation causes as overtly political. “He would be very sensitive as a head of state,” predicted Ward. “He must be very careful about being seen to act in a way that might be seen as putting pressure on the government. But I don’t expect him not to speak at all.” (Voice of America 2022)

It should be noted that the frame A Challenge to Be Neutral on Climate Change is not mentioned in the prior studies (Lorenzoni *et al.* 2006; Boykoff/Rajan 2007; Kapranov 2017, 2022, 2023; Gillings/Dayrell 2024; Scheuch *et al.* 2024; Steel *et al.* 2024; Strauss *et al.* 2024). In contrast to his predecessor, Queen Elizabeth II, who was renowned for being neutral on the issue of climate change, King Charles III is widely known to the British public as an outspoken climate change champion (Kapranov 2024). Presumably, the British public at large does not need to be reminded by the media of the challenges associated with King Charles III’s new position as a crowned king, who constitutionally should remain neutral on the issue (Kapranov 2024). Hence, the frame A Challenge to Be Neutral on Climate Change has been found only in the news coverage by Sky News (the UK) in contrast to a number of American media that inform their audiences of the aforementioned specific situation.

In addition to A Challenge to Be Neutral on Climate Change and An Advocate for Climate Action, the findings in Table 3 point to the following frames that are present in the news coverages by the American and British media outlets, namely A Climate Change-Related Action, Money to Tackle Climate Change, Renewable Energy, and Sustainability. In particular, the frame A Climate Change Action, which is found in the coverages by Reuters, The Independent, and The Telegraph in the UK and Bloomberg, Fox News,

Newsweek, and Time on the other side of the Atlantic in the USA, foregrounds (i) King Charles III's climate actions in general, as well as (ii) his appeal to other political leaders to be engaged in climate change-related action, as seen in excerpt (3), which is taken from Reuters.

- (3) In an opening address to the COP28 U.N. climate summit, King Charles told world leaders the dangers of climate change were no longer a distant risk, and urged them to take more action. "I pray with all my heart that COP28 will be another critical turning point towards genuine transformational action," he said, in reference to the 2015 summit held in France. (Cornwell 2023)

Whilst in (3) climate change-related actions are presented in rather general terms, a more specific aspect of King Charles III's climate change-related activities comes to the fore in the frame Money to Tackle Climate Change. The frame is exemplified by excerpt (4) taken from Bloomberg and excerpt (5) from The Independent.

- (4) King Charles III made an impassioned plea for more climate action at the COP28 summit in Dubai, asserting British commitment to combating global warming amid doubts about Prime Minister Rishi Sunak's own green agenda. In a speech that made his long- and strongly held views on climate change plain, the British monarch got specific, especially on finance. Charles called for partnership between public and private sectors and talked about the role the insurance industry can play in mitigating investment risks. (Kennedy 2023)
- (5) The King said that trillions of dollars will be needed to drive the transformation across all facets of society required to tackle the climate crisis and that public finance alone "will never be sufficient". That will mean bringing together the "public, private, philanthropic and the NGO [non-governmental organisation] sectors ever more effectively". (Mishra 2023)

The frame Money to Tackle Climate Change, as illustrated above in (4) and (5), is reflective of the financial aspect that is required in climate change mitigation, as well as other climate change-related actions. This is not a novel frame in the context of climate change discourses in the Anglophone world. In particular, similar framing has been reported in the literature on climate change discourse in the UK (Lorenzoni *et al.* 2006; Boykoff/Rajan 2007; Kapranov 2018a, 2018b, 2023; Gillings/Dayrell 2024; ).

Analogously to Money to Tackle Climate Change, the frame Renewable Energy is found both in American and British news coverages on King Charles III's climate change-related activities. The frame is emblematised by excerpt (6) taken from The Guardian:

- (6) But news that King Charles is converting his chauffeur-driven luxury vehicles to run on biofuels was this week billed as a small step in a bigger plan to reduce emissions – perhaps the equivalent of lesser mortals separating paper from plastic in the weekly rubbish. "The two existing state Bentleys will undergo refurbishment in the coming year to enable them to run on biofuel," said Sir

Michael Stevens, the keeper of the privy purse, adding that it was an interim measure in advance of “the next generation of state vehicles being fully electrified” and part of a “wider plan to make a significant impact on our carbon emissions in the years ahead”. (Sherwood 2024)

Just like the frame Money to Tackle Climate Change, Renewable Energy has been reported in the prior studies, which indicate that it is typical of the British mass media (Lorenzoni *et al.* 2006; Boykoff/Rajan 2007; Kapranov 2017, 2018a, 2018b; Scheuch *et al.* 2024; Gillings/Dayrell 2024; Steel *et al.* 2024; Strauss *et al.* 2024). It should be noted that the framing of King Charles III's climate change-related activities is also seen by the media through the lens of a rather cognate frame to Renewable Energy, namely Sustainability. This frame is exemplified by excerpt (7) taken from ABS.

- (7) King Charles III has been vocal about his passion for sustainability for decades. King Charles III wants to protect the planet for future generations -- a passion he highlighted during the six decades he spent as monarch-in-waiting. Now it is abundantly clear what Charles wishes to accomplish during his time as monarch, experts say. (Jacobco 2023)

In terms of the relation of Sustainability to the literature, it should be borne in mind that the framing of climate change through the prism of sustainable development, education for sustainable development, and corporate responsibility is sufficiently elucidated in a number of prior studies (Kapranov 2022; Scheuch *et al.* 2024; Steel *et al.* 2024). In conjunction with the frame Sustainability, as well as Renewable Energy, we may argue that they form a rather recurrent dyad of frames that are employed by the Anglophone mass media as far as their coverages of the issue of climate change are concerned.

In contrast to the aforementioned frames, however, the frame King's Climate Change Actions Criticised is novel, since its presence has not so far been reported in the published studies. Another novel aspect of this finding involves the fact that the frame King's Climate Change Actions Criticised is not found in the coverages by the British mass media. However, the American media, specifically, The Washington Post (see excerpt (8)) and Newsweek (see excerpt (9)) report that King Charles III's climate change-related actions are thought to be insufficient and hypocritical:

- (8) He has also been criticized for what his detractors call a double standard, living a life of wealth and privilege, flying on private planes while opining on the need to cut down on carbon emissions. He has refused to allow wind turbines in the Duchy of Cornwall, calling them a “horrendous blot on the landscape.” (Quinn 2023).
- (9) In October 2022, one month after taking the throne following the death of Queen Elizabeth, Charles' waxwork model at Madame Tussauds, a London visitor attraction, was targeted by protesters from the Just Stop Oil group. Two members of the group stepped over barriers where Charles' waxwork was on



display with other members of the royal family and pushed cake into its face before condemning the U.K. government's stance on the oil industry. (Crawford-Smith 2023)

It follows both from (8) and (9) that the American mass media foreground the negative reaction to King Charles III's climate change-related activities by the British climate activists, who not only point to his double standards as in (8), but also protest against his tacit approval of international fossil fuel corporations as in (9). It should be noted that the British mainstream mass media actually cover climate change protest movements regularly (Scheuch *et al.* 2024), typically assigning a negative tonality to such environmental groups, as Just Stop Oil. However, we do not observe any negative coverages by the mainstream British media as far as King Charles III's climate change activities are concerned.

In addition to the USA-specific frame King's Climate Change Actions Criticised, one more frame is found exclusively in the American mass media, namely A Diplomatic Role in Influencing Climate Change. This frame is illustrated by excerpt (10) taken from Time:

- (10) There are two key areas where King Charles III may use his role to fight for the climate. First, he will play a key diplomatic role. Since few business and government leaders will refuse an invitation to Buckingham Palace, he will be able to convene – as he has already done as Prince – powerful players in the energy transition. He will also play a key role in the hosting of state visits for foreign leaders. In theory, that gives him the opportunity to at least try to find common ground on the environment in conversation with foreign dignitaries. (Nugent 2022)

Presumably, the absence of the frame A Diplomatic Role in Influencing Climate Change in the coverages by the British media is explained by the British general public's awareness of King Charles III role as a monarch, who partakes in numerous international meetings, attends international venues, and travels abroad in order to represent the UK on the diplomatic level.

Having illustrated the frames summarised in Table 3, as well as having discussed their relationship with the existing body of literature, let us examine them from the vantage point of the ecolinguistic approach proposed by Norton and Hulme (2019). To reiterate, there are four climate change narratives according to Norton and Hulme (2019), namely (i) Lukewarmer, (ii) Ecoactivist, (iii) Smart Growth Reformer, and (iv) Ecomodernist. Based upon Norton and Hulme (2019), it can be posited that neither British nor America mass media outlets frame King Charles III's climate change-related activities via the Lukewarmer narrative. Indeed, the corpus does not show any explicit references to King Charles III as a climate change denier, or a person who casts doubt on the anthropogenic nature of climate change. On the contrary, both the American and British mass media in the corpus seem to share a common framing of King Charles III as a royal figure who is deeply passionate about the environment and climate change mitigation.

In light of Norton and Hulme's (2019) definition, we may argue that the Ecoactivist ecological narrative corresponds, partially, to the frames (i) An Advocate for Climate



Change Mitigation, (ii) A Challenge to Be Neutral on Climate Change, and (iii) A Climate Change-Related Action, which are present both in the American and British mainstream media. Moreover, the frame A Diplomatic Role in Influencing Climate Change, which has been identified exclusively in the American mass media (cf., *Associate Press* and *Time*), also bears the mark of the Ecoactivist ecological narrative. On this point, it should be emphasised that the correlation of the aforementioned frames with the Ecoactivist narrative takes into account King Charles III's statements, excerpts of his speeches, as well as the journalists' comments, which indicate that King Charles III as an ecoactivist is deeply concerned with an ever-increasing consumerism that exacerbates the already precarious situation with climate change. His concerns, according to the mainstream American and British media, are reflected in his public speeches on climate change, in which he warns the public of the catastrophic proportions of climate change. Arguably, the frame King's Climate Change Actions Criticised, which is found in the news coverages by the American media *Newsweek* and *The Washington Post*, can also be subsumed under the aegis of the Ecoactivist narrative, given that the frame involves a focus on climate change activism and points out that the level of activism is either insufficient or that the activism itself is dubious and hypocritical.

Whilst King Charles III's climate change-related activities can be described in terms of the frames that pertain to the Ecoactivist narrative, there are several frames, in particular, Money to Tackle Climate Change, Green Technology, Renewable Energy, and Sustainability, which allow us to draw parallels between them and the ecological narrative Smart Growth Reformer. These frames and, first of all, Money to Tackle Climate Change subscribe to the Smart Growth Reformer's focus on the market mechanisms in mitigating the negative consequences of climate change. In addition, the frames Green Technology, Renewable Energy, and Sustainability seem to be congenial to the Smart Growth Reformer's positive outlook on the involvement of green technology and clean energy that are associated with a low-carbon economy. Furthermore, it follows from the frame Sustainability that King Charles III's climate change-related activities are framed in unison with the Smart Growth Reformer's ethos of market regulations that facilitate a sustainable low-carbon economy.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

The article introduced and discussed a qualitative study on the framing of King Charles III's climate change-related activities by the leading mass media in the UK and the USA. The study revealed several frames that reflected, to an extent, a country-specific dimension of the framing of his climate change-related activities. In particular, it was found that the frames A Diplomatic Role in Influencing Climate Change and King's Climate Change Actions Criticised were employed by the American mass media, whereas the frame Green Technology was used exclusively by only one British mass media outlet.

Furthermore, the frames in the study were analysed through the prism of Norton and Hulme's (2019) ecological narratives. It was established that the frames (i) An Advocate for Climate Change Mitigation, (ii) A Challenge to Be Neutral on Climate Change, (iii) A Climate Change-Related Action, and (iv) King's Climate Change Actions Criticised correlated with the Ecoactivist ecological narrative (Norton/Hulme 2019), whilst the

frames (v) Money to Tackle Climate Change, (vi) Green Technology, (vii) Renewable Energy, and (viii) Sustainability were shown to fit with the ecological narrative Smart Growth Reformer. The findings could be argued to represent the way the mainstream mass media in the UK and the USA framed King Charles III's climate change-related activities, which in the broad sense of Norton and Hulme's (2019) ecological narrative could be described as an ecoactivist's climate change agenda, which was coupled with a market-driven reformist approach.

In addition to uncovering how King Charles III's climate change-activities were framed and how they corresponded to a broader picture afforded by Norton and Hulme's (2019) narratives, the study brought to the surface a rather common media space of American and British coverages of King Charles III's climate change activities, which could be argued to form a strikingly similar set of frames on the issue.

## REFERENCES

- Boykoff, M. T. and R. S. Rajan. 2007. Signals and Noise: Mass-media Coverage of Climate Change in the USA and the UK. *EMBO Reports* 8(3), 207–211. <https://doi.org/10.1038/sj.embor.7400924>
- Carta, C. and R. Wodak. 2015. Discourse Analysis, Policy Analysis, and the Borders of EU Identity. *Journal of Language and Politics* 14(1), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.14.1.01car>
- Carvalho, A. 2007. Ideological Cultures and Media Discourses on Scientific Knowledge: Re-reading News on Climate Change. *Public Understanding of Science* 16(2), 223–243. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963662506066775>
- Castle, S. 2023. King Charles III, Climate Advocate, Delivers Speech at Odds with His Beliefs. [Internet]. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/07/world/europe/kings-speech-charles-uk.html> [01.10.2024].
- Coleman, R. et al. 2024. Reaching Science Sceptics: How Adaptive Framing of Climate Change Leads to Positive Responses via Persuasion Knowledge and Perceived Behavioral Control. *Communication Research* 51(4), 392–414. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00936502221084925>
- Cornwell, A. 2023. Britain's King Charles Urges Rapid Environmental Repair in COP28 Speech. [Internet]. Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/world/britains-king-charles-push-global-action-climate-cop28-speech-2023-12-01/> [01.10.2024].
- Crawford-Smith, J. 2023. How King Charles III Has Become a Target for Climate Change Protesters. [Internet]. Available at: <https://www.newsweek.com/king-charles-target-climate-change-protest-1815716> [01.10.2024].
- Döring, M. 2017. Media Reports about Natural Disasters: An Ecolinguistic Perspective. In A. F. Fill and H. Penz (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Ecolinguistics*. London: Routledge, 293–308. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315687391>
- Entman, R. M. 1993. Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication* 43(4), 51–58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x>
- Entman, R. M. 2010. Framing Media Power. In P. D'Angelo and J. A. Kuypers (eds.) *Doing News Framing Analysis*. New York: Routledge, 347–371.

- Fløttum, K. 2019. A Cross-Disciplinary Perspective on Climate Change Discourse. In I. Simonnæs, Ø. Andersen and K. Schubert (eds.) *New Challenges for Research on Language for Special Purposes*. Berlin: Frand & Timme, 21–37.
- Fløttum, K., D. Gasper and A. L. S. Clair. 2016. Synthesizing a Policy-Relevant Perspective from the Three IPCC “Worlds” — A Comparison of Topics and Frames in the SPMs of the Fifth Assessment Report. *Global Environmental Change* 38, 118–129. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2016.03.007>
- Fløttum, K. and Ø. Gjerstad. 2017. Narratives in Climate Change Discourse. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change* 8(1), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.429>
- Gavin, N. T., L. Leonard-Milsom and J. Montgomery. 2011. Climate Change, Flooding and the Media in Britain. *Public Understanding of Science* 20(3), 422–438. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963662509353377>
- Gillings, M. and C. Dayrell. 2024. Climate Change in the UK Press: Examining Discourse Fluctuation over Time. *Applied Linguistics* 45(1), 111–133. <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amad007>
- Good, J. E. 2008. The Framing of Climate Change in Canadian, American, and International Newspapers: A Media Propaganda Model Analysis. *Canadian Journal of Communication* 33(2), 233–256. <https://doi.org/10.22230/cjc.2008v33n2a2017>
- Hale, T. 2024. *Long Problems: Climate Change and the Challenge of Governing across Time*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hulme, M. and J. Turnpenny. 2004. Understanding and Managing Climate Change: the UK Experience. *Geographical Journal* 170(2), 105–115. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0016-7398.2004.00112.x>
- Jacobo, J. 2023. This Is Why Charles III Will Be Known As the 1st Climate King. [Internet]. Available at: <https://abcnews.go.com/International/charles-iii-1st-climate-king-experts/story?id=89749798> [01.10.2024].
- Kalajžič, V., M. Ražnjević Zdrilić and D. Jontes. 2022. Between Denial and Celebritization: Online Media Coverage of Climate Change in Slovenia and Croatia. *Medijska istraživanja: znanstveno-Stručni časopis za novinarstvo i medije* 28(1), 31–53. <https://doi.org/10.22572/mi.28.1.2>
- Kapranov, O. 2015a. Conceptual Metaphors in Ukrainian Prime Ministers’ Discourse Involving Renewables. *Topics in Linguistics* 16(1), 4–16. <https://doi.org/10.2478/topling-2015-0007>
- Kapranov, O. 2015b. Do International Corporations Speak in One Voice on the Issue of Global Climate Change: The Case of British Petroleum and The Royal Dutch Shell Group. In C. Can, A. Kilimci and K. Papaja (eds.) *Social Sciences and Humanities: A Global Perspective*. Ankara: Detay Yayıncılık, 306–322.
- Kapranov, O. 2016. The Framing of Serbia’s EU Accession by the British Foreign Office on Twitter. *Tekst i Diskurs — Text und Diskurs* 9(9), 67–80.
- Kapranov, O. 2017. The Framing of Climate-Change Discourse by Shell and the Framing of Shell’s Climate Change-Related Activities by the Economist and the Financial Times. *Bergen Language and Linguistics Studies* 7, 55–69. <https://doi.org/10.15845/bells.v7i0.1088>

- Kapranov, O. 2018a. Conceptual Metaphors Associated with Climate Change. In R. Augustyn and A. Mierzwinska-Hajnos (eds.) *New Insights into the Language and Cognition Interface*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 51–66.
- Kapranov, O. 2018b. Shell's Image of Climate Change and Its Representations in the British Financial Press. In G. E. Garzone and W. Giordano (eds.) *Discourse, Communication and the Enterprise: Where Business Meets Language*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 392–409.
- Kapranov, O. 2018c. The Framing of an EFL Primary School Teacher's Identity by Norwegian Pre-Service Primary School Teachers. *Konińskie Studia Językowe* 6(3), 329–351.
- Kapranov, O. 2022. The Syntax of Climate Change: Syntactic Means in the Construction of Greta Thunberg's Community Identity on Facebook. *Studia UBB Philologia* 67(4), 15–33. <https://doi.org/10.24193/subbphilolo.2022.4.01>
- Kapranov, O. 2023. Throwing Soup at Van Gogh: The Framing of Art in Climate Change Activism by British Mass Media. *Discourses on Culture* 19(1), 175–200. <https://doi.org/10.2478/doc-2023-0008>
- Kapranov, O. 2024. Self-Mentions in Climate Change Discourse by King Charles III. *Journal of Contemporary Philology* 7(1), 29–46. <https://doi.org/10.37834/JCP2471029k>
- Kennedy, W. 2023. King Charles Urges Action to Slow World's Descent into Danger. [Internet]. Available at: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2023-12-01/king-charles-urges-action-to-slow-world-s-descent-into-danger> [01.10.2024].
- Koteyko, N. and D. Atanasova. 2016. Metaphor and the Representation of Scientific Issues: Climate Change in Print and Online Media. In E. Semino and Z. Demjén (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Metaphor and Language*. London: Routledge, 314–326.
- Kwaśniewska, M. 2024. *Between Nature and Culture: Ecolinguistics in the Context of Climate Discussion*. Leiden: Brill.
- LeVasseur, T. 2015. Defining "Ecolinguistics?": Challenging Emic Issues in an Evolving Environmental Discipline. *Journal of Environmental Studies and Sciences* 5, 21–28. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13412-014-0198-4>
- Lorenzoni, I. et al. 2006. Cross-National Comparisons of Image Associations with "Global Warming" and "Climate Change" among Laypeople in the United States of America and Great Britain. *Journal of Risk Research* 9(03), 265–281. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13669870600613658>
- Ma, C. and A. Stibbe. 2022. The Search for New Stories to Live By: A Summary of Ten Ecolinguistics Lectures Delivered by Arran Stibbe. *Journal of World Languages* 8(1), 164–187. <https://doi.org/10.1515/jwl-2021-0031>
- Mishra, S. 2023. King Charles Tells Cop28 Summit "Hope of the World" Rests on Dubai Climate Talks. [Internet]. Available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/climate-change/news/king-charles-cop28-speech-dubai-b2456659.html> [01.10.2024].
- Nerlich, B. and R. Jaspal. 2024. Mud, Metaphors and Politics: Meaning-Making during the 2021 German Floods. *Environmental Values* 33(3), 329–349. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09632719231177511>
- Norton, C. and M. Hulme. 2019. Telling One Story, or Many? An Ecolinguistic Analysis of Climate Change Stories in UK National Newspaper Editorials. *Geoforum* 104, 114–136. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2019.01.017>

- Nugent, C. 2022. Climate Change Could Strain Relations Between King Charles III and U.K. Prime Minister Liz Truss. [Internet]. Available at: <https://time.com/6212796/king-charles-iii-climate-change-liz-truss/> [01.10.2024].
- Penz, H. and A. Fill. 2022. Ecolinguistics: History, Today, and Tomorrow. *Journal of World Languages* 8(2), 232–253. <https://doi.org/10.1515/jwl-2022-0008>
- Quinn, S. 2023. How King Charles Can Make Himself Relevant. [Internet]. Available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2023/05/01/king-charles-climate-change-environment/> [01.10.2024].
- Robbins, D. 2018. *Game of Frames: The Competition to Establish the Dominant Framing of Climate Change among Journalists, Ministers and Political Advisors*. Dublin: Dublin City University.
- Scheuch, E. G. et al. 2024. The Power of Protest in the Media: Examining Portrayals of Climate Activism in UK News. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications* 11(1), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1515/jwl-2022-0008>
- Sherwood, H. 2024. “A Real Pioneer”: King Charles Seeks to Embody Green Values in Royal Estate. [Internet]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/article/2024/jul/27/king-charles-royal-family-bentleys-green-sustainability-environment> [01.10.2024].
- Steel, D., K. Mintz-Woo and T. DesRoches. 2024. Collapse, Social Tipping Dynamics, and Framing Climate Change. *Politics, Philosophy & Economics* 23(3), 230–251. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1470594X231196432>
- Stibbe, A. 2004. Environmental Education across Cultures: Beyond the Discourse of Shallow Environmentalism. *Language & Intercultural Communication* 4(4), 242–260. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14708470408668875>
- Stibbe, A. 2014. An Ecolinguistic Approach to Critical Discourse Studies. *Critical Discourse Studies* 11(1), 117–128. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2013.845789>
- Stibbe, A. 2015. *Ecolinguistics: Language, Ecology and the Stories We Live by*. London: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315718071>
- Stibbe, A. 2021. Ecolinguistics as a Transdisciplinary Movement and a Way of Life. In A. Burkette and T. Warhol (eds.) *Crossing Borders, Making Connections: Interdisciplinarity in Linguistics*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 71–88. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501514371>
- Stickel, M.-T. 2020. Long May He (not) Reign? Literary Depictions of a “Meddling” Future Monarch. In C. Jordan and I. Poland (eds.) *Realms of Royalty. New Directions in Researching Contemporary European Monarchies*. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 149–168.
- Strauss, N. et al. 2024. Reporting on the 2019 European Heatwaves and Climate Change: Journalists’ Attitudes, Motivations and Role Perceptions. In R. E. Gutsche, Jr. and J. Pinto (eds.) *Journalism and Reporting Synergistic Effects of Climate Change*. London: Routledge, 226–249. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781032627526>
- Voice of America. 2022. The Green King: Charles the Environmentalist. [Internet]. Available at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/the-green-king-charles-the-environmentalist-/6739925.html> [01.10.2024].
- Weathers, M. R. and B. E. Kendall. 2016. Developments in the Framing of Climate Change as a Public Health Issue in US Newspapers. *Environmental Communication* 10(5), 593–611. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17524032.2015.1050436>

- Wright, C. and D. Nyberg. 2022. The Roles of Celebrities in Public Disputes: Climate Change and the Great Barrier Reef. *Journal of Management Studies* 59(7), 1788–1816. <https://doi.org/10.1111/joms.12800>
- Žagar, I. 2010. Topoi in Critical Discourse Analysis. *Lodz Papers in Pragmatics* 6(1), 3–27. <https://doi.org/10.2478/v10016-010-0002-1>
- Žagar, I. 2017. Fallacies: Do We “Employ” Them or “Commit” Them? The Case of Discourse-Historical Approach. *Solsko Polje* 28(1/2), 151–202.

## SUMMARY

### AN ECOLINGUISTIC APPROACH TO THE FRAMING OF KING CHARLES III'S CLIMATE CHANGE-RELATED ACTIVITIES BY THE LEADING AMERICAN AND BRITISH MEDIA

Building upon an ecolinguistic approach to climate change (Norton/Hulme 2019), the article presents a study that seeks to identify and analyse the way mainstream American and British mass media frame climate change-related activities by King Charles III, the current reigning British monarch, who is known for his active stance on the issue of climate change. In addition to the ecolinguistic framework, the methodology in the study was based upon the construal of framing in media discourse. The study sought to (i) identify the media frames in American and British media coverages of King Charles III's climate change-related activities and (ii) discuss the frames through the lens of an ecolinguistic approach postulated by Norton and Hulme (2019). The study established that the leading American and British mass media framed King Charles III's climate change-related activities via a similar set of frames, such (i) An Advocate for Climate Change Mitigation, (ii) A Challenge to Be Neutral on Climate Change, (iii) A Climate Change-Related Action, (iv) Money to Tackle Climate Change, (v) Renewable Energy, and (vi) Sustainability. The findings were further interpreted in the article through the prism of Norton and Hulme's (2019) ecolinguistic approach.

**KEYWORDS:** climate change discourse, ecolinguistics, framing, King Charles III, media and communication.

#### ARTICLE INFO:

Original research article

Received: October 25, 2024

Revised: December 4, 2024

Accepted: December 4, 2024





DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18485/philologia.2024.22.22.4>

UDC: 37.091.64:811.163.41

811.163.41'243

## ■ PRIRUČNICI INOSTRANIH UNIVERZITETA I ZAVODA U NASTAVI SRPSKOG KAO STRANOG JEZIKA NAKON DRUGOG SVETSKOG RATA

**ALEKSANDAR M. NOVAKOVIĆ<sup>1</sup>**

Univerzitet u Nišu

Filozofski fakultet

Niš, Srbija

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7620-5964>

U radu se analiziraju inostrani digitalni bibliotečki fondovi u potrazi za priručnicima koji su objavljeni u periodu nakon Drugog svetskog rata sa ciljem stvaranja jedinstvenog registra onih priručnika koji dosada nisu našli svoje mesto u bibliografijama radova, ali i sagledavanja njihovog mesta i uloge u tadašnjoj nastavi srpskog kao stranog jezika. Korišćena je metoda teorijske analize sa tehnikom analize sadržaja. Rezultati istraživanja su nam pokazali da se period sedamdesetih, osamdesetih i devedesetih godina XX veka može smatrati najproduktivnijim na polju kreiranja i objavljivanja udžbeničkog materijala. Osim udžbenika i gramatika, kao najvažnijim jedinicama udžbeničkog kompleta, poseban značaj pridavan je objavljivanju različitih vrsta rečnika sa priručničkom ulogom – slikovnih rečnika, rečnika (raz)govornog jezika i rečnika najfrekventnijih reči i izraza, koji su se odlikovali specifičnim didaktičko-metodičkim oblikovanjem. Mahom su publikovani na zapadnoevropskim i američkim univerzitetima, zavodima i školama za potrebe realizacije nastave na kursevima srpskohrvatskog kao stranog jezika, ali ima i onih koji su bili namenjeni putnicima kroz srpske krajeve koji su želeli da se sporazumeju sa domicilnim srpskim stanovništvom.

Ključne reči: srpski kao strani jezik, bibliotečki fondovi, udžbenički komplet, priručnici, rečnici.

### 1. UVOD

Pitanje postojanja kvalitetnog udžbenika i prpratnih jedinica oduvek je privlačilo pažnju metodičara nastave, istraživača i nastavnika-praktičara. Od njihovog kvaliteta zavisi uspešnost u učenju i savladavanju programom predviđenog gradiva. Istorijski razvitak metodike nastave srpskog kao stranog jezika pokazuje nam da je pitanje postojanja kvalitetnog udžbeničkog kompleta direktno bilo uslovljeno društveno-političkim pitanjima koja su u datom trenutku bila aktuelna. Tako su srpski jezik, nakon

---

1 Kontakt podaci (E-mail): [aleksandar.novakovic@filfak.ni.ac.rs](mailto:aleksandar.novakovic@filfak.ni.ac.rs)



pada Despotovine, učili sultani, oblasni zapovednici, velikodostojnici i janičari, jer je, kako beleži profesor Pavle Ivić (1998: 65), „pisanje srpskim jezikom [...] dostiglo geografsku raširenost kakva nije zabeležena ni ranije ni kasnije”. Tom prilikom su koristili višejezične udžbenike, od kojih se jedan takav čuva u biblioteci džamije Sulejmanija (Marinković 2010). Možda nam o značaju udžbeničkog kompleta najbolje svedoči slučaj Dimitrija Vladislavljevića, savremenika i prijatelja Vuka S. Karadžića, koji je dvadeset i dve godine pisao gramatiku srpskog jezika za Italijane, nadajući se da će ona uspešno odgovoriti potrebama učenika s kraja osamnaestog i početkom devetnaestog veka (Novaković 2024a). Ipak, pitanje postojanja kvalitetnih jedinica udžbeničkog kompleta posebno je bilo aktuelno tokom XX veka, kada je „srpskohrvatski jezik imao dobar status” i „na brojnim katedrama bio na drugom mestu, odmah iza ruskog jezika, koji je s pravom imao primat” (Brborić 2018: 23). Analiza „Bibliografije jugoslovenskih radova o srpskohrvatskom jeziku kao stranom (1960–1990)” profesorke Vesne Krajišnik (1992) pokazuje da je tokom navedenog perioda objavljeno više desetina udžbeničkih jedinica koje su decenijama korišćene u nastavnoj praksi.

Posebnu ulogu u bivšoj jugoslovenskoj državi na polju pisanja priručnika imali su Institut za strane jezike i Međunarodni slavistički centar, čiji su udžbenici za učenje srpskog kao stranog jezika dobili status kulturnih. Osim što su se koristili tokom više decenija, najnovija istraživanja pokazuju da se u nastavnoj praksi (zahvaljujući svom kvalitetu) neretko koriste i dan-danas (Novaković 2024v: 23). Analizirajući njihovu strukturu, didaktičko-metodičko oblikovanje i mesto u nastavi srpskog kao stranog jezika, Đorđe Otašević (2014: 25) ističe da među njima ima „mnogo toga – i dobrog, i odličnog”. Osim domaćih izdavača i autora, pitanjem pripremanja i objavljivanja nastavnih materijala (udžbenika, gramatika, radnih svezaka i ostalih priručnika) bavili su se i univerziteti, instituti i mnoge druge institucije iz inostranstva. Posebno su na tom polju bile aktivne zapadnoevropske države i Sjedinjene Američke Države, koje su ulagale velika finansijska sredstva u razvijanje studija slovenskih jezika, i to ne iz, kako ističe Davor Nikolić (2013: 29), „ljubavi prema slovenskim jezicima”, već iz političkih razloga „da se i u vrijeme najvećih podjela Istoka i Zapada pronađe način da Zapad ima dojam da kontrolira Istok”. Zahvaljujući takvoj aktivnosti, napisano je i objavljeno više desetina jedinica udžbeničkog kompleta, koje su (javno i/ili tajno) korišćene u nastavnoj praksi.

## 2. METODOLOŠKE POSTAVKE ISTRAŽIVANJA

### 2.1. PREDMET I CILJ ISTRAŽIVANJA

Bavljenje nastavom srpskog kao stranog jezika obavezuje nas da konstantno pratimo razvoj jedinica udžbeničkog kompleta, koji nam svojom sadržinom i didaktičko-metodičkim oblikovanjem mogu pomoći u ostvarivanju postavljenih ciljeva. U više naučnih radova i studija metodičari nastave i istraživači – Otašević 2014; Đorđević 2017; Novaković 2022 – sagledali su aktuelne udžbenike, priručnike i ostale nastavne materijale sačinjene i objavljene za potrebe realizacije nastave srpskog jezika za strance. Svoju pažnju su usmerili ka onim jedinicama udžbeničkog kompleta koje su objavljene krajem XX i početkom XXI veka, jer se pretpostavlja da one na najbolji mogući način mogu odgovoriti izazovima savremene nastave srpskog kao stranog jezika. Nastavna praksa

svedoči da u novije vreme poseban status imaju moderna nastavna sredstva, kakva su elektronski interaktivni udžbenici i testovi, podkasti i objave na društvenim mrežama (Novaković 2024b: 3). Njihov broj se iz dana u dan uvećava, što je rezultat očiglednog porasta broja zainteresovanih istraživača i nastavnika-praktičara za ovom vrstom nastave. Međutim, u težnji da nastavu osavremenimo neretko zaboravljamo potrebu da se podsetimo (i upoznamo) sa rezultatima prethodnih generacija predavača srpskog kao stranog jezika kao modelima i uzorima koje bismo i sami mogli slediti. Aleksandar Novaković (2024v: 9) period od 1945. do 1986. godine naziva *zlatim dobom* metodike nastave srpskog kao stranog jezika, ukazujući na dostignuća koja su uticala da se ona izdvoji u samosvojnu naučnu disciplinu. Do današnjih dana mladom metodičaru nastave i nastavniku bilo je veoma teško da razume dešavanja koja su do toga dovela, posebno zato što nisu postojali naširoko dostupni pisani tragovi i svedočanstva. Zahvaljujući procesima digitalizacije bibliotečkih fondova širom Evrope i sveta, u prilici smo da se upoznamo sa onim delom udžbeničke građe koja nam je, usled geografske udaljenosti, decenijama bila nepoznata. Reč je o priručnicima (i udžbenicima) koji su publikovani na inostranim univerzitetima, institutima i zavodima radi učenja srpsko(hrvatsko)g kao stranog jezika. S obzirom na činjenicu da smo u prethodnim istraživanjima posebnu pažnju usmerili ka analizi udžbenika i gramatika, predmet ovoga rada je analiza inostranih digitalnih bibliotečkih fondova u potrazi za ostalim vrstama priručnika koji su objavljivani u periodu nakon Drugog svetskog rata.<sup>2</sup> Cilj rada je pravljenje jedinstvenog registra onih priručnika koji dosada nisu našli svoje mesto u bibliografijama radova, kao i sagledavanje njihovog mesta i uloge u tadašnjoj nastavi srpskog kao stranog jezika.

## 2.2. ZADACI ISTRAŽIVANJA

U skladu sa definisanim predmetom i ciljem istraživanja izdvojili smo sledeće istraživačke zadatke:

1. Izdvojiti digitalizovane priručnike objavljene u periodu od Drugog svetskog rata do 1986. godine za potrebe realizacije nastave srpskohrvatskog kao stranog jezika.
2. Analizirati sadržaj svih popisanih priručnika.

## 2.3. METODE, TEHNIKE, INSTRUMENTI I UZORAK ISTRAŽIVANJA

U skladu sa definisanim predmetom, ciljem i postavljenim zadacima istraživanja koristili smo metodu teorijske analize sa tehnikom analize sadržaja. Građu za istraživanje činilo je sedam priručnika za učenje srpsko(hrvatsko)g kao stranog jezika dostupni u inostranim bibliotečkim fondovima i digitalnim repozitorijumima. Istraživanje je sprovedeno sredinom septembra 2024. godine.

## 3. ANALIZA REZULTATA ISTRAŽIVANJA

Istraživanje digitalnih bibliotečkih fondova nam je pokazalo da se decenije nakon Drugog svetskog rata mogu smatrati najproduktivnijim periodom na polju kreiranja i objavljivanja udžbeničkog materijala za učenje srpskog kao stranog jezika.<sup>3</sup> Metodičari

---

2 Autor ovoga članka će svoju pažnju usmeriti ka priručnicima, jer je u drugim radovima već ranije sagledao mesto i funkciju udžbenika i gramatika objavljenih u navedenom periodu.

3 Analiza inostranih bibliotečkih fondova pokazuje da se srpski jezik učio sa nesmanjenim interesovanjem i

nastave, istraživači, lektori i nastavnici-praktičari predano su svoj stvaralački rad usmerili ka pripremi i publikovanju nastavnog materijala za potrebe razvoja reproduktivnih i produktivnih veština upotrebe srpskohrvatskog jezika za obavljanje svakodnevnih životnih i poslovnih aktivnosti.<sup>4</sup> Osim udžbenika i gramatika srpskohrvatskog jezika, kao najvažnijim jedinicama udžbeničkog kompleta, poseban udeo imali su ostali priručnici – vodiči i različite vrste rečnika, čija je funkcija bila da na brz, jednostavan i efikasan način pomognu polaznicima raznih tečajeva srpskohrvatskog jezika i turistima da se snađu na srpskom govornom području. Usmeravajući svoju pažnju i energiju ka praktičnim rezultatima, objavljeno je više priručnika koji se, bez obzira na vremensku distancu, bez problema (shodno svom univerzalnom karakteru) i dan-danas mogu koristiti. Praktični karakter ovih priručnika se najuverljivije može prikazati analizom publikacije *Srpskohrvatski* (eng. *Serbo-Croat*), objavljene 1983. godine u Centru za informisanje o učenju i istraživanju jezika.<sup>5</sup> Navedeni priručnik predstavlja svojevrsni vodič kroz svet srpskohrvatskog jezika i kulture, u kome se na jasan i pregledan način nastavnicima, učenicima, službenicima, bibliotekarima ukazuje na (tada) raspoložive resurse za učenje srpskohrvatskog kao stranog jezika.<sup>6</sup> Priručnik su sačinili zaposleni u Školi za slovenske i istočnoevropske studije Univerziteta u Londonu na čelu sa Monikom Partridž. U priručniku se kroz deset odeljaka predstavlja istorijat razvoja srpskohrvatskog jezika, dostupni resursi za učenje jezika (uključujući udžbenike i priručnike, centre za učenje i studiranje srpskohrvatskog jezika, radio-kanale, biblioteke i prodajne objekte, distributere filmova i istraživačke centre). Uvid u sadržaj ovog priručnika (posebno u odeljak o priručnicima u nastavi) pružio nam je dodatnu sigurnost u kvalitet realizovanog istraživačkog rada u pronalaženju digitalizovanih verzija priručnika. Osim udžbenika i gramatika, važno mesto na polju udžbeničke produkcije činile su različite vrste rečnika<sup>7</sup>: slikovni i „džepni” rečnici, rečnici svakodnevnih izraza. Irina Ivanova (2018: 487) posebno ukazuje na važnost rečnika u realizaciji nastave srpskog kao stranog jezika, jer je njihova uloga kao priručnika u domenu usvajanja leksičkog nivoa nezamenljiva. Svi oni su imali karakter priručnika „za preživljavanje”, odnosno sticanje osnovnih znanja o srpsko(hrvatsko) m jeziku i njihovoj primeni u stvarnim životnim situacijama na srpskom govornom području: „Rečnici su upravo takve knjige iz kojih učenici treba da se osposobljavaju za samostalno učenje, za samostalno traganje za istinama o sebi i svetu u kome žive” (Cvijetić 1981: 273).

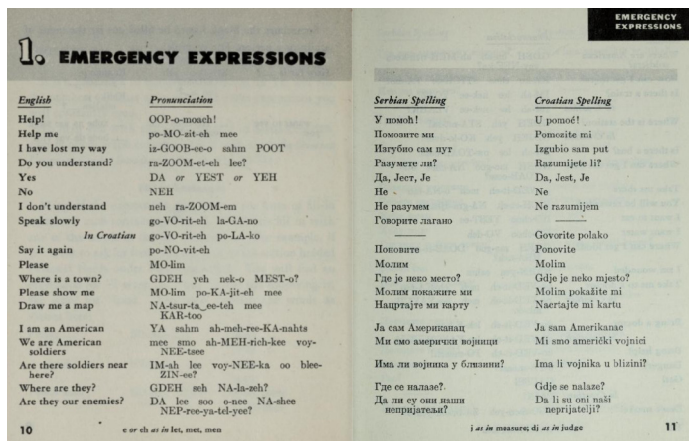
---

u godinama nakon pobeđe Vukove reforme. O tome najbolje svedoči *Pojednostavljena gramatika srpskog jezika* (eng. *Simplified Grammar of the Serbian Language*) Viliijama Ričarda Morfila, objavljena u Londonu davne 1887. godine.

- 4 O interesovanju za srpskohrvatskim jezikom možda najbolje svedoči činjenica da su autori prevodili čak i srpske narodne pesme. Takvi su priručnici pod nazivom *Princ Marko: srpskohrvatske junačke pesme* (eng. *Marko the Prince: Serbo-Croat heroic songs*, <http://skr.rs/zfV7>), odnosno *Srpskohrvatske narodne pesme* (eng. *Serbo-Croatian Folk Songs*, <http://skr.rs/zfV6>).
- 5 Priručnik je digitalizovan i može se preuzeti sa sledeće veb-adrese: <http://skr.rs/zfZa>. U ovom radu je analiziran priručnik iz 1983. godine.
- 6 Priručnik je nastajao u periodu od 1980. do 1982. godine.
- 7 „Rečnik je lingvističko delo u kome se popisuje i tumači leksički fond jednog jezika ili deo tog fonda, što će zavistiti od namene, odnosno tipa rečnika” (Ristić 2001: 85).

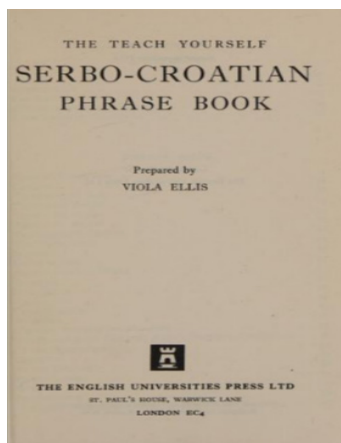


U predgovoru priručnika polaznici tečajeva se upoznaju sa osnovnim osobinama srpskohrvatskog jezika, kao i jezičkim prilikama: „Ponekad ćete čuti da ljudi označavaju srpski i hrvatski kao dva potpuno različita jezika, ali je razlika među njima manja od razlike između britanskog i američkog engleskog jezika”. Sastavljači priručnika ukazuju na njegovu funkcionalnost time što tvrde da će biti od koristi u bilo kom delu Jugoslavije, posebno zato što sadrži reči i izraze koji će polaznicima biti neophodni i važni u komunikaciji sa domicilnim stanovništvom. Zato im preporučuju da se upoznaju sa sadržajem priručnika, kako bi u praksi jednostavnije i brže mogli da se u njemu snađu. Sadržaj priručnika čini trinaest celina u kojima je predstavljena leksika neophodna za snalaženje u različitim životnim situacijama – 1. *Izrazi opasnosti*, 2. *Osnovni izrazi – pozdravljanje, postavljanje pitanja, razgovor o pojedincu, hijerarhija i organizacija*, 3. *Lične potrebe – hrana i piće, smeštaj, medicinska pomoć, kupovina i lične usluge*, 4. *Lokacija i tereni – lokacija, razdaljina, priroda terena*, 5. *Putevi i transport*, 6. *Komunikacija – radio i telefon, brojevi, telegraf, pošta*, 7. *Izviđanje*, 8. *Sletanje aviona*, 9. *Brojevi, veličina, vreme, slova – iznos, redni brojevi, veličina i težina, vreme, nazivi slova*, 10. *Dodatni uslovi – lična oprema, oružje i municija, automobili, tenkovi, avioni, brodovi, alat i pribor, komunikacija, razno, novac, težine i mere*, 11. *Važni zadaci*, 12. *Međunarodni putni znakovi* i 13. *Abecedni rečnik svih reči i izraza*. Autori priručnika su, shodno tadašnjim mogućnostima didaktičko-metodičkog oblikovanja teksta, nastojali da što preglednije predstave sadržaje, dajući ih u četiri kolone – izraz na engleskom jeziku, izgovor i pisanje na srpskom, odnosno hrvatskom jeziku. U priručniku se dominantno koristi engleski jezik, na kome su data sva objašnjenja i napomene. Međutim, primeri su dosledno i paralelno ispisivani srpskim jezikom i ekavicom, odnosno hrvatskim jezikom i ijekavicom. Priručnik sadrži više hiljada reči i izraza, koji su prilagođeni leksičkim osobenostima istočne, odnosno zapadne varijante jezika – *lekara : liječnika, ko : tko, hleb : kruh* i sl. Na samom kraju udžbenika nalazi se prostor za beleške, koje polaznik tečaja može voditi prilikom učenja srpskohrvatskog jezika.



Fotografija 3. Izgled lekcije u analiziranom priručniku

Rečnici najfrekventnijih reči i izraza bili su veoma popularni u decenijama nakon Drugog svetskog rata. Za razliku od onih koji su bili namenjeni pripadnicima diplomatskih i vojnih formacija, u nastavnoj praksi sreću se rečnici namenjeni široj javnosti. Jedan od takvih je i *Srpskohrvatski: rečnik izraza* (eng. *Serbo-Croatian: Phrase Book*), čiji je autor Viola Elis. Objavljen je 1961, a reizdat 1966. i 1969. godine u Londonu i pripada tzv. seriji priručnika za učenje srpskohrvatskog pod nazivom *The Teach Yourself*.<sup>10</sup>



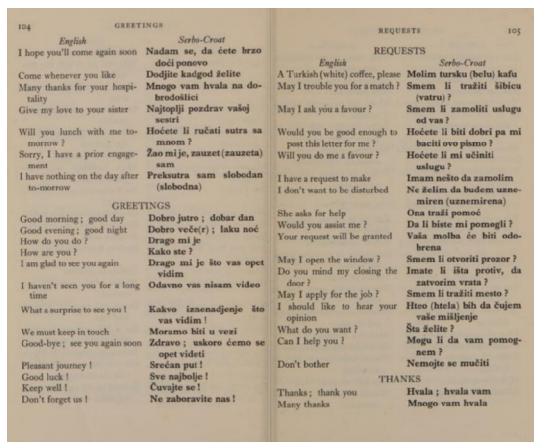
**Fotografija 4.** Naslovna strana priručnika *Srpskohrvatski: rečnik izraza*<sup>11</sup>

Priručnik ima trodelnu strukturu. U prvom delu priručnika predstavljene su najosnovnije informacije o srpskohrvatskom jeziku, društveno-istorijskim prilikama, pismu i izgovoru. U drugom, centralnom delu priručnika, tematski je predstavljena najfrekventnija leksika, i to najpre u vidu nepoznatih reči (kratkog rečnika), odnosno prevoda (sa engleskog na srpskohrvatski) najfrekventnijih izraza. Obradene su sledeće teme: pasoške formalnosti, carina, putovanje železnicom / po moru / vazduhom / biciklom, grad, hoteli, odeća, restorani i obroci, kupovina, pošta, telefon, prepiska, brojevi, kovanice, težina, mere, ljudsko telo i zdravlje, kod frizera, u pozorištu, fotografija, gimnastika i atletika, fudbal, tenis, jahanje i trke, lov i streljanje, ribolov, plivanje, veslanje, jedrenje, boks, zimski sportovi, planinarenje, igre, vreme, plaćanje, pozdravljanje, zahvaljivanje, žaljenje, izvinjavanje, postavljanje pitanja, javna obaveštenja, novine, knjige, kuća, države i nacije, vojska, mornarica i vazduhoplovne snage. U trećem delu priručnika data su kratka objašnjenja najvažnijih gramatičkih termina: imenica, zamenica, prideva, priloga i glagola. U priručniku se pretežno koristi istočna varijanta jezika u pogledu leksike i ekavskog izgovora, sa pokojom rečju preuzetom iz zapadne varijante. Ipak, prevladava latiničko pismo, a ćirilica je svedena samo na sporadične napomene i objašnjenja.

10 Priručnik je digitalizovan i može se preuzeti sa sledeće veb-adrese: <http://skr.rs/zfvm>. Predmet analize u ovom radu je izdanje iz 1961. godine.

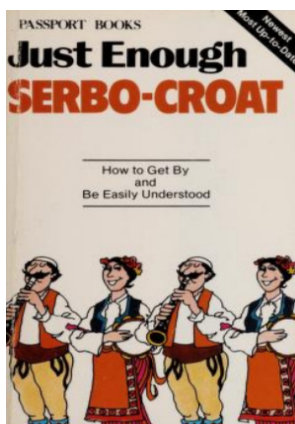
11 Žilijan Norman i Jovan Hristić objavili su priručnik istoimenog naziva *Srpskohrvatski: rečnik izraza* 1971. godine (Harmondsvort: Penguin). Nažalost, priručnik još uvek nije digitalizovan.





Fotografija 5. Izgled lekcije u analiziranom priručniku

Navedenoj grupi priručnika pripada i rečnik *Taman dovoljno srpskohrvatskog za Jugoslaviju* (eng. *Just enough Serbo-Croat for Yugoslavia*). Objavljen je 1981. godine u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama i predstavlja jedno od komercijalnih izdanja koje se svrstava u kategoriju „knjiga uz pasoz”.<sup>12</sup> Autori priručnika su D. Elis, E. Sprong, J. Boldvin.<sup>13</sup> Reč je o svojevrsnom „priručniku za preživljavanje”, koji korisnicima/putnicima treba da omogući uspostavljanje osnovne komunikacije sa domicilnim stanovništvom.<sup>14</sup>



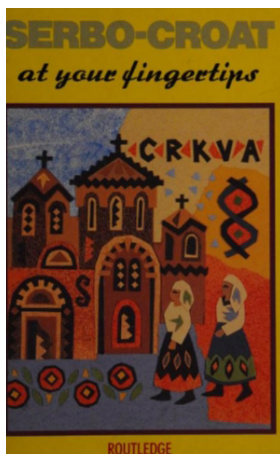
Fotografija 6. Korice priručnika *Taman dovoljno srpskohrvatskog za Jugoslaviju*

- 12 Digitalizovan je 2018. godine i može se pronaći na sledećoj veb-adresi: <http://skr.rs/zftj>. Predmet analize u ovom radu je izdanje iz 1983. godine.
- 13 Prvobitna verzija priručnika objavljena je najpre 1971. godine pod nazivom *Srpskohrvatski za putnike* (eng. *Serbo-Croatian for travellers*), a a zatim 1981. godine pod nazivom *Putnički srpskohrvatski za Jugoslaviju* (eng. *Travellers' Serbo-Croat for Yugoslavia*).
- 14 Postoji objedinjeno izdanje priručnika pod nazivom *Višejezični rečnik izraza* (eng. *Multilingual Phrase Book*), u kome je, osim srpskohrvatskog, predstavljena leksika španskog, francuskog, nemačkog, portugalskog, italijanskog i grčkog jezika. Navedeni priručnik je objavljen 1983. godine. Digitalizovan je i može se pronaći na sledećoj veb-adresi: <http://skr.rs/zfVm>.





