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■ UVODNA REČ

Jedanaesta sveska časopisa *Philologia* donosi deset originalnih naučnih radova iz oblasti lingvistike, nauke o književnosti i studija kulture, koje je stalni recenzentski tim časopisa brižljivo odabrao, blago kritikujući gde je potrebno i pohvalivši gde je to očigledno. Pored toga, u rubrici Prikazi nalaze se četiri osvrti na noviju literaturu iz oblasti koje časopis *Philologia* promovise.

Radovi iz oblasti lingvistike svojevrsan su mozaik njenih podoblasti: fonetike i fonologije, pragmatike, sociolingvistike, kognitivne lingvistike i teorija usvajanja drugog jezika. U prvom prilogu, Isao Ueda bavi se jednim neuobičajenim funkcionalnim poremećajem govora deteta kome je maternji jezik japanski, pokušavajući da ga objasni aparaturom jedne od novijih fonoloških teorija, teorijom optimalnosti. Naredni prilog daje prikaz i analizu percepcije engleskih vokala kod govornika bugarskog jezika sa ciljem da se utvrde njihovi transjezički obrasci, naročito u pogledu perceptualne asimilacije vokala južnog britanskog standarda. Treći po redu članak zasniva se na teoriji kognitivnog modela i testira njegovu primenu na značenju govornog čina zahteva u srpskom jeziku. Ana Lazarova-Nikovska u svom radu analizira jezički transfer određenih glagolskih karakteristika iz makedonskog kao prvog jezika u engleski jezik kao drugi jezik, i to u početnim fazama usvajanja drugog jezika, dok Senka Majetić u svom prilogu iz ugla pragmatike predstavlja rezultate istraživanja upotrebe govornog čina zahteva u elektronskim porukama neizvornih govornika engleskog jezika.

Rubrika Nauka o književnosti donosi četiri rada iz frankofonih, hungaroloških i anglističkih književnih studija. Posebno smo ponosni što u godini u kojoj se obeležava tri veka od rođenja francuskog stvaraoča Denija Didroa (1713-1784) objavljujemo rad u kom se iz perspektive savremenog doba tumači njegov prosvetiteljski doprinos teorijsko-istraživačkom i književno-umetničkom stvaralaštvu. U ovom broju časopisa predstavljamo još jednog velikog pisca Dežea Kostolanjija (1885-1936), klasika mađarskog modernističkog pripovedanja. Jedan od njegovih romana analizira se sa prevodilačke tačke gledišta, jer se autor rada bavi teškoćama u izboru rešenja koja su prevodiocu bila na raspolaganju. Radom o romanu Toni Morison (1931) obeležavamo još jedan značajan događaj – dvadeset godina od kada je prva crkinja dobila Nobelovu nagradu. I dalje je jedina crkinja koja je tu nagradu dobila za oblast književnosti. Ni u ovom broju nismo zanemarili popularnu kulturu i književnost, jer rad o grafitima u DeLilovom (1936) čuvenom romanu prikazuje, za američku kulturu reprezentativnu, praksu izrade grafita i analizira njihovu estetiku i politiku, kao i odnos prema drugim stvaralačkim formama.

Rubrika Kultura i društvo sadrži rad o položaju i jezičkim pravima vlaške manjinske zajednice u Srbiji. Kako se u radu zastupa stav da država treba da pronade mehanizme koji bi pomogli očuvanju etničke, kulturne i jezičke posebnosti Vlaha i više radi na podizanju svesti o značaju multikulturalnosti i višejezičnosti, ponosni smo što možemo da damo mali doprinos borbi za jezička ljudska prava.

■ A WORD FROM THE EDITORIAL

The eleventh issue of the *Philologia Journal* offers to its readership ten original scientific articles carefully evaluated and recommended by the journal's editorial board, as well as four book reviews. The five articles comprising the Linguistics Section cover a wide range of topics and analyze linguistic problems from the phonetic and phonological perspective, as well as from the viewpoint of pragmatics, sociolinguistics, cognitive linguistics and second language acquisition.

The author of the first article, Isao Ueda, tackles the problem of an idiosyncratic functional speech disorder characteristic of a Japanese-speaking child, providing plausible explanations for this non-organic phenomenon in the framework of Optimality Theory. The second article moves within the same field, that of phonetics and phonology, but this time the author comes to grips with the perceptual assimilation patterns of vowels that can predict difficulties of Bulgarian ESL learners at the tertiary level of education. Serbian requests as a form of speech acts are the topic of the next paper, which offers their analysis based on the relatively recent theoretical model of speech act scenarios. The issue of age and language transfer in second language acquisition is looked at in the article that follows. The transfer of morphosyntactic features is analyzed in two groups of informants, resulting in the favour of so-called *Conservative Hypothesis*. Finally, the last paper in the Linguistics Section provides results of a study that investigated the usage of pragmatics by non-native speakers of English in email requests.

Four articles collected in the Literary Studies contribute to Francophone, Hungarian and Anglo-American literary studies. We are immensely proud to publish an article on the enlightening work and research of the French philosopher, art critic and writer Denis Diderot (1713-1784) in the year when the world celebrated tricentennial of his birth. Work of another great man-of-letters Kosztolányi Dezső (1885-1936), a classic of Hungarian modernism, is introduced to the readers. His novel *The Golden Kite* is analyzed from the translator's perspective, since the author of the paper tackles the translator's dilemmas when choosing among available translation possibilities. With the article on Toni Morrison (1931) we mark another significant anniversary – twenty years since the first black woman in history was awarded the Nobel prize. She is still the only black woman who has received the Nobel prize for literature. We have tried not to neglect the popular culture and literature, focusing on the various graffiti types in DeLillo's *Underworld*. The author of the article presents the design, aesthetics and politics of the graffiti, and their relations to other cultural and artistic forms.

In the Cultural Studies we present the article on the position of the Vlach minority in Serbia and their linguistic rights. The author advocates that the state should provide mechanisms to help the sustainability of the ethnic, cultural and linguistic particularity of the Vlachs, as well as raise public awareness of the importance of multicultural and multilingual society. We are proud to make this small contribution to the fight for the Vlach minority language.

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■ RETENTION OF AN IRREGULAR FEATURE SPECIFICATION AS A SOURCE OF FUNCTIONAL MISARTICULATION

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Ovo istraživanje predstavlja pokušaj analize fonološkog sistema jednog deteta, izvornog govornika japanskog jezika, koje ima vrlo specifičan funkcionalni (neorganski) poremećaj govora u kome se labijalizovani vokal zadnjeg reda uvek zamenjuje bilabijalnim nazalom. Najpre analiziramo odlike ta dva segmenta i primećujemo da oni dele fonološko obeležje [labijalan] u hijerarhijskoj organizaciji distinktivnih obeležja. Fokusirajući se na obrazac zamene i njene teorijske posledice u okviru teorije optimalnosti, razmatramo hipotezu da je ograničenje markiranosti koje u dečjem sistemu sprečava labijalizovani vokal višeg ranga od ograničenja vernosti, usled čega dolazi do zamene ciljanog vokala labijalnim nazalom. Zamena je izazvana pogrešnom specifikacijom pomenutih obeležja. Takođe iznosimo tvrdnju da održavanje takvog rangiranja ograničenja rezultira stvaranjem nedozvoljenih prozodijskih struktura, pored greške u produkciji samog segmenta. Najzad, primećujemo da je održavanje takvih nepravilnih specifikacija obeležja pri fonološkom razvoju česta pojava u jezicima, kao i da može biti jedan od izvora funkcionalnih poremećaja u izgovoru.

Ključne reči: fonološki razvoj, govorni poremećaj, funkcionalna misartikulacija, geometrija obeležja, teorija optimalnosti.

1. INTRODUCTION

The present study reports and discusses a very unusual case of functional speech disorder of a four-year-old Japanese-speaking child. Notwithstanding a widespread understanding that vowel disorders are rare in Japanese, this child exhibits a constant substitution in the production of the vowel /o/, and the substitution pattern *per se* is very uncommon. The structure of this study is organized as follows. First we observe

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the deviant articulation of the child, focusing on the substitution pattern. Second, a phonetic and phonological characterization of the child's system is laid out, with reference to Japanese phonology where necessary. Third, to explicate the cause of misarticulation an Optimality-Theoretic analysis is proposed. Finally, this case is characterized in connection with phonological development and functional speech disorders in general, with the conclusion that this is not really an idiosyncratic case and that the misarticulation can be deduced in the light of general principles of phonological theory and phonological development.

2. UNUSUAL SUBSTITUTION BY THE SUBJECT

The subject of this study is T.A., aged four, who exhibited constant substitution errors in production.² This problem was diagnosed as functional misarticulation. Let us look at some examples in (1). Here, the child's actual production and corresponding ambient correct forms are labelled as phonetic forms and target forms respectively, and a syllable boundary is marked with a dot [.].

(1) Substitution errors of T.A.

Phonetic forms	Target forms	Gloss
tm.ra	to.ra	tiger
ni.ɥa.tm.ri	ni.ɥa.to.ri	chicken
a.sa.ŋa.m	a.sa.ŋa.o	morning glory
ta.km	ta.ko	octopus
m.ka:.saN	o.ka:.saN	mother

It is observable from this that the target vowel /o/ is being replaced by bilabial nasal [m]. This case should be a focus of special attention because Japanese vowels are claimed to be acquired without causing any problems (Ito 1990). In fact, Homma (2000) asserts that unlike dysarthria, vowel disorders are not observed in functional misarticulation. In addition, Japanese has a relatively simple vowel system outlined below, which makes acquisition easier.

(2) Japanese vowel system

- [i]: front, high, unrounded
- [e]: front, mid, unrounded
- [a]: central, low, unrounded
- [o]: back, mid, rounded
- [ɯ]: back, high, unrounded

Next, let us take a look at target /m/ to see if the child has a problem with the nasal itself. In (3) below, some production forms are listed.

2 The data were elicited at Osaka City Rehabilitation Training Center. I wish to thank Keiko Satomi for the contribution of the data herein.

(3) Production of target [m]

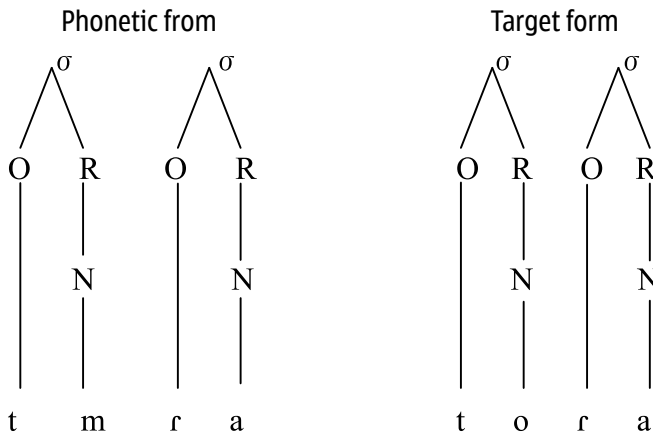
Phonetic forms	Target forms	Gloss
me.ŋa.ne	me.ŋa.ne	eyeglasses
ja.ma	ja.ma	mountain
ka.ta.tsu.mu.ri	ka.ta.tsu.mu.ri	snail
hi.ma.ŋa.ri	hi.ma.ŋa.ri	sunflower
em.pi.tsu	em.pi.tsu	pencil

The phonetic forms in (3) show that they are correctly produced. Note that in the last example [em.pi.tsu] “pencil”, the syllable-final target is underlyingly an underspecified nasal without place specification; if it is in word-medial position, the “placeless” nasal surfaces assimilating to the following consonant.³ The child does produce the correct form. This and other forms evidence that target /m/ is properly acquired. So far, we have seen that the target vowel /o/ is replaced by [m], while target /m/, whether it is an onset or a coda of a syllable, is realized as such.

3. THE SUBSTITUTED NASAL AND THE SYLLABLE

In this section, we will examine how the substituted nasal behaves in syllable structure. It should be noted in (1) that this substitution happens even though it results in violation of CV which is the most unmarked syllable structure in Japanese. Let us see this anomaly in (4), in which the phonetic and the target forms of “tiger” are juxtaposed.

(4) The syllable structure of “tiger”

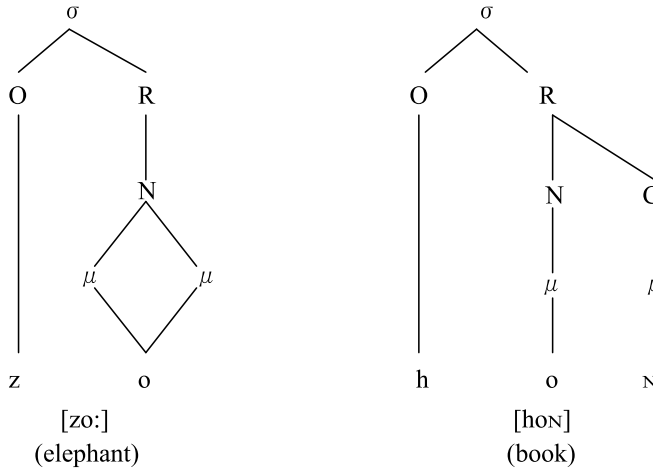


It is evident that the nasal functions as the nucleus of the syllable, which is not permitted at all in Japanese phonology. We now go on to see how the nasal works in more complex syllable structures. Specifically they are (C)V: and (C)VC as shown in

3 Note that the surface allophones of this placeless nasal are the only permitted forms in word-final position in Japanese.

(5), the latter of which has already been touched on above in connection with the assimilation of the placeless nasal.

(5) The syllable structure of CV: and CVC



Now, let us look at some forms having either of these structures.

(6) Forms with a long vowel or with a coda nasal

Phonetic forms	Target forms	Gloss
m.tm:ˌsɑN	o.to:ˌsɑN	father
tɑN.m:ˌbi	tɑN.ʒo:ˌbi	birthday
m:ˌtʃi.ɛN	jo:ˌtʃi.ɛN	kindergarden
rai.m:	rai.ɔN	lion
kɯ.re.m:	kɯ.re.jɔN	crayon

The first three forms have a long vowel /o:/ in the target, giving a CV: structure, while the next two forms have /ɔN/, hence a CVC structure. Clearly in all the forms in (6) the misproduced syllables are heavy. It should be noted that each misarticulated syllable is realized as long /m:/. In fact, the duration of [m:] in (6) is approximately twice as long as that of [m] in (1), the former ranging from 420 ms to 500 ms and the latter from 200 ms to 220 ms.⁴ Therefore, this distinction in segmental length should reflect the moraic difference between light and heavy syllables in the target forms. Put differently, the weight distinction in the target is preserved in the phonetic form even though it may be misproduced. The onset of a target, however, may not be realized in such forms as [tɑN.m:ˌbi], [m:ˌtʃi.ɛN], and [kɯ.re.m:]. Note that in Japanese the onset does not bear a mora itself and does not play a role as a weight unit. It should be emphasized here that the prosodic information of the target, at least partially, is likely to be preserved

⁴ In the present study, the misarticulation is analyzed purely from a phonological perspective. We do not go into the acoustic details any further.

in misarticulated forms, which clinicians should not overlook because it may serve as a valuable key to detect the misarticulator's underlying phonological knowledge.

4. REPRESENTATION OF /o/ AND /m/

In this section, we make a rather in-depth and detailed inquiry into the child's phonological system. Specifically, the emphasis is placed on why the target /o/ should be replaced by a drastically different segment of bilabial nasal /m/. First let us review the phonological features of these two segments. Below in (7), the feature specifications of /o/ and /m/ are presented. (Not all features are shown.)

(7) Feature specification of /o/ and /m/

/o/: [+sonorant, -consonantal, -high, -low, +back, +round, ...]

/m/: [+sonorant, +consonantal, -continuant, +nasal, Labial ...]

Here, two features attract our attention: they are [+round] for /o/, and [Labial] for /m/. Although the feature [round] denotes lip-rounding of vowels and consonants and [Labial] is classified as a place-of-articulation feature, it is evident that they are closely related to each other because both are pertinent to the "lips". Spencer (1996) defines [Labial] as "a unary feature. Sounds marked with this feature involve a constriction of the lips to give either a labial (labiodental) consonant or a rounded vowel/glide." Let us examine the relationship between the two features in the hierarchical organization of the distinctive feature system. In traditional articulation-oriented versions of feature geometry, [Labial] is a controller of [round] and [round] is a dependent of [Labial] as in (8).⁵

(8) Relationship between [Labial] and [round]

```

Labial
 |
[round]

```

This representation implies that if a segment is specified as [+round], then it necessarily must be [Labial] (but not *vice versa*). Therefore, /o/ is redundantly specified as [Labial] because it is specified as [+round]. Then, /o/ and /m/ share "labiality."

The relationship between the two features is more straightforward in other types of feature geometry. For example, consider the geometric representation which allows full integration between vowels and consonants, as the one proposed in Lahiri and Evers (1991). They postulate a node named "Articulators" attached to the PLACE node, which consists of [Labial], [Coronal] and [Dorsal] as in generic types of geometry. However, each articulator dominates both consonants and vowels. [Labial] governs labial consonants and rounded vowels. Thus, this type of geometry allows full interaction between /o/ and /m/. Still in another type of feature geometry called the Unified Feature Theory proposed by Odden (1991), Clements and Hume (1995), and Hume (1996) which departs

5 For some proposals of this generic type, see Sagey 1986 and Halle 1995.

rather radically from the articulation-oriented model, rounding of vowels is equivalent to the labiality of consonants, which makes the distance between /o/ and /m/ much closer (Uffmann 2011). We can conclude this section by arguing that the representations of /o/ and /m/ are interrelated with each other by the feature [Labial], even though the proposed models differ in their theoretical implications.

5. PHONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Assuming that a close interconnection exists between /o/ and /m/ in terms of the feature [Labial], why is the target /o/ replaced by /m/? After all, the former is a vowel, while the latter is a consonant and the great difference in phonetic characteristics is still indisputable and should not be overlooked. In this section we discuss this problem from an Optimality-Theoretic perspective.

There are some features which differentiate /o/ from /m/ as we have seen in (7). However, what draws a sharp line between these two segments is consonantality; /o/ is specified as [-consonantal], whereas /m/ is [+consonantal]. Now, let us posit a faithfulness constraint which urges the input /o/ specified as [-consonantal] to surface in the output. We will call it "Faith (consonantal)." Oppositely, we can posit a markedness constraint "*Labial vowel" which militates against the realization of a labial vowel. Given the evidence of substitution, the marked constraint *Labial vowel outranks the faithfulness constraint Faith (consonantal) in the child's phonological system as in (9).

(9) Constraint ranking

*Labial vowel >> Faith (consonantal)

The replacement of /o/ by [m] in the first form in (1) is illustrated below by the tableau in (10), which basically takes care of the other misproduced forms in (1) and (6).

(10) Tableau for the substitution of /o/ by [m] in / to.ra/

Candidates	*Labial vowel	Faith (consonantal)
ɹ̥tm.ra		*
to.ra	*!	

6. DISCUSSION

The constraint ranking in (9) yields an interesting outcome. First, not only does it induce segmentally deviant forms, but it also results in a syllable nucleus filled by a nasal consonant, which is not normally permitted in the Japanese phonological system. The second and a related point is that it triggers CC sequences which are also not allowed in Japanese. See examples like [tm] in [tm.ra] and [ni.uqa.tm.ri], and [km] in [ta.km] in

(1). This prosodic or phonotactic violation renders the child's system as deviating from that of adults or normally-developing children. Put differently, respecting *Labial vowel which is ranked lower in the normal system victimizes these important constraints which are observed in Japanese phonology. Let us call the two constraints *Consonant nucleus and *Tautosyllabic CC respectively as in (11).

(11) Two prosodic/phonotactic constraints

*Consonant nucleus: A syllable nucleus filled by a consonant is disallowed.

*Tautosyllabic CC: A sequence of two consonants within a syllable is banned.

Presented in (12) below is a tableau which includes these two constraints.

(12) A more detailed tableau for the substitution of /o/ by /m/ in /to.ra/

Candidates	*Labial vowel	Faith (consonantal)	*Consonant nucleus	*Tautosyllabic CC
tm.ra		*	*	*
to.ra	*!			

To summarize, this child retains the *Labial vowel, which is tantamount to saying that he cannot produce a rounded vowel in the back, mid region of the vowel space. However, roundedness is a redundant property in this case because /o/ has no contrasting unrounded counterpart. Therefore the child could have opted to substitute /o/ with unrounded /ɤ/ without violating the above three constraints. If so, he would sacrifice labiality of the vowel alone, which would result in the child system appearing much more normal. The cause of this apparently idiosyncratic misarticulation, then, can be reduced to only one irregular constraint incidentally ranked higher at one point of acquisition but "stubbornly refusing to demote" in the child's phonological system when the system is supposed to develop. It should be pointed out that the nature of misarticulation has to do with which alternative the child selects when the target is not available. Besides counting on the bilabial nasal, there are other ways to retain labiality. For example, bilabial plosives, both voice and voiceless, and the voiceless bilabial fricative are possible alternatives. However, the fact that the child did not choose either of these alternatives suggests that he is choosing the closest segment in feature specification not realizing the specification [-consonantal]. The voiceless bilabial plosive [p] and the fricative [ɸ] would be specified to the contrary in sonorance and voicing and the voiced plosive [b] again in sonorance. In a sense the child is faithful to the input specifications except that he sacrifices the proper specification in consonantality.

Finally, it is discussed that this case should be a focus of attention all the more because Stemberger (2007) discusses a similar case in English. Based on his previous work (Stemberger, Berhardt and Johnson 1999), he introduces a child who produces the following forms.

(13) A case presented in Stemberger (2007)

Phonetic forms	Target forms	Gloss
[bwək]	[buk]	book
[nɔ:m]	[nou]	No

In this case also, the child cannot produce the back, rounded vowels. What this child does is to compensate for it by adding a rounded glide or nasal around the nucleus. Stemberger (2007) claims that in most dialects of English, the rounding of vowels is not very important, because there are no unrounded counterparts; adult speakers routinely reduce rounding to almost nothing when smiling, with no effects on intelligibility, but that children who have no rounded vowels shift labiality off the vowel in ways that impact negatively on intelligibility (Stemberger 2007:48). The child retains labiality at the sacrifice of the target syllable structure; the retention of labiality results in creating a complex onset in the first form and a coda in the second where they should not be. The misarticulation in (13) is another case in which deviant forms are caused by preserving an unusual feature specification. This case suggests that the persistence of such irregular specifications in phonological development is cross-linguistically one common source of functional speech disorders. Lastly, it should be noted that some such cases would be clinically confusing without the phonological underpinnings discussed here.

7. CONCLUSION

In this study, we have discussed the phonological system of a child who replaces the target /o/ with [m] owing to a constraint which prohibits the phonetic property of labiality to surface in a vowel. It is indeed a very rare case but the real idiosyncrasy may not be the substitution pattern itself, but the way the irregular feature specification is retained. Though the labiality or roundedness of /o/ is a redundant feature in Japanese in terms of intelligibility, it is nonetheless retained at the sacrifice of vowel/ consonant distinction. This conclusion is arrived at as a natural consequence of constraint-based phonological analysis with hierarchical organization of the feature system. It is also suggested that retention of non-adult-like feature specifications is cross-linguistically a common underlying source of functional misarticulation and that the resulting production can be clinically confusing.

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SUMMARY

RETENTION OF AN IRREGULAR FEATURE SPECIFICATION AS A SOURCE OF FUNCTIONAL MISARTICULATION

The present study attempts to analyze the phonological system of a Japanese-speaking child with a very idiosyncratic functional (non-organic) speech disorder, wherein a target back rounded vowel is always replaced by a bilabial nasal. First, I examine the feature specifications of the two segments and argue that they share a phonological feature [Labial] in the hierarchical organization of distinctive features. Focusing on the substitution pattern and its theoretical consequence under Optimality Theory, I then discuss that in the child’s system a markedness constraint which prohibits a labial vowel outranks opposing faithfulness constraints, resulting in the appearance of the target vowel being replaced by the labial nasal; the substitution is triggered by wrong specifications of the related features. I further argue that the constraint ranking results in creating illegitimate prosodic structures, as well as misproduction of the target segment *per se*. Finally, it is suggested that the retention of such irregular feature specifications in phonological development is common across languages and that it can be a source of functional misarticulation.

KEYWORDS: phonological development, speech disorder, functional misarticulation, feature geometry, Optimality Theory.

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■ PERCEPTUAL ASSIMILATION OF SSBE VOWELS BY TERTIARY-LEVEL BULGARIAN STUDENTS

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U radu se predstavljaju rezultati testa perceptualne asimilacije čiji je cilj bio da oceni i utvrdi perceptualnu sličnost vokalskih kategorija u standardnom južnobritanskom engleskom i u bugarskom jeziku onako kako ih čuju bugarski studenti na univerzitetskom nivou, kao i da ih uporedi sa onim koje bi artikulaciono-fonetske sličnosti i inače predvidele. Test je pokazao da su ispitanici bili u stanju da dodele sve engleske vokale bugarskim kategorijama pomoću kvantitativnih, kvalitativnih i drugih sličnosti. Rezultati su pokazali da model perceptualne asimilacije (eng. PAM) može da objasni obrasce asimilacije većine engleskih vokala, koji su mapirani na tipove asimilacije u PAM-u. Ova studija je osmišljena da olakša dalje istraživanje produkcije vokala standardnog južnobritanskog engleskog i bugarskog jezika kod istih učenika, kao i da utvrdi u kojoj meri obrasci perceptualne asimilacije mogu predvideti poteškoće sa kojima se L2 učenici susreću pri usvajanju vokala standardnog južnobritanskog engleskog.

Ključne reči: perceptualna asimilacija, kategorizacija, vokali, tip asimilacije, uspešnost predviđanja modela.

1. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the problems that adult second language (L2) learners encounter in acquiring a new phonological system have been well documented and have increased the interest in studying the perception of non-native speech sounds. Cross-language identification and discrimination studies have demonstrated the influence of L1 phonology on L2 perception. That is, L2 learners' perception of L2 phonetic segments differs from that of native speakers because these segments have been processed

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through the system of L1 phonology, resulting in accented speech production. In his Speech Learning Model (SLM), Flege (1995) claims that continuing problems with accented production of L2 sounds can be attributed to a large extent to L2 learner's perception of the L2 sounds as equivalent to similar sounds in the native language (L1). That is, if the phones of the target language (L2) are sufficiently similar to the phones of the native language (L1), they will be perceptually assimilated to these native categories, with the result that both L1 and L2 segments are produced differently from native monolingual speakers' utterances. On the other hand, if L2 sounds are perceived as 'new', i.e. sufficiently dissimilar from any L1 category, the production of the L2 segments will become more native-like, because the L2 learner establishes distinct L1 and L2 phonetic categories.

Best's Perceptual Assimilation Model (PAM: Best 1995) was originally developed to predict perceptual assimilation of non-native sounds by naïve listeners. Like Flege, she invokes the concept of cross-language phonetic similarity to predict the relative difficulties that listeners will have in perceptual differentiation of non-native segmental contrasts. Although PAM relates specifically to cross-language speech perception, the relevance of PAM's predictions to L2 learners' speech perception has been outlined in Best and Tyler's (2007) version of PAM extended to L2 learners (PAM-L2). In this paper, the authors discuss some of the commonalities and complementarities with the Speech Learning Model (SLM). Best (1995: 195) describes several patterns of perceptual assimilation of L2 segments to L1 phonological categories, which are determined by the perceived phonetic similarity of L1 and L2 segments. In the Two-Category (TC) pattern two L2 segments are assimilated to two different L1 categories, which makes them easy to discriminate. Two L2 segments which are judged as equally good instances of a single L1 category establish a Single-Category pattern (SC). The sounds that fall into this pattern will be most difficult to differentiate. Moreover, if contrasting L2 segments differ in their judged goodness as instances of a single L1 category (Category-Goodness pattern), they will present intermediate levels of perceptual difficulty. Finally, when one member of an L2 contrast is Categorized and the other Uncategorized, the two phones will be relatively easy to discriminate.

According to both PAM and SLM the pattern of initial perceptual problems and persistent learning difficulties adult L2 learners have in mastering the L2 phonological system is determined to a large extent by the perceived similarity of segments of L1 and L2. Therefore, in order to predict L2 learning difficulties more accurately, it is essential that cross-language perceptual similarity be established, independent of identification or discrimination performance. Measuring perceptual similarity is not an easy task because there is no widely-accepted method and most studies rely on the more or less subjective judgement of the participants. Listeners are presented with utterances and are asked to make a judgement on similarity. Different studies use different methods, each of them with its advantages and disadvantages. In some of the studies listeners were presented with instances of a non-native speech sound and then asked to orthographically transcribe the sound in terms of the closest native speech sound. They might also be asked to judge the sound qualitatively by saying how similar or dissimilar it is to the native sound or they were sometimes

even expected to say that what they had heard didn't sound like speech (Best, et al. 2001: 782). Flege and his colleagues (Flege, et al. 1994: 3628) presented listeners with an example of a non-native and a native sound and then asked them to rate on a nine-point Likert scale whether the two sounds were 'very similar' or 'very dissimilar' to one another. In more recent studies, perceptual similarity has been assessed directly, using a perceptual assimilation task in which listeners are presented non-native segments with a choice of predetermined orthographic labels and asked to categorize the non-native sounds they hear with respect to which native category they are most similar and to rate their "category goodness" as exemplars of the chosen categories (e.g., Strange, et al. 2004; Strange, et al. 2005; Gilichinskaya and Strange 2010). PAM determines the assimilation patterns of L2 learners based on articulatory-phonetic similarities between the L1 and the target language L2 (Best, et al. 2001: 785). Following Best and her colleagues, in the study reported here, the perceptual similarity of SSBE (Standard Southern British English) and Bulgarian vowel categories as heard by experienced Bulgarian tertiary-level students was assessed and related to those predicted by the articulatory-phonetic similarities between the two languages.

The vocalic system of standard Bulgarian is relatively simple. It has no distinction based on phonological quantity, i.e. there are no long and short vowels. Stress plays an important role in the realization of Bulgarian vowels and it is generally accepted that the full inventory of six vowels /i, e, a, ɔ, u, ə/ can be found only in stressed syllables, while in unstressed syllables these are reduced to a subsystem of four (three in some dialects) /i, (ɛ), ə, u/. The six Bulgarian vocalic phonemes are evenly distributed in the vowel space and are classified traditionally in terms of:

- the degree of raising of the tongue
- the position of the lips during the articulation
- the part of the tongue which participates in the articulation
- tongue-root position

In terms of the degree of raising of the tongue, Bulgarian vowels are divided into three major categories: high, mid, and low. The high vowels are /i, u, ə/, the mid vowels are /ɛ, ɔ/, and /a/ is the low vowel. Vowels are also classified as rounded /ɔ, u/ and unrounded /i, e, a, ə/ according to the position of the lips during the articulation and as narrow /i, u, ə/ and wide /ɛ, ɔ, a/ regarding the tongue-root position. Bulgarian vowels are traditionally classified as front /i, ε/ and back /a, ɔ, u, ə/ depending on the part of the tongue that participates in their articulation (Tilkov 1982), but more recent research shows that /a, ə/ are rather central than back (Zhobov 2004) or that especially "/ə/ is located robustly midway between /ε/ and /ɔ/" (Andreeva, et al. 2013: 348) and is classified as mid-central.

Andreeva et al. (2013: 346) have found the following patterns of reduction of the vowels in unstressed syllables: front vowels /i, ε/ are not reduced; /i/ does not change while /ε/ shows significant raising but does not merge with either stressed or unstressed /i/. Unstressed /a/ is raised and merges with stressed /ə/, but unstressed /ə/ is also raised and remains distinct from unstressed /a/. The back vowels follow a similar pattern to

that of the mid-central vowels. Unstressed /ɔ/ is raised and is no longer distinct from stressed /u/. Further, /u/ in an unstressed syllable is raised but remains distinct from /ɔ/ in an unstressed syllable, though, as an already high vowel, it does not have the same scope for raising as unstressed /ɜ/. Thus it is not significantly different from /u/ in a stressed syllable. In addition there is a systematic correspondence between phonetics and orthography for stressed vowels in Bulgarian.

The present study addresses the following questions:

Q1: How do Bulgarian participants perceptually assimilate English pure vowels to the six vowel qualities of their L1 phonological inventory?

Q2: What are the predicted difficult contrasts within the PAM framework?

2. METHODS

Ten female and seven male Bulgarian first year university students, whose major is English philology, took part in the Perceptual Assimilation Task (PAT). In order to have a homogenous group of participants, they were chosen to have the same regional background and no exposure to English in an English speaking community. They speak standard urban variety typical for the northern part of Bulgaria and they reported that they had not studied or lived abroad. All subjects have had English formal education in their native country for an average of nine years. The students' age was between 18 and 31, the majority of them being between 18 and 20. All participants signed an informed consent form.

Stimuli were produced by a female native speaker of SSBE born and raised in the south-eastern part of England, who is a professor of phonetics at a university in the south-eastern part of England. A set of monosyllabic /CVC/ words were read from a numbered list. For each of the English vowels, with the exception of the centring diphthongs, five real English words were chosen, most of them given by Wells (1982) as examples of the vowels in the standard lexical sets, while others are similar to his examples (see Table 1 for the list of the words used for each vowel). The target words were put in the phrase "say.....again". The speaker produced five randomized repetitions of the 16 vowels from the list, from which the five tokens of the eleven pure vowels (/i:/, /ɪ/, /e/, /æ/, /ɑ:/, /ʌ/, /ɒ/, /ɔ:/, /ɜ:/, /ʊ/, /u:/), were used for this experiment (11 vowels x 5 repetitions = 55 tokens). The list of responses was composed of nine possible alternatives written in standard Bulgarian orthography and included a full list of L1 vowel categories (/i/, /e/, /a/, /ɔ/, /u/, /ɜ/). Bulgarian sequences of vowels and glides /ij/, /ej/, and /ɔj/, which are diphthong-like sounds, were also added to the list because some English diphthongs were predicted to map to them.

i:	Speak, beat, heed, sea, deep
ɪ	Ship, sick, pit, bid, him
e	Beg, set, bed, friend, step
æ	Tap, sat, bad, hat, can
ɑ:	Ask, park, heart, farm, lark
ʌ	Cup, nut, gun, pub, fund
ɜ:	Hurt, burn, purse, search, term
ʊ	Put, bush, look, cook, shook
u :	Soup, tomb, moon, move, tooth
ɔ:	Saw, taught, bought, short, fought
ɒ	Sock, pot, dock, dot, shop

Table 1: List of English words representing English vowels which were used as stimuli for the PAT

Testing was carried out in a quiet room. Stimuli were presented using a trial version of Paradigm 4.0 (Tagliaferri 2005). The participants were informed that they were going to listen to words containing SSBE vowels and that these words will be presented in the phrase 'say.....again'. The participants were directed to listen to the target English word and select the Bulgarian/L1 vowel category to which each English vowel was most similar. After a Bulgarian vowel category was selected, the participants were asked to rate its category goodness of fit as a good example of the Bulgarian/ L1 vowel category on a 9-point scale. This scale reflected the perceived similarity between the English and Bulgarian sound: 1-3 were treated as different, 4-6 were different but shared some properties and 7-9 were similar. The participants were allowed to listen to the target English word as many times as they needed. Once they decided and gave the category goodness of fit rating for their choice, they moved to the next item.

3. RESULTS AND DATA ANALYSIS

The classifications and categorisations of each participant were pooled into a confusion matrix of all English and Bulgarian vowels, i.e. a table that includes all possible categorisations between Bulgarian and SSBE vowels. After that these categories were analysed using PAM categories (Best 1995).

The number of responses of the Bulgarian participants was calculated for each English vowel. Table 2 presents the confusion matrix of the vowels under investigation. It presents the percentages and average goodness of fit ratings for the categorisation of each English vowel. It also shows the total number of responses for each vowel.

As can be seen from the table, SSBE vowels /ɪ, ɜ:, ɒ, ɑ:, ʊ, u:/ were assimilated most consistently to corresponding Bulgarian vowels, whereas the other five vowels yielded less consistent modal responses. These patterns of group consistency are a reflection of the individual responses of the participants. Although all English vowels are categorised quite clearly as particular Bulgarian phonological vowel categories, median ratings of goodness of fit are not consistently high. Whereas we can say that for the vowels /ɪ/, /ʊ/, /e/, /ɒ/ and /æ/ they are high, around 6, for the rest they are low, around 4, which means that the participants do not find them very similar to their native language category.

SSBE vowels	/i/	/e/	/a/	/ɔ/	/u/	/ɜ/	/ejɜ/	/ijɜ/	/ɔja/	NUM of responses
i:	29 (4.4)							71 (4.7)		85
ɪ	100 (6.1)									85
E		91 (6.2)					9 (4.8)			85
Æ		2 (3.5)	98 (6.4)							85
ʌ			63 (4.2)			37 (4.7)				85
ɜ:						100 (4.1)				85
ɑ:			100 (3.8)							85
ɒ				100 (6.2)						85
ɔ:				93 (3.9)				7 (4.3)		85
ʊ					100 (6.0)					85
u:					100 (3.8)					85

Table 2 Percentages of categorization, median goodness of fit ratings, total number of responses

According to PAM the assimilation patterns of L2 learners are based on the articulatory-phonetic similarities between L1 and the target language L2 (Best et al. 2001: 785). The differences and similarities between SSBE vowels and Bulgarian vowels can be determined based on their articulatory-phonetic characteristics. SSBE /i:/, a high, front, long vowel and /ɪ/, a mid-high, more central, but close to the front, short vowel are expected to be categorised as the Bulgarian vowel /i/, which has similar

articulatory-phonetic characteristics. The predicted equivalent of SSBE /e/ vowel from the mid, front area is the Bulgarian /ɛ/ sound and that of SSBE /ɜ:/ sound belonging to the mid, central area is Bulgarian /ɜ/. SSBE vowels /æ, ʌ/ which occupy the area between mid-low and low, /æ/ being more front and /ʌ/ more central together with the open, back /ɑ:/ vowel will be categorised as Bulgarian /a/ sound. The low, back SSBE vowel /ɒ/ and the long mid back /ɔ:/ vowel and the mid-high back short /ʊ/ and high back long /u:/ will have respectively Bulgarian /ɔ/ and /u/ sounds as their equivalents. The group model responses obtained in the perceptual assimilation task, with the exception of SSBE /i:/ sound, correspond with these predictions. The majority of the students have mapped this sound to a combination of Bulgarian /i/ sound and a glide beginning with /j/ with a comparatively high goodness of fit rating (4.7). This might be interpreted in two ways: (1) as a way to account for the length of the vowel or (2) a sign for their perception of the diphthongal quality of this sound in SSBE. This sound is also mapped, though by a much smaller number of students, to Bulgarian /i/ sound with a slightly lower rating of 4.4. English /i/ is categorised by all the participants as the Bulgarian /i/ sound with a high goodness of fit rate. These two vowels match the description of PAM CG (Category Goodness) assimilation type because both are categorised as Bulgarian /i/ with SSBE /ɪ/ being closer to Bulgarian /i/ in terms of number of responses 100% and the goodness of fit rating (6.1).

The back mid-high and high vowels /ʊ/ and /u:/ are categorised as Bulgarian /u/ sound by 100% of the participants in the experiment but with different goodness of fit rate. The short vowel has a high rate of 6.0 and the long one a low rate of 3.8. Thus they belong to PAM's CG (Category Goodness) assimilation type.

English /æ/ and /ɑ:/ sounds are both categorised into a single L1 category, though their ratings are different. The participants in the experiment gave a high rating for /æ/, 6.4 and a low one for /ɑ:/, 3.8. In PAM terms, this would constitute a CG assimilation contrast.

On the other hand, the SSBE vowel /ʌ/ is categorised mostly as Bulgarian /a/ and has relatively high goodness of fit rate. However, a great number of the stimuli containing this vowel were categorised as Bulgarian /ɜ/ with the same goodness of fit rating, which shows that English /ʌ/ sound shares some properties with Bulgarian /ɜ/ sound though it is categorized mostly as Bulgarian /a/. In this case English /ʌ/ and /ɜ:/ match PAM's description CG assimilation type because both are categorised as Bulgarian /ɜ/ with English /ɜ:/ being closer to Bulgarian /ɜ/ in terms of mostly number of responses 100%.

Both vowels /ɒ/ and /ɔ:/ are categorised as Bulgarian /ɔ/, the former with a high goodness of fit rating (6.2) and the latter with a low one (3.9). This puts them into CG type of assimilation.

4. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to establish perceived similarity patterns of SSBE vowels to native categories by Bulgarian first year university students who were experienced listeners with a view to predicting the difficulties they might encounter in the production of the sounds. As can be seen from the analysis of the results, all English

vowel contrasts can be considered as PAM CG assimilation type. The PAM prediction for this type of contrast is that learners will discriminate the L2 contrast but not as well as a TC (Two Category) assimilation type. It also predicts that a new phonetic and phonological category will be formed for the deviant L2 vowels /i:, u:, ɑ:, ʌ, ɔ:/ whereas vowels which were perceived as good examples of L1 categories /ɪ, e, ɜ:, ʊ, ɒ, æ/ will be phonetically and phonologically perceived similar to L1 categories and no new category is likely to be formed.

The PAT showed that the participants were able to fit all English vowels into Bulgarian categories, using any detected quantitative, qualitative or feature similarities. The results showed that PAM accounts for the assimilation patterns of most English vowels, which were mapped to PAM assimilation types.

Research is underway that examines the production patterns of SSBE and Bulgarian vowels by these same students to determine to what extent the perceptual assimilation patterns can predict difficulties L2 learners encounter in the acquisition of the vowel sounds of Standard Southern British English.

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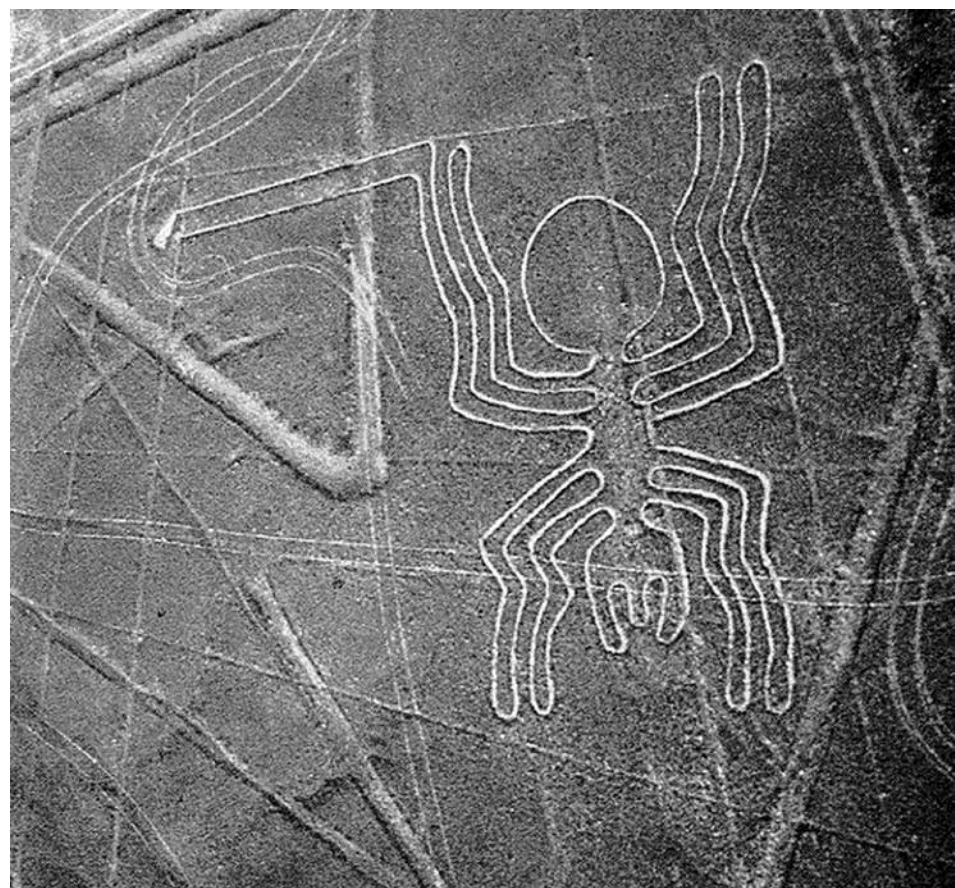
SUMMARY

PERCEPTUAL ASSIMILATION OF SSBE VOWELS BY TERTIARY-LEVEL BULGARIAN STUDENTS

The paper presents the results of a Perceptual Assimilation Task whose aim was to assess and establish the perceptual similarity of SSBE and Bulgarian vowel categories as heard by experienced Bulgarian tertiary-level students and to relate them to those predicted by the articulatory-phonetic similarities between the vowel systems of the two languages. The PAT showed that the participants were able to fit all English vowels into Bulgarian categories, using any detected quantitative, qualitative or feature similarities. The results showed that PAM accounts for the assimilation patterns of most English vowels, which were mapped to PAM assimilation types. The study is designed to help further research that examines the production patterns of SSBE and Bulgarian vowels by these same students to determine to what extent the perceptual assimilation patterns can predict difficulties L2 learners encounter in the acquisition of the vowel sounds of Standard Southern British English.

KEYWORDS: perceptual assimilation, categorisation, vowels, assimilation type, goodness of fit.

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■ POLITENESS IS DISTANCE – SERBIAN REQUESTS THROUGH THE MIRROR OF THE COGNITIVE SPEECH ACT SCENARIO MODEL

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Cilj ovog rada predstavlja testiranje uspešnosti primene kognitivnog modela „scenarija“ i teorije propozicionalnog idealizovanog kognitivnog modela u analizi značenja govornog čina zahteva u srpskom jeziku koji je u odnosu na druge žive jezike, bez obzira na široku zastupljenost govornog čina zahteva u pragmatičkim, sociolingvističkim i kognitivnim istraživanjima, ostao nedovoljno istražen. U okviru analize korpusa zasnovane na kognitivnom teorijskom modelu interpretacije značenja indirektnih govornih činova, tzv. „scenarija“ analiziraju se i diskutuju odnosi blizine/udaljenosti između impliciranih komponenti scenarija, uz osvrt na pragmatičke efekte učtivosti ostvarene upotrebom određenih indirektnih jezičkih sredstava u kontekstima osetljivim na socio-kulturološke varijable distance, moći i težine zahteva. Kada je reč o fenomenu učtivosti, ustanovićemo na osnovu dominantnih komponenti „scenarija“ da li govornici srpskog jezika pokazuju tendencije ka „pozitivnoj“ ili „negativnoj“ učtivosti.

Ključne reči: indirektni govorni činovi, scenario, idealizovani kognitivni modeli, učtivost, govorni čin zahteva.

1. INTRODUCTION

The process of inference of meaning of *Indirect Speech Acts (ISA)*² has occupied the attention of language philosophers and linguists from the early pragmatic research work of Searle to contemporary 'relevance' and 'cognitive' theoretical studies. After a short review of the most prominent theories of inference and their influence on how

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2 The abbreviation ISA will be applied throughout the paper for the sake of the space economy.

ISAs are understood by cognitive linguistics, we explain the metonymic motivation of meaning interpretation of ISAs through the *Model of Speech Act Scenario* by Panther & Thornburg (2004: 104). Finally, we elaborate on the *Theory of Propositional Idealised Cognitive Models (ICMs³)* in order to determine if these models are applicable to the analysis of Serbian requests.

Within the analytical section, we discuss the distance relations between utterances and the 'core' components of speech act scenarios, thus reflecting the metaphor '*Politeness is Distance*', which explains how the effect of politeness is achieved through greater conceptual distance from the central components. According to the most prevalent scenario components, we shall point out Serbian speakers' tendencies towards either 'positive' or 'negative politeness' (Brown & Levinson 1987). The analysis is extended with the assessment of sociocultural variables of power, distance and ranking, which, according to *Face Saving Theory*, have a significant impact on the communicative event (Brown & Levinson 1987). Finally, we shall critically observe the suitability of application of the two cognitive models with respect to both pragmatically conventionalised and non-conventionalised ISAs in the corpus of Serbian requests.

2. FROM PRAGMATIC TO COGNITIVE APPROACHES TO THE INFERENCE OF MEANING OF ISAS

The process of inference, that is, the process of recognition and identification of the speaker's communicative intention has been widely explored by pragmatically and cognitively oriented researchers.

For the proponents of pragmatics, led by Searle and Grice, inference was seen as a process of meaning interpretation based on the literally conveyed content and linguistic and extralinguistic context of the utterance. Grice went further to develop principles of rational cooperative linguistic behaviour subsumed under the *Cooperative Principle*, including four principal maxims, the caterpillars of inferential process, which refer to the truthfulness, informativeness, relevance and accuracy of the utterance – *Maxim of Quality, Maxim of Quantity, Maxim of Relevance* and *Maxim of Manner* (Horn 2005: 3-4).

On the other hand, relevance theorists, Sperber and Wilson (2005: 3), define inference in terms of the *Cognitive Principle of Relevance* as a cognitive process operating in the interpretation of speech act meanings as spontaneous and automatic process, geared to the maximisation of the relevance of the propositional content, which combines with an appropriate set of contextual assumptions eventually leading to an intended conclusion.

Unlike the former theorists, contemporary linguists of cognitive orientation argue that these abstract principles of conversation and relevance are insufficient as descriptions of the pathways of meaning interpretation on the part of the interlocutors, and advocate an intermediate level of inferential principles – metonymies. Panther and Thornburg (1998, 2003, 2004) regard metonymy as a mediating process in the determination of explicit meaning (*explicature*) and implicit meaning (*implicature*). Metonymic relations are manifested through contextually associated links between the

3 For the sake of economy the abbreviation ICM will be applied throughout the paper.

source and the target meaning, that is, between ISAs and their direct counterparts. In order to understand the metonymic link the 'PART OF A SPEECH ACT FOR THE SPEECH ACT ITSELF' which underlies the speech act scenario (Panther & Thornburg 2004: 104), we shall describe ISAs in terms of three mutually related cognitive perspectives - *construction grammar, speech act scenario and propositional ICM*.

3. INDIRECT SPEECH ACTS FROM THE COGNITIVE PERSPECTIVE

In contrast with the Searlean and some modern cognitive approaches to indirect speech acts, including the *Principle of Indirect Means* (Frajzyngier & Jirsa 2006: 513-520) which put emphasis exclusively on the relation between the formal linguistic realisation and the illocutionary force of an act, the construction-based and scenario-based approach both define an ISA as a construction in terms of its unpredictable features and its metonymic links to its salient direct counterpart.

3.1 Indirect Speech Acts from the Perspective of Construction Grammar

The fundamental tenet of construction grammar defines construction as a form-meaning pair where certain aspects of form or meaning are not strictly predictable from the components of construction or from previously established constructions (Goldberg 2003: 219). Meaning is understood in its broadest sense, encompassing both semantically and pragmatically induced meanings. From the construction-based view, indirect speech acts, primarily conventionalised ones, are considered to have the status of a construction. Indirect speech acts of request such as *Can you X?*, take the form of questions, but are, in fact, uttered as requests. Therefore, following the principles of unpredictable properties, conventionalised speech acts are characterised by unpredictable illocutionary force and meaning if compared to their direct counterparts, which accounts for their status as constructions. Other unpredictable formal properties of indirect speech acts of request include the possibility of sentence-internal addition of request markers like *please* and *kindly*, conditional modals in constructions *Will you X?* *Would you X?*, expressing politeness rather than conditionality, and subordinate clauses stating the reason for the request in the preposition (Stefanowitsch 2003: 113-116).

Relying on unpredictable formal distinctions as defined within the construction-based approach, the theory of speech act scenarios based on metonymic links explains the motivation of meaning interpretation of conventionalised indirect speech acts.

3.2 Speech Act Scenario Model

Taking ISAs as constructions with unpredictable properties into account, Panther and Thornburg (1998, 2003, 2004) have developed a theory of ISAs as scenarios which essentially represent idealised cognitive models of certain culturally entrenched activities that include the event itself and knowledge about the preconditions and

results of this event (*schema of event*). The scenario consists of four componential parts which partly correspond to Searle's felicity conditions. For example, the scenario of a speech act of request includes the following components – the *BEFORE* component which states preconditions and motivations for performing a request (H⁴ can do A – background; S wants H to do A – motivation), the *CORE* component refers to the essential features of the request (S puts H under a more or less strong obligation to do A), the *RESULT* component states the immediate pragmatic outcome of the felicitous performance of a request (H is under an obligation to do A), and the *AFTER* component describes the intended consequences of the realisation of the propositional content of the request (H will do A). Occasionally but not necessarily, when the realisation of the request evokes some emotional response in the speaker, such as gratitude, relief, etc., the *AFTER* subpart may be followed by another part, the *CONSEQUENCES*. The component arrangement within the scenario structure reflects conceptual distance from the *CORE* component, or among the components themselves. This connection with the *CORE* component is marked by three branches – the *Presuppositional Branch*, containing existential and ability presuppositions; the *Motivational Branch*, containing the speaker's wish for the realisation of the act and the *Realisation Branch* which refers to the satisfaction of conditions of the speech act, its realisation and the consequences (Panther & Thornburg 2003: 130).

This abstract cognitive model can be combined with cognitive models of different events, depending on the situation and the specific content of the request. For instance, if S asks H to give him⁵ something, then both S and H need to share a '*GIVE schema*' – mutual knowledge about giving events and their participants, '*a giver*', '*a recipient*', and '*a thing given*'. This schema has to be integrated into the abstract scenario of a speech act of request (Stefanowitsch 2003: 117). The knowledge including presuppositions about the thing given – that it exists and that the giver has access to it, as well as that the recipient wants to have it, will be integrated with the *BEFORE* component. Knowledge about the act of giving will be incorporated into the *CORE* and the *RESULT*, while the consequences of such an act, the recipient having access to the thing given, will be subsumed under the *AFTER* component.

In spite of the complexity of the scenario which seems to embrace the whole linguistic and extralinguistic context, some authors claim that the scenario model fails to account for the pragmatic effects of politeness/impoliteness which particularly manifest themselves in indirect requests (Perez Hernandez and Ruiz de Mendoza 2002).

3.3 Propositional ICM as a Reflection of Politeness Effects

Perez Hernandez & Ruiz de Mendoza (2002: 259-267) believe that several semantic features of indirect directives have been neglected by the approach based

4 Another set of abbreviations will be included in both the theoretical and analytical part: H (Hearer), S (Speaker), and A (Act).

5 Since the gender of the participants in the communicative events is not relevant to the analysis at hand, we shall treat both the speaker and the hearer as of masculine gender for the sake of clarity and coherence, except for the cases in the analytical section where it is evident from the verb form in the example that the speaker is 'she'.

entirely and exclusively on speech act scenarios. These two authors suggest that the scenarios should be elaborated and integrated into a more general type of knowledge organisation structure, the so-called propositional ICMs (Perez Hernandez and Ruiz de Mendoza 2002: 264).

The propositional ICM is supposed to include the parameters – *cost-benefit*, as an assessment of the cost and/or benefit that the action A involves for the speaker and/or the hearer; *optionality*, as an assessment of the degree of optionality conveyed by a speech act, that is, the degree to which the speech act restricts the addressee's freedom to decide whether or not to carry out the requested action, and *power*, as an assessment of the power relationship that needs to hold between the speakers in order to be able to perform a speech act. The ICM of a request includes the following components as well: the act represents a cost to the hearer and a benefit to the speaker; high optionality implying politeness and the power relation between the interlocutors is considered immaterial (Perez Hernandez and Ruiz de Mendoza 2002: 264).

The aim of this article is to verify the application of the cognitive theory encompassing a speech act scenario, an event schema and a propositional ICM as a conceptual tool for interpreting ISAs of requests with a view to the politeness effects produced by the conceptual distance between the components of the scenario and the mutual impact of sociocultural variables within a communicative event.

4. METHODOLOGY

The examples were collected by means of a *Discourse Completion Test (DCT)* completed by 70 adult native speakers of Serbian, among whom 84% have a university degree and 16% a high school diploma. The average age of the respondents is 35. We have chosen this method regardless of its alleged downsides, related to artificial language production, because it provides sufficient diversity of instances susceptible to analysis, particularly in terms of politeness effects.

The test was designed to investigate the role of social variables in the request formulation, the request being directly intertwined with pragmatic notions of face and politeness (Brown & Levinson 1987). It is important to emphasise that a special distinction has been made between two types of requests – those requiring an action on the part of the hearer and therefore a change in the denotative referent space, and the requests for information underlain by the identification of the referent on the part of the hearer who is expected to provide a verbal act (Popović 2005: 994).

Taking the formerly mentioned issues into consideration, the test consists of six situations typical of Serbian culture and social practice, each of which implies a particular social variable or different linguistic medium. Moreover, it is essential to point out that our interests do not spread beyond the qualitative analysis of the formal and semantic properties of the requests according to the speech act scenario. However, since the scenario model fails to account for the particular politeness effects produced by the linguistic content of certain utterances, those utterances will be analysed within the propositional ICM model.

5. ANALYSIS OF THE SCENARIO COMPONENTS OF THE SPEECH ACT OF A REQUEST

In this section of the article, we are going to analyse various examples of the speech act of a request by means of identifying the components of the scenario and pointing out its conceptual distance from the *CORE* component, thus reflecting the prototypical nature of the request itself and the metonymic link 'PART OF A SPEECH ACT FOR THE SPEECH ACT ITSELF'. We are going to explain the situations which served as social contexts for realisation of the speech act of a request, including some formal features of Serbian requests and their tendencies to be qualified as 'positive' or 'negative' politeness as well.

Situation 1: Supermarket

The first situation is located in a supermarket where the speaker is a customer complaining to the shop assistant about the quality of the goods she⁶ has bought and demanding either her money back or replacement of the piece of meat she has bought.

The following linguistic manifestations of the request have been identified in Serbian:

- (1) *Ovaj komad mesa je pokvaren, želim da mi vratite novac.*
- (2) *Ovo meso je pokvareno i volela bih da mi vratite novac.*
- (3) *Hoću svoj novac nazad.*
- (4) *Zahtevam da mi vratite novac!*
- (5) *Vratite mi novac!*
- (6) *Ili ćete mi vratiti novac, ili ćete mi dati novo meso!*
- (7) *Prijaviću vas inspekciji ako ne vratite novac!*

In the situation where *S*'s face is at risk, the variable of power, more precisely, the status of *S* is stressed in a way that *S* considers herself of somewhat higher status than *H*, thus possessing a legitimate right to issue a request. The request proper would be formulated directly as an imperative – *Vratite mi novac*, implicating the *CORE* component.

The examples (1) to (5) from DCT show certain tendencies of Serbian speakers towards expressing their desire for *H* to perform the act by means of performative and modal constructions with mandative meanings, involving the verbs *zahtevati*, *voleti*, *želeti* or *hteti*. Therefore, the *CORE* component has been evoked, suggesting the preference of Serbian speakers towards direct means of address, thus supporting the hypothesis of a higher level of directness among Eastern and South-Eastern speech communities (Ogiermann 2009), as opposed to the Western, Anglo-American communities oriented towards a higher degree of indirectness and negative politeness

6 In addition to the masculine gender pronouns, the feminine gender pronouns will be used to refer to the speaker only in those situations in the analytical section where the verb form in the example suggests that the speaker is 'she', as in the situations 1 and 6 in (2) and (36).

(Brown & Levinson 1987; Trbojević 2009). In addition, the *RESULT* component is usually evoked through illocutionary acts of threat, as in examples (6) and (7), putting H under a strong degree of obligation to perform the act.