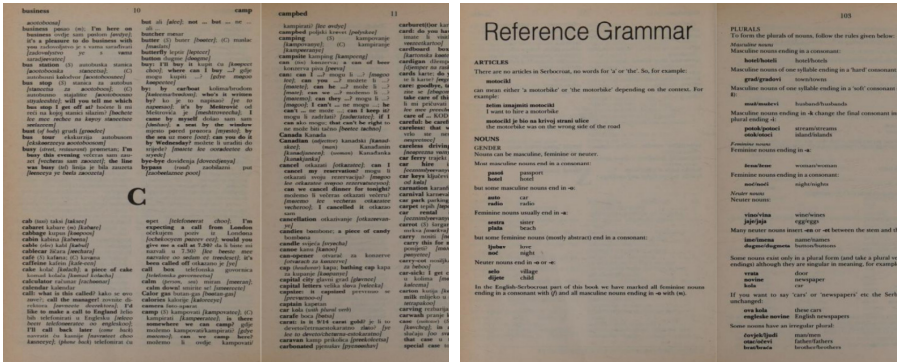
U istu kategoriju priručnika, kao i prethodno analizirani, možemo svrstati rečnik *Srpskohrvatski nadohvat ruke* (eng. *Serbo-Croat at your fingertips*). Objavljen je 1989. godine u Londonu.<sup>17</sup> Autor priručnika je Andrijana Hjuitt. Predstavlja samo jedan u nizu priručnika iz serije namenjene usvajanju leksike najvećih svetskih jezika (arapskog, kineskog, nemačkog, francuskog, grčkog, italijanskog i dr.).



**Fotografija 8.** Korice priručnika *Srpskohrvatski nadohvat ruke*

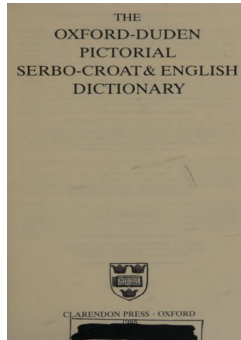
Priručnik je namenjen usvajanju osnovne leksike srpskohrvatskog jezika neophodne za obavljanje svakodnevnih životnih situacija: „Ponesite ovaj priručnik na svoja putovanja i imaćete slobodu nadohvat ruke“. Prema rečima izdavača, namenjen je putnicima koji žele da se na jednostavan način upoznaju sa srpskohrvatskim rečima i frazama „koje će sresti u prodavnicama, na natpisima i jelovnicima ili čuti u okruženju“. Njegov sadržaj čine četiri celine – uputstvo za pravilan izgovor, englesko-srpskohrvatski rečnik, srpskohrvatsko-engleski rečnik i najvažnija gramatika. U prvom poglavlju su (na jednoj stranici) date najosnovnije napomene o srpskohrvatskom glasovnom sistemu. Glavni deo priručnika čini alfabetski ustrojeni rečnici – englesko-srpskohrvatski, odnosno srpskohrvatsko-engleski. Važan segment didaktičko-metodičkog oblikovanja čini fiksiranje izgovora u zagradama sa navođenjem odgovarajućeg (obično najfrekventnijeg) primera. Na samom kraju priručnika nalazi se izvod iz gramatike srpskohrvatskog jezika u kome se pomoću tabelarnih prikaza prikazuju njeni najvažniji elementi. U priručniku se isključivo koristi latiničko pismo, odnosno zapadna varijanta srpskohrvatskog jezika – ijekavski izgovor. Autor priručnika nastojao je da, u pogledu leksičkih osobenosti srpskog i hrvatskog jezika, predstavi obe varijante (na primer, *pržen hljeb/kruh*).

17 Danas je priručnik digitalizovan i može se pronaći na sledećoj veb-adresi: <http://skr.rs/zftT>. Predmet analize u ovom radu je priručnik iz 1989. godine.



Fotografija 9. Izgled lekcije u analiziranom priručniku

Grupi priručnika namenjenih usvajanju leksike srpskohrvatskog jezika pripada i *Srpskohrvatsko-engleski slikovni rečnik* (eng. *The Oxford-Duden pictorial Serbo-Croat & English dictionary*), objavljen 1988. godine.<sup>18</sup> Nastao je u saradnji Cankareve zadužbine, oksfordskog izdavaštva i Bibliografskog instituta u Majnhajmu.<sup>19</sup> Prema rečima izdavača, „slikovni rečnik je rečnik sa trećom dimenzijom”, jer se značenje određene reči ponekad može jasnije i slikovitije preneti slikama nego opisima i definicijama (ma koliko one bile precizne).

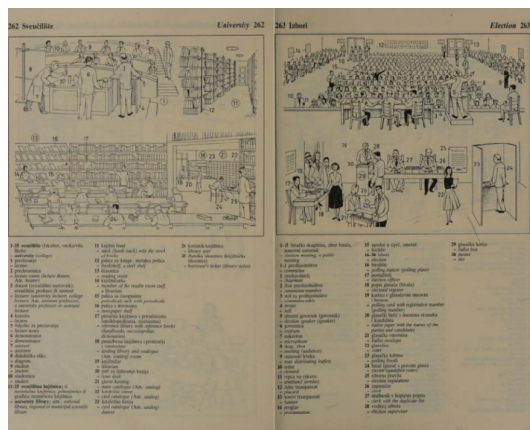


Fotografija 10. Naslovna strana priručnika *Srpskohrvatsko-engleski slikovni rečnik*

Rečnik je podeljen na 384 odeljka u kojima su predstavljene lekseme za imenovanje najraznovrsnijih oblasti svakodnevnog življenja i naučne delatnosti. Reči su tematski uvezane, a pomoću (za navedeni period) vrlo kvalitetnih ilustracija označene i predstavljene piktografski. Na osamsto šezdeset i dve stranice prikazano je više hiljada reči i nekoliko stotina ilustracija. Priručnik sadrži i alfabetski indeks koji korisniku olakšava upotrebu rečnika i pronalaženje odgovarajuće reči.<sup>20</sup> U čitavom priručniku

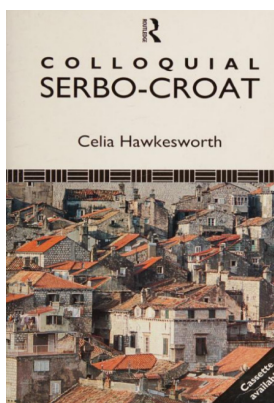
- 18 Priručnik je digitalizovan i može se preuzeti sa sledeće veb-adrese: <http://skr.rs/zfVz>. Predmet analize u ovom radu je izdanje iz 1988. godine.
- 19 Prema informacijama dostupnim u elektronskim bibliotečkim fondovima, realizaciju projekta izrade rečnika su sproveli Vjekoslav Boban i Džon Pebi.
- 20 Iz grupe klasičnih rečnika objavljenih tokom devedesetih godina prošloga veka mogli bismo izdvojiti *Srpskohrvatsko-engleski džepni rečnik* (eng. *SerboCroatian-English Pocket Dictionary*) Branka Ostojića (1989, <http://skr.rs/zfVc>), kao i *Englesko-srpskohrvatski rečnik* (eng. *English-SerboCroatian Dictionary*) Mortona Bensona (1990, <http://skr.rs/zfVi>).

koristi se latiničko pismo, ijekavica i leksika svojstvena hrvatskom jeziku: „Tekst na suvremenom hrvatskom književnom jeziku sastavila je Cankarjeva založba uz pomoć brojnih stručnjaka kojima se ovdje ponovno zahvaljujemo na suranji” (*Srpskohrvatsko-engleski slikovni rečnik* 1988: 8).



**Fotografija 11.** Primer sadržaja lekcije u analiziranom priručniku

Navedenim priručnicima može se dodati i priručnik *Razgovorni srpskohrvatski* (eng. *Colloquial Serbo-Croat*), koji je objavljen 1986. godine u Londonu, a doživio više izdanja: 1995, 1997, 1998, 2002, 2003. i 2006.<sup>21</sup> Autor priručnika je Selija Hawkesworth (Celia Hawkesworth), predavač u Školi za slovenske i istočnoevropske studije Univerziteta u Londonu.<sup>22</sup> I ovaj priručnik, kao i svi ostali priručnici istog izdavača (Routledge), pripada seriji publikacija posvećenih usvajanju brojnih svetskih jezika. Tokom vremena je delimično menjao svoj naziv,<sup>23</sup> shodno preovladavajućoj jezičkoj politici na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije.



**Fotografija 12.** Korice priručnika *Razgovorni srpskohrvatski*

21 Priručnik je digitalizovan tokom 2022. godine i može se pronaći na sledećoj veb-adresi: <http://skr.rs/zftq>. Predmet analize u ovom radu je izdanje iz 1986. godine.

22 Pomoć autorki u pisanju priručnika pružili su Nada Šoljan i Damir Kalogjera.

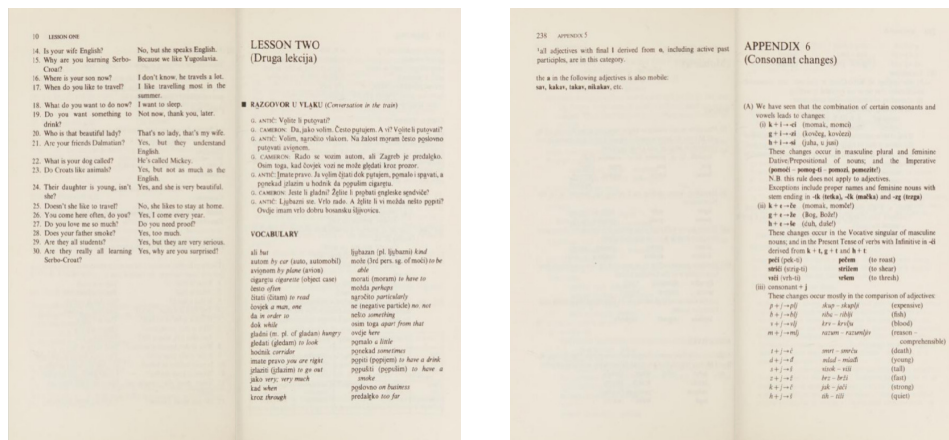
23 Novija izdanja udžbenika praćena su i odgovarajućim audio-materijalom (kasetama i ce-de-ovima).

Po svojoj sadržini i strukturi delimično se razlikuje od prethodno analiziranih udžbenika. Pisan je sa ciljem da „pokrije glavne tačke gramatike jezika kojim je govorila većina naroda koji su činili bivšu Jugoslaviju”. Autor ističe da korišćenje udžbenika, odnosno savladavanje gramatike „može biti u početku malo komplikovano, jer sadrži toliko toga novog iz perspektive govornika engleskog”. Kao savet učeniku upućuje da pažljivo analizira odlomke za čitanje (koji su osmišljeni da ilustruju životne situacije), ali i da radi postavljene zadatke, jer će samo tako biti u prilici da nesmetano komunicira sa stanovništvom. Sadržaj priručnika čini uvod, dvadeset pet lekcija i funkcionalni dodaci. U uvodnom poglavlju autor detaljno objašnjava društvena, istorijska i politička dešavanja na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije, dajući detaljan uvid u jezičke osobenosti prostora s jedne i druge strane Drine (uključujući i korišćenje dva pisma – latinice i ćirilice). Sadržaj lekcije čini tematski osmišljen tekst u kome se obrađuju leksičke jedinice neophodne za snalaženje u odgovarajućim životnim situacijama: 1. *Putnici se upoznaju*, 2. *Razgovor u vlaku*,<sup>24</sup> 3. *Dolazak na granicu*, 4. *Svatko ide na svoju stranu*, 5. *Dolazak u hotel*, 6. *Razgovor o stanu*, 7. *Razgovor u restoranu*, 8. *Na ulici*, 9. *Posjet prijateljima*, 10. *Obiteljski odnosi*, 11. *Putni planovi*, 12. *Na pošti*, 13. *Kazališna predstava*, 14. *Pakovanje, odijelo*, 15. *Na putu*, 16. *U kvaru*, 17. *U kupovini*, 18. *Prometna nesreća*, 19. *Razgovor o vremenu*, 20. *U trafici*, 21. *Pismo*, 22. *U miliciji*, 23. *Kod liječnika*, 24. *Razgovor o svakodnevnom životu* i 25. *Glavne crte povijesti južnoslovenskih zemalja*. Osim lingvometodičkog predloška, svaka lekcija sadrži rečnik manje poznatih reči i izraza (sa prevodom na engleski jezik), objašnjenje gramatičkih termina/pojmova, raznovrsne vežbe, objašnjenja kulturoloških fenomena. S obzirom na činjenicu da je utemeljena na gramatičko-prevodnoj metodi,<sup>25</sup> od učenika se očekuje da određeni broj rečenica (nakon svake lekcije) prevede sa engleskog na srpskohrvatski jezik, poštujući gramatička pravila srpskohrvatskog jezika savladana tokom obrade lekcija. Od gramatičkih sadržaja obrađuju se: 1. glagol *biti*, zamenice, enklitike, red reči u rečenici, 2. glagoli, trajanje, glagol *ići*, prefiksi glagola, refleksivni glagoli, 3. imenice, nominativ, vokativ, negacija, 4. akuzativ, genitiv, 5. dativ, instrumental, 6. pridevi, nominativ, prilozi, 7. partitivni genitiv, 8. množinski oblici dativa i instrumentala, 9. prošlo vreme, 10. deklinacija zamenica, aorist, 11. buduće vreme, 12. osnovni brojevi, 13. redni brojevi, 14. komparacija prideva, 15. pokazne zamenice, prisvojni pridevi, 16. prisvojne zamenice, 17. odnosne zamenice, 18. imperativ, 19. uslovne rečenice, 20. participi, 21. aorist, imperfekat, pluskvamperfekat, futur drugi, 22. zbirne imenice, 23. glagolski vid i 24. red reči u rečenici. Autor mesto gramatici ustupa i na samom kraju priručnika u vidu sažetog prikaza promena imenica, prideva i zamenica po padežima, vrsta glagola, glasovnim promenama i primerima ćiriličkog pisma. Poslednju celinu udžbenika čine rešenja zadataka, kao i srpskohrvatsko-engleski (englesko-srpskohrvatski) rečnik manje poznatih reči i izraza. U čitavom priručniku isključivo se koristi latiničko pismo, ijekavski izgovor i leksika svojstvena zapadnoj varijanti srpskohrvatskog jezika (*svatko*, *vlak*, *kazališna predstava* i sl.).<sup>26</sup>

24 Autorka eksplicitno ističe da je fokus usmeren ka hrvatskoj varijanti jezika.

25 Izvanredan primer primene gramatičko-prevodne metode u oblikovanju udžbeničkih jedinica ove vrste jeste priručnik pod nazivom *Cljuč za srpsku konverzacionu gramatiku* (eng. *Key to the Serbian Conversation Grammar*) Vojislava Petrovića (Voislav M. Petrovitch), objavljen davne 1914. godine u Hajdelbergu. Priručnik je digitalizovan i nalazi se na sledećoj veb-adresi: <http://skr.rs/zfVX>.

26 U novijim izdanjima analiziranog priručnika – *Kolokvijalni srpski jezik* (2006) – leksika je prilagođena srpskom književnom jeziku, i to ekavskom izgovoru.



Fotografija 13. Izgled lekcije u analiziranom priručniku

## 4. ZAKLJUČAK

Razvoj nastave srpskog kao stranog jezika nakon Drugog svetskog rata nesumnjivo tesno je bio povezan sa društveno-političkim pitanjima funkcionisanja jugoslovenske države. Proporcionalno jačanju međunarodne saradnje sa većem brojem evropskih i svetskih država pripadnici drugih naroda i kultura imali su potrebu da savladaju naš jezik, koji je, po svemu sudeći, imao izuzetno dobar status van granica matične zemlje. Stranci su nastojali da ga nauče radi uspostavljanja željene i neophodne komunikacije sa srpskim stanovništvom iz privatnih, poslovnih, turističkih, diplomatskih ili vojnih razloga. Predano su ga izučavali na slavističkim katedrama, u specijalizovanim zavodima i u mnogobrojnim školama. Da bi spoznali jezik, kulturu i nasleđe srpskoga naroda, bili su im potrebni udžbenici, gramatike i ostali priručnici. Zato su kreirani i objavljivani kako unutar granica jugoslovenske države tako i u mnogim inostranim zemljama. Posebno su na tom polju kreiranja i objavljivanja udžbeničkog materijala interesovanje iskazivale zapadnoevropske države i Sjedinjene Američke Države, na čijim se univerzitetima, institutima i zavodima realizovalo sistematsko proučavanje srpskog književnog (i razgovornog) jezika. Ranija istraživanja su pokazala veoma plodotvornu udžbeničku produkciju tokom druge polovine dvadesetog veka, kada su objavljeni brojni udžbenici i gramatike. Međutim, najnoviji pregled digitalnih bibliotekskih fondova pružio nam je uvid u postojanje većeg broja priručnika, koji su u periodu od pedesetih do devedesetih godina prošloga veka bili korišćeni za potrebe savladavanja srpsko(hrvatsko)g jezika. Mnogi od njih su decenijama bili nepoznati široj javnosti, kako zbog geografske udaljenosti prostora na kojima su objavljivani tako i zbog zakonskih ograničenja u pogledu poverljivosti samih udžbeničkih jedinica. Procesi digitalizacije, u zakonski predviđenim okvirima, omogućili su nam da se upoznamo sa priručnicima koji su decenijama korišćeni za učenje srpsko(hrvatsko)g kao stranog jezika van granica naše zemlje. Realizovano istraživanje nam je pokazalo da je, osim udžbenika i gramatika, velika pažnja posvećivana sastavljanju i objavljivanju rečnika sa priručničkom funkcijom, i to: slikovnih rečnika, rečnika (raz)govornog jezika i rečnika najfrekventnijih reči/izraza. Svojom strukturom i sadržajem predstavljali su tzv. *učeničke*



rečnike u kojima je leksička građa raspoređivana prema tematskom kriterijumu. Autori su ih prilagođavali potrebama učenika na polju usvajanja novih reči i njihove primene u neposrednoj usmenoj i pismenoj komunikaciji. Odlikovali su se logičnom, sistematskom i postupnom prezentacijom leksičke građe, kao i specifičnim metodičkim pristupima njenog oblikovanja. U većini analiziranih udžbenika dominiraju latiničko pismo, ijekavica i leksika svojstvena zapadnoj varijanti srpskohrvatskog jezika. I pored toga, decenijama su predstavljali funkcionalne priručnike korišćene za potrebe realizacije nastave radi savladavanja srpsko(hrvatsko)g kao stranog jezika. Verujemo da smo u ovom radu popisali samo manji deo stvarno objavljenih rečnika, te da ćemo se, shodno ekspanziji digitalizacije arhivske građe, u godinama pred nama upoznati sa sadržajem još mnogo sličnih i funkcionalnih jedinica udžbeničkog kompleta, koje će nas podsetiti na važne faktografske činjenice u vezi sa istorijskim razvitkom (metodike) nastave srpskog kao stranog jezika.

## LITERATURA

- Brborić, V. 2018. Budućnost lektorata srpskog jezika sa osvrtom na prošlost i sadašnjost. *MSC saopštenja* 48(1), 21–30.
- Cvijetić, R. 1981. Značaj rečnika u nastavi srpskohrvatskog jezika i književnosti. *Književnost i jezik* 28(3–4), 273–280.
- Đorđević, K. 2017. Analiza grešaka slovačkih maternjih govornika na početnom nivou učenja srpskog jezika kao stranog. *Studia Balkanica Bohemo-Slovaca VII*, 691–697.
- Ivanova, I. 2018. Rečnici u nastavi srpskog jezika kao stranog na MGU. *Naučni sastanak slavista u Vukove dane* 47(1), 487–492.
- Ivić, P. 1998. *Pregled istorije srpskog jezika*. Sremski Karlovci i Novi Sad: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića.
- Krajišnik, V. 1992. Bibliografija jugoslovenskih radova o srpskohrvatskom jeziku kao stranom (1960–1990). *Živi jezici* 34–35(1–4), 184–203.
- Marinković, M. 2010. Srpski jezik u Osmanskom carstvu: Primer četvororojezičnog udžbenika za učenje stranih jezika iz biblioteke sultana Mahmuda I. *Slavistika* 14, 280–298.
- Nikolić, D. 2013. Slavistika bez vizije. *Vijenac: novine Matice hrvatske za književnost, umjetnost i znanost*, 512.
- Novaković, A. 2022. *Udžbenički komplet u nastavi srpskog kao stranog jezika*. Niš: Filozofski fakultet.
- Novaković, A. 2024a. Zaveštanje Dimitrija Vladislavljevića: prva gramatika za učenje savremenog srpskog kao stranog jezika?. *Ishodišta* 10, 235–256.
- Novaković, A. 2024b. Onlajn-resursi u nastavi srpskog kao stranog jezika. *Školski čas* 42(2), 3–14.
- Novaković, A. 2024c. *Fragmenti o metodici nastave srpskog kao stranog jezika nakon Drugog svetskog rata*. Niš: Filozofski fakultet.
- Otašević, Đ. 2014. Priručnici za nastavu srpskog jezika kao stranog. *Lingvističke aktuelnosti* 25, 21–30.
- Ristić, S. 2001. Mogućnosti upotrebe rečnika u nastavi. *Književnost i jezik* 48(1–2), 85–97.

## IZVORI

- Army Language School. 1951. *Serbo-Croatian: Dialogue Cartoon Guides*. Monterey: Army Language School.
- Army Language School. 1952. *Serbo-Croatian Textbook*. Monterey: Army Language School.
- Army Language School. 1953. *Serbo-Croatian: Dialogue Cartoon Guides*. Monterey: Army Language School.
- Army Language School. 1956. *Serbo-Croatian: Narration to Accompany Illustrated Military Situations*. Monterey: Army Language School.
- Army Language School. 1956. *Serbo-Croatian: Narration to Accompany Illustrated Basic Situation*. Monterey: Army Language School.
- Benson, M. 1990. *English-SerboCroatian dictionary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Boban, V., J. Pheby, Cankarjeva založba, Oxford University Press Dictionary Department and Bibliographisches Institut (Mannheim, Germany). 1988. *The Oxford-Duden pictorial Serbo-Croat & English dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Center for Applied Linguistics. 1968. *Survey of materials in the neglected languages*. Washington: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research. 1983. *Serbo-Croat*. London: The Centre.
- Ellis, D. L., E. Spong and J. Baldwin. 1983. *Just enough Serbo-Croat for Yugoslavia*. Lincolnwood: Passport Books.
- Ellis, V. 1961. *Serbo-Croatian phrase book: The teach yourself*. London: English Universities Press.
- Hawkesworth, C. 1986. *Colloquial Serbo-Croat*. London: Routledge.
- Hewitt, A. 1983. *Serbo-Croat at your Fingertips*. London: Routledge.
- Hristić, J. and J. Norman. 1971. *Serbo-Croatian phrase book*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Multilingual phrase book*. 1983. Lincolnwood: Passport Books.
- Ostojić, B. 1989. *Serbocroatian-English pocket dictionary*. New York: Hippocrene Books.
- Petrovitch, W. 1914. *Key to the Servian conversation grammar*. London: David Nutt.
- United States War Department. 1943. *Serbocroatian Phrase Book*. Washington: United States Government Printing Office.

## SUMMARY

### MANUALS OF FOREIGN UNIVERSITIES AND INSTITUTIONS IN TEACHING SERBIAN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE AFTER WORLD WAR II

This paper analyzes the digital holdings of foreign libraries to identify various manuals published after the Second World War. The goal is to create a comprehensive register of manuals that have not yet been included in bibliographies, while also examining their role and significance in the teaching of Serbian as a foreign language during that period. The study employs the method of theoretical analysis, combined with content analysis techniques. The research results show that the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s were the most productive decades in terms of creating and publishing instructional materials. In addition to textbooks and grammars, which represent the core components of instructional materials, particular attention was given to the publication of various types of manual dictionaries – pictorial dictionaries, conversational language dictionaries, and dictionaries of the most common words and phrases – all of which were distinguished by their specific didactic-methodical design. These manuals were primarily published by Western European and American universities, institutes, and schools for the purpose of teaching Serbo-Croatian as a foreign language. However, there were also manuals intended for travelers in Serbian regions who sought to communicate with the local Serbian-speaking population.

**KEYWORDS:** Serbian as a Foreign Language, library funds, textbook set, manuals, dictionaries.

PODACI O ČLANKU:

Originalni naučni rad

Primljen: 8. oktobra 2024.

Ispravljen: 3. novembra 2024.

Prihvaćen: 3. novembra 2024.





DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18485/philologia.2024.22.22.5>

UDC: 81'246.3(439)

81'243

## ■ USING A BILINGUAL (ENGLISH-FRENCH) TEACHING METHOD TO AID L3 FRENCH VOCABULARY LEARNING

**ANDREA BURAI<sup>1</sup>**

University of Szeged

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Szeged, Hungary

 <https://orcid.org/0009-0001-4902-3209>

Bilingvalne osobe poseduju veće iskustvo, kao i drugačije strategije i jezičku svest u odnosu na svoje monolingvalne vršnjake (Cenoz/Ulrike 2000). Uprkos ovoj prednosti, te sposobnosti često ostaju nedovoljno iskorišćene u obrazovnom okruženju. Da bi se ispravio ovaj nedostatak, razvijen je dvojezični nastavni materijal koji se posebno fokusira na francuski vokabular. Materijal podstiče učenike da aktivno upoređuju engleski i francuski jezik, omogućavajući im na taj način da se oslone na sličnosti i razlike između ova dva jezika. Takav uporedni pristup ne poboljšava samo njihovo razumevanje francuskog, već i pospešuje njihovo znanje engleskog jezika. Efikasnost ovog pristupa ocenjena je putem post-testova. Učesnici su ocenjeni posle mesec dana nastave, a zatim i tri meseca kasnije, kako bi se procenili neposredni rezultati i dugoročno zadržavanje naučenog vokabulara. Rezultati su bili jasni: eksperimentalna grupa, koja je koristila dvojezični nastavni materijal, pokazala je znatno bolje zadržavanje i usvajanje vokabulara trećeg jezika (L3) u poređenju sa kontrolnom grupom. Ovo je važno i za period neposredno posle nastave ali i na duži rok, što sugeriše da uključivanje dvojezičnih strategija u nastavu može dovesti do efikasnijih rezultata u učenju jezika. Korišćenjem inherentnih prednosti koje dvojezični ljudi imaju, obrazovni sistemi mogu bolje podržati usvajanje jezika, što koristi učenicima kako u njihovim trenutnim studijama, tako i u njihovom širem jezičkom razvoju.

Ključne reči: dvojezično učenje, prethodno jezičko znanje, usvajanje trećeg jezika, učenje jezika, međujezički uticaj.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

In today's globalized world, learning foreign languages—often more than one at a time—has become essential for most students. This necessity arises from several factors, including the increasing interconnectedness of societies and the demands of the modern job market. For Hungarian speakers, the need for multilingualism is particularly significant. Given the unique nature of the Hungarian language, which is not widely

---

1 Kontakt podaci (E-mail): [buraiandi93@gmail.com](mailto:buraiandi93@gmail.com)

spoken outside of Hungary, proficiency in foreign languages is crucial for effective communication on the international stage.

This emphasis on multilingualism is clearly reflected in Hungary's educational policies, as outlined in documents such as the National Core Curriculum (NAT) 2020 and its associated framework curricula. According to the NAT (2020), students must begin learning their first foreign language by the fourth year of primary school at the latest. Typically, a second foreign language is introduced by the ninth grade, although this is not mandatory across all secondary school types. Recent data from the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (2023) reveals that nearly 400,000 secondary school students in Hungary were studying English during the 2022/2023 academic year. German was the most common second foreign language, with over 174,000 students, followed by French, with 18,200 students. Notably, French ranks as the second most commonly chosen third language among Hungarian students.

The importance of multilingualism is also underscored in the introductory section of the NAT for foreign languages. The document emphasizes that fostering individual multilingualism is one of the key language and educational policy goals of our time (NAT 2020). Additionally, the NAT specifies that foreign language teaching should consider students' existing knowledge, including their mother tongue and any foreign languages previously learned, along with the language learning strategies they have acquired in other subjects (NAT 2020: 314).

This study aims to explore whether English, as a first foreign language, can facilitate the learning of French as a second foreign language. To investigate this, a teaching aid was developed in the summer of 2022. This tool employed a comparative method to teach both languages, with tasks specifically designed to encourage students to leverage their existing knowledge of English in learning French vocabulary. In the present paper, after a brief introduction of the theoretical background, I will go into the details of the research, explaining its methodology and objectives, and then present the results obtained, placing them in the context of the previous related literature.

## 2. MONOLINGUALISM AND MULTILINGUALISM IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING

If we aim to develop this “integrated, cross-linguistic and cross-cultural approach” (NAT 2020), it is important to take into account the differences between first and second language learners.

There is general agreement among researchers that bilingualism and multilingualism have a beneficial effect on the learning process. For almost two decades, Cenoz and Ulrike (2000) have stressed that second language learners have more experience and strategies at their disposal and handle languages differently, as the first and second languages help them to learn other languages.

Other studies (De Angelis 2007; Jessner 2008) have shown that students who learn several foreign languages have increased meta-linguistic awareness. Smith (1982: 449) defines meta-linguistic awareness as “the ability of children to reflect on language as a subject”; Jessner (1999: 203) defines it as the ability of students to “reflect on their language use, compare their language systems, and develop language learning strategies different from those of their less experienced peers”. Thus, Jessner also

sharply distinguishes students who speak two languages from those who speak only one. Meta-linguistic awareness in these definitions also means that students are able to manage their own linguistic processes in a conscious way, the word 'reflect' appears in both definitions. This awareness can be effectively increased, according to the results of several studies, if both second and third foreign languages are present in the classroom: by comparing languages, students can move forward more easily and quickly in the language acquisition process (Tápainé 2007, 2008a, 2008b; T. Balla 2011, 2014; Heyder-Schädlich 2014; Haukås 2016).

The results of these studies have shown that the presence of mother tongue, first and second foreign languages in the foreign language classroom has a positive impact on the learning process. One reason for this may be that language transfer is an integral part of third language acquisition: students use elements learnt from previous languages both consciously and less consciously, and language-related skills and abilities (e.g. learning methods) are often present across languages (Tápainé 2007, 2008b; T. Balla 2011, 2014).

The studies mentioned above have focused on the benefits of comparing languages in general, but there are also studies that have looked specifically at the impact of the second language on the process of third language acquisition in vocabulary learning. For example, a study by Bartolotti and Marian (2016) found that students performed better in word accuracy than their peers who did not call upon their second language. Stamer-Vitevitch (2012) and Ringbom (2001) also report similar results: in all cases, learners relied heavily on vocabulary acquired from previous languages. In all cases, this helped them: these students had a richer vocabulary than their peers who had studied the same language as a second language, and they performed better on vocabulary tests than the control group.

### 3. METHODOLOGY

The aim of the present study was to gain insight into whether the use of prior knowledge of English helps Hungarian native speakers to learn French vocabulary. Based on the results of the aforementioned articles, I hypothesized that bilingual students would perform better on vocabulary tests than the control group, especially in cases where the linguistic elements of the two languages are identical, meaning, that the word exists in both languages in the same written form, with the same meaning and usage and same pronunciation. In cases where there are similarities but minor differences between the two languages, I hypothesised that members of the control group would perform better, as they would not show as many pronounced errors due to negative transfer.

Prior knowledge of a second language and any prior knowledge of a third language was an important criterion in the selection of the students in the study, so the students in the groups all started ninth grade in the school year 2022/2023. This eliminated possible errors of measurement due to different ages (all students were between 14 and 15 years old) and also allowed for the appropriate timing and design of the tasks, as they all started from the same textbook. In order to avoid errors due to different second language skills, I selected students who had been studying English for the same length of time, who had not attended private tutoring sessions, and who had not received extra practice

at home. The English language level of the participating students was approximately the same: they were between a strong B1 and B2 level.

The groups thus selected were as homogeneous as possible: a total of 17 students participated in the groups, and a further 16 students received traditional teaching in two control groups, where no prior knowledge of English was taught. A total of 14 boys and 19 girls participated in the study, with the following group distribution: 7 boys and 9 girls in the control groups and 7 boys and 10 girls in the experimental groups.

The participating groups started at the beginning of year 9 in September with the same A1 level textbook from a French textbook family, so the bilingual tasks focused on the vocabulary of the related curriculum over the one-month teaching period. During the preparation of the tasks, I also consulted the teachers of the groups participating in the research, in order to avoid as much as possible measurement differences due to different teachers (and teaching styles). Here, the teachers explained their objectives and foreseeable difficulties for the next academic year, so that the tasks were prepared in accordance with their plans (see Appendix 1).

An important aspect of the exercises was to get students to use their prior knowledge of English and compare the two languages by highlighting the similarities and differences between the two languages. In many cases, the tasks encouraged students to cooperate and work in groups, where teachers could also be involved in the task. After completing the tasks, the students were often instructed to reflect on what they had to focus on in the task, how the knowledge they had acquired related to the knowledge they had acquired in their previous language, and possibly how the expression differed between the two languages.

When teaching pronunciation, students also used English: with the help of teachers, they were given tasks where they had to group words according to whether they varied in pronunciation, discuss how the two languages differed, and express their opinions, thus reinforcing their awareness of the similarities and differences between the languages. The aim here was to raise awareness and awareness, as in both cases (similarity and difference) they need meta-linguistic awareness to decide how to use their existing knowledge of English to solve the task. In all cases, the tasks contained words where prior knowledge of the language could be easily retrieved, but also words where transfer often results in incorrect use of the language (e.g. in the case of so-called 'false friends').

Teachers in the control group were instructed before the start of the semester to try to prioritise 'traditional' teaching methods in their teaching. This means that the teachers in the control group did not use English in their lessons, and taught French primarily in Hungarian, where I specifically pointed out that if they did include reliance on English in their standard practices (for example, drawing attention to the differences and similarities between the two languages in pronunciation, or relying on prior knowledge of English in grammatical explanations), they should not do so during the research period. Thus, in the lesson, the students learned from the French textbook and received instructions and explanations only in English.

Immediately after the teaching period, students completed a vocabulary-focused test (see Appendix 2). The vocabulary test asked about Hungarian–French word pairs and phrases and assessed both the cases of words where the transfer worked well and those where the transfer was only partially applicable in the correct solution. The total score for the test was 30, with students scoring only on perfect solutions.

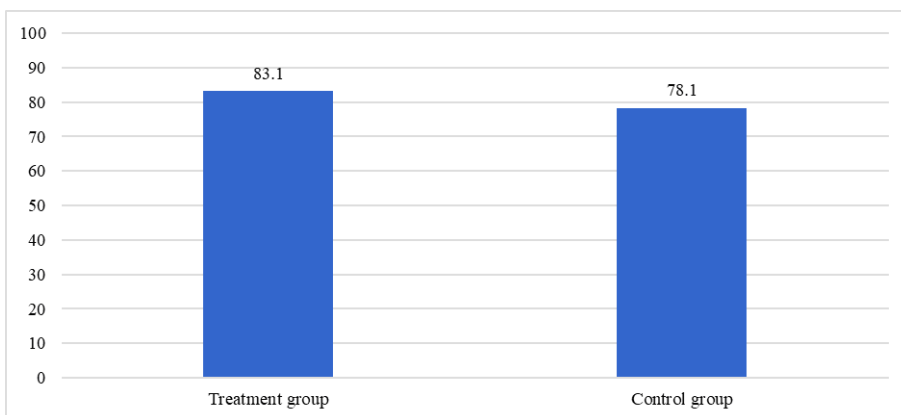
In order to get an insight into the long-term results, students completed the same test after 3 months in December. The main aim of this was to see how well the taught words were integrated into long-term memory after a period of not actively teaching the words, and what percentage of forgetting occurred in the control group and the experimental group.

At the end of the data collection, I asked students and teachers to give their opinions on the tasks and the teaching period: this was to give participants the opportunity to give feedback on the negatives and positives in a more informal way. The resulting data also provide an opportunity for qualitative analysis, which will allow us to gain a more complex picture of the background to students' performance.

#### 4. RESULTS

The short-term results of the tests (Table 1) indicated that the experimental group acquired French vocabulary more effectively by consciously using their prior English knowledge. After the one-month teaching period, the experimental group achieved an average score of 24.94, compared to 23.44 for the control group. This translates to an average test score of 83.1% for the experimental group, while the control group scored 78.1%. The 5% difference in favour of the experimental group suggests that they were able to more effectively leverage their prior language knowledge, aided by the development of language awareness and the use of bilingual teaching tasks.

For the short-term analysis, the results from the three experimental groups and the two control groups were combined, as there was no significant difference between their individual means. Specifically, the first experimental group scored 25, the second 24.6, and the third 25.2. The control groups showed a similar pattern, with the first group averaging 23.5 and the second 23.45. These results underscore the advantage of bilingual education, as the experimental groups consistently outperformed the control groups in vocabulary acquisition, demonstrating the effectiveness of integrating prior language knowledge into the learning process.

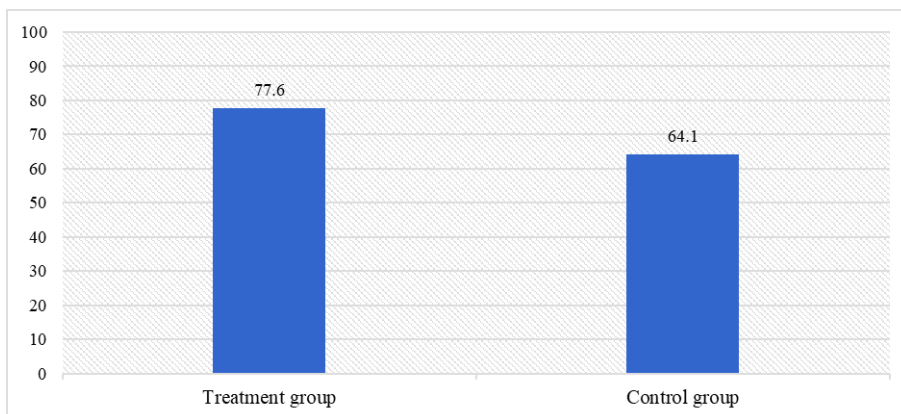


**Table 1.** Short-term results

The long-term results (Table 2) reveal a much clearer difference between the two groups: after three months, the experimental group exhibited a minimal forgetting rate, with an average score of 23.29, while the control group scored significantly lower, with an average of 19.25. Initially, the experimental group had scored 83.1%, which slightly decreased to 77.6%, reflecting a 5.5% forgetting rate. In contrast, the control group's score dropped from 78.1% to 64.1%, indicating a much higher forgetting rate of 14%.

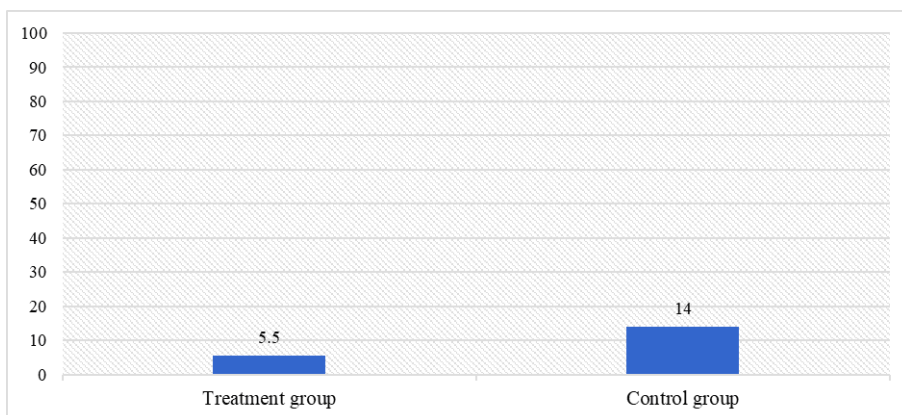
The long-term differences between the control and experimental groups were more pronounced. The first experimental group averaged 78%, the second 75.33%, and the third 79.33%. For the control groups, the first averaged 66.1%, while the second averaged 63%. These results highlight a greater variation between the groups over time. Importantly, even the best-performing control group (66.1%) performed nearly 9% worse than the lowest-performing experimental group (75.33%).

Overall, the data clearly shows that the experimental group, which used prior English knowledge to learn French, retained the vocabulary far more effectively over time than the control group. This suggests that the bilingual approach not only enhances short-term language acquisition but also significantly reduces the rate of forgetting, providing a more durable and effective learning outcome.



**Table 2.** Long-term results

The experimental group not only outperformed the control group by 13% in the long-term results but also demonstrated a significantly lower forgetting rate of 5.5% compared to the control group's 14% (Table 3). The data indicates that the experimental group retained most of their acquired vocabulary during the three-month period of inactivity, while students taught through traditional methods failed to transfer much of this knowledge from short-term to long-term memory. This highlights that bilingual education is not only more effective in the short term but also proves to be significantly more successful over the long term.



**Table 3.** Forgetting rates in the long term

Based on student feedback, two key aspects of the experimental method stood out: linguistic awareness and the affective, emotional experience. Among the experimental group, these factors were frequently mentioned in their responses. Ten out of 17 students expressed that they enjoyed attending the classes and found this learning approach to be a positive experience. Additionally, eight students highlighted the usefulness of the language awareness method.

Students remarked on the benefits of realizing they already had some knowledge, noting that this approach meant “less learning” and allowed them to “figure things out faster.” Two students also reflected on how the learning experience changed their feelings about English, with one noting that they “didn’t think English was good for that,” and another appreciating that “it was worth the time” they had spent learning English, as it proved valuable in learning French.

This feedback underscores the dual impact of the experimental method: it not only enhanced linguistic awareness, making language learning more efficient, but also positively influenced students’ emotions and attitudes toward the learning process. This suggests that integrating prior language knowledge can create a more engaging and effective learning environment, benefiting students both cognitively and emotionally.

## 5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The present study advocates for the benefits of bilingual education, aligning with existing literature that underscores the advantages and effectiveness of multilingual education. In the context of the French-English language pair, Hungarian students who participated in the bilingual education program demonstrated more effective acquisition of third-language vocabulary compared to their peers in traditional language programs. Additionally, these students reported that the bilingual method was not only more successful but also had a more positive impact on their motivation than previous methods they had experienced.

However, the findings of this study should be interpreted with caution due to several limitations. The small sample size, the short duration of the research, and the focus



on a specific language pair (French–English) restrict the generalizability of the results. Consequently, broader conclusions cannot be drawn without further investigation.

To obtain a more comprehensive understanding of multilingual education, additional research is necessary. Future studies should examine student motivation and performance over the long term and explore other aspects of language use beyond vocabulary acquisition. It would also be valuable to investigate the advantages and disadvantages of bilingual education for adults, as well as to conduct research involving native Hungarian-speaking students with different language pairs. This would help determine whether the observed benefits extend beyond the French–English context.

The results of this study clearly indicate that bilingual education not only enhances student motivation but also accelerates language acquisition compared to traditional methods. Given the need for a greater focus on practical multilingual education within the Hungarian school system, these findings cannot be overlooked. They present a viable alternative for achieving effective language learning more quickly and easily.

To implement such a solution, it is crucial that schools provide the necessary tools, teaching materials, and methodological training that build upon students' prior language knowledge and skills. Bilingual education offers an alternative approach that could lead to more effective language learning with lower rates of forgetting. By incorporating bilingual methods into the curriculum, educators can create a learning environment where students are better equipped to retain and use foreign languages in practical, real-world situations.

In conclusion, while the present study provides valuable insights into the potential benefits of bilingual education, it also highlights the need for further research. Expanding the scope of studies to include diverse language pairs and long-term assessments will be essential in confirming the effectiveness of bilingual education across different contexts. By addressing these gaps in research, educators and policymakers can make informed decisions about how to best integrate bilingual education into the Hungarian school system, ultimately fostering a more multilingual and globally competent student population.

## REFERENCES

- Bartolotti, J. and V. Marian. 2016. Bilinguals' Existing Languages Benefit Vocabulary Learning in a Third Language. *Language Learning* 67(1), 110–140. <https://doi.org/10.1111/lang.12200>
- Cenoz, J. and J. Ulrike. 2000. Introduction. In J. Cenoz and J. Ulrike (eds.) *English in Europe – The acquisition of a third language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, vii–xii.
- De Angelis, G. 2007. *Third or additional language acquisition*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. <https://doi.org/10.21832/9781847690050>
- Európa Tanács. 2020. *Közös Európai Referenciakeret: Nyelvtanulás, nyelvtanítás, értékelés*. Luxemburg: Európa Tanács.
- Haukås, Å. 2016. Teachers' beliefs about multilingualism and a multilingual pedagogical approach. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 13(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2015.1041960>

- Heyder, K. und B. Schädlich. 2014. Mehrsprachigkeit und Mehrkulturalität–eine Umfrage unter Fremdsprachenlehrkräften in Niedersachsen. *Zeitschrift für Interkulturellen Fremdsprachenunterricht* 19(1), 183–201.
- Jessner, U. 1999. Metalinguistic Awareness in Multilinguals: Cognitive Aspects of Third Language Learning. *Language Awareness* 8(3–4), 201–209. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658419908667129>
- Jessner, U. 2008. A DST model of multilingualism and the role of metalinguistic awareness. *Modern Language Journal* 92(2), 270–283. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2008.00718.x>
- Központi Statisztikai Hivatal. Idegen nyelvet tanulók a középfokú iskolákban. [Internet]. Available at: [https://www.ksh.hu/stadat\\_files/okt/hu/okt0016.html](https://www.ksh.hu/stadat_files/okt/hu/okt0016.html) [25.11.2023].
- Nemzeti alaptanterv. 2020. Nemzeti Erőforrás Minisztérium. 5/2020. (I. 31.) Korm. rendelet a Nemzeti alaptanterv kiadásáról, bevezetéséről és alkalmazásáról. *Magyar Közlöny* 17, 290–446.
- Ringbom, H. 2001. Lexical transfer in L3 production. In J. Cenoz, B. Hufeisen and U. Jessner (eds.) *Cross-linguistic influence in third language acquisition: Psycholinguistic perspectives*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 59–68.
- Smith, C. L. and H. Tager-Flusberg. 1982. Metalinguistic awareness and language development. *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology* 34(3), 449–468. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0022-0965\(82\)90071-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/0022-0965(82)90071-6)
- Stamer, M. K. and M. S. Vitevitch. 2012. Phonological similarity influences word learning in adults learning Spanish as a foreign language. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 15(3), 490–502. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1366728911000216>
- Tápainé B, Á. 2007. Tanuljunk két idegen nyelvet egyidejűleg! Magyar nyelvtanulók tapasztalatai két rokon nyelv, az angol és a német tanulásával. *Nyelvinfó* 15, 13–23.
- Tápainé B, Á. 2008a. Mit tud, aki nem tud angolul? *Nyelvinfó* 16, 37–45.
- Tápainé B, Á. 2008b. *What does an L3 learner already know?* In O. Marti Arnandiz and J. Pilar Safont (eds.) *Achieving multilingualism: wills and ways: Proceedings of the 1<sup>st</sup> International Conference on Multilingualism (ICOM)*. Castellón de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I, 468–479.
- T. Balla, Á. 2011. A magyar anyanyelv és az angol, mint első idegen nyelv hatása németet második idegen nyelvként tanuló diákok nyelvtanulási folyamataira. In T. Gecső and Z. Kiss (eds.) *Az alkalmazott nyelvészet integritásának kérdései: az alkalmazott nyelvészeti tanszékek első országos találkozója című tudományos hallgatói-oktatói konferencia előadásainak tanulmánykötete*. Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó, 229–238.
- T. Balla, Á. 2014. A kontrasztív nyelvoktatás szerepe harmadik nyelv tanulása során. In M. Ladányi, Zs. Vladár and É. Hrenek (eds.) *Nyelv, társadalom, kultúra: interkulturális és multikulturális perpektívák I–II.: XXIII. Magyar Alkalmazott Nyelvészeti Kongresszus előadásaiból készült tanulmánykötet*. Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó, 404–408.

## SUMMARY

### USING A BILINGUAL (ENGLISH-FRENCH) TEACHING METHOD TO AID L3 FRENCH VOCABULARY LEARNING

Bilingual individuals possess greater experience, strategies, and linguistic awareness compared to their monolingual peers (Cenoz/Ulrike 2000). Despite this advantage, these capabilities often remain underutilized in educational settings. To address this gap, a bilingual teaching material was developed, specifically targeting French vocabulary. The material encouraged students to actively compare English and French, allowing them to draw on the similarities and differences between the two languages. This comparative approach not only enhanced their understanding of French but also reinforced their knowledge of English. The effectiveness of this approach was evaluated through post-tests. Participants were assessed after one month of instruction and again after three months to evaluate the immediate results and the long(er)-term retention of the vocabulary they had learned. The findings were clear: the experimental group, which used the bilingual teaching material, demonstrated significantly better retention and acquisition of L3 (third language) vocabulary compared to the control group. This was true both immediately after the instruction and over the longer term, suggesting that incorporating bilingual strategies into teaching can lead to more effective language learning outcomes. By leveraging the inherent advantages that bilinguals have, educational systems can better support language acquisition, benefiting students both in their immediate studies and in their broader linguistic development.