Situation 2: Party in the neighbourhood

The second situation has to do with a party organised by H, and the inconveniences it causes to S, that is, S's *negative face* – a desire for autonomy and freedom of action (Brown & Levinson 1987: 13). S's task is to ask a neighbour to turn down the music. The alternatives for setting such a request are the following:

- (8) *Komšija, molim vas, jako sam umorna, ako biste mi izašli u susret i utišali muziku?*
 (9) *Molim vas, utišajte muziku i lepo se provedite!*
 (10) *Izvinite, morao bih da Vas zamolim da smanjite jačinu zvuka muzike, jer imam važan razlog.*
 (11) *Ja bih vas zamolila da utišate muziku, jer ujutru rano idem na put.*
 (12) *Komšija, molim vas da malo stišate muziku.*
 (13) *Ako ne utišate muziku u narednih nekoliko minuta, obratiću se policiji.*

Only example (8) evokes the *BEFORE* component, pointing to the *Presuppositional branch* of the scenario about the hearer's ability and willingness to perform the action. The great majority of examples (9) to (12) actually evoke the *CORE* component, suggesting Serbian preferences to more direct utterances. The choice of lexical means in (9) and (12) includes an imperative form accompanied by the lexical-semantic performative formula of the verb *moliti*, which serves as a down-toner of illocutionary force (Popović 2005: 1022). However, examples (10) and (11) contain modalised constructions consisting of modal and performative verbs in the potential form which, in the context of politeness, transforms its semantic meaning of epistemic distance – the degree of S's commitment to the realisation of the proposition – into a pragmatic one (Trbojević 2004: 2009). Due to its conceptual distance from the core, imperative meaning, the constructions containing potential can be marked as highly polite and indirect.

The *RESULT* component has been realised by means of a threat, pointing to Serbian speakers' orientation to the preferred form of directness in cases where the participants in the communicative event are of equal status.

Situation 3: Asking someone to act as guarantor for a loan

The third situation emphasises the request itself, its strength and high ranking of imposition. The variables of power and distance are eliminated, in that S and H are close friends, but S has to ask H to be his endorser – a request involving a high degree of imposition.

The realisation of this type of request evokes the *BEFORE* and the *CORE* component:

- (14) *Hoćeš li da mi budeš žirant?*
 (15) *Da li bi možda hteo da mi budeš žirant?*
 (16) *Je' l nije problem da te zamolim za uslugu?*
 (17) *Možeš li, molim te, da mi budeš žirant?*
 (18) *Da li bi mogao da mi budeš žirant?*
 (19) *Da li si u mogućnosti da mi budeš žirant?*
 (20) *Druže moj, potreban mi je žirant za kredit.*
 (21) *Da li pristaješ da mi budeš žirant?*
 (22) *E, 'aj budi mi žirant! Znam da hoćeš.*
 (23) *Molim te da mi budeš žirant.*

In this type of situation, where both S and H are of the same or similar social status, the two of them being friends, the ranking of imposition of the request is the crucial determining factor in the choice of formal linguistic means. The most frequently occurring constructions include modal verbs denoting presuppositions about S's willingness or ability to perform the act, thus evoking the *BEFORE* component (14, 15, 17, 18). In addition, the interrogative form of examples (15) and (18), accompanied by the form of potential denoting capacity and willingness, contributes to high optionality, thus allowing S to communicate the fact that H's freedom of action is not undermined by the speech act (Perez Hernandez & Ruiz de Mendoza 2002: 262).

Due to the high level of imposition of the request, the associations to the *CORE* are likely to be avoided, suggesting a greater degree of indirectness and 'negative' politeness.

Situation 4: At the workplace

The fourth situation puts the social variable of distance between S and H in the forefront, the two of them being of the same status, but without familiarity in their social relationship. S has to ask his colleague for help, thus reflecting the 'request for action' type. The following utterances were realised:

- (24) *Da li biste mogli da mi pomognete?*
 (25) *Imaš li vremena da mi pomogneš?*
 (26) *Jesi li raspoložena da mi pomogneš?*
 (27) *Izvini, da li bi ti bio problem da mi pomogneš oko posla koji moram da završim do kraja radnog vremena?*
 (28) *Plašim se da neću stići da završim ovo do kraja dana. Da li bi mogla malo da mi pomogneš?*
 (29) *Hoćeš li da mi pomogneš da završim ovo, pa da idemo posle na kafu?*
 (30) *Kolega, izvini, malo mi je neprijatno, ali moram da te zamolim da mi pomogneš.*

The request is performed by evoking the *BEFORE* component, most frequently by means of the modal verb *MOĆI* denoting ability and the potential form suggesting conceptual distance from the 'core' directive meaning, (24), (27) and (28). The *CORE* is

evoked by *S*'s justification of necessity for making the request. The *AFTER* is implicated by an expression of promise on the part of *S* in example (29), thus pointing to the *Realisation branch* implying *S*'s consequent emotional response in the form of gratitude. Judging by the prevalence of the *BEFORE* component, we may observe the prominence of conventionally-indirect speech acts and, consequently, 'negative' politeness.

Situation 5: Addressing the desk clerk at the bus/train station or the airport

The fifth situation represents the 'request for information' type, where *S* is likely to consider himself higher in social rank than *H* who works as a clerk at the bus/train station or airport. *S* wants to know the time of his bus/train/flight. The requests were formulated as:

- (31) *Izvinite, da li biste mi rekli kada polazi voz za Novi Sad?*
 (32) *Da li možete da mi kažete vreme polaska voza?*
 (33) *Izvinite, potrebna mi je informacija o polasku voza za Užice.*

It is evident that solely the *BEFORE* component is evoked in this type of situation. The lack of utterance diversity might be caused by the formality and social typicality of the situation which requires a kind of formulaic linguistic behaviour regardless of social variables.

Situation 6: Sending an e-mail message

Finally, the sixth situation represents the same type of request, but in a different linguistic medium, the written form. *S* is supposed to enquire, by means of an e-mail, about the conditions of payment of her package tour and the possibility of paying in instalments.

- (34) *Da li biste mogli da mi date informaciju da li postoji mogućnost plaćanja na rate i koji su uslovi?*
 (35) *Da li biste bili u mogućnosti da mi odgovorite na mejl u vezi sa mogućnošću plaćanja na rate?*
 (36) *S obzirom da nisam uspela da na Vašem sajtu pronađem informaciju vezanu za plaćanje na rate, molim Vas da mi odgovorite na sledeća pitanja...*

In examples (34) and (35) the *BEFORE* component is evoked metonymically through expressions of *H*'s ability to supply *S*'s need for information and *S*'s wish/need to acquire the necessary information, denoted by a highly polite potential form. The *CORE* is evoked through the use of performative formulas including lexical verbs *moliti/zamoliti*.

On the whole, it can be concluded that the effect of politeness and conceptual distance in Serbian is achieved by the use of the potential form which can vary according to the degree of politeness implied. In other words, the potential itself

refers to a hypothetical state of affairs, thus bringing about the meaning of distance between the real and the desired state of affairs. If, however, this form is combined with the modal verbs *MOĆI* or *HTETI*, the degree of both distance and politeness may be considered higher, as demonstrated by examples (15), (18), (24), (28) and (34) if compared to examples containing potential forms of ordinary lexical verbs, as in (2), (8), (27), (31) and (35). The same accounts for the performative formulas, the implicitness and indirectness of which increase if performative verbs are used in potential form.

However, the scenario approach within an ICM proves inadequate to account for non-conventionalised speech act realisations, including threats (6), (7), (13) and hints expressed by impersonal constructions without the subject in the initial position denoting necessity and desiderative meanings (Piper 2005: 638-644) as in example (33), due to their high dependency on the context of the situation. Most of these expressions, according to the cited authors, are characterised by the greatest conceptual distance from the *CORE* component, thus having indexical functions, although Panther & Thornburg (1998: 759) do not deny their potential for metonymic interpretation within an adequate context.

6. CONCLUSION

When it comes to the process of inference and meaning interpretation of ISAs, Panther & Thornburg's approach (1998, 2003, 2004) has unequivocally enhanced the theories of John Searle and relevance theorists in that it highlights the underlying mechanisms of human reasoning based on metaphoric and metonymic networks established in our minds during the process of inference. Likewise, it reveals the speakers' general tendencies to formulate utterances evoking presuppositions and motivation for the performance of the request reflected in the *BEFORE* component, thus leading the addressee towards the indirectly conveyed meaning interpretation by establishing metonymic links with conceptually contiguous direct speech acts. The prevalence of conventionally-indirect requests suggests the speakers' tendencies towards 'negative' politeness characterised by distance and respect in situations of high risk or high interest to the speaker's face, regardless of the activated social variable. Thus, we cannot speak of a strict division into 'positive' or 'negative' politeness orientation among speech communities.

Despite the above mentioned advantages, the theory incorporating a cognitive model of scenario and a propositional idealised cognitive model fails to account for non-conventionalised speech acts, the production of which should, by no means be neglected. Neither does this theory show the pathways of the speakers' understanding of contextual factors in making their choice in the linguistic formulation of the request.

Therefore, future studies based on cognitive approaches to speech acts might incorporate certain holistic questionnaires of evaluative type, reflecting the speakers' patterns of thinking, their linguistic choice and their assessment of the communicative event upon formulating and interpreting a particular speech act.

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SUMMARY

POLITENESS IS DISTANCE – SERBIAN REQUESTS THROUGH THE MIRROR OF THE COGNITIVE SPEECH ACT SCENARIO MODEL

Our analysis was based on the theoretical model of speech act scenarios proposed by Panther & Thornburg (1998, 2003, 2004). We identified the components of the scenario in Serbian requests, showing that speakers most frequently resort to the *BEFORE* component in formulations of indirect requests implying the ability/capacity and willingness of the hearer to perform the act, with only sporadic instances of the *RESULT* and *AFTER* components. When it comes to the *CORE* component, our results show that Serbian possesses various linguistic means to express direct requests, in the first place by performative formulas, apart from the imperative proper. Further on, we make a synthesis of the two principal approaches within cognitive linguistics, the scenario approach and the propositional ICM approach, in order to account for the politeness effects produced by the mutual influence of sociocultural variables and the linguistic content of the utterance. Also, we observed certain inconsistencies in the application of the cognitive models, particularly in the domain of non-conventionalised indirect speech acts.

KEYWORDS: indirect speech acts, scenario, idealised cognitive models, politeness, speech act of request.

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■ THE ISSUE OF AGE AND LANGUAGE TRANSFER IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

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Cilj ovog rada jeste da doprinese novim saznanjima o usvajanja drugog jezika tako što će ispitati uticaj starosti na početne faze razvoja drugog jezika (L2) u pogledu transfera morfosintaksičkih odlika iz maternjeg jezika. U radu se koristi generativni okvir usvajanja jezika, u kome je direktno poređenje usvajanja L2 kod dece i odraslih nedovoljno istražena oblast. U radu se ispituje parametar univerzalne gramatike [\pm jak] fleksija, a naročito podizanje glagola (eng. V-raising), budući da ima različite vrednosti u engleskom [- jak] i makedonskom [+ jak]. Ispitanici su jedna grupa dece (od 8 do 11 godina starosti) i jedna grupa odraslih (od 20 do 60 godina). Svi ispitanici su izvorni govornici makedonskog na početnom stepenu razvoja engleskog kao drugog jezika, a testirani su nakon četiri nedelje izloženosti posebno osmišljenim smernicama vezanim za podizanje glagola u engleskom. Budući da dolazi do transfera čitave gramatike prvog jezika (L1), rezultati idu u prilog tzv. hipotezi očuvanja (eng. Conservation Hypothesis) kod transfera iz L1 u početnim fazama usvajanja drugog jezika (Van de Craats i dr. 1999).

Ključne reči: uticaj starosti, jezički transfer, početne faze, usvajanje engleskog kao drugog jezika, podizanje glagola (V-raising).

1. INTRODUCTION

One of the differences between first and second language acquisition (L2A) is that the latter necessarily implies knowledge of a previously learnt language, i.e. at least of the mother tongue (L1). Language transfer, both from the native language and from other previously learnt languages, can affect each stage of the L2 developmental process. The transfer phenomenon is particularly important for the description of the initial state of

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L2A, a developmental period of interest to the current paper. The degree of L1 transfer attested in numerous studies varies depending on a number of variables, such as the language domain tested, the developmental stages investigated, and the age of the learner, among others. The existing transfer theories do not make explicit predictions about any age differences with respect to the phenomenon of language interference. Empirical evidence exists, however, as L1 transfer has been separately reported in the initial stages of both children (e.g. Haznedar 1997) and adults (e.g. Parodi *et al.* 2004). The two age groups have not been directly compared. The current study overcomes this limitation by comparing a group of children and a group of adults, while holding the L1 language and the L2 input constant, as two very relevant variables for the validity of the results. The study bears both theoretical significances concerning the age factor in L2A, as well as methodological implications with respect to the expectations teachers can have from different age groups in the process of L2 instruction. Although we are aware of the formal distinction made throughout the literature between *second language acquisition* and *foreign language acquisition/learning* (e.g. Krashen 1982), the two terms and the abbreviation L2A will be used synonymously throughout the article. However, we would like to be precise and explain that the experimental context of the current study refers to L2 learning in a classroom setting (i.e. foreign language learning).

2. THE INITIAL STAGES AND L1 TRANSFER – A GENERATIVE PERSPECTIVE

In the generative framework, L1 transfer is regarded as part of the learner's grammatical competence, rather than as a strategy consciously employed in the process of L2A. Among the researchers arguing for the involvement of Universal Grammar (UG) in L2A, two broad theories exist concerning the question of L1 transfer: those advocating no L1 transfer (e.g. Platzack 1996) and those assuming the presence of L1 transfer (e.g. Eubank 1994). Empirical evidence for L1 transfer in the generative framework of L2A usually derives from the studies testing the acquisition of UG parameters, for example Hilles (1986), Tsimpli and Roussou (1991), Phinney (1987) for the Pro-drop parameter. Transfer effects have also been observed in the acquisition of various other morphosyntactic phenomena, for example, in the L2A of German by adult Romance, Korean and Turkish speakers, Parodi *et al.* (2004) found a great influence of the native language in the acquisition of target-like morphosyntax on nominals.

The L2 learner's *starting point* has become the focus of much investigation and debate in recent years as it may be considered diagnostic for the nature of the subsequent developmental stages, as well as for the ultimate attainment in L2A (Meisel 2000). Lack of sufficient L2 input and the short time of L2 exposure may encourage the learner to use their L1 structural representation (to a greater or lesser extent). The three main perspectives on L1 transfer in the initial stages of L2A can be labelled as follows: *Full Transfer Hypothesis* (Hawkins/Chan 1997), *No Transfer Hypothesis* (e.g. Epstein *et al.* 1996), and *Partial Transfer Hypothesis* (Vainikka/Young-Scholten 1994).

Assuming that L1 plays some role in L2A (Full or Partial transfer), there are three main theories of the L2 *initial state*, which differ regarding the claims for the exact

involvement of the mother tongue in the process of L2A: *The Minimal Trees Hypothesis* – only the L1 properties of lexical, but not of functional categories transfer (Vainikka/Young-Scholten 1994); *The Valueless Features Hypothesis* – the strength of the features associated with functional categories does not transfer (Eubank 1994) and the *Full Transfer Hypothesis* – the whole structure of L1 transfers (Schwartz/Sprouse 1994). An even more detailed variation of the Full Transfer Hypothesis is the *Conservation Hypothesis* (Van de Craats *et al.* 1999). These authors prefer the term ‘conservation’ to ‘transfer’, as they understand the initial state of L2A as conservation of existing L1 knowledge. The language elements they believe are conserved in the initial stages of L2A are the following: a) parameter settings (strength values, headedness); b) knowledge of lexical items (formal features, categorial values, and semantic-conceptual values); c) knowledge of morphology and morphological realisation rules (e.g. realisation of case) and d) pragmatic knowledge of information-related grammatical encodings. Van de Craats *et al.* (*Ibid.*) argue that L2 phonological matrices are matched with L1 semantics and L1 formal features.

On the one hand, all the transfer assuming theories stated above differ in their predictions about the precise involvement of the mother tongue at the commencement of L2A. On the other hand, what they all have in common is that they do not make explicit predictions about any age differences in L1 transfer.

3. AGE AND L1 TRANSFER

Research on L1 transfer has mostly focused on the adult population of second language learners, with the majority of studies providing evidence of transfer effects with this group of learners. Such findings are compatible with general intuition and practical experience of L2 learning. One of the reasons for the lack of research on child L2A in L1 transfer has been the assumption that child L2A is similar to child L1A (e.g. Herschensohn 2000). The assumption is based on the fact that children are generally more successful than adults with regard to the ultimate attainment in L2A. This view has been encapsulated in two hypotheses on the age issue in language acquisition, Position A, [Child L1 = Child L2 ≠ Adult L2] (compatible with the *No Access* and *Partial Access to UG* Hypotheses for L2A, e.g. Bley-Vroman 1989), Hawkins and Chan 1997) and Position B, [Child L1 = Child L2 = Adult L2] (analogous to the *Full Access to UG* Hypothesis, e.g. Epstein *et al.* 1996). Compatible with their argument is the belief that L2A during the critical period should show little or no effect of transfer from the first language because direct access to UG in this period should override any cognitive intervention in the process of constructing the system of rules for the second language. On the other hand, a different view on L1 transfer with L2 children can be deduced from the postulations of the *Asymmetric Acquisition Hypothesis* (AAH) for the L2 development (Schwartz 2003), which we can represent by the following summary: [Child L1A ≠ (Child L2A = Adult L2A) for syntax] and [(Child L1A similar to Child L2A) ≠ Adult L2A] for morphology]. In other words, in the syntactic L2 development, at least in the early and intermediate stages, it is assumed that both groups of L2 learners can be equally affected by the mother tongue influence, since both groups are expected to *re-set* the

parameters from the L1 to the L2 value, where the two values differ. For example, both Macedonian child and adult L2 acquirers of English need to learn that English is a [- Pro-drop] language (Chomsky 1981) and therefore grammatical subjects cannot be omitted in the sentence, whereas they can in Macedonian because it has a different value of the same UG parameter a [+ Pro-drop]. The following pair of sentences illustrates the point: English: *I want to eat* (subject + verb). Macedonian: *Сакам да јадам* (verb inflected for person, subject omitted).

In the morphological L2 development, it is difficult to conclude what the view on transfer is, as the study on which the AAH generalisation is based included learners from different native language backgrounds and did not test for L1 transfer. However, based on the hypothesis that L1 and L2 children make *similar* morphological errors, the implication is that transfer is not expected with L2 children in the domain of L2 morphology, or it is less prominent and of a temporary nature, in comparison to morphological transfer effects expected among the adult L2 learners.

Although research on L1 transfer with children is rare, the prevailing evidence seems to offer support for the view that child L2A is not entirely identical to child L1A, primarily due to the native language influence with the former group of learners (White 1990/91; Lakshmanan 1991; Haznedar 1997; Unsworth 2002b). In the longitudinal study of naturalistic child L2 acquisition of English conducted by Haznedar (1997), it is interesting that the child switched to the English value of lexical and functional headedness in the fourth month of recording, consistently producing target-like utterances thereafter. As Schwartz (2003:31) points out, transfer effects in early child L2A can be very fleeting and difficult to catch. The implication may be that pre-puberty L2 learners grow out of L1 transfer quickly and (perhaps) permanently, while traces of the L1 structure remain in the interlanguage of adult L2 learners (perhaps) throughout all stages of development, eventually resulting in different levels of ultimate attainment between the two age groups.

The exact relation between age and transfer is still far from clear (Odlin 1993: 152) and researchers advocate the idea that different *types* of transfer before and after the closure of the critical period would serve to support the argument for a critical period in L2A (Bialystok and Hakuta 1999:167). L2 children and adults have not been directly compared on the issue of initial L1 transfer. However, based on the independent empirical work which reports L1 transfer effects both with L2 children and with L2 adults and assuming that L1A is a different process from L2A, I hypothesise in this paper that both age groups will comply with the predictions of the *Conservation Hypothesis*, thereby preserving all L1 morphosyntactic features in their early interlanguage grammar.

4. THE EXPERIMENT

For the purposes of analysing the age effect of transfer in the initial stages of L2A, new data was gathered from an experimental setting in which a group of 30 children (age 8-11) and a group of 30 adults (age 20-60), all beginners of English and native speakers of Macedonian, underwent four weeks of intensive instruction on Verb raising in English. Based on a questionnaire which the participants had completed before

the beginning of the project, there was a good balance between males, females, and different social backgrounds. In respect to levels of formal education, all subjects in the adult group had obtained either high school diplomas or higher education degrees. Moreover, all (but 8) were employed in an intellectually, rather than physically, demanding job. Of the remaining eight, four were students, one was unemployed, one was a manual worker and two were retired.

The participants were recruited on the basis of a public announcement in a daily newspaper. They were all volunteers, hence motivated to take part in the project. All participants were beginners of English as none of them had had a formal tuition in English prior to the experiment nor was naturalistically exposed to the target language. Nevertheless, I acknowledge the inevitable fact that all the participants have had some contact with English, mainly via the media (TV and radio). An informal conversation with each participant carried out at the beginning of the project, indicated that, despite the limited informal exposure to English, participants' knowledge of the language consisted of no more than a few words or phrases, such as 'yes', 'no', 'hello', 'thank you', and none of them was familiar with the grammatical elements subject of investigation.

As the closure of the critical period for morphosyntax is believed to be around the age of 15 (Long 1990), the age range of the children group (8-11) taking part in this experiment is considered to be within the limits of the critical period for morphosyntax. Moreover, the practical arguments for choosing this particular age group of children are based on two premises: a) Macedonian children start learning the Latin alphabet at the age of 8, which was a necessary background knowledge for the written tests in English used in the experiment, and b) after the age of 7.5, children are able to make grammaticality judgments on sentences and the task is not experienced as cognitively too demanding (Slavoff and Johnson 1995).

The instruction took place twice a week between 21 May and 29 June 2001 in Skopje, Republic of Macedonia and each age group was further divided in two subgroups in order to reduce the number of students in the classes and thus increase instruction efficiency. The adult group was also divided based on the variations in age, i.e. a subgroup of 20-40-year olds and a subgroup of 40-60-year olds.

A common criticism for most of the studies focusing on the theories of the initial state is that the interlanguage stage they consider as initial does not really represent an early enough period of L2A, since the exposure to L2 has ranged from a few months to about a whole year. In the present study, the L2 learners are tested in the earliest period of L2 development, namely after four weeks of instruction in the target language. In order to strengthen the validity of the results, important experimental variables such as the time of (formal) exposure, as well as amount and type of the L2 input were strictly controlled in the current study.

The teaching methodology was explicit instruction of theoretically chosen functional elements in English, within the context of meaningful lexical topics, embedded in carefully and specifically prepared teaching materials. Metalanguage was avoided in the presentation of grammar: rather, the L2 grammatical elements were introduced by emphasising the main points both visually and orally. Moreover, there was no explicit negative evidence during the instruction period, i.e. students were never told why the non target-like answers they provided were incorrect in L2. Instead,

the correct answer was repeated. One of the reasons for the use of positive evidence is rooted in our assumption that by not giving participants explicit negative evidence, they would have the possibility to express their readiness to rely on L1 while making grammatical judgments for L2, rather than simply to memorise the information (rules) given in the explicit negative evidence about what is *not* allowed in L2. Efforts were made to maintain the amount of relevant input and relevant practice at a constant level between the groups. This was achieved by presenting both age groups with texts that contained the same amount of testing structures as well as the same amount and type of exercises to practice each structure. The fact that the adults are usually faster readers and, therefore, usually cover the relevant material more quickly during class, was accounted for by introducing more vocabulary with this group of learners throughout the period of instruction. This additional vocabulary material did not contain any grammar and was meant to be a 'time-filler'. Examples of that material included texts introducing the 'days of the week', 'months of the year', etc. Therefore, the groups inevitably differed only in the size of vocabulary and the lexical topics covered (e.g. *office* versus *school*), which were accommodated to the age of the subjects in order to attract their attention and maintain their interest. However, with respect to the *type* and *amount* of relevant grammar taught and practiced, the two age groups were as identical as possible.

In this paper, the age differences in the early stages of L2A are investigated using the *Principles and Parameters Theory* (PPT) of UG as its grammatical framework. According to this theory, UG principles are shared by all human languages. UG parameters, on the other hand, express language specific properties and are assumed to have binary values (+) and (-). Particular attention is paid to verb raising (V-raising/movement), a grammatical phenomenon deriving from the [\pm strong Infl] parameter and evidenced in the surface structure of negative (IP domain) and interrogative sentences (CP domain) (Pollock 1989; Iatridou 1990). Macedonian and English have different values of this parameter and therefore the learners are faced with the task of restructuring their L1 grammar (Macedonian [+ strong Infl]/[+ V-raising]) to fit the value of the L2 language (English [- strong Infl]/[- V-raising]). For example, Macedonian learners of English needed to learn that lexical verbs cannot precede the grammatical subject in interrogative sentences, they are not 'strong' enough to move to the higher structural nodes in the sentence, hence 'do-support' is needed. In Macedonian, V-raising is possible, for example: English: *Know you how to play the piano? vs. Macedonian: Знаеш ли да свириш на клавир?.

Two types of tests were administered at the end of the instruction period: a written Grammaticality Judgment Test on L2 syntax and a Fill in the Gap written test on L2 morphology. The syntactic task examined learners' knowledge of V-raising in English, as evidenced in negative sentences (IP domain) and in interrogative sentences (CP domain). The morphological task was employed to test learners' knowledge of correct person/number verbal agreement. L2 syntax and morphology were presented and tested using the following verb types: copula be, modal can and lexical verbs (hence, do-support).

In order to make the testing procedure as accommodating to the child learners as possible, the following measures were incorporated into the study: a) the tests were

unpaced; b) the instructions were written and read in the learners' L1; c) the participants were familiar with the exact words used in the instructions to the testing tasks because they were practiced during the teaching period through various grammatical exercises (however, different lexical items were used for the final tests in order to avoid the possibility of a sentence being learnt by heart).

In the following section, only the analyses from the perspective of overall L1 transfer are presented, where overall syntactic transfer is defined as transfer of the IP and the CP domain in total, whereas the morphological transfer is tested using the L1-like overt finite features on the modals. The results for the learners' progress with L2 syntax and morphology are not considered on this occasion.

5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Using a Grammaticality Judgment Test, the learners were asked to judge each sentence as grammatical in the target-like language, i.e. determine whether it was correct in English or not. They were not told that some of the sentences were L2-like, others L1-like. Therefore, in order to calculate learners' transfer errors in the initial stages of L2A, we analysed their judgments on the L1-like test sentences for each language element (verb types: *be, can*, main verb; domains: IP and CP), taking into consideration only those answers where the learners *incorrectly* accepted the L1-like sentences as grammatical in L2. Since English and Macedonian have different values of the [\pm strong Infl] parameter, a higher score in this test was, in fact, a negative one as it indicated more transfer from L1. In Figure 1 below, the two groups are compared on their overall L1 transfer. The instructions to the Grammaticality Judgment Test for syntax read as follows: *Judge each of the following sentences as correct in English or not. From the answers, choose a) if you think it is correct in English; b) if you are not sure or don't know or c) if you think the sentence is not correct in English.* For example:

a) My name not is Tom. a) correct b) don't know c) incorrect

In order to register learners' transfer errors in the IP domain, a mark was given for each incorrectly accepted L1-like test sentence with preverbal negation for each verb type tested.

Examples 1-3 below illustrate a test sentence with each of the verb types tested:

- (1) *My friends *not play* tennis. (Моите пријатели *не играат* тенис.)
- (2) *My telephone number *not is* 121-121. (Мојот телефонски број *не е* 121-121.)
- (3) *My brother *not can* ride a bike. (Мојот брат *не може* да вози велосипед.)

In the CP domain, a mark was given for each incorrectly accepted L1-like test sentence with a raised main verb to a Comp or Foc position (4), as well as for each L1-like sentence where the complementiser position was filled either with *do* or *does*, while a copula verb (5) or a modal (6) was situated in the Infl or Foc position of the same sentence. All three types of sentences exemplified below are an indication of

Macedonian CP representation: in the case of V-to-C movement, it is a transfer of the parametric value, in the case of a filled Comp, it is a misanalysis of *do/does* as a non-verbal element, perhaps as the Macedonian question-particle *dali*.

Consider examples 4-6:

- (4) **Like you green colour?* (Сакаш зелена боја?)
 (5) **Does your house is in Ohrid?* (Дали твојата куќа е во Охрид?)
 (6) **Do can play the children football?* (Дали можат да играат децата фудбал?)

There were 15 L1-like sentences in each domain (IP and CP), hence a total of 30 sentences in which learners' L1 transfer was tested (IP&CP Total). The results are presented in Figure 1 below and analysed using non-parametric tests. The two age groups are presented on the X-axis. The results are presented on the Y-axes: the primary Y-axis (left) displays the mean score, while the secondary Y-axis (right) displays the same result expressed in percentages. The highest number on the primary Y-axis indicates the total number of test sentences for the relevant language domain.