**KEYWORDS:** bilingual teaching, prior language knowledge, third language acquisition, language learning, crosslinguistic influence.

## APPENDIX

### 1. Vocabulary tasks

1. Kösd össze a szavakat az angol megfelelőjükkel! [Match the words with their English equivalents.]

Une caméra	logo
Un jury	brioche
Un piano	guitar
Un logo	star
(...)	

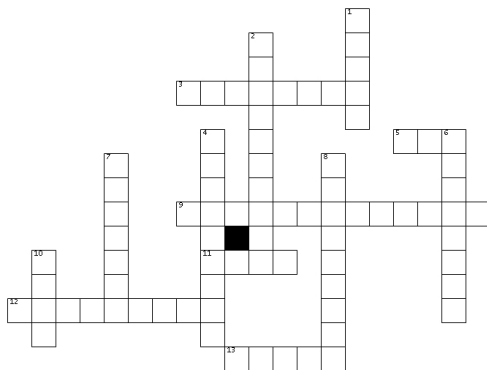
2. Keress az angolra hasonlító szavakat a könyv első leckéjéből! Írd le őket! Ugyanazt jelentik-e, mint az angol nyelvben? Eltér-e a kiejtés? [Find words that sound like English from the first lesson in the book! Write them down! Do they mean the same as in English? Do they have different pronunciation?]

francia szó [French word]	az angoltól eltérő jelentés (igen/nem) [meaning differs from English (yes/no)]	az angoltól eltérő kiejtés (nem/kicsit/nagyon) [pronunciation differs from English (no/a little/very)]

3. Írd be a hiányzó betűket a szópárokba! [3. Fill in the missing letters in the word pairs.]

dalmatian- dalmati\_\_  
 guitarist- guitarist\_\_  
 musician- musici\_\_\_\_,-ne  
 magician- magici\_\_\_\_,-ne  
 pianist- pianist\_\_\_\_  
 (...)

4. Írd be a keresztrejtvénybe a szavak francia megfelelőit! [4. Write the French equivalents of the words in the crossword.]



Vízzintes

- 3. Moroccan
- 5. age
- 9. international
- 11. father
- 12. present
- 13. Russian

Függőleges

- 1. blonde
- 2. professor
- 4. grandfather
- 6. Spanish
- 7. family
- 8. grandmother
- 10. mother

5. Ejtsétek ki együtt a szópárokat (angolul és franciául! Melyik szó a legnehezebb számodra? Melyik nyelv kiejtése áll közelebb a magyarhoz? [5. Pronounce the word pairs together (in English and French! Which word is the most difficult for you? Which language is pronounced closer to Hungarian?]

6. Húzd alá az azonos szóalakokat! Szerinted melyiknek nehéz megjegyezni a helyesírását franciául? Jelöld meg pirossal! [6. Underline the identical word forms. Which one do you think is difficult to remember the spelling of in French? Mark it in red!]

Un homme heureux?

« Je suis milliardaire » présente un homme extraordinaire, Hugues Barthélémy: un homme d'affaires riche et compétent. Qui a une banque privée? Hugues Barthélémy. Qui a un journal? Hugues Barthélémy, bien sûr. Qui a une société multimédia internationale et deux chaînes de télévision (Bar-Télé et Télé-my)? Hugues Barthélémy, bien sûr. Il a aussi un personnel compétent: un banquier et un avocat. Il a une équipe forte et douée. C'est un producteur incontournable, (...)

7. Hány szónak tudnád megadni az angol megfelelőjét? Írd le ezeket! Ezek közül hányat írunk ugyanúgy angolul, mint franciául? [7. How many words can you give the English equivalent of? Write them down! How many of these words are spelled the same in English as in French?]

8. Hogyan fordítanád az alábbi szavakat angolra? Kösd össze a párokat ! [8. How would you translate the following words into English? Put the pairs together !]

Danser	stressed
Présenter	arrive
Un spectacle	first
Extraordinaire	tv programme
Arriver	severe
(...)	

9. Melyik a megtévesztő szavak? Karikázd be, ahol eltérés van a két nyelv között (jelentés, kiejtés)! [9. Which are the misleading words? Circle where there is a difference between the two languages (meaning, pronunciation).]

10. Karikázd be az angolra hasonlító szavakat a szövegben! [10. Circle the words that sound like English in the text.]

Pas de scandale au deuxième show de Talents. Les candidats sont là, avec des spectacles magnifiques. C'est le petit clown qui quitte la villa, c'est vrai que les clowns

ne sont pas très à la mode actuellement. Manu, le candidat en fauteuil roulant, gagne le show avec un slam génial. Ce garçon a beaucoup de charme. Le Don Juan du show, Raphaël, est un peu malade. Il ne chante pas très bien, mais le public le sauve. Sarah ne danse pas en jean mais en tutu, elle est magnifique, et pourtant Brigitte la critique toujours. Elle est vraiment méchante avec Sarah. Pourquoi elle ne l'aime pas? Sa petite préférée est Alice, tout le monde le sait. (...)

11. Írd ki a szavakat a szövegből! Eltérnek-e az angol jelentésüktől? Hogyan alakul a kiejtésük? [11. Write out the words from the text. Do they differ from their English meaning? How are they pronounced?]

12. Keresd meg a szavak francia megfelelőit a szövegben! Melyek a megtévesztő szópárok? [12. Find the French equivalent of the words in the text. What are the most misleading word pairs?]

performances \_\_\_\_\_

fashionable \_\_\_\_\_

nowadays \_\_\_\_\_

save \_\_\_\_\_

favourite \_\_\_\_\_

entitled \_\_\_\_\_

story \_\_\_\_\_

answer \_\_\_\_\_

13. Alkoss mondatokat a megadott mondatrészekkel! Írd le őket! [13. Make sentences with the given parts of the sentence! Write them down.]

Il

écoute un médicament

arrive la radio

regarde le bus

bavarde froid

fait ses devoirs

prend	au travail des photos la télé avec sa famille
1 _____	
2 _____	
3 _____	
(...)	
14. Melyik igét tudtad többször is felhasználni? Mi ennek a szónak az angol jelentése? [14. Which verb could you use more than once? What is the English meaning of this word?]	
Írj 3 francia és 3 angol mondatot ezzel a szóval! [Write 3 French and 3 English sentences with this word!]	
1. _____	
2. _____	
3. _____	

## 2. Vocabulary test

Add meg a neved rövidítését (Pl.: K.D.)! [Enter the abbreviation of your name (e.g.: K.D.)!]

### 1. feladat

Add meg a szavak francia megfelelőit! Írd mögé a szó nemét! (m-hímnem, f-nőnem)

[Give the French equivalents of the words. Write the gender of the word after it (m-male, f-female)]



dal

gitár

zongora

kávézó

limuzin

gitáros

zenész

bűvész

első (nincs neve)

végül (nincs neve)

2. feladat

Hogyan írjuk helyesen franciául? [How do you spell the words in French?]

Milliárdos:

Család:

Gazdag:

Kompetens:

Tragédia:

spanyol

3. feladat

Mely betűk hiányoznak a szavakból? [Which letters are missing from the words?]

Zenész: musici.....,-ne

Bonyolult: compli.....,e

Házasság: mar.....,-e

zongorista: pianist.....

bank: ban.....

járni valahova: fré..er

**4. feladat**

**Döntsd el, milyen neműek a alábbi főnevek, ill. melléknevek! [Decide the gender of the following nouns and adjectives!]**

jeune

extraordinaire

professeure

pianiste

tragédie

riche

guitare

piano

**ARTICLE INFO:**

Original research article

Received: September 2, 2024

Revised: October 24, 2024

Accepted: October 24, 2024



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18485/philologia.2024.22.22.6>

UDC: 81'243(397)

37.091.3::811.111(397)

## ■ FACTORS INFLUENCING METHOD CHOICES OF EFL TEACHERS IN MAURITANIA: A REFLECTIVE PERSPECTIVE

**OULD EHINE H'MEIDE<sup>1</sup>**

University of Belgrade

Faculty of Philology

Belgrade, Serbia

 <https://orcid.org/0009-0001-4204-9422>

Ovaj rad bavi se faktorima koji utiču na izbor nastavnih metoda stranih nastavnika EFL-a u Mauritaniji. U fokusu ove studije su nastavnicima engleskog jezika čiji je maternji ili drugi jezik engleski i koji su predavali ili trenutno predaju EFL u Mauritaniji. Glavni ciljevi ovog rada su da se identifikuju faktori koji utiču na izbor nastavnih metoda kod nastavnika, kao i da se ispita uticaj njihove obuke (kako početne obuke tako i kasnijeg stručnog usavršavanja), refleksije nastavnika, zemlje porekla i kvalifikacije nastavnika. Podaci su prikupljeni korišćenjem upitnika i intervjuva, koji su potom analizirani kvalitativnom metodom sa fokusom na tematsku analizu interpretacije podataka. Rezultati su otkrili da više faktora značajno utiče na izbor nastavnih metoda. Ovi faktori se mogu klasifikovati u sledeće kategorije: (1) faktori koji se odnose na učenike, (2) okruženje u učionici, (3) faktori koji se odnose na čas, (5) faktori koji se odnose na nastavnika i njegovu refleksivnu nastavu i (6) drugi faktori, koji uključuju (a) kulturu (b) jezičku raznolikost, (c) uslove rada i (d) očekivanja administracije.

Ključne reči: nastavna praksa, identitet nastavnika, kulturna ograničenja, inicijalna obuka i stručno usavršavanje, obrazovanje nastavnika, metodologija nastave.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Teaching and learning are intertwined, as they are two sides of the same coin with an unbreakable affinity. While learning entails receiving knowledge, teaching serves as the process by which knowledge is transmitted. In other words, the application of teaching methods, such as techniques, strategies, procedures, and approaches, is always triggered by various factors. Therefore, it is vital for foreign and non-foreign educators across different countries to identify these factors in order to enhance students' learning and unleash their performance.

This paper investigates the factors influencing the choice of teaching methods of foreign English teachers teaching EFL in Mauritania. It is hypothesized that the choice

---

1 Kontakt podaci (E-mail): [ouldehinne.ahmed@gmail.com](mailto:ouldehinne.ahmed@gmail.com)

of teaching method is influenced by factors such as pre-service and in-service teaching, teacher reflection, country of origin, and teacher qualifications.

The first part of the paper is dedicated to the theoretical foundations of teacher reflection and factors influencing the choice of teaching methods. It mainly depicts teaching practice in relation to pre-service and in-service teacher training and the factors that might influence teachers' choice of teaching methods.

The main part of this paper deals with the methodology, where the method, research questions and hypotheses, sample of the study, and instruments are stated, the main findings of the study are discussed, and the main inferences are drawn. The conclusion summarizes the main findings, states the limitations of this study and suggests an area for further research.

## 2. THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

Teaching English as a foreign language in Mauritania remains challenging because the country has limited facilities and resources and lacks adequate teaching strategies, making it difficult for teachers to implement the most interactive and innovative teaching methods (Eli 2021). (Eli 2021: 102) stated, "in a country like Mauritania, a lot of efforts need to be done in terms of the implementation of innovative and interactive teaching methods". Although there are various teaching strategies and methods teachers can deploy, the choice of the teaching method, particularly for foreign teachers teaching EFL in Mauritania, depends on different factors.

In the last decade, teacher reflection has become an essential area of research in EFL teacher education. In particular, research in this field is often influenced by teachers' prior schooling, their knowledge, experience, and teaching practice, as well as their reflections on their pre-service and in-service training (Dewey 1938; Schön 1983, 1987). Theorists Dewey (1938) and Schön (1983, 1987) have significantly impacted and laid the groundwork for teacher reflection in teacher education by considering the teacher's experience and knowledge as an integral part of the reflective process. Through introspection and analysis of past experiences, individuals can better understand their thoughts, emotions, and actions.

## 3. THE SCOPE AND DEFINITION OF REFLECTION

According to Moayeri/Rahimiy (2019: 129), "the concept of teacher reflection is defined as "teachers' beliefs about their teaching practice". The reflective practice aims to help teachers see how their beliefs influence their pedagogical choices through analysis, interpretation, and evaluation of the teaching process. Rajput *et al.* (2021: 18) defined teacher reflection as "reflection on one's own experiences and assumptions, as part of the course and classroom enquiry; critical observation and reflective analysis of the practices of teaching, are some of the key components of professional growth of a teacher and are crucial for being an effective teacher".

The fundamental theories of reflection and reflective practice originated from the work of Dewey (1933) and Schön (1983; 1987). In fact, Schön based his work on Dewey's theories, and he is most generally known for his theory of reflecting in and reflecting on one's practice. According to Garrido (2023), Schön's theory of reflection comprises processes: reflection in action and reflection on action:

Reflection in action is understood as what the teacher does in the situation at the moment they are teaching, when they decide to do one action or another, when they think about previous situations, from their professional training, as well as their experiences with students, this mainly occurs when a new circumstance or surprising situation arises. On the other hand, reflection on action is the one that is carried out afterwards, which occurs after the class has been given, therefore its context is posterior to the action. (Garrido 2023: 31)

In line with Schön's quotation, Purdue University (2020), identified three types of reflection: in-the-moment reflection for immediate action, after-the-moment reflection for future action, and outside reflection. In-the-moment reflection involves taking notes during classroom activities to help adjust teaching styles and engage or assist students. After-the-moment reflection allows teachers to enhance classroom activities or learning materials by reviewing notes. Outside reflection involves exchanging reflective experiences among teachers from different countries through professional learning networks.

## 4. FACTORS INFLUENCING THE CHOICE OF TEACHING METHODS

### A. TEACHING REFLECTION

Reflective teaching or reflective practice has been one of the influential factors in choosing the method of teaching (Dewey 1938). Research on the nature of reflection often focuses on teacher identity, experience, teaching methods, and the construction of pedagogical content knowledge (Hashweh 2005). However, Moon (2000: 31) suggested that "where and when reflection actually occurs and when it leads to learning, and what is the relation between reflection and learning are still, though, largely unanswered important questions".

In her paper about reflective teaching, Gimenez (1992) emphasized the importance of reflective learning in the field of ELT. She highlighted that researchers suggested that pre-service and in-service courses adopt reflective approaches. Teachers are encouraged to think about their work, adopt reflective approaches, and articulate their beliefs about language learning more explicitly at the institutional and societal levels. This requires them to understand the learning process and have knowledge generated from personal experience and external research. Gimenez's findings indicated that some practical examples of teacher reflection are drawn from pre-service teacher education using journal writing to promote reflective practice.

In line with Gimenez's findings, Kim (2018) noted that pre-service teachers reflect on their teaching through journal writing in an English writing course, which provides teachers with opportunities to reconsider and reflect on their own learning experiences and classroom teaching. The informal nature of journal writing facilitates with the process of reflective practice. Kim's findings show that journal writing promotes reflective practice in pre-service teaching, particularly in classroom teaching, by developing reflection content. Abednia, Hovassapian, Teimournezhad, and Ghanbari (2013), and Cholifah, Asib and Suparno (2020) showed that reflective teaching practices, such as journal writing, peer observation, coaching, student feedback, and action research, help

in-service EFL teachers to reflect on their personal and contextual factors that improve their teaching skills.

In addition, some studies have found that using diaries can help teachers evaluate their teaching methods and make better decisions by reflecting on their own teaching experiences, handling challenges, finding solutions, and making decisions (Ahmadian *et al.* 2021). In this regard, teachers' diaries have been argued to serve pedagogical purposes, instill reflective thinking, and help construct professional knowledge among language teachers (Howell-Richardson/Parkinson 1988; Gabryś-Barker 2014).

## B. FACTORS INFLUENCING THE CHOICE OF TEACHING METHODS

There are many factors which influence the choice of teaching methods. These factors include but are not limited to teachers' knowledge of language, teachers' pre-service and in-service training, teachers' beliefs, teacher identity, and the context (Dewey 1933; Schön 1983; Hashweh 2005; Kim 2018; Olayinka 2019). Olayinka (2019) brought prominent insights into the factors influencing the choice of teaching methods. According to her,

The development of scientific skills largely depends on methods of teaching used. Every science teacher is expected to have a clear understanding of the basis for his/her profession. A command of facts of science as well as the ability to encourage and inspire his/her students is vary [sic]. No single method is best for all topics and for all teachers and learners. The crucial factor is that teaching should focus more on the needs of the learners. The teacher is required to consider the subject matter, the objectives, facilities and other factors in relation to the learners [sic] needs. (Olayinka 2019: 317)

Reflection in teaching is based on experience and evaluating the best methods for implementation, identifying missing elements, and areas for improvement. In other words, teaching methods encompass all the procedures, strategies, techniques, approaches, pedagogy, and management that teachers use, particularly in the classroom, to help students learn and attain all stipulated instructional goals set for a lesson (Richards/Rodgers 2001; Olayinka 2019). The type of teaching method that is appropriate for a particular subject depends on several factors including the students' level, their prior and current knowledge, learning needs, the subject itself, available time, materials, and the learning environment (Olayinka 2019).

Olayinka's findings are in line with those of Hasdianti (2019), who conducted a study on *the perceptions of pre-service teachers regarding their choice of teaching methods at the University of Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta, Indonesia*. Hasdianti, using a qualitative descriptive research design, identified two main factors influencing the selection of teaching methods. The first factor revolves around pre-service teachers' perceptions of teaching methods used in teaching practice. This involves the interaction between the teacher and students during classroom activities. The second factor influencing the choice of teaching method includes student-related factors, learning facilities, learning goals, learning materials, time allocation, and the teacher's knowledge in the subject matter. The availability of facilities, such as a blackboard, computer, projector, tables, and chairs, significantly influences the teaching and learning process.



Additionally, Cheruiyot's (2018) study examined teacher *factors that influence the choice of teaching methods*. Cheruiyot showed that teacher training, age, experience, school location, and their relationships with students play significant roles in influencing the choice of teaching methods. The study also showed that head teachers who had in-service teacher training and seminars, were highly motivated and could use different teaching methods effectively. Meanwhile, teachers who missed out on in-service training lacked the chance to improve their teaching methods, learn new teaching techniques, and address challenges, which made it harder for them to effectively deliver the curriculum.

Teachers' reflective practice may not always support their role in the classroom when teachers are unaware of their beliefs and the power of reflective practice. Senior (2006: 247) states, "a large number of teachers do not have the inclination to sit down and reflect on the reasons that underlie their classroom decision-making." Zeichner (1996) proposed several reasons to demonstrate that teachers' reflective practices do not always align with their intended goals, including a lack of attention to the social and institutional teaching environment and a focus on personal reflection rather than group sharing. For example, Farrell and Bennis (2013) found in their case study that two EFL teachers, one experienced and one novice, were not aware of their instructional beliefs until they were asked about them during the interview.

As suggested by Kanno (2018), other factors, including the environment and sociolinguistic situation, are crucial in selecting an appropriate teaching method. In other words, teaching a particular language in a foreign country with a different culture, educational system, and curriculum significantly differs from teaching it in one's native country. The varying policies directly or indirectly influence teachers' choices of teaching method.

## 5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study examines the factors that influence the choice of teaching methods among foreign English teachers teaching English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in Mauritania. It focuses on English teachers whose native language is English, who speak English as a second language, and who have experience teaching or are currently teaching EFL in Mauritania. Thirteen teachers participated in this study, but only seven were considered valid, and six were excluded because they were originally from Mauritania. The seven teachers who participated in the study have diverse teaching backgrounds, come from different countries such as the USA, UK, Gambia, and Guinea, and possess various teaching qualifications, including TEFL and TESOL certificates, university teaching certificates, master's degrees, and higher teacher's certificates.

The study focused on qualitative data collection, using both a questionnaire and an interview. Although the graphs in the study show quantitative results, the focus is on qualitative interpretation through the narrative inquiry method, where the focus is on the participants' experience. Thematic analysis was employed to extract and analyze themes from the data set. The questionnaire was distributed online through Google Forms, and the participants were provided with a link to Calendly, an automated scheduling platform where they could book the interview based on their availabilities.

## 5.1. THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire consisted of 16 questions divided into two sections. The questions were constructed based on the research hypothesis and previous studies on similar topics. This questionnaire included two types of questions: closed-ended questions and mixed-format questions. Mixed-format questions combine closed and open-ended elements, requiring respondents to select an answer from a list and provide further explanation.

The first section of the questionnaire consisted of an introductory section about the participants' backgrounds and teaching experiences in Mauritania. It covered information such as the teachers' countries of origin, native language, pre-service and in-service teaching experience, teaching certificate, years of teaching experience in Mauritania, and institutions they have taught or are currently teaching at in Mauritania.

The second section focused on teaching strategies and factors influencing the choice of teaching method. It aimed to explore the impact of pre-service and in-service teacher experience, their knowledge about teaching methods used in Mauritania, their experience in adapting their teaching philosophy in a multilingual and multicultural sociolinguistic setting like Mauritania, and whether Mauritanian social interaction, culture, and working conditions influenced their choice of teaching method. This section also addressed aspects such as schools' facilities and resources, the curriculum, students' learning goals, and classroom management to determine whether they affect teachers' choice of teaching methods. It also considered potential constraints encountered when choosing and implementing teaching methods, as well as other factors influencing their choice of teaching method.

## 5.2. THE INTERVIEW

In the interview, the participants were asked follow-up questions about the answers provided in the survey in order to gain deeper insight into their perspectives. As the interview was optional, most of the participants believed that they had already provided enough information through the questionnaire. Hence, the interview was conducted with one participant, an American teacher. It was done online using Zoom Meeting platform. It was semi-structured interview and consisted of five questions.

The first one focused on whether teachers incorporate reflection on action, after-action reflection or reflection for future action as part of their reflexive practice. The second one investigated the cultural constraints that teachers encountered in different situations where they had to adjust their communication style to suit the cultural norms in Mauritania. While the third question explored the factors that influence teachers' choice and implementation of teaching methods in Mauritania, the fourth question attempted to uncover how pre-service and in-service teacher training helped teachers overcome all the constraints they encountered in different contexts, including Mauritania. The fifth question invited teachers to share a personal anecdote as a practical example of situations where they had to reflect on their teacher training and apply that reflection to manage those particular situations effectively.

The interview was recorded, and the consent was obtained from the respondent. In this interview, the teacher provided further explanation about the factors influencing their choice of teaching methods and shared an anecdote from their personal teaching experience. The interview was transcribed, and themes were categorized using *NVivo 11*

software. The interview analysis was conducted as a narrative systematic investigation, and the responses were classified and analyzed based on themes that it revolved around.

### 5.3. RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study aims to answer the following research questions:

The first question is: What factors influence the choice of teaching methods among foreign English teachers in Mauritania? This question is based on the hypothesis that there are factors that influence the choice of teaching methods among foreign English teachers in Mauritania.

The second question is: Do the factors of pre-service and in-service teacher training, teacher reflection, country of origin, and teacher qualifications influence their choice of teaching method? This question is based on the hypothesis that the choice of teaching method is influenced by pre-service and in-service teaching, teacher reflection, country of origin, and teacher qualifications.

The third question is: Are there any other factors that might influence the choice of teaching method in the Mauritanian context? This question is based on the hypothesis that some other factors influence teachers' choice of teaching methods in the Mauritanian context.

### 5.4. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Based on the research questions and hypotheses, the main objectives of this research are:

- 1 To identify the factors that influence the choice of teaching methods among foreign English teachers in Mauritania.
- 2 To investigate how pre-service and in-service teacher training, teacher reflection, country of origin, and teacher qualifications influence their choice of teaching method.
- 3 To provide insights into other potential factors that may influence the choice of teaching method in the Mauritanian context.

## 6. DATA ANALYSIS

### Questionnaire

#### Section1: Demographic information about the participants

##### 1. Country of origin:

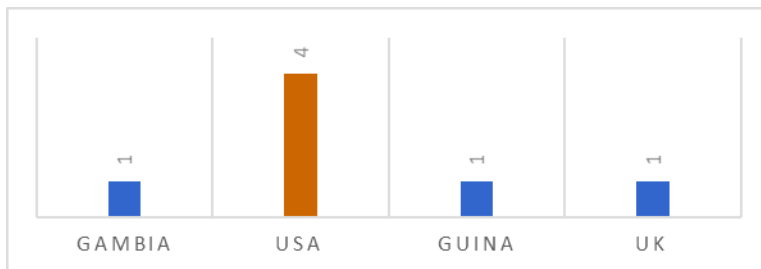


Figure 1. Country of origin

The participants of this study are from different countries, as shown in the Figure 1 above, with the majority from the USA. This may be due to the fact that teachers usually come from the USA. They teach at the HUB Center, the University of Nouakchott, Lebanese University, and other institutions.

## **2. Native language**

This item aims to gather information about the participants' native language. All participants in this study speak English, either as a first or second language. Those who speak English as their second language come from various African countries. In particular, these participants speak Wolof in Gambia and Wouff in Guinea.

## **3. Where have you gained your pre-service and in-service teaching experience?**

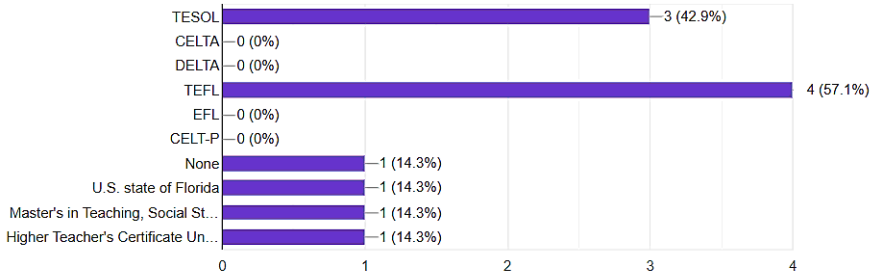
The respondents demonstrated that they have gained pre-service and in-service teaching experience in different countries. In particular, participants from the USA have gained their teaching experience through pre-service and in-service teacher training. While the first participant gained their experience through teaching at centers and schools in Argentina, Japan, the Czech Republic, and Tunisia before they came to Mauritania, the second participant illustrated that they had their training in the U.S., Haiti, Liberia, Senegal, Rwanda, Vietnam, China, El Salvador, Saint Vincent, and the Grenadines.

The third American participant pointed out that they gained their teaching experience through teaching in secondary schools in Olympia, particularly their pre-service and in-service teaching in Washington, New York City, Chicago, Prince George's County, Montgomery, and Maryland. The fourth one has gained teaching experience at Liberty University and Kellogg Management Institute. They also gained teaching experience in Mauritania at the intensive English Center, American English & Tutoring Services, and American English Center. While the participants from Guinea and Gambia had their teaching experience in Gambia and Sierra Leone before they came to Mauritania, the participant from the United Kingdom had their teaching experience exclusively in the United Kingdom before they came to Mauritania.

This indicates that the majority of teachers had their teaching experience in countries other than Mauritania, such as Argentina, the USA, China, and the Czech Republic. They would likely adapt easily to the cultural norms of a foreign country like Mauritania. Teachers who also had similar experiences in countries like Tunisia, Rwanda, and Senegal are likely well-equipped to navigate the challenges of teaching in similar contexts.

## **4. Teaching Certificate**

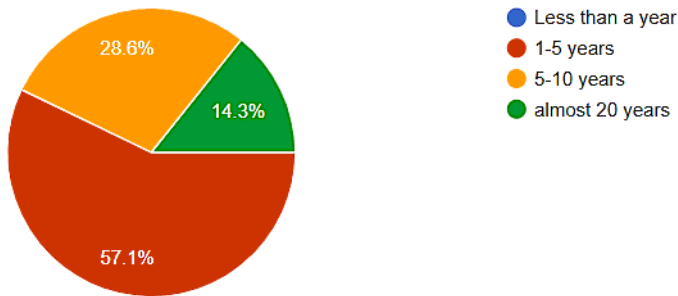
This data shows that most participants have TEFL and TESOL certifications, alongside a University Teaching Certificate, master's degree, and a higher teacher's certificate. However, one participant does not have any of these mentioned certificates, but holds a university degree. The answer highlights that these diverse qualifications are essential for teaching English in a foreign country. TESOL and TEFL certifications specifically prepare teachers to handle the challenges of teaching English to non-native speakers, focusing on various teaching strategies as they are provided with specialized training in teaching English to native speakers of other languages. This training often focuses



**Figure 2.** Teaching Certificate

on practical teaching skills, classroom management, and effective language instruction strategies. A university degree and higher teaching certificates also provide a solid academic foundation, subject knowledge, and the capability to develop pedagogical skills necessary for effective teaching. These qualifications aim to help teachers teach in diverse settings, such as Mauritania, enabling them to reflect on their teaching practice and implement teaching methods.

### 5. Teaching experience in Mauritania



**Figure 3.** Teaching experience in Mauritania

All teachers involved in this study have different teaching experiences ranging from 1–5 years, 5–10 years, and nearly 20 years of teaching in Mauritania. This diversity has enabled to immerse themselves in Mauritanian culture and gain insights into various school curricula and students' learning objectives. This teaching experience demonstrates teachers' ability to develop a deep understanding of diverse educational contexts and curricula, adjusting their methods to meet the specific needs of their students in the Mauritanian context.

### 6. Institutions you have taught or are teaching at

The data indicates that teachers have worked in various schools and universities in Mauritania, including Sahara English (an American school), American Corner Centre, Intensive English Centre, Nouakchott University Al Aasriya, and an ENS (Teachers Training College). Where these foreign teachers taught in Mauritania is crucial for considering a specific teaching environment when adjusting teaching styles and methods. For instance,

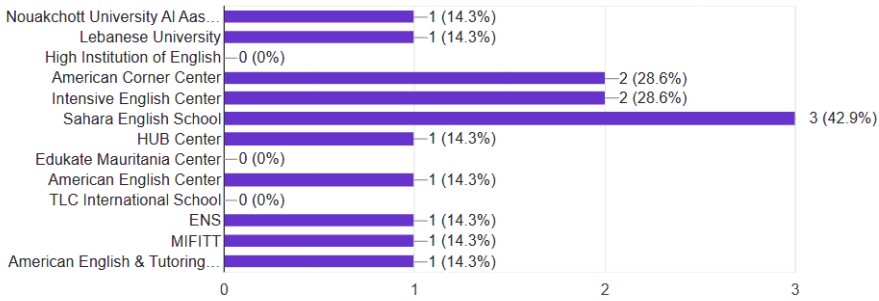


Figure 4. Place of employment

adapting teaching methods to meet the needs of learners at a university or school differs from teaching pre-service and in-service teachers at ENS in Mauritania.

### Section 2: Teaching Strategies and Adaptations

In the previous section, we explored teachers' prior experience in countries other than Mauritania, their teaching qualifications, teaching experience, and the institutions where they taught within the Mauritanian context. This section aims to gain insights into their teaching reflection and the factors influencing their choice of teaching methods, particularly when adapting their strategies to align with the curriculum of a specific institution and meet their students' needs.

#### 1. My previous pre-service and in-service teacher experience helped me to... in Mauritania: (Please select all that apply)

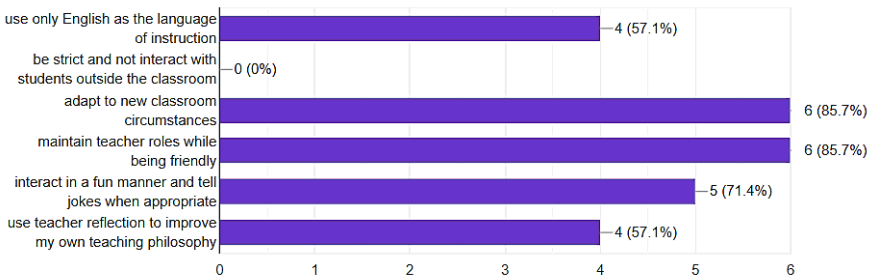


Figure 5. Benefits of pre-service and in-service teacher training

This data shows that pre-service and in-service teacher experience helps foreign teachers adopt different teaching methods in Mauritania. The majority indicated that it helped them to adapt to new classroom circumstances and maintain teacher roles while being friendly. It also enabled them to interact with students in a fun manner and tell jokes when appropriate. Other teachers pointed out that their pre-service and in-service teacher experience assisted them to use English exclusively as the language of instruction and use their teacher reflection to improve their own teaching philosophy. Overall, this shows us that pre-service and in-service teacher training and reflective practice are essential in implementing teaching methods and strategies through the teaching and learning processes.

## 2. Briefly describe your pre-service and in-service teaching experience.

The answers to this question show that teachers who had experience teaching at universities before coming to Mauritania are motivated to teach at different universities in Mauritania. In particular, teachers who taught trainee teachers were motivated to teach in institutions like ENS in Mauritania, the teacher training college. Their responses entail that teaching teachers who are motivated to learn is different from teaching those who are not motivated. The factors of experience and age here play a significant role. Overall, their pre-service and in-service teaching experiences help them to use various interactive activities such as fun games and role plays. They also implement teaching methods that work best and that help to deal with various disciplines.

## 3. What teaching methods have you employed when teaching EFL in Mauritania? (Please select all that apply)

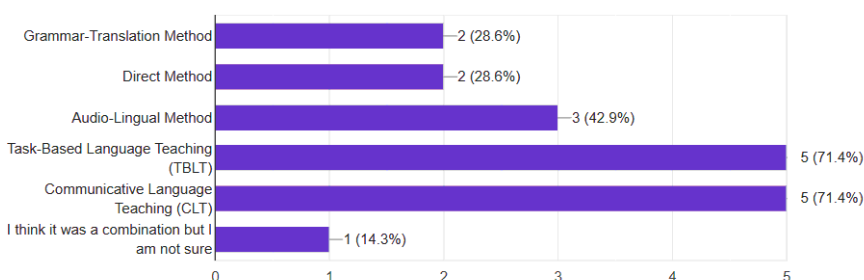


Figure 6. Teaching methods

According to the participants' answers, the most widely implemented teaching approaches in Mauritanian by EFL teachers are Task-based Language Teaching and Communicative Language Teaching. In addition, some foreign English teachers in Mauritania have also adapted Audiolingual, Grammar-Translation, and Direct Method.

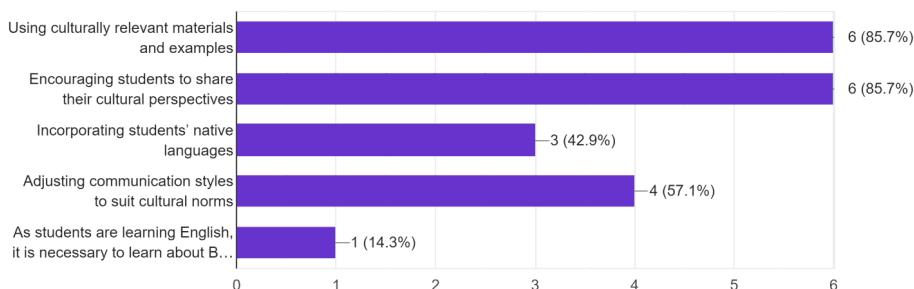
## 4. Based on your experience, which of the methods mentioned above is the most effective in teaching English in Mauritania? Please justify your answer.

Teachers in Mauritania hold different views on the most effective approach to teaching English. Some believe that the Communicative Approach and the Grammar-Translation method are the most widely used in Mauritania. Others argue that any method can be effective, depending on its implementation. The key is establishing a connection with students and ensuring that the curriculum is meaningful and relevant to them.

## 5. What teaching strategies do you find the most effective when adapting to different cultural situations? (Please select all that apply)

The respondents expressed different opinions. On the one hand, they found that the most effective strategies involve culturally relevant materials and examples, encouraging students to share their cultural perspectives, adjusting communication styles to align with cultural norms, and incorporating students' native languages. On the other hand, other teachers mentioned that as students learn English, it is essential for

them to understand British and American cultural norms. These teachers do not think it is essential to consider the students' cultural situation.



**Figure 7.** Effective teaching strategies for adapting to cultural situations

**6. Do you find it challenging to follow your own teaching philosophy in the multilingual and multicultural sociolinguistic situation in Mauritania? Please justify your answer.**

The answers to this question indicate that some participants find it challenging due to students' lack of effort, cultural norms requiring careful interaction, and difficulties in integrating curricula into multilingual and multicultural contexts due to the limited materials and resources. However, others believe these issues can be managed by adjusting teaching methods to linguistic diversity, cultural awareness, and local educational practices. These respondents believe that native English teachers are often able to successfully adapt their teaching approaches to align with the local context in multilingual and multicultural settings like Mauritania, due to their training.

**7. Do the factors of Mauritanian social interaction, culture, and working conditions influence your choice of teaching method?**

The participants believed that social interaction, culture, and working conditions influence their choice of teaching methods. In terms of culture, some teachers believe that avoiding specific topics like religion, politics, and gender differences can significantly impact their teaching activities in one way or another. One teacher said *"One difficulty for me was changing my interaction based on gender, such as not touching male students, which was something different for me"*. Other participants emphasized that teachers should use culturally relevant materials and adapt their content to reflect local traditions and values to engage students effectively. Working in a well-equipped school with supportive staff makes it easier to implement successful teaching methods. However, the physical conditions of classrooms, including class size and technological access, can impact the feasibility of specific teaching methods.

**8. Do aspects such as the school's facilities and resources, the curriculum, students' learning goals, and classroom management affect your choice of teaching method?**

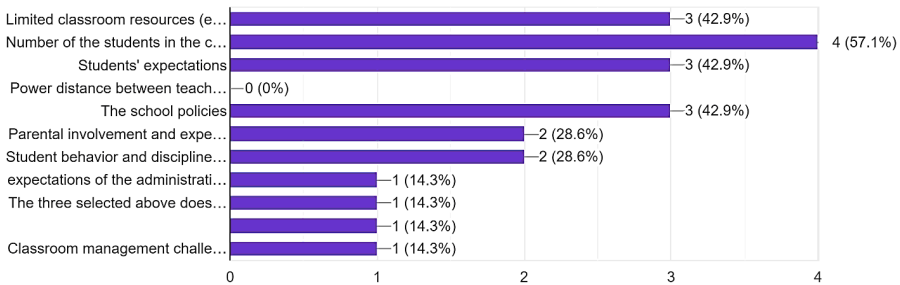
The responses to this item highlight the significant influence of factors such as school facilities, resources, curriculum, students' learning goals, and classroom management on



the choice of teaching method. Also, respondents demonstrate that the availability of teaching materials (books, technology, lab equipment) significantly affects their lesson plans and the methods they use to deliver them. The physical setup of classrooms, including seating arrangements can determine the appropriateness of group work and the use of interactive methods. In this regard, one teacher quoted *“Yes, I have to consider what resources are available for me to use, and how helpful they would be for the classes I want to teach. Also, when choosing class subjects, I need to consider how interesting and engaging it will be for the average young adult in Mauritania. Otherwise, I’m wasting my time”*.

Overall, teachers perceive that all the aforementioned factors significantly affect their teaching methods. For example, to manage student behavior, a teacher may use activities and methods designed to keep students engaged and focused, fostering active participation and engagement.

### 9. What constraints do you encounter when choosing and implementing teaching methods in your classroom? (Please select all that apply)



**Figure 8.** Constraints of the implementation of teaching methods

The responses to this question revealed that many teachers encounter constraints when selecting and applying teaching methods in their classrooms. The primary challenges include a large number of students in the classroom, limited classroom resources (e.g., textbooks, technology), classroom management, students' expectations, school policies, parental involvement, and expectations. Additionally, the respondents mentioned that unclear expectations from the administration are another major constraint they encounter.

### 10. Are there any other factors that influence the choice of your teaching method?

While some teachers believe that the factors discussed in the previous questions are the major influences on their choice of teaching methods, others added that factors such as the teacher's teaching philosophy, available materials, textbooks, and other resources can also determine which methods are practical.

#### Analysis of the interview

In addition to the questionnaire, a semi-structured interview was designed to investigate teachers' teaching experiences, thoughts on their teaching reflection, and

teaching philosophy. It also aimed to highlight different factors that influence their teaching methods. It used qualitative open-ended questions to gather insights about the social and cultural factors and pedagogical practices that might influence their teaching methods based on their pre-service and in-service training experience and their overall teaching experience in Mauritania.

Each question was discussed separately in relation to the research questions. Also, NVivo 11 software was used to identify and categorize themes within the responses.

**1. What aspects of teaching do you incorporate as a part of your reflective practice to improve your teaching philosophy aside from those mentioned in the questionnaire?**

The teacher stated the following *"I always take some time to reflect after each class. It's a very straightforward process. One method that I like and use often is to reflect on what happened in class. After each class, I take some time to summarize the key points, reflect on how I felt and how the class went, and then think about how I can improve for next time"*. Based on the teacher's response, the type of reflection they practice in order to improve their teaching philosophy is the after-action reflection and for future action.

**2. So, in terms of adapting to different cultural situations, did you encounter any cultural constraints when it comes to adjusting your communication style to suit the cultural norms?**

The response to this question shows that being friendly and open-minded, learning about students' cultures and preferences, engaging them in the learning process, constantly identifying their challenges, and providing them with solutions help the teacher to adapt to different cultural situations. However, gender differences presented a challenge for the teacher, as in many Mauritanian communities, males and females are not allowed to touch or make physical contact, except in cases of in milk kinship, also referred to as milk siblings<sup>2</sup>.

In this regard the teacher stated *"I needed to communicate differently and avoid physical contact with male students. Sometimes, I had to be cautious to ensure my words were not wrongly taken. When I discuss my personal experiences or express myself, I always aim to communicate clearly without causing offense to anyone"*.

It is obvious that the teacher was unaware of the cultural norm, as they had not encountered it before coming to Mauritania. They also mentioned that students seemed embarrassed when physical contact occurred with the opposite gender.

**3. Are there any other constraints that you encounter when choosing and implementing your teaching method in the classroom, basically, in the Mauritanian context?** Meaning, is there anything that you can link to the same experience that you had in Haiti, Liberia, Senegal, Rwanda, the USA, and China as compared to the Mauritanian context?

The answer to this question revealed that teachers experienced different challenges in different countries compared to Mauritania. The common challenge across different

2 In Islam, children who are suckled by the same woman become, in effect, related by milk as siblings even though they may not be blood-related (Thorley 2014).

countries was understanding the diverse learning preferences of students. Specifically, in Mauritania, students tend to be more reserved than those in the United States. They often prefer to listen rather than speak, which is challenging when learning a language requires active speaking. Therefore, it was mandatory for the teacher to provide activities to engage and motivate them to use the language. In Mauritania, students' and administrations' expectations are sometimes unrealistic. Therefore, it is crucial for the teacher to understand the teaching objectives, school curriculum, and students' expectations in order to align them with their teaching practices.

#### **4. So, how did your pre-service teacher training help you to overcome all constraints when teaching in different contexts?**

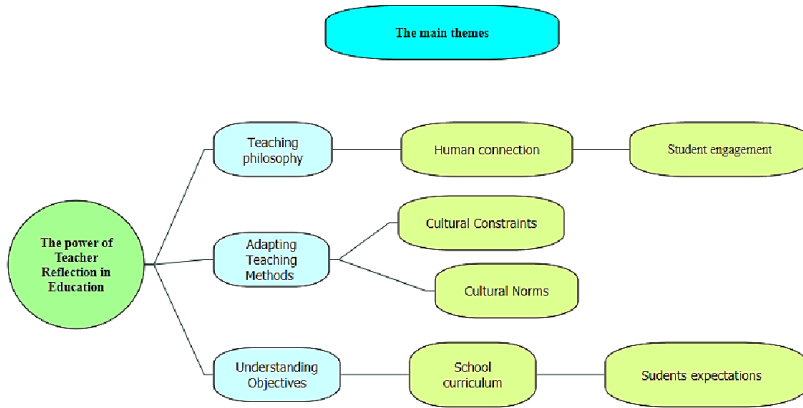
The participant stated: *I continuously adjust my methods and content, listening and responding to what happens in each class. If I notice students struggling with something, I focus on addressing that issue in future lessons. I avoid repeating what they already understand and instead concentrate on overcoming unexpected challenges by bringing those issues into the classroom to help students learn what they find difficult.* The response to this item demonstrated that in each teaching context, it is crucial to observe the students – understanding their abilities, struggles, performance levels, and identifying what strategies are effective for them.

#### **5. Do you have any anecdote, a story or anything based on your teaching experience in any context that you would like to share with us?**

*"I remember a time when a misunderstanding led to a significant lesson for me. One day in class, while I was explaining something to the students, I told one of the students, "No, no, no, not that.". Then, he was upset, insisting that I had said something entirely different. I argued that I had not said what he claimed, but the incident bothered me deeply. It bothered me so much. I could not shake off the feeling, and I was determined to make things right. As soon as the student entered the class the following day, I took the opportunity to apologize to him. I told him that I was sorry and that I was not the type of teacher who is always correct. I'm a human being, and I must be ready to learn from the students, recognize my mistakes, and recognize the way to connect to them in a meaningful way. This experience made me realize that teaching is not just about intellectual exchange but also about human connection. It has to be communication which includes being human, having concern, having a way to be a person to person with the students".*

The anecdote above reminds us that teaching involves more than just sharing information; it is also about forming genuine human connections. Effective communication in the classroom requires teachers to embrace their humanity, demonstrate empathy, and establish professional connections with their students.

All in all, the interview showed that the power of teacher reflection in education lies in the teaching philosophy, where teachers express their values and beliefs about teaching as outlined in the following Figure 9



**Figure 9.** These themes are extracted from the interview using NVivo 11 Software

Power of education also allows teachers to adopt teaching methods, techniques, and an understanding of teaching objectives throughout their practices. However, the selection of a particular teaching method is influenced by various factors, such as teaching objectives, the school curriculum, and students’ expectations.

The anecdote unveiled that human connection plays a crucial role in teaching and learning. Human connection as part and a characteristic of teaching philosophy and practice is a key to developing students’ skills, cognitive abilities, and engagement. Human connection is closely related to emotional intelligence in learning, as Tomlinson/McTighe (2004: 16) stated that “They (students) come to the classroom first looking for things like affirmation, affiliation, accomplishment, and autonomy {...} they are looking for adults who accept them, value them, guide them, and represent for them what it means to be a competent and caring adult”. The interview also showed that adopting or choosing a teaching method might be influenced or constrained by cultural norms depending on the context.

## 7. DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

The findings of this study indicate that the respondents gained pre-service and in-service teaching experience in different countries before coming to Mauritania, including the USA, Argentina, Japan, the Czech Republic, Tunisia, Haiti, Liberia, Senegal, Rwanda, Vietnam, and China. This suggests that the majority of teachers had prior teaching experience in countries quite different from Mauritania, such as Argentina, the USA, China, and Czech Republic, which may make it more challenging for them to easily adjust to the cultural norms of a foreign country like Mauritania. However, teachers who had similar experiences in countries like Tunisia may have been better equipped to navigate the educational system, culture, and religion of Mauritania.

Regarding their educational background and official certification, the majority of the teachers in this study have TEFL and TESOL certifications in addition to a university teaching diploma, a master’s degree, and a higher teacher’s certificate.

As for the time the research was conducted, the participants had varied teaching experiences in Mauritania, ranging from 1–5 years, 5–10 years, to nearly 20 years. They have taught at various schools and universities in Mauritania particularly in Sahara English (American school), the American Corner Center, the Intensive English Center, Nouakchott University Al Aasriya, and ENS.

In line with previous studies by Gimenez (1992), Cheruiyot (2018), Hasdianti (2019), and Olayinka (2019), the findings of this study demonstrated that several factors influence the choice of teaching methods. These factors include:

### 7.1. FACTORS RELATED TO THE LEARNERS AND CLASSROOM

Factors related to learners are among the most critical considerations since they are the primary recipients of knowledge. The study showed that students' learning goals and classroom management significantly affect the choice of teaching method. In particular, respondents emphasized that students' general reluctance to put in the necessary effort often compels teachers to find ways to engage them more effectively. Additionally, the study deduced that students' maturity, grade level, and abilities should be considered because a single method cannot meet the needs of all students or grades. Thus, the choice of method has to cater to students' needs. This is supported by Hasdianti, who stated that "each student has a different character in which the teacher has to adjust the teaching method that will be used in teaching and learning process" (Hasdianti 2019: 15). In relation to this, the findings showed that factors related to classroom include facilities. Teachers exhibited that the availability or lack of teaching materials, such as books and technology, significantly affects their lesson planning and the choice of teaching methods. The physical setup of classrooms, including seating arrangements, can determine the appropriateness of group work and interactive methods.

### 7.2. FACTORS RELATED TO THE LESSON

Teachers have demonstrated varying opinions regarding these factors. While some argued that factors related to the lesson are shaped by the (1) topic itself, (2) its length (3) its objectives, (4) and the method used for the subject, others emphasized that selecting a method requires considering the nature of the content, the relevance of the lesson to students' real-life experiences, and whatever the material is challenging. Most of the teachers in this study showed that the most effective strategies teachers found were using culturally relevant materials in Mauritania. In other words, this means using authentic culturally based materials can be useful in learning. This perspective aligns with Olayinka (2019), who believes that the choice of teaching methods is often influenced by the lesson's topic, and the curriculum's requirements.

### 7.3. FACTORS RELATED TO THE TEACHER AND THEIR REFLECTIVE TEACHING

The factors related to the teacher are shaped by key elements, including (1) teacher identity, (2) teacher reflection, (3) their pre-service, and (4) in-service training. This is supported by Gimenez (1992) and Kim (2018), who believe that teachers need to reflect on their own beliefs about language learning and teaching through various practical reflections. This study revealed that teacher reflection is an integral part of the teaching and learning process, as the majority of the participants use reflection on action and for future action.

Furthermore, the results of this study confirmed that pre-service and in-service teacher experience helps foreign teachers to adopt different teaching methods in Mauritania. The majority indicated that it helped them to adapt to new classroom circumstances and maintain teacher roles while being friendly. It also helped them to interact in a fun manner and tell jokes when appropriate. In particular, the results of the interview displayed that teacher reflection allows teachers to evaluate the learning process to understand their students, their level, and their abilities, and then adjust the teaching method accordingly. Factors related to teachers are also shaped by their knowledge, academic training, skills, and qualifications. These findings align with Olayinka's (2019) assertion that a teacher's expertise and preparation are critical in shaping their approach to teaching.