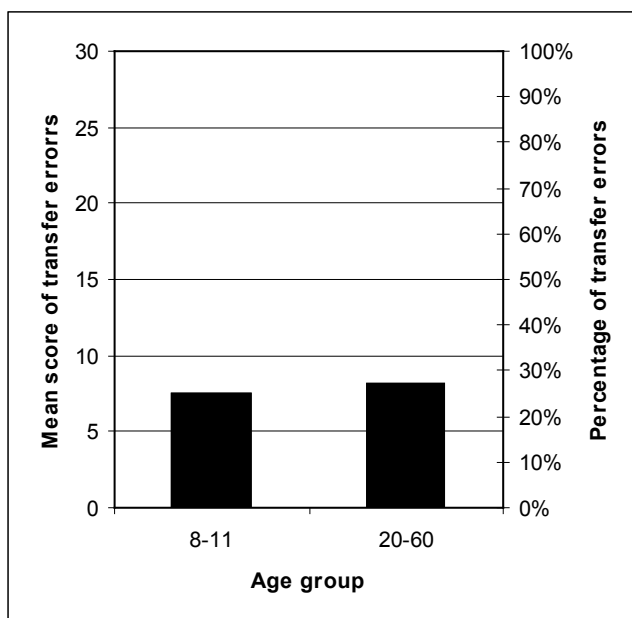


Figure 1: L1 transfer in IP&CP Total

Regarding the general question of presence or absence of L1 transfer in the initial stages of these learners, the results displayed in Figure 1 offer support for the hypothesis that L1 transfer is part of the early L2 grammar. Although there is a relatively small percentage of L1 transfer (25% for the children and 27% for the adults), it is nevertheless present in the data of these learners. Such an account of the L2 initial state, where target-like representations are the dominant, yet not the only property of the

interlanguage grammar, is also recorded in Parodi *et al.* (2004). In their study on word order in the nominal domain, the authors found that the L1 effects (20%) alternate with L2 properties (80%) in the interlanguage of the Romance L2 learners of German. Similarly, Rast (1999) observed a substantial influence of the L2 input (in comparison to the L1 grammar) in the initial stages of L2A. In the current study, the considerable effect of the target language in grammar restructuring may have been encouraged by the intensive instruction, with emphasis on the tested language domains. Nevertheless, the results also indicate that the learners did not initially override L1 transfer, even if the transfer percentage was small. Bearing in mind that the L1 value of the parameter presupposes (overt) V-raising, the current findings disprove Platzack's Initial Hypothesis of Syntax (1996), which maintained that only weak features (no movement) are present at the commencement of L2A: L1 transfer in the interlanguage of these learners implies overt movement of a functional element, i.e. a strong feature. Hence, the L1 **feature strength** is conserved by the tested learners, compatible with the first prediction of the *Conservation Hypothesis* (the *Full Transfer Hypothesis*). L1 acquirers of English never wrongly assume that main verbs can raise from the VP in this language, and therefore never produce questions with subject and main verb inversion (e.g. Goodluck 1991). Therefore, the results of the current study imply that the process of L1A is not identical either with child or adult L2A, with respect to the syntactic development.

Due to space limitations, we cannot present the transfer results for the second feature predicted by this hypothesis, i.e. L1 transfer of **formal knowledge of lexical items**. It will suffice to say that both age groups showed similar L1 transfer in this category: slight differences, albeit not statistically different, existed between the two age groups, depending on the specific lexical item tested.

The last type of transfer prediction to be discussed in this section is **knowledge of morphological realisation rules**. Clearly, this does not imply that the actual phonological realisations of agreement and number were expected to transfer, rather the awareness for overt inflection. The best way to test whether Macedonian learners of English transfer this awareness is through the instances of overgeneralisation. Namely, in Macedonian the modal *moze* (*can*) inflects like a main verb. Therefore, Macedonian learners of English may misanalyse *can* as a main verb and make a transfer error of inflecting *can* with the third person singular [-s].

Consider the following example:

(7) *Kaja *cans* speak Chinese.

L2 learners' knowledge of verbal morphology was tested using a written Multiple Choice Test of the Fill in the Blank type. There were 9 sentences in this test, with the finite verb in each of them being deleted and substituted by a blank line. All the sentences were semantically connected to represent a letter written to an English pen friend. This was done in order to make the whole task more readable. There were three sentences testing learners' morphological knowledge of English person/ number agreement for each of the relevant verb types (*be*, *can*, main verb). Beneath each sentence, students were provided with the choice of three possible answers. They were told in the instructions for the test that only one of the three answers was target-like and therefore

they should choose one answer they deemed was the correct form of the missing verb for the particular sentence. The exact instruction used for this test type read as follows: *Fill in the blanks in each sentence with the correct answer a), b) or c) from the choices underneath. Only one of the three choices offered is the correct one in English.*

- Hello,
My name is Toni.
1. I _____ a student.
a) is b) am c) has
 2. Jana _____ my sister.
a) is b) are c) am
- etc.

There were three sentences in the tests where learners could overgeneralise and the results are presented in Figure 2.

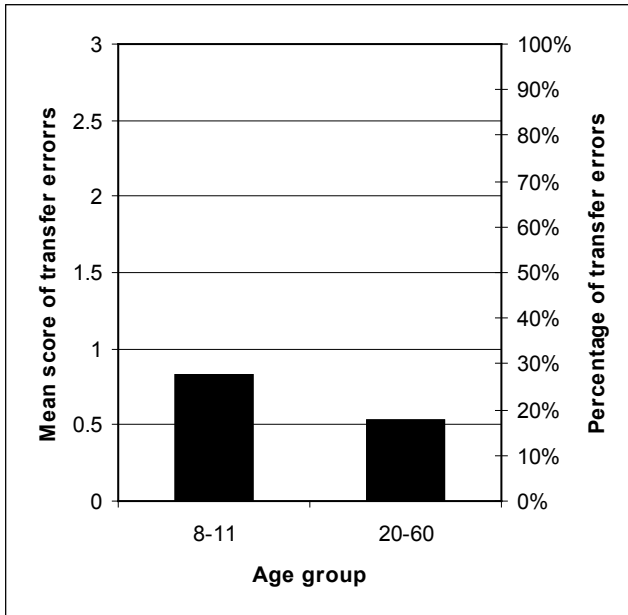


Figure 2: L1 transfer of knowledge of Morphology (3sg -s on can)

A Mann-Whitney was conducted to test the difference between the children and the adults on overgeneralisation of [-s] and indicated a non-significant result ($Z = -1.026$, $p = .305$). Nevertheless, it emerges from Figure 2 that the L2 children show a greater tendency for morphological transfer (27.6% of transfer errors) in comparison to the L2 adults (17.6%). This difference may imply that the children are more able to notice affixes as separate forms in the L2 input and learn the agreement values of the inflectional affix [-s]. If this is true, then higher target-like scores on inflectional morphology should also be expected with this group of learners as they may find it easier to supply [-s] on L2

lexical verbs in the obligatory contexts. With respect to comparing L1A with L2A, L1 learners of English never overgeneralise [-s] on modals (Stromswold 1990), while the results of the current study indicate that both child and adult L2 learners make the same overgeneralising error, thus suggesting that the morphological developments in L1A and L2A are not identical processes. With respect to the *Asymmetric Acquisition Hypothesis* mentioned in Section 3, the implications from the current study are inconclusive: on the one hand, the L2 children and adults have similar results on both syntactic and morphological transfer, thus not showing any asymmetry, on the other, the offered explanation for the slight increase in morphological transfer with the group of children may actually lend support for the AAH. Indeed, the AAH is a hypothesis concerning the developmental process focusing on the L2-like competence, rather than on the L1 conservation in the interlanguage data, hence the analogy is only speculative.

6. CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, according to the quantitative analysis presented in this paper, transfer of the entire L1 grammar appears to be part of the early stages of L2A, hence supporting the predictions of the *Conservation Hypothesis*. Moreover, the results indicate that the L2 children and adults are statistically similar in overall syntactic and morphological L1 transfer and different in the language learning process from L1 learners of English. Nevertheless, the minor differences between the two age groups imply that the L2 children and adults are not entirely identical in their conservation of the L1 knowledge. Such differences entail different tendencies of L1 transfer with the two age groups.

Concerning the methodological implications of the presented results, we may conclude that the teachers can expect to observe L1 transfer even with young language learners (of the age range presented in this study) and such observation should be considered a natural phenomenon in the L2 interlanguage data, especially in formal L2 learning settings. However, the small amount of L1 transfer recorded in the current test results suggests that intensive instruction in the L2 (and minimal use of the L1 in class) can override the effects of L1 transfer, or at least deduce them to a smaller percentage in the output of the learners. In addition, both the slight discrepancy between the child and adult L2 groups in the morphological transfer analysis, as well as similar discrepancies detected in the L2 initial development of these learners, but not presented in the current paper, lead to the observation that L2 children are more able to notice and correctly analyse details in the language, including affixes. Such observational skills should be exploited in class by the teachers by ensuring that the child L2 learners receive plenty of (meaningful) focus on inflections during the early years. The natural focus on detail may be an advantage for the L2 children and may also be a contributing factor to the fact that children grow out of the L1 transfer phase more quickly, in comparison to the adult group. The experimental setting of the presented study leads to a further observation, with potential methodological implications, namely L2 children can master much more L2 material than they are usually presented with in foreign learning contexts and textbooks designed for that foreign language learning population.

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SUMMARY

THE ISSUE OF AGE AND LANGUAGE TRANSFER IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

The purpose of this paper is to contribute to second language acquisition research by exploring the age effects in the initial stages of second language (L2) development with respect to the mother tongue transfer of morphosyntactic features. It assumes the generative framework of grammar and language acquisition, where direct L2 child-adult comparison has been a neglected area of research. The [\pm strong] Infl parameter

of Universal Grammar, V-raising in particular, is taken as the linguistic element of investigation, since it assigns different values in English [- strong] and in Macedonian [+ strong]. The participants in the experiment were a group of children (age 8-11) and a group of adults (age 20-60), all native speakers of Macedonian and beginners of L2 English. They were tested after a four-week exposure to specifically designed instruction on English V-raising. As the entire L1 grammar transfers, the results offer support for the *Conservation Hypothesis* for L1 transfer for the initial stages of second language acquisition (Van de Craats et al. 1999).

KEYWORDS: age effects, language transfer, initial stages, second language acquisition of English, V-raising.

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■ THE PRAGMALINGUISTIC AND SOCIOPRAGMATIC ASPECTS OF ENGLISH: APPLYING ANALYTIC ABILITIES TO FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING

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Ovaj rad predstavlja rezultate istraživanja upotrebe pragmatike u korpusu elektronskih poruka studenata koji nisu izvorni govornici engleskog jezika s posebnim osvrtom na zahtjeve. Inicijalni podaci iz studije pokazuju da se neizvorni govornici razlikuju od izvornih govornika engleskog jezika u razini prihvatljivosti (tj. utiska koji pisani sadržaj ostavlja na primatelja) zahtjeva izraženih elektronskim porukama. Podaci, također, pokazuju da se neizvorni govornici razlikuju od izvornih govornika u specifičnim strategijama povezanim sa strukturom i sadržajem upotrijebljenim u njihovim zahtjevima. Dodatni podaci iz ove studije pokazuju da eksplicitne upute mogu pozitivno utjecati na utisak u zahtjevima neizvornih govornika i na dugoročnu upotrebu pragmatike, iako je najveći efekt uočen u odgovarajućoj primjeni engleskih struktura. Rezultati ove studije ukazuju na potrebu za poučavanjem neizvornih govornika engleskog jezika pragmatici koja se koristi u elektronskim porukama i otvaranje mogućnosti pozitivnih rezultata ovog poučavanja.

Ključne riječi: elektronska poruka, neizvorni govornici, pragmatika, zahtjev.

1. INTRODUCTION

Over the past decade, researchers have become increasingly interested in examining the usage of e-mail by second language learners. Early studies looked at the effective use of e-mail in instructional settings (Warschauer 1995; St. John and Cash 1995). Additional studies addressed the use of e-mail institutional settings, such as business (Inglis 1998; Gains 1999) and academia (Gains 1999; Lan 2000).

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More recently, researchers have directed their attention to the pragmatics of e-mail messages (Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig 1996; Weasnforth and Biesenbach-Lucas 2000; Chen 2001), although no attention to date has been paid to the instruction of e-mail pragmatics.

This study hopes to contribute to the body of research by reporting the results of a study that examined the pragmatics of e-mail requests made by non-native speakers (NNSs) of English in an instructional setting. In the ensuing paper, I begin by providing a review of the literature most relevant to the current study. Afterwards, I describe the research methodology used during the project, including the participants, the study design, and data coding. Finally, I present and discuss some of the data gathered over the course of the research period, focusing on pragmatic differences between NNSs and native speakers (NSs) of English, and the effects of instructing NNSs on the correct usage of pragmatics in English.

1.1 PRAGMATIC DEVELOPMENT AND ESL

Numerous language researchers have looked into the development of pragmatics in a second language, particularly in English. A consistent theme across the various studies related to pragmatic development and ESL is that pragmatics can and should be learnt: pragmatics *should* be learnt because it does not appear to be easily transferable from first language (L1) to second language (L2) (Kasper 1992); pragmatics *should* be learnt because this will raise awareness of appropriate language use, which has been shown to aid in language development (Schmidt 1993); and pragmatics *can* be learnt, as is evidenced by a number of studies of classroom language learning and instruction. Bardovi-Harlig (2001) reached the same conclusions in her extensive review of the empirical evidence from research of L2 pragmatic production, judgment, perception, competence, and proficiency. This theme is essential to the overall conceptualization of my study and constitutes the theoretical foundation of this line of research.

Motivated by the initial research that examined interlanguage development, many in the field of interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) have applied the theories proposed by the previous SLA research to the instruction of pragmatics in the classroom setting. Several studies have focused on developing awareness of pragmatics through explicit instruction. Their results generally support the notion that pragmatic development can be enhanced through explicit awareness-raising technique. Many other studies have compared implicit and explicit instruction of pragmatics in the ESL setting. Takahashi (2001), Tateyama (2001), and Yoshimi (2001) each found explicit instruction of pragmatic features to have a greater effect on pragmatic competence than implicit instruction. In consideration of such positive findings from previous research, it appears that explicit instruction does in fact assist pragmatic development in second language learners. This conclusion provides further motivation and rationale for my study.

1.2 REQUESTS AND ESL

One of the most frequently occurring speech acts across cultures, and one of the most researched as well, is the request. Blum Kulka, House, and Kasper (1989) devoted a large portion of their edited volume to studying the pragmatics of the request speech act, through their research, they developed a process for designing appropriate data elicitation tests and created a detailed coding manual to assist in analyzing discourse data.

A number of researchers have investigated the performance of English requests by a specific cultural group: Kitao (1990) looked at Japanese learners of EFL, Trosborg (1995) studied Danish learners of EFL, Kim (1995) examined Korean learners of ESL. Each of these researchers found evidence of negative transfer of L1 pragmatics and concluded with the need for explicit instruction in making English requests. Kasange (1998) had the same findings in a study of ESL learners at an American university and found no evidence of negative L1 transfer of pragmatics with regards to the request speech act.

In quite a different approach to researching the pragmatic development of requesting in English, Li (2000) conducted an ethnographic case study of a female ESL learner in workplace environment in Canada and found that her pragmatic development came about mainly through language socialization with coworkers.

An interesting investigation by Schmidt (1994) compared actual request data gathered at service counters to request lessons found in four popular ESL textbooks. Schmidt's results showed that textbooks were deficient in the range of real-world request types and the explanations of request types given.

Additional work in this area of pragmatics research has focused on the instruction of requests. Rose (1999) provided a report of the successful instruction of requests to students in Hong Kong using pragmatic consciousness-raising (PCR) techniques. Rose defines PCR as

...an inductive approach to developing awareness of how language forms are used appropriately in context. The aim is not to teach explicitly the various means of... performing a given speech act... but, rather, to expose learners to the pragmatic aspects of language... and provide them with the analytical tools they need to arrive at their own generalizations concerning contextuality appropriate language use. (Rose 1999: 171)

With such a definition, Rose further explains that PCR is a process in which pragmatic awareness is raised first by introducing students to a particular pragmatic feature, then by activating students' L1 knowledge of the pragmatic feature, and finally by analyzing English data for the same pragmatic feature. Through such a process, students will become aware of "both the pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic aspects of English" as they develop "analytic abilities that they can apply to future language learning" (Rose 1999: 180). This approach to raising pragmatic awareness will influence the treatment design of my study.

1.3 E-MAIL PRAGMATICS

With the development of the Internet, increased attention has been given to the use of pragmatics in computer-mediated communication (CMC). Since Shea (1994) first presented her principles of business “netiquette” (a blend of the words *network* and *etiquette*), which are basic rules and guidelines for behaving and interacting via CMC, several others (Hambridge 1995; Rinaldi 1998) have further developed and applied netiquette principles to the full range of possible CMC purposes, from formal (e.g., business e-mail, academic discussion boards) to informal (e.g., Internet “fun-club” chat rooms). At this point in time, netiquette guidelines have become conventionalized and are publicized wherever CMC may take place, from office settings to Internet cafés; they have even found their way into ESL textbooks (e.g., Swales and Feak 2000; Hacker 2003) and onto university writing web sites (e.g., Hughes 2002; Essid 2003).

The line of research most directly relevant to my study are the handful of reports that investigate the pragmatics of e-mail requests in ESL environment. Of particular interest to my study is the report by Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig (1996), who analyzed for perlocutionary effect e-mail requests sent by NS and NNS graduate students to professors. They concluded that, in general, NNS e-mails did not adequately address imposition, which negatively affected perlocution (i.e., the effect that an utterance has on its recipient). In addition, NNS messages contained fewer downgraders and other mitigating supportive moves such as grounders and apologies, which negatively affected the impact of the requests. Weasenforth and Biesenbach-Lucas (2000) analyzed variation between graduate NSs and NNSs employed pragmatic strategies that negatively affected the perlocution of their English e-mail requests. Chen (2001) analyzed and compared e-mail requests sent by Taiwanese and U.S. graduate students to their professors. She concluded that the Taiwanese and U.S. students used different request strategies than the U.S. students due to culturally different perceptions of power relations, familiarity, and imposition. This study illuminates the possibility of divergent culture-specific pragmatic strategies employed by even advanced-level ESL students when making e-mail requests in the academic setting.

1.4 INSTRUCTION OF E-MAIL PRAGMATICS

At this point in time, e-mail pragmatics in the ESL setting remains largely under-researched. While important groundwork has been done to investigate cross-cultural differences evident in e-mail pragmatics, the effects of instruction of e-mail pragmatics remain virtually untouched.

Consistent with the absence of research into the effect of instruction in e-mail pragmatics, there is also a shortage of pedagogical materials devoted to the systematic instruction of the pragmatics of e-mail communication in the ESL context. Various textbooks of academic writing for ESL students provide very brief sections on e-mail usage that focus primarily on formal and functional rules for the university setting. Probably the most comprehensive Internet site devoted to English writing, OWL at

Purdue University (<http://owl.english.purdue.edu>), devotes minimal attention to e-mail pragmatics, and even then, it is targeted to NSs of English and provides no mention of miscommunications or violations that may arise due to cross-cultural differences in pragmatics (Hughes 2002). However, on the bright side, Ford (2003), Mach and Ridder (in press), and Weasenforth (2003) each have developed lessons and materials devoted to issues of e-mail pragmatics in the ESL environment, particularly in academia.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Drawing from the preceding literature review, the following research questions guided the current study:

- Is there a difference between the perlocution of NS and NNS English e-mail requests?
- What are the differences between the pragmatic features of NS and NNS English e-mail requests?
- What are the effects of instruction to NNSs in the usage of appropriate pragmatic features when making e-mail requests?

2. MATERIAL AND METHOD

2.1 PARTICIPANTS

Over the course of the 2011-2012 academic year, I completed a study in which I investigated the usage of e-mail pragmatics. I conducted this study in my own two sections, the advanced-level writing course for undergraduate 3rd year ESL students at the University of Bihać. My particular section met three days per week in 45-minute class sessions. Qualitatively, there seemed to be no differences between the two sections: they were at the age of 21, they both met during the morning, they both contained approximately the same numbers of students, and they both utilized the same textbook and instructional materials.

Over the two semesters, I gathered complete data sets from a total of 15 NNS. Data from an additional 10 students were incomplete, missing at least one message each, and were therefore excluded from this study. However, in the following analysis and discussion section, I do not consider cultural differences in pragmatic usage, for cultural differences do not seem relevant at this stage in my analysis of the effects of instruction.

At the beginning of each semester, these students indicated on a general course questionnaire that they frequently used computers and e-mail programs, and that they had never received any formal instruction in either computer or e-mail usage. Each of the students also supplied a valid e-mail address for the purposes of communication outside of classroom instruction time.

2.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

Pre-test. The study relied on a quasi-experimental design that included a pre-test, treatment, immediate post-test design. The pre-test was administered during the third week of each semester. It consisted of the following task:

Write me an e-mail message asking me to extend the due date for a paper that's due soon. Provide me an adequate reason, and convince me that I should grant your request. Give me any other information that I should grant your request. Give me any other information that you think would help me accept your excuse. Send your message to me the day before our next class.

My students were given this assignment in class and were told to complete the task before the next class meeting. They were provided with no additional instructions about the assignment.

When designing the prompt, I decided to have the students address a professor of a course under the assumption this may help the students become more personally connected to the prompt, which may result in a serious, well-thought-out message. Furthermore, I specified that the students should provide adequate reason and additional information, and use proper form and language because I wanted the students to understand that this was a real, serious assignment. The specification of the prompt was an attempt to ensure that the students would not submit a minimal message written a few minutes before the class, but instead would submit a message written after careful thought and planning, as would be the case in real life if they were writing a request to a real professor.

Treatment. The very next class session was held in a campus computer lab. The students were presented with a lecture based on rules of netiquette via web site with the goal of understanding how netiquette guidelines will help to make e-mail messages more acceptable and effective. After a brief introduction to netiquette principles, we talked about how these principles could be applied to different CMC situations, particularly the ones that the students could encounter in their academic careers. Next, the students examined some examples of poorly constructed e-mail messages and ways to improve them, while reflecting on the netiquette guidelines. In doing so, aspects of perlocution and politeness were discussed rather cursorily. Lastly, students viewed additional web sites on the Internet devoted to netiquette, specifically Shea's (1994) "Netiquette" page, Rinaldi's (1998) "The Net: User Guidelines and Netiquette" page. This was done to raise further awareness of e-mail pragmatics as an issue that extends far beyond the classroom and computer lab and applied to the entire Internet community. This lesson filled the full 45-minute class period and constituted the entire treatment.

Post-test. As their homework assignment due before the next class session, students were required to resubmit their previous e-mail requests based on what they had learned from the netiquette lesson. This comprised the immediate post-test portion of the study. During the remainder of each semester, no classroom time or otherwise was spent on issues related to e-mail pragmatics. The delayed post-test was administered during finals week, a full 15 weeks after treatment. The task of the

delayed post-test was a very similar assignment used for the pre- and immediate post-test which was also administered as a homework assignment. The assignment differed from the previous prompt only in that it asked students to request an extension of due date of the final course paper. This change was made in an attempt to make the assignment more realistic, since the delayed post-test was administered during finals week, when the students were actually thinking about these matters in their lives.

Data coding. After data was gathered, I coded each e-mail message onto a separate coding form that I developed, based on Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper (1989) and Shea (1994). Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper (1989) provide an elaborate coding scheme developed for the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) for analyzing requests. Following the CCSARP coding manual, analysis of requests includes three distinct stages: 1) identification of the *head act*, which is the minimum segment that constitutes the actual requests; 2) identification of non-essential elements that modify the head act internally; and 3) identification of non-essential elements relevant yet external to the head act. Together these parts contribute to a thorough analysis of a given request. For the purpose of my study, I combine the coding scheme of the CCSARP with required aspects of formal e-mail requests.

Additionally, the scope of the coding scheme was adjusted for the lengthier stream of discourse of the e-mail messages that were gathered by the task-based performance assessment in the current study instead of the single utterances gathered by discourse completion task (DCTs), for which the CCSARP was originally designed. Therefore, the coding form has separate sections for recording the tracking number of the e-mail message, the length of the message, the formal features of netiquette found in the message and the request(s) found in the message, and overall ratings for perlocutionary effect and politeness level of the message.

The rating for perlocutionary effect is based on a 5-point scale ranging from the least acceptable to the most acceptable concerning the likelihood that the receiver would accept the request:

Rating Perlocutionary Effect

- 1 Least Acceptable
- 2 Less Acceptable
- 3 Acceptable
- 4 More Acceptable
- 5 Most Acceptable

This 5-point scale was chosen due to its ability to allow for comparisons and slight differences in ratings across messages, while at the same time allowing for manageable analysis. The scale requires making a holistic judgment about the acceptability of a message based on experience and pragmatic intuition. The factors affecting judgment include an adequately formed request, an appropriate level of politeness, and an adequate use of downgraders and positive supportive moves. At one end of the scale, a rating of "Least Acceptable" would indicate a high likelihood that the recipient of the message would not accept the request. At the center of the scale, a rating of "Acceptable"

would indicate that the request in the message would probably be accepted by the recipient. At the other end of the scale, a rating of “Most Acceptable” would indicate a high likelihood that the recipient of the message would accept the request. As with the politeness rating scale, points 2 and 4 allow for slight differences in perlocutionary effect, depending on specific strategies employed in individual messages. The rating for politeness is based on a 5-point scale ranging from impolite to overly polite, and it concerns the level of overall formality perceived by the receiver:

Rating- Politeness Level

- 1 Very Impolite
- 2 Slightly Impolite
- 3 Polite
- 4 Too Polite
- 5 Overly Polite

This 5-point scale was chosen for the same reason as the perlocutionary effect rating scale discussed previously. At one end of the scale, “Very Impolite” messages would be the ones that are very brief and terse, demanding, insulting, or otherwise perceived as rude. At the other end of the scale, “Overly Polite” messages would be the ones that contain inappropriate uses of politeness markers, complements, or expressions of gratitude. At the center of the scale, “Polite” messages were those that follow netiquette guidelines by briefly stating a purpose, asking a request, providing only necessary details, and thanking the recipient, without discussing personal issues or qualities (Shea 1994; Rinaldi 1998). Points 2 and 4 allow for slight differences in politeness, depending on specific strategies employed in individual messages.

After collecting all of the study data, I coded and tarred each message, using the data coding form discussed previously. Additionally, 20% of the data, selected at random, was coded by a colleague from my same department, who was experienced with teaching students in the same course. This same colleague also rated 100% of the study data for perlocution and politeness. Regarding data coding, the reliability between the two was 73%, which is rather low; however, considering that the coding form includes 43 separate categories, the data messages averaged 122 words in length, and colleague received very little training, this reliability is acceptable for my purposes in this study. Regarding data rating reliability, the results were much better, with 86% reliability for perlocution ratings and 89% reliability for politeness ratings. In the following data analysis, I focus on my coding and ratings of the data only.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Throughout the course of the research project, I gathered a total of 74 e-mail requests for data analysis: 45 from the 15 NNSs in the form of pre-, immediate post-, and delayed post-tests, and 29 from the NSs as baseline data. Due to limited space, I will focus on my research questions.

Is there a difference between the perlocution of NS and NNS English e-mail requests?

Across the data set, NSs were rated on average just slightly above “acceptable” for perlocution, while NNSs were rated a full point below NSs in the “unacceptable” range, on their pre-test e-mail messages. Table 1 below shows descriptive statistics of the e-mail perlocution ratings.

	N	M	SD	MIN	MAX
NS	29	3.14	0.74	2.00	4.00
NNS	15	2.20	0.68	1.00	3.00

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for Perlocution

This initial analysis shows that the NNSs tend to produce less acceptable English e-mail requests and it also confirms previous work by Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig (1996) and Chen (2001), who had the same findings.

Examples 1 and 2 below are provided as representative of NS and NNS e-mail requests gathered for this study.

Example 1: NS e-mail request

From Native Speaker ns@yahoo.com
To majetic.senka@yahoo.com
Subject From a student in your class

Hi,

This is from Native Speaker, a student in your class. I am writing to you in regard to the paper due next Monday.

I would like to be given an extension until Wednesday if possible. On Sunday, I had to take my younger brother to the emergency room after he was injured playing football. We were at the hospital all day, and I wasn't able to finish my paper. I know your policy is not to grant extensions, but I was hoping you'd understand my circumstances. I couldn't foresee this emergency. I'd gladly supply you with supporting documentation. I understand you might not be able to do this, but if you could, I'd greatly appreciate it.

Thank you for your time.

Sincerely,

Native Speaker

Example 2: NNS e-mail request

From Non Native Speaker nns@yahoo.com

To majetic.senka@yahoo.com

Subject

Dear Ms.,

I have a request on the homework assignment that you assigned to us which must due on Monday. One of my close relative has gotten into a car accident yesterday night and she's in a critical condition. I was the only close relative that she has in Bihać. Since I have to take care of her until she gets better, I have not enough time to do the assignment. Thus, could you extend the due date of that assignment, please? I have to apologize that I have such request; however, she really needs my help at this time. Please give me time to finish up.

Thank you very much!

Sincerely,

Your Student

Each of these examples was judged the same by two raters. Example 1 was rated "4- More Acceptable" for perlocution and "3- Polite" for politeness. Example 2 was rated "3- Acceptable" for perlocution and "4- Too Polite" for politeness. Although their ratings were similar, it is obvious that the pragmatic strategies employed in forming these two messages are quite different. To begin with, whereas the NS includes a subject in the subject field of the message, the NNS does not, which is a violation of netiquette guidelines. Secondly, whereas the NS proves identification, the NNS does not. This is also a violation of netiquette guidelines. Additionally, whereas the NS forms the request in a "preparatory - request statement - grounder" fashion, the NNS forms the request in a "preparatory - request statement - grounder - request question" fashion. This NS request pattern is the prototypical NS pattern found in the data set. Lastly, the NS message contains politeness and upgrader features discussed in the following section, whereas the NNS message does not. Altogether, these differences in pragmatic strategies contribute to the differences in ratings between the NS and NNS messages.

What are the differences between the pragmatic features of NS and NNS e-mail requests?

One of the most noticeable differences between the pragmatic features of NS and NNS e-mail requests has to do with the level of politeness. Table 2 below shows descriptive statistics of the e-mail politeness ratings.

	N	M	SD	MIN	MAX
NS	29	3.07	0.65	2.00	4.00
NNS	45	3.42	0.78	2.00	5.00

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics for Politeness

NSs were rated just average overall for politeness – not impolite and not too polite. However, across all of the NNS messages (pre-test, post-test, and delayed post-test), they were rated above average for politeness by nearly a half of a point. This may not seem like much of a difference, but it does show that NNSs tend to produce e-mail requests that may be interpreted as too polite, a feature which may affect the perlocution of the message. Specific pragmatic features employed by the NNSs and not by the NSs, which may affect politeness, include complements, expressions of gratitude, and repeated uses of politeness markers (e.g., “please”). This finding is consistent with the research by Chen (2001) discussed previously, who, as a result, concluded that NNS over-politeness in e-mail requests is due to cultural transfer. This point should be considered for future instructional designs of e-mail pragmatics materials and lessons.