#### 7.4. OTHER FACTORS RELATED TO CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC CONSTRAINTS

In addition to the previously discussed factors, the choice of teaching methods of foreign English teachers in Mauritania is also influenced by other factors, including (1) culture, (2) linguistic diversity, (3) working conditions, (4) and administrative expectations. This study found that culture significantly impacts the selection of teaching activities, particularly when addressing students' diverse linguistic backgrounds and cultural differences. For instance, students who experience power distance issues may be less inclined to participate in group discussions, role plays, and assimilation. Additionally, the results showed that gender norms require adjustments in interaction, such as avoiding physical contact with male students. Furthermore, avoiding certain topics like religion and politics are examples that might influence their teaching method, as well as the need to select culturally relevant materials and examples to make lessons pertinent and engaging for students.

In terms of linguistic diversity, in Mauritania, foreign English teachers have asserted that when adapting certain teaching methods, teachers have to consider linguistic diversity, avoiding speaking any other language than English. They acknowledged using English as a medium of instruction exclusively in the classroom to prevent ethnic conflicts and linguistic constraints. Regarding working conditions, teachers highlighted that working with professional and cooperative staff and working in a school equipped with all necessary facilities make it flexible for them to deploy their teaching methods. Some teachers stated that the administrative expectations and school curricula are not unrealistic at times. These constraints often hinder the implementation of effective teaching methods, as teachers are required to adhere to the prescribed school system.

## 8. CONCLUSION

This paper was designed to investigate the factors influencing the choice of teaching methods among foreign English teachers teaching EFL in Mauritania. The focus of this study were English teachers whose native or second language is English and who have taught or are currently teaching EFL in Mauritania. Data collection involved questionnaires and interviews, which were subsequently analyzed through a qualitative, employing thematic analysis for data interpretation.

The findings of this study reveal that there are factors that have a significant influence on the choice of teaching methods. These factors can be classified into the

following: (1) factors related to the students, (2) classroom environment, (3) factors related to the lesson, (5) factors related to the teacher and their reflective teaching and (6) other factors which include (a) culture (b) linguistic diversity, (c) working conditions and (d) administration's expectations.

The study faced several limitations. The major one is that the questions regarding teachers' reflections on their teaching process were left for the interview, but unfortunately, only one teacher participated. Additionally, the study could have benefited from incorporating classroom observations to gain firsthand insights into the teaching process and to refine the interview and questionnaire design accordingly. Due to time and spatial factors, it was not possible to attend the classes in person. Regardless of these limitations, the results of this study answered the research questions and validated the proposed hypotheses.

Overall, reflective teaching and experience are essential elements in shaping teachers' choice of teaching methods, highlighting the interdependence between teaching and learning. All factors that influence the choice of teaching methods contribute to making teaching and learning meaningful and practically oriented. Educators are recommended to consider all possible factors that might shape or influence their teaching process and embrace different teaching methods, consider the learners' needs and available facilities, and reflect on their pre-service and in-service training for better educational teaching practice. These teaching practices are particularly critical in the Mauritanian context, where educational reform remains a pressing issue. Further research is essential to understand how teaching practices can contribute to advancing the educational system in Mauritania.

## REFERENCES

- Abednia, A. *et al.* 2013. Reflective journal writing: Exploring in-service EFL teachers' perceptions. *System* 41(3), 503–514.
- Ahmadian, M., P. Maftoon and P. Birjandi. 2021. A mixed-method study of teacher diary as a reflective instrument for the English language teacher development. *Journal of Modern Research in English Language Studies* 8(2), 1–24.
- Cheruiyot, B. J. 2018. Teacher Factors that Influence the Choice of Teaching Methods Used by Early Childhood Development Education Teachers in Keiyo South District. *Africa International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research (AIJMR)* 2(1), 7–17.
- Cholifah, A. N., A. Asib and S. Suparno. 2020. In-Service EFL Teachers Engagement in Reflective Practice: What Tools do In-service Teachers Utilize to Reflect their Teaching? *Pedagogy: Critical Approaches to Teaching Literature, Language, Composition, and Culture* 8(1), 24–33.
- Dewey, J. 1933. *How we think*. Buffalo: Prometheus Books.
- Dewey, J. 1938. *Experience and education*. New York: Collier Books.
- Eli, T. B. 2021. Students' perspectives on the use of innovative and interactive teaching methods at the University of Nouakchott Al Aasiya, Mauritania: English Department as a case study. *International Journal of Technology, Innovation and Management (IJTIM)* 1(1), 90–104.



- Farrell, T. S. and K. Bennis. 2013. Reflecting on ESL Teacher Beliefs and Classroom Practices: A Case Study. *RELC Journal* 44(2), 163–176.
- Gabryś-Barker, D. 2014. Teacher narratives in teacher development: Focus on diary studies. In M. Pawlak, J. Bielak and A. Mystkowska-Wiertelak (eds.) *Classroom-oriented research: Second language learning and teaching*. Heidelberg: Springer, 243–258.
- Garrido, H. B. 2023. Teacher Reflection in Teaching Practices-A Methodological Proposal for Its Operationalization. *Journal of Education and Development* 7(1), 30.
- Gimenez, T. 1999. Reflective Teaching and Teacher Education Contributions from Teacher Training. *Linguagem & Ensino* 2(2), 129–143.
- Hasdianti, D. 2019. Pre-Service Teachers' Perceptions about Their Teaching Method Choices. Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta. [Internet]. Available at: <http://repository.ums.ac.id/handle/123456789/30230> [17.08.2024].
- Hashweh, M. Z. 2005. Teacher pedagogical constructions: a reconfiguration of pedagogical content knowledge. *Teachers and Teaching* 11(3), 273–292.
- Howell-Richardson, C. and B. Parkinson. 1988. Learner diaries: Possibilities and pitfalls. In P. Grunwell (ed.) *Applied linguistics in society*. London: CILT, BAAL, 74–79.
- Kanno, T. N. 2018. *Guided Discovery Teaching Method, A Book of Readings: In Honour of Prof. UMO Iwovi*. Lagos: Foremost Educational Services Ltd.
- Kim, M. K. 2018. Reflective practice in pre-service teacher education through journal writing in a writing course. *English Language Teaching* 30(3), 55–76.
- Moayeri, M. and R. Rahimi. 2019. The significance of promoting teacher reflection: A review article. *Latin American Journal of Content & Language Integrated Learning* 12(1), 128–143.
- Moon, J. A. 2000. *Reflection in learning and professional development: Theory and practice*. London: Kogan Page.
- Olayinka, F. O. 2019. Factors that Influence the Choice of Teaching Methods. In S. O. A. Obih, C. D. Moemeke and E. A. Ogwu (eds.) *Panorama of Curriculum Development and Instructional Plan*. Owerri: Mercy Divine Publisher, Gender Studies Association of Nigeria, 317–329.
- Purdue University. 2020. Reflecting on Teaching Practice – Online Teaching Hub. [Internet]. Available at: <https://onlineteachinghub.education.purdue.edu/reflecting-on-teaching-practice/> [09.09.2024].
- Rajput, A. K. et al. 2021. *Reflective Teaching - A handbook towards preparing a Reflective Teacher*. New Delhi: National Council of Educational Research and Training.
- Richards, J. C. and T. S. Rodgers. 2001. *Approaches and Methods in Language Teaching*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schön, D. A. 1983. *The reflective practitioner: How professionals think in action*. New York: Basic Books.
- Schön, D. A. 1987. *Educating the reflective practitioner*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Senior, R. 2006. *The experience of language teaching*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Thorley V. 2014. Milk sibblingship, religious and secular: history, applications, and implications for practice. *Women and birth: Journal of the Australian College of Midwives* 27(4), 16–19. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wombi.2014.09.003>



- Tomlinson, C. A. and J. McTighe. 2004. *Integrating Differentiated Instruction and Understanding by Design: Connecting Content and Kids*. Alexandria: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.
- Zeichner, K. 1996. Introduction. In K. Zeichner, S. Melnick and M. L. Gomez (eds.) *Currents of reform in preservice teacher education*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1–8.

## SUMMARY

### FACTORS INFLUENCING METHOD CHOICES OF EFL TEACHERS IN MAURITANIA: A REFLECTIVE PERSPECTIVE

This paper was designed to investigate the factors influencing the choice of teaching methods of foreign EFL teachers in Mauritania. The focus of this study is on English teachers whose native language or second language is English and who have taught or are currently teaching EFL in Mauritania. The main objectives of this study are to identify the factors that influence their choice of teaching methods and to investigate the influence of their pre-service and in-service teacher training, teacher reflection, country of origin, and teacher qualifications. Data was collected using questionnaires and interviews, which were analyzed using a qualitative method focusing on thematic analysis for data interpretation. The findings of this study revealed that several factors significantly influence the choice of teaching methods. These factors can be classified into the following categories: (1) factors related to the students, (2) classroom environment, (3) factors related to the lesson, (5) factors related to the teacher and their reflective teaching and, (6) other factors, which include (a) culture (b) linguistic diversity, (c) working conditions, and (d) administration's expectations.

**KEYWORDS:** Teaching practice, teacher identity, cultural constraints, pre-service and in-service training, teacher education, teaching methodology.

#### ARTICLE INFO:

Original research article

Received: October 10, 2024

Revised: November 26, 2024

Accepted: November 29, 2024



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18485/philologia.2024.22.22.7>

UDC: 821.163.41.09-7 Домановић Р.

## ■ SATIRA U PRIPOVETKAMA RADOJA DOMANOVIĆA

JELENA B. OGNJENović<sup>1</sup>  
Univerzitet u Novom Sadu  
Filozofski fakultet  
Novi Sad, Srbija

 <https://orcid.org/0009-0008-0556-4549>

U radu se, analizom četiri reprezentativne pripovetke Radoja Domanovića (*Voda*, *Danga*, *Ukidanje strasti* i *Mrtvo more*), markiraju neke od ključnih tačaka celokupne njegove poetike i predočavaju neke od osnovnih karakteristika epohe realizma. Stacioniranjem Domanovićevo alegorijsko-satiričnog stvaralaštva u epicentar realističke periode oslikava se sociopolitički proscenijum tadašnje Srbije i kritikovane vladajuće partiture (dinastije Obrenović i Srpske radikalne stranke, na čelu sa Nikolom Pašićem), sa težnjom da se iznađu, i što detaljnije ispituju državne *boljke* – građa Domanovićeve satire. Iz svake od navedenih pripovedaka izdvojeno je po jedno ključno mesto: paraboličnost *Vode*, karnevalizacijski potencijal u *Dangi*, religiozni podtekst *Ukidanja strasti* i romaneskna epizodičnost u *Mrtvom moru* – kako bi se ukazalo na širok dijapazon Domanovićeve spisateljskih potpupaka.

Ključne reči: satira, pripovetka, realizam, pripovedač, Radoje Domanović.

### 1. DOMANOVIĆEVO STVARALAŠTVO KAO STOŽERNA TAČKA EPOHE SRPSKOG REALIZMA

Pozno devetnaestovekovlje, koje donosi prekid romantičarskog mita o svemoći stvaraočevog ingenija, umnogome je izmenilo dotadašnji klimat poetičkih tendencija. Novoformirani modusi evropskog romansijerstva, razučeni na istočni (Dostojevskova polifonija i introspekcija kao inputi za formiranje psihološke proze) i zapadni kolosek (gotovo dokumentarni realizam Balzakovih romana iz kojih se rađa potonji naturalizam), u jednakoj meri prelivaju se na spisateljski angažman intelektualnih prvoboraca, viševakovnom borbom sticane, autonomne srpske teritorije. „Srpski realisti pisali su za određenu čitalačku publiku, koja je prihvatila njihovu viziju položaja čovekovog u svetu i njegove sreće i nesreće, nade ili beznađa“ (Vučenov 1970: 192).

Okončavanje spoljnopolitičkih prevrata, te uspostavljanje *stabilnih* zakonopravila pod krunom dinastije Obrenović, mesto je ustupilo novim, unutarnjim nestabilnostima, nezadovoljstvom *nižih* socijalnih slojeva i sveopštim nepoverenjem u manipulativna

1 Kontakt podaci (E-mail): [jelena.ognj14@gmail.com](mailto:jelena.ognj14@gmail.com)

gesla *svežih* stranačkih skupina. Sa poprišta dugovekovne bitke za teritorijalnu nezavisnost, nacionalni dignitet i osamostaljivanje jednojezičkog sistema prilagođenog svim društvenim grupama, negdašnji prvoborci počeli su da tumaraju unutar granica sopstvene države, propovedajući, u ranom prosvetiteljstvu iznađene, ideje o primatu razuma, slobodoumlju i jednostrukim aršinima birokratske aparature.

Paradoksalno, upravo u veku najizrazitije slobode srpskog življa, mogu se prepoznati koreni njegove, do današnjih dana neizlečene, boljke – snishodljivosti. Upostavljanje vladavine jednoulja, zasluga jednopartijskog režima čiji se glasnogovornici ne libe da degradiraju, naruže ili učutkaju svaki pojedinačni ili kolektivni akt pobune, devetnaestovekovnim dekretom, ostavljeno je u nasledstvo svim potonjim vlastodržačkim kružocima. Gospodarenje slabovidih i poltronizam njihovih sledbenika, koji se, zarad sopstvenog profita, svojevolljno odlučuju da začkilje na oba oka, i sa druge strane, ubogost priprostog puka uspostavljene su kao normalne tačke na ravni Kraljevine Srbije. U tek dovršenim trudovima suvereniteta, srpski narod suočiće se sa mnogo podlijim neprijateljima – sopstvenim sunarodnicima, idolopoklonicima krune i nadrimesijanstvom nametnutog radikalnog lidera Nikole Pašića.

Voždovi srpske intelektualne zajednice, okupljeni oko *dardanelskog kulta*, ustaju protiv uvrežene diktature, uperivši svoja mastila u pravcu partijskih trudbenika i nesuvislih tutorskih dekreta. Uvođenje cenzure, još od drevnih antičkih vremena znanog autokratskog poteza, mnoge spisateljske glasove zagušilo je za rešetkama zatvorskih ćelija, ali, implicitni ili eksplicitni, mistifikatori neodahijskog stoleća pronalazili su načine da nadmudre svoje protivnike.

Nasuprot očekivanom, neosetnom prelasku iz epohe u epohu, u kojem limesi nisu jasno odeljivi, najočitiji, gotovo opipljiv prelaz periode, može se iznaći u godinama u kojima romantizam klizi u realizam. Jedna od najizrazitijih promena, koja reprezentuje rez epohe romantizma i njeno preinačavanje u realističku sledbenicu, tiče se formalnih stvaralačkih ramova – prelaska sa poetskih na prozne tvorevine. Nabujalost sveobuhvatnih afekata, isuviše snažnih da bi se mogli rasuti po linearnim sintaksičkim konstrukcijama, stišava se, uravnotežava, a iz njihovog patosa izrastaju psihološki presedani predmoderne individue.

Po ugledu na filozofska uporišta zapadnog ili istočnog realističkog doka, celina domaćih pripovedača okupljenih oko istorodne ideje o prosvetivanju naroda i ogoljevanju svudprisutnih partijskih malverzacija, raspolučuje se u dve sfere. Poklonici ruskog romanopisanja, izašlog iz Gogoljevog šinjela, odlaze do samih margina čovečije psihologije, unutarjim slomovima objašnjavajući manifestacije spoljašnjeg ponašanja. Redukujući sižee na svega nekolicinu krucijalnih događanja, glavni zaplet njihovih dela kovitla se oko sukoba junaka sa potisnutim željama i afektima. Protagonisti Lazarevićevih pripovedaka su ćutljivi usamljenici mimo kojih prolazi život – začeci, modernoj i postmodernoj književnosti poznatih, junaka kontemplacije.

Uporedo sa ovom strujom, stasava i ona oponentna struja oslonjena na domašaje zapadnjačkog romanopisanja, na čijem su proscenijumu ustaljeni junaci akcije. Gromki sižei iz kojih vrvi nedvosmislena kritika represivnih društvenih sistema, saosećanje, ali i poruga upućena ugroženom *plebejskom* stanovništvu, mogu se prepoznati i kao preteče književnosti kojoj, u današnje vreme, pridodajemo epitet *angažovana*. Na toj kulminativnoj tački srpske realističke epohe, koja ključa zajedno sa poremećenim

vrednosnim, političkim i birokratskim sistemima, iskrsavaju alegorijsko-satirične pripovetke najgrlatijeg antiobrenovićevskog borca – Radoja Domanovića. Tumačeći razgranate satirične slojeve njegovih pripovedaka, Dimitrije Vučenov (1970: 175) će ponuditi jednu opštu definiciju alegorijskog postupka: „Da bi se alegorija shvatila, moraju i piščeva i čitaočeva svest i mašta biti slobodni da teku u dve paralelne horizontalne ravni. Prividno, ove dve ravni se ne dodiruju, ali bez shvatanja njihovog odnosa alegorija je bez efekta“.

## 2. VOĐA KAO PSEUDOBIBLIJSKA PARABOLA

Kako Goran Maksimović, u svojoj opsežnoj studiji o fenomenu Domanovićevo smeha, primećuje, kompozicione sheme najvećeg srpskog satiričara mogu se odeliti u dve skupine. Alegorijsko-satirični mehanizmi pokreću se na samom početku pripovedanja, i to mimikrirani posredstvom *tehnike sna* ili „opisa iskustva sa putovanja po neobičnoj zemlji“ (Maksimović 2000: 58). Razlozi piščevog poigravanja sa oniričkom fantastikom i kvazidokumentarnim svedočenjima dvostruki su, inovativni koliko i praktični. Uvođenjem ovih fabularnih modaliteta na tle srpske književnosti, Domanović čini krupan iskorak ka evorpskom realizmu, koji već uveliko barata sferama nadrealnog; shodno tome, mogli bismo reći da je Domanovićev opus jedan od onih iz kojih će se, u kasnijim decenijama, izroditi začeci magijskog realizma. No, neosporan je i upliv straha od cenzure; prateći svihtovsku tradiciju stacioniranja narativa pod okrilja senovitih, nepoznatih predela, Radoje Domanović stvarne istorijske okolnosti i ličnosti skriva pod pseudonimima imaginarnih.

„Gde je i kada ovo bilo, to se, mislim, ne tiče ni vas ni mene. Glavno je da vi meni verujete da je to bilo negde i nekad u nekom kraju, a to je dosta“ (Domanović 2019: 299), ovako glase uvodne napomene Domanovićevo auktorijalnog pripovedača. Tautološko nagomilavanje neodređenih spacijalnih i temporalnih odrednica, pomoću kojih se prenaglašava *neistinitost* događaja, paradoksalno, funkcioniše kao impuls njihove autentičnosti. Auktorijalni pripovedač, u naratološkoj teoriji poznat kao *svevideća* instanca izmeštena iz sveta dela o kojem govori, sa čitaočima ulazi u specifičan dijalog, posredstvom svojih čestih komentara. Shodno tome, već pri samom uvodu, ova pripovetka uspostavlja dvostrani komunikacioni kanal i briše razlike između čitalačke stvarnosti i pripovedačeve uobrazilje.

Figura vođe kog napačeni narod bira na putu ka obećanoj zemlji često je varirana, a njena moralistično-filozofska pozadina iznađena je u starozavetnom svedočanstvu o izbavitelju porobljenog izraelskog naroda, donositelju i glasniku deset božijih zapovesti. Lik hebrejskog proroka Mojsija, jednog od najkrucijalnih biblijskih propovednika, poslužio je kao građa mnogim književnim junacima. No, možda čak i najosionija pripovetka Domanovićevo alegorijsko-satiričnog opusa, služeći se sižejnim stožerima starozavetne legende, dekonstruiše mesijin lik, ovaplotivši u njemu sentencu iz Jevandolja po Mateju: „Ostavite ih; slepi su vođe slepima; a kada slepac vodi slepca, obojica će pasti u jamu“. Lišavajući ga primarnog čula, čula vida, autor od vođe svoga ubogog naciona, koji bi samo da „pođe nekud, ne misleći kuda“ (Domanović 2019: 299), načinjava groteskno-komičnu figuru, čija se *falinka* čitaoču ne odaje do samog raspleta. Neskrivene intertekstualne poveznice između savremene i biblijske storije doprinose

efektu satirične izobličivosti i načinjavaju pseudobiblijsku parabolu o poslušnoj ograničenosti srpskog dvadesetovekovnog življa, koje svojevoljno hrli ka bezdanu *jame*. Ili, kako je to Maksimović (2009: 59) primetio, u samoj srži pripovetke *Vođa* prepoznaje se jedna ključna opozicija iz koje izrastaju sve potonje; opozicija „herojske, epske prošlosti i neherojske, čiftinske sadašnjosti“.

Izostanak bilo kakve detaljnije karakterizacije, portretisanja, psihologizacije i imenovanja likova, uz „prividno naglašenu objektivnost naracije“ (Maksimović 2000: 60), formiraju doživljaj naroda kao homogenog, nemislećeg entiteta, u kojem je svako pojedinačno shvatanje podređeno kolektivnom jednomylju, kojem je vođu „sam Bog poslao da ih povede u svet“ (Domanović 2019: 300). Kolektivni junak, sačinjen od više od dve stotine porodica koje „grobove ostavljaju“ (Domanović 2019: 301) i polaze za slepačkim štapom onoga koji „izgleda da je vrlo pametan čovek, jer neprestano čuti i misli“ (Domanović 2019: 300), prolazi kroz gradativni tok svoje *inicijacije* (ruši plot, provaljuje trnjak, prolazi kroz vrljike i, na kraju, za vođom skače u jamu), koja, umesto prosperitetom zajednice, rezultira njenim izumiranjem. Jedini glasovi koji se povremeno čuju pripadaju deci - reprezentima trezvenosti i racionalnosti. Ipak, ovi glasovi gasnu na putu do uha, pa će čitaoci, nakon nekoliko pasusa, pročitati najtragičniju rečenicu pripovetke: „nekoliko manje dece od godine-dve dana propalo, ali stegli su srce roditelji, jer tako je Bog hteo, a i žalost je manja što su deca manja“ (Domanović 2019: 305).

Kada jedna od žena izgubi oko, iz gomile se začuje: „čudna mi čuda, jedno oko. Šta će ti oči, kad ima ko za nas da gleda i vodi nas sreći?“ (Domanović 2019: 304). Ovom ironijskom sentencom, autor pokušava da uzdrma pažnju čitalaca, izjednačivši ih sa putnicima (ni čitaoci, kao ni naord, sve do samog kraja, neće uspeti da protumače vođino slepilo - oslepljeni, hodiće za njim do kraja pripovesti).

Završetak pripovetke izveden je prema maniru većine Domanovićevih dela - prevođenjem narativa sa plana akcije na plan deskripcije; od aktera do pejzaža u kojem su se obreli: „Jesenji vetar strahovito hući planinom i nosi uvelo lišće; po brdima se povila magla, a kroz hladan, vlažan vazduh šušte gavranova krila i razleže se zloslutno graktanje. Sunce sakriveno oblacima, koji se kotrljaju i jure žurno nekud dalje, dalje“ (Domanović 2019: 307). Apokaliptična atmosfera pustare, od koje čak i Sunce beži, u snažnoj je korelaciji sa beznađem naroda, od kojeg je ostalo svega tri glave, na čelu sa onim koji se „i rodio slep“ (Domanović 2019: 307).

### 3. DEVETNAESTOVEKOVNA KARNEVALIZACIJA U DANGI

Nasuprot tehnici kvazidokumentarizma prema kojoj je sazdan *Vođa*, primer oniričkog putešestvija auktorijalnog pripovedača pronalazimo u *Dangi*. „Snio sam strašan san“ (Domanović 2019: 293), pripovetka započinje *in medias res*, uspostavljajući okvir koji bi čitaočev svet trebao izričito da odeli od sveta u koji će zaći narator. No, pre nego što objavi da je „zaspao kao jagnje s mirnom savešću“, svestan da je „potpuno izvršio sve svoje dužnosti“ (Domanović 2019: 293), pripovedač će, najpre, oslikati mikrosekvencu svoje srpske domovine. Ponizno klanjanje pred dugmetom policijske uniforme poslužiće kao baza za psihološko portretisanje pripovedača - čoveka „koji se baš ništa ne razlikuje od ostalih valjanih građana“ (Domanović 2019: 293) - a, na taj način će, posredstvom samo jedne individue, sinegdoški biti isklesana duboka *patriotska* poniznost čitavog socijalnog poretka.

Nakon ove kratke digresije započinje pripovedačevo putovanje po „velikom, mnogoljudnom gradu“, kojim gospodare kmet i, hijerarhijski odeljeni (viši i niži), panduri. Mistifikovanjem čelnog vlastodržca posredstvom nadevanja feudalnog zvanja sjedinjuju se dve istorijske paradigme i implicira identičnost neprosvećenosti srednjovekovnog i *racionalnosti* modernog građanina. Tom deonicom autor daje ključ za tumačenje ostatka pripovesti – nasuprot *Vodji*, u kome je primarno karikiranje vlasti, u *Dangi* se satirična oštrica okreće protiv *samouniženog* kolektiva. Takođe, autor će se ponovo poslužiti jednom mikrosekvencom u kojoj se, namesto psihologizacije srpskog naroda, kodira uzvišenost same Srbije; kada pripovedač svome ugostitelju napomene odakle dolazi, mehandžija će ga pogledati *s rešpektom*.

Kuriozitet ironijskog oneobičavanja ove Domanovićeve pripovetke nalazi se u primatu dijaloških i poliloških scena, nasuprot izrazitoj deficitarnosti deskripcije. U ovoj, gotovo dramskoj inscenaciji predkulminativne epizode (odabir predsednika zbora za predstojeće žigosanje) primetno je odsustvo pripovedača kao filtera događanja, te *sirovo*, neposredovano prikazivanje „kolektivne histerije proistekle iz nanovo probuđenih patriotskih osećanja pred viteški čin žigosanja“ (Maksimović 2000: 61). Kao oponent zavladaom bezumlju javlja se, domanovićeovskoj poetici vičan, racio, simbolički prikazan figurom „bledog, iznemoglog starca, smežurana lica i bele kose i brade kao sneg“ (Domanović 2019: 296). No, kao i uvek, instanca razuma brzo biva nadglasana, prebijena i bezmalo kamenovana, a od tog momenta, radnja vrtoglavo hrli ka svom klimaksu.

Sentenca masovnog žigosanja, „žrtve koju otadžbina i opšte dobro svijuju nas zahteva“ (Domanović 2019: 297), u kojoj se sjedinjuju svi uzrasti i svi slojevi zajednice (pa čak i deca, ne bi li nakon žigosanja „imala preča prava na bolja mesta u državnoj službi“ (Domanović 2019: 297)), mogu se iščitavati kao moderni pandani karnevalizacije, rituala poznog srednjeg veka i rane renesanse. Smeh oslobođan u *danima luda*, prema tumačenjima Mihaila Bahtina, određen je kao svojevrsna preteča smehu kasnije, satirične književnosti. Izverzijom uloga, koja od kralja načinjava podanika, a od podanika kralja, vrši se inverzija celokupnog socijalnog sistema, a naročito njegovih moralno-etičkih sfera. Upravo ovakvo izobličavanje je, u Domanovićevoj pripovesti, transkribovano izokretanjem *podviga* žigosanja i njegovim preinačavanjem iz čina najsvirepijeg poniženja u čin najrespektabilnijeg viteštva. Takođe, pomeni građana koji su svoj ugled stekli nakon što ih je *uzjahao* poneki pandur, a neke čak i sam kmet, postaju groteskne u lišenosti bilo kakvog prizvuka metaforike. Kada Domanović izrekne da „jedan čovek sa nekom trroglijastom sjajnom kapom, a u šarenom odelu, jaše jednog drugog čoveka u vrlo bogatu odelu običnog, građanskog kroja“ (Domanović 2019: 294), on o toj sceni pripoveda bez ikakve primese konotativnog značenja, a *trroglijasta kapa* i *šareno odelo* mogu se protumačiti kao aluzije na karnevalizacijske kostime – jedan od njenih najoneobičenijih artefakta.

I sama imena Domanovićeovih antiheroja, ispražnjena od svakog potencijalnog značenja (Kolb, Talb, Kleard i Lear), produkti su (slovne) inverzije i svedoče u prilog zaključku Radovana Vučkovića (2014: 192), na koji će se kasnije pozvati Goran Maksimović, „da je srenjnovekovni karneval prenet na pozornicu grada krajem devetnaestog veka i da pisac ne piše satiričku prozu psiholoških uživanja u ličnosti i imitacija stvarnosti, već pravi stilizovani i simbolični ulični teatar“.

Kraj pripovetke, označen naglim prekidom pripovedačevog sna, prati ustaljene moduse Domanovićeovog nenadanog, gotovo novelističkog epiloga, zapodenuvši



paralelizam između imaginarnog življa i naroda ondašnje Srbije. Kada pripovedač ponosito usklikne: „Udarajte deset žigova, a ne samo dva!“ (Domanović 2019: 298), prisativši se predaka i junačkog Kosovskog zaveta, poveznica dve sfere se upotpunjuje, ali se, istovremeno, i precepljuje. „Sažeti epilog zapravo je satirička insinuacija, koja rječito razobličava i nagovještava moguće analogije sa svijetom realnosti“ (Maksimović 2000: 64).

#### 4. RELIGIOZNI PODTEKST U UKIDANJU STRASTI

Iako Domanovićev satirični prvenac, pripovetka paradoksalnog naslova – *Ukidanje strasti* – pati od simptoma ranog, nedovoljno izvajanog stvaraočevog ingenija (isuviše eksplicitno navođenje narodnih boljki, gotovo taksativno navođenje ukinutih poroka, isuviše *opore* i koncizne sentence, nedostatak zapleta), ne može se osporiti maestralnost njene zamisli i njen mnogostruki doprinos srpskoj realističkoj prozi. Kako Goran Maksimović (2000: 92) primećuje, ova pripovetka je „organizovana oko proširivanja satiričkog paradoksa, koji se odigrao u nekoj nepoznatoj zemlji, u nekom nepoznatom narodu“. Naslovni paradoks na koji Maksimović aludira proističe iz sprege dva nespojiva pojma – apstraktne imenice *strast* i konkretne glagolske imenice *ukidanje*. Alogičnost ove sintagme polazišna je tačka za alogičnost čitavog narativa i njome je „sugerisana moralna degradacija i rastakanje negdašnjeg mentaliteta bića piščevog naroda“ (Maksimović 2000: 92).

Ispripovedana pomoću motiva putovanja „po drugim nesrećnim (vanevropskim) zemljama“ (Domanović 2019: 283), ova pripovetka nije, kako je to epoha realizma podrazumevala, formirana iz *opipljivog* zapleta, već je organizovana oko jedne ministarske odredbe – odredbe „kojom se ukidaju sve strasti u zemlji“ (Domanović 2019: 285). Upravo iz te primarne teze proističe neobičan stil pripovedanja – čitava pripovetka napisana je pseudoadministrativnim i publicističkim stilom. Navođenje *poroka* naroda koji je bio „veoma pokvaren i nevaljao“ (Domanović 2019: 282) (učitelj koji je seljacima čitao knjige, sudija koji je čitao opozicione novine, profesor koji je obelodanio državne dugove), zauzima glavninu pripovetke, a isripovedano je neposredno, bez upliva auktorijalnog komentatora. Uvođenjem na proscenijum „deset valjanih i čestitih ljudi“, koji „bejahu u stanju podneti sve žrtve za sreću otadžbine svoje“, te „postadoše ministrima“ (Domanović 2019: 285), opisuje se kružnica „hiperbolisanja tobožnjih paradoksa iz svakodnevnog života“ (Maksimović 2000: 93) tadašnjeg srpstva.

„Od danas, strasti prestaju i ukidaju se kao štetne po narod i zemlju“ (Domanović 2019: 286), ovako glasi krucijalna maksima, a nakon njenog oglašavanja (svega pet minuta kasnije), magijski iščezavaju svi poroci, čime se dokazuje njeno „brzo i efikasno dejstvo ravno hagiografskim čudesima pojedinih svetitelja“ (Maksimović 2000: 95). Ovom sentencom, Domanović ukazuje na religijski podtekst svoje pripovetke (skriven pod nanosima šturih, plitkih i obezličanih novinarskih frazema). Izjednačivši blagodet ukidanja strasti, toliko moćnu da obriše sve pasuse u listu posvećenom strastima, sve dok za njima ne ostane samo naslov, sa čudima pravoslavnih svetitelja, Domanović ocrta paralelu između iskonskog božanstva i savremenih vlastodržaca, koji izmenjuju suštinu i esencijalnu nit ljudske duše – mogućnost predaje afektima.

Prvi je Jovan Deretić (1999: 30) primetio krucijalnu distinkciju između ove i kasnijih Domanovićevih umotvorina, naglašavajući njene „religiozne reminiscencije“ i vladarsku



„težnju da potpuno ovladaju građanima, da ih pretvore u poslušne automate“, dovedenu do ekstrema. Glavnu argumentaciju za ovu tvrdnju Deretić pronalazi u *odjavnoj* sentenci pripovetke, izrazito različitoj od uobičajenog Domanovićevog završetka. Gotovo sve njegove kasnije pripovetke odlikuju se otvorenim krajem – pripovedač se budi iz sna ili okončava putovanje povratkom u svoju domovinu, ostavljajući *poželjnu* mogućnost da se ispričana priča u budućnosti odigra i na srpskoj zemlji. No, ovu pripovetku obeležava posve drugačiji i originalniji završetak, koji se u potpunosti dovršava, ostavljajući je bez ikakvog potencijala da bude nastavljena na bilo kom tlu: „Eto, tako se naglo spase taj narod od strasti, popravi se, pa od toga naroda, po nekim predanjima, postadoše anđeli!“ (Domanović 2019: 287).

Ironijskom korelacijom uspostavljenom između pripovetke i predanja, Domanović zatvara vrata svoga teksta, ali široko otvara kapiju čitaočeve imaginacije posredstvom „poigravanja sa simbolikom anđeoske čednosti“ (Maksimović 2000: 96). Na navedeni epilog pozvaće se Deretić (1999: 30), govoreći da autokrate, zapravo, „iz osnova menjaju prirodu ljudi, uzimaju im dušu, postajući tako gospodari one sfere čovekovog bića u kojoj se ljudsko dodiruje sa božanskim i u kojoj su sve religije sveta gledale glavno polje svoga delovanja“.

## 5. EPIZODIČNOST MRTVOG MORA

Jednu od Domanovićevih najsloženijih kompozicija pronalazimo u pripoveci *Mrtvo more*. Atribuirajući je kao *jedinstvenu* pripovetku Domanovićevog proznog fundusa, Goran Maksimović u njoj prepoznaje hibridnost alegorijsko-satiričnog postupka; izlaganje pojedinca satiri, ali i satirizovanje društvenih i političkih pojava. I pored ovog neospornog umrežavanja dvojca satiričnih metoda, postoji još jedan specifikum – njena izrazita epizodičnost. Već samim obimom izdvojena od većine njegovih proznih zaostavština (slično pripovetkama *Stradija* i *Marko Kraljević po drugi put među Srbima*), izdvojena na mnoštvo nedovršenih, na kulminativnoj tački presečenih, *podpripovedaka*, može podsetiti na redukovani roman.

„Groteskno izobličene malograđanske filozofije življenja i sitnih palanačkih strasti“ (Maksimović 2000: 88), kao lajtmotivski kompleks celokupne fabule, podeljen je na dva narativna makroplana i, u njima sadržane, nekolicine mirkoplanova. Ekspoziciona pola, koja poslužuje kao preludijum centralnim zbivanjima, precizno je odeljena od pole zapleta, koji započinje kada i storijski neimenovanog pripovedača, koji će kazati: „Ja sam vrlo mnogo putovao po svetu. Neki to veruju, a mnogi ne veruju, već drže da sam ja to uobrazio“ (Domanović 2019: 411). Namernim markiranjem pripovedačeve nepouzdanosti, autor podriiva istinitost pređašnjih, ali i svih nastupajućih događaja, osmisliši novi model obmanjivanja; ovoga puta, putovanje se ne odigrava ni u oniričkim, ni u dalekim zemljama, već ostaje u domenu *nestabilnog* pripovedačevog sećanja, neodvojivog od uobrazilje. Iako je radnja započeta u sadašnjem vremenu (signaliziranim još u prvoj sentenci: „Baš u trenutku kada sedoh da pišem ovu pripovetku, ukaza mi se pred očima slika moje pokojne strine“ (Domanović 2019: 405)), ona se nenadano prekida mnoštvom perfektnih epizoda, da bi se, u drugom delu, unutrašnje vreme pripovetke u potpunosti stopilo sa prošlim. Ovakva vremensko-naratološka nekoherentnost stvara utisak *iscepkanih* delića radnje, iz kojih se formiraju „ulančane, hiperbolične, anegdotske epizode“ (Maksimović 2000: 88).

Inicijalna epizoda, koja posluži kao okvir, ali i alegorijski nukleus ostatka pripovetke, jeste epizoda o pripovedačevoj pokojnoj strini, čiji „pogled izražava neku večito očajnu brigu“ (Domanović 2019: 405). Humorom bojeni pasusi posvećeni njenim iracionalnim strahovima, te kratka dijaloška sekvenca u kojoj ona svoga muža odvrća od odlaska u crkvu, kako ga na putu ne bi presreli *‘ajduci*, mogu se očitati kao simbolička predstava čitave tadašnje Srbije, koja, *prezabrinuta* za sigurnost svojih građana, guši svaku pomisao slobodoumnog kretanja. Takvo tumačenje strinionog lika model je za tumačenja svih potonjih epizoda, što potvrđuje i ironija u početnoj rečenici druge epizode: „Ali, kada se čovek bolje razmisli (ako to jest uopšte ima ljudi koji se i takvim opasnim športom bave), mora mojoj pokojnoj strini dati dublji značaj“ (Domanović 2019: 407).

Druga epizoda direktno je nadovezana na prvu i predstavlja *praktično* ostvarenje strininog strašljivog manifesta. Filozofija srpske kraljevske vlasti, kodirana u simpatičnoj figuri strine, ovaploćuje se u „ironičnom razobličavanju obrazovnog sistema koji stvara poslušne i mirne građane“ (Maksimović 2000: 86). Dobro dete učeno da „ne zvera ni levo ni desno, iako mimo njega vrvi svet na sve strane“ (Domanović 2019: 407), fizički kažnjavano ukoliko bilo šta zgreši, te kontaminirano lektirom ispraznih naslova (*Stručak, Kitica cveća*) i njihovom obmanjujućom sadržinom, postaje ono dete koje „ne sedi u sobi gde ima prozora“ (Domanović 2019: 409), a izrasta u onog čoveka čiji se glas neće čuti u trećoj epizodi.

U pomenutoj epizodi, nakon kratkog pripovedačevog oglašavanja, dolazi do ukidanja svake dijalogičnosti; ne samo da prestaje komunikacija u tekstu, već kao i da sam tekst prestaje da komunicira sa čitaocem. Taksativno pobrojanih, sedamnaest članova zakonika (npr. da se kazni svako ko pomisli na državne poslove, da policija ne sme apsolutno ništa misliti, da se deca ne rađaju, već da se, ukoliko bude potrebe, podigne fabrika dece) ukidaju mogućnost bilo kakve diskusije i tekst započinje monolog koji se može okončati jedino čitaočevim pristankom na svaki propisani akt. *Idealan politički program*, zapodenut među onima koji su „bili dobra i poslušna deca“, da bi od njih postali „dobri i poslušni građani“ (Domanović 2019: 409), predstavlja apsurdni vrhunac, za kojim sledi naglo okončanje prve polovine pripovetke.

Zaplet, najavljen prisećanjem na putovanje, praćen je jednom mikrodigresijom o publicističkim napadima na „neke grešnog Engleza koji beše napisao nekakav putopis kroz Srbiju“ (Domanović 2019: 411). Negativna recepcija izdatog rukopisa predstavlja prvi impuls analogije između *neposvedočene* zemlje i devetnaestovekovne Srbije. Dalja razrada ove epizode, razvijena posredstvom motiva represivnog vlastodržačkog formiranja opozicije, nastavlja se u smeru besmislene, burne debate o odabiru pića, koja se okončava odlaskom vlasti i opozicije u gradsku kafanu. Ovim, izrazito prozirnim i efektnim aluzijama, Domanović jasno oslikava stanje u Srbiji svoga doba i stvara pogodan proscenijum za iduću epizodu.

Narativ unutar narativa, zapažen u opisivanju *tragedije* čoveka posprdnog prozvanog Toma Ustav, prva je naznaka nadolazećeg *talasa* u ustajalom moru. Ugušeni glas razuma, koji beše „od sviju najspremniji i najinteligentniji, al' nekako zanesenjak“, ali se, „silom prilike, mada isuviše kasno, opametio“, pa se „ne zanosi kao pre“, a „slabo s kim se i druži“, „u sirotinji je, ali ga mnogi pomažu“ (Domanović 2019: 417), reinkarniraće se u delovanju kvarteta umetnika koji će uznemiriti svakodnevicu *srećnih ljudi*.

Završna epizoda pripovetke, izdijeljena u četiri mikroepizode (o pesniku, naučniku, slikaru i kompozitoru), predstavlja kulminaciju celokupne fabule i, kao po običaju, izaziva nagli presek događanja. Realizovanje metaforične naslovne sintagme ostvareno je u ovom odeljku, kojim autor opisuje *stradalništvo* četiri talasa, koja hitro uzburkavaju „nepomičnu, trulu masu“ (Domanović 2019: 424) i dokazuju Maksimovićev stav (2000: 89) o tome da je „predmet njegove obrade kolektivni mentalitet, zablude i strasti za kojima se nepromišljeno povodi masa, a ne karakterizacija pojedinca“.

Upostavljanje finalne analogije između *mrtvog mora* u Srbije oslonjeno je na još jedno *nepouzđano* pripovedačevu svedočenje: „Setim se jednog poznanika Srbina, a mi ih imamo takvih dosta“ (Domanović 2019: 423). Mikroepizoda o Srbinu koji iskazuje istovrsni obrazac ponašanja kao površni kolektiv neimenovane zemlje završava se ironičnom glorifikacijom i isticanjem nade da će se takav idealni politički sistem, jednoga dana, ovaplotiti i u pripovedačevoj domovini.

No, namesto da se radnja, prema čitačevom očekivanju, prekine u samom zenitu ironije, ona se preinačava u jedan neobično trezven, odjavni pasus. Isticanje ustajale atmosfere „smdrljive vodene mase“ (Domanović 2019: 424), te nepostojanje bilo kakvog signala koji bi mogao odrediti njenu lokalizaciju (pripada li ona stvarnoj Srbiji ili pripovedačevom uobraženom svetu), prelijeva se u naturalistički bojen komentar: „Uh, kako se oseća zadah ustajale vode, koja se ne miče! Davi, guši. Vetra daj, da pokrene nepomičnu trulu masu!“ (Domanović 2019: 424). Ipak, pripovedačev nenadani vapaj, koji tragikom svoga tonaliteta odudara od celokupne pripovetke, dovršava se u, pesimizmom prezasičenoj, finalnoj opasci: „Nigde vetrića...“ (Domanović 2019: 424).

## 6. ZAKLJUČAK

Izuzev toga što pripovedni opus Radoja Domanovića predstavlja nukleus satire kao postupka pri formiranju narativa, on, takođe, reprezentuje važnu lestvicu u razvoju domaće pripovetke. Satira, kao žanrovski potpupak iznađen još u ranoantičkoj zaostavštini, a revalorizovan i reformisan u doba prosvetiteljske epohe (od Maksimovićevog *Malog bukvara za veliku decu*), svoj zenit doživljava u Domanovićevim britkim zapletima.

U svakoj od četiri analizirane pripovetke prepoznaju se osavremenjeni elementi *drevne* književne tradicije (nanosi karnevalizacijskog smeħa u pripoveci *Danga*, savremena parabola u *Vodji*, pseudohagiografski rasplet u *Ukuidanju strasti*). Iako je tematska osnovica pomenutih pripovedaka nedvosmisleno *pozajmljena* iz tradicionalnog (mogli bismo kazati i arhetipskog) književnog fundusa, načini na koje je narativ uobličen izrazito su moderni (povlačenje pripovedne instance, dijalogičnost i polifonijski potencijal pripovedaka, smena naracije deskripcijom i opisima atmosfernih prilika, izdijeljenost pripovedaka na epizode). Shodno tome, pripovedanje Radoja Domanovića predstavlja jedan od prvih impulsa u *zasnivanju* i razvoju modernističke pripovetke, koja se oslanja, ali istovremeno i menja tradicionalne obrasce. Alegorija, glavno stilsko-izražajno sredstvo satiričnih književnih dela, nakon Domanovićevog pisanja, postaje jedna od najčešćih, modernističkih *alatki*.

Preuzimajući tradicionalni renesansni smeħ, oslobođen u *danima luda*, i prilagodivši ga aktuelnim društveno-političkim prilikama, prvi domaći satiričar celinu srpske realističke pripovetke obogaćuje, tadašnjoj književnoj publici slabo poznatim, stvaralačkim obrascima. Susprežući elemente realnog (mistifikovane istorijske ličnosti,

prodiranje u psihologiju *neemancipovanog* naciona) i irealnog (oniričke vizije, verovanje u magijski potencijal reči), Domanović olabavljuje, do tada stroge, konvencije realističke pripovetke, približavajući je narednoj, modernističkoj književnoj periodu.

Iako se značaj stvaralaštva Radoje Domanovića nikako ne bi smeo svesti isključivo na alegorijsko-satirična dela, ona predstavljaju žarišnu nit njegovog stvaralaštva. Smelo preispitivanje i promišljanje negativnih sociopolitičkih okolnosti ranog dvadesetog veka (vladavina dinastije Obrenović, začecje Radikalne stranke pod patronatom Nikole Pašića, sve češći sunarodnički konflikti) učinili su da satirična polovina Domanovićevog opusa postane univerzalna i *aktuelna* i u decenijama nakon njegove smrti.

## LITERATURA

- Deretić, J. 1999. Značenjski aspekti Vožda Radoje Domanovića. U M. Stojanović (ur.) *Književno delo Radoje Domanovića – Novo čitanje*. Niš: Centar za naučna istraživanja SANU i Univerzitet u Nišu, 13–35.
- Domanović, R. 2019. *Deset vekova srpske književnosti*. (ur. G. Maksimović). Novi Sad: Izdavački centar Matice srpske.
- Maksimović, G. 2000. *Domanovićev smijeh*. Beograd: Slobodna knjiga.
- Vučenov, D. 1970. *O srpskim realistima i njihovim prethodnicima*. Beograd: Društvo za srpskohrvatski jezik i književnost Srbije.
- Vučković, R. 2014. *Moderna srpska proza*. Beograd: Službeni glasnik.

## SUMMARY

### SATIRE IN THE STORIES OF RADOJE DOMANOVIĆ

By analyzing four representative short stories by Radoje Domanović (*Leader, The Stigma, Abolition of Passions, and Dead Sea*), the paper marks some of the critical points of his entire poetics and, generally, presents the era of Serbian realism. Placing Domanović's allegorical and satirical methods in the epicenter of the realist period depicts the sociopolitical proscenium of Serbia at the time and the criticized ruling system (of the Obrenović Dynasty and the Serbian Radical Party headed by Pašić), striving to pinpoint and, in as much detail as possible, examine the state's "ailments" – the material in Domanović's satires. Each of the above short stories marks one key point – the parabolic nature of the *Leader*, the carnivalization potential in *The Stigma*, the religious subtext of the *Abolition of Passions*, and the novelistic episodic nature of the *Dead Sea* – to indicate the wide range of Domanović's writerly undertones.

**KEYWORDS:** satire, story, realism, narrator, Radoje Domanović.

PODACI O ČLANKU:  
Originalni naučni rad  
Primljen: 31. avgusta 2024.  
Ispravljen: 28. oktobra 2024.  
Prihvaćen: 28. oktobra 2024.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18485/philologia.2024.22.22.8>

UDC: 821.163.41.09-1 Петровић Б.

## ■ LOGOREJA U PESNIČKOJ ZBIRCI BRANISLAVA PETROVIĆA *MOĆ GOVORA*

JELENA MARINKOV<sup>1,2,3</sup>

Univerzitet u Beogradu

Filološki fakultet

Beograd, Srbija

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4255-3781>

U medicinskoj terminologiji reč „logoreja“ označava poremećaj preteranog i nekontrolisanog pričanja, dok se u svakodnevnom govoru često koristi kao sinonim za raspričanost ili brbljanje. U ovom radu pokušaćemo da naznačimo kakvo značenje logoreički princip dobija u prvoj pesničkoj zbirci Branislava Petrovića. S obzirom na to da je termin nastao od antičkih reči koje u doslovnom prevodu znače „tok reči“, utvrdićemo privileguje li Petrović poziciju pesnika služeći se načelom logoreje. Autor oblikuje pesnički govor kao slobodni asocijativni verbalni tok, uz brojne neologizme i ponavljanja, formirajući začudne morfosintaksičke konstrukcije, pri čemu je formalna inventivnost praćena brojnim metalirskim i metajezičkim pretpostavkama. Pesnik i samo govorenje posmatra kao čin čiste kreacije; ne peva se nužno i isključivo o književnosti kao umetnosti reči već o ekskluzivno ljudskoj moći verbalnog izražavanja, moći govora, koja biva slavljena upravo upotrebom, praktikovanjem i potenciranjem.

Ključne reči: Branislav Petrović, *Moć govora*, logoreja, govor, pesnički jezik, jezička funkcija, ponavljanje, stvaranje.

### 1. *MOĆ GOVORA VRHUNSKA JE I NAJVEĆA MOĆ*<sup>4</sup>

Prvu pesničku zbirku Branislav Petrović objavio je u svojoj dvadeset četvrtoj godini, 1961, naslovivši je *Moć govora*, već postupkom naslovljavanja ispoljavajući stvaralački entuzijazam. Zbirka se pojavila u vreme poetičkih smena na srpskoj pesničkoj sceni. Pedesetih i šezdesetih godina prošlog veka u srpskoj poeziji se osećao snažan nadrealistički uticaj, pre svega preko Dušana Matića i Oskara Daviča (Negrišorac 1996: 23), ali i neoromantičarski odjeci u stihovima Stevana Raičkovića. Nakon „modernizma

1 Kontakt podaci (E-mail): jelena.marinkov@fil.bg.ac.rs

2 Rad je u skraćenoj usmenoj formi saopšten na XV skupu mladih filologa Srbije *Savremena proučavanja jezika i književnosti*, održanom 1. aprila 2023. godine na Filološko-umetničkom fakultetu Univerziteta u Kragujevcu.