Another interesting finding regarding the differences between the pragmatic features of NS and NNS e-mail requests had to do with the use of upgraders in the e-mail messages. Upgraders are negative pragmatic devices that serve to increase the impact of the request and, therefore, may reduce the perlocution of the message. Following Netiquette guidelines (Shea 1994; Hambridge 1995; Rinaldi 1998; Hughes 2002), the use of expletives, repetitions, exclamations points, time intensifiers, and all-capital letters should be avoided. Within the entire NS data set, not one upgrader is used. On the other hand, NNSs make use of orthographic upgraders (exclamation points and all-capital letters) 11 times, three of them in one message alone. Examples of orthographic upgraders used by NNSs are “EMERGENCY!” found in the subject heading of one message, “Hi!” found in the introductions of several messages, as well as “Thank you!” found in the closing of several more messages. Additionally, several NNSs use time intensifiers such as “ASAP”, and the repetition-of-request strategy, which also serve as message upgraders.

What are the effects of instruction in the usage of appropriate pragmatic features when making e-mail requests?

By analyzing the NNS pre-, immediate-post, and delayed-post-test messages, it is evident that there were positive effects on instruction maintained over time. Regarding the perlocution of the e-mail requests, a one-way repeated-measures ANOVA was performed to test for significant treatment effect. The results of this analysis indicate that NNS messages increase in perlocution on the immediate-post-test, approaching “acceptable” on average. On the delayed-post-test, NNS messages maintain an increase in perlocution, although down from the immediate-post-test level and with no significance to the pre-test level.

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Between Tests	2.311	2	1.156	3.753*
Within Tests	12.933	42	.308	

Table 3: Results of One-Way Repeated-Measures ANOVA. Effect of International Treatment on Perlocution

This finding suggests the need for more instruction on pragmatic strategies to increase the perlocution of e-mail requests and maintain it over time. One suggestion for doing this is to include CMC pragmatics as competency in the academic writing curriculum and to provide a more comprehensive pragmatic analysis to include several different types of speech acts, such as apology and information exchange, in addition to requests. By doing so, instructional time for e-mail pragmatics would be extended throughout the semester, giving students many opportunities to practice writing strategies that are becoming more useful, and even necessary, in academic settings.

4. CONCLUSION

The study investigated the usage of pragmatics by NNSs of English when making e-mail requests. It contributes to the body of research in e-mail pragmatics by showing first that NSs and NNSs of English differ greatly in the pragmatic strategies that they use when making e-mail requests, and second that e-mail pragmatic features are teachable to NNSs. Findings from the study indicate that NNSs tend to produce messages that are rated as too polite, and at the same time judged to have low perlocutionary effect. Additional findings suggest that explicit instruction in e-mail pragmatics has a positive effect on the perlocution of e-mail messages, including the use of certain structure features and content pragmatic features.

This study is very limited in scope, containing a small number of participants, and examining only a few of the e-mail pragmatic features possible. However, it confirms in an instructional setting that e-mail pragmatics can and should consider ways to include the instruction of e-mail pragmatics in their curricula.

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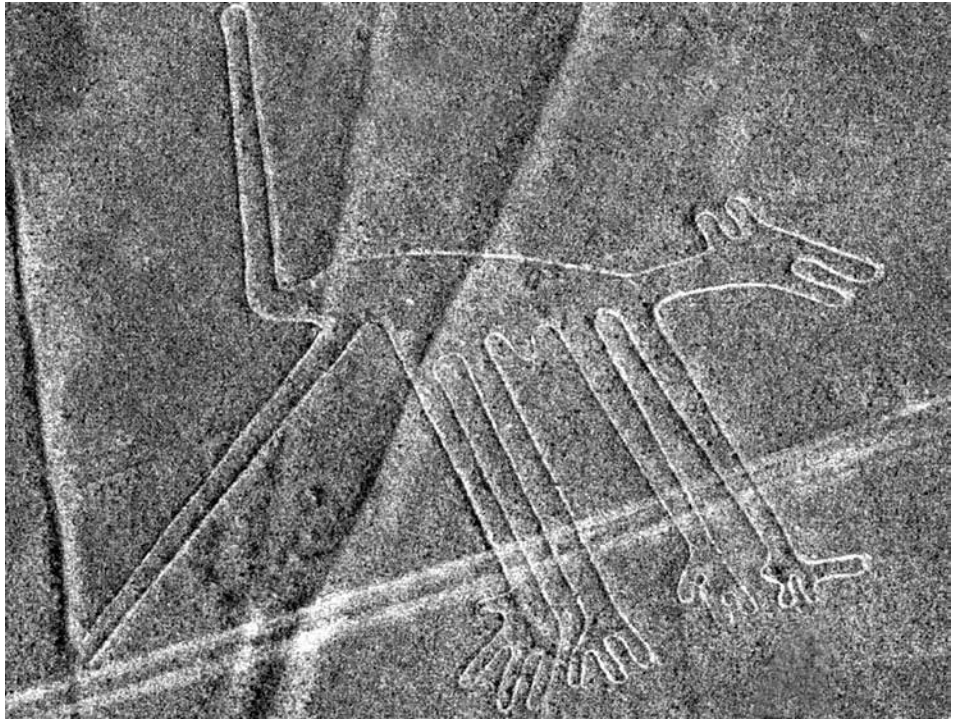
SUMMARY

THE PRAGMALINGUISTIC AND SOCIOPRAGMATIC ASPECTS OF ENGLISH: APPLYING ANALYTIC ABILITIES TO FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING

The current paper provides results of a study that investigated the usage of pragmatics by non-native speakers (NNSs) of English when making e-mail requests. Initial data from the study shows that NNSs differ from native speakers (NSs) in politeness and perlocution (i.e., the effect that an utterance has on its recipient) of their English e-mail requests. The data also show that NNSs and NSs differ in the specific pragmatic strategies related to the structure and content used in their e-mail requests. Additional data from this study indicates that explicit instruction can positively affect the perlocution of NNS e-mail requests and the long-term usage of pragmatic features found in the e-mail messages of NNSs, although the greatest effect is observed in the appropriate usage of structural features. The results of this study support the need for instruction of e-mail pragmatics to second language learners and reveal the possible benefits of such instruction.

KEYWORDS: e-mail requests, non-native speakers (NNSs), pragmatics, perlocution.

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■ DIDRO I VEK PROSVEĆENOSTI

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U 2013. godini jubileja tri veka od rođenja Denija Didroa, namera nam je da razmotrimo pitanje treba li na ovog francuskog stvaraoca gledati samo kao na jednog od vodećih predstavnika epohe prosvetećenosti ili se on može sagledati kao oličenje samog prosvetiteljskog duha u Francuskoj 18. veka. U tom smislu, u ovom radu se sučeljavaju mišljenja didrologa i drugih teoretičara književne istorije o Didrou u epohi prosvetiteljstva i spram drugih francuskih filozofa njegovih savremenika. Suštinu prosvetiteljskog humanizma čine praktikovanje filozofije kao društveno-intelektualne angažovanosti i širenje slobodarskog antidogmatskog duha, a što je obeležilo i Didroov život.

Ključne reči: Didro, prosvetiteljstvo/prosvetećenost, Enciklopedija, filozof, humanizam, eklektičar.

Istorijska epoha, sagledana kao jedan vek, opisuje se društveno-političkom klimom i duhovno-stvaralačkim pravcem koji su je i obeležili. U tom smislu, vek kao duhovna epoha nije kalendarsko stoleće, već je period koji počinje godinom koja je simbolično nagovestila nekakvim događajem društveno-duhovnu promenu, a završava se, opet, godinom u kojoj je neko zbivanje, ako ne sasvim okončalo prethodno doba, ono barem nagovestilo novo doba. Nemački jezik ima pojam *Geistesgeschichte* koji, prema objašnjenju Veleka i Vorena, pretpostavlja da svako razdoblje poseduje svoj *duh vremena*, pa se zato stremi „rekonstrukciji duha jednog vremena na osnovu različitih objektivizacija toga doba“ (Velek/Voren 2004: 159-160).

Devetnaesti vek, kao epoha industrijalizacije, naučno-filozofskog pozitivizma i istoricizma, i doba osvajanja formalne građanske jednakosti po rođenju, nasuprot privilegijama po poreklu, započeo je još s Francuskom revolucijom, a okončao se s izbijanjem Prvog svetskog rata, i sa svojih sto dvadeset pet godina trajanja postavio se između dve epohe čiji su vremenski okviri gotovo istovetni, jedva nešto duži od sedam decenija kalendarskog brojanja: 18. vek – na čijem je početku smrt francuskog

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apsolutiste Luja XIV (1715), a na kraju Revolucija (1789) koja će ukinuti već poljuljanu monarhiju, i 20. vek – koji se ograničava na period 1914-1989, tj. od, prvobitno tako nazvanog, Velikog rata do pada Berlinskog zida.

1. DIDROOV VEK PROSVEĆENOSTI

Za početak 18. veka istoričar Metju S. Anderson (2003: 7) uzima godinu 1713. kad je okončan rat za špansko nasleđe, ali, ipak, dodaje da je Evropa, sve do smrti moćnog kralja Luja XIV, 1715. godine, još uvek živela u 17. veku. Francuski stvaralac Deni Didro (1713-1784) svojim biološkim životom unutar je vremenskih okvira 18. veka kao epohe filozofskog skepticizma, spekulativno-eksperimentalne naučnosti, etike prirodne religije (koja se manifestuje isključivo na individualnom planu i ne čita se u knjigama i svetim spisima, već u srcu kojim rukovodi razum) i estetičkog subjektivizma; i ta epoha, sad već tradicionalno, naziva se *vekom prosvetiteljstva* (*siècle des Lumières*). Pozivajući se na Vernera Krausa, Hans Robert Jaus (Jauss), u eseju *Književna tradicija i savremena svest o modernosti*, objašnjava epohu prosvetiteljstva na sledeći način:

U nastupajućem veku prosvetiteljstva *lumières de la raison* (svetlosti razuma) staju naspram božanskom prosvetljenju (*lumière du Ciel*). [...] Kao *siècle éclairé* i *poli* (prosvećen i uglađen vek), vek prosvetiteljstva je ispunjen ponosom zbog visokog stupnja svoje moderne civilizacije i polaže pravo na naziv *siècle humain*, *siècle philosophique* (humani vek, vek filozofa). Od sredine stoleća u suvremenoj književnosti opšte je raspostranjeno izjednačavanje *siècle des lumières* (veka svetlosti) i *siècle philosophique* (filozofskog veka) sa *dix-huitième siècle* (18. vekom). (Jaus 1978: 184-185)

Sent-Bev (Sainte-Beuve), uticajni kritičar u 19. veku, u *Književnim portretima* (*Portraits littéraires*), tvrdi (Sent-Bev 1960: 160-161) da Didro najbolje rezimira filozofsku pobunu 18. veka, i, što je argument koji takođe ide u prilog Didrou, da se Žan-Žak Ruso (Rousseau), sa svojim svojstvima, više sudarao s vekom u kojem je živeo nego što ga je odražavao. Istoričar Metju S. Anderson ide još dalje od Sent-Beva kada tvrdi (Anderson 2003: 446, 457) da se Ruso ne može smatrati predstavnikom prosvetiteljstva i da je on kao mislilac delovao izvan okvira pomenutog pokreta. Za braću de Gonkur (Edmond & Jules de Goncourt), Volter (Voltaire) je poslednji duh stare Francuske, a Didro je prvi genije nove Francuske, što ova učena braća objašnjavaju, u dnevničkoj belešci od 11. aprila 1858. godine, na sledeći način:

Volter je besmrtn, a Didro je samo slavan. Zašto? Volter je sahranio epopeju, priču, stih, tragediju. Didro je ustoličio moderni roman, dramu i likovnu kritiku. Prvi je poslednji duh stare Francuske, drugi je prvi genije nove Francuske.² (Guyot 1953: 184)

2 "Voltaire est immortel et Diderot n'est que célèbre. Pourquoi ? Voltaire a enterré le poème épique, le conte, le petit vers, la tragédie. Diderot a inauguré le roman moderne, le drame et la critique d'art. L'un est le dernier esprit de l'ancienne France, l'autre est le premier génie de la France nouvelle." (cité d'après Guyot 1953: 184)

U svetlu recepcije Didroa kao preteče novih stvaralačkih tendencija može se sagledati i duhovna paralela koju između Didroa i 19. veka uspostavlja poljski teoretičar Vladislav Folkierski (Wladislaw Folkierski): čitav 19. vek, sa svojim opozicijama entuzijazam – opservacija, romantizam – pozitivizam, sve to je u sebi proživeo Didro – tvrdi Folkierski (1925: 515). Međutim, ima i osporavanja Didroove veličine. Za Danijela Mornea (Daniel Mornet), koji je sredinom 20. veka bio autoritet u francuskim univerzitetским krugovima, Deni Didro je samo najglasniji i najistureniji predstavnik svoje epohe i aktualnih tokova, ali ne i njihov pokretač (Mornet 1941: 107-108).

2. FILOZOFI – PROSVETITELJI

Ako se sagleda Didroovo polje bavljenja, onako kako je to sistematizovao ruski teoretičar Deržavin (Константин Николаевич Державин), u ogledu *Didro i enciklopedisti* (1948), očito je da je predmet Didroovog interesovanja ono što je i obeležilo njegovu epohu: problem religije, teorija saznanja, filozofija prirode, etika i teorija umetnosti (Deržavin 1948: 29). Bavljenje društvenom stvarnošću i praktikovanje filozofije kao etike svakodnevice pribavili su tadašnjim francuskim intelektualcima naziv *prosvetitelja* čemu je sinonim bio i termin *filozof*, u smislu društveno angažovanog intelektualca, čime postaje očito da je u francuskom duhu pojam *filozof* posve drugačije shvaćen u odnosu na nemačko poimanje spekulativnog mislioca koji nudi visoko elaboriran sistem saznanja stvarnosti. Isto tako, termin *filozof* kako je bio shvaćen u Francuskoj u 18. veku nema ekvivalent u engleskom jeziku – zaključio je američki profesor Artur Vilson (Wilson 1985: 59-60) u opsežnoj studiji *Didro (Diderot, 1972)* koja je u francuskom prevodu naslovljena *Didro – njegov život i njegovo delo (Diderot – sa vie et son œuvre, 1985)*.

Vilson (Wilson 1985: 59-60) elaborira evoluciju pojma *filozof* tokom 18. veka: početkom veka pojam je imao negativnu konotaciju i koristio se kao prekor, prigovor, čak kao uvreda, i označavao je čoveka koji želi da živi u otužnoj i prezrenoj usamljenosti, da bi sredinom veka filozof bio društveno angažovan čovek, a sam naziv je počeo da se smatra laskavom titulom. Vilsonovo neprevaziđeno istraživanje na kom je radio trideset šest godina, a koje se i među didrolozima na početku 21. veka smatra najboljim u domenu ne samo biografskih, već i opštih, didroloških istraživanja, nudi zaključak (Wilson 1985: 61) da filozof *à la française* pokazuje smisao za društvenu odgovornost, da je po definiciji to čovek vrline, čime stiče široku društvenu simpatiju. Wilson se poziva i na Herberta Dikmana (Herbert Dieckmann), naturalizovanog Amerikanca nemačkog porekla, koji upoređuje francuskog filozofa 18. veka s engleskim džentlmenom 19. veka i svetskim čovekom renesanse.³

Upravo je Didro među savremenici u francuskoj javnosti bio nazvan *Filozofom* (Le Philosophe), s velikim početnim slovom, i kad bi ko u diskusiji pomenuo *Filozofa*, znalo se da se misli na Didroa. Razlika je bila jedino u tome što su prijatelji i poštovaoci tako oslovljavali Didroa iz uvažavanja, a neprijatelji i kritičari iz podsmeha. Tako su, na

3 Vilson se poziva na: Dieckmann, H. 1948. *Le Philosophe, texts and interpretation*. Washington University Studies, New Series, Language and Literature, no 18, Saint-Louis, 2-3.

primer, Didroovi savremenici opat Sen-Sir (abbé de Saint-Cyr) i advokat Moro (Moreau) objavili satirične članke u kojima je *filozofu* Didrou i njegovim kolegama dat podrugljiv naziv *kakuak* (cacouac) prema grčkoj reči *cacos*, u etimološkom značenju – divljaci, okrutni. *Kakosi* ili *kakuaci* jesu ljudi od duha koji ne veruju u Boga, ne priznaju vlast, odbacuju opšti moral, slede prirodne zakone, kradu tuđe misli i laž im je praksa. Artur Vilson (Wilson 1985: 129) beleži zabavan epigram kojim protivnici izruguju Didroovu učenost i misaonost: „Dobar sam enciklopedist / Poznajem dobro i zlo / Ja sam učeni Didro / Znam sve, ne verujem ni u što“.⁴

3. DIDROOVA ENCIKLOPEDIJA

Priznanja i osporavanja prate recepciju Didroa i u 20. veku. Žak Šuje tvrdi da je Didro najpre filozof i da treba kao takav da bude ozbiljno shvaćen. Deržavin, pak, svodi Didroovu misao na – publicistiku:

U Didrou je temperament publiciste očevidno odneo prevagu nad temperamentom naučnika. Snaga njegovih članaka nije se sastojala u saopštavanju novih naučnih činjenica ni u popularizaciji bilo kojih naučnih tekovina, već u publicističkoj oštrini gledišta, u težnji da i najapstraktniju temu ispuni nečim borbeno-konkretnim, u sjajnim, opštrim aforizmima, u zaključcima široke osnove i od dalekosežna značaja, i, najzad, u majstorskim karakteristikama tipova ljudi, naravi, običaja i pojedinih lica. (Deržavin 1948: 23)

Američki teoretičar s početka 20. veka Kru (Cru 1913: 204) smatra da Didroova misao nije naučna ni filozofska, već *enciklopedijska*, tj. ona koja se zanima za sve oblasti bez sistematičnog udubljanja u određenu sferu i koja je usmerena na popularizaciju praktičnog znanja, što je, inače, odlikovalo i *Enciklopediju* (*Encyclopédie*), u punom nazivu – *Obrazloženi rečnik nauka, umetnosti i zanata* (*Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*), koja je, kao riznica svih dotadašnjih znanja, predstavljala veliki izdavački poduhvat u Francuskoj 18. veka, a kojim je rukovodio upravo Didro.⁵ Kako to u knjizi *Šta je dobro? – potraga za najboljim načinom življenja* (*What is Good? The Search for the best Way to Live*, 2003) kaže Grejling (Grayling) – *Enciklopedija* koju „možemo smatrati i spomenikom odnosno svedočanstvom težnji najoptimističkijih umova osamnaestog veka“ bila je i ostala do danas institucija (Grejling 2007:165).

Enciklopedija je za dve decenije izlaženja (1751-1772), uz povremene zastoje i zabrane od strane državnih i crkvenih organa, brojala 60.660 članaka u 17 tomova teksta, praćenih s 11 tomova ilustracija. Ovoj statistici, a koju beleži Pjer Lepap (Lepape 1991: 101-126), Artur Vilson (1985: 61-70) pridodaje i 4 toma dodatka, 2 toma indeksa i 1 tom dodatnih crteža. Istoričar Metju S. Anderson vidi u *Enciklopediji*, osim ogromnog

4 “Je suis bon encyclopédiste ; / Je connais le mal et le bien. / Je suis Diderot à la piste ; / Je connais tout, je ne crois rien.” (Wilson 1985: 129)

5 Kodirektor Dalamber (d’Alembert), jednako značajan za pokretanje *Enciklopedije* kao i Didro, napustio je projekat već 1758. godine.

skupa podataka, i njenu drugu, dinamičniju funkciju – „popularisanje i širenje stavova radikalne francuske forme prosvetiteljstva“ (Anderson 2003: 447). Ona je, kako to definiše Antoni Grejling, omogućila „uzlet duha u osamnaestom veku“ (2007: 155).

Drugi čovek tog naučno-izdavačkog projekta, Žan Dalamber (Jean Le Rond d'Alembert), u obaveštenju čitaocima piše da je *Enciklopedija* istorija ljudskog duha, a ne istorija ljudske taštine, da u njoj „nema svetaca ni kraljeva“, da „ona sve duguje talentima, a ništa titulama“ (d'Alembert 1894: XLV). Prema tome, kako to ističe Artur Vilson, pozivajući se na zaključke koje je izveo Rene Iber (René Hubert), u članku *Duh društvenih nauka u Enciklopediji* (*L'Esprit des sciences sociales dans l'Encyclopédie*, 1936), glavni zadatak *Enciklopedije* bio je da sekularizuje društvo, znanje i nauku, što je bilo uznemirujuće za crkvene ljude koji „kad kažu čovek uvek misle Adam“ (Wilson 1985: 145).

4. EKLEKTICIZAM FRANCUSKOG PROSVETITELJSTVA

Osim nesumnjive popularnosti Didroovu *Enciklopediju* su pratila i nadmena akademska izrugivanja. Vilson (Wilson 1985: 129) beleži jedan satirični epigram koji dobro odslikava stavove učenih protivnika *Enciklopedije*: „Evo je, dakle, Enciklopedija; / Kakva sreća za neznalce! / Baš će učena rapsodija / Izrodit lažne znalce!“⁶ I dok su među savremenima jedni prezrivo gledali na *Enciklopediju* kao na zbirku partikularnih kvazi-znanja, drugi su njome bili očarani. Oprečna gledišta o vrednosti i sistematičnosti Didroove misli obeležila su ne samo kritičku recepciju njegove epohe, već i kritičke pristupe i u dva minula veka.

Čuveni francuski didrolog Žak Šuje, u studiji *Formiranje Didroovih estetičkih ideja* (*Formation des idées esthétiques de Diderot*, 1973) sučeljava gledišta svojih savremenika: dok francuski estetičar Ivon Belaval (Yvon Belaval) smatra da je Didroova misao jedinstvena, zaokružena i sistematična – veli Šuje (Chouillet 1985: 595) – američki estetičar Lester Kroker (Lester G. Crocker) tvrdi da je ona fragmentarna, nesistematična, iscepkana. U prilog tvrdnji američkog didrologa Krokera ide i zaključak Vladislava Folkierskog u kojem ovaj poljski teoretičar kaže da Didrou nedostaje zaokružena celina. Za Votlerovu misao je rečeno da predstavlja „haos jasnih ideja“ (*chaos d'idées claires*) – veli Folkierski (1925: 362) – dok bi se za Didroovu misao moglo reći da je „haos parcijalnih sistema“ (*chaos de systèmes partiels*) kojem nedostaje jedinstvo.

Kako onda definisati Didroa kao mislioca i umetnika, rečju – stvaraoča? Teško je to učiniti, tvrdi Vilson, jer Didro je stalno u kretanju. Upravo to kretanje navodi Danijela Mornea da opazi mnoštvo oprečnih Didroa: Žak-Didro i Kapetan-Didro, Ramo-Didro i Filozof-Didro, u čemu i sâm Morne vidi Didroovu originalnost. Pomenuti likovi iz Didroovih dela *Fatalista Žak i njegov gospodar* (*Jacques le fataliste et son maître*) i *Ramoov sinovac* (*Le Neveu de Rameau*), ovde se uzimaju za alegorije oprečnih etičko-estetičkih stavova: racionalno naspram senzitivnog, determinizam spram empirije, opservacija nasuprot entuzijazmu. Ako je tu reč o haosu parcijalnih sistema kojima

6 "Voici donc l'Encyclopédie ; / Quel bonheur pour les ignorants ! / Que cette docte rapsodie / Fera naître de faux savants !" (Wilson 1985: 129).

nedostaje vezivna nit, onda je na istraživačima zadatak, kako to sugeriše Folkierski, da Didroove sisteme sačinjene od detalja povežu u jednu celinu.

Američki didrolog Dejvid Fant (David Funt) započinje studiju *Didro i estetika prosvetiteljstva* (*Diderot and the Esthetics of the Enlightenment*, 1968) tvrdjenjem (Funt 1968: 17) da Didroova misao ne može biti dosledno sistematizovana jer se njegova gledišta transformišu i evoluiraju, a završava je zaključkom (Funt 1968: 177) da Didroovu misao čini niz pogleda koji zamenjuju prethodne ili im protivreče. Žak Šuje, pak, odbacuje teoriju o Didroovom evolucionizmu i tvrdi (Chouillet 1973: 453) da je tu pre reč o iznenadnim mutacijama. I Daniel Morne se slaže da nema stvarne evolucije kod Didroa, već odricanja zarad druge strane usled čega francuski enciklopedista, u svojim stavovima, ide iz jedne pozicije u drugu, te stoga on nije ni stvorio koherentan sistem. Volter i Monteskeje evoluiraju – veli Morne (Mornet 1941: 10-12) – Didro je stalno u protivrečnostima. Izmiriti različitost i jedinstvo, estetiku i eksperimentalnu fiziku, prirodu i civilizaciju, osnovni je Didroov misaoni zadatak.

Je li Didro filozof ili samo enciklopedista, umetnik ili tek publicista, vatrena polemika u tom etiketiranju, kako smo prethodno elaborirali, vođena je među teoretičarima u dva minula veka koji su neiscrpne argumente zahvatili jednako iz ugla sinhronije – načelnih definicija i sistema, i dijahronije – određenog društveno-istorijskog konteksta. Deni Didro se na početku našeg istraživanja pominje s atributom ugodne semantičke ekstenzije *francuski stvaralac* kako bi se izbeglo upuštanje u široku raspravu koja se nameće kad se pribegne uskom terminološkom etiketiranju. Kao filozof koji crpe znanja iz brojnih teorija i njima slobodno raspolaže kako bi zasnovao vlastitu nauku o umetnosti, Deni Didro je pravi eklektičar, tj. kolekcionar tuđih mudrosti, teoretičar bez zatvorene i dovršene teorije, mislilac u neprestanom kretanju. To je ujedno i ključna odlika francuskih filozofa u 18. veku, tj. enciklopedista-prosvetitelja, kako ih sinonimno možemo nazvati.

Peti tom *Enciklopedije* (1755: 270-293) beleži pojam *eklektizam* (*Eclectisme*) u izvornom smislu – filozofske škole s kraja 2. veka nove ere u egipatskoj Aleksandriji, i u prenosnom smislu – duhovne širine u sticanju znanja, što je Didro obrazložio člankom, koji u Versinijevom kritičkom izdanju Didroovog opusa (Diderot 1994: 300-362) zauzima 63 strane. Za Didroa, *eklektičar* je tip filozofa koji odbacuje predrasude i predubedenja, tradiciju i autoritete, koji prihvata samo ono što je zasnovao na ličnom iskustvu i rasuđivanju, koji izučava druge filozofije nepristrasno i bez obavezujućeg uvažavanja, koji ne teži tome da podučava, već da se obavesti, koji ne seje istine, već žanje mudrost, i na osnovu svega toga zasniva ličnu životnu filozofiju.

I Didroova estetička misao je u tesnoj vezi s njegovom opštom filozofskom mišlju. Artur Wilson (Wilson 1985: 446), sagledava Didroovu estetiku kao široku teoriju koja obuhvata umetnika, slušaoca, gledaoca, a svi oni se sreću u tački koja je *ukus*, što je i glavna umetnička debata 18. veka u kom je i nastao pojam *estetika*. Herbert Dikman ukazuje na vezu filozofije i estetike kod Didroa: razmatranjima poetičkih zanatskih pitanja francuski prosvetitelj pridružuje razmišljanja o prirodi lepog, o stvaraočevom odnosu s umetnošću, s estetskim stvaranjem i analizom estetskog zadovoljstva (Dieckmann 1959 : 97). Ivon Belaval zaključuje kako estetika ne može biti zasebna od filozofije „kod čoveka koji ne prestaje da se poziva na nju, kod čoveka kog su nazivali i koji je samog sebe nazivao: Filozof“ (Belaval 1973: 7).

5. PROSVETITELJSKI HUMANIZAM

Interakcija stvaraoca i recipijenta i afirmacija subjektivnosti u zasnivanju filozofije umetnosti nalaze se u temelju moderne estetike koja se vezuje za 18. vek. To nas vraća na početak našeg izlaganja u kojem se 18. vek, mimo formalno-kalendarskog vremenskog rangiranja, definiše kao određena duhovna epoha, a Deni Didro se pozicionira kao istaknuti predstavnik epohe i njen najznačajniji glasnogovornik. U prilog tome slede još dve kraće elaboracije. Ključ Didroove filozofije za Žaka Šujea jeste njegov *humanizam*, i potvrdu za to on nalazi i u članku *Enciklopedija* objavljenom u istoimenoj publikaciji. Dok je 17. vek, sa svojim objektivizmom i depersonalizovanim klasicizmom, stvorio jaz između čoveka i svemira, a personifikaciju tog veka Šuje vidi u Paskalu, kod Didroa je, nasuprot jansenističkom entuzijasti, uspostavljena veza između čoveka i svemira (Chouillet 1973: 398). Priroda nije više otužna nema scena, kao u 17. veku, već je objekat poznavanja za misleće ljude.

Prisustvo ljudi na svetu je ono što egzistenciju čini zanimljivom – citira Šuje teoretičara Žana Tomaa (Jean Thomas), što nas vodi na drugu elaboraciju. Žan Toma je nazvao francuski 18. vek *humanizmom*, i vek prosvetećenosti je uporedio s renesansnim humanizmom. Zaključci koje izvodi Toma ovde se mogu svesti na sledeće tri glavne odlike (Thomas 1938: 149-157): prvo – mera svega je čovek, a ne nešto izvan njega; drugo – upoznaje se ljudska priroda, telo i duh, i čovek se samoposmatra u svom totalitetu bez nametnutih ograničenja; treće – drugi nisu model, već primer, i svako razvija svoju osobenost. Nausprot renesansi i prosvetiteljstvu stoje sistemi koji nude modele i stvaraju uniformnu zajednicu, a u takve sisteme Toma ubraja klasicizam i romantizam. Jasno je da je u Tomaovom određenju humanizam shvaćen kao sinhrona kategorija, stanje duha, a ne dijahroni pojam, tj. istorijska epoha na prelazu iz srednjeg veka u novi vek. Humanizam je panevropski i humanisti prelaze granice topografskog, etničkog i nacionalnog određenja. U tom smislu, u svojoj didrofilskoj studiji naslovljenoj *Didroov humanizam (L'Humanisme de Diderot, 1938)*, Žan Toma naziva humanistima Montanja, Didroa i Getea.