3 Istraživanje u okviru koga je nastao ovaj rad finansirano je od strane Ministarstva nauke, tehnološkog razvoja i inovacija Republike Srbije prema Ugovoru br. 451-03-65/2024-03/200167/1, koji je sklopljen s Filološkim fakultetom Univerziteta u Beogradu.

4 Stih iz naslovne pesme „Moć govora“, ujedno jedne od pesama koje su obeležile celokupan Petrovićev opus (Petrović 1961: 5).

bez avangarde" (Negrišorac 1996: 30) Vaska Pope i Miodraga Pavlovića, odnosno njihovih glasovitih zbirki koje su načinile potpuni preokret u srpskoj modernističkoj poeziji, dolazi do poetičke prevlasti neosimbolističkih tendencija, prevashodno ispoljenih u zbirkama Branka Miljkovića. Pojavu Petrovićeve generacije istoričari i kritičari književnosti motivišu otklonom od dominantnih tendencija, uglavnom misleći na neosimbolističku artifičijelnost i hermetičnost (Lukić 1970: 36; Simović 2001: 293; Deretić 2011: 1175; Palavestra 2012: 226). Predrag Palavestra svrstava Petrovića u „generaciju bez zajedničkog lika", skupa s Matijom Bečkovićem, Milovanom Danojlićem, Ljubomirom Simovićem, Aleksandrom Ristovićem, Srboljubom Mitićem, Draganom Kolundžijom i drugima, nepohvalno se izražavajući o poetičkim odlikama ove grupacije, kao jednu od glavnih odlika ističući verbalizam (Palavestra 2012: 226). Sveta Lukić gotovo sve navedene pesnike okuplja pod odrednicom „novi talas", naglašavajući podvojenost na poetičkom planu: uticaj sovjetske poezije, ali i Miljkovića i Pope (Lukić 1970: 37). Petrovićeva poetička transverzala veoma je kompleksna: poetičke dominante su se menjale, preovlađivali su uticaji različitih tendencija, ali debitantska zbirka obeležena je željom za nepatvorenim, nesuspregnutim govorom.

Zbirka *Moć govora*, strogo govoreći, sastoji se od četiri ciklusa („Ljudi", „Istorija", „Medved ima nežno srce", „Moj skromni prilog poeziji o moru"), ali zapravo ima šest celina,<sup>5</sup> s obzirom na to da dve izdvojene pesme funkcionišu poput prologa i epiloga, sugerišući metapoetičko multiplikovanje. Prološka pesma trostruko je markirana – naslovna je, nalazi se na povlašćenju poziciji i izrazito je metapoetički i metajezički orijentisana. Promišljanje o prirodi, funkciji i mehanizmima jezika jedna je od Petrovićevih preokupacija i simptomatično je to što baš njome otvara prvu pesničku zbirku. Drugu veliku celinu čine pesme iz ciklusa „Ljudi" – mala kataloška poetsko-antropološka klasifikacija. Sledi „Istorija", lična, intimna, suprotstavljena „velikim" nacionalnim i ideološkim narativima. U naslovu ciklusa „Medved ima nežno srce" izražena je kolizija između arhetipa zveri i autostereotipa Balkanca i simbolike srca kao prepoznatljivog romantičarskog amblema, dakle, u samom naslovu sučeljene su kulturološke i poetičke implikacije. I ovim ciklusom implicitni autor<sup>6</sup> revidira istoriju ljudskog roda time što

- 
- 5 Ovu klasifikaciju načinili smo u skladu s definicijom lirskog ciklusa Eleni Sterjopulu. Sterjopulu definiše ciklus kao „zajedničkim naslovom objedinjeno uređeno mnoštvo samostalnih pesničkih tekstova" (Sterjopulu 2003: 124). Sterjopulu ističe objedinjenost zajedničkim naslovom kao važan kriterijum pri nazivanju određene skupine tekstova ciklusom, te smo se i mi vodili ovim načelom prilikom razlikovanja ciklusa i celina u zbirci *Moć govora*. Takođe, lirski ciklus ne može činiti jedna pesma, a prva i poslednja celina u zbirci *Moć govora* sadrže po jednu pesmu.
- 6 Implicitni autor (*Implied Author*) je termin koji uvodi Vejn But u svojoj studiji *Retorika proze*. Ovde ćemo citirati definiciju koju daje Džerald Prins u *Naratološkom rečniku* s obzirom na to da je smatramo konciznom, a istovremeno obuhvatnom: „Drugo ja autora, maska ili persona koja biva rekonstruisana iz teksta; implicitna slika autora koja se stvara tekstem, za kojeg se podrazumeva da stoji iza scene i odgovoran je za ukupan oblik, vrednosti i kulturne norme kojih se pridržava (But)" (Prins 2011: 72–73). S obzirom na to da je termin potekao u okviru teorije pripovedanja, postavlja se pitanje može li se primeniti u analizi lirike. Akribično se baveći statusom lirskog subjekta, Goran Korunović u svojoj doktorskoj disertaciji preispituje mogućnosti upotrebe ovog izvorno naratološkog termina u analizi lirске pesme, kao i njegovu korelaciju s terminima „lirski subjekat", odnosno „persona", pokrivajući brojne interpretativne modele i ne izostavljajući složene teorijske implikacije. Premda ističe kako bi možda bilo plauzibilnije prilikom analize lirike termin „implicitni autor" zameniti O'Nilovom odrednicom „ekstra-tekstualne tekstualnosti", Korunović rezimira: „Čini se da je još Butova konstatacija o tome da se pomenuti aspekt naracije prepoznaje kao 'zbir svojih izbora' govornika više nego što se u prvi mah čini, desupstancijalizovan i lišen veza sa empirijskim stvaralačkim subjektom,



demistifikuje arhetipski koncipiranu individuaciju, odnosno proces inicijacije. U ciklusu „Moj skromni prilog poeziji o moru“ preovlađuju šaljivi ton, veličanje mladosti, ukrštanje atmosfere igre s borbom na život i smrt, dok su brojne literarne konvencije podvrgnute relativizaciji u šaljivom maniru. Poslednja celina, „Još samo jedna“, „natkrivena“ je humorno-ironičnim nadnaslovom poput pesama grupisanih u cikluse, te ju je moguće smatrati neformalnim ciklusom.

U defektološkoj terminologiji logoreja se opisuje kao „govorni poremećaj ispoljen u preteranoj, često nesuvisloj pričljivosti“ (Souza 2014: 72). U teorijskim priručnicima i u okvirima književnonaučne terminologije ovaj termin nije u širokoj upotrebi. U knjizi *Muka s rečima* Milovan Danojlić je jedan tekst posvetio fenomenu preteranog brbljanja, odnosno logoreje. Danojlić logoreju prvenstveno sagledava kao patološki fenomen podložan različitim zloupotrebama,<sup>7</sup> u literaturi pre svega postizanju političke podobnosti putem aktiviranja propagandne funkcije. „Bolesnu pričljivost“, kako kaže, klasifikovao je na sledeći način: a) „logoreja kao izraz psihičkog poremećaja“, dakle, medicinski fenomen; b) „logoreja kao oblik društveno kodirane retorike“, pod čime Danojlić podrazumeva demagoški govor; c) „logoreja kao odlika izvesnog književnog stila“ (Danojlić 1977: 7). Danojlić zauzima izrazito negativan stav pišući o logoreji kao o osobenosti književnog stila, ipak se ograđujući: „Treba, doduše, reći da je književno stvaralaštvo teško zamislivo bez težnje ka slobodnom, pa i nekontrolisanom prosipanju reči. Uobrazilja se pokreće i tako što se verbalni okean uzburka. Ali snaga dara se meri i po tome koliko se pisac neredu odupro, koliko ga je nadvladao, šta je iz njega izažeo“ (Danojlić 1977: 10). Kada govorimo o logoreji u poeziji Brane Petrovića, imamo na umu upravo „slobodno, nekontrolisano prosipanje reči“, koje pominje i Milovan Danojlić (1977: 10), ali ističemo da ono kod Petrovića ima jasnu, dvojaku svrhu: najpre, ilustrovanje slobode govora, a potom, naizgled suprotstavljenu funkciju opisivanja rasipanja teksta i sveta. Iako može delovati da se pesnik ne opire logoreičkom principu, svaku njegovu pesmu možemo sumirati, što je, prema Danojlićevom mišljenju, glavno merilo odstupanja od entropičnosti (Danojlić 1977: 11). Besmisleni iskazi (Milovanović 2019: 80), naizgled rezultat *pričanja radi pričanja*, imaju funkciju problematizacije smisla. U tom kontekstu treba primeniti i Danojlićevo zapažanje shodno kome „iza svake bujice reči najčešće se krije nešto potisnuto ili izbegnuto“ (Danojlić 1977: 7). Kroz logoreju se filtriraju u tekst određeni nagoni i sadržaji i bivaju zastupani stavovi inače prećutani ili zanemareni, ili jednostavno nepoznati, te pesnik smatra svojom misijom otkrivati ih: „Govorom se dodiruje tama, i moć da se u tami otkriju iskre – to je poezija. Tako da nije samo važno da se govori nego i da se iskre donose“ (Zubanić/Pantić 1992: 159).

Logoreja je izravno povezana s fenomenom tzv. estradnosti, s kojom je identifikovana Petrovićeva poezija, naročito ona rana, te smatramo potrebnim da se makar osvrnemo

---

implicitni autor se može prepoznati kao skup regulativnih načela raznog profila, od pripovedno-oblikovnih do kulturološko-ideoloških, s konstitutivnom ulogom pri formiranju književnog teksta i uz podložnost rekonstruisanju pri procesu recepcije“ (Korunović 2017: 64). Mi termin upotrebljavamo u sledećem značenju: „Implicitni autor predstavlja svojevrstni 'hijatus' između empirijskog stvaraoča i lirskog subjekta/persona“ (Korunović 2017: 65). Smatramo opravdanim upotrebu ove terminološke konstrukcije u analizi Petrovićevih lirskih tekstova, tim pre što umnogome inkliniraju proznom izrazu.

7 „Kao i tolike druge sposobnosti, i moć govora se može izokrenuti, usmeriti u naopake svrhe, sve dok se ne poništi“ (Danojlić 1977: 7). Brana Petrović u svojoj debitantskoj pesničkoj zbirci ipak bira da sagleda samo pozitivne ishode sposobnosti govora.

na ovu vrstu kvalifikovanja, premda joj možemo posvetiti tek ograničen prostor. Oznaku estradnosti moguće je i potrebno, čak neophodno problematizovati, odnosno revidirati značenje koje obično ima, a koje podrazumeva negativni aksiološki predznak. Iako u kritici nije propisno definisana, estradnost obavezno obuhvata odrednice „popularnost“ i „komunikativnost“.<sup>8</sup> Petrovićeva poezija odista jeste bila popularna, između ostalog i zato što je bila komunikativna, ali smatramo da komunikativnost ne implicira nužno ustupke aksiološke prirode. Petrovićeva poetika podrazumeva aktuelnost, angažovanost, razumevanje društveno-kulturološke situacije, poetičku fleksibilnost, spontanost, inovativnost i autentičnost, želju za demokratizacijom umetnosti i proširenjem polja kulturnog delovanja, a nipošto snishodljivost spram čitalačkih kompetencija i nemarnost u pogledu težnje ka estetskom kvalitetu. „Pre bi se moglo reći da se iza ove naoko estradne vizure poete/glumca/recitatora/rapsoda krije pesnikovo oduševljenje, zanos zbog mogućnosti da imenuje stvari oko sebe, ali glasno, uz povišenu tenziju, ne kao šapat koji golica tišinu, već kao uzbuđenje, krik, patos u najelementarnijem smislu reči“ (Stojanović Pantović 1999: 94). Govorenje stihova pred javnim auditorijumom, po kome je pesnik bio poznat, takođe je moguće povezati s glorifikacijom govora: logoreja je Petroviću bila svojstvena već „kao pesniku koji je svoje pesme uvek govorio, i koji ih je uvek doživljavao ne kao napisanu već kao izgovorenu reč“ (Janić 2004: 26). Ljubomir Simović ističe „glasnost“, odnosno čitanje naglas kao jedan od uslova recepcije Petrovićeve poezije (Simović 2001: 401), stoga i ne treba da čudi leksička redundantnost i mnogobrojna ponavljanja, kakva srećemo i u razgovornom stilu. Petrović menja način na koji funkcioniše pesnički jezik kroz uključivanje raznorodnih tipova iskaza u pesnički govor: „Svečanu intonaciju i poetizam koji ne trpi narušavanje Petrović zamenjuje poezijom govornog jezika, konverzacije, izveštaja, saopštenja, poruke, anegdote, uputstva-polemike, statistike“ (Pervić 1973: 640). Kad je reč o logoreji u celokupnom opusu Branislava Petrovića, treba istaći da je u najvećoj meri zastupljena upravo u debitantskoj zbirci, dok ju je u potonjim zbirkama moguće detektovati tek sporadično, u pojedinačnim pesmama. Logoreju možemo posmatrati dijahronijski, kao rezultat obnovljenog nadrealističkog uticaja pedesetih godina prošlog veka,<sup>9</sup> ali i sinhronijski, u kontekstu funkcije demonstriranja „glasnosti“.

U kritici i interpretacijama uveliko je primećena i istaknuta Petrovićeva nezasitna potreba za govorenjem, koja preovladava upravo u debitantskoj zbirci: „u Petrovićevoj poeziji nema teže kazne od uskraćivanja govora“ (Negrišorac 1999: 41). U nastavku rada nastojaćemo da ilustrujemo značaj logoreje u poetičkom funkcionisanju prve Petrovićeve kolekcije pesama. Služeći se konkretnim primerima, izdvojićemo manifestacije logoreičnosti u svakoj pojedinačnoj celini zbirke *Moć govora*. Stremićemo ka opisivanju funkcije koju logoreja ima u ovoj zbirci, ali i u poetičkom sistemu Branislava Petrovića.

8 Estradnost u kontekstu Petrovićeve poezije razmatrali su, između ostalih, sledeći proučavaoci, istoričari književnosti i kritičari: Sveta Lukić, Jovan Deretić, Nikola Koljević, Mirko Magarašević, Miroslav Egerić, Predrag Palavestra, Zvonimir Kostić, Dragan Jeremić, Mihajlo Pantić, Tanja Popović, Đorđe Janić, Vasilije Radikić, Dragan Hamović i dr.

9 Nadrealistički uticaj se kod Petrovića ogleda prevashodno u difuznosti, nelinearnosti i vizualizaciji lirskog teksta, u asocijativnosti koja je ponekad na granici utiska automatskog pisanja, u nastojanju da se literatura izjednači sa stvarnošću, ali i u ludističkom tretmanu jezika i u istraživanju i primeni empirijskog diskursa (Negrišorac 1996: 38–39).



## 2. LOGOREJA U PESMI „MOĆ GOVORA“

U kontekstu istraživanja funkcije i značenja logoreičkog principa poseban osvrt zavređuje naslovna pesma „Moć govora“. „Petrovićev govor – bilo da proslavlja život, komukaciju ili stvaranje – sav je uskipteo, buran, prepun uzvika, naglašavanja i prenaglašavanja osećanja ritmičkim, leksičkim i vizuelnim sredstvima“ (Milovanović 2019: 70). U Petrovićevim pesmama tematizovan je najtemeljniji jezički (lingvistički) aksiom: istaknuta je proizvoljnost povezanosti oznake i označitelja, labavost ali istovremeno opstojavajuća moć veze zasnovane na konsenzusu koji prepokriva vavilonsku jezičku polimorfnost. S vremenom je taj koncept proširen upravo na delotvornost veze oznake i označitelja koja omogućava sporazumevanje: ne misli se samo na odvijanje i dejstvo govornih činova, već i na to što književnici, služeći se govorom na specifičan način, kreiraju fiktionalne svetove. Pesnik pak i sâmo govorenje vidi kao čin čiste kreacije; ne peva se nužno i isključivo o književnosti kao umetnosti reči već o ekskluzivno ljudskoj moći verbalnog izražavanja. Rečima se fiksiraju i konkretizuju misli, izražavaju uslovi istinitosti i objektivnosti i usmerava generisanje činjenica. Prološka pesma, „Moć govora“, autopoetička i metajezička, ima poseban status i zato što je njome izražen stav o performativnosti govora. Petrović daje pesnički odgovor na tačno određeno pitanje: zbog čega je moć govora najveća moć? U poeziji entitet se ontološki uspostavlja imenovanjem i dozivanjem, otud metafora i apostrofa figuriraju kao najčešće upotrebljavana stilska sredstva u poeziji Branislava Petrovića. „Pesnikova opčinjenost komunikacijom isticana je kad god se govorilo o ovom ostvarenju, uz nezaobilazno naglašavanje imenovanja kao ljudske, a posredno i pesničke moći, čime se ujedno slavi i komunikativna i poetska funkcija jezika“ (Milovanović 2023: 18).

Prološka pesma u sadržaju je naslovljena, ali u samom telu zbirke nije, stoga je moguće zaključiti da ovaj lirski tekst ima programski karakter u kontekstu čitave zbirke, a i čitalac preko naslova intuitivno ovu pesmu posmatra kao simboličkog reprezentu celokupne zbirke. Pesma „Moć govora“ na stilsko-jezičkom nivou asocira na nadrealističke tekstove nastale tehnikom automatskog pisanja – najviše ukoliko imamo u vidu oštra opkoračenja i mantričko ponavljanje koje korespondira s repetitivnošću u procesu formiranja jezičkih iskaza – ali pominjanje Mišoa i Pasternaka takođe je indikativno u pogledu povezivanja s avangardnim iskustvom poistovećivanja književnosti s realnošću. Iskazom za kojim sledi navodna realizacija onoga što je izgovoreno ilustruje se koncept performativnosti govora – izgovaranje je izjednačeno sa činjenjem: *ja mogu da kažem RUKO ZAGRLIOVU SVETLOST / i ruka moja poslušno / na način divan / gkli čudo svetleće u hodu* (Petrović 1961: 5). Čini se kao da moć prethodno izgovorene rečenice uzrokuje doslovnu relizaciju rečenog: pesnik zapravo želi da poverujemo u anticipacijski delatnu moć reči. Govor je pretvoren u događaj: „pesnik slavi ne samo govor kao imenovanje nego i govor kao događaj, koji koliko god da je stvar diskursa jeste i stanje stvari, ono što (pre)biva van diskursa“ (Milovanović 2023: 26). Govor je i čin obraćanja zemlji – demonstrirano je kako kroz naporednost oprečnih iskaza u jeziku opstojavaju paradoksalnost i ambivalentnost, koje izražavaju izmene relacija dominacije i moći kroz promenu odnosa lirskog subjekta i Zemlje: posmatrana iz infantilizovane perspektive, Zemlja je poistovećena s igračkom u sobi, a potom, prizivajući tradiciju viteških romana, subjekat predstavlja Zemlju kao pikara. Ovim divergentnim kvalifikacijama ilustruje se označavajuća snaga jezika. Jezik

omogućava tvorenje zaumnih iskaza, alogičnih, nezamislivih; potpuno slobodnog i kreativnog definisanja i atribucije – govorom se ostvaruje potpuna sloboda imaginacije. U pesmi „Moć govora“ tematizovana je veza između mišljenja i jezika – moć govora je u tome što ospoljava unutrašnje (racionalne i iracionalne) sadržaje. Funkcionalnom upotrebom velikih slova naglašava se proces pretakanja i fiksiranja imaginacijskih sadržina u grafeme; Petrović naglašava mehanizam nastanka, „stvaranja“ iskaza, „otelotvorenja“ misli. Iskaz „izvrnut naopačke“ koji se naizgled opire smislu i zdravorazumskoj logici – *OVAJ BIK VREDI VIŠE NEGO / PLANINA IZ KOJE IZVIRE VODA* (Petrović 1961: 5) – pokazuje kako se u jeziku mogu menjati prirodni zakoni, tehnički zakoni, silogizmi, društvene norme, utvrđene činjenice. Petrović se nadovezuje na premisu svog prezimenjaka Rastka o demijurškim prerogativima i orfejskom poreklu pesnika. Moć imenovanja stvari, kao i njihovog preimenovanja, poistovećena je sa snagom življenja – moć govora veća je od delotvorne snage prirode: reči su bronzane, materijalizuju se; cvetovi bi se *iz zemlje iščupali* jer žele da čuju divan nesporazum. Čini se da Petrović i neintencionalno u ovoj pesmi sledi postulate deridijanski koncipiranog procesa dekonstrukcije, s obzirom na to da promovise decentralizovanje, diverzitet i pluralizam, kao i da privileguje ono što nije rečeno. Ponavljanjem iskaza koji se sastoji od iste reči izgovorene na trima različitim jezicima, Petrović sugerise da nema jednako kazane istine, pa i da nema jedinstvene istine kao takve:

MALJČIK DEČAK GARSON  
 MALJČIK DEČAK GARSON  
 MALJČIK DEČAK GARSON  
 MALJČIK DEČAK GARSON

I tako beskrajno moć govora (Petrović 1961: 6)

Neposrednom demonstracijom i ponavljanjem osvaja se i potvrđuje dominacija: „Prostorno i lingvistički multiplicirana reč *dečak* dobija u najdoslovnijem smislu ikoničko značenje i čisto vizuelnom semantikom se promovise u istinskog subjekta pesme“ (Radikić 2004: 68).

### 3. LOGOREJA U CIKLUSU „LJUDI“

U nenaslovljenoj pesmi čiji prvi stih glasi „Naređujem ti o Muzo“, Petrović se i te kako služi principom logoreičnosti, odnosno mimikrira ga, s obzirom na to da je moguće jasno uočiti funkciju svih sredstava i postupaka koji logoreju tvore: oštrim opkoračenjima i nagomilanim ponavljanjima proizveden je obredni ritam, dok nizanjem glagola i oksimoronskih konstrukcija pomoću kojih se pesnički glas obraća muzi, Petrović dopunjuje semantički status pesme, kojim upućuje na živahnost, veliča vitalizam, slavi životni elan, pa čak i oblapornost, jer gomilanje reči upućuje na životno obilje. Pesa kojom se apostrofira muza predstavlja otvorenu travestiju autopoetičkih pesama zasnovanih na invokaciji muze, ponajpre Dučićeve „De profundis“. U obraćanju muzi Petrović odstupa od standardnih poetičkih uzusa i karikira elemente entuzijastičke poetike. Travestirajući je i način na koji se pesnička persona obraća Muzi; to nije ni molba niti apelativ već naređenje: *Naređujem ti o muzo kornjačo bez / starinskih bara ptico*

*bez / vazduha budućeg* (Petrović 1961: 9). Petrovićeva muza je „medijalna“, ne samo imajući u vidu pozicioniranje u vremenu već i pojavni oblik – ona je teriomorfna. Pesnik uspostavlja novi poetički poredak kroz prefiguraciju muze, odnosno tradicionalne predstave o inspiraciji koja odudara od ustaljenih prikaza, uzvišenih i gracioznih zazivanja. Topografskim uređenjem pesme ocrta se jasna geopolitička postavka preko toponima koji pripadaju prostoru nekadašnje jugoslovenske države (Dubrovnik, Bosna, Zagreb), dakle, Petrović traži da mu se dovedu ljudi njegovog podneblja. Indikativan je zahtev koji pesnički subjekat upućuje muzi i povezan je s parodiranjem entuzijastičke poetike, dakle, on ne traži inspiraciju, pesme, nego ljude, ali još važniji od čisto poetičkog aspekta je idejni aspekt: plediranje za kolektivni princip, jer kad se ljudi budu našli pred njim, kad bude bio s njima u društvu, pesnički subjekat moći će da ih opeva, te pesma Muzi predstavlja i apologiju zajednice i izraz antropocentrizma, jer pesnička persona teži zasnivanju alternativne istorije čovečanstva.

Logoreja je u ovoj pesmi izražena putem opkoračenja, hijazama, eliptičnih konstrukcija, ponavljanja i tautoloških iskaza. Ushićenost i entuzijizam ostvareni su kroz ubrzan tok alogičnog, morfološki i sintaksički razobručenog govora:

dovedi mi ljude umorne od disanja ljude / umorne od sreće ljude / srećne od umora  
ljude / sve ljude zatim / dovedi ljude / ljude ljude ljude najzad / mi dovedi ljude sve  
/ ljude počev / od kamenja ljude dovedi / mi ljude zatim / dovedi ljude najzad / mi  
dovedi ljude a / kada mi dovedeš ljude dovedi / mi ljude (Petrović 1961: 9)

Funkcija batološkog ponavljanja jeste „oprisutiti život kao takav, učiniti ga vidljivim u poeziji“ (Milovanović 2019: 78).

U drugom segmentu pesme efekat ubrzanog govora postignut je izostavljanjem interpunkcije, upotrebom glagola u narativnom prezentu, što posebno doprinosi utisku direktnog transponovanja. Brana Petrović i ljude i životno stavlja ispred pesama i umetnosti, jer ljudi su stvaraoci, prenosioci, ali i rušitelji, što možemo videti u kataloškom nizu pesama koji sledi. Petrović se služi formom konstatacije, opise započinjući anaforskom repeticijom. Pesnički subjekat koncizno opisuje različite ljude, naznačujući antropodiverzitet i grupišući u tipove. Stihovi pesme „Ljudi ratnici“ nastali su variranjem jedne rečenice, s višechlanom anaforam na početku. Efekat poentirajućeg obrta u ponavljanju kao strukturnom principu proističe iz entuzijazma, koji ima poreklo u preteranoj želji za govorom, u rasprisanosti. Indikativno je to što jedino ljudi ljubavnici imaju moć da pobede ljude ratnike. Na tom mestu do izražaja iznova dolazi princip logoreje, motivisane osećajem nedovoljnosti reči: „Iza ispoljene govorne razdešenosti, koja počiva na granici ponavljanja i ushićenom variranju sličnih sintaksičkih celina, prebiva teskobno jezičko-stvaralačko osećanje semantičke nedostatnosti reči 'ljudi'“ (Karović 2019: 176).

Mnoge Petrovićeve pesme pisane su po principu konglomeratskog zbrajanja, baš kao i „Prva pesma čovekova“. Takođe, u osnovi velikog broja lirskih tvorevina ovog autora je lirska naracija, mnoga ostvarenja su izrazito diskurzivna i kolokvijalna, i upravo tu se otvara prostor za logoreični zamah, u poetski uspejoj aktualizaciji govornog jezika, koji ne biva instrumentalizovan već stavljen u funkciju inovativnog pesničkog izražavanja. „Prva pesma čovekova“ građena je na principu ukrštanja separativnih vidova diskursa:

ljubavnog, političkog, ratnog... Tema jedne od najpoznatijih i najkarakterističnijih pesama Branislava Petrovića je „građenje“ deteta, najprostije rečeno, međutim, ova pesma veoma je tematski, stilski i idejno kompleksna i predstavlja prolegomenu brojnih budućih ostvarenja, a na koncu i velikog dela Petrovićevog opusa. Služeći se naracijom, političkim diskursom i elementima bajkovnog žanra, Petrović stvara nekonvencionalnu ljubavnu pesmu i sublimirajući situaciju iz svakodnevnog života, podiže je na ravan lirske fikcije „metaforičnim i poredbenim preslikavanjem osnovne situacije u nekoliko različitih semantičkih polja“ (Negrišorac 1999: 47). Na stilsko-jezičkom planu dominira razgovorni stil: brojne lekseme pripadaju vanpesničkom registru. Petrović koristi konverzacioni, kolokvijalni ton i frazeologizme, što je način izražavanja i komuniciranja netipičan za poeziju, uz to je sklon i nekoj vrsti dramske reprezentacije putem fingiranog dijaloga ili obraćanja, odnosno pevanja u drugom licu. Naravno, spontanost je fingirana, nastala kroz „izjednačenost pesničkog i kolokvijalnog govora koje rezultira efektom spontanosti iskaza“ (Aleksić 2019: 92).<sup>10</sup> Mimikrija svakodnevnog govora toliko je prenaplašena da se lako dolazi do stupnja logoreičnosti.

Stihovi „Prve pesme“ reprezentativni su kada govorimo o logoreičkom principu kod Petrovića: reči kao da se nižu neprekinuto, u misaonom kontinuumu kojim se oblikuje kolokvijalni govor; brojna su ponavljanja: *ovih dana ovih dana; poljupci lete / pljušte / lete; ženo moja / oh / ženo moja* (Petrović 1961: 19–20). Opkoračenja su izrazita, izostavljeni su znakovi interpunkcije, česta je upotreba uzvika i reči.<sup>11</sup> Brojne inverzije ukazuju na podignut patos, čak humorno intoniranu pompeznost, u svakom slučaju artificalnost, paradoksalno poništavajući utisak o upotrebi isključivo govornog jezika.

Pesničko ja hiperbolizuje budućeg čoveka, onog koji treba da nastane, dakle, u osnovi još uvek nepostojećeg, dajući „poetske definicije tog bića u nastajanju“ (Negrišorac 1999: 47). Čovek je i mangup, spadalo, ali i onaj koji je ovladao predmetnošću kojom je okružen; nadrealista, ali i izdajnik otadžbine – diverzant i na poetičkom i na političkom planu. Lirski subjekat ističe dve vrhunske čovekove moći, to je dupla tematska nit koja će se provlačiti kroz Petrovićev pesnički opus: moć govora i moć građenja. Najbitnije dimenzije zbirke biće razvijane na ovim tematskim težištima, dok je već u sledećoj zbirci *Gradilište* pridodata, i u *Moći govora* diskretno prisutna, moć razaranja: *onaj fantastični što reči ume da izgovara / pa to je onaj što na zemlji jedini ume kuće da zida / i da ih nikad dovoljno lepe ruši* (Petrović 1961: 20). U *Moći govora* Petrović povezuje Logos kao načelo slovesnosti s logoreičnošću oličenom u preteranosti govorenja, koja se survava u rušenje.

#### 4. LOGOREJA U CIKLUSU „ISTORIJA“

Promišljeno konstruišući ritmičku razinu pesme, Petrović neretko u svojoj poeziji naglašava drevna, arhaična svojstva jezika, elementarna arhetipska značenja koja jezik sadrži u dubinskim slojevima. Tako su u „Pesmi branim Anu“ logoreičke sintaksičke osobenosti: izostanak interpunkcijskih znakova, velikog slova kod vlastitih imena, anafora, ponavljanje. „Pesma branim Anu“ počinje stihom na francuskom jeziku, čime Petrović doziva kosmopolitsku upotrebu jezika demonstriranu u prološkoj pesmi,

10 „Privid jezičko-stilske spontanosti“ (2019: 92), po mišljenju Jane Aleksić, krajnji je rezultat procesa dihijerarhizacije postupaka u Petrovićevoj poeziji.

11 „Sintaksičku strukturu pesnikovih iskaza odlikuje visoka frekvencija uzvika i reči“ (Milanović 1999: 123).

a leksička i intertekstualna aluzija na uvodnu pesmu je i francuska reč *garçon*, koju u „Moći govora“ naizmenično izgovaraju pesnici na trima različitim jezicima. Petrović kombinuje žargon sa stilizovanim, artifičijelnim pesničkim govorom. U prvom/drugom stihu pesnički subjekat služi se argoom, pominjući popularnog savremenika boksera i otvoreno iskazujući nadmoć: *Ja sam Flojd Paterson za tebe moj dečko* (Petrović 1961: 25). Referisanjem na izvanliterarnu stvarnost socijalističkih simbola aktivira se satirični potencijal u Petrovićevoj poeziji. Stihovi ilustruju ujedinjujuću moć pesme, direktno apostrofiranu konstatacijom: *tvoja afrika se guši u svetlosti koja nadolazi* (Petrović 1961: 25). Iako ovaj stih nije povezan nijednom deiktičkom rečju s prethodnim iskazom (*od mojih pesama niko te neće odbraniti...*), dakle, nema eksplicitne uzročno-posledične veze, s obzirom na ukupan tok pesničkog govora, logično je zaključiti da stihovi koji slede, a koji su započeti anaforam *tam tam* opisuju efekte koje pesma ima, njenu dejstvujuću moć. Onomatopejskim podražavanjem, u svojevrsnoj „transkripciji zvuka afričkog ritualnog bubnja“ (Radikić 2004: 64–65), prelazi se putanja zvuk --> glas --> slovo. Anaforsko *tam tam* ima kompozicionu (formalnu), ritmičku i zvučnu (izražajnu), ali i semantičku funkciju. Nije slučajno odabrana onomatopejska mantra i svakako je u vezi s pominjanjem Afrike, ali ne treba zanemariti ni aspekt gotovo automatizovanog brbljanja: *moja ana an ana*. Prvi deo pesme odnosi se na opšti plan „obračuna“ s deranom, a u drugom delu pesme prelazi se na intimni, pojedinačni doživljaj, što je uočljivo i na zvučnom aspektu: s onomatopejske anafore *tam tam*, koja obeležava ritam pesme, prelazi se na anaforsko ponavljanje sintagme *moja ana*, pa se tako menja i funkcija logoreje, od demonstriranja zvučnog aspekta jezika, do izražavanja ljubavnog očajanja pesničkog subjekta. U prvom segmentu ilustruje se snaga pevanja, u drugom moć ljubavnog očajanja – u tom očaju ima nečeg sumatraističkog, sveobuhvatnog: *u norveškoj kiša pada svakog dana / svakog dana / tužne vesti iz japana / moja ana* (Petrović 1961: 26). Kad je reč o stilsko-jezičkim osobenostima i rešenjima, „Pesma branim Anu“ može se smatrati reprezentativnom u kontekstu zbirke u celini: izostanak interpunkcijskih znakova, nekorišćenje velikog slova kod pisanja vlastitih imena, pisanje pojedinih reči verzalom u kontinuitetu, anafora, ponavljanje, apostrofa, negacija, neobavezna rima – postupci su i sredstva široko primenjeni u „Pesmi branim Anu“.

U „Pesmi o Aninom povratku sa letovanja“ počev od drugog stiha uvode se oštra opkoračenja, kojima se ostvaruje snažan ritmički efekat i svojevrsno „ubrzanje“, te utisak zadihanosti, radoznalosti i nestrpljenja da se dobiju odgovori na postavljena pitanja. Čitava pesma građena je kao niz upitnih rečenica, retorskih pitanja neprekinutog toka. Petrović u ovoj pesmi kombinuje veristički diskurs (*baš / me briga što je tamo na moru jednog / dripca iz pančeva ljubila*) s elementima avanturističkog žanra: *ima na moru opasnih morskih pasa ima / na moru mornara ima / na moru alasa mogao / je neko njena kolena da mi otme / za spomenik u svome gradu / mogli su gusari mogli / su mangupi da mi je ukradu* (Petrović 1961: 27). U drugom delu pesme lirski subjekat fingira dijalog s Anom, zapravo se raspitujući o njenom boravku na letovanju. Emocija koja pokreće lirskog subjekta je ljubomora, što se ogleda i u postupku personifikacije mora: *kako / izgleda more ima / li more mlađeg brata je li / more protiv rata voli / li more bure svežeg piva ume / li more da pliva* (Petrović 1961: 27). Raspoloženje lirskog subjekta, manifestovano kroz nizanje upitnih rečenica, zapitanost, ne eskalira u besu nego u nekoj vrsti pomirenosti i prihvatanja koje ljubav nalaže: *kako / ljube francuzi cigančice / moja*

*ljubljenaja moja / žena?* (Petrović 1961: 27). U ovoj završnici istaknut je jedan od podsticaja logoreičnosti, emocionalni naboj, povezan s konativnošću, usmerenošću govora ka drugom biću (Milovanović 2023: 11). Za rano Petrovićevo stvaralaštvo karakterističan je „izrazit retorski aspekt, dominantno orijentisan na ličnost Drugog i njegov uticaj, na Ti u pjesničkom dijalogu, budući da logički argument iščezava, nestaje, pred poplavom logoreje i emotivnosti” (Bjelanović 2019: 151), na osnovu čega zaključujemo da je logoreja i u funkciji upućenosti na adresata, ali i emocionalnih izliva.

U pesmi „Rečima koje je izgovorila Ana završava se ova pesma (čitaj polako i pažljivo ako si mi prijatelj)” verzalom je obeležen upravni govor. Upotreba majuskule služi emfatičnom slavljenju moći ljudskog govora. U ovoj pesmi realizovan je princip polifonije, prisutni su autentično ustrojeni poliloški iskazi. Upotreba logoreje u funkciji je stvaranja iluzije kolokvijalnog govora, dakle, oblikovanja razgovornog stila: *NE MOŽEŠ NE MOŽEŠ NE MOŽEŠ SAMO SE PRAVIŠ VAŽAN* (Petrović 1961: 28).

U pesmi „Kako Ana dijalektički traje u meni” Ana se metaforički izjednačava s elementima flore (cvet), faune (divlja krava), kosmosa, ljudskog (feudalnog) društva (Ana kao osvajač i spasilac), dakle, logoreično nabranje u funkciji je postupka atribucije.

Analizom odlomka iz prozaike koja počinje iskazom „Evo rečenice najlepše rečenice” moguće je na konkretnom primeru videti kako logoreja funkcioniše u čitavoj zbirci:

Evo rečenice najlepše rečenice posle rata visoko protumačene na jednom kongresu kad je rešeno jednoglasno i bučno da se ova rečenica proglasi za kraljicu svih rečenica i da se uz pomoć svih naroda maksimalno iskoristi u službi progresu: ANA SA USNOM NA MOJOJ MIŠICI SPAVA (Petrović 1961: 34)

Za navedeni iskaz karakteristični su ubrzan ritam, izostanak interpunkcije, labava sintaksička uređenost, asocijativnost. Brojni su glagoli u imperativnom obliku (*videćete; shvatite; molite me molite kad vam kažem*). Gomilanje glagola, kao jedan od elemenata logoreje, ima funkciju naglašavanja usmerenosti na adresata, te možemo reći da konativna i poetska funkcija funkcionišu gotovo ravnopravno. Logoreja je povezana i s postupkom atribucije. Pesma je strukturno zasnovana na gradaciji, te treću rečenicu subjekat ne navodi direktno, ali upoređuje je sa zorom, rekavši za nju da je *ključ lepote, razrešenje, sva svetlost sveta, na krilcu jedne bube poljubac istorije* – na osnovu svih navedenih metaforičkih izjednačavanja, perifrastičnih logoreičnih gomilanja, naslućuje se intimna važnost te rečenice. Ultimativna rečenica je rečenica koja ostaje u tišini, ne izgovara se, ona je tišina sama, pad (ili uzlet) u neizrecivost, sugerisan, paradoksalno, posredstvom logoreje.

## 5. LOGOREJA U CIKLUSU „MEDVED IMA NEŽNO SRCE”

U trećem ciklusu „Medved ima nežno srce” dominiraju ratničke priče i životinje kao lirske junaci. Autor je povezo naslov ciklusa s tematikom i porukom pesama: medvedi, ratnici imaju nežna srca. Pesma „Čovek i pas” dobar je primer za ilustriranje načina na koji se Petrović služi formalnim konvencijama književnosti za decu ne bi li izrazio sadržaj koji nije namenjen najmlađima. U pesmi „Čovek i pas” tematizovan je odnos između čoveka i psa, odnos prijateljski, i to u vreme rata. Petrović je iskoristio onomatopeju



(*av av av*) ne bi li „preveo“ stihove u lavež, ili obratno, što je mogućnost naznačena u motou pesme „AV AV AV (odlomak iz jednog laveža)“. Neparnim stihovima izrečena je priča o prijateljstvu, dok se parni stihovi mogu razumeti kao „duhovita demonstracija mogućnosti prekodiranja jednog komunikacijskog sistema sa bezbroj znakova na sistem u kome postoji samo jedan znak“ (Radikić 2004: 65–66).

U „Staračkoj elegiji“ postignuta je potpuna diskrepancija između tona, izraza i sadržaja. U svakoj strofi prisutni su elementi pitalica/razbrajalica, a osobeni ritam ostvaren je zvučnim figurama i figurama ponavljanja, kao i kratkim stihovima, sastavljenim od svega jedne reči, prevashodno glagola u krnjem perfektu (*iskapio, razbio, platio*) ili izmišljenih reči koje nemaju značenje, a koje Petrović preuzima iz kratkih govornih formi. Logoreja je najdominantnije manifestovana u interpolacijama delova razbrajalice, odnosno pitalice: *ni tako ružan da bih od vaših pogleda en den dore / u dvorac kukavnog miša utekao; a ja sam an ban baštovan; i jurišao sam baštoveli / i čukudeli / i gladoveli / i moraveli* (Petrović 1961: 42). Sa stanovišta jezičke ekonomije, delovi kratkih govornih formi predstavljaju redundantne elemente, ali s aspekta izražajnosti, njihova funkcija je nesumnjivo značajna: *EN DEN DI NU SA JESI LI BIO NAJHRABRIJI / RAKATINUSA BIO SAM I NAJGLADNIJI* (Petrović 1961: 43).

U pesmi „Panta rhei“ autor se služi vanliterarnim diskursom, pogodnim za aktiviranje logoreičkog načela – koristi diskurs izveštača, komentatora fudbalske utakmice – pesma je konstruisana kao izveštavanje, direktan prenos utakmice: *šutiram penal gol jedan nula / jedan nula* (Petrović 1961: 44). Ritam ove pesme je ubrzan posebno koordiniranim iskazima u parentezama, takoreći s pozadinskim simultanim značenjem, koji uključuju zdravicu „živ bio veliki porasto“, koja je u potpunoj, oksimoronskoj koliziji s prvom parentetičkom rečenicom „grob mi za podzemlje cipele obuva“. Subjekt u doslovnom smislu razdvaja reč na sastavne delove, dezintegriše, parcelizuje, „razbija“ oznaku na delove kako bi ilustrovao (vizuelno) protok, proces koji glagol označava, ali ne bi li tim parcelisanjem dezintegrisao, rasklopio i samo označeno, odnosno jezikom zaustavio protok vremena, većitu promenu, na koju Heraklit referira a koja za pojedinca i nije toliko večita. U svrhu anuliranja označenog, Petrovićev subjekat raščlanjuje označitelja, a usput delove i personalizuje:

Gle TEČE reč strašnija od cveta  
 stanite TEČE  
 stanite četiri slova  
 stanite T  
 stanite E  
 stanite Č  
 stanite E  
 TEČE (Petrović 1961: 44).

Dajući oznakama samostalnost, raščlanjujući reči, odvajajući grafeme, Petrović ističe materijalnost reči. Ovo neoavangardno rešenje dovodi do osobene vizualizacije teksta, implicirajući i deartikulaciju, dekompoziciju i dekonstrukciju. „Pokušaj da se *zaustavljanjem* slova ukine reč *teče* rezultirao je njenim vertikalnim ispisom, čime se vizuelnom semantikom potvrdio uvid antičkog filozofa“ (Radikić 2004: 67). Pokušaj ipak nije uspeo, što konstatuje i pesnički subjekat tako što, nakon raščlanjivanja, reč ponovo

ispisuje u integralnom obliku. Ipak, i ova parcelizacija spada u domen logoreičnosti: logoreja se ispoljava u izostanku cenzure, nesputanosti i impulsivnosti, kao i u potrebi za preimenovanjem, izraženoj kroz perifrastične preformulacije: *o kako bih tukao te lepe detinje oči / ta srca u galopu taj bakar* (Petrović 1961: 44); *Jurišaju moji plavokosi moji kudravi / nadiru moji mrtvaci* (Petrović 1961: 45).

U pesmi „Ringišpil” subjekat postupkom katalogizacije nastoji obuhvatiti veoma raznorodne grupacije ljudi. Labavljenje logičkih i uzročno-posledičnih veza u stihovima koji počinju zameničkom anaforam „neko” postignuto je neobuzdanim brbljanjem. Logoreja upućuje na negiranje reda, vašarski vitalistički i kreativni kaos, konglomerat svega i svačega, raspomamljenost u uzdizanju i letu. Dolazi do potpune pometnje i okretanja naglavce, koje je iracionalno i alogično, tako da se sve nalazi na samoj ivici ponora, pada i rasipanja. Primetna je parataksa u oblikovanju stihova:<sup>12</sup> *roditelji mladunčad pogubiše / žene muževe / ljuštore puževe / dan sunce mesec klupe u parku / pop mantiju / milicioner anarhiju / vrata izgubiše kvaku* (Petrović 1961: 47–48).

U pesmama „General”, „Kapetan I klase” i „Redov” zastupljeni su i sučeljeni ljubavnički i ratni diskurs. Parodira se istorijski diskurs, a mirnodopski princip veliča retoričkim sredstvima karakterističnim za ideološke narative. Logoreja je ispoljena u Generalovom naređenju, protivno svim pravilima vojne etikecije i birokratsko-administrativnog rečnika, i to ne samo na planu semantike nego i u strukturiranju pesme, kroz ponavljanja, upotrebu majuskule, perifraze. Jednako vredi i za obraćanje Kapetana I klase. Pesma „Redov” strukturirana je gradacijski: lirski glas obznanjuje čime je darivan redov koji izbegava vojničke obaveze, a u neobuzdanom nabranjanju takođe naziremo princip logoreičnosti.

## 6. LOGOREJA U CIKLUSU „MOJ SKROMNI PRILOG POEZIJI O MORU”

Kompozicija pesme koja počinje stihom „Evo već dvoboj” složena je: lirski kazivač *in medias res* uvodi temu dvoboja, a slede pesničke slike posredstvom kojih je prikazana morska kataklizma, i to u formi kumulativnog obraćanja pripadnika morskog sveta, koji najpre mole a potom uslovljavaju mangupčiča. Utisak logoreičnosti u ovoj pesmi postignut je upotrebom eksklamacije, naglašenom retoričnošću, a u svemu tome parenteza zauzima centralni prostor.<sup>13</sup> Autopoetički postupak kojim se Petrović često služi jeste davanje instrukcija čitaocu: *Privikavanje riba na vazduh. (prelistaj krstaške*

12 Aleksandar Milanović je zapazio da je za razgovorni stil karakteristična veza neposrednosti/nezavisnosti između klausa, te da u Petrovićevim pesmama koje teže kolokvijalnom izrazu dominira parataksa (Milanović 1999: 122). Milanović ekscerpira primere baš iz zbirke *Moć govora*, iz pesama „Moć govora”, „Naređujem ti o muzo”, „Pesma kako se čita...”, „Prva pesma čovekova”, „Evo već dvoboj...”. Milanović još ističe kako „najpotpunije ostvarenje tona razgovornog jezika Petrović postiže u stihovima koji predstavljaju konverzaciju ili njene delove (diskurs ili iskaze)” (Milanović 1999: 125). Dodali bismo još i to da parataksa kod Petrovića nije vezana isključivo za potrebe postizanja razgovornog stila, iako čini jedno od sredstava za postizanje kolokvijalnosti.

13 Sonja Milovanović je u tekstu „Poetički princip deziluzije i retoričke figure u ranoj poeziji Branislava Petrovića” (Milovanović, S. 2019. Poetički princip deziluzije i retoričke figure u ranoj poeziji Branislava Petrovića. U D. Hamović (ur.) *Prilozi za poetiku Branislava Petrovića*. Beograd: Institut za književnost i umetnost, Čačak: Gradska biblioteka „Vladislav Petković Dis”) prva skrenula pažnju na značaj i funkciju parenteze kao retoričke figure u pesničkom opusu Branislava Petrovića, i to upravo povodom pesme koju ovde analiziramo, „Evo već dvoboj”.



*ratove pa uporedi) / Srebrni krici školjki (rušenje jutarnje svetlosti u nekoj pesmi uporedi)* (Petrović 1961: 57). Dakle, lirski glas, vodič, u parentezi upućuje čitaoca da silinu borbe konkretizuju kroz vizualizaciju efektnih pesničkih slika. U drugom delu glas se daje morskim stanovnicima, aktualizovan je konglomerat atributa i fenomena, uz Petrovićev humor, za koji je karakteristično mešanje dispartatnih pojmova, entiteta koji tek posredno pripadaju polju o kome se peva. Direktno transponovani diskurs ima dva dela: najpre molba/zahtev, a potom, u parentezi, otkrivanje identiteta adresanata, koje se pri kraju segmenta osamostaljuje u nizanje tročlanih stihova koji počinju anaforom „mi smo...”. Molbe naprasno prerastaju u imperativ, po formuli: imperativna rečenica, predstavljanje u parentezi („mi smo...”). Formula ovih rečenica izomorfna je: zamenica prvog lica množine, samoodređenje (naziv vrste) i priloška odredba za mesto, poreklo ili izražavanje odnosa posedovanja (prisvojno značenje). Treći segment pesme sačinjavaju ultimatum, odnosno nizanje rastavnih rečenica po principu ili-ili, a svi stihovi takođe počinju anaforom i nastavljaju se rečenicama vezanim za ljudsku aktivnost, za razliku od rečenica iz prve celine, u kojima su apostrofirani elementi morskog ekosistema.

U prozaidi „Kad pomislim na prostor...” logoreja je manifestovana kroz digresije, interpolacije upravnog govora, parenteze, uklapanje mini-narativa. Prozaida ima formu impresije, nastanak teksta podstaknut je jednom sasvim prozaičnom, banalnom situacijom (ručak/večera u kafani), pesničko ja izdvaja detalje koje vidi pred sobom i prepušta se refleksivnim opservacijama o odnosu života i smrti i čovekovoj prirodi. Pesničko ja čudi se dijalektičkoj povezanosti života i smrti, zapitan nad smislom života, što rezultira „dugim i tečnim odgovorima” (Lehtihalmes 2004: 252), karakterističnim za logoreju.

## 7. LOGOREJA U CELINI „JOŠ SAMO JEDNA”

Poslednja pesma zbirke dvostruko je ironijski kodirana jer sâma gradi nadcelinu – ciklus, i naslovom najavljuje svoju epilošku funkciju. Reč je o autopoetičkoj pesmi kojom implicitni autor na otvoren i direktan način implicitnom čitaocu daje instrukcije za čitanje pesme, vodeći čitaoca kroz pesmu i kroz život. Autor neposredno prepliće poetsku fikciju i život, uvodeći topos leta i spajajući (auto)poetiku i leto: „U ovom se poetskom ostvarenju naizmenično predočavaju dva plana – plan teksta i plan svakodnevice, tako što jedan neprekidno ukida drugi” (Milovanović 2019: 78).