Opravdano se 18. vek naziva *filozofskim vekom* budući da je u toj epohi filozofija praktikovana kao društveni angažman intelektualca u cilju svestranog obrazovanja građana, oslobađanja od društvenih predrasuda i religijskog dogmatizma, i radi ustoličenja slobode misli. Tri i po decenije Didroovog teorijskog-istraživačkog i književnog-umetničkog stvaralaštva, kao i njegovo dvodecenijsko rukovođenje spomenikom prosvetiteljstva zvanim *Enciklopedija*, daju za pravo da se govori o – Didroovom veku prosvetećenosti.

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RÉSUMÉ

DIDEROT ET LES LUMIÈRES

À l'occasion du tricentenaire de la naissance de Denis Diderot, on se propose d'examiner la question suivante : faut-il considérer Diderot seulement comme un des représentants des Lumières ou peut-on estimer qu'il incarne l'esprit même du Siècle philosophique. Dans cet article, on élabore les opinions des théoriciens de l'histoire littéraire sur Diderot à l'époque des Lumières et à l'égard des autres philosophes ses contemporains. Le but de la philosophie au XVIII^e siècle était d'éclairer la société, de propager l'esprit ouvert, de lutter contre les préjugés sociaux et les dogmes religieux, de couronner la liberté de la pensée. C'était aussi le bilan intellectuel et créateur de Diderot. Dans ce cadre nous pouvons parler des Lumières de Diderot.

MOTS-CLÉS: Diderot, Lumières, Encyclopédie, Philosophe, humanisme, éclectique.

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■ JEDAN LIRSKI ELEMENT U ROMANU ZLATNI ZMAJ DEŽEA KOSTOLANJIJA, SAGLEDAN IZ PREVODILAČKE PERSPEKTIVE

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Autor ovog rada fokusirao se na poetičke aspekte i estetičke implikacije jednog konkretnog prevodilačkog problema u romanu *Zlatni zmaj* (1925) klasika mađarskog modernističkog pripovedanja, Dežea Kostolanjija (Kosztolányi Dezső, 1885–1936), koji se potvrdio i kao izuzetan pesnik. Za razliku od drugih prozaista njegovog vremena, kod kojih bi rima u prozi mogla biti znak nepažnje ili lošeg stila, Kostolanjijev narator, po mišljenju autora ovog rada, u jednom od najdramatičnijih trenutaka u romanu – a reč je o trenutku samoubistva glavnog junaka – svesno pribegava jednom neobičnom ponavljanju te koristi rimu u prozi ne bi li, možda i sa sebi svojstvenom (autopoetičkom) ironijom naglasio svu teškoću da se opiše nesaznatljivo, tj. nešto što izmiče kategorijalnom razmišljanju i mogućnosti opisivanja, u ovom slučaju (nasilna i iznenadna) smrt junaka, odnosno junakova izneverena očekivanja bazirana na njegovim, čitavog života marljivo i sa entuzijazmom sticanim, prirodnonaučnim saznanjima. Rad se fokusira na teškoće u izboru rešenja koja su prevodiocu u ovom konkretnom slučaju bila na raspolaganju, kao i na (moguće) posledice odabira upravo ovog, a ne nekog drugog rešenja sa stanovišta romana kao celine.

Ključne reči: tehnika „pomnog“ čitanja, naglašeni momenat, rima u prozi, prevodilačke teškoće.

Deže Kostolanji (Kosztolányi Dezső, 1885–1936), klasik mađarske književnosti iz perioda tzv. „estetskog modernizma“ ili „estetske moderne“ (dvadesete godine XX veka), kad god bi mu savremenici prebacivali – a prebacivali su mu prilično često – zbog nedovoljno jasno profilisane političke pozicije u uvek turbulentnoj srednjoevropskoj državi kakva je Mađarska, najčešće se od tih kritika branio tako što je, nasuprot njihovim zahtevima da se jasno izjasni kao *homo moralis* i *homo politicus*, sebe doživljavao i predstavljao kao *homo aesthethicusa* i *homo ludensa*. Kostolanji je

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napisao veliki broj oglada i esejističkih tekstova u kojima nastoji da dokaže da direktni angažman zapravo uništava literaturu, svodeći je na neduhoviti, jednodimenzionalni, neslojeviti pamflet. Njegov prvi, alegorični roman, *Krvavi pesnik Neron (Nero, a véres költő, 1922)*, čija je radnja, slično kao i u Sjenkjevičevom delu *Quo vadis?* izmeštena u antički Rim, smatra se čak i ne preterano skrivenim obračunom sa savremenikom Dežeom Saboom (Szabó Dezső, 1879–1945). I premda se taj roman i danas može čitati s podjednakim uživanjem, čak i ako kontekst mnogima već odavno nije niti može biti poznat, pre svega kao izvanredna parabola o agresivnom i netalentovanom diletantu koji ima moć (glavni junak, odnosno negativni junak dela, Neron), filologija, a naročito kritičko izdanje Kostolanjijevih dela čiji je jedan segment već ugledao svetlost dana, nesumnjivo pokazuju da ni elementi želje za ličnim obračunom u ovom romanu ne manjkaju. Priređivač kritičkog izdanja ovog Kostolanjijevog dela, klasični filolog Laslo Takač (Takács László) smatra, ipak, da je i ovaj roman, kao, uostalom, i svi drugi Kostolanjijevi romani, „plod mukotrpnog i dugotrajnog razmišljanja“ (Takács 2012: 28), gde se autor svojski trudio da izbegne direktne političke i lične invektive, kao i slučajna preklapanja sa nekim savremenim delima iz svetske književnosti sa sličnom tematikom (recimo, upravo i sa pomenutim Sjenkjevičevim delom).

Kostolanji se javio, kao i toliki drugi autori njegove generacije pre svega kao istančani lirik rilkeovskog senzibiliteta, i premda je uporedo sa pesmama pisao i putopise, književne i pozorišne kritike, vrcave novinske članke, pripovetke i romane, mnogobrojni se Kostolanjijevi tumači svakako slažu u jednom: u proznim delima ovog autora, bez obzira na žanr, snažno je izražena lirska, razigrana crta, dakle, upravo ono što bi, u nekoj zamišljenoj i, čini se, nepotrebno radikalnoj klasifikaciji, trebalo da odlikuje pisca kao *homo aestheticusa* i *homo ludensa*. Ta lirska crta je na naročito slojevit i kompleksan način prisutna u Kostolanjijeva četiri romana, u pomenutom *Krvavom pesniku Neronu, Ševi* (Pacsirta, 1924), *Zlatnom zmaju* (Aranyvárkony, 1925) i u *Ani Edeš (Édes Anna, 1926)*. Ako sa ne malom dozom uopštavanja zaključimo da u prvom romanu, onom o Neronu, dominira istorijsko-alegorična dimenzija, a da u poslednjem – čiji je glavna junakinja primerna služavka „Slatka Ana“ koja se iznebuha pretvara u hladnokrvnog ubicu svojih gospodara – prevagu odnose socijalno-psihološki elementi, onda bi se kao pravi primeri snažnim lirizmom prožete proze mogli uzeti romani *Ševa* i *Zlatni zmaj*, kao dela u kojima se pripovedač „vraća“ u autorov rodni grad i mesto odrastanja, Suboticu, sa preko potrebnim izmeštanjem i ironijskim otklonom, razume se.

U ovim romanima razigrani pripovedač sa mešavinom lirizma i ironije (koja katkad prelazi i u otvoreni sarkazam) prikazuje provincijsku varošicu Šarseg, vršeći, na gotovo foberovski način, izvanrednu vivisekciju palanačkog mentaliteta. No, pripovedačevo neprestano poigravanje vidi se već i u samom nazivu grada – Šarseg bi se, naime, mogao prevesti kao *Blatnjavi kutak, Blatnjavo čoše, Blatnjavi budžak* ili naprosto kao *Blatište*. I imena likova, naročito u romanu *Ševa*, uglavnom imaju i neko konkretno značenje ili na nešto asociraju, slično kao, recimo, kod Dostojevskog. Tako se, primera radi, Ševin otac zove Akoš Vajkai (Vajkay Ákos), gde bi se njegovo prezime moglo dovesti u vezu sa glagolom *vájkál* (u smislu *preturati, rovariti* po nečemu), a ako se zna da je Ševin otac opsednut heraldikom i crtanjem porodičnih stabala, pripovedačeva ironična invektiva na njegov račun prilično je jasna. Sličan je slučaj i sa jednim relativno sporednim likom

u romanu, mladim pesnikom i urednikom Miklošom Ijašem (Ijas Miklós), koji smatra da je odavno prerastao malograđansku sredinu Šarsega i koji o sebi kao pesniku misli sve najbolje (premda čitalac romana nikakvu spoljnu potvrdu o njegovom daru zapravo ne dobija). Njegovo prezime, naime, mađarskog čitaoca sasvim očigledno asocira na imenicu *íj*, odnosno *lûk* – i zaista, mađarski bi se čitalac lako mogao zapitati da li su otrovne strelice koje on iz svog *lûka* odapinje prema gradu usmerene samo prema toj omrzutoj varošici i njenim neuglednim, zavidljivim stanovnicima ili se, u krajnjoj liniji, vraćaju njemu kao nekakve čudne bumerang-strelice koje ispaljuje sam pripovedač. Mnogo bi se još ovakvih primera moglo nabrojati, pa se vojvođanski teoretičar i kritičar prevoda Đerđ Pap (Papp György), osvrćući se u jednom prigodnom tekstu, objavljenom 1985. godine povodom stogodišnjice rođenja velikog pisca, sa pravom pita „zbog čega li se prvi srpskohrvatski prevodilac *Ševe* nije usudio da nekako pokuša da prevede“ (Papp 1985: 1357) ova „govoreća“ imena.² Logično, ono što za srpske čitaoce kod Gogolja ili Dostojevskog i bez prevođenja može predstavljati prezime sa određenim značenjem, (makar i pogrešnim, ako se nasedne na zamku tzv. *lažnih prijatelja* u srodnim jezicima), kao što su npr. Akakij Akakijevič, Raskoljnikov, Razumihin, Smerdjakov ili Njetočka Njezvanova, to bi se u slučaju nesrodnog jezika kakav je mađarski moralo prevesti ili nekako prilagoditi (kao što je činio, recimo, Stanislav Vinaver pri prevođenju *Rablea*, pa je dobijeno, primera radi, hibridno ime Granguzje i mnogo toga još). Postavlja se, naravno, pitanje da li je to moguće i dopušteno u ovom slučaju, dakle, kada pred sobom imamo prozu koja, za razliku od *Rablea*, ipak održava barem privid jednog modernog realističkog postupka.

Taj je realistički postupak, međutim, kako je već naglašeno, prožet snažnim lirizmom. Liričnost Kostolanjijeve proze, naročito kada je reč o romanima ovog autora, kao i kod većine dobrih pisaca, uostalom, nije nametljivo kitnjasta i sladunjava, već je, naprotiv, diskretna, dozirana s merom, i funkcioniše ne na nivou pojedinačnih scena, već na nivou dela kao celine. Ta se fina liričnost ogleda u prvom redu u izvanrednom osećaju za meru i za ritam proze, oličenom, primera radi, u sintaktičkom tkanju dela u kojem se, u zavisnosti od stepena dramatizacije ili ironizacije radnje, poseže za ritmičkim smenjivanjem kraćih i dužih rečenica, dijaloških i deskriptivnih pasaža, neočekivanih autorskih opaski i slično. U još ređe stilističke postupke ovog tipa spada ponavljanje reči ili rečenica, kojima Kostolanjijev pripovedač pribegava veoma retko, a kada to ipak učini, onda je za verovati da to čini sa dobrim razlogom.

U ovom tekstu bih se osvrnuo upravo na primer jednog takvog postupka ponavljanja, i to u drugom Kostolanjijevom *romanu zavičajnog sveta*, u delu *Zlatni zmaj*. Kao prevodilac ovog romana i, shodno tome, kao prevashodno „tekstualno usmereni“ čitalac, suočio sam se sa tim postupkom kao s prvorazrednim čitalačkim otkrićem (takozvanom čitalačkom „poslasticom“), ali i kao sa prevodilačkim izazovom prvoga reda.

Ovaj jezički „mikroproblem“ (koji ovu odrednicu „mikro“ može imati samo na nivou romana kao celine, no nikako i u kontekstu važnosti konkretne scene) pojavljuje

2 Ova primedba Đerđa PAPA još uvek je aktuelna, budući da se ni naredna dva prevodioca istog romana (među kojima je i autor ovog teksta) nisu usudila da menjaju ili *posrbjavaju* ni toponim Šarseg, niti lična imena, tako da, recimo, pomalo neobični pridev *šarsegski* ili *šarseški* i dalje ostaju u opticaju.

se možda i u ključnoj sceni romana, kada u nekoliko poteza pripovedač opisuje tragični momenat samoubistva glavnog junaka, gimnazijskog profesora matematike i fizike, Antala Novaka (Novák Antal).³ Kostolanji – čak i u kontekstu svetske književnosti – spada u onu ne preterano veliku grupu pisaca koji ne samo što su se poigrali i „koketirali“ sa smrću, sa konkretnim, dramatičnim trenutkom svršetka života, nego su ovom, ključnom momentu, tragičnom finalu svake pojedinačne ljudske sudbine, pokušali da priđu „iznutra“, drugim rečima, da ovaj u osnovi nepoznati (a po mnogima i nesaznatljivi) trenutak opišu iz jedne unutrašnje tačke gledišta, da u pripovedačkom smislu urone u njega, svesno pokušavajući da zađu u jedno suštinski vrlo teško spoznatljivo područje. Poznata je, recimo, tragična scena opisa Senekine smrti u *Krvavom pesniku Neronu*, kada vojnici, po Neronovoj zapovesti, starog filozofa, Neronovog dugogodišnjeg vaspitača i učitelja, strpaju u kadu i prerežu mu vene. No, u pogledu opisa scene smrti, najdalje će Kostolanjijev narator otići upravo u romanu *Zlatni zmaj*.

Potpuni duševni slom svog junaka Antala Novaka, pripovedač prikazuje postupno, fino gradirajući elemente koji na kraju dovode do neizbežnog ishoda. Jedan od tih elemenata je i Novakovo iznenada poljuljano poverenje u savremena, humanistička pedagoška načela u koja je dotad verovao, ali i iznenadnu skepsu u to da mu njegove egzaktne nauke, matematika i fizika, kojima se celoga života s velikom ljubavlju i strašću posvećivao, mogu pružiti bilo kakav suvisli odgovor na konačna pitanja ljudske egzistencije koja su mu se iznenada nametnula. Zanimljivo je da glavni junak, nekoliko nedelja pre totalnog psihičkog kraha, umesto svojih dotad uobičajenih dokoličarskih aktivnosti – rešavanja zadataka iz fizike ili igranja šaha sa samim sobom – odjednom počinje da čita pesme iz ciklusa *Mrazovke* Janoša Aranja (Arany János, 1817–1882). Reč je, dakako, o kasnim, „staračkim“ pesmama velikog barda mađarske poezije XIX veka, u kojima se njegov lirski subjekt suočava sa poslednjim pitanjima ljudske egzistencije. Može se to tumačiti i kao neka vrsta junakovog konačnog razočaranja u sve ono čemu je dotad bio potpuno posvećen, u ono što je, u krajnjoj liniji, njegovom životu davalo smisao.

Sa drugim – najvećim – a ujedno i poslednjim, dramatičnim junakovim razočaranjem u nauku susrećemo se u samom opisu Novakovog samoubistva. Kostolanjijev narator u načinu na koji vodi ovu scenu kao da protivreči čuvenoj, danas pomalo već i otrcanoj, Vitgenštajnovoj floskuli da o onome o čemu se ne može govoriti, valja ćutati, utoliko što upravo o tome pokušava da progovori. Jedan od najrelevantnijih mađarskih tumača Kostolanjijevog opusa, Mihalj Segedi-Masak (Szegedy-Maszák Mihály), pozivajući se na oštroumno zapažanje francuske hungarološkinje Karolen Votren (Caroline Vauthren), tvrdi sledeće: „Poput *Krvavog pesnika*, i *Zlatni zmaj* jeste pokušaj da se predstavi unutrašnje iskustvo smrti. Dvadeset deveto poglavlje romana predstavlja »susret sa neprozirnošću, čiji neuhvatljivost tekst priznaje«” (Szegedy-Maszák 2010: 279). Nije mi

3 Fabula romana mogla bi se, u najkraćem, prepričati na sledeći način: ugledni i u svakom smislu primerni gimnazijski profesor matematike i fizike, rano obudoveli Antal Novak, izvršava samoubistvo nakon što mu ćerka jedinica zatrudni s jednim njegovim đakom i pobegne od kuće, i nakon što ga (nezavisno od ćerkinе trudnoće i bekstva), u društvu dvojice bivših đaka-nasilnika, brutalno pretuče učenik koga je bio prinuđen da obori na maturalnom ispitu. Antal Novak naprosto ne može da podnese dvostruku sramotu koja mu je naneta, i, nemajući u skućenoj provincijskoj sredini kuda da pobegne, pribegava poslednjem koraku očajnika – samoubistvu.

namera da po svaku cenu polemišem sa ovim stavom Votrenove i Segedi-Masaka, ali mi se čini da citat koji sledi zapravo opovrgava stanovište po kome tekst navodno priznaje svoju nemoć, odnosno, u krajnjoj liniji, daje za pravo Vitgenštajnu. Naprotiv, tekst upravo svim silama, tj. svim jezičkim sredstvima koja mu stoje na raspolaganju nastoji da prikaže unutrašnji, odveć ljudski (Niče), subjektivni, svim naučnim pretpostavkama bolno suprotstavljeni, neponovljivi trenutak smrti.

No, bez obzira na sva neslaganja oko ovako shvaćenog tumačenja moći i nemoći teksta, sa prevodilačke tačke gledišta, osnovni umetnički imperativ ostaje isti: prevodilac mora biti izuzetno oprezan kada su u pitanju ovakve, tzv. *ključne scene* kod Kostolanjija, mora se vratiti klasično shvaćenom načelu *close readinga* (pomnog čitanja, otprilike onako kako su ga formulisali rodonačelnici *nove kritike*), želi li da stvori prevod koji se po estetičkoj relevantnosti barem donekle može meriti sa originalom. Ta potreba za pomnim čitanjem naročito se potcrtava u svetlu jednog, gotovo teatralno istaknutog jezičkog momenta. Potrebno je, upravo iz tog razloga, ovde pribeci nešto dužem citatu, koji u sebi sadrži junakova, na egzaktnim naučnim saznanjima utemeljena očekivanja s jedne, a onda i njihovo hipotetičko? egzistencijalističko-filozofsko? pesničko? pobijanje:

Ment a pisztollyal az ajtó felé, mint aki valakit üldöz, egy láthatatlan ellenséget, kifelé igyekezve, s ott közvetlenül a küszöbön, a nagy vaskályha mellett a csövet magára fordította.

Nem a szívére, nem is a halántékára. A szájába vette, mint valami ételt, melyet szeret, a fogai közé harapta. Ez a legbiztosabb.

Csak egy pillanat lesz az egész. Látni fogja a fényt, mely kilövell a csőből, nyelvét, szájpadlását megperzselve, majd akár viharból a villámlás után a mennydörgés, robaj hallatszik, mely mindennél nagyobb. Talán a puskapor szagát is érzi, s egy utolsó fájdalmat, mely semmihez se hasonlítható. Csak egy másodperc. Aztán, mint a szegény verebek az üvegbúra alatt.

Most elsütötte a ravaszt.

Nem így volt, nem így volt. Nem egy pillanatig, nem egy másodpercig tartott. Fejében, mint az órában, melyet összetörnek, megállt az idő. De mintha leszakadt volna a padlóval a földszintre, vele együtt pedig mintha rázuhant volna a mennyezet, mintha összedőlt volna az egész gimnázium *s az égbolt is, az égbolt.*

A golyó, minthogy a csövet tudatosan fölfelé irányította, szétroncsolta nyúltagyát. Novák Antal a küszöbön átesve a kályha mellé bukott. Egy párat mozdult. Akkor beállt a nyugalom.⁴ (Kosztolányi 1968: 240–241)

Pasus od ključnog značaja u opisu samoubistva, u kojem se junakova, na nauci zasnovana očekivanja ruše, ovoga puta konačno i neopozivo, počinje, dakle, rečenicom, *Nem így volt, nem így volt (nije bilo tako, nije bilo tako)*, da bi se, nakon morbidno detaljnog opisa putovanja metka kroz mozak, završio ovako: *s az égbolt is, az égbolt (a i nebeski svod, i nebeski svod)*. Po mišljenju priređivača kritičkog izdanja *Zlatnog zmaja* (koje je još uvek u fazi pripreme), Lasla Bengija (Bengi László), ovo ponavljanje svakako mora imati osobenu funkciju naglašavanja, „skretanja čitaočeve pažnje na

4 Kurzivi su moji (M.Č.).

dramatičnost trenutka.” (Bengi 2011: 122) Mišljenja sam, međutim, da je ovde, pored očiglednog ponavljanja, prisutna još jedna, ne preterano skrivena namera autora, a to je da stvori, ako ne baš čistu rimu, a ono barem asonancu, odnosno svojevrsni eufonični efekat između prve i poslednje rečenice pasusa (*Nem így volt, nem így volt – s az égbolt is, az égbolt*). Poznato je da je u mađarskoj književnosti Endre Adi (Ady Endre, 1877– 1919) vrlo često koristio rimovana ponavljanja, pa su veliki parodičar Friđeš Karinti (Karinthy Frigyes, 1887–1938), a zajedno sa njim i Kostolanji, koji se žestoko protivio pravljenju nekritičkog kulta Adija, najviše izvrgavali ruglu upravo ovaj Adijev postupak. Stoga bi se možda ovaj neočekivani Kostolanjijev postupak ovde mogao shvatiti i kao neka vrsta srkivene travestije Adija, što dramatičnosti opisanog trenutka u romanu daruje izvesnu ironičnu crtu i kao da predstavlja kontrapunkt strahovitoj tragediji glavnog junaka.

Nevolja je, međutim, u tome što je Kostolanji, taj veliki majstor rime u vlastitoj poeziji, rimu u prozi svesno izbegavao, verovatno je smatrajući pribežištem diletanata. No, nešto ga je ipak moralo podstaći da upravo na ovo mesto, na ovo, kako bi se Đerđ Tverdota (Tverdota György) – istina, povodom jedne pesme Atile Jožefa – izrazio, „emocionalno dno” (Tverdota 2005: 152) romana ubaci upravo jednu ovakvu, neočekivanu rimu. Moglo bi se pretpostaviti da je želeo, s jedne strane, da i grafički naglasi veličinu i tragičnost opisanog trenutka, a s druge strane, moguće je i da je, dajući tom grafičkom naglašavanju jedan patetičan, sa stanovišta sopstvene poetike gotovo diletantski prizvuk, pokušao da održi ironičnu distancu između tragične sudbine svog skrhanog, mada, u krajnjoj liniji ipak malograđanski ustrojenog junaka i nekog sopstvenog (pretpostavljenog i implicitnog) sistema vrednosti.

No, ma koliko izazovna bila, ovakva nagađanja prevodiocu nisu nužno od velike koristi. Prevodiočev zadatak u ovom slučaju bio bi taj da se sa ovom dvostrukom daktilskom rimom izbori tako što će je i u prevodu na neki način učiniti vidljivom. Trebalo bi, dakle, pronaći odgovarajući ritam i rimu (ili barem asonancu) u ciljnom jeziku. U konkretnom slučaju, prevodilac je, nakon dužeg mučnog premišljanja, teška srca ipak morao odustati od daktilske ritmičke sheme. Ostalo je još traženje adekvatne rime ili nečega što bi na rimu moglo nalikovati. Kao što se iz gore navedenog prevoda vidi, imenica *égbolt* doslovce bi se mogla zameniti izrazom *nebeski svod*, ali malo se reči koje bi se u ovom kontekstu mogle upotrebiti bez prevelikog odstupanja od smisla, rimuje s rečju *svod*. U obzir bi možda mogla doći imenica *pod* kao *pod gimnazije* koji se metaforički stropoštava na glavu junaka-samoubice, no i to bi, zapravo, značilo neku vrstu učitanja i udaljavanja od smisla originala, i to u pravcu svojevrsne groteske, a grotesku bi – koja u nekim drugim tekstovima Kostolanjiju uopšte nije strana, naprotiv – u ovoj konkretnoj sceni ipak trebalo izbeći. *Nebeski svod*, dakle, otpada. Ostalo je još nekoliko alternativa: recimo, naprosto upotrebiti reč *nebo*. Sa rečju *nebo* se pak javlja jedna još neprijatnija poteškoća, to, naime, da se sa njom rimuje veoma mali broj reči, a prva koja je prevodiocu pala na pamet i koja ga dugo nije napuštala, potrcrtavajući grotesknu situaciju u kojoj se našao, vrlo je nepristojna i nikako ne priliči Kostolanjijevom istančanom rilkeovskom lirskom senzibilitetu. Ostaje još mogućnost odustajanja od prevodilačkog principa „reč za reč”, pa, shodno tome, zameniti *nebo* nekim semantički srodnim izrazom. Na kraju sam se odlučio za izraz *nebeska tela*, tj. *nebesko telo svako*, što se rimuje sa prvom rečenicom pasusa *nije bilo tako*. Rima *svako-tako* ne spada, razume se, u bogatije rime srpskog jezika, ali, s obzirom na to da je

momenat nekako valjalo naglasiti, nekakvo se rešenje ipak moralo doneti. Ako uz to još uzmemo u obzir to da je Antal Novak bio i astronom-amater, te da je imao durbin u bašti, nalik teleskopu, kojim je često posmatrao zvezde, ogrešenje o duh originala nije, čini se, preveliko. Evo, dakle, celokupnog prevoda scene Novakovog samoubistva:

Krenuo je prema vratima s pištoljem u ruci, kao da goni nekoga, nekog nevidljivog neprijatelja, hitao je napolje i onda je, na samom pragu, pored velike gvozdene peći uperio cev u sebe.

Ali ne u srce, ne ni u slepoočnicu. Stavio ju je u usta poput neke hrane koju voli, i zagrizao je zubima. To je najsigurnije.

Potrajaće samo tren. Ugledaće svetlost koja će grunuti iz cevi i spržiti mu jezik i gornje nepce, pa će se, kao za vreme oluje grmljavina posle munje, začuti prasak, jači od svega. Osetiće možda i miris baruta i jedan poslednji bol koji se ni sa čime ne može uporediti. Jedan sekund samo. A onda, kao oni siroti vrapci pod staklenim zvonom.

Povukao je obarač.

Nije bilo tako, nije bilo tako. Nije trajalo tren, nije trajalo sekund. U glavi mu se, kao u satu koji se polomio, zaustavilo vreme. I kao da se zajedno s podom stropoštao u prizemlje i kao da se s njim i tavanica sručila na njega, kao da se srušila čitava gimnazija, a s njom i *nebesko telo svako, nebesko telo svako.*

Metak mu je, budući da je cev svesno uperio nagore, smrskao produženu moždinu. Antal Novak je pao preko praga i skljojao se kraj peći. Trgnuo se još nekoliko puta. A onda je nastupila tišina.⁵ (Kostolanji 2012: 315–316)

Šta god da je, međutim, razlog i povod jednog ovakve, naknadne prevodilačke „samolegitimacije“, svoj sud o istinskim dometima i estetičkoj valjanosti upravo ovog izbora, moći će da pruži tek eventualna kritika prevoda ili će se pak odgovor na pitanje o opravdanosti ovakvog rešenja u jednoj ovako „neuralgičnoj tački“ celokupnog teksta moći implicitno iščitati iz srpske recepcije ovog romana. Dosadašnja čitanja, tačnije, njihova pretežna usmerenost na sadržinsko-tematski i etički segment dela,⁶ ne daju prevodiocu mnogo razloga za veselje, i kao da još jednom potvrđuju tezu o večitom prevodiočevom fijasku da *ono što je u delu poezija* (a u Kostolanjievom slučaju je to sama srž romana) valjano pretoči u medijum ciljnog jezika.

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5 Kurzivi su moji (M.Č.).

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SUMMARY

A SPECIFIC LYRICAL ELEMENT IN DEZSŐ KOSZTOLÁNYI'S NOVEL *THE GOLDEN KITE SEEN FROM A TRANSLATIONAL POINT OF VIEW*

The great classic of modern Hungarian literature, Dezső Kosztolányi (1885 – 1936), a prolific poet in the first place, has put a significant emphasis on the sophisticated elaboration of linguistic expressions in his prose writings as well. These linguistic, stylistic features play a crucial role in certain points of Kosztolányi's novels in the thematic and existential sense. This paper attempts to point out to a momentum of this kind in one of Kosztolányi's novels, *Aranysárkány (The Golden Kite)*. The narrator employs a rhyme in the most dramatic moment of Antal Novák's suicide, adding a special, irony-loaded quality to the unspeakable dreadful violent moment of death, which is rarely touched upon in literature. From the perspective of the text-oriented reader, the translation of this specific part of the text is crucial, since the reader needs to become aware of the linguistic and stylistic emphasis of this specific segment of the text.

KEYWORDS: textual ('narrow') reading, emphasized momentum, prose rhyme, translation difficulties.