Slova su grafeme, odnosno slike zvukova – ovom konstatacijom priziva se piktografski prikaz, pismo koje daje sliku. Istaknuta konativnost, obraćanje u impliciranom davanju uputstava, uz neizostavna oštra opkoračenja, provocira stanku u čitanju i misaonom procesuiranju: *čitaj polako i promišljeno nikad / ne razmišljaj o onome što si pročitao / kod POJELI SMO stani razmisli / da li si i ti nešto pojeo u svom životu / ako nisi učini to odmah pojedi* (Petrović 1961: 65). Funkcija preterane rasprisanosti je stvaranje iluzije neposrednog obraćanja i sugerisanja, odnosno davanja instrukcija. Stihom „jer slova su ti slike zvukova od kojih zvoní zemlja” privileguje se govor, daje se preimućstvo izgovorenoj reči nad pisanom. Reč „lubnica” je oznaka glasova, izgovorenog. Ukrštanje verbalnog virtuelnog i empirijskog praktičnog, gde „asocijacije na život udaljavaju od teksta” (Milovanović 2019: 92), očevidno je u narednim stihovima: : *osam slova to ti je osam bogova [...] oslušni srcem da li je božanstvo zrelo da bude / pojedeno* (Petrović 1961:

66). Ovim stihovima pesnik maltene sprovodi projekat „oboženja” govora: „On [Petrović – prim. J. M.] govor i jezik toliko uvažava, da ga proslavlja ne samo kao nešto božansko, nego kao božanstvo samo” (Simović 2001: 409). Već pomenuta opkoračenja doprinose i promeni tona unutar opisnih definicija ili instrukcija: [...] *nemoj dalje da čitaš pesmu o letu / jer sad je leto prijatelju lepše / od svake pesme eto tako treba čitati ovu / pesmu* (Petrović 1961: 66).

## 8. ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA

Logoreja u pesničkoj zbirci *Moć govora* služi neposrednom ilustrovanju naslovne teze, teze o moći govora. Bazično poverenje u ustrojstvo sveta, antopološki optimizam posredovan je putem slavljenja govora, svojevrsne verbalne stvarnosti i kreacije uopšte. Petrović se u ovoj divinizaciji dotiče i filozofskog koncepta istine: „Njegova velika vera u govor išla je dotle da je on i samo govorenje i imenovanje ocenjivao kao eminentno stvaralački čin. On je verovao da je sve što se kaže, pa makar delovalo i najproizvoljnije, samim tim što je kazano, sušta stvarnost i sušta istina” (Simović 2001: 408). Naizgled nasumično prateći tok misli, Petrović se služi ponavljanjima, nabranjanjima, uzvicima, poštapalicama, uzrečicama, kratkim govornim formama, evaluativnim i emotivnim izrazima, stvarajući utisak kolokvijalnosti i podražavajući mehanizam nekontrolisanog brbljanja, čime se formira snažan verbalni i artikulacioni naboj. „To je poezija koja pleni govornom energijom i uverljivošću besednika; poezija koja se govori velikom auditorijumu; raspičana i zadihana poezija u kojoj umnožavanje istih reči multiplikuje i značenja, sledstveno tome i smisao jer svaki označitelj nosi drugačiju semantičku vrednost” (Aleksić 2019: 95). Tako deluje da Petrović jezički ospoljava nasumični tok misli i da je tekst vođen entropijom, pesnički jezik rafinisan je na nivou izražavanja opažajnog i pojmovnog aparata samosvesnog lirskog subjekta koji slavi život i pledira za jezik vitalizma, nasuprot instrumentalizovanoj patriotskoj retorici. „Njegova [Petrovićeva – prim. J. M.] prva knjiga *Moć govora* (1961), kao razbarušeni izraz opore polemike sa svetom, lišena sentimentalnosti i lažnog romantičarskog zanosa, imala je snagu duhovitog lirskog plakata i pesničke objave novog verovanja u svemoćnu snagu običnog ljudskog govora, koji je za pesnika njegovog kova jedini pravi govor pesme” (Palavestra 2012: 230). Pesnik rečima pokušava da ispuni prazninu, koja će u potonjim zbirkama biti rezervisana za imaterijalnost Večnosti i Beskraja. U prilog ovoj tezi ide nastojanje, izraženo u nekolikim pesmama iz ove zbirke, da se potvrdi materijalnost reči i time „oživi” leksički fundus. Ono je u skladu i sa antičkim poimanjem reči i stvari: „Grci su, danas lako to prepoznajemo, neprestano bili sputani nedostatkom lingvističkog znanja, potpunim filološkim neiskustvom koje ih je činilo podložnim mešanju reči sa stvarima i stvaranju entiteta od imena” (Keary 1908: 30). U uvodnoj pesmi „Moć govora” lirski subjekat gomila reči i slavi mešanje reči i entiteta, pokušavajući da poeziju izjednači sa stvarnošću, odnosno da lirski tekst ustoliči kao pandan stvarnosti: „Fascinacija životom koji se neprestano obnavlja, u ovom slučaju metaforički gradi, izražena je u naporu da se svejedinstvu stvorenog pronađe jezički ekvivalent kao lirski odgovor na pitanje njegovog ishoda” (Bajčeta 2019: 89).

Logoreja pripada dobro poznatom pesnikovom „transu izricanja” (Pavković 1999: 210). Kao što smo pokazali, *trans izricanja*, što je drugi naziv za logoreju, ne može se svesti

na jedinstvenu funkciju. Funkcija logoreje obuhvata: proslavljanje govora i komunikacije; oslobađanje emocionalnog naboja; ispoljavanje delimično svesnih, potisnutih težnji; zastupanje zanemarenih ili zabranjenih, tabu tema; konativnu, ali i estetsku, odnosno poetsku funkciju; postizanje kolokvijalnosti i utiska spontanosti.

Petrović u svom opusu postiže ravnotežu između principa entropije i uređenosti, logoreje i tišine. Rano Petrovićevo stvaralaštvo odlikuju emfatičnost i euforičnost, nedisciplinovanost i utisak spontanosti (katkad i neusklađenosti) u formalnom pogledu, kao i tematska usredsređenost na svakodnevicu. Neke od ovih karakteristika biće zadržane i u narednim zbirkama, naročito u *Gradilištu*, u kome je najizraženiji avangardni uticaj (Negrišorac 1996: 38), da bi se u poemi-zbirci *Tragom prah* i u kolekciji *Sve samlji* došlo do svedenog, gotovo minimalističkog, simbolički pregnantnog izraza, kojim se setno izražava zapitanost nad poslednjim, metafizičkim pitanjima. „Umesto bujice reči, nesputane moći govora, gradilišta sve novih govornih obrta, jezik se u docnijim Petrovićevim pesmama obnavlja i bogati kroz tišinu nagoveštaja, kroz dubinu ćutanja” (Petrović 2004: 30). Svojevrsni poetički pritisak lako može preći na stranu rušenja i haosa, nestanka i ništavila, što će biti tematske preokupacije u svim potonjim Petrovićevim zbirkama.

## LITERATURA

- Aleksić, J. 2019. Izgradnja pesme: metapoetička konstrukcija Branislava Petrovića. U D. Hamović (ur.) *Prilozi za poetiku Branislava Petrovića*. Beograd: Institut za književnost i umetnost, Čačak: Gradska biblioteka „Vladislav Petković Dis”, 91–127.
- Bajčeta, V. 2019. „Ovo je slovo o besmrtnosti”: poezija Branislava Petrovića. *Povelja 2*, 88–102.
- Bjelanović, N. 2019. Lik *večite devojčice* u ljubavnoj poeziji Branislava Petrovića. U D. Hamović (ur.) *Prilozi za poetiku Branislava Petrovića*. Beograd: Institut za književnost i umetnost, Čačak: Gradska biblioteka „Vladislav Petković Dis”, 145–161.
- Danojlić, M. 1977. *Muka s rečima*. Beograd: M. Danojlić, S. Mašić.
- Deretić, J. 2011. *Istorija srpske književnosti*. Zrenjanin: Sezam Book.
- Janić, Đ. 2004. Čovek se raduje životu. U S. Ž. Marković (prir.) *Poezija Branislava Petrovića: zbornik radova*. Beograd: Zadužbina Desanke Maksimović, 16–28.
- Karović, N. 2019. Pesničko čovekoljublje Branislava Petrovića. U D. Hamović (ur.) *Prilozi za poetiku Branislava Petrovića*. Beograd: Institut za književnost i umetnost, Čačak: Gradska biblioteka „Vladislav Petković Dis”, 175–199.
- Keary, C. F. 1908. Matter in Ancient and Modern Philosophy. *The Philosophical Review* 17(1), 30–41. Dostupno na: <https://doi.org/10.2307/2177697> [10. 11. 2024]
- Korunović, G. 2017. *Status lirskog subjekta u južnoslovenskim književnostima (1970–1980)*. Filološki fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu. Neobjavljena doktorska disertacija.
- Lehtihalmes, M. 2004. Aphasia, Wernicke’s. In R. D. Kent (ed.) *The MIT Encyclopedia of Communication Disorders*. Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 252–253.
- Lukić, S. 1970. Istorija i poezija. U S. Lukić i V. Krnjević (ur.) *Posleratni srpski pesnici*. Beograd: Nolit, 17–38.
- Milanović, A. 1999. Elementi razgovornog jezika u poeziji Branislava Petrovića. U R. Mikić i D. Hamović (ur.) *Branislav Petrović, pesnik*. Kraljevo: Narodna biblioteka „Radoslav Vesnić”, 117–131.

- Milovanović, S. 2019. Poetički princip deziluzije i retoričke figure u ranoj poeziji Branislava Petrovića. U D. Hamović (ur.) *Prilozi za poetiku Branislava Petrovića*. Beograd: Institut za književnost i umetnost, Čačak: Gradska biblioteka „Vladislav Petković Dis“, 67–91.
- Milovanović, S. 2023. *Poezija danas: stilistički ogledi o savremenoj srpskoj poeziji*. Kragujevac: Filološko-umetnički fakultet.
- Negrišorac, I. 1996. *Legitimacija za beskućnike: srpska neoavangardna poezija: poetički identitet i razlike*. Novi Sad: Kulturni centar Novog Sada.
- Negrišorac, I. 1999. Poetička složenica Branislava Petrovića. U R. Mikić i D. Hamović (ur.) *Branislav Petrović, pesnik*. Kraljevo: Narodna biblioteka „Radoslav Vesnić“, 41–73.
- Palavestra, P. 2012. *Posleratna srpska književnost 1945–1970 i njena istorija*. Beograd: Službeni glasnik.
- Pavković, V. 1999. Vatra iznenađenja. U R. Mikić i D. Hamović (ur.) *Branislav Petrović, pesnik*. Kraljevo: Narodna biblioteka „Radoslav Vesnić“, 209–221.
- Pervić, M. 1973. Branislav Petrović ili odbrana sveta. U S. Lukić (prir.) *Savremena poezija*. Beograd: Nolit, 632–653.
- Petrović, P. 2004. Govor i prah. U S. Ž. Marković (prir.) *Poezija Branislava Petrovića: zbornik radova*. Beograd: Zadužbina Desanke Maksimović, 28–31.
- Prins, Dž. 2011. *Naratoški rečnik*. Beograd: Službeni glasnik.
- Radikić, V. 2004. Tradicija i inovacije u pesništvu Branislava Petrovića. U S. Ž. Marković (prir.) *Poezija Branislava Petrovića: zbornik radova*. Beograd: Zadužbina Desanke Maksimović, 60–71.
- Simović, Lj. 2001. Uz knjigu *Predosećanje budućnosti* Branislava Petrovića. U Lj. Simović. *Duplo dno*. Beograd: Stubovi kulture, 392–408.
- Simović, Lj. 2001. Aždaja koja se hrani rukopisom. U Lj. Simović. *Duplo dno*. Beograd: Stubovi kulture, 408–415.
- Sonza, V. M. 2014. Stuttering, Logorrhea, and Disordered Speech among Male Characters in Luis Vaz de Camões' *The Lusads* (1572). In C. Eagle (ed.) *Literature, Speech Disorders, and Disability: Talking Normal*. New York: Routledge, 65–82.
- Sterjopulu, E. A. 2003. *Poetika lirskog ciklusa*. Beograd: Narodna knjiga – Alfa.
- Stojanović Pantović, B. 1999. Ekspresionistički aspekti avangarde: jedan pristup poeziji Branislava Petrovića. U R. Mikić i D. Hamović (ur.) *Branislav Petrović, pesnik*. Kraljevo: Narodna biblioteka „Radoslav Vesnić“, 91–99.
- Zubanović S. i M. Pantić. 1992. *Deset pesama – deset razgovora*. Novi Sad: Matica srpska.

## IZVOR

Petrović, B. 1961. *Moć govora*. Beograd: Prosveta.

## SUMMARY

### LOGORRHEA IN BRANISLAV PETROVIC'S COLLECTION OF POEMS *THE POWER OF SPEECH*

In medical terminology, the word "logorrhea" denotes a disorder of excessive and uncontrolled talking, while in everyday speech it is often used as a synonym for talkativeness or chatter. In this paper, we have tried to indicate the meaning of the logorrheic principle in Branislav Petrović's first poetry collection. Given that the term was also used in ancient philosophy to denote the speech of matter, which only sages can hear, we have determined whether Petrović privileges the position of the poet by using the principle of logorrhea. The author shapes the poetic speech as a free associative verbal flow, with numerous neologisms and repetitions, forming strange morphosyntactic constructions, whereby formal inventiveness is accompanied by numerous metalinguistic assumptions.

**KEYWORDS:** Branislav Petrović, *The Power of Speech*, logorrhea, speech, poetic language, language function, repetition, creation.

PODACI O ČLANKU:

Originalni naučni rad

Primljen: 8. oktobra 2024.

Ispravljen: 12. novembra 2024.

Prihvaćen: 19. novembra 2024.



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18485/philologia.2024.22.22.9>

UDC: 821.521.09-1 Oгаи M.

## ■ PRINCIP ILI FERDINAND? MORI OGAI O POČETKU PRVOG SVETSKOG RATA

MATEJA MATIĆ<sup>1</sup>

Univerzitet u Beogradu

Filološki fakultet

Beograd, Srbija

 <https://orcid.org/0009-0001-4408-8820>

Cilj ovog rada je da predstavi novu interpretaciju pesme „Jedan čovek“ japanskog pisca Morija Ogaija (1862–1922), koja za temu ima ubistvo Franca Ferdinanda koje je počinio Gavrilo Princip i početak Prvog svetskog rata. Ova pesma tumačena je kao Ogaijevo neodobravanje Principovog postupka. Međutim, bližom analizom Ogaijevih aluzija došli smo do zaključka da Ogai ne iskazuje neodobravanje prema Principu, već prema Francu Ferdinandu. Ovaj rad iznosi tezu da se ova pesma ima tumačiti u okviru Ogaijevog „otklona od Evrope“ u stvaralaštvu, te da se taj otklon desio upravo kao posledica Prvog svetskog rata. U isto vreme, ovaj rad pokazuje značaj izučavanja Ogaijevog stvaralaštva na klasičnom kineskom jeziku, koje je do sada skoro zanemarivano, i ukazuje da nam na činjenicu da uvid u ovaj deo njegovog stvaralaštva može pružiti nove podatke tamo gde njegova dela na vernakularnom japanskom jeziku to ne čine.

Ključne reči: Mori Ogai, klasični kineski jezik, poezija, Gavrilo Princip, Franc Ferdinand, Prvi svetski rat.

### 1. UVOD

Mori Ogai (森鷗外, 1862–1922) japanski je pisac, prevodilac, i vojni lekar. Pored Nacumea Sosekija (夏目漱石, 1867–1916), smatra se jednim od osnivača književnosti na govornom japanskom jeziku i začetnikom modernog japanskog književnog kanona. Rođen je u porodici koja je generacijama obrazovala lekare za službu oblasnom gospodarstvu Cuvanoa (danas prefektura Šimane), te je nasledio porodični posao, i diplomirao medicinu na Tokijskom univerzitetu sa samo devetnaest godina. U jeku ubrzane modernizacije i industrijalizacije po ugledu na evropske sile, država ga ubrzo šalje u Nemačku da izuči evropsku medicinu, gde nastaju prva Ogaijeva zapažena dela. U pitanju je tzv. „Nemačka trilogija“ („Doitsu sanbusaku“, 1890–1891), koja po svojoj tematici umnogome podseća na „Švabicu“ Laze Lazarevića. Po povratku u Japan 1888. godine, postaje vesnik nove književnosti kako originalnim delima, tako i prevodima sa nemačkog jezika. U vrhunac

---

1 Kontakt podaci (E-mail): [matejamatic098@gmail.com](mailto:matejamatic098@gmail.com)



proznog stvaralaštva ubrajaju mu se realističke pripovetke sa istorijskom tematikom poput „Porodice Abe“ (“Abe ichizoku”, 1913) i „Gazde Sanšoa“ (“Sanshō dayū”, 1915) i romani kao što su *Vita seksualis* (*Wita seksuarisu*, 1909) i *Divlja guska* (*Gan*, 1915). U pogledu prevoda, jedan je od sastavljača antologije prevoda evropske poezije *Naličja* (*Omokage*, 1889), u kojoj prevodioci eksperimentišu sa evropskom metrikom u japanskom jeziku, a prevodi i značajna dela evropske književnosti kao što su Geteov *Faust* i Andersenov *Improvizator* (*Improvisatoren*, 1835).

Deo Ogaijevog originalnog stvaralaštva čini i poezija na klasičnom kineskom jeziku. Poezija na kineskom iz pera japanskog pisca nije nikakva specifičnost Ogaija. Naime, poput latinskog jezika u Evropi, klasični kineski jezik bio je okosnica japanskog obrazovanja sve do dvadesetog veka. Ogai pripada poslednjim generacijama japanskih pisaca koji klasični kineski jezik nisu samo čitali, već su na njemu i stvarali. Klasična kineska književnost od japanskih pisaca ostaje malo proučavana, a to je posledica pristupa kanonizaciji japanske književnosti koji uzima u obzir samo dela japanskih pisaca na japanskom jeziku. Ovaj pristup u Japanu preovladava od kraja devetnaestog veka, uplivom evropskih shvatanja o naciji i nacionalnoj literaturi, i ustoličenjem pesničke zbirke *Deset hiljada listova* (*Man'yōshū*) za početak japanske književnosti (Shinada/Saito 2019: 11, 128). Ovaj problem primećen je poslednjih decenija, te skorija istraživanja nastoje da pozicioniraju klasični kineski jezik kao ravnopravno deljen i relevantan jezički medijum u stvaralaštvu svih pripadnika „sinografskog kosmopolisa“, tj. istočnoazijskog kulturnog kruga (King 2023: 5) te time i da pruže novi teoretski okvir za proučavanje japanske književnosti na kineskom. Osvrti na kinesku poeziju Nacumea Sosekija postoje i na srpskom jeziku (Kličković 2012). Ipak, ovo polje tek je u začetku, a pogotovo u pogledu Ogaijevih dela na kineskom jeziku, koja se malo izučavaju ne samo u svetskim okvirima, već i u Japanu (Sato 2016: 220). Postoji samo jedno izdanje Ogaijeve poezije na kineskom, kojim smo se i mi služili (Chen 1993). Međutim, ovo izdanje je u pogledu iznetih tumačenja daleko od idealnog, a i sam priređivač slaže se da su Ogaijeve pesme još uvek nedovoljno proučene, i poziva na nove interpretacije (Chen 1993, 2: 448). Stoga je primarni cilj ovog rada da rasvetli i pruži novu interpretaciju Ogaijeve pesme „Jedan čovek“, tim pre što nam ona pruža uvid u to kako je Ogai posmatrao ubistvo Franca Ferdinanda – jedan od najvažnijih događaja u srpskoj i svetskoj istoriji – a sekundarni da pokuša da otkrije i uopšten Ogaijev stav o ratu.

## 2. POLITIČKA MISAO U OGAIJEVOJ PESMI „JEDAN ČOVEK“

Prvo ćemo pesmu prevesti prema Čenovom tumačenju (Chen 1993, 2: 447–449).<sup>2</sup>

Metak jednog čoveka započe rat svih država;  
 najednom, nebo i zemlju preplavi zvuk oružja  
 Vrate ih u korice, pa ih začas opet okrvave;  
 sklapaju saveze, pa ih onda za tren izdaju!  
 Uzalud mi pričaš o dubini stare mržnje;  
 samo strahujem da će preteška biti osveta

2    Autorski prevod, a svi ostali prevodi u radu takođe su naši.

Kad se najzad na Zapadu smiri ova vojna,  
ko će pregovorom dušmane pomiriti?<sup>3</sup>

Metar pesme je „uređena pesma“ (kin. *qīyán lùshī*), pesnički oblik od osam stihova od po pet, šest ili sedam karaktera, naširoko korišćen u kineskoj književnosti od dinastije Tang (618–907). U originalu rimovan je prvi stih sa svakim sledećim parnim. Sudeći po zapisima u Ogaijevom dnevniku, pesmu je napisao prvog oktobra 1915. godine sa naslovom *pifū* (匹夫, jap. *hippu*), i poslao je Tojou Jokogavi (横川唐陽, 1868–1929), mlađem prijatelju koga je istovremeno i smatrao svojim učiteljem poezije. Tojo mu vraća pesmu petog oktobra sa naznakom da *pifū* promeni u *yifū* (一夫, jap. *ippu*) (Ogai 1975a: 672). Ova napomena odnosi se kako na naslov, tako i na prvi stih, budući da prvi stih počinje rečima u naslovu. Ogai zatim devetnaestog oktobra poklanja pesmu „Nariu Jamađiju, dopisniku iz zaraćenih država“ (Ogai 1975a: 674). O ovom dopisniku nam, nažalost, ne ostaju nikakvi podaci sem imena.

Čen ovu pesmu karakteriše kao izrazito tešku za razumevanje u pogledu aluzija (Chen 1993, 2: 448). Jedna od osnovnih odlika klasične kineske poezije jeste aluzivnost (Ge 2023: 99), te Ogai ni u ovom pogledu ne iskače iz pesničke tradicije. Što se tiče naslova, i *pifū* (Ogaijev prvobitni naslov) i *yifū* (Tojoov predlog) znače isto, a to je „(jedan) čovek, običan čovek, čovek iz naroda“. Čen tumači Ogaijev prvobitni naslov kao filozofski termin preuzet iz dela poznatog kineskog učenjaka Gu Jenvua (顧炎武, 1613–1682). Gu, naime, u trinaestom poglavlju svog spisa *Beleške svakodnevnog saznavanja* (日知錄, *Rì zhīlù*), koje se bavi sudbinom država, tvrdi: „Očuvanjem zemlje bave se vladari i njihove sluge – oni koji jedu meso. Kada je reč o očuvanju civilizacije, za to se pita i siromašan, prost čovek (*pifū*)!“ (Gu 1883: 8) *Pifū* bi, dakle, bio čovek iz naroda koji je presudno uticao na sudbinu država, a to se u kontekstu početka Prvog svetskog rata može odnositi samo na jednog čoveka – Gavrila Principa. Čen predlaže da je zamena *pifū* sa *yifū* jednostavno zamena filozofskog termina nefilozofskim, i da se *yifū* i dalje odnosi na Gavrila Principa (Chen 1993, 2: 448). Izdaju saveza o kojoj se govori u četvrtom stihu Čen tumači kao odluku Italije 1915. godine da se pridruži silama Antante i objavi rat Austrougarskoj, a „staru mržnju“ i „pretešku osvetu“ u petom i šestom stihu kao rivalstvo Rusije i Nemačke. Najzad, skreće pažnju da je pomirenje u poslednjem stihu aluzija na kineske diplomate poput Su Čina (蘇秦, 380–284. p.n.e) i Džang Jia (張儀, pre 373–309. p.n.e), koji su se zalagali za ujedinjenje zaraćenih kineskih država protiv, odnosno sa državom Čin. Ova pesma, dakle, prema Čenovom tumačenju, govori o Gavrilu Principu kao nesmotrenom pokretaču haosa i rata kojima skoro i da nema pregovaračkog, tj. diplomatskog rešenja, jer – ko će pregovorom dušmane pomiriti?

Koliko god bilo na prvi pogled primamljivo, ovakvo tumačenje krije jedan previd. Naslov i uvodna reč prvog stiha ovde su nosioci cele pesme i uzrok dešavanja koja se u njoj opisuju. Ogai ih je smatrao dovoljno važnim da promenu termina za koju se odlučio napomene u dnevniku, koji je inače napisan vrlo šturo. Ako termin *pifū* protumačimo kao aluziju na revolucionara koji odlučuje o sudbini država, onda je teško zamislivo da bi se Tojo i Ogai, obojica pesnici, složili da tako snažnu metaforu zamene mnogo

3 U originalu: 一夫 一夫彈啓萬邦爭，倏忽乾坤劍戟聲。戢武回頭還洗武，尋盟覆手乍寒盟。莫言貽怨有深淺，惟恐報仇無重輕。他日西天兵禍斂，何人尊俎策縱橫。

neodređenijim terminom, tim pre što je *yifū* termin koji se javlja u delu filozofa mnogo poznatijeg i temeljnije proučavanijeg nego što je Gu Jenvu. U pitanju je niko drugi do Mencije (孟子, 372–289. p.n.e).

Mencije, ili Mengci, konfucijanski je filozof i pristalica Konfucijevog učenja o vrlini i politici. Smatra se da je putovao po kineskim državama i razgovarao sa njihovim vladarima u pokušaju da ih ubedi u svoju političku misao, te da je pri kraju života sa sledbenicima zapisao te dijaloge i sastavio svoje istoimeno delo. Ova priča, kao i što se tiče ostalih ranih kineskih filozofa, ne mora nužno biti istinita (Loewe 1993: 331), ali ne menja Mencijevu popularnost, toliku da je filozof Džu Si (朱熹, 1130–1200) najzad kanonizovao delo *Mencije* kao jednu od devet osnovnih knjiga (tj. „četiri knjige i pet klasika“) konfucijanizma. Kao deo ovog kanona, čitali su ga i japanski intelektualci. Ipak, Mencije se svojim stavovima razlikuje od ostatka ovog kanona, i proizvodi dozu nelagode u (neo)konfucijanskoj ortodoksiji. Naime, pod određenim uslovima, Mencije opravdava revoluciju i ubijanje vladara, zbog čega su ga neki japanski konfucijanisti i kritikovali, govoreći da to „nije spis koji treba čitati osoba koja nastoji da bude dobar službenik.“ (Uchino 1962: 75) Uporište Mencijevog stava o regicidu je sledeći pasus:

Kralj Sjuen od Čija upita Mencija: „Tang je prognao Đea, a Vu svrgnuo Džoua, zar ne?“

Mencije odgovori: „Tako kaže predanje.“

„Da li podanik onda sme da ubije svog gospodara?“, upita kralj.

„Onog koji narušava čovečnost zovemo razbojnikom, a onog koji narušava pravdu rušiteljem. Razbojnika i rušitelja zovemo jednim običnim prostakom (*yifū*). Vu je, dakle, ubio običnog prostaka – nije ubio svog gospodara!“ (Uchino 1962: 74–75)

Tang (湯) je bio navodni osnivač dinastije Šang (商, oko 1600–1046. p.n.e) koji je svrgnuo poslednjeg vladara predistorijske dinastije Sja (夏, 2070?–1600? p.n.e). Vu (周武王, 1076?–1043. p.n.e) je osnovao dinastiju Džou (周, 1046–256. p.n.e) time što je svrgnuo poslednjeg vladara dinastije Šang. Obojica su, dakle, u trenutku svoje pobune bili podanici, te se postavlja pitanje da li je opravdano za podanika da se pobuni protiv svog gospodara i ubije ga. Mencijevom logikom, uloga vladara podrazumeva čovečnost i pravdu. Onaj ko nije čovečan i pravedan ne može se nazvati vladarem, stoga ubiti takvu osobu i nije regicid.

Ako se vratimo Ogaijevoj pesmi, jasno je da ova aluzija, tj. izraz *yifū*, odgovara konkretnom incidentu mnogo više nego Guov termin *piñū*. Principovo ubistvo Franca Ferdinanda nije ništa drugo do ubistvo vladara od strane podanika, te se prirodno nameće pitanje – da li je ono opravdano? I da li se uopšte može smatrati regicidom? Tojo svojom ispravkom upućenom Ogaiju kao da poručuje da to nije regicid, te da je Franc Ferdinand taj koji se oglušio o čovečnost i pravdu i spao na nivo Mencijevog *yifū*-a, a Ogai tu ispravku unosi. Predlažemo stoga tumačenje ove pesme suprotno Čenovom. Drugim rečima, jedan čovek iz naslova nije Gavrilo Princip, već Franc Ferdinand. Metak nije metak koji je taj čovek ispalio, već koji je u njega ispaljen, a smrt jednog nečovečnog i nepravednog vladara je razlog za početak (svetskog) rata.

Imamo li osnova da tvrdimo da bi Ogai video *yifū* kao aluziju na Mencija? Dovoljno bi bilo napomenuti da su se konfucijanski klasici – pre svega gorepomenutih devet

kanonizovanih knjiga, među kojima je i Mencije – učili napamet u okviru japanskog obrazovanja (Tadokoro 1984), te bi za intelektualce poput Ogaija i Tojoa, koji su prošli kroz takvo obrazovanje, bilo gotovo nemoguće da jednu tako poznatu aluziju ne prepoznaju ili nehotice upotrebe. Pored tih okolnosti, možemo se osloniti i na Fuđikavino (1991) istraživanje. Fuđikava u Ogaijevim delima sa istorijskom tematikom objavljivanim između 1916. i 1921. godine pronalazi citate iz Mencija, dokazujući da je Ogai i u kasnim godinama pomno čitao ovog filozofa (Fujikawa 1991: 33). Sve ukazuje na to da je Ogai bio dobro svestan toga kakvu političku ideju u sebi nosi termin *yifū*.

Pretpostavka da je Ogai pod „jednim čovekom“ podrazumevao Franca Ferdinanda može pomoći da bolje sagledamo i peti i šesti stih. Čen „staru mržnju“ u petom stihu tumači kao „staro rivalstvo Nemačke i Rusije“ (Chen 1993, 2: 448). Takvo čenovo stanovište nije nerazumljivo ako se uzme u obzir da je Ogai bio „nemački đak“ i najviše upućen u dešavanja u Nemačkoj. Ipak, postojale su „stara mržnja“ (peti stih) i „preteška osveta“ (šesti stih) mnogo neposrednije povezane sa početkom Prvog svetskog rata. U pitanju je sukob Srbije i Austrougarske. Taj sukob se posebno zaoštava nakon okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. godine, ali vidljiv je i kroz blokadu saradnje Srbije i drugih država, čiji je najpoznatiji primer tzv. „Carinski rat“ od 1906. do 1911. godine. Srpsko javno mnjenje bilo je takvo da je zahtevalo rat već 1908. godine, kada je Austrougarska anektirala Bosnu i Hercegovinu, premda vlada vođena Pašićem nije popustila ovim zahtevima (Đokić 2023: 325). To bi, dakle, bila „stara mržnja“, koja do trenutka stvaranja ove Ogaijeve pesme traje trideset i sedam godina, to jest većinu Ogaijevog života. Podjednako prigodan izraz je i „preteška osveta“ kada se uzme u obzir da je Austrougarska na atentat reagovala postavljanjem ultimatumu koji je „napravljen kako bi se odbio“ (Đokić 2023: 341). Nameće se pitanje koliko je Ogai mogao biti upoznat sa ovim višedecenijskim previranjima na njemu dalekom Balkanu. Međutim, Srbija je izrazito dobro dokumentovana u japanskoj periodici još od poslednje četvrtine 19. veka. Prvi pomen Srbije na koji smo naišli u japanskim novinama jeste iz 14. jula 1876. godine, gde se govori o pobuni protiv turske vlasti (*Yomiuri* 1876: 2). Revnosno su ispraćena dešavanja povodom austrougarske okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine (*Yomiuri* 1878: 3), a isto važi i za Prvi svetski rat, tokom kojeg se o Srbiji govori u veoma blagonaklonom, čak sažaljivom tonu. Hrabrim srpskim ženama upućuju se hvalospevi (*Tokyo Nichinichi* 1914: 7), a za ranjene srpske borce prikuplja se novčana pomoć (*Yomiuri* 1914: 5). Detaljno istraživanje japanske periodike moramo ostaviti za neko buduće istraživanje. Može se, međutim, se zaključiti da je Ogai itekako imao prilike da formira mišljenje o situaciji na Balkanu. Upravo i datum sastavljanja ove pesme daje naznaku da je Ogai pratio periodiku, bilo nemačku, bilo japansku, jer početkom oktobra su nemačke trupe ušle u Srbiju kao deo tzv. „trojne invazije“ ili „srpske kampanje“ (nem. *Der serbische Feldzug* 1915), o kojoj je pisano i u japanskim novinama (*Asahi* 1915: 2).

Ovakvo tumačenje Ogaijeve pesme ukazuje na mogućnost da je u njoj iskazano negodovanje prema austrougarskoj vlasti i njenim postupcima prema Srbiji nakon atentata. Pojam *yifū* možemo prevesti kao „jedan čovek“, ali i kao Mencijev termin koji označava vladara koji nije vredan vlasti, te taj čovek možda nije Gavrilo Princip, već upravo suprotno – Franc Ferdinand. Kako kontekstualizovati ovu pesmu u Ogaijevom stvaralaštvu? Šta Ogai drugde kaže o ubistvu Franca Ferdinanda, ili o Prvom svetskom ratu uopšte? To smo pokušali objasniti u narednom odeljku.

### 3. OGAI I RAT

Dnevnopolitičko komentarisanje rata u Ogaijevom celokupnom stvaralaštvu gotovo i da ne postoji. To se lako da razumeti kada se uzme u obzir da Ogaijevo glavno zanimanje nije bilo književno stvaralaštvo, već vojna medicina. Učestvovao je u Rusko-japanskom ratu (1904–1905), nakon kojeg je, 1907. godine, u četrdeset i petoj godini života, unapređen u upravnika medicine pri japanskom Ministarstvu rata. Postaje prvi direktor Carskog muzeja 1919. godine, i na toj poziciji ostaje do kraja života. Za tako istaknutog državnog službenika, bilo kakvo komentarisanje rata moglo se pokazati pogubno po karijeru. Ipak, Ogaijevo mišljenje o ratu nazire se kroz pojedine fragmente i svedočenja, uključujući i pesmu obrađenu u prethodnom delu rada. Prvo ćemo navesti svedočenje Korina Jamade (1869–1955), takođe vojnog lekara, koji je u jednom delu svog života bio podređen Ogaiju u Ministarstvu rata. Jamada je autor Ogaijeve biografije po imenu *Ogai – vojni lekar (Gun'i Mori Ōgai)*, koja ima posebnu vrednost jer je njen autor poznao pisca za života, i prenosi brojne podatke koje nam sam Ogai ne otkriva. Jedan takav podatak je i Ogaijev stav o ratu. Ovde prenosimo deo anegdote pod naslovom „Ukoreni Tojo Jokogava“ (“Yokogawa Tōyō shikararu”), koja datira iz vremena njihovog boravka na ratištu Rusko-japanskog rata. Tojo Jokogava ista je ličnost koja je savetovala Ogaija povodom pesme „Jedan čovek“ iz 1915. godine.

Provodio sam dane zauzete od jutra do mraka primanjem i puštanjem pacijenata iz bolnice sklepane u pećini, kao i njihovim lečenjem. Redovno sam dobijao pritužbe od Tojoa, upravnika bolnice, povodom administrativnih pitanja.

...Drugi štab vojske baš je tada ušao u Mukden, i naš šef medicine bio je Mori Ogai, dobro poznat i po svom književnom radu. Tojo mi jednog dana reče:

„Idem začas kod šefa Ogaija“,

te ode. Vratio se posle nekog vremena strašno klonuo, nimalo nalik na sebe inače.

...„Čuj, izgrdio me je šef.“

„Šta se desilo?“

„Ušao sam i pitao ga šta misli o bici za Mukden, a on mi reče: ‘To ti valjda bolje znaš!’ Nisam znao šta da odgovorim, pa sam ćutao, a on reče: ‘Onaj koji nosi vojnu uniformu ne može da iznosi svoje mišljenje o ratu. Šta da kažem? Jedino bih mogao reći da se radi o vrhuncu tragedije (*hisano goku*). Suzdrži se malo kad je reč o tim temama.’“ (Yamada 1943: 197–198)

U ovoj anegdoti, Ogaija „mudro ćuti“ i ne iznosi mišljenje o ratu. Međutim, ključ razumevanja njegove ćutnje jeste rečenica da je rat „vrhunac tragedije“. Drugim rečima, Ogai ćuti upravo zato što ima nešto što mora prećutati – svoje neodobranje rata. Bitka za Mukden 1905. godine bila je poslednja kopnena bitka Rusko-japanskog rata i velika pobeda za japansku stranu, ali ovde ne vidimo Ogaija koji trijumfuje, što je reakcija koju je možda Tojo očekivao. Naprotiv, Ogai očigledno ne razmišlja toliko o vojnoj pobedi, koliko o žrtvama ove bitke, koje su bile mnogobrojne i na ruskoj, i na japanskoj strani, te se čini da se prema ratu postavlja pre kao lekar nego kao vojnik.

Na istu samilost i žal za ljudskim žrtvama nailazimo u jednoj Ogaijevoj pesmi, samo mnogo jasnije i ogoljenije izraženu. Ova pesma, pod naslovom „Onom ko odlazi

kao pojačanje“ (jap. “Kōen daiji”), zabeležena je u njegovom dnevniku, i to u unosu iz 11. oktobra 1915. godine, samo deset dana nakon pesme „Jedan čovek“. Upućena je Šunsaburou Macubari. Njegov nam identitet, nažalost, nije poznat, ali je iz naslova, sadržaja pesme, kao i datuma jasno da ona bodri mladića koji je regrutovan da pomogne japanskim trupama protiv Nemačke u Prvom svetskom ratu. Ova pesma do sad nije uzimana u obzir kada je reč o izučavanju Ogaijevog antiratnog stava, u skladu sa generalnim zanemarivanjem njegovog stvaralaštva na kineskom jeziku. Dajemo ovde prevod pesme:

Mladi se ubijaju radi Velikoga mira,  
a njihove udove i siročad strahuju da neće moći da se prehrane!  
Pokriću ih, kad im bude bilo hladno, svilom iz svog džepa,  
kao onaj što je davno kolibe obilazio!<sup>4</sup> (Ogai 1975a: 673)

U pitanju je, kao i „Jedan čovek“, pesma na klasičnom kineskom jeziku, ovaj put katren u sedam karaktera (kin. *qīyán-juéjù*). U originalu rimovani su prvi, drugi, i četvrti stih. Kada se uzme u obzir ova i prethodna pesma, čini se da je upravo poezija na kineskom bila način za Ogaija da iskaže osećanja koja u delima na japanskom nije mogao ili smeo, budući da je poezija pisana na klasičnom kineskom jeziku i u klasičnim kineskim poetskim oblicima hermetičnija zbog specifičnog izraza i aluzivnosti, posebno za čitaoca koji nije prošao kroz temeljno klasično obrazovanje. I ova pesma, naime, sadrži aluziju; u drugoj polovini otkriva Ogaijevo duboko poznavanje jednog od najpoznatijih kineskih pesnika, Du Fua (杜甫, 712–770), a konkretno njegove ratne poezije. Treći stih odnosi se na Du Fuovu pesmu „Putovanje na sever“ (北征, “Běizhēng”) iz 757. godine, a četvrti na „Pesmu o slamenom kolibi koju je uništio jesenji vetar“ (茅屋為秋風所破歌, “Máowū wéi qiūfēng su pò gē”) iz 762. godine. Obe pesme predstavljaju prizor zemlje uništene i osiromašene ratom,<sup>5</sup> i pesnik u njima, uprkos svom položaju dvorskog službenika, iskazuje veliko interesovanje i saosećanje prema stradanju običnog naroda. Upravo poezijom ove tematike, koja se ponekad naziva i „istorijska poezija“ (史詩, *shīshī*), karakteristična po realističkom pristupu, Du Fu zavređuje veliki deo svoje slave. Nesumnjivo je da se Ogai – takođe državni službenik i konfucijanski obrazovan – identifikovao sa Du Fuom čitajući stihove o regrutovanju kao što su oni iz pesme „Službenik u selu Šihao“ (石壕吏): „Tri moja sina brane grad Je. / Od jednog dobih pismo / da su dvojica mrtvi. / Iako su živi uspeli da ukradu sebi život / mrtvi su mrtvi večno. / Nemam više nikoga u kući, / samo jedno odojče...“ (Matić 2018: 237) Ogai, dakle, transponuje Du Fuove stavove o ratu u svoju poetiku. Premda ne može da zaustavi užase Prvog svetskog rata, može makar da, kao i drevni kineski pesnik, o njima posvedoči, i pokaže saosećanje prema žrtvama. Na delu je isti onaj Ogai koji je u Jamadinoj anegdoti izgradio Tojoa. Drugim rečima, umesto „velikih“ političkih ciljeva, on u prvi plan stavlja konkretni ljudski život žrtvovan da bi se taj cilj ostvario, i pokazuje saosećanje prema udovicama i siročadi koji su ostali bez životnog oslonca. „Veliki mir“ (kin. *tàipíng*) je, inače, termin prisutan i u starokineskoj filozofiji, gde predstavlja jedan od vrhovnih političkih ideala, ali u Ogaijevoj pesmi on je

4 U originalu: 後援題辭 壯士殺身成太平, 寡孤仍恐不聊生。庇他濃懷囊中帛, 亦是千間廣廈情。

5 Konkretno, građanskim ratom nastalim usled An Lušanove bune od 755. do 763.



upotrebljen gotovo ironično. Razumljivo je što je ovakva kritika morala biti prikrivena – ona je uperena ne toliko ka neprijateljskoj strani, koliko ka japanskoj vladi koja šalje mlade vojnike u smrt.

Ogai, dakle, iskazuje donekle prikriven antiratni stav, za koji bi se reklo da pre proizilazi iz lekarskog poziva, nego vojnog iskustva. Šta Ogai kaže konkretno o Prvom svetskom ratu i ubistvu Franca Ferdinanda? Zanimljivo je što njegov dnevnik poslednjih dana juna 1914. godine ne sadrži ama baš nikakav pomen ovog incidenta (Ogai 1975a: 631). Ipak, atentat je detaljno opisan u rubrici zvanj „S druge strane okeana“ („Mizu no anata yori“) koju je Ogai objavljivao u časopisu *Varera* od 26. decembra 1913. godine do 1. septembra 1914. godine. Ova rubrika predstavlja svojevrsni nastavak rubrike „Čvorkov izveštaj“ („Mukudori tsuushin“), koju je objavljivao od 1909. do 1913. godine u časopisu *Subaru*. U obe ove kolumne, Ogai sažima i prenosi vesti iz nemačkih novina, koje je redovno čitao. Te vesti su prevashodno kulturne i književne prirode, ali Ogai ipak nije mogao da previdi tako veliki događaj kao što je atentat Franca Ferdinanda. Po svojoj prirodi, ove rubrike ne predstavljaju Ogaijev lični glas, već pokušaj da se informacije prenesu objektivno. Ipak, sam izbor informacija i način na koji su one predstavljene mogu nam reći nešto o tome šta je Ogai mislio. Prenosimo odlomak Ogaijevog članka o atentatu:

#### Nasilna smrt (*ōshi*) austrijskog prestolonaslednika i njegove žene

Na nadvojvodu Franca Ferdinanda i njegovu ženu u jedanaest ujutru dvadeset i osmog juna bacio je granatu štampar Nedeljko Čabrinović dok su se automobilom kretali od vojnih baraka ka sarajevskoj skupštini kako bi prisustvovali vojnim vežbama. Granata se odbila o poklopac automobila, pogodila susedni, i eksplodirala. Povređen je narednik Marici i odnesen u bolnicu pri barakama. Nadvojvoda i njegova žena pozdravili su se sa gradonačelnikom kod skupštine, ponovo seli u automobil, i krenuli ka bolnici kako bi obišli povređenog narednika, kada je u njih pucao Gavriilo Princip, bivši učenik trgovačke škole, pištoljem marke Brauning. Prvo je pogođena nadvojvodina žena u stomak, i pukle su joj šuplje vene. Ona je pala na nadvojvodina kolena, a on joj je rekao: „Nemoj umreti, radi deteta!“ Tada je nadvojvodu u vrat pogodio drugi metak i presekao mu karotidu i dušnik. Pao je i nadvojvoda. ...Uhvaćeni su dvojica počinitelaca, i njihovim ispitivanjem saznalo se da su i bombu i pištolj dobili od srpskog pukovnika Milana Pribičevića. Nadvojvoda nastojao je da formira državu od mađarskog, austrijskog i srpskog naroda, navede Srbe da i oni otvore skupštinu, i time očuva život austrijske države. Međutim, Srbi to ne žele. Žele da se bore sa Austrijom uz pomoć Rusije. Nadvojvoda bio je ćutljiv čovek. Jednom kada mu se slikao portret, slikar ga je zamolio da napravi nežniji izraz lica, a nadvojvoda reče: „Ne, ja nisam nežan“ (*iya, onore wa yasashiku wa nai*). Bio je vrlo disciplinovan u svakodnevnom životu, a oni koji su bili uz njega kažu i da je bio tvrdica (*rinshoku*). Bilo kako bilo, čini se da je imao veliku ambiciju. (Ogai 1974: 911–912)

U oči upada detaljnost Ogaijevog opisa atentata. S jedne strane, tu su medicinski detalji vezani za ubistvo, svojstveni Ogaiju kao lekaru. S druge strane, on pruža širi



politički kontekst ovog incidenta. Čak i da je Ogaijev nemački izvor bio naklonjen austrougarskoj strani, to se u Ogaijevom članku ne vidi; on niti predstavlja Principa (i Čabrinovića) kao nerazumne zločince bez jasnog motiva, niti uzdiže i oplakuje Franca Ferdinanda. Naprotiv, Ogaijeva slika Ferdinanda kao „čutljivog čoveka“ i „tvrđice“ koji „nije nežan“ teško da može ostaviti pozitivan utisak na čitaoca. Zanimljivo je što Ogai navodi takve lične detalje za Ferdinanda, ali ne i za atentatore. Može li se pretpostaviti da Ogai nije bio naklonjen Ferdinandu i njegovoj politici? Ovaj članak i pesma „Jedan čovek“ pružaju nam tek naznake, ali ako uzmemo u obzir Ogaijev antiratni stav, razumljivo je zašto bi više saosećanja osetio prema srpskoj strani, nego prema austrougarskoj, budući da je upravo Austrougarska inicirala Ogaiju mrski rat. „Jedan čovek“ nije revolucionar koji, kao u filozofiji Gu Jenvua, menja sudbinu država, već suprotno – mencijevski autokrata koji svojim ophođenjem prema narodu takvu sudbinu priziva.

#### 4. ZAKLJUČAK

Nakon Prvog svetskog rata, u Ogaijevom stvaralaštvu prepoznaje se „otklon od Evrope“ (*Yōroppa banare*) i „povratak Japanu“ (*Nihon kaiki*). Ovaj otklon se ogleda u leksici i tematici Ogaijevih dela, koja su sve više posvećena Japanu, ali i u činjenici da je skoro sasvim prestao sa prevođenjem evropskih dela na japanski. Najzad, ogleda se i u autorovom odbacivanju dotadašnjeg književnog pseudonima. Umesto književnog imena „Ogai“, koje sadrži reč „galeb“ i, prema Nakađimi (Nakajima 2022: 268–269), simbolizuje pisca koji „leti“ između dve kulture, ponovo počinje da se potpisuje svojim pravim imenom, Rintaro. I sam Ogai svestan je činjenice da posle svetskog rata umetnost više ne može biti ista, te u tekstu „Pritužba novim piscima“ (“Shinshinsakka ni taisuru kugen”) kaže: „Rat u Evropi izvršio je ogroman uticaj na svetsku kulturu. ...Umetnost najbolje oslikava kretnje društva i ljudskih umova, te je sasvim razumljivo što psihološki efekat koji za svoju osnovu ima uzrujanost savremenih ljudi čini da se ta promena smesta pojavi i u umetnosti“ (Ogai 1975b: 530). Na osnovu dosadašnjih istraživanja Ogaijevog dela bilo je teško formirati sliku o piščevom stavu prema Prvom svetskom ratu, te jasno definisati razlog zašto je u njegovom stvaralaštvu došlo do „otklona od Evrope“. Međutim, u ovom radu nastojali smo da pokažemo da je poezija pisana na klasičnom kineskom jeziku za Ogaija predstavljala način da izrazi stavove ili osećanja o kojima nije mogao da govori u delima pisanim na govornom japanskom jeziku, pa stoga ovaj segment njegovog stvaralaštva zavređuje temeljnije izučavanje. U pesmama „Jedan čovek“ i „Onom ko odlazi kao pojačanje“ Ogai jasno iskazuje svoje protivljenje ratu, koje je u Jamadinim biografskim svedočanstvima o njemu samo nagovešteno. Ove pesme tematski nagoveštavaju razloge Ogaijevog „otklona od Evrope“ i pružaju moguće objašnjenje. Po izbijanju rata do kog su dovele upravo zemlje i kulture kojima se nekada divio, pisac je suočen sa izborom da li da uprkos tome ostane veran njihovim vrednostima, ili da sledi sopstveno iskustvo i instinkt koji mu govore da nikakav uzvišeni cilj niti „Veliki mir“ ne mogu opravdati rat. Čini se da se Ogai opredelio za potonje.