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■ KRIZA IDENTITETA U ROMANU TONI MORISON *KATRENO LUČE*

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Roman *Katreno luče* Toni Morison, čiju narativnu osnovu predstavlja alegorijska priča o zecu koji uspeva da nadmudri belog lovca, ističe značenja pojmova crnog i katrana i pruža pogled na društveno raslojavanje afro-američke zajednice. Ovaj rad predstavlja identitete glavnih likova, Afro-Amerikanaca, prisutnih u romanu, njihove lične krize i (ne)mogućnosti pronalaženja sopstvenih identiteta u odnosu na društvo i na tradiciju. Ispituju se stereotipi prisutni u afro-američkoj zajednici, predstavljeni pre svega kroz društvenu hijerarhiju crnaca u romanu, kao i kroz identitet pojedinaca koji su zajednicu napustili. Kao i u većini drugih romana Morisonove, belci su prisutni marginalno, ali se u radu preispituju i njihovi identiteti. Iako su mnoga pitanja postavljena u ovom narativnom delu, završetak ne pruža odgovore vezane za rasne, klasne i kulturne konflikte, dok rad pruža pregled traganja za sopstvenom ulogom, postojanjem i korenima u okviru zajednice.

Ključne reči: afro-američki, kriza identiteta, kulturni identitet, ponos, katreno luče, rasni stereotipi.

1. UVOD

U romanu *Katreno luče*, Toni Morison koristi alegorijsku priču kao narativnu osnovu kako bi predstavila afro-američko društvo kao mikrostrukturu sveta. Klasna hijerarhija postavlja se između afro-američkih sluga više klase i onih koji se smatraju nižom klasom, kao i između ruralno i urbano odgojenih Afro-Amerikanaca. Klasna pripadnost Afro-Amerikanaca određuje se i na osnovu obrazovanja i poštovanja tradicije. Autorka predstavlja podeljenu afro-američku zajednicu iz perspektive

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pojedinaca koji pokušavaju da u toj zajednici pronađu svoje mesto i svoj identitet. U radu će biti predstavljeno traganje glavnih junaka za sopstvenim identitetom u odnosu na zajednicu, tradiciju i obrazovanje. Biće prikazani ključni momenti koji su to traganje pokrenuli, kao i identiteti koje su likovi izgradili, odnosno identiteti kojima teže na kraju svog putovanja. Rad, kao ni sama autorka romana, ne nudi „autentičan“ afro-američki identitet, već samo predstavlja puteve kojima likovi idu i sukobe koji su ih nagnali na promenu putanje u ispitivanju sopstvenog bića.

2. MOTIV AFRIČKOG FOLKLORA

U roman je utkana narodna priča o „katrenom strašilu“, pojmu čije značenje u svojoj knjizi objašnjava Hortens Spillers (Spillers 1987: 32). Strašilo je beli farmer koristio kao zamku za zeca štetočinu, a ono nosi u sebi negativnu rasnu konotaciju jer se pojava može projektovati i na krajnje unižavajući način mučenja koji su beli robovlasnici sprovodili nad svojim robovima posipajući ih katranom i perjem radi ismevanja. Dodatno, katreno luče, odnosno *tar baby* na engleskom jeziku, jeste i način pogrđnog obraćanja belaca crnoj deci i ženama. Morisonova, međutim, u ovaj mit vešto uspeva da unese aspekt katrenog lučeta koji predstavlja pozitivnu karakteristiku afro-američkog identiteta. U afričkoj mitologiji se javlja žena od katrana, pa spisateljica boju, gustinu i kvalitet katrana izjednačava s iskonskim majčinskim, prirodnim i isceliteljskim kvalitetima crkinja. Džejd, glavnoj junakinji romana, nedostaju ovi kvaliteti, ali se iskonska afrička snaga u svom najsirovijem obliku reflektuje u čoveku u koga se zaljubljuje. S druge strane, zec iz mita takođe navodi na ambivalentnost. U originalnoj priči, zec štetočina koji se hvata u zamku napravljenu od katrana, u simboličnom smislu u zamku „crnog“, kako vreme protiče biva sve više i bolje zalepljen za katrenu lutku. Ipak, on svojom mudrošću na kraju uspeva da nadigra seljaka, koristeći svoje znanje o oholosti belaca kao svoj poslednji adut. Zec „moli farmera da radi s njim šta hoće, samo da ga ne baci u jamu, što će seljak i učiniti, nesmotreno puštajući time lukavog zeca na slobodu“ (Kubitschek 1998: 108). Stoga, umesto negativne karakteristike štetočine koju mu pripisuje beli seljak, zec postaje oličenje afričke istrajnosti, mudrosti i borbe za nezavisnost.

Alegorijska osnova priče u narativnoj strukturi romana u prvi plan ističe analogiju između zeca i crna. Crnac je ovde muškarac tamne boje kože koji potiče iz prirode i u prirodu se vraća. Ovaj muškarac, poput zeca, oslikava ruralni deo zajednice. Njega je moguće pripitomiti do određene mere (može da živi u Njujorku i da nađe posao, ali nije spreman da se usavršava i postane deo korporacijske Amerike), ali najbolje se oseća kada je pušten da bude jedno s prirodom (odnosno da prati fantomske jahače u divljem delu ostrva). Ovakvog muškarca, kao i zeca iz priče, moguće je uhvatiti u zamku od katrana, odnosno namamiti ga lepotom i prilepiti uz sebe. Međutim, kao deo ruralnog sveta, u srži njegovog postojanja nalazi se želja da ne bude sputan i vezan, da ne bude deo bračne zajednice ograničene društvenim i moralnim normama, te stoga beži iz sveta koji predstavlja zamku njegovom biću i vraća se u svet koji mu dozvoljava da ne menja sopstveni identitet.

Uzimajući afrički folklor za osnovu priče, Morisonova kroz intertekstualne asocijacije i alegoriju postiže kompleksnost i ambivalentnost što u velikoj meri

otežava jednoznačno tumačenje romana. Koncept *Katrenog lučeta* na prvi pogled najviše podseća na ljubavnu priču u kojoj je crna žena katreno luče, ili zamka za crnog muškarca, zeca. Postavljeno je pitanje: šta jedna crnkinja koja je iskusila obrazovanje i prednosti zapadnog sveta može da ponudi muškarcu koji je istrčao iz „zečije jame“? Tokom svog rada na priči, spisateljica je imala u vidu sramotu i poniženje koji su implicirani u ovom izrazu, ali i mogućnost sagledavanja istog kroz prizmu nacionalnog ponosa. Razotkrivajući mit o katrenoj lutki kroz alegorijsku priču o zamkama koje stoje pred savremenim Afro-Amerikancima, u ovom ciljano uznemirujućem romanu Morisonova direktnim, često neprijatnim jezikom koji implicira poniženje i sramotu Afro-Amerikanaca obrađuje temu rasnog identiteta i klasne podeljenosti u crnoj zajednici, ali takođe romanu daje i univerzalnost teme.

3. IDENTITETI GLAVNIH JUNAKA

Glavna junakinja Džejd je crnkinja svetlije puti koju je u najbolje američke škole poslao Valerijan Strit, belac, naslednik fabrike šećera, poslodavac njenih tetke i teče, Ondine i Sidnija, sa kojima je odrasla. Ona je, s jedne strane, u romanu predstavljena kao zamka koju belci koji su je „stvorili“ postavljaju za Sana, predstavnika crnaca niže klase i ruralnog porekla. Zatim, Džejd je žena kojoj nedostaju pozitivne osobine koje spisateljica pripisuje katranu: majčinske, hraniteljske osobine koje porodicu i članove zajednice drže na okupu. Takođe joj nedostaje i boja katrana, to jest intenzitet crnoće kože koji simboliše (ne)povezanost pojedinca s afričkim korenima. Pošto su na formiranje Džejdinog identiteta u velikoj meri uticali belci, San bi trebalo da joj ukaže na pravi put u potrazi za „autentičnim“ crnim kulturnim identitetom. Sve pomenute okolnosti podstiču junakinju da se bori s krizom identita kroz ceo roman. Džejd povezuje crnoću, boju katrana, s ponosnom tamnoputom Afrikankom u žutoj haljini koja predstavlja moćni, svezemeni, gotovo mitski ženski lik koji sreće u samoposluzi i koji joj pljuje u lice. Njihov susret preokreće Džejdinu sanjalačku predstavu o crnkinji u žutom u bolno suočavanje s rasnim i polnim aspektima svog identiteta s kojima se nije ranije uhvatila u koštac. Ona se oseća „usamljeno, neautentično“ (Bouson 1999: 47-48). bel huks ističe da želja za znanjem može crnu ženu fizički udaljiti od njenih korena, porodice i tradicije, ali da su „crni ljudi ranjeni u našim srcima, razumu, telima i dušama“ (hooks 1993: 11) i to je upravo osećanje koje preplavljuje Džejd. Nakon ovog događaja, junakinja preispituje svoj odnos sa Rikom, bogatim Evropljanom, koji je poznaje samo kao egzotičnu crnu lepoticu koja ispravlja svoju kovrdžavu kosu da bi se uklopila u zapadnjački ideal lepote, ali ne poznaje osobu koja je ispod te crne kože iz koje bi najrađe izašla kada bi mogla – da bi konačno bila samo ono što zapravo iznutra jeste, a ne definisana kao Amerikanka ili Afro-Amerikanka ili crnkinja ili bilo šta drugo. Autorka pokušava identitet svoje junakinje da poveže i sa zastrašujućim ženama koje vise s grana drveća, prebacuju joj i slute joj zlo nakon što se nađe zaglibljena u katrenom blatu. I dok one misle da je ona jedna od njih, odbegla da bi im se opet vratila, Džejd zapravo pokušava da se izvuče iz blata i pobegne od njih, čime postiže da one postaju „arogantne – svesne svojih vrednosti, svoje izuzetne ženstvenosti; znajući da je prvi svet svih svetova bio izgrađen na njihovim svetim osobenostima“ (Bekerman 1978:

59). Naglašavajući „svete osobine“ i „izuzetnu ženstvenost“ (Bekerman 1978: 60) žena iz močvare, Morisonova naglašava pozitivne osobine katrana, čime rasnu uniženost na koju katran isprva asocira preobražava u rasni ponos. Kasnije će Džejd u noćnim morama ponovo sresti te tradicionalne žene, a autorka koristi Džejdine strahove i more da verbalizuje duboku bojazan i anksioznost vezanu za „katrena“ obeležja rasnog identiteta koji je, iz njene perspektive, većito prate, obeležavaju, guše i stigmatizuju.

Drugi ključni momenat koji u potpunosti menja Džejd i dovodi do želje za potpuno novim identitetom bližem afričkim korenima svakako je scena silovanja. Scena počinje njenim ponosnim prikazivanjem slika koje označavaju njenu karijeru, a završava se lažnim prikazom dešavanja koji je stvorila u svojoj glavi i s kojim ima nameru da se pojavi pred svetom. Maestralnom modernističkom tehnikom, Morisonova stavlja Sana pored Džejd u sceni u kojoj on nju fizički osvaja dok autorka bitne detalje ne izgovara, ne opisuje eksplicitno, već traži od čitaoca da zaključuje iz nagoveštenog. U sceni se isprepliću Sanova želja da se identifikuje sa svim drugim muškarcima koji su je imali (Morrison 1982: 103), njegova želja da njen identitet svede na identitet beznačajne kurvice („Silovanje? Zašto vi male belkinje uvek mislite da neko pokušava da vas siluje?“ (Morrison 1982: 103)), njena potreba da sebe predstavi kao jaku i nezavisnu ženu („O, dragi Bože, (...) čim me pustiš ubiću te.“ (Morrison 1982: 104)) i njeno ubeđenje da ljudi iz njenog okruženja mogu i hoće da joj pomognu („Valerijan će te ubiti, majmune, Sidni će te iseći na komade...“ (Morrison 1982: 103)). Međutim, ostaviš sama, Džejd sa užasom shvata da je privlači to divlje i primitivno ponašanje crnca kakvog davno nije videla, te nastavlja komunikaciju s njim kako bi iz sebe izvukla svoja prvobitna, primitivna osećanja.

Poistovećujući Sana s crnom ruralnom folklornom zajednicom, a Džejd s evro-američkom, urbanom, belom kulturom, *Katreno luče* suprotstavlja dve struje stalno prisutne na američkom tlu: suprotstavlja crno i belo, prirodu i civilizaciju, primitivno i kulturno, prljavo i čisto. Deo teksta posvećen je preokretanju belog hijerarhijskog sistema vrednosti veličanjem Sanovih afričkih (odnosno crnačkih, prirodnih, primitivnih) karakteristika. „Samo čovek koji je jeo čokoladu uveče i živeo poput životinje u potrazi za hranom i koji je bio tih poput zvezde mogao je to da uradi.“ (Morrison 1982: 89). Ipak, tekst oslikava Sanov lik s neospornom ambivalentnošću i zadržkom. On delimično u tekstu ostaje skriven, i u simboličnom smislu i bukvalno – u prvoj trećini romana – a kada se konačno pojavi, biva predstavljen čitaocu kao rasno Drugo, sramotni predmet prezira i mržnje, stereotipna iskrivljena slika Afro-Amerikanaca koji i sami tu sliku usvajaju i prihvataju je kao deo svog identiteta („pocepan crnac koji se skrivao u ormanu njegove žene (sa silovanjem, krađom ili ubistvom na pameti)“ (Morrison 1982: 78)). Kasnije u romanu, San je opisan kao osoba bliska prirodi i Africi, kao čovek kome se na licu i u očima mogu videti šume, prostranstva, planine i savane. Folklorne i herojske osobine koje mu se pripisuju prepliću se s osobinama „lošeg crnje“, što je po afričkom narodnom predanju muškarac, snažan i borben, ali uvek oštro suprotstavljen kulturi i dominaciji belaca. Kroz dijalog između Sana i Džejd, dva suprotna pola na afro-američkoj lestvici obrazovanja i klase, čitalac saznaje za kulturološki jaz koji je duboko usađen u nasleđe viševekovne rasne uniženosti i klasnih raslojavanja. San i Džejd postaju ljubavnici, ali ne uspevaju da prevaziđu ove nepremostive razlike, između ostalog i zbog činjenice da ne mogu sa sigurnošću da odrede vlastite identitete pre nego što konstruišu

zajednički identitet. Njihov zajednički identitet pokreće pitanje da li živeti u gradu, okružen zabavama, revijama, ali i stalnim i sigurnim zaposlenjem, ili živeti u ruralnom okruženju s prijateljima koje San poznaje od malena i koji insistiraju na patrijarhalnom odnosu žene i muškarca. Iako prisutno samo marginalno, kroz Džejdine snove i žene koje joj se javljaju, jasno je da pitanje zajedničkog identiteta određuje i pitanje dece i porodice sa patrijarhalnim ulogama supružnika, od čega glavna junakinja beži veći deo svog života. Ova pitanja su uslovljena određenjem vlastitih identiteta glavnih junaka, koji oni u zajedničkom bivstvu ne mogu jasno da koncipiraju.

Sanov problem identiteta vuče korene od momenta kada je, nakon ubistva žene koju je zatekao s ljubavnikom, otišao od kuće. Bežeći od zakona, on je „[z]a osam godina imao sedam dokumentovanih identiteta i pre toga nekoliko nedokumentovanih, pa se i sam jedva sećao svog pravog originalnog imena“ (Morrison 1982: 119). Jedino blisko ime bilo mu je San, dok su „ostali ja bili poput reči koje je govorio – fabrikovani momenti, pogrešne informacije neophodne kako bi se San zaštitio od nedaća“ (Morrison 1982: 119). Kriza identiteta ovog čoveka oslikava se u imenu koje je povezano s određenom ličnošću koju predstavlja drugim ljudima, ne sluteći da na taj način ističe svoju neprilagođenost pravilima savremenog društva od koga ima velika očekivanja. Ipak, iako „nije uvek znao ko je, (...) uvek je znao kakav je“ (Morrison 1982: 142), odnosno poznavao je srž svoga bivstva. Na njegovu nesreću, i to će se promeniti kada nakon poznanstva sa Džejd krene bez cilja da luta ostrvom Kavaljera.

Osim što suprotstavlja različite polaritete u okviru afro-američke zajednice, *Katreno luče* artikuliše i anti-kapitalističku i anti-imperijalističku poruku, opisujući kako su pojedinci poput Valerijana Strita, predstavnika belih evro-američkih osvajača Kariba, u svom pokušaju da pripitome i kontrolišu prirodu, istu zapravo uspeli da unište. Roman se suprotstavlja anglo-saksonske normativu koji podrazumeva demonstraciju moći i vlasti belaca nad starosedeoćima i ostvarenje njihovih ekonomskih interesa na Karibima. U binarnoj opoziciji dve rase, belci su prikazani marginalno, a njihov pad ih karakteriše kao ličnosti koje ne uspevaju da se uzdignu iznad problema. S druge strane, pripadnici afro-američke zajednice, iako razdvojeni klasnom hijerarhijom, obrazovanjem i tradicijom, uspevaju da na kraju romana ostanu da stoje uzdignute glave, sa planovima prilagođenim novonastaloj situaciji, te ih roman prikazuje kao jače, hrabrije, otpornije i sposobnije da prežive.

Autorka i samim okruženjem implicira krizu identiteta i ostrva i ostrvljana. Ostrvo je opisano kao rajska priroda gde se sa mora pruža pogled „tako milostiv da su se posetioci umarali gledajući sve to: tropske biljke, avokado, božično drvo, limun, banana, kokos i poslednje šampionsko drveće prašume“ (Morrison, 1982: 8). Istovremeno, ostrvu se pripisuje i određen broj mitskih elemenata – pojavljuje se drveće koje govori, starica čije su grudi uvek prepune mleka, fantomski ratnici, i slično. Kao što Patriša Kolins navodi, ubacujući ove elemente u roman, Toni Morrison naglašava „značaj folklora i narodne tradicije na (ne)mogućnost određivanja identiteta i pripadnosti“ (Collins 2000: 123). Na taj način ostrvo i narodna tradicija postaju veoma važan element identiteta glavnih junaka, jer je u njihovim reakcijama i razmišljanjima jasno koliko pažnje posvećuju upravo tradiciji i prirodi i koliko ovi elementi određuju njihovo postojanje. A kontrast rajskoj prirodi ostrva nalazi se u ljudima koji su puni nemira i nedoumica, u negostoljubivosti močvare u koju upada Džejd, magli koja prati Sana na njegovom

poslednjem putovanju, u stakleniku Valerijana Strita gde biljke ne uspevaju, kao i u samom vlasniku kuće Valerijanu koji po ceo dan sedi u stakleniku i ne pomera se zbog vrućine, mrava i misli koje ne uspeva da otera od sebe.

Belih likova u romanu ima svega nekoliko. Valerijan i njegova supruga žive u kući u kojoj se odvija veći deo romana, dok su ostali likovi prisutni jedino u pominjanjima da treba da dođu ili da se kod njih treba otići. Penzionisani bogataš, Valerijan Strit, provodi dane i godine na ostrvu boreći se sa vlastitim identitetima industrijalca, penzionera, poznavaoca Filadelfije koja više ne postoji, oca koji ne viđa svog sina i muža koji nema kontakta sa svojom ženom. Roman opisuje njegovu potrebu da kontroliše druge, uključujući i svoju suprugu, i prikazuje ga kao osobu koja očekuje da ljudi postupaju po njegovim naređenjima. Spisateljica karikira Valerijana dajući mu ime rimskog imperatora i nazivajući ga više puta u tekstu „kraljem slatkiša“ (Morrison 1982: 65). A kada ga na kraju romana prikaže nemoćnog i utonulog u zaborav, Morisonova u potpunosti obrušava njegov identitet i život koji je gradio za sebe. Valerijanova žena, Margaret, veći deo godine provodi u Sjedinjenim Državama koje doživljava kao svoju domovinu. Njeni lični nemiri vezani su za poziciju gazdarice koja to ne zna da bude, majke koja nije dobro radila svoj posao i supruge koja ne razume svog supruga. Margaretin identitet gazdarice konstantno narušavaju Sidni i Ondin, koji vode domaćinstvo i obavljaju razne poslove na imanju Stritovih, ponašajući se kao gazde iako su samo sluge. A njen lični krah identiteta ostvaruje se kada Valerijan pozove stranca na večeru uprkos njenim molbama i psihičkom stanju. „Nije nikako spavala, i sada, iznurena od panike, lutajući između ljutnje i tuge, ležala je u krevetu. (...) Stranac koga su pronašli kako se krije u ormanu njegove žene, skitnica koju je čak i Sidni hteo da upuca, a on ga je pozvao da večera dok se ona tresla poput lista na vratima. U njenom ormanu.“ (Morrison 1982: 71).

Provokativnom i uznemirujućom analizom klasnih tenzija koje su u osnovi intra-rasnih i inter-kulturnih odnosa, *Katreno luče* govori i o začaranom krugu prezira koji određuje i obeležava odnos između crnog američkog para, Sidni i Ondin, i crnih ostrvljana Tereze i Gideonu koji su zaduženi za obavljanje najtežih poslova na imanju. Uprkos njihovom niskom društvenom statusu, Sidni i Ondin su za stepenik više na klasnoj lestvici od ostrvskih crnaca. Kao idealni sluga, u prisustvu Stritovih, Sidni je spreman da postane nevidljiv: „Teško je bilo znati da li je napustio sobu ili je i dalje stajao u nekom njenom osenčenom uglu.“ (Morrison 1982: 62). Ali je on takođe i vredan čovek, „jedan od sposobnih filadelfijskih crnaca“ (Morrison 1982: 140), najponosnijih ljudi crne rase. Ondin je, shodno tome, vredna i ponosna žena, koja je pre Sanovog dolaska u kuću potpuno zadovoljna svojim životom. Smatrala je da „živi u prelepom okruženju, uključujući i sopstvenu teritoriju gde je sama gospodarica“ (Morrison 1982: 33). Džejd misli da je Ondin „umela da vlada iz sedećeg položaja“ (Morrison 1982: 77), a Sidni takođe upoređuje Ondin s kraljicom: „njene teške, bele pletenice su joj stajale na glavi poput kraljevskih dijadema“ (Morrison 1982: 83). Ovaj bračni par sebe vidi kao gospodare iz senke, kao osobe koje određuju životne navike belih gospodara i određuju poslove drugom, na lestvici nižem paru crnaca. Morisonova na mikroplanu odnosa ova dva para crnaca pokazuje kako moć, ma koliko mala, uzdiže ljude iznad onih koji nemaju pravo glasa i odluke, i kako takvi ljudi stvaraju svoj identitet u odnosu na njima podređene ljude, zanemarujući ostatak sveta. To je i razlog zašto Sidni i Ondin ni ne

pokušavaju da doznaju imena Gideona i Tereze, već im dodeljuju imena koja sami lako upamte (baštovan i Meri).

Sidni i Ondin su zadovoljni identitetima koje su za sebe stvorili, shvativši tek nakon božićne večere da sve može da nestane ukoliko Valerijan tako odluči. Zadovoljni su i svojim afro-američkim srednjeklasnim statusom, naročito kada sebe vide superiornim u odnosu na crne ostrvljane prema kojima gaje dozu prezira. Tereza na prezir uzvraća prezirom, pa je Meri Helen Vašington opisuje kao ženu „kompleksne i strasne mržnje“ (Washington 1989: 124), koja odbija da razgovara s crnim Amerikancima, a prisustvo belaca u svom okruženju potpuno ignoriše. Terezino ponašanje ima korene u tradiciji ostrva, u kojoj se veliča sve mitsko i crno a mrzi sve novo i nametnuto. Njeno ponašanje deluje kao mržnja prema svemu stranom sve dok autorka romana ne prikaže njenu ljubav prema Sanu kao osobi u kojoj vidi mitske i tradicionalne osobine i kojoj u svakom momentu želi da pomogne.

Ulaskom Sana u kuću na svetlo isplivavaju i rasne i klasne tenzije među samim Afro-Amerikancima. Zbog tih tenzija roman započinje epigrafom koji je citat iz poslanice Korinćanima: „Jer rekli su mi o vama, braćo moja, oni iz kuće Kloj, da među vama ima nesuglasica.“ (Morrison 1982: ii). Oni iz kuće Kloj bili bi svi oni koji su, kako stoji u posveti romana „sačuvali svoja istinska i iskonska obeležja“ (Morrison 1982: i)³. Iz navedenog se vidi da spisateljica koristi roman da protka i svoj osećaj pripadnosti i/ili izdvojenosti u okviru afro-američke zajednice, kao i pitanja vezana za vlastiti identitet žene, majke, spisateljice, Afro-Amerikanke.

4. SUKOB I KRIZE U ROMANU

Sanov status stranca destabilizuje površnu harmoniju domaćinstva u koji ulazi da bi našao hranu, i ostaje, sakriven, jer ga neizmerno privlači Džejd. Kada Margaret naleti na stranca u svom ormanu, čitalac nazire veliku krizu. Pripiti Valerijan poziva Sana na večeru, ne uvažavajući protivljenje ukućana. Sanov kratak boravak u kući isprovociraće Margaretine rasističke komentare, prezir Sidnija i Ondin prema crncima niže klase, kao i Džejdina ambivalentna osećanja privlačnosti, odnosno odbojnosti prema njemu. Iako bez gotovo ikakvog zajedničkog iskustva, i sa vrlo malo zajedničkih vrednosti, San i Džejd ipak uspostavljaju duboku emocionalnu i seksualnu vezu. Započinju zajednički život, prvo u Njujorku gde se Džejd oseća prijatno, a zatim u mestu Eloj, na Floridi, gde je San odrastao. Tokom putovanja na površinu isplivava još jedna velika kriza u ovom romanu, jer se ni jedno od njih dvoje ne oseća prijatno u ambijentu koji je onom drugom dom. Džejd se u Eloju u budnom stanju prikazuju duhovi tradicionalnih žena; ona odbacuje tradicionalne uloge personifikovane u njima, ali se pritom oseća neostvarenom, nepotpunom, neadekvatnom. Linden Pič ističe da je upravo „njihovo međusobno nerazumevanje u vezi sa različitim doživljajima afričke kulture i afričkih

3 Ovdje se Morrisonova poigrala igrom reči, jer je njeno pravo ime zapravo *Chloe*, ali ga je tokom studija promenila u Toni, jer su ga mnogi ljudi teško izgovarali. I upravo taj čin je, smatra Vilfred Semjuels, kasnije smatrala za „odvajanje od 'pravih vrednosti'“ (Samuels/Weems 1991: 61), autentičnih afričkih obeležja, osećajući osudu svoje tradicionalne sredine.

vrednosti uopšte“ (Peach 1995: 73). Nakon neuspešne potrage za kompromisom, San i Džejd se rastaju.

Katreno luče zatim prikazuje i posledice koje su proizašle iz nekoliko glavnih konflikata u romanu. Ondin smatra da Džejd ne razume obaveze i odgovornost deteta prema roditeljima, odnosno starateljima, čime se obrušava i deo njenog identiteta kao dobre kćeri. Nakon što njeni odnosi sa svim likovima u romanu postanu jalovi, Džejd odlučuje da jedino što sama može da učini da bi sebi pomogla jeste da se vrati u Evropu. U poslednjim scenama, Tereza čamcem prevozi Sana ka obali ostrva Kavaljera gde se on nada da će pronaći Džejd nakon što je shvatio da mu je potrebna. Doznajući da je već otišla, moraće da donese odluku da li želi da je prati ili da se pridruži fantomskim ratnicima s ostrva. Tereza podstiče Sana da napusti Džejd i pridruži se slepim jahačima. Činjenica da su jahači slepi, međutim, Madu Dubi vodi do zaključka da „prepuštanje tradiciji i korenima ne može Sana odvesti daleko, jer je na ostrvu jasno vidljiv napredak koji donosi imperijalizam i koji podrazumeva napuštanje tradicije“ (Dubey 1994: 58). U završetku romana, koji je otvoren i krajnje ambivalentan, vidimo Sana kako poput zeca iz mita o katrenoj lutki, trči udaljavajući se od mesta na kome mu je postavljena zamka, pokušavajući da lukavo dostigne poreklo svojih korena i identiteta koji želi da mu pripadne.

5. ZAKLJUČAK

U romanu *Katreno luče* Toni Morison se bavi pitanjem potrage za identitetom u afro-američkoj zajednici i društvu kome pojedinac pripada. *Katreno luče* je veoma uznemirujuća priča koja otvoreno govori o rasnim stereotipima i predrasudama, koristeći jezik rasne netrpeljivosti, uvreda, prezira i mržnje koji je karakterističan za socijalnu, rasnu i klasnu podeljenost američkog društva. Nastavljajući svoj rad na prethodnim romanima, Morisonova u ovom romanu, kroz prizmu rasne i klasne, ali i polne podeljenosti, na izuzetno kompleksan način pristupa temi stvaranja autentičnog afro-američkog identiteta. Javno govoreći o klasnim tenzijama u okviru crne zajednice s naglaskom na predrasude crne buržoazije prema Afro-Amerikancima niže klase, spisateljica ponovo ukazuje na štetan uticaj nasleđenih i usvojenih rasnih stereotipa i diskursa na afro-američki identitet i kulturu.

Autorka romana ne teži da pruži jasne osobine onoga što bi trebalo da se predstavi kao „autentičan“ afro-američki identitet. Za Džejd, težnja za razrešavanjem konflikta identiteta je nešto što je istovremeno i privlači i porobljava, ono čime se ponosi, a što u njoj istovremeno izaziva stid i gađenje. *Katreno luče*, kroz odnos Sana i Džejd, suprotstavlja dva nepomirljiva identiteta: jedan koji je ona stekla pokušavajući da se asimiluje u evro-američkoj zajednici, i drugi, gotovo čisto rasni identitet, koji im je zajednički. Priča stoga ne daje odgovor na pitanje šta bi „autentičan“ identitet Afro-Amerikanaca trebalo da bude, već ispituje različite vidove tog identiteta, koji u okvirima društva i zajednice u velikoj meri zavise od okolnosti.

Alegorijska struktura romana omogućila je autorki da rasno polarizovanu sredinu predstavi kao mikrostrukturu veće društvene zajednice. Svi junaci ispoljavaju rasne i klasne predrasude prema ljudima kojima su okruženi i svi imaju identitete kojima se predstavljaju, identitete koje su ostavili iza sebe, ali i identitete kojima teže. Bilo da se

radi o slugama koji sebe vide kao domaćine, o ženi koja je uspešna po evro-američkim standardima ali nije ispunjena kao majka niti kao pripadnik svoje rase, o čoveku koji ne može svoje ruralno Ja da uklopi sa urbanim svetom, ili o čoveku koji urbani svet zamenjuje tišinom staklenika nadajući se da će sve pre toga jednostavno nestati, autorka koristi njihove unutrašnje nemire i nemogućnosti definisanja vlastitog Ja kako bi kroz prizmu više ličnih svetova prikazala mikrostrukturu klasno raslojenog društva i napisala roman koji svojom univerzalnošću podstiče čitaoca da preispita vlastite konflikte.