## LITERATURA

- Chen, S. 1993. *Mori Ogai no Kanshi*. 2 vols. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin.
- Dokugun Saikokkyou shuuchuu. 1915, October 2. *Asahi Shinbun*, 2.
- Đokić, D. 2023. *A Concise History of Serbia*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fujikawa, M. 1991. *Mori Ogai to Kanshi*. Tokyo: Yuseido Shuppan.
- Ge, Z. 2023. *The Magic Cube of Ancient Chinese Poetry: A Linguistic Perspective*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Gu, Y. 1883. *Rizhiliu Jishi 13*. Shanghai: Xishi saoye shanfang.
- King, R. (ed.). 2023. *Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in the World of Wen*. Language, Writing and Literary Culture in the Sinographic Cosmopolis 5. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Kličković, D. 2012. Na putu zena – Soseki kao klasični pesnik. *Letopis Matice srpske* 490, 171–179.
- Loewe, M. (ed.). 1993. *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*. New Haven: The Society for the Study of Early China.
- Matić, M. 2018. *Antologija klasične književnosti Istočne Azije*. Beograd: Kokoro.
- Mengzi. 1962. (trans. Y. Uchino). *Shinshaku kanbun taikai* 4. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin.
- Nakajima, Y. 2022. *Mori Ogai – Honyaku toiu ikikata*. Tokyo: Shinyosha.
- Ogai, M. 1974. *Ogai Zenshu* 27. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Ogai, M. 1975a. *Ogai Zenshu* 35. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Ogai, M. 1975b. *Ogai Zenshu* 38. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Oushuu daikaigi de Serubia dokuritsu to Oosutoria no Bosunia-Herutsegovina senyuu wo shounin. 1878, July 4. *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 3.
- Sato, Y. 2016. *Ogai no Kanshi to Gun'i Yokogawa Toyo*. Tokyo: Ronsosha.
- Serubiya no onna. 1914, August 1. *Tokyo Nichinichi*, 7.
- Shinada, Y. and M. Saito. 2019. *Kokusho no kigen: kindai Nihon no koten hensei*. Tokyo: Shinyosha.
- Tadokoro, G. 1984. Sodoku. [Internet]. Available at: <https://kotobank.jp/word/%E7%B4%A0%E8%AA%AD-554855#w-1556923> [26. 2. 2024].
- Toruko shihaika no Serubia de hanran, kinkoku no chuukai de waihei seiritsu. 1876, July 14. *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 2.
- Waga kuni ni enjo wo moushikomeru Serubia no Sekijuujiisha. 1914, October 2. *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 5.
- Yamada, K. 1943. *Gun'i Mori Ogai*. Tokyo: Bunshodo Shoten.

## SUMMARY

### PRINCIP OR FERDINAND? MORI OGAI ON THE BEGINNING OF WORLD WAR I

The goal of this paper is to show a new interpretation of the poem "One Man" by the Japanese writer Mori Ogai (1862–1922), which concerns Gavrilo Princip's assassination of Franz Ferdinand and the beginning of World War 1. This poem has been interpreted as Ogai criticizing Princip's actions. However, by analyzing Ogai's allusions more closely, we concluded that Ogai is not criticizing Princip, but Franz Ferdinand. This paper makes the case that the poem "One Man" is to be interpreted within the framework of Ogai's "distancing from Europe" in his literary work, and that the distancing in question happened precisely as a result of World War 1. At the same time, this paper shows the importance of studying Ogai's work in Classical Chinese, which has been almost neglected thus far, and indicates that this body of work is capable of giving us new information where Ogai's writings in vernacular Japanese do not.

**KEYWORDS:** Mori Ogai, Classical Chinese, poetry, Gavrilo Princip, Franz Ferdinand, World War I.

PODACI O ČLANKU:

Originalni naučni rad

Primljen: 26. februara 2024.

Ispravljen: 20. oktobra 2024.

Prihvaćen: 20. oktobra 2024.



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18485/philologia.2024.22.22.10>

UDC: 821.111.09-31 Макъан И.

## ■ THE MANNEQUIN AS AN ACTIVE AGENT: DECENTERED SUBJECTIVITY IN IAN MCEWAN'S "DEAD AS THEY COME"

**MAHDI SAFARI MONFARED<sup>1</sup>**Shahid Beheshti University  
Tehran, Iran <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7492-5466>**ERFAN ZAREI<sup>2</sup>**Shahid Beheshti University  
Tehran, Iran <https://orcid.org/0009-0003-0496-9708>

Priča Ijana Makjuana „Mrtva koliko to može biti“ besprekorno oslikava aktivan i prkosan objekat, izmeštajući subjekta iz centra, čime otvara put za razgradnju antropocentrizma. Iako je ova kratka priča ispitivana iz perspektive orijentisane ka subjektu, kritičari nisu posvetili mnogo pažnje njenim aspektima orijentisanim ka objektu. Stoga će ovaj rad, oslanjajući se na terminologiju objektno orijentisane ontologije (OOO), pokušati da analizira lutkinu subverzivnu i neposlušnu prirodu, koja prkosi antropocentričnom poretku i stvarnosti. Teorije iz oblasti OOO Grejama Harmana i Bila Brauna činiće teorijsku potporu ovog rada. Biće izneta tvrdnja da se antropocentrična dominacija postepeno urušava kako glavna oruđa koje antropos ima na raspolaganju, konkretno jezik i davanje imena, ne uspevaju da mu pomognu da kontroliše i poseduje ono neljudsko. Krajnji, fatalni udarac mu se zadaje kada izgubi razum i moć rasuđivanja, čime iz subjektivnosti propada u ambis ludila i bezumlja, što označava potpuno uništenje antropocentrizma.

Ključne reči: zavodljivi objekat, neuspeh jezika, nepokorni slomljeni objekat, lutka, nemisleće biće.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The British author Ian McEwan is renowned for the depiction of such startling issues and themes as "Sexuality, incestuous relationships, obsessions, fetishes" (Rahaman 2023: 58) in numerous unsettling "tales of sexual aberrance, black comedy and macabre" (*Encyclopedia Britannica* 2024) obsessive behavior in two short story collections, namely *First Love*, *Last Rites* and *In Between the Sheets*, written in 1975 and 1978 respectively. Due to the presence of such "behavioral aberrations and grotesque perversities" (Rahaman

1 Kontakt podaci (E-mail): [m\\_safarimonfared@sbu.ac.ir](mailto:m_safarimonfared@sbu.ac.ir)

2 Kontakt podaci (E-mail): [erfan.zarei.1770@gmail.com](mailto:erfan.zarei.1770@gmail.com)

2023: 58) in his fiction, he has come to be known as “Ian McAbre” (Rahaman 2023: 58). Published in the above-mentioned series of short stories, that is *In Between the Sheets*, “Dead as They Come” portrays the picture of a disturbing, macabre, and grotesque sexual relationship of a female mannequin and a wealthy man, who acts as the embodiment of not only anthropocentrism but also of patriarchy in the short story.

Obsessed with and enamored of the mannequin, the unnamed male narrator of the story purchases the mannequin to have sexual intercourse with it/her, only to be frustrated by the recalcitrance and insouciance of the mannequin, and, eventually, he winds up murdering his beloved at the end of the narrative. The act of taking his loved one’s life shatters the remaining traces of his sanity and rationality and thus occasions his tragic downfall to the pit of insanity and madness. Unlike Ian McEwan’s other literary texts, be it novels or short stories, that have been analyzed by many a study before, his “Dead as They Come” has not been brought under much critical and analytical scrutiny. Some of the previous studies examining the short story have focused on the grotesque aspects of the narrative (Moghadam/Termizi 2013: 132; Rahaman 2023: 59) as well as the patriarchal “control, domination, and exploitation” of women (Malcolm 2002: 12), which can be deemed to be a subject-oriented or humancentric reading of the said fictional work.

As a result, never has any research delved into the ontic reality, agentiality, and subjectivity of the active object depicted in the narrative, namely the mannequin.

Given that the central figure in McEwan’s narrative is a recalcitrant and disobedient thing (Brown 2001: 4) or, in Graham Harman’s terminology, a “broken” object, the foregoing research intends to shift the critical focus from the subject onto the object, hence furnishing a novel reading of the story by examining object-oriented dimensions thereof.

In the current article, it will be argued that the narrator of the short story, whom the researcher regards as the antagonist, is decentered or decentralized by the mannequin, that is the central character, throughout the narrative. In other words, at the outset of the narrative, the process of the subject’s decentralization is set in motion by the seduction of the nonhuman or the object, and, as the story unrolls, the subject’s subjectivity and agency wane, despite his constant desperate attempts at regaining or reclaiming some semblance of control and agency. The decline of the anthropocentric dominance and ascendancy subsists until the subject finally collapses to the bottom of madness, hence the complete dismantlement of the anthropocentrism or the humancentric dominance. As contended later, the loss of language and reason, the two most pivotal tools in the arsenal of the Anthropos, marks the deconstruction and annihilation of the anthropocentrism, thus the rise of non-anthropocentric dominance and objective reality.

To substantiate this line of argument, the article will rely on the theoretical framework of Object-Oriented Ontology, thus having recourse to the theories put forth by such OOO theorists as Graham Harman and Bill Brown. In the first analytical section, attempts will be made to elucidate that the decline of anthropocentrism or the downfall of the Anthropos is initiated by how the subject is seduced by the mannequin, acting as an object-seducer or a seductive object. In the second section, the article will strive to illuminate how the failure of the anthropocentric process of naming objects and the linguistic system, caused by the defiance of the disobedient nonhuman, further exacerbates the decline

of humancentrism. In other words, it will be averred that the mannequin refuses to submit to the anthropocentric rule and reality by revealing its/her inner reality and being defined by the subject; therefore, the subject fails to subjugate, control, and manipulate the object as he wishes, hence the further collapse of the Anthropos. Finally, it will be contended that the loss of human reason and rationality delivers the coup de grace to Anthropos, pushing him over the precipice into the unfathomable abyss of madness and irrationality, hence the total dismantlement of anthropocentric dominance and rule. As a result, the thinking being metamorphoses into an *unthinking* being.

## 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The subject has been centralized and put on pedestal as a mythologized and divine being, responsible for meaning-making and structuring the world based on cognitive, linguistic, semiotic categories, throughout the history. One of the culprits in the centralization of human being or the subject was the Enlightenment philosopher Rene Descartes, whose major statement "I think, therefore I am" (Descartes, as cited in Moriarty 2008: 12), or I doubt, therefore I think and, therefore I am, put the subject on the pedestal as a "thinking being" (Descartes, as cited in Habib 2011: 116), whose reasoning and thinking faculty bestows divine quality on the human beings, thus the centralization thereof. As a result of this principle, the being of the god-like subject was deemed to be rooted in the cognitive apparatus, which was capable of shaping and forming the external world.

Numerous upcoming philosophers have followed in Descartes' footsteps, glorifying and placing the rational or thinking subject at the center of linguistic system and the world. Some of the philosophical systems that have glorified the world-shaping power of the subject's mind include Immanuel Kant's "transcendental idealism", George Berkeley's "subjective idealism", Hegel's absolute idealism, and Martin Heidegger's assumption that "objects are outside human consciousness, but their being exists only in human understanding" (Bogost 2012: 4). According to those philosophers, the objects' existence or being is rooted in the understanding or consciousness of human beings, which implies that objects have been bereft of some independent ontic reality. All in all, objects have been regarded as passive and "dead" entities that were simply there, in "some specific set of spatial-temporal coordinates, whereas subjects have been deemed to be active, creative, and agential, hence the source of "perception, rationality, cunning, dignity, autonomy" (Harman 2016: 131). Consequently, while the subject, that is to say, human has been centralized in the Western Philosophy throughout the history, object has always been marginalized and neglected in different trends of philosophy.

Going against the grain of traditional subject-oriented philosophy, a new philosophical movement, namely, Object-Oriented Ontology (OOO), has emerged in recent decades, which has attempted to decenter or decentralize the subject from the center of meaning-making system and the world, hence the dismantlement of the anthropocentrism and the process of demythologization of human beings. As Harman has mentioned in his article *Editorial Introduction for the Topical Issue "Object-Oriented Ontology and Its Critics"*, Object-Oriented Ontology "As a group research program ... is less than a decade old, stemming from a pair of conferences held in 2010 at Georgia Tech (April)



and UCLA (December)", although it "has existed since the late 1990s as an outgrowth of my interpretation of the philosophy of Martin Heidegger" (Harman 2020: 592). Therefore, a strand of Speculative Realism, which has stemmed from phenomenology trend of Continental Philosophy, Object-Oriented Ontology, has been erected on the OOO philosophers' personal interpretation and critique of the said phenomenologists' philosophical notions, especially Heidegger's tool-analysis in *Time and Being* (Harman 2002: 2). The founding figures and the original members of Speculative Realism (SR) were Graham Harman, Hamilton Grant, Ray Brassier, and Quentin Meillassoux, who were united by the repudiation of "Correlationism", a term coined by Meillassoux that adverts to the human-world correlate, that is to say the idea that thought and world, ineluctably intertwined with each other, cannot exist in isolation from one other but only in mutual correlation (Harman 2018: 56–57). As Robert Booth has adumbrated in his paper *Merleau-Ponty, Correlationism, and Alterity*, written in 2018, "Speculative realists claim that phenomenologists cannot address other entities in the more-than-human world on their own terms because phenomenology is paradigmatically correlationist. The standard charge of correlationism holds that because the phenomenological subject actively structures its entire experience, phenomenology effectively reduces the world to a correlate for the subject, rather than addressing the world as it exists beyond, or before the (human) subject" (Booth 2018: 37). It can be contended that, according to the philosophers of Phenomenological Circle, the human beings have defined and structured the reality of the world around their own subjective reality based on their mental linguistic and cognitive categories and constructs. That the objects have been anthropocentrically "drawn through the sieve of humanity" and regarded merely as tools at the service of human beings, thus deprived of ontic reality of their own, can be construed from the following excerpt from Ian Bogost's *Alien Phenomenology*:

When we welcome these things into scholarship, poetry, science, and business, it is only to ask how they relate to human productivity, culture, and politics. We've been living in a tiny prison of our own devising, one in which all that concerns us are the fleshy beings that are our kindred and the stuffs with which we stuff ourselves. Culture, cuisine, experience, expression, politics, polemic: all existence is drawn through the sieve of humanity, the rich world of things discarded like chaff so thoroughly, so immediately, so efficiently that we don't even notice. (Bogost 2012: 3)

Therefore, critiquing the correlationism lying at the heart of phenomenology, the OOO philosophers are essaying to draw our attention to the objective and ontic reality, that is, the reality of non-and-more-than human, thus averring that objects are endowed with their own subjectivity, agency, and independent subterranean reality. Withdrawn into their own world as they are, the objects can make "direct contact" with neither each other nor with human beings but need a "mediator for such contact to occur" (Harman 2018: 12).

All in all, Object-Oriented Ontology has reduced the subjects to the status objects and regards them entities amongst other entities, thus eliminating the subject/object binary opposition and anthropocentric worldview that have dominated Western

Philosophy throughout the history. This underlying notion, formulated by Levis Bryant and reiterated by Harman, in *Object-oriented Ontology: A Theory of Everything*, and Ian Bogost, in *Alien Phenomenology*, is denominated as flat ontology, which lies at the heart of OOO:

First, humans are not at the center of being, but are among beings. Second, objects are not a pole opposing a subject, but exist in their own right, regardless of whether any other object or human relates to them. Humans, far from constituting a category called "subject" that is opposed to "object", are themselves one type of object among many. (Bryant 2011: 249)

Stripped of their divinity, human beings have fallen onto a flat ontological plane, where all entities are of equal ontological status, regardless of whether they are human or nonhuman, gigantic or infinitesimal, concrete or abstract, etc.

Another cardinal concept that lies at the heart of Object-Oriented Ontology is the term "broken tool", a Heideggerian philosophical concept which has been reevaluated and critiqued by Graham Harman and OOO theorists and put to use in a different manner in object-oriented philosophy. According to Martin Heidegger, when an object or tool is fully operational, we tend to forget about its existence. Denominated as ready-to-hand, this stage is related to the functionality of the tool in question. When an object malfunctions or breaks down, thus losing its value and usefulness, it draws our focus to its presence and asserts its dominance. At this stage, human beings tend to "regard an object in isolation and study it with an attitude like that of a scientist, of merely looking at the object's bare facts as they are present" ("Ready-to-hand and Present-at-hand – Heidegger" 2021). However, the stage of being present-at-hand does not last long, for the tool gets replaced and thus disposed of very soon. The final mode of the tool's existence is called unready-to-hand. Challenging Heideggerian tool-analysis, Graham Harman has dispensed with the last phase of tool being, putting emphasis on the "broken" object as a defiant and recalcitrant entity that is endowed with its own inner reality, and, therefore, it violates the Anthropos' linguistic, semiotic, and mental categories. In other words, in Harmanian object-oriented philosophy, when an object is broken, it becomes noticeable (Harman 2018: 153) and thus asserts its dominance and presence over the subject. The same line of argument recurs in Bill Brown's thing theory, which has drawn a distinguishing line between the object and the thing. According to Brown, whilst an object is a passive and obedient entity, which does the subject's bidding, a thing is assertive, active, recalcitrant, and disobedient, as it malfunctions and thus refuses to serve the human, hence the embodiment of Non Serviam attitude. The suddenness with which things assert their presence and power, as Brown avers, helps us discover their physicality, and he explains metaphorically that we must learn to appreciate the window in its opacity rather than looking through it to the world:

A thing, in contrast, can hardly function as a window. We begin to confront the thingness of objects when they stop working for us: when the drill breaks, when the car stalls, when the windows get filthy, when their flow within the circuits of production and distribution, consumption and exhibition, has been arrested, how-

ever momentarily. The story of objects asserting themselves as things, then, is the story of a changed relation to the human subject and thus the story of how the thing really names less an object than a particular subject-object relation. (Brown 2001: 4)

### 3. SEDUCTIVE OBJECT AND THE ONSET OF THE SUBJECT'S DECENTRALIZATION

In Ian McEwan's "Dead as They Come", the nameless narrator and, in fact, the antagonist of the story functions as the epitome and embodiment of humancentrism. He is an emblematic example of the Anthropos whose self-righteous, supercilious, and self-centered nature embodies anthropocentric snobbishness and the belief that human subjects lie at the center of the world as the rightful heirs and overlords of the planet Earth as well as all the things contained therein. It is quite evident that the character wants to possess, manipulate, and control anything that happens to cross his path, for as a privileged and wealthy individual and capitalist, he regards himself completely capable of doing anything he sets his heart on, or else bending everything (and everybody) to his will. His pompous and sardonic personality can be construed from the following excerpt, which epitomizes the Enlightenment anthropocentric belief that humans, as rational and consciousness beings, are superior to the other beings, hence having the right to do control and own everything, including the nature, which has culminated in detrimental activities wreaking havoc on the environment and all the beings in the modern period:

I am wealthy. Possibly there are ten men resident in London with more money than I. Probably there are only five or six. Who cares? I am rich and I made my money on the telephone. I shall be forty-five on Christmas Day. I have been married three times, each marriage lasting, in chronological order, eight, five, and two years. Each marriage was better than the one before if for no other reason than that it was shorter. But these last three years I have not been married and yet I have not been idle. I have not paused. A man of forty-four has no time to pause. I am a man in a hurry...I have no time to stay with a woman, listen to her story, know her soul, grow dependent and sluggish. I have no time for the analysis, the self searching of frenzied relationships, the unspoken accusation, the silent de fence. I do not wish to be with women who have an urge to talk when we've finished our coupling. I want to lie still in peace and clarity. Then I want to put my shoes and socks on and comb my hair and go about my business. I prefer silent women who take their pleasure with apparent in difference. All day long there are voices around me, on the telephone, at lunches, at business conferences. I do not want voices in my bed. I am not a simple man, I repeat, and this is not a simple world. But in this respect at least my requisites are simple, perhaps even facile. My predilection is for the biological fuck, pleasure unmitigated by the yappings and winnings of the soul. (McEwan 1979: 62-63)

His egotistical nature, which incontrovertibly borders on egomania, can be deciphered from the number of "I"s he has employed in the above-cited passage so as to put himself at the center and underscore his power and high social status as a wealthy

capitalist, in the same way that humans have egotistically centralized themselves as mythologized and divine beings, ruling over the world. Moreover, his uncaring and ruthlessly exploitative attribute, that is, his preposterous propensity to care only about himself and unscrupulously exploit others, in this case women, for the sake of his own sexual pleasure and gratification as if they do not have feelings and emotions, reflects the deleterious and abusive aspect of humancentric way of thinking. His parasitic and nonsymbiotic existence or way of living is deniably detrimental to other people and beings' physical, psychological, and mental well-being. One cannot help but think that his parasitic tendency to abuse others is quite sadistic, evident in the fact that he wants docile women who silently and submissively indulge his unruly and "unmitigated" sexual desires without any complaint, even though it might end up hurting them. In addition, he constantly engages in snobbish and vainglorious self-praise, priding himself on the wealth he has accumulated and the goals he has achieved over the time due to his industrious nature. In a nutshell, he describes himself as a powerful and active man, who can own and control whatever he lays his hands on, be it human beings or objects.

His ascendancy, subjectivity, and agency, however, begin to be chipped away by the nonhuman, that is, mannequin, from the very outset of the narrative, hence the onset of gradual decline and decentralization of anthropocentrism. Acting as a seductive object or seducer, the mannequin generates deep-seated desires in the subject, thus manipulating and controlling the *Anthropos* in an unprecedented manner, which deconstructs such traditional binary oppositions as active/passive, dominant/submissive, alive/dead, with the words in the left side of each set of binary opposition referring to the human and those in the right side to the nonhuman or the object. In other words, the seduction of the mannequin, functioning as a recalcitrant broken object, as Harman has put it, reverses the conventional or traditional roles assigned to human and nonhuman, as a result of which the object turns into an active, dominant, and manipulative agent while the subject experiences a tragic fall from subjectivity and agentiality, hence metamorphosing into a submissive and passive being or entity. Losing his status as the almighty *Anthropos*, he turns into a subject-in-process, or "le sujet-en-procès" (Kristeva, as cited in Allen 2011: 34), who does not have a fixed identity; in fact, even his identity and limits of his agency are determined and shaped by the nonhuman.

As Graham Harman has put it in regard to the Baudrillardian concept of object as a seducer, the seduction of the objects acts as a catalyst for "overthrowing the reign of the subject", as it completely reverses the roles of the subject and the object (Harman 2016: 132). To put it in a nutshell, the subject will fall under the control of the object, as it is the latter that seduces and controls the former. The moment of seduction by the object has been immaculately depicted in the beginning lines of McEwan's short story: "I do not care for posturing women. But she struck me. I had to stop and look at her" (McEwan 1979: 61). As evident above, the object-seducer succeeds in exerting a great deal of control and dominance over the nameless narrator when it/she seduces him. It is crystal-clear that it is the nonhuman that is in charge henceforth rather than the human, which marks the decline of anthropocentric rule and control. Indeed, even the title of the short story, that is "Dead as They Come", which refers to the mannequin, insinuates the fact that lying at the heart of this narrative as the central character is the nonhuman rather than the *Anthropos*.

#### 4. LANGUAGE AND NAME-GIVING AS A MEANS OF SUBJUGATING THE NONHUMAN

Throughout the history, language has invariably been the most pivotal weapon in the arsenal of the Anthropos, whereby the subject has managed to structure and demarcate the external world and reality based on his linguistic and semiotic categories. In doing so, the human subject, as a god-like being, has been able to exert his supremacy and ascendancy over the entire world and objects contained therein. Simply put, language has functioned as a *modus operandi* whereby human beings have gained power and control over other beings, hence the centrality of language in the anthropocentric tradition. According to Borkfelt, one of the cardinal tools underpinning the Linguistic system is the process of naming, which facilitates the anthropocentric dominance over other (nonhuman) beings:

If language is, as has been argued, a means of power—providing a “technique for knowing” places, people, animals, and things ...—then naming is at the very centre of this power. (Borkfelt 2011: 117)

On the whole, it is the naming process that assists the Anthropos in defining and identifying what some object is or what it does. In other words, human beings create some sort of reality for nonhuman beings, be it objects or animals, by the virtue of giving a name to things. Therefore, naming is based on the Anthropos's subjective interpretation and understanding regarding whatness and functionality of an entity rather than that object's own ontic and inner reality. As Kim and Jung have averred, name-giving functions as “a symbolical act of subjugating and ‘taming’ its object to the namer's will” (Kim/Jung 2022: 468). Thus, the driving force behind the naming process is “subjugating” (Kim/Jung 2022: 468) and possessing an object, thus bringing it under one's control and dominance. As a consequence, the object is forced to bow to the subject's rule.

In Ian McEwan's “Dead as They Come”, the subject, that is the unnamed character, goes to great lengths so as to control and possess the mannequin. To that end, he relies on the name-giving technique in hopes of owning and subjugating the said nonhuman. The name that he has chosen for the mannequin is “Helen” (McEwan 1979: 69). Characteristic of the anthropocentric perception, the character has a deeply-rooted desire to not only “own” or “possess” the mannequin, but also smash its/her subjectivity, agency, and identity by bringing it/her under his absolute control so much so that the mannequin will not be a being in its/her own right anymore and thus will be one with the subject, hence symbolically devouring her: “But soon I loved her completely and wished to possess her, own her, absorb her, eat her” (McEwan 1979: 62).

Despite all the subject's attempts at dominating, possessing, and controlling the mannequin, it/she defies his anthropocentric rule. In other words, the nonhuman refuses to submit to the humancentric naming and meaning-making, or linguistic, system, hence acting as a Harmanian “broken” (Harman 2018: 153) object or a Brownian “thing” (Brown 2001: 4), imbued with the agency, subjectivity, and subterranean reality of its/her own. On the whole, by malfunctioning or refusing to do the subject's bidding, the object turns into an active and rebellious agent that does everything on its own terms. Consequently, the decentralization of subject is further exacerbated by the recalcitrance of the broken object.

"Withdrawn" and inaccessible (Harman 2018: 12), the mannequin evades or withdraws from the anthropocentric act of interpreting and defining objects. A recalcitrant entity as it/she is, the nonhuman, much to the chagrin of the subject, conceals its/her real internal reality, nor does it accept to be categorized by the constructed human-centered reality that the subject desperately attempts to impose on it/her.

Therefore, the character tragically fails to comprehend the inner subjective reality and experience of the "dummy", or create a reality for it/her based on his mental and linguistic constructs for that matter, hence the failure of the linguistic and name-giving system. As a result, the human subject finds it impossible to possess and subjugate the mannequin. Indeed, how can someone dominate an object that refuses to reveal various layers of its inner reality by submitting to the humancentric linguistic and semiotic categories? On the whole, understanding and categorizing an object operates as a springboard for dominating it.

The subject's inability to comprehend the mannequin's inner subjective experience and reality can be observed in the following passage:

Life was generated in her by the sheer charge of her beauty. The delicate mould of her eyebrow, the perfect line of her nose, the smile, the eyes half-closed with boredom or pleasure (how could I tell?). (McEwan 1979: 63)

As evident above, the subject fails to interpret the object's subterranean reality, nor is he capable of forcing his own subjective interpretation on it/her, for his perceiving, comprehending, and categorizing faculty does not bear any fruit.

Consequently, despite the subject's attempts at controlling and possessing the dummy, it/she remains uncontrolled, unpossessed, and withdrawn. In other words, defiant and recalcitrant as it/she is, the mannequin, which has assumed agency and subjectivity of its/her own, refuses to submit obediently to the Anthropos's demands, be it ontological and functional or ontic, with the former (ontological dimension) referring to the whatness of the nonhuman, that is to say its existence being possessed by the subject, while the latter (ontic facet) adverts to the functional aspect thereof, that is its serving the human, which has been deemed to be the main function of objects in the traditional or anthropocentric philosophy.

Characteristic of the Anthropos, he expects the dummy to do his bidding, that is, quench his sexual desires as immaculately as it/she can, for he is laboring under delusion that the mannequin is his possession, in spite of his defeat in owning it/her, and, therefore, he can treat it/her however he desires. Nevertheless, functioning as a broken object, the mannequin refrains from being exploited as the object of the human's lust, which is a major factor in the onset of his madness, to be further explored later.

Having been neutered and emasculated at the hands of the mannequin, the character loses his status as a subject and thus falls painfully onto the ontologically flat plane of the objects, hence an object himself. Moreover, with the character stripped of his subjectivity, the mannequin obtains agency and subjectivity, hence climbing up the ontological ladder to the status of a subject.

As clear in the following text, his anthropocentric "waiting games", intended to get an upper hand and thus gain control of the situation, are defeated and nullified by the



insouciance or indifference of the mannequin, which delivers a fatal blow to the hubris and self-righteousness of the human subject. To put it in a nutshell, the Anthropos's bubble of self-importance gets punctured by the "futility" of all his desperate attempts at obtaining power and ascendancy over the nonhuman: "I was losing. I was beginning to understand the futility of my silent waiting games with Helen. In reality there was no situation between us to play with" (McEwan 1979: 75).

Many a time does the character in "Dead as They Come" strive to regain his ascendancy and agency and thus become a subject; however, he gets emasculated and humiliated again and again, hence compelled to climb down the ontological ladder to the status of an object.

He resorts to the most important tool at the Anthropos' disposal, that is to say language, so as to manipulate and shape the reality in line with his own interests and desires. As Bennett and Royle have put it, there exists no such thing as an absolute "immutable" truth or reality (Bennett/Royle 2004: 35). But rather, it is merely a social-linguistic construct, generated by the preexisting values and belief systems, language, human cognition, etc. (Bennett/Royle 2004: 35), hence the divine or god-like attribute of the Anthropos, placed at the center of the linguistic system, who employs the language to shape and structure the reality however he desires. In McEwan's narrative, defeated by the nonhuman, the subject relies on the reality-shaping power of language in order to convey a semblance of power and control by flaunting his wealth and (financial) dominance; however, every time he tries to take the situation into his hands, he gets neutered agonizingly and tragically at the hands of the mannequin: "You're a rich man. You could buy the shop if you wanted. You could buy the street. Of course I could buy the street, and many other streets too. But listen. This was no business transaction" (McEwan 1979: 64).

Observable above is the anthropocentric display of power; in other words, he presents himself to be powerful, rich, dominant, and important, to gain some traces of his subjectivity, only to be foiled and taken down a peg by the defiant object. In other words, the man bends over backwards to be a subject, but he fails catastrophically, falling back to the plane of objects. On the whole, he constantly oscillates between subjectivity and objectivity, as he desperately attempts to be a subject, blessed with agency and power, only to be thwarted and forced to assume his real role as an object, bereft of subjectivity and agentiality.

## 5. SUBJECT GONE MAD: THE INABILITY TO CONTROL THE NONHUMAN

As mentioned earlier, since the inception of Enlightenment and modern philosophy, the human subject's reasoning and thinking apparatus has been deemed to be the distinguishing feature of the Anthropos, as evident in the renowned Cartesian philosophical proposition putting the human cognition on pedestal: *cogito ergo sum*. Therefore, the mental and logical faculty has been of paramount significance to the subject, without which he would lose his status as the privileged "rational being" (Descartes, as cited in Habib 2011: 116). In "Dead as They Come", with the failure of linguistic system and name-giving process, intended to exert ascendancy and dominance, the only anthropocentric weapon left in the character's arsenal is reason or rationality, the loss of which delivers the coup de grace that paves the way for insanity and the



ultimate annihilation of the subject. In McEwan's narrative, having failed to exert his control and dominance over the mannequin by the virtue of language and other subtler means, the character desperately resorts to violence in hopes of regaining some vestiges of his ascendancy, agency, and identity as a dominant individual.

It is the mannequin's indifference, nonconformity, and supposed contempt that provokes him to opt for violence and atrocity with the intention of asserting himself. The character's act of brutality and destruction is accompanied by sexual violence or "rape". In other words, having had enough of the mannequin's defiance and constant emasculation, he has desperate recourse to sexual abuse and asphyxiation in order to exercise his power. Given that his pride has been wounded due to his failure to be dominant, violence is the only course of action left at his disposal, whereby he manages to save face:

'Helen,' I cried, 'it's meant so much to both of us. We must fight to save it.' There was silence. My eyes were closed and I thought I saw my own soul recede from me across a vast black void till it was a pinprick of red light. I looked up, I looked into her eyes and saw there quiet, naked contempt. It was all over, and I conceived in that frenzied instant two savage and related desires. To rape and destroy her. With one sudden sweep of my hand I ripped the smock clean off her body. She had nothing on underneath. Before she had time to even draw breath I was on her, I was in her, rammed deep inside while my right hand closed about her tender white throat. With my left I smothered her face with the pillow. (McEwan 1979: 76)

Seething with fury, he rips off the mannequin's clothes and rapes it/her violently without the slightest ounce of remorse, while his hand is closed about her throat, an indication of nonconsensual nature of the sexual intercourse. Having subjected the mannequin to ruthless nonconsensual intercourse, he ends up smothering it/her to death with a pillow out of uncontrollable rage. His impulsive and illogical plan for gaining power by the virtue of destroying the dummy, however, blows up in his face massively and cataclysmically. Shocked by the enormity and gravity of his atrocious crime, the Cartesian rational being loses his sanity, regarded as the one of the significant attributes of the Anthropos, as mentioned earlier.

With the loss of his sanity and his transformation from a rational being into an irrational one, the subject loses his logicity once and for all and tragically collapses to the bottom of objectivity and irrationality. Consequently, the anthropocentrism gets dismantled completely, hence the total decentralization of the Anthropos:

I fainted. I awoke what seemed many hours later, I saw the corpse and before I had time to turn my head I vomited over it. Like a sleepwalker I drifted into the kitchen, I made straight for the Utrillo and tore it to shreds. I dropped the Rodin forgery into the garbage disposal. Now I was running like a naked madman from room to room destroying whatever I could lay my hands on. I stopped only to finish the scotch. Vermeer, Blake, Richard Dadd, Paul Nash, Rothko, I tore, trampled, mangled, kicked, spat and urinated on ... my precious possessions ... oh my precious ... I danced, I sang, I laughed ... I wept long into the night. (McEwan 1979: 77)

As one can observe in the above-cited text, having murdered the mannequin, the character completely loses touch with reality and collapses deeply into madness, tearing his books and paintings to pieces and wreaking havoc on his “precious possessions” and his house. Falling into a manic-depressive state, he either dances, sings, and laughs or weeps interminably, regarded as the defining characters of bipolarity. It is crystal clear that the trauma and psychological pain of taking his loved one’s life strips him of his rationality and brings about the onset of psychosis. As a result, the Cartesian “thinking being” turns into an *unthinking* being, thus the collapse of anthropocentrism.

## 6. CONCLUSION

In the foregoing study, attempts were made to shed light on the tragic downfall of the Anthropos from the center of meaning-making system and world in Ian McEwan’s “Dead as They Come”. The article delved into the recalcitrant nature and subterranean reality of the mannequin; therefore, the underlying theoretical framework deployed in this study is Object-Oriented Ontology, specifically the theories addressing the objective reality of nonhuman entities put forth by Harman and Brown. Banking on these thinkers’ theories, it was averred that the mannequin functions as a Harmanian “broken object” or a Brownian “thing” in the short story, thus defying the subject or Anthropos and gaining subjectivity and agency in the process. Give that the nonhuman, that is the mannequin, lies at the core of the narrative, Object-Oriented Ontology proves to be of paramount significance in furnishing a novel reading of McEwan’s short story, as while the previous articles have focused on the role of the subject or the man in the story, the current study has examined that of the object or nonhuman.

As argued earlier in the article, the subject human gets gradually decentered and overthrown by the mannequin throughout the narrative, hence the dismantlement of anthropocentrism. To start with, at the outset of the story, the decline of the Anthropos’ subjectivity, agency, and power is initiated by the seduction of the nonhuman, and waning of his agentiality subsists as his naming-giving faculty and his most crucial tool, namely language, fail to assist him in the subjugating, possessing, and controlling the object. Therefore, by degrees, he experiences a tragic fall down the ontological pyramid to the status of an object while the mannequin climbs up the ladder to the position of a subject. The coup de grace is ultimately delivered to the Anthropos and, by the extension, to the humanism, as he collapses to the abyss of the madness and irrationality, upon (symbolically) taking the life of the mannequin. Given the overreaching significance of the human cognitive and thinking apparatus in the centralization of the human subject, the loss of reasoning faculty takes a fatal toll on the human and exacerbates his downfall from subjectivity. Consequently, he transforms from a “thinking being” into an *unthinking* one at the end of the short story.

## REFERENCES

- Allen, G. 2011. *Intertextuality*. London: Routledge.
- Bennett, A. and N. Royle. 2004. *An Introduction to Literature, Criticism and Theory*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Bogost, I. 2012. *Alien Phenomenology, or What It's Like to Be a Thing*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Booth, R. 2018. Merleau-Ponty, Correlationism, and Alterity. *PhaenEx* 12(2), 37–58.
- Borkfelt, S. 2011. What's in a Name?—Consequences of Naming Non-Human Animals. *Animals* 1(1), 116–125.
- Bricker, B. 2015. Hyperobjects: Philosophy and Ecology after the End of the World by Timothy Morton. *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 48(3), 359–365.
- Brown, B. 2001. Thing Theory. *Critical Inquiry* 28(1), 1–22.
- Bryant, L. R. 2011. *The Democracy of Objects*. Ann Arbor: Open Humanities Press.
- Descartes, R. and M. Moriarty. 2008. *Meditations on First Philosophy: With Selections from the Objections and Replies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Eternalised. 2021. Ready-to-Hand and Present-at-Hand – Heidegger. [Internet]. Available at: <https://eternalisedofficial.com/2021/02/02/ready-to-hand-and-present-at-hand-heidegger/> [15.11.2024].
- Habib, M. A. R. 2011. *Literary Criticism from Plato to the Present*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- Harman, G. 2002. *Tool-Being: Heidegger and the Metaphysics of Objects*. Chicago: Open Court.
- Harman, G. 2016. Object-Oriented Seduction: Baudrillard Reconsidered. In J. Brower, L. Spuybroek and S. van Tunien (eds.) *The War of Appearances: Transparency, Opacity, Radiance*. Rotterdam: V2\_Publishing, 128–143.
- Harman, G. 2018. *Object-oriented ontology: A new theory of everything*. London: Penguin UK.
- Harman, G. 2020. Editorial for the Topical Issue “Object-Oriented Ontology and Its Critics II”. *Open Philosophy* 3(1), 657–663.
- Ian McEwan. *Encyclopedia Britannica* 2024. [Internet]. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ian-McEwan> [15.11.2024].
- Kim, I. and N. Jung. 2022. Construction of Identity/World and ‘Symbolic Death’: A Lacanian Approach to William Golding’s *Pincher Martin*. *Anglia* 140(3–4), 463–480.
- Malcolm, D. 2002. *Understanding Ian McEwan*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- McEwan, I. 1979. *In between the sheets and other stories*. London: Pan Books.
- Moghadam, N. S. and A. Ali Termizi. 2013. Grottesque Representations of Deviant Sexuality in Ian McEwan’s Selected Short Stories. *Pertanika Journals Social Sciences and Humanities* 21, 131–142.
- Rahaman, J. 2023. Corrupted Scenes From The Contaminated Earth: A Critical Analysis of Ian McEwan’s Short Stories. *Quest Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Science* 11(5), 58–66.

## SUMMARY

### THE MANNEQUIN AS AN ACTIVE AGENT: DECENTERED SUBJECTIVITY IN IAN MCEWAN'S "DEAD AS THEY COME"

Ian McEwan's "Dead as They Come" portrays an immaculate picture of an active and defiant object, decentering the subject from the center, thus paving the way for the dismantlement of anthropocentrism. While the short story has been examined through a subject-oriented lens, the object-oriented aspects thereof have not received much critical attention. Therefore, resorting to Object-Oriented Ontology terminology, the current study will attempt to analyze the subversive and recalcitrant nature of the mannequin, defying the anthropocentric rule and reality. Graham Harman and Bill Brown's OOO theories will form the underpinning theoretical framework of this article. It will be contended that anthropocentric dominance gets gradually chipped as the most pivotal tools at the disposal of Anthropos, namely language and name-giving, fail to assist him in controlling and possessing the nonhuman. The ultimate fatal blow is delivered to him when he loses his rationality and reasoning faculty, thus falling from subjectivity into the abyss of madness and insanity, which marks the complete annihilation of anthropocentrism.

**KEYWORDS:** Object-Seducer, Failure of Language, Defiant Broken Object, Mannequin, *Unthinking Being*.

#### ARTICLE INFO:

Original research article

Received: September 17, 2024

Revised: November 10, 2024

Accepted: November 12, 2024

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18485/philologia.2024.22.22.11>UDC: 821.133.1.09-31 Триоле Е.  
050LES LETTRES FRANÇAISES"1957/1968"

## ■ LA RÉCEPTION DES ROMANS D'ELSA TRIOLET DANS L'HEBDOMADAIRE *LES LETTRES FRANÇAISES* (1957-1968)

VELIMIR MLADENOVIC<sup>12</sup>

Université de l'Ouest

Faculté des Lettres, Histoire et Théologie

Timisoara, Roumanie

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2177-5625>

Књижевно уметнички часопис *Француска књижевност* у свом дугом постојању објављивао је и књижевну критику. Пажња је изразито била усмерена и на дела аутора и ауторки који су овај часопис стварали и у њему објављивали своје текстове. Зато ћемо ми у нашем раду представити рецепцију романа ауторке Елзе Триоле у овом часопису између 1957–1968 односно од објављивања њеног култног романа *Le Monument* (1957) *Споменик* који је прекретница у њеном раду и политичкој мисли па све до њених последњих текстова које је ова ауторка објавила пред смрт. Показаћемо да су књижевни критичари били заинтересовани за дела Елзе Триоле, да су их ценили и различито интерпретирали, да су у њеним текстовима видели одређену уметничку непролазну вредност. Представићемо такође и начин на који су романи ове ауторке интерпретирани у датом историјском и политичком контексту. Објаснићемо које теме из њених текстова су критичарима биле занимљиве за анализу и напослетку важност ових текстова за епоху у којој су настали и за савремене, данашње, читаоце.

Кључне речи: Елза Триоле, *Француска књижевност*, Луј Арагон, роман, рецепција.

### 1. ELSA TRIOLET DANS *LES LETTRES FRANÇAISES*

Elsa Triolet, de son vrai nom Ella Kagan (1896-1970), écrivaine, résistante, critique littéraire et journaliste française d'origine russe, est née à Moscou et décédée à Paris. Sœur de Lili Brik, amie d'enfance du poète Vladimir Maïakovski, elle assura, en France, la promotion posthume de l'œuvre de celui-ci<sup>3</sup>. En Russie et ailleurs en Europe, l'écrivaine noue des amitiés avec plusieurs intellectuels et écrivains de l'époque : Maxim Gorki, Ossip

1 Kontakt podaci (E-mail): velimir.mladenovic@gmail.com

2 Une partie de cet article a été présentée lors du colloque *InterCulturalia*, organisé à l'Université de Iasi en Roumanie en 2021, ayant remporté le Prix du jury de la section 8 (« Littératures francophones »).

3 Elsa Triolet lui consacre plusieurs ouvrages, un nombre considérable d'articles et une exposition. Elle a également traduit en français, pour la première fois, plusieurs poèmes de Maïakovski (Mladenović 2021).

Brik, Roman Jakobson, Victor Chklovski. Avec ce dernier, linguiste et écrivain qui tombe amoureux d'elle, sans réciprocité, elle nourrit un échange épistolaire que Chklovski a métamorphosé en roman publié en 1923 sous le titre de *Zoo*, lettres qui ne parlent pas d'amour ou la Troisième Héloïse (Delranc-Gaudric 2020). En 1918, Ella Kagan rencontre André Triolet, un officier français en poste à Moscou ; elle quitte la Russie avec lui et l'épouse à Paris en 1919. Elle l'accompagne ensuite à Tahiti où ils résident pendant un an. Ce séjour lui inspirera son premier roman écrit en russe, *À Tahiti* (en russe *Ha Taumu*), paru en 1925 à Moscou, traduit par l'autrice et publié en France en 1964. Elle fait publier, dans la même langue, son deuxième roman, *Fraise-des-bois* (en russe *Земляничка*), en 1926, puis *Camouflage* (en russe *Защитный цвет*, en 1928, traduit en français par Léon Robel). Après son divorce, elle s'installe à Montparnasse, où elle fréquente les poètes et les artistes d'avant-garde tant français qu'étrangers (Mladenović 2020b). À l'automne 1928 elle rencontre le poète surréaliste Louis Aragon, dont elle sera à la fois la muse et l'épouse jusqu'à son décès. *Bonsoir, Thérèse* (1938) est le premier roman en langue française d'Elsa Triolet.

Durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale, Triolet fonde le journal *Les Étoiles* et rédige des articles et des nouvelles pour l'hebdomadaire *Les Lettres françaises*, périodique lancé clandestinement en 1942, dans lequel elle évoque, entre autres, la torture des camps de concentration. En 1945, au sortir de la guerre, Elsa Triolet est la première femme à obtenir le Prix Goncourt, pour son recueil de nouvelles « Le Premier accroc coûte deux cents francs »<sup>4</sup>. Elle est également le premier auteur de langue française à aborder dans un roman, *Le Cheval roux* (1953), la guerre nucléaire (voir Wattel : 2024). Après la déstalinisation (1956), l'œuvre de Triolet se rapporte exclusivement aux horreurs de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Dans ses romans, à partir du *Monument* (1957), l'écrivaine évoque la position de l'artiste face aux régimes totalitaires et livre une critique de la société de consommation. Au fil du temps, elle se tourne vers d'autres formes et genres narratifs, en publiant, par exemple, le roman illustré *Écoutez-voir* (1968) (Mladenović 2020a).

Après la Libération, Elsa Triolet devient correspondante pour *Les Lettres françaises*, un journal dépendant du Parti communiste français, dont la politique éditoriale est marquée par l'antifascisme et anti-impérialisme. L'écrivaine y publie des reportages de voyage, de longs comptes rendus consacrés au procès de Nuremberg, des articles sur la littérature russe et soviétique, des traductions des poèmes de Maïakovski, mais son œuvre romanesque y est également largement représentée.

Les théories modernes de la réception sont fondées en relation avec la crise dans laquelle se trouvait l'institution littéraire académique dans son ensemble, à la fin des années soixante. Un des fondateurs de cette discipline H. R. Jauss dans son étude *Essai d'une théorie de l'expérience esthétique* souligne trois aspects de l'expérience d'une œuvre littéraire : l'acte de production, l'acte de réception, l'acte de communication (voir Heidenreich 1998). Selon le même auteur la réception s'intéresse à l'étude du chemin qui mène une œuvre littéraire vers son lecteur, et ainsi seule la réception permet à l'œuvre de s'inscrire dans l'Histoire (voir Kalinowski 1997). Selon Antoine Compagnon, on désigne

4 Au mois de juin 2020, le journal *L'Humanité* publie, afin de célébrer cette attribution du prix Goncourt à Elsa Triolet, un dossier spécial « Le Feu d'Elsa », contenant des textes critiques signés par des chercheurs, dont un article sur Triolet écrit par l'auteur de ces lignes.

par « réception » les études consacrées « à la manière dont une œuvre *affecte* le lecteur, un lecteur à la fois passif et actif, [...] individuel ou collectif, et sa réponse » (Compagnon 1998 : 174). C'est pourquoi notre article s'arrête sur des entretiens de l'écrivaine et des articles critiques portant sur ses romans (du *Monument* à *Écoutez-voir*), parus dans la revue *Les Lettres françaises*. En s'appuyant sur la théorie de la réception littéraire, qui signifie qu' « accepter que la lecture d'une œuvre est toujours une réception qui dépend du lieu et de l'époque où elle prend place » (Garde-Tarmine/Hubert 2002: 174), notre objectif est d'illustrer cela le mieux possible avec les œuvres d'Elsa Triolet et d'analyser comment la critique contemporaine de ses romans perçoit l'œuvre de celle-ci durant les années tourmentées d'après-guerre. À travers les textes choisis nous montrerons si en quelle mesure l'écriture de l'écrivaine évolue au fil du temps, les sujets qui ont retenu l'attention des critiques littéraires, et enfin si leur critique s'inscrit dans le cadre d'une réception idéologique ou esthétique.

## 2. LE MONUMENT : POSITION DE L'ARTISTE DANS UN RÉGIME TOTALITAIRE

*Le Monument*<sup>5</sup> d'Elsa Triolet fut la source de plusieurs polémiques dans les milieux littéraires français. L'écrivaine achève ce roman en janvier 1957, lors de son séjour en Tchécoslovaquie. Les vives réactions que ce texte provoque sont à l'origine de l'essai « La Lutte avec l'ange », qu'elle fait publier dans le numéro du 5 septembre 1957 des *Lettres françaises*. Triolet y raconte les origines de ce livre : « C'est un soir d'automne, en 1956, que j'ai entendu raconter l'histoire de ce sculpteur qui s'était tué, parce que l'immense statue de Staline sculptée par lui pour sa ville natale se révèle être hideuse et devient la risée des habitants de cette ville ; le sculpteur légua le prix de son travail aux aveugles qui ne verraient jamais le monstre créé par lui. » (Triolet 1957a : 1)

L'écrivaine raconte comment elle a eu l'idée de placer ses personnages « dans un pays où l'art, déjà libéré du commerce, subit d'autres impératifs, où les artistes et les dirigeants du pays peuvent collaborer dans la réalisation des œuvres d'art comme dans toutes les autres réalisations. » (Triolet 1957a : 1)

Le numéro 665 des *Lettres françaises* dévoile des extraits du roman *Le Monument*<sup>6</sup>, accompagnés des dessins de Jacques Englebert (voir l'*Annexe 1*)<sup>7</sup>. En présentant ce roman, sorti peu après en volume chez Gallimard, le journal joint une note introductive : « Cette histoire a pour base un fait divers authentique qui a frappé l'auteur par ses tragiques possibilités du symbole. Ce fait divers pourrait se résumer en deux lignes, et tout ce qui l'entoure dans le récit qui va suivre est du domaine de l'invention » (Triolet 1957b : 1).

5 La trame de ce roman est inspirée par *L'Affaire du portrait de Staline*, œuvre d'Aragon et Picasso datant de 1953, immédiatement après la mort de Staline. Aragon, directeur des *Lettres françaises*, propose à Picasso de réaliser le portrait de Staline, ce que le peintre accepte. Le portrait paraît à la Une de cet hebdomadaire le 12 mars 1953. Picasso a représenté Staline jeune, la chevelure en forme de couronne, le regard un peu vague. Selon les militants communistes, ce n'est pas le Staline des photographies officielles et des affiches, plus âgé, carré, plus souriant aussi.

6 Elsa Triolet signera pour la première fois *Le Monument* le dimanche 8 septembre 1957, au stand des *Lettres françaises* à la fête de « L'Humanité ».

7 Il est réédité en 1965, chez Robert Laffont, dans le tome 14 des *Œuvres romanesques croisées d'Elsa Triolet et Aragon*, illustré par Adolf Hoffmeister, avec l'essai *La Lutte avec l'ange*, devenu préface. La préface est reprise intégralement dans *Les Lettres françaises*, n° 1116, en janvier-février 1966.



Ce roman raconte l'histoire d'un sculpteur nommé Lewka, ancien résistant, originaire d'une Démocratie populaire imaginaire dont la capitale est inspirée par Prague. Celui-ci avait, avant la guerre, effectué ses études à Paris où il avait notamment fréquenté les Cubistes. Revenu dans son pays désormais dirigé par son ami, le militant communiste Torsch, il est nommé Ministre des Beaux-Arts et il s'investit dans les projets de la rénovation des trésors architecturaux de la vieille Ville-Capitale. Torsch et la direction du Parti communiste lui demandent alors de participer à un concours pour la réalisation d'un monument à la gloire de Staline. Le patriotisme de Lewka et son admiration pour Staline le font hésiter, car il doute de son talent, mais sur l'insistance de Torsch, il finit par accepter. Alors, l'État lui accorde les meilleures conditions matérielles et de travail afin qu'il puisse réaliser une maquette du futur monument et remporter le concours. Lewka se met donc à l'œuvre mais dans la souffrance, car le réalisme socialiste est la doctrine artistique officielle en vigueur qui doit inspirer l'artiste et cela va aboutir à une sculpture gigantesque de Staline entouré par des ouvriers. Cette œuvre détruit la beauté et l'harmonie architecturale de la capitale chargée d'histoire. Lewka estime que son monument est raté, que c'est « une horreur ». Les responsables du parti n'aiment pas non plus l'esthétique du monument. Ce sentiment d'échec pousse Lewka au suicide. À la fin cet artiste est perdu, il échoue à la fois en tant qu'homme et en tant qu'artiste, car il reste incompris. Ce roman dépeint la position de l'artiste dans une société idéologiquement rigide dans laquelle, pour Triolet, l'esthétique dépend de la politique, mais la politique aussi de l'esthétique. *Le Monument* peut être considéré comme extrêmement important pour l'évolution de la pensée politique d'Elsa Triolet, car c'est le premier roman de son opus dans lequel Staline n'est pas présenté de manière positive (voir Mladenović 2022).

À la suite de la publication du *Monument*, *Les Lettres françaises* mènent une enquête sur ce roman, en publiant un petit dossier sous le titre « Le Monument est-il un livre optimiste ? », avec des textes critiques de plusieurs peintres et écrivains qui donnent leurs avis sur ce roman. Parmi ces contributeurs nous trouvons les noms de Georges Bauquier, Carlos M. Carnero, Roger Chatal, Boris Taslitzky, Henry Wormster, Jean Kanapa. Tous s'identifient à Lewka, le personnage central du roman. Roger Chatal avoue vivre la vie de Lewka et, qu'en tant qu'artiste, il ne peut pas supporter les jugements de ses contemporains : « Je vis cette agonie et ne puis porter de jugement exhaustif. Je ne pense pas qu'il y en ait. Il faut être patient. C'est le temps, le temps de plus qu'une génération qui permet la contradiction des hétérogènes » (Bauquier *et al.* 1957 : 1).

Georges Bauquier affirme que le drame dans le roman, autour du sculpteur, n'est pas le seul responsable de son échec, car il n'a pas bénéficié des conditions les plus favorables pour réussir dans sa tentative audacieuse : « Et le drame de Lewka est notre drame à nous qui vivons une époque si troublée qu'elle ne peut pas permettre à l'artiste de se consacrer en toute sérénité à son œuvre » (Bauquier *et al.* 1957 : 4).

De l'autre côté, Jean Kanapa s'adresse directement à l'écrivaine : « J'aime votre livre comme j'aime (si cela peut se dire) le réalisme socialiste. Le livre m'a fait du bien. C'est aux *petofistes* (disons) qu'il va faire mal à leur bêtise, à leur prétention – à leur erreur totale. Certains étaient, n'est-ce pas ?, inquiets de ce que votre livre put être le produit d'une sorte d'immodestie » (Bauquier *et al.* 1957 : 4).

Jean Kanapa est un écrivain journaliste, membre du Parti communiste, rédacteur en chef de *La Nouvelle Critique*. Son commentaire sur ce texte de Triolet montre

parfaitement la position délicate dans laquelle se trouvent de nombreux dirigeants du Parti, déstabilisés par le fait que la liberté en tant qu'idéal le plus important pour tout artiste est un principe qui a retenu l'attention des critiques littéraires. Ils voient dans le roman *Le Monument* un appel à la liberté, et peut-être reconnaissent-ils ce qui leur manque. Boris Tzaltitzky apprécie le roman et s'identifie, lui aussi, à Lewka :

Elsa Triolet, j'use de votre héros comme il me plaît. Certains s'indigneront de bonne foi, que j'en abuse. C'est qu'à présent, il est à moi. À d'autres aussi, bien sûr, mais sous des aspects que peut-être je ne reconnaîtrai pas. J'aime mon ami Lewka, avec lequel je ne suis pas tendre, jusque dans ses échecs, parce qu'il menace en pensée ce que j'ai de commun avec lui, avec des milliers d'autres. (Bauquier *et al.* 1957 : 4)

*Les Lettres françaises* publient d'autres commentaires d'hommes de lettres français sur ce roman. Sous le titre « Trois écrivains donnent leurs avis sur *Le Monument* », sont réunies, dans le dossier évoqué, les lettres de Jean Cocteau, André Lhote et Jean-Pierre Chabrol. Jean Cocteau, auteur des *Enfants terribles* (1938), a été élu à l'Académie française en 1955. C'est un grand artiste complet et reconnu, ses avis étant respectés par ses pairs et par les Français :

J'ai lu ton livre, et c'est un vrai monument si éloigné de mes thèmes familiers que je pouvais enfin m'asseoir comme ces personnes assises en Hollande en face de la *Ronde en nuit*, et mettre à l'étude des perspectives qui me menèrent ailleurs que dans mes domaines et d'autant plus merveilleuses qu'elles me changent le décor et me font passer de spectacle à spectateur dans l'ombre rouge d'une loge. [...] Ton livre m'aide à traverser les désordres comme une *masse qui flotte* – une masse légère parce que lourde sur un élément impénétrable (notre époque de haine et sottise inculte). (Bauquier *et al.* 1957 : 7)

Cet avis du maître est élogieux ; il compare la lecture du roman d'Elsa Triolet à la contemplation d'un chef-d'œuvre de Rembrandt. Tout comme le maître flamand, qui a utilisé la technique du clair-obscur pour peindre son tableau, Cocteau, lui-même artiste peintre, poète, auteur de théâtre, cinéaste et romancier, suggère qu'Elsa utilise avec brio la même technique en littérature, ce qui permet de mettre en lumière son sujet.

André Lhote est un peintre cubiste, théoricien de l'art et enseignant ; il parle donc en connaissance de cause du *Monument* :

Dans le roman d'Elsa Triolet ce site, jadis, admirable est dénaturé par une œuvre qui, sous prétexte de « grandeur », n'est pas à l'échelle de son cadre traditionnel. Une telle imitation au fond historique devant lequel se sont déroulés tous les actes de la nation est une violation de l'âme collective. [...] Le monument est laid, d'abord parce qu'il ne s'intègre pas à un ensemble architectural qui reflète l'âme du pays, ensuite parce que son auteur bien que respectueux de l'art du passé n'a pas su découvrir, à travers les détails surannés dont cet art est surchargé, les lois profondes et impérissables qui régissent le rythme de ces volumes et leur puissante expression. (Bauquier *et al.* 1957 : 8)

La réflexion de Lhote est celle d'un professionnel de l'art qui s'interroge sur la beauté et la laideur d'une œuvre et qui trouve que Triolet a très bien décrit dans son roman en quoi consistait la laideur du monument.

Jean-Pierre Chabrol, écrivain français, Résistant, qui a combattu les Allemands les armes à la main, est un proche d'Aragon et d'Elsa Triolet :

Je suis presque sûr que c'est un étonnant roman sur le plan littéraire, mais pour le reste... Ce qui est certain, c'est qu'il fallait que ce livre fût écrit avec optimisme. Il fallait l'être pour oser l'écrire. Le fait est qu'il l'est. Et puis vous « peignez en noir pour qu'on ait encore de la lumière et qu'elle vienne du bon côté ». Ce sont vos propres paroles. Voilà ce que j'ai aimé tout de suite dans ce livre : qu'il n'affirme rien, qu'il n'impose rien. J'en suis fatigué, des gens, bien carrés dans leurs vérités toutes faites. (Bauquier *et al.* 1957 : 8)

Chabrol étant un communiste, son avis sur le roman de Triolet s'avère sincère et courageux, car une grande majorité des communistes ne voyait pas d'un bon œil ce livre. Chabrol indique, comme Lhote, que Triolet utilise la technique du clair-obscur pour révéler la lumière, donc le sens de son roman.

« Lewka et nous » est le titre du texte paru sous la plume d'André Wurmser, écrivain et journaliste communiste. Wurmser connaît bien Triolet car depuis fin 1948 il tient une chronique littéraire dans *Les Lettres françaises* et a participé aux *Batailles du livre*<sup>8</sup>. Il considère aussi ce roman comme une bonne représentation du réalisme socialiste, qui transpose le combat idéologique et politique entre le politicien Torsch et l'artiste Lewka. Il mentionne que, malgré les références et les allusions aux actualités, il faut lire *Le Monument* « non comme un plaidoyer, une accusation ou les attendus d'un jugement » (Bauquier *et al.* 1957: 2). Le suicide de Lewka, à la fin du roman, intervient parce qu'une machinerie infernale a mué la vigilance en suspicion et a transformé les meilleurs des hommes en complices accusateurs. Son interprétation de ce roman est précisément politique, il estime que la parution d'un tel texte dans les années qui ont suivi la mort de Staline est l'une des étapes importantes pour comprendre cette période sombre :

*Le Monument* est l'un de ces drames aujourd'hui qui méritent d'être traités et que, pour les meilleures raisons du monde, ou les pires, nous ne traitons pas. Si nous exceptons des poèmes du *Roman inachevé* et *Les Embarras de Paris* de Pierre Daix, quelles œuvres d'imagination se sont penchées sur l'année de la Grande Épreuve des communistes ? (Bauquier *et al.* 1957 : 2).

Ce roman ne peut être lu sans comprendre l'Histoire du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, dans laquelle Elsa Triolet était totalement immergée, tant par ses idées que par ses actions. Triolet pose la question de la place de l'artiste et de l'art dans la société, ainsi que de la frontière entre l'art et la propagande, notamment dans les régimes autoritaires ou totalitaires. Tous ceux qui ont écrit sur ce roman s'accordent à dire que cette problématique est, d'ailleurs, toujours d'actualité.

8 Il s'agit des activités menées par Elsa Triolet dont le but a été de promouvoir la littérature progressiste en France (les auteurs classiques français et soviétiques), contre une littérature dangereuse américaine contemporaine.

### 3. L'ÂGE DE NYLON DANS LES LETTRES FRANÇAISES : CRITIQUE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ DE CONSOMMATION

Le texte qui ouvre le cycle romanesque de Triolet *L'Âge de nylon* est publié en 1959, chez Gallimard, sous le titre *Roses à crédit*<sup>9</sup>. Elsa Triolet y raconte une histoire d'amour entre deux personnages, Martine et Daniel, que tout oppose. Ce roman d'amour est également une fresque et une critique de la société de consommation des années soixante. Le numéro 762 des *Lettres françaises* en publie un extrait, « Une place forte », en y joignant deux grandes illustrations du personnage central du roman – Martine, signées Jacques Englebert (Triolet 1959a ; voir l'*Annexe 2*). Pour cet hebdomadaire, le roman témoigne de la manière dont « subsistent en chaque homme les vestiges de l'âge de fer à côté de l'âge nouveau » (Triolet 1959a : 1). L'extrait représente Martine et Daniel quittant leur repas de noces pour se rendre dans leur maison à l'extérieur de Paris. Dans le premier texte critique consacré à ce roman, publié sous le titre « Elsa Triolet, témoin de notre siècle », André Wurmser décrit ainsi le personnage principal :

Martine est une jeune fille, énergique, décidée, travailleuse, sûre d'elle-même, âpre – et toute limitée à son opposition au monde de misère, de saleté et de dépravation qui semblait devoir être le sien. Elle ne peut vouloir que le monde le plus opposé à ce qui la dégoûte, c'est-à-dire un appartement ciré, lavé, peint, avec des meubles en rotin, un frigidaire, une télévision, une machine à laver, le monde du confort et de la netteté. Ce monde s'offre à elle – non seulement ce monde-là, celui aussi de Daniel ; la ferme paternelle (les siens en sont anciens), la recherche scientifique, les greffes, l'exaltation du créateur, le partage de la pensée d'autrui – qui est l'essence de l'amour digne. (Wurmser 1959 : 2)

Pierre Lescure découvre *Roses à crédit* grâce aux feuilletons publiés dans l'hebdomadaire. Selon lui, ce roman présente, d'un côté, un mari rêveur gagnant sa vie grâce à son métier de rosieriste, le second thème étant l'amour d'une femme qui, malgré la soumission aux objets, entretient l'attente de l'amour : elle vit et meurt de cette constance, dans la perspective d'un amour parfait. Cela donne une expression métaphysique de l'angoisse de la femme en quête d'une chimère. Sous certains aspects, l'art et le style du roman se rapprochent de l'œuvre de grands auteurs comme Tchekhov (Delranc-Gaudric 2020 : 129–134) ou Joyce et du roman *La Semaine sainte* d'Aragon, paru en 1958. Lescure pense que Triolet ne développe pas un récit « selon des formes académiques et, en même temps, elle ne semble rien innover » (Lescure 1959 : 5). Comme dans un autre roman d'Elsa Triolet, qui mène les lecteurs dans les ruines de l'Allemagne d'après-guerre – *L'Inspecteur des ruines* (1948), Lescure apprécie ici « la vraisemblance du sentiment » (Lescure 1959 : 5), tandis que la mort de Martine, dévorée par des rats dans une cabane de village, est pour lui une image tout à fait surnaturelle :

La grande force d'Elsa Triolet c'est la pudeur de son expression, et les grandes valeurs humaines, d'où croyez-vous qu'elles sortent ? Elles ne sont jamais nommées par leur nom. Elles nous persuadent de leur présence grâce à une soumission de ton au mouvement, au rythme de l'ensemble. (Lescure 1959 : 5)

9 Le réalisateur Amos Gitai réalise une adaptation cinématographique du roman d'Elsa Triolet, qui sort sur les écrans en 2010, tout en conservant le titre d'origine, *Roses à crédit*.

Lescure insiste sur le style de Triolet : tout est suggéré, rien n'est démonstratif et il n'y a pas de vérité assénée. En revanche, il relève le fait qu'Elsa se réfère toujours aux grandes valeurs, ces vertus qui se retrouvent chez tous les êtres humains, mais à des degrés divers.

Au mois de septembre 1959, Elsa Triolet publie *Luna-Park*, le deuxième volume du cycle *L'Âge de nylon*. Le personnage central de ce roman épistolaire, Justin Merlin, met la main sur une abondante correspondance entre l'ancienne propriétaire de la maison où il s'installe, Blanche Hauteville, et plusieurs hommes. À travers cet échange épistolaire, Merlin plonge dans l'univers de Blanche, qui incarne en quelque sorte l'émancipation des femmes dans les années soixante, représentée par leurs multiples liaisons amoureuses. Ce qui caractérise ce roman, c'est le langage poétique qui habille le récit. La veille de sa sortie chez Gallimard, *Les Lettres françaises* publient un long extrait à la Une, accompagné d'une note introductive : « Et voilà qu'il y découvre peu à peu le visage d'une femme inconnue, et le monde réel et irréel qui entoure cette femme invisible, son *Luna-Park* » (Triolet 1959b : 1, 9; voir les *Annexes* 3a, 3b). Dans le numéro suivant du périodique, Anne Villelaur, écrivaine et journaliste qui connaît bien Triolet (car à l'époque, elle est l'épouse de Pierre Daix, grand ami du couple Aragon-Triolet) présente ce volume, le deuxième de la série romanesque évoquée, comme un opus « totalement indépendant de *Roses à crédit* », qui constitue le premier tome du cycle (Villelaur 1959 : 2). Nous évoluons dans une tout autre atmosphère et une seule chose fait allusion au roman précédent – l'évocation de la rose Martin-Daniel, création des héros du roman *Roses à crédit* : « Il y a dans ce second livre une liberté de ton, une aisance dans la composition et cette façon de créer une *aura*, génératrice de rêves, autour des personnages, que l'on ne trouvait pas dans *Roses à crédit* » (Villelaur 1959 : 2). La trame de l'ouvrage ne peut pas se résumer facilement et, vu la conception et les caractéristiques formelles de la composition du roman, ce dernier est « un de ces livres éclatants, faits de tant de nuances et laissant une telle place à l'imagination du lecteur qu'on hésite à le disséquer » (Villelaur 1959 : 2). Si le roman moderne exige souvent des personnages traités sous divers angles, via les yeux de plusieurs personnes, Elsa Triolet atteint cet objectif en rajoutant le regard de Justin Merlin, « qui découvre Blanche à travers les autres et qui, souvent, devance nos réactions » (Villelaur 1959 : 2). Le titre énigmatique du roman n'évoque pas seulement la joie, le chaos, mais se réfère également à la Lune sur laquelle le personnage rêve de poser ses pieds. Villelaur considère également ce roman comme une source de références littéraires et cinématographiques. Ainsi met-elle en parallèle des romans de *Trilby* (de Georges du Maurier), évoqués dans ce roman, et l'histoire de Justin et Blanche. L'auteur de cette critique préfère les romans « où le rêve et le fantasme font qu'en grande partie le fantastique naît dans la réalité » (Villelaur 1959 : 2). Ce livre se positionne entre « un roman traditionnel et un « nouveau roman », c'est-à-dire ayant sa place parmi les romans d'anticipation :

*Luna-Park* reflète aussi cette préoccupation constante chez Elsa Triolet d'accroître sans cesse le champ de prospection du roman, de mettre à jour le roman, ce qui n'a rien à voir avec un modernisme d'apparence, mais traduit tout simplement une exigence fondamentale du réalisme qui est de garder le contact avec la réalité en mouvement. Le fantastique n'est, en effet, jamais un fantastique statique. Il naît, le plus souvent, du désaccord entre les personnages et le rythme du monde. C'est ce

qui explique que ce fantastique ne soit jamais gratuit non plus et qu'il puisse nous révéler des aspects cachés des personnages et du monde. (Villelaur 1959 : 2)

Triolet utilise le fantastique dans le troisième roman du cycle *L'Âge de nylon*, paru sous le titre *L'Âme* en 1962, livre qui débute par des allusions à un récit d'épouvante. Hubert Juin le décrit comme le meilleur des romans d'Elsa Triolet, romans dont les personnages sont « tous distincts les uns des autres, tous ayant leur poids spécifique, tous silhouettés par la vertu d'un admirable laconisme descriptif » (Juin 1963 : 4). Triolet accorde à Hubert Juin un entretien au cours duquel elle parle ainsi de son roman et de ce cycle romanesque : « C'est le passage de l'âge de pierre à l'âge de nylon, tout simplement. Dans chaque volume j'évoque une chose aiguë, de notre temps, liée bien entendu parmi cent autres qui seraient, elles aussi, un sujet possible, parce qu'aiguës justement » (Juin 1963 : 4). L'écrivaine présente son roman *L'Âme* comme l'histoire d'un petit garçon âgé de 10-12 ans, nommé Christo, né de la cybernétique et qui « ne s'étonne pas de ce qu'il est » (Juin 1963 : 4), l'autre personnage du roman, Luigi, étant un inventeur âgé de 6065 ans, lui aussi immergé dans l'âge de la cybernétique :

J'ai toujours eu, pour faire mes livres, un grand besoin d'informations et de documentation. Dans *L'Âme*, par exemple, pour créer un enfant d'aujourd'hui cela demandait des connaissances que je n'ai pas, mais que cet enfant, Christo, a déjà. Il en a été ainsi pour les trois volumes du cycle, *Les Manigances* étant un livre de chevauchement, venu entre, et écrit entre quatre murs. (Juin 1963 : 4)

Les critiques publiées sur trois romans différents d'Elsa Triolet nous montrent que son lectorat était également curieux de connaître d'autres sujets que cette auteure traitait dans ses œuvres. Outre la guerre et divers sujets politiques, Elsa Triolet a également abordé des thèmes importants tels que la société de consommation contemporaine, la pauvreté, l'amour, l'intelligence artificielle. Les trois romans sont écrits dans des styles différents et sous une forme littéraire différente. L'intérêt des critiques pour ce cycle et les commentaires positifs liés au style d'Elsa Triolet nous montrent que l'œuvre de cette auteure a évolué au fil du temps et que les critiques l'ont remarqué et apprécié.

#### 4. LES MANIGANCES : HISTOIRE D'UNE ÉGOÏSTE

« *Les Manigances* est un de mes romans sans politique, il traite d'autres problèmes, et vouloir y chercher de la politique revient à le faire même dans le retour du printemps » (Triolet 1962 : 5), écrit Elsa Triolet en présentant ce roman dans les pages des *Lettres* françaises. Ce roman rédigé sous forme de confession, comme un journal intime, décrit la vie d'une chanteuse et ses relations avec la société et les personnes de son entourage dans les années cinquante du XXe siècle. Le numéro 922 de la revue publie deux textes critiques sur *Les Manigances*. Dans le premier, « Une curieuse naissance », Jean Cocteau compare le style et la poétique de l'écrivaine à ceux d'une écrivaine appréciée par Triolet, Colette :

Dans une époque confuse et moins encombrée que la nôtre, le livre d'Elsa Triolet aurait produit la même sensation que les *Claudine* de Mme Colette. L'espace de liberté



du style ressemble à un dédain pour l'auteur que de pouvoir vivre l'ectoplasme d'une autre et de tout sacrifier à l'acte d'expulser cette personne inconnue et sa propre substance et d'en couper presque cruellement l'attache comparable à celle d'un cordon ombilical. (Cocteau 1962 : 1)

La comparaison de Cocteau est élogieuse pour Triolet, mais des lecteurs mal intentionnés pourraient aussi y trouver une interrogation sur son travail. En effet, la rédaction des Claudines par Colette comporte encore une part d'ombre. Si l'on sait que Colette est bien l'auteur de ces ouvrages, on ne sait pas vraiment où s'arrête le rôle de Willy dans ce travail : instigateur ? correcteur sévère ? Est-ce une pierre lancée dans le jardin d'Elsa par Cocteau ? Nous concluons que Cocteau a une parfaite compréhension de ce roman d'Elsa Triolet et qu'il a comparé ces deux auteures importantes en raison de leur courage à aborder et traiter certains thèmes dans leurs œuvres.

Le second article critique, « Le Bonheur et la morale », est écrit par André Wurmser, qui renvoie au roman précédent d'Elsa Triolet. L'histoire de Martine dans *Roses à crédit* est, pour le critique français, une histoire douloureuse et sévère, à cause de la mentalité du personnage, mais Clarisse, dans *Les Manigances*, est moins déterminante : « Clarisse est la victime ou la bénéficiaire avec la couleur même du destin » (Wurmser 1962 : 2). Le second thème du roman est celui du devoir à l'égard des autres et de l'« égoïsme », comme l'explique son sous-titre ironique, *Journal d'une égoïste* :

Ce petit livre, *Les Manigances*, dit avec son humour et son air de ne pas y toucher que la vie est difficile, que tout le mal vient de ne pas savoir comment ne pas faire du mal, que la mort seule dispense de vouloir, qu'il ne sert à rien de ne pas faire que ce monde ne réserve aucune place à l'innocence. (Wurmser 1962 : 2)

Comme d'autres romans d'Elsa Triolet, ce texte porte les couleurs de l'écrivaine : la prédominance du hasard, l'insatisfaction de l'amour, la passion aveuglante et Paris. André Wurmser compare, lui aussi, ce roman à celui de Colette : ce qui les différencie c'est une noblesse d'âme qui élargit l'humble quotidien fait de chair, de larmes et de manigances. Le troisième thème découle donc du deuxième, c'est l'affrontement – un problème moral, le problème par excellence, selon Wurmser.

## 5. LE GRAND JAMAIS, ÉCOUTEZ-VOIR

En 1965, dans le numéro 1065 des *Lettres françaises* est publié un extrait du roman *Le Grand Jamais*, sous le titre « La fidèle infidèle », alors que le livre sort presque simultanément chez Gallimard. L'introduction présente Régis Lalande, professeur d'histoire récemment décédé, dont l'œuvre jusque-là sans grand retentissement commence à éveiller l'intérêt du public et des chercheurs. Le même hebdomadaire publie un bloc thématique qui réunit des textes critiques sur Elsa Triolet, dont « L'Histoire et le temps, thèmes et variations. Direction d'étude pour *Le Grand Jamais* » de Nicole Morel. Celle-ci explique que la célébrité posthume de Régis Lalande, historien qui ne croit pas à la vérité historique, naît en même temps que la falsification de son œuvre et de sa biographie. Sa veuve, Madeleine, se mue en combattante de la vérité qui veut imposer l'image de son mari tel qu'elle l'a connu.



Nicole Morel classe les thèmes de ce roman en trois grandes parties : le premier groupe concerne le couple persuadé que la vérité historique n'existe pas, que les faits sont sujets à caution et que ceux-ci ne constituent que des témoignages disparates sur un personnage ou sur une période. Le deuxième groupe est lié à la perception temporelle de l'être humain : « D'où vient l'homme, où va-t-il ? ». Enfin, le troisième groupe thématique est celui des références concernant les rapports du roman avec l'art et avec le temps : « Régis ne cherchait pas à écrire avec ou dans le temps, mais avant le temps : le roman d'anticipation » (Morel 1965 : 4). D'après cette critique littéraire, le roman donne l'illusion d'une réalité et déclenche l'imagination du lecteur avec le moins de mots possibles. L'art de ce roman est dans la suggestion. Nicole Morel évoque un procédé littéraire pour lequel elle se passionne : il s'agit de l'intertextualité et des collages<sup>10</sup> qui figurent dans le premier chapitre de ce livre. En citant les paroles d'Aragon et de Charles Chaplin, on s'aperçoit que les témoignages sur le même événement diffèrent, ce qui apporte une preuve supplémentaire qu'on a bien affaire à un montage, une succession de collages servis par une mise en page propice à illustrer un raisonnement :

Ce livre, c'est un post-scriptum au *Grand Jamais*. Un roman indépendant, un post-scriptum pour moi seule. En réalité, je pensais que *Le Grand Jamais* serait mon dernier roman. Dans *Écoutez voir*, on retrouve les principaux thèmes du *Grand Jamais* : la mort, les mensonges et les fabrications de l'histoire, l'impossibilité de la vérité historique. (Morel 1965 : 3)

Ces deux romans, *Le Grand Jamais* et *Écoutez-voir* (paru en 1968) peuvent être interprétés ensemble et nous aurions ainsi un tableau unifié. Dans les textes qui suivent, on voit que les auteurs se sont intéressés à certaines techniques narratives du roman, à la manière dont le lecteur traite le temps, à la question de l'histoire et à la mise en scène de la biographie. Le roman *Écoutez-voir* est analysé selon la même clé. Les critiques de ces deux textes n'ont pas utilisé de « critique biographique » dans l'interprétation, même si l'auteur elle-même a tenu à montrer qu'elle s'est servie de modèles pour la création de personnages, notamment en utilisant certaines personnalités de son entourage proche, comme Aragon ou Maïakovski. *Écoutez-voir* est un roman qui, selon les critiques, surmonte tous les textes précédents de l'auteure, mais de l'autre côté les critiques ne mentionnent pas qu'il s'agit d'un roman avec images et qu'il peut être interprété comme le roman de Breton - *Nadja*. Sur la base de ces textes, nous pouvons voir que les critiques ont appliqué une critique littéraire et une approche plus moderne dans l'interprétation de ces textes.

## 6. CONCLUSION

En étudiant les textes critiques publiés par l'hebdomadaire *Les Lettres françaises* au sujet des romans d'Elsa Triolet de la période 1957-1968, nous pouvons conclure que le journal culturel et artistique d'orientation communiste nourrit un grand intérêt pour les textes de cette écrivaine et constitue un important vecteur de promotion de ceux-ci. Les pages de la revue contiennent souvent des fragments illustrés des romans de Triolet. Ces extraits ont pour fonction évidente de faire connaître, de promouvoir ou de soutenir

10 Terme utilisé par Aragon pour définir la structure fragmentée de la prose de Triolet.

l'œuvre d'Elsa Triolet auprès d'un vaste public, à une époque où la presse écrite reste une source majeure d'information.

Les textes critiques, publiés immédiatement après la parution des romans, présentent ces derniers aux lecteurs français à travers une analyse du sujet et du style. Chacun des auteurs en question affirme sa sensibilité ou sa proximité par rapport à l'écriture riche et particulière de Triolet. Pour ces critiques, Elsa Triolet est une grande écrivaine, porteuse d'innovations littéraires, quelqu'un d'éclairé et de moderne qui comprend bien les problèmes, les idées, les peurs, les aspirations de son époque, les transposant dans des fictions romanesques qui mériteraient d'être examinées plus profondément. Ces textes critiques que nous avons présentés sont également importants pour les lecteurs et les chercheurs contemporains, parce qu'ils nous éclairent sur l'époque et sur l'œuvre de Triolet, pouvant inspirer de nouvelles études et interprétations de ses romans.

## BIBLIOGRAPHIE

- Bauquier, G. et al. 1957. Le Monument est-il un livre optimiste ? *Les Lettres françaises* 676, 1-8.
- Cocteau, J. 1962. Une curieuse naissance. *Les Lettres françaises* 922, 1.
- Compagnon, A. 1998. *Le démon de la théorie*, Paris : Seuil, « Points ».
- Delranc-Gaudric, M. 2020. *Elsa Triolet : naissance d'une écrivaine*. Paris : L'Harmattan.
- Garde-Tarminé, J. & Hubert, M.-C. 2002. *Dictionnaire de critique littéraire*. Paris : Armand Colin.
- Heidenreich, R. 1989. La problématique du lecteur et de la réception. *Cahiers de recherche sociologique* 12, 77-89. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1002059ar>
- Juin, H. 1963. Elsa Triolet, L'Âme, entretien. *Les Lettres françaises* 975, 4.
- Kalinowski, I. 1997. Hans-Robert Jauss et l'esthétique de la réception, *Revue germanique internationale* 8, 151-172.
- Lescure, P. 1959. En relisant *Roses à crédit*. *Les Lettres françaises* 766, 1.
- Mladenović, V. 2020a. „Dijalog između slike i reči u romanu *Écoutez-voir* Elze Triolet“. Dans *Slika i reč : zbornik radova*, éd. I. Drašković. Beograd : Estetičko društvo Srbije, 331-344.
- Mladenović, V. 2020b. « Elsa Triolet et les surréalistes ». *Uzdanica* 2, 187-199.
- Mladenović, V. 2021. Un grand art modeste : Elsa Triolet et le problème de la traduction. *Philologica Jassyensia* 2(34), 181-192.
- Mladenović, V. 2022. *Les guerres d'Elsa Triolet: romans, nouvelles, articles (1944-1957)*. Université de Novi Sad/Université de Poitiers. Thèse non publiée.
- Morel, N. 1965. L'Histoire et le temps, thèmes et variations. Direction d'étude pour Le Grand Jamais. *Les Lettres françaises* 1071, 3-4.
- Triolet, E. 1957a. La lutte avec l'ange. *Les Lettres françaises* 686, 1.
- Triolet, E. 1957b. Le Monument [extrait]. *Les Lettres françaises* 665, 1, 8-9.
- Triolet, E. 1959a. « Une place forte » [extrait de *Roses à crédit*]. *Les Lettres françaises* 762, 1, 9.
- Triolet, E. 1959b. Luna-Park [extrait]. *Les Lettres françaises* 789, 1, 9.
- Triolet, E. 1959c. Un romantisme lunaire. *Les Lettres françaises* 795, 1.

- Triolet, E. 1962. Les romans du jour. *Les Lettres françaises* 925, 1.
- Vigier, L., Vassevière, M. (dir.). 2013. *Recherches croisées Aragon – Elsa Triolet, 14 : Les Lettres françaises*. Strasbourg : Presses universitaires de Strasbourg.
- Villelaur, A. 1959. Luna-Park, 1959. *Les Lettres françaises* 790, 2.
- Wattel, A. 2024. *Le souffle de Hiroshima. Artistes, lettrés et savants français dans l'ère atomique (1945-1960)*. Paris : EPFL PRESSE.
- Wurmser, A. 1959. Elsa Triolet, témoin de notre temps. *Les Lettres françaises* 763, 2.
- Wurmser, A. 1962. Le bonheur et la morale. *Les Lettres françaises* 922, 2.

## RÉSUMÉ

### LA RÉCEPTION DES ROMANS D'ELSA TRIOLET DANS L'HEBDOMADAIRE *LES LETTRES FRANÇAISES* (1957-1968)

Le but de ce travail est d'analyser la réception de certains romans d'Elsa Triolet dans l'hebdomadaire français *Les Lettres françaises*. Nous présentons et examinons les textes critiques et les entretiens de l'auteur concernant son roman *Le Monument* (1957), puis les textes qui se réfèrent à son cycle romanesque *L'Âge de nylon : Roses à crédit* (1959), *Luna-Park* (1959), *L'Âme* (1962). Sont visés les articles sur le roman *Les Manigances* (1961) publié hors de ce cycle, ensuite les articles sur les deux romans faisant partie d'un même cycle, *Le Grand-Jamais* (1965) et *Écoutez-voir* (1968). Nous tentons de montrer comment l'écrivaine présente son œuvre et quel est l'intérêt des critiques littéraires de publier des commentaires sur les ouvrages dans ce journal communiste.

**MOTS-CLES :** Elsa Triolet, Louis Aragon, *Les Lettres françaises*, roman, réception.

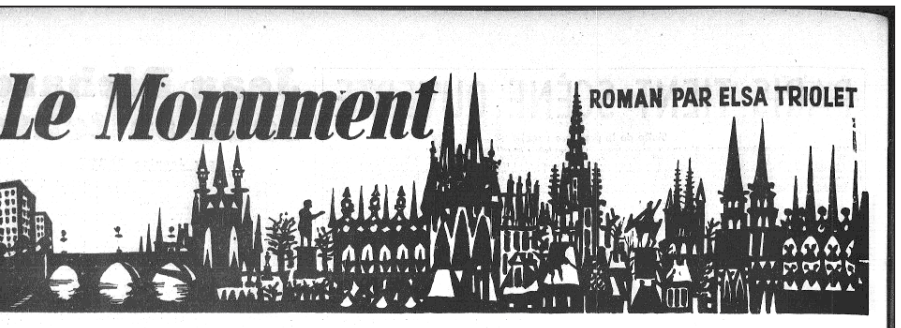
## SUMMARY

### THE RECEPTION OF ELSA TRIOLET'S NOVELS IN THE WEEKLY *LES LETTRES FRANÇAISES* (1957-1968)

The aim of this paper is to analyze the reception of Elsa Triolet's novels in the French weekly *Les Lettres françaises*. We analyze and examine the critical texts and interviews of the author regarding her novel *Le Monument* (1957), followed by the texts referring to her novel cycle *L'Âge de nylon: Roses à crédit* (1959), *Luna-Park* (1959), *L'Âme* (1962). First, we focus on the articles on the novel *Les Manigances* (1961), published outside this cycle, continuing with the articles on the two novels that belong to the same cycle, *Le Grand-Jamais* (1965) and *Écoutez-voir* (1968). Our research shows a keen interest of *Les Lettres françaises* in Elsa Triolet's novels. Literary critics of the time saw great potential, diversity and richness of themes in Triolet's texts. From the analyzed texts, we observed that this writer's novels were positively received, with critics utilizing a variety of techniques to introduce the author's oeuvre to a wider audience.

**KEYWORDS:** Elsa Triolet, Louis Aragon, *Les Lettres françaises*, novel, reception.

ANNEXES



ROMAN PAR ELSA TRIOT

Illustrations de Jacques ENGLEBERT

(Suite de la première page)

... mis pour réparer un terrapièze et donner une petite cure, avec quelques autres, au-dessus de ce râblai, la rivière perfide de son...

Sur le pont qui se dressait en haut du dallage, sous le glâzeux soleil et au-dessus de cet air des Marchennois, de l'autre côté du pont, un homme venait de se lever, pour se rendre à la messe. Il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros. Il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

... et il avait un air de tristesse, mais il était si jeune, si beau, si vaillant, que l'on se demandait s'il n'était pas un héros.

Annexe 1 Triot (1957b) : 8







"LUNA-PARK" le nouveau roman d'Elsa Triolet (extrait)

J.-L. Bory : Le mal de la jeunesse

LETTRES FRANÇAISES ARTS Spectacles

France et U. F. Abonnements 1 an 4.000 2.000 Spécial étudiants 3.000 1.600 850 Evénement 4.000 2.300 1.100 G.P.F. Paris 1955 Fondés en 1942 par Jacques DECOUR (fusillé par les Nazis) Directeur : ARAGON

MODÉRITÉS FORTES pour estomacs faibles

L'convalescence est une épreuve... L'convalescence est une épreuve... L'convalescence est une épreuve... L'convalescence est une épreuve... L'convalescence est une épreuve...

LE VRAI «VISAGE» DE VENISE



EST CELUI D'INGMAR BERGMAN

(EN DIXIÈME PAGE, L'ARTICLE DE MICHEL CARENAC)

L'année littéraire 1959-60 commence par des romans :

LUNA-PARK

Voilà le nouveau roman d'Elsa Triolet... Voilà le nouveau roman d'Elsa Triolet... Voilà le nouveau roman d'Elsa Triolet...

par Elsa TRIOLET

SA volonte, un DS bleuté... SA volonte, un DS bleuté... SA volonte, un DS bleuté... SA volonte, un DS bleuté...

par Elsa TRIOLET

Je n'ai pas eu un très bon... Je n'ai pas eu un très bon... Je n'ai pas eu un très bon... Je n'ai pas eu un très bon...

A GLAPIONS rompus avec AUDIBERTI

Interview par Jacqueline AUTRUSSEAU

- L'ADRESSE, d'Audiberti ?... - L'ADRESSE, d'Audiberti ?... - L'ADRESSE, d'Audiberti ?... - L'ADRESSE, d'Audiberti ?...

Un de chance, avec un diable... Un de chance, avec un diable... Un de chance, avec un diable... Un de chance, avec un diable...

LES BLOUSONS NOIRS par André BARRET

Les Blousons Noirs... Les Blousons Noirs... Les Blousons Noirs... Les Blousons Noirs... Les Blousons Noirs...

ARAGON et le roman du temps

par Pierre de LESCURE

DANS CE NUMÉRO : ARAGON et le roman du temps... ARAGON et le roman du temps... ARAGON et le roman du temps... ARAGON et le roman du temps...

LES BLOUSONS NOIRS par André BARRET... LES BLOUSONS NOIRS par André BARRET... LES BLOUSONS NOIRS par André BARRET... LES BLOUSONS NOIRS par André BARRET...

ARAGON et le roman du temps... ARAGON et le roman du temps... ARAGON et le roman du temps... ARAGON et le roman du temps...

En Deuxième page : BONSOIR TRISTESSE par Anne VILLEUR







Robert Lecker (ed.), *Do You Want to Be Happy and Write? – Critical Essays on Michael Ondaatje*, Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2023, pp. 488.

Reviewed by JELENA KOJIĆ<sup>1</sup>  
University of Belgrade  
Faculty of Philology  
Belgrade, Serbia

Phillip Michael Ondaatje is a Sri Lankan-born Canadian author whose literary career started in 1967 when he published a book of poetry, *The Dainty Monsters*. Even though Ondaatje established himself as a poet, his prose ensured that literary critics recognized his international stature when Ondaatje joined a group of select Canadian authors who managed to publish not only in Canada, but also in the US and the UK. Several years ago, we could have discussed the scarcity of literary criticism of Ondaatje, and today, he is undeniably one of the most prominent and internationally recognized Canadian writers. However, amidst a plethora of scholarly works on Ondaatje that we have today, Robert Lecker's *Do You Want to Be Happy and Write?: Critical Essays on Michael Ondaatje* has emerged as one of the latest and most extensive collection of essays on Ondaatje's works.

The collection exhaustively examines Ondaatje's works through five chapters: "Poetry", "Visuality", "Intermediality", "Novels and Narratives" and "Endings", which open after the author's thorough introduction, with a principal focus on underlining the importance of Ondaatje's international reputation.

The first chapter "Poetry" brings into focus Ondaatje's poetry from *The Dainty Monsters* (1967) to *Handwriting* (1998). The chapter contains five essays highlighting the development of Ondaatje's career in an undoubtedly transnational era. The first three essays gather around various poetic works, while the last two essays narrow their focus to specific poems, "The Cinnamon Peeler" and "The Tin Roof". In the essay "dancing new / on this terrific ancient earth': Michael Ondaatje's Astonishing Poetics of Renewal", Di Brandt explores *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid*, *There's a Trick with a Knife I'm Learning to Do* and *Secular Love*, focusing on how Ondaatje masterfully uses a well-known North American frontier legend to allude to the man's animalistic nature and to make intimate connections to his family's history of madness. The second essay, Karen Solie's "Restlessness, Vertigo: Michael Ondaatje's Poetry" discusses *Secular Love* and *Handwriting* as the author tries to chart "a vertiginous territory" (Lecker 2023: 95) in Ondaatje's poetry. Ondaatje's restlessness is again elucidated in Antje M. Rauwerda's essay "Strange Familiars: Dogs in Michael Ondaatje's Early Poetry". Rauwerda systematically explores Ondaatje's continuing poetic preoccupation with wild and domestic animals in the Ondaatje's poetry and rightly points out the symbolic meaning of dogs and analyzes their representation in Ondaatje's early poetry. "The Scent of Paradise: Michael Ondaatje's 'The Cinnamon Peeler'" by Ulla Ratheiser elaborates on the connection between the delicate and exotic cinnamon scent and the world Ondaatje creates in this love poem.

1 Kontakt podaci (E-mail): jelena\_abula@yahoo.com

Ratheiser offers a fresh perspective of the multi-layered reading of *The Cinnamon Peeler*, suggesting close analogies between biblical texts and the poem in which Ondaatje rekindles treasured memories of Sri Lanka. Again, the importance of understanding Ondaatje's personal life is underlined in Ian Rae's "The Pivot: Michael Ondaatje's *Tin Roof*". Rae's systematic and in-depth analysis of the poem represents an important turning point in interpreting "intertextual and cross-cultural complexities in Ondaatje's poetics" (Lecker 2023: 149).

The second chapter, entitled "Visuality", contains three essays gathering around visual elements in Ondaatje's works and the careful constructive process behind his poems and novels. This chapter presents Ondaatje in a new light and provides different perspectives for interpreting his entire oeuvre. Allan Hepburn in "The illusion of the unexceptional: Michael Ondaatje as Editor" sheds light on Ondaatje's editorial experience and its profound influence on his novels. Hepburn underlines that Ondaatje applies the structure of a film to a novel and shows a comprehensive analysis of the analogous techniques in film and text editing that Ondaatje successfully employs in *The English Patient*, *In the Skin of a Lion*, *Divisadero*, *The Cat's Table* and *Anil's Ghost*. Similarly, Bart Testa in "Michael Ondaatje in the Cinema" puts forward a "seductive hypothesis" (Lecker 2023: 175) that filmmaking helped Ondaatje's writing and focuses on the analysis of *The English Patient* and Ondaatje's collaboration with Anthony Minghella. "Landscapes and stories flung into branches: The Photography of Effect and Transnational Mobility in the Writings of Michael Ondaatje" by Lorraine York explores Ondaatje's passionate engagement with film and photography. The essay considers the considerable potential that the use of photography unlocks in Ondaatje's works and highlights kinetic, affective and transnational notions of photography.

The third chapter, titled "Intermediality", contains two essays whose primary focus is on visual elements in Ondaatje's novels by exploring the interaction between music, painting and photography. "Creases and Broken Glass: Michael Ondaatje's Narrative and Intermediality" explores the concept of intermediality through careful analyses of intermedial qualities and potentials in Ondaatje's four novels: *Coming Through Slaughter*, *In the Skin of a Lion*, *The English Patient* and *Divisadero*. Serena Fusco places specific emphasis on "how literary storytelling is filtered by channels provided by non-verbal media" (Lecker 2023: 211). Birgit Neumann's "Intermedial Aesthetics in *The Cat's Table*" reveals Ondaatje's intermedial references to visual media to "invite readers to see the world from different, multiplied, and multiplying angles" (Lecker 2023: 228). Neumann's approach takes into account multi-faceted intermedial aesthetics in *The Cat's Table* which reflects the novel's openness rather than presenting a self-enclosed perspective.

The fourth chapter, "Novels and Narratives", consists of six essays which explore liminal forms in Ondaatje's fiction. Winfried Siemerling, in "Fascination and Liminality in Michael Ondaatje's *Coming Through Slaughter*", discusses Ondaatje's experimentation with prose and verse, "the liminal area" (Lecker 2023: 247) where the self and the historical other meet. The second essay, Jody Mason's "'The animal out of the desert': The Nomadic Metaphysics of Michael Ondaatje's *In the Skin of a Lion*" provides a careful analysis of "nomadic metaphysics" (Lecker 2023: 263) which dismisses fixed identities and draws attention to different patterns of mobility in Ondaatje's novel. Kai-su Wu's essay "Love, War and the Other in Emmanuel Levinas, Jacques Derrida, and

Michael Ondaatje: *The English Patient* as the Dialogic Field" is an insightful and unique observation of the concept of otherness represented in Ondaatje's novel that derives from the philosophical thinking of Emmanuel Levinas and Jacques Derrida. In the fourth essay, "Reconfiguring an East-West Dialectic of Trauma in Michael Ondaatje's War Novels: *The English Patient*, *Anil's Ghost*, and *Warlight*", Justin M. Hewitson offers an East-West dialectical reading of Ondaatje's three novels and outlines the view that Ondaatje aims to show how we confront suffering by using Western reason and Indian intuition. Martin Loschnigg's "Wartime Ghost: War and the Liminal in *The English Patient*, *Anil's Ghost*, and *Warlight*" unveils the transformative power of the Second World War and the civil war in Sri Lanka. Loschnigg's essay presents a comparative view of the three novels, outlining that "spectrality is a central motif" (Lecker 2023: 325) as these novels blur the line between the past and the present.

The last chapter "Endings" contains five essays primarily dealing with Ondaatje's fiction from different perspectives. Mrinalini Chakravorty's essay "The dead that Haunt *Anil's Ghost*: Subaltern Difference and Postcolonial Melancholia" examines different forms of violence in postcolonial Sri Lanka and "dubious stereotypes about insurmountable civilizational differences" (Lecker 2023: 336). The second essay, Pico Iyer's "Casualties of Love" explores, highlights Ondaatje's outstanding ability to "turn the fragments into a living whole" (Lecker 2023: 355) and explores how fugitives attempt to trace forgotten history from marginal spaces. The third essay, "Ondaatje's Late Style", takes on a different path as Moez Surani discusses and identifies characteristics of Ondaatje's fiction by delineating it into early, middle and late style and overviews and identifies characteristics of each period. "'That eventual stranger': Toward Unrecognizability in *Warlight*" offers a careful analysis of Ondaatje's novel, which the author of the essay, Joel Deshayé, characterizes as detective fiction. Deshayé explores the theme of the difficulty, or the concept of "*schwer*" (Lecker 2023: 379), and how it reflects on Ondaatje's readers and characters. Elias Schwieler's essay "Teaching Ondaatje: Learning to Live" emphasizes the challenges of teaching literature and offers a unique pedagogical perspective on Ondaatje's works as it is based on the author's personal experience.

In comparison to other studies on Ondaatje (such as Sam Solecki's *Spider Blues*, Douglas Barbour's *Michael Ondaatje*, Lee Spinks' *Michael Ondaatje*) Robert Lecker offers fresh and detailed insights into Ondaatje's works along with a thorough critical assessment of Ondaatje's lucrative and varied career. The structure of *Do You Want to Be Happy and Write?* is coherent and elaborate with well-chosen and wide-ranging topics that illuminate postmodernist, postcolonial, diasporic and transnational aspects of Ondaatje's writing. The abovementioned five chapters address Ondaatje's interest in representing the complexity of reconstructing one's identity, the importance of knowing and remembering history, the impact of trauma on the human body and the power of photography and film. The essays gather international writers and critics who identify different themes that prevail in Ondaatje's work and elucidate the restlessness of his poetry and prose. Therefore, this collection is a unique scholarly tribute that presents a systematic analysis of Ondaatje's trajectory and develops a comprehensive approach to Ondaatje, with critical literature for a more in-depth examination of Ondaatje's poetry and prose.

Časopis izlazi jednom godišnje.

Uređivačkom odboru možete se obratiti na imejl-adresu:

[philologia.journal@gmail.com](mailto:philologia.journal@gmail.com).

Najlepše Vas molimo da pre nego što predate rukopis pažljivo pročitate Uputstva saradnicima, koja se mogu naći na [www.philologia.org.rs](http://www.philologia.org.rs)

Za sadržaj priloga odgovornost snose sami autori.

The journal comes out annually.

The Editorial Board may be contacted at: [philologia.journal@gmail.com](mailto:philologia.journal@gmail.com).

The contributors are requested to refer to the guidelines on the Philologia's website: [www.philologia.org.rs](http://www.philologia.org.rs) (Submission Guidelines).

The authors bear full responsibility for the contents of their papers.

[www.philologia.org.rs](http://www.philologia.org.rs)