Morisonova poziva čitaoca da učestvuje u tekstu, da, po rečima Boni Anđelo, „sagleda i lice i naličje polnog, klasnog i kulturološkog konflikta“ (Angelo 1989: 121) između Sana i Džejd, i da potencijalno dâ svoj sud i stavi se na stranu jednog od glavnih protagonista romana, što je i tipično za postmoderni roman. Ipak, roman umesto razrešenja, otvorenim završetkom otvara nove dileme. Džejd se vraća u Evropu, dok San ne uspeva da se otrgne od tradicije i korena i prilagodi se vremenu i svetu u kome živi. Ovaj muškarac, iako to pokušava, ne uspeva da odraste, te na kraju romana odlazi ka mitskom svetu afričkog folklor. Spisateljica u poslednjim pasusima opisuje Džejd kao snažnu i moćnu figuru, ali i kao ranjivu ženu kojoj neće biti lako da zaboravi ljubav i strast koji su deo nje isto koliko su to i njene ambicije i želja za nezavisnošću. Umesto da razreši konflikt sa Džejd, spisateljica ostavlja Sana da se povuče iz društva prepuštajući se idealizovanom svetu afričkog mita, bez suočenja s problemima. *Katreno luče* ne razrešava konflikt između ljubavnika, niti unutrašnje konflikte likova u njihovom traganju za sopstvenim identitetom.

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SUMMARY

IDENTITY CRISIS IN TONI MORRISON'S *TAR BABY*

Toni Morrison's novel *Tar Baby*, relating the tale of a rabbit outwitting the Caucasian hunter while interweaving all the meanings related to tar and black, provides an insight into social classes of African-American people on a Caribbean island. The main character Jade returns home from Europe only to find out that she does not belong there anymore. Falling in love with a mysterious stranger Sun, who represents all that she is not (native African, rural, traditional), intensifies her doubts in herself and her identity. Her personal crisis intermingles with Sun's, whose primitive being is challenged by Jade, disabling them to build an identity together. Morrison uses the novel to talk about stereotypes present in African-American community, to talk about hierarchical differences among those more or less black and more or less fortunate, and to question the identity of those who dare to be different and leave their community. As in most of her novels, white Americans with their personal crisis are marginalized in the novel. Although many questions are raised by black characters in this extraordinary piece of writing, the ending leaves the racial, class and cultural conflicts open.

KEYWORDS: African-American, identity crisis, cultural identity, national pride, tar baby, racial stereotypes.

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■ GRAFITI U DELILOVOM *PODZEMLJU*

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Rad se bavi motivom grafita u DeLilovom romanu *Podzemlje*. S obzirom na to da se u ovom romanu prikazuju nekolike, za američku popularnu kulturu reprezentativne prakse izrade grafita, rad analizira kontekste u koje ih DeLilo smešta, način na koji razumeva estetiku i politiku ovih praksi i njihov odnos prema drugim vrstama stvaralačkih delatnosti, prema kreativnim industrijama i umetničkim formama i žanrovima. S obzirom na to da se rad umetnice Klare Saks predstavlja kao žiža značenja ovih tipova stvaralaštva, posebno se razmatra kako se u romanu predstavlja njihov uticaj na njeno stvaralaštvo i njeno prilagođavanje postupaka i motiva crtača grafita.

Ključne reči: grafiti, avionska umetnost, politika umetnosti, supkultura.

Među mnogobrojnim umetničkim praksama koje je DeLilo rekontekstualizovao u svojim romanima – od klasičnog slikarstva do performansa – nalaze se i grafiti, kojima se u romanu *Podzemlje* bavi ne samo sa stanovišta estetike forme i žanrova, već i politike i etike umetnosti i stvaralaštva.

Grafiti u roman „ulaze“ kroz lik avangardne umetnice Klare Saks i njenu monumentalnu pustinjku instalaciju, odnosno, kroz intervju koji ona daje i tokom kojeg objašnjava materijalne, ideološke, estetičke, psihološke i druge pretpostavke svog stvaralaštva. Među tim pretpostavkama jeste i istorijsko nasleđe Amerike, pri čemu je jedna od reprezentacija istorije koju ona želi da uključi u svoj rad i slika devojke na trupu jednog od rashodovanih aviona koje koristi kao materijal i podlogu. Reč je o tzv. *nose art*, odnosno avionskoj umetnosti, grafitima na „nosu“ aviona. Ova vrsta slikarstva javlja se od Drugog svetskog rata i predstavlja jedan vid folklor: autor je najčešće anonimn, a njegov rad nezvaničan. Te slike – američki vojni avioni su tokom Drugog svetskog rata i ratova u Koreji i Vijetnamu (iz kojeg potiču i ovi Klarini avioni) bili prepoznatljivi po slikama žena, nasuprot npr. nacističkim slikama orlova i drugih simbola i amblema moći – izražavaju specifičan odnos pilota prema mašinama, deo su specifičnog psihološkog kompleksa koji predstavu o mašini povezuje sa predstavama o ženi (Ethell and Simonsen 1991: 8-9; Pfau 2006: 44-56). Oslikavanjem se mašina

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individualizuje, pa čak i personalizuje, izdvaja iz svoje serije, pa su te slike, s jedne strane, uperene protiv uniformnosti. S druge strane, one su znaci identifikacije grupe – u ovom slučaju posade jednog aviona, koja postaje jedna distinktivna zajednica, sa sopstvenim repertoarom znakova. Putem slike, posada izražava svoj emocionalni odnos prema mašini – kult aviona, naročito vojnog aviona koji užitek u riziku, čak strahu, povezuje sa svešću o sopstvenoj destruktivnoj moći, i mitologizacija letačkog iskustva i brzine, jedan gotovo atavistički odnos prema mašini, implicirani su u potrebi da se baš taj avion markira kao svoj, kao deo sopstva, a ne kao puko sredstvo. Grafiti ne samo da manifestuju neraskidivo jedinstvo ljubavi/obožavanja i straha povezano sa korišćenjem smrtonosne tehnologije; oni su i jedna vrsta amajlije, što se u samom romanu vidi iz umetnutog fragmenta – jednog od onih „odabranih“ iz privatnog i javnog života, reprezentativnih za atmosferu pedesetih i šezdesetih² – kojim se prenosi razgovor posade baš tog aviona o kojem Klara govori u intervjuu. I ona sama funkciju grafitu tumači na isti način: „Taj zalog sreće, taj znamen protiv smrti.“ (DeLilo 2007: 81)³. Avionski grafit ističe kolektivni nad individualnim identitetom – tu poziciju preuzima i Klara jer, iako rad na avionima objašnjava uz pomoć jednog ličnog iskustva, ona to objašnjenje smešta u određenje kolektivnog rada i zajedničkog cilja: „reč je o želji da napravimo prestup i tako se obznanimo svetu, da pokažemo ko smo. Onako kao što su to činili umetnici koji su ukrašavali nos aviona, ili oni koji su na trupu crtali pin-ap devojke.“ (80)

Oslikavanje aviona bio je tolerisan prestup, upravo zato što se uzimao u obzir psihološki, kompenzatorsko-terapeutski značaj tih slika za pilote. Slike devojaka i žena čine zaseban korpus u okviru avionske umetnosti iz kojeg je DeLilo izdvojio jednu od onih na kojima žene nisu preteće i razmetljive, nisu super-heroine, već su prikazane s dozom nostalgije za mirnodopskim vrednostima oličenim u idealu žene koji Klara prepoznaje u liku i pozici „Dugonoge vitke Sali“ (grafitu po kojem odlučuje da nazove svoje delo): „kao da ambiciozno pozira za pin-ap fotografiju – mada je pri svemu tome delovala i pomalo nespretno“ (80)⁴. Putem ovakvih slika, avion se feminizuje a prema njemu se uspostavlja snažan emocionalni odnos koji ne isključuje san o kontroli i dominaciji nad podatnom ženom (Ethell and Simenson 1991: 9). Iako su crtači grafitu koristili, kao predložak, manje ili više verno prenete, gotove slike, slike iz časopisa, stripova, kalendara, dakle, vizuelni material koji im je već ponudila industrija zabave, kao otelovljenje fantazma, predstave zavodnica vrlo često su bile supstitucija realne i realistične čežnje za domom, ženom, devojkom ili, čak, majkom (Pfau 2006: 55-56). Ta se čežnja implicira i kroz Klarin opis grafitu. Po njoj, reč je o običnoj devojci, možda konobarici (81), koja kao da bi htela da podražava izazovnu pozu modela koji su se u datom trenutku devojkama nametali kao ideal i ženskog i ženstvenosti i kao predmet zavisti i želje. Ovo „kao da“ je presudno za razumevanje razloga koji Klaru navode da

2 U pitanju je treći fragmenat šestog triptiha VI poglavlja, datiran 1. 12. 1969. Deo razgovora dvojice pilota tiče se, između ostalog, i grafitu na njihovom bombarderu po kojem će Klara nazvati svoju instalaciju u pustinji. (DeLilo 2007: 616-626)

3 Svi navodi iz romana dati su prema ovom izdanju. U nastavku će se u samom tekstu navoditi samo brojevi stranica u zagradi.

4 I kasnije se, iz perspektive anonimnog pripovedača, potvrđuje ovakva interpretacija figure koju grafit predstavlja: „kao da bi želela da deluje seksi ali nije sigurna da zna kako, veoma svakidašnjeg izgleda“ (617).

Dugonogu Sali sačuva u svom projektu. Da li je nespretnost intencionalna ili posledica crtačeve neukosti, Klaru očigledno ne interesuje – za nju je ona svedočanstvo da slika ne priziva ni idealizovanu, ni hipertrofiranu, ni zastrašujuću ili preteću ženstvenost, već svet snova i čežnji obične devojke (u svetu koji ne prestaje da konstruiše i da nameće vizuelne uzore ženstvenosti, koliko i muževnosti, ljubavi i svega drugog). Međutim, Dugonoga Sali je još dublje uronjena u svakodnevicu i popularnu kulturu – time što odlučuje da svoje delo tako nazove, Klara u stvari ponavlja gest samog crtača, koji je svoju sliku nazvao po istoimenoj pesmi Litl Ričarda, koja je bila veliki hit. U samom romanu se postavlja pitanje koliko nespretna izazovnost kao pin-up devojke odgovara Dugonogoj Sali o kojoj peva Litl Ričard. Ubrzan, čak frenetičan, razuzdan i žestok ritam te pesme, uz aluzije na preljubu⁵, i činjenica da pesma potiče iz pedesetih, iz vremena kada se rokenrol suprotstavlja mnogim društvenim konvencijama i omladini nudi jezik i ritam bunta (Torg 2002: 93-96), kao da podržavaju stav jednog od pilota tog aviona, Luisa, u čijoj verziji je Sali opaka i opasna crnkinja. Njegovo negodovanje zbog izgleda devojke koja je naslikana na trupu aviona i nazvana po liku iz pesme jednog crnca u stvari je opiranje beločkim modelima ženstvenosti. To je i isticanje svačijeg prava da u lik uzbudljive i odvažne lepotice projektuje sopstvene predstave o lepoti, privlačnosti, seksipilu. Očigledno je, dakle, da je pretpostavljena „stvarna“ Sali nešto sasvim različito za Luisa iz šezdesetih i za Klaru iz devedesetih godina dvadestog veka. Stoga, kada odluči da svoje delo nazove po toj ženi i mladićima kojima je ona bila inspiracija i amajlija, a koje ona može samo da konstruiše u mašti, Klara u svoje delo ugrađuje i borbu rasnih i rodni konstrukcija, jer je i ona deo svakodnevnog života kojem je njena instalacija zapravo posvećena⁶.

Pored avionske umetnosti, grafiti iz podzemne železnice jesu druga Klarina autopoetička referenca. Ona lično svoj način rada smatra analognim „instinkt[u] crtača grafita“ (80), čime se ukazuje na to da je njeno delo, bez obzira na zvanične dozvole koje ima da ga sprovede, ipak prestup, kao što su to bili i grafiti iscrtavani po vozovima njujorškog metroa sredinom sedamdesetih⁷, kao „gerilski“, a po vlastima, i vandalski način obeležavanja javnog prostora novim tipom znakova i kao vid pobune protiv zvaničnih i regulisanih sistema označavanja i imenovanja⁸. Kako će čitalac kasnije saznati, Klara u tom trenutku na umu ima vrlo konkretne grafite. U poglavlju „Cocksucker Blues“ ona, zajedno sa vlasnicom galerije koja je i njen izlagač, pokušava da pronađe misterioznog Munmena 157, čija dela galeristkinja Ester želi da izlaže. Esterina iluzija da će grafiti naslikani na zidu, koji će ona „dati“ Munmenu biti isto što i *site specific* grafiti, komična je, ali i simptomatična. Njome se otkriva mehanizam odbrane dominantne kulture od supkulturnih ispada iz postojećih sistema znakova i (razmenschkih) vrednosti, zbog čega se Esterino oduševljenje grafitima pojavljuje

5 Videti, na primer: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kc92Mby07wE>.

6 Up, „A ja želim da taj život [neke prave i izvorne Sali, tvorca pesme o njoj, onoga ko je oslikao avion, posade koja je njime letela] postane deo našeg projekta. [...] ja hoću da naše namere ostanu svedene i sasvim ljudske uprkos ogromnom poslu koji smo obavili i velikom poslu koji je još pred nama“ (81).

7 Njujorški grafiti su deo supkulture koja se javila šezdesetih godina dvadesetog veka i postali uzor sličnim oblicima verbalno-likovnog izražavanja u javnom prostoru širom sveta. (Sulima 2005: 69)

8 O pojavi grafita kao o „pobuni znacima“ protiv „semiokratije“, vladavine kodova i znakova koji determinišu modele ponašanja za svako mesto i svaki trenutak, detaljnije govori Bodrijar (1991: 91-99).

u kontekstu tendencije ka sveopštoj komoditizaciji – da se svemu odredi tržišna i simbolička vrednost, da ništa ne ostane van tokova razmene. Klara, ipak, kreće sa njom u uzaludnu potragu za Munmenom. I ovog umetnika upoznajemo prvo posredno, kroz priču o njemu i kroz Klarino viđenje njegovih grafita, a zatim i na delu, pri čemu je fragmenat o njemu umetnut, poput intermeca, u prikaz projekcije Ajzanštajnovog filma, tako što se prelaz sa jedne scene na drugu vrši uz pomoć zvuka voza, Munmenovog „platna“ i sredstva izražavanja. S obzirom na to da su autori grafita u periodu o kojem je reč bili, kao i sam Munmen, uglavnom predstavnici imigranata i drugih manjinskih i diskriminiranih grupa, ova vrsta „vandalizma“ predstavljala je ne samo izraz otpora i provokacije sistema od strane mladih, kao u slučaju drugih omladinskih supkultura, već i vrstu političkog protesta. Grafiti su ovde znaci kojima se obznanjuje svoje postojanje i time ogoljava uslovnost, restriktivnost i selektivnost javnog i javnosti. Ti su se grafiti razvili iz stilizovanih, često vizuelno i koloristički vrlo napadnih potpisa, tzv. tagova, a ti potpisi su, kao i Munmenov, zaista bili komponovani iz nadimka / pseudonima i naziva tj. broja ulice i iscrtavani / ispisivani po spoljašnjim i unutrašnjim zidovima vozova podzemne železnice. Munmen, kao pseudonim Ismaila Munjosa, trebalo bi da bude ironija na račun težnje ka osvajanju kosmičkih prostora i tadašnjeg nadmetanja između Amerike i Rusije u sletanju na Mesec; ironija kojom se ukazuje na to da je za običnog građanina Njujorka, čovek iz tunela podzemne železnice, ili iz geta, jednako stran i dalek, odnosno, u svetlosti pohoda na Mesec, jednako zvanično nepostojeći kao i čovek sa Meseca.

„Bombardovanje“ voza, kako se u žargonu ova delatnost naziva, označava zaposedanje javnog prostora i otpor administraciji informacija i upravnom sistemu grada, jer se natpisi nadmeću sa zvaničnim obaveštenjima, upozorenjima i drugim znacima za informisanje građana, potiskuju ih ili prekrivaju.

Ispisivanje grafita narušava hegemoniju korporacijskog/upravnog stila nad urbanim okruženjem i nad svakodnevnim situacijama. Ono je forma estetske sabotaže, prekida prijatnu i dostatnu uniformnost „planskog“ gradskog prostora i predvidivog načina života u gradu. Za crtače, grafiti remete življeno iskustvo masovne kulture, pasivnost potrošnje. (Farrell 1996: 176)⁹

S jedne strane, identitet se lažnim imenom skriva, a sa druge, predstavlja kao „teritorijalan“, kao određen mestom boravka, dok se vizuelnim aspektom prema tako konstruisanom liku uspostavlja određeni odnos. Crtač sebi dodeljuje simbolično ime i tim gestom se odriče imena koje ga vezuje za poreklo. Promena identiteta kao „socijalna proklamacija“ jeste javno konstantovanje, tačnije, nametanje jednog novog identiteta (Arden 2007: 77). U slučaju tzv. divljeg stila crtanja (*wild style*), koji dovodi do krajnjih konsekvenci mešanja slova i slike, grafičkog i likovnog – a prema onome što se u romanu govori o Munmenovom potpisu, on jeste predstavnik ove struje – odnos prema

9 “Graffiti writing breaks the hegemonic hold of corporate/governmental style over the urban environment and the situations of daily life. It’s a form of aesthetic sabotage, it interrupts the pleasant, efficient uniformity of “planned” urban space and predictable urban living. For the writers graffiti disrupts the lived experience of mass culture, the passivity of mediated consumption.”

imenu, kao simboličan izraz odnosa prema identitetu, još je jače istaknut nečitljivošću i dinamikom ostvarenom kroz odnos boja i linija, na takav način da se stvara utisak kretanja slova. Štaviše, Munmenova slova poseduju radikalnu figurativnost i figuralnost, antropomorfizovana su, tj. u Klarinoj verziji, „humanoidne karikature“ (403): ona se znoje, krvare, plešu, sviraju, dišu, jedu i spavaju (441). U njih su pretočeni svakodnevni život, intima, problematična seksualnost, snovi i tegobe njihovog autora. Ona nisu samo jedan od proizvoda tzv. ulične umetnosti nego su otelovljenje karakteristika života ulice i na ulici. Crtač se izražava kao predstavnik svoje ulice¹⁰, a s obzirom na to da su ulice, četvrti, naselja i sl. u gradovima često rasno, nacionalno, klasno određeni, korišćenje broja još više potcrtava političku prirodu ovog gesta – za grad u kojem živi, taj crtač je bezličan broj. Taj vandalski gest je jedini način na koji on može da komunicira sa drugim gradskim kulturama (Šuvaković 1999: 112) – crtači osećaju da nemaju mogućnosti, a možda ni prava na kretanje, i u doslovnom, i u smislu klasne migracije, kao i to da su prilično uskraćeni kada su informativna i komunikaciona sredstva u pitanju¹¹. U liku DeLilovog Ismaila svest o odnosu identiteta, prava i mesta je prilično jasna. Stoga, izbor vozova kao prevoznih sredstava koja povezuju čitav grad označava simbolično kretanje autora i dela¹², njihovu virtualnu sveprisutnost, kao opomena i pretnja: „[U]laziš ljudima u svest i vršiš nasilje nad njihovim očnim jabučicama.“ (443) Ideja o „nasilju nad očnim jabučicama“, o manipulaciji recipijentovim / konzumentovim fiziološkim vizuelnim aparatom, jeste nešto o čemu je početkom šezdesetih razmišljao, povodeći se za naučnim otkrićima, i reklamni agent Čarls¹³, idejni tvorac reklamne slike za sok od narandže koja će se, na kraju romana, pojaviti kao podloga kolektivne vizije lika nasilno preminule devojčice (koja bi mogla biti i još jedno delo vandalske estetike Ismaila Munjosa, s obzirom na to da je devojčica bila stanovnik njegovog geta, a da je sok od narandže bio sredstvo uz pomoć kojeg je policija nekada čistila vozove od njegovih grafiti). Time što povezuje način razmišljanja jednog mladog i gnevnog beskućnika i jednog uspešnog reklamnog agenta, DeLilo skreće pažnju na način na koji supkulture preuzimaju strategije proizvođača potrošačke kulture i pretvaraju ih u sredstva sopstvene borbe za opstanak i vidljivost, pri čemu njihova subverzija ogoljava i nasilnost prividno nenasilnih praksi advertajzinga. Kao i crtači grafiti na avionima, i ovi crtači su vrlo često posezali za vizuelnim sredstvima masovne kulture, tj. za tipografskim rešenjima dizajnera reklama ili crtača stripova, što je još jedan primer popularne upotrebe gotovih predstava i referencijalnih okvira, kako ovu praksu vidi De Serto (De Certeau 1984: 17-18).

Klara, dakle, svoj rad povezuje sa kreativnim i inovativnim, subverzivnim, neovlašćenim upotrebama masmedijskih i drugih serijski i industrijski proizvedenih

10 „Smisao Munmenovog potpisa bio je u tome što su ta slova i brojevi pričali priču o životu ulice.“ (442)

11 Ovaj moment je u *Podzemlju* dat kasnije, u vezi sa ubistvom devojčice iz geta i njenom slikom, i to na groteskno-ironičan način: stanovnici Ismailove četvrti gledaju televiziju na biciklu, tj. koriste ljudsku snagu da proizvedu neophodnu električnu energiju.

12 Za De Sertoa su upravo njujorški crtači grafiti adekvatan primer retorike „hodanja“ – figura putem kojih se vrši distorzija, elidiranje ili neka druga transformacija prostora u idiosinkratičnu, nezvaničnu putanju. (De Certeau 1984: 102)

13 „Svetom upravlja onaj ko ima kontrolu nad našim očnim jabučicama“ (540) kaže Čarls svom sagovorniku, navodeći i skrivene senzore i kamere uz pomoć kojih se prati reakcija oka na određene boje, oblike i šare, kao sredstvo moguće manipulacije uzbuđenjem i oduševljenjem kupaca. (541-542).

simbola, i to objašnjava prestupnički karakter njenog dela – vojni avioni iz njene instalacije postaju nosioci oprečnih poruka kojima se prekida njihova do tada „prirodna“ veza sa drugim predstavama vojne i oružane moći Amerike. Pored toga što je doživljaj Munmenovih grafita jedan od ključnih elemenata u Klarinom otkrivanju ili ponovnom otkrivanju boje, on doprinosi i njenoj revalorizaciji hiperbole, stvaralaštva koje se ne kloni veličine, ekspresivnosti, snažnih gestova, prkosa, izazivačke samoobjave, rizika. On je, takoreći, vodi od kamerne intimnosti dela nastalih od vlastitih starudija i otpadaka, do rada sa materijalnim manifestacijama ideološkog otpada na jednom od smetlišta istorije.

Krajem osamdesetih i u devedesetim godinama dvadesetog veka, Munmen više ne postoji – Ismail više ne iscrtaava vozove, nego Zid – ruševinu tj. otpadak građevine savremen jednom drugom, u romanu nespomenutom otpatku – tada srušenom Berlinskom zidu – a koji se nalazi relativno blizu nerazrušivom zidu finansijske hegemonije, Vol Stritu. Novi vid kritičke delatnosti, novi kontekst i novi stil – posledica komercijalizacije čitave hip-hop i njoj srodne kulture, koja je izgubila svoju stvarnu provokativnost i autentičnost – sastoje se iz crtanja ogromnih murala, likova dece koja su u Ismailovom getu preminula zbog nasilja i bolesti, sa njihovim imenima i datumima rođenja i smrti, kao na nadgrobnom spomeniku (koji ta deca sigurno nisu dobila). Ritam pojavljivanja ovih grafita reprodukuje ritam umiranja, pa je, kao kontekstualno stvaralaštvo, „čin umetničke intervencije u gradskoj sredini [koji] modifikuje internu temporalnost“ (Arden 2007: 127). Ovi novi grafiti takođe su znaci postojanja¹⁴, napadno, veličinom i jarkim bojama, objavljuju svetu kako to da su određene, „nezvanične“ ličnosti postojale i nestale bez ijednog drugog traga, tako i to da se tu dešavaju načini umiranja koje većina ignoriše. Oni su memorijalnog karaktera, ali i parodično-groteskni. S jedne strane, deca su predstavljena kao anđeli, sa krilima, dok je njihov pol prikazan uz pomoć najtrivijalnijih stereotipa – muške plave i ženske roze boje. Na prvi pogled – kič. Ili, možda, slike na tragu pop-art odnosa prema potrošačkoj kulturi. U stvari, način na koji se život i smrt u getu ispoljavaju kroz te portrete nije naivno podražavanje ili reprodukovanje klišeja, već groteskno izobličavanje reklamnih strategija – velike razmere, jarke boje, oštri kontrasti – vizuelni stimulansi koje pogled teško da može da zaobiđe. Povezivanje umiranja dece sa prepoznatljivim znakovima potrošačke kulture – brendovima, stilovima odevanja, tipovima proizvoda koji su namenjeni mnogo imućnijim i zaštićenijim slojevima stanovništva i koji postoje jedino u reklamnom kontekstu – ima uznemirujuće efekte. Anđeo u najk patikama kao da se obraća svetu u kojem se predstava o Raju ili raju izjednačila sa finansijskim blagostanjem i posedovanjem.

Na delu je, dakle, svojevrsno prisvajanje znakova, predstava, ideja koje su se već ukorenile u kolektivnu svest, postale spontano prepoznatljive, i njihovo ironično izvrtanje i rekontekstualizovanje. Uz poigravanje polisemičnošću reči i slika, ovo je strategija predstavljanja čije se nekolike varijante i mutacije prepoznaju na više mesta u romanu, pa ih je potrebno međusobno uporediti. Tako je, na primer, u jednom slučaju reč o marketinškom triku, o kondomu sa natpisom „Čekaćemo ih na plažama“ (114)

14 Znakovi postojanja su jedan od funkcionalnih tipova grafita (pored znakova delovanja i znakova identifikacije). Detaljnije u Sulima (2005: 71).

što je aluzija na Čerčilov iskaz od istorijskog značaja¹⁵, kome se, na ovaj način, pridaje seksualna konotacija. Naslućuje se blasfemičan spoj ubijanja i seksualnog čina, čime se odbacuje obavezujuća ozbiljnost i neprikosnovenost zvanične istorije koja je pomenuti Čerčilov iskaz zabeležila, sačuvala i označila u kontekstu borbe protiv nacizma. Čarlijevi „kreativci“ sa idejom da veštačko đubrivo reklamiraju kao „bombardovanje“ travnjaka uz pomoć ličnosti i lika stvarnog masovnog ubice-bombaša (538) drugi je primer ovog slobodnog, ludičkog, relativizujućeg i neodgovornog odnosa prema sferi znakova, slika, simbola. U oba ova slučaja, sama ideja o provokativnom i šokantnom korišćenju određenih kolektivnih znanja i nasleđa ne razlikuje se, na prvi pogled, od Ismailovog načina korišćenja njegovom svetu tuđih i međusobno neusklađenih znakova. Ta prividna sličnost potcrtava koliki je značaj socijalne i ideološke pozicije stvaralaca i stvaralaštva u određivanju prirode i smisla dela u savremenom svetu. Autentičan „instinkt crtača grafita“ nema dekorativnu ili marketinšku nego političku funkciju koja ga u polju stalne cirkulacije slika odvaja od drugih praksi stvaranja vizuelnih pastiša, citata, parodija ili aluzija.

Prikazujući neke transformacije jednog tipa odnosa prema tzv. javnom dobru i javnom prostoru, odnosa koji se u romanu javlja u vidu avionskog grafita s početka šezdesetih, integrisanog, posle nekoliko decenija, u umetnički projekat Klare Saks, grafita u njujorškom metrou sredinom sedamdesetih, grafita na zidu koji, s kraja osamdesetih i početkom devedesetih godina dvadesetog veka, odvaja i obeležava geto u Njujorku, DeLilo zapravo izdvaja određena područja koja bismo mogli označiti kao liminalna¹⁶ ukazujući na kritički potencijal onoga što je istovremeno i unutar i izvan društvenih sistema, negde između kolektivnih pamćenja, potiskivanja ili zaborava i istorije koja je ova liminalna područja proizvela kao svoje sramno naličje (kao potencijalno opasan otpad ili kao „šugu“ u istoimenoj dečjoj igri). Ismailov Zid i Klarinu pustinju – kao mesta ispoljavanja transformisanog „instinkta crtača grafita“ u poslednjoj deceniji dvadesetog veka – DeLilo konstruiše kao dva različita spoja aktivizma, kolektivizma, supkulturnih praksi i kontekstualne umetnosti, da bi prikazao neke procese stvaralačkog i estetskog reagovanja na potiskivanje, poricanje, maskiranje ili prećutkivanje društveno-političkih zala, ostvarive u oblastima liminalnog.

15 U pitanju je parodična aluzija na završnicu jednog od čuvenijih Čerčilovih ratnih govora, poznatog kao „Borićemo se na plažama“ (Churchill 1940), na retoričku virtuoznost tog paragrafa zasnovanog na ritmu, sintaksičkom paralelizmu, anafori i gradaciji, upotrebljenim s namerom da se probude i osnaže nacionalno jedinstvo i savezništvo u borbi protiv nacističke okupacije posle Dankerka.

U originalu *Podzemlja*, aluzija na ovu (retoričku) borbu glasi: „Nosićemo ih na plažama“ (“We shall wear them on beaches”) (DeLillo 2011: 111) dok je autorstvo samog iskaza dvosmislenije jer, iako se u prethodnoj rečenici opisuje kako Brajan razgleda kondome sa natpisima, nije sasvim sigurno da on čita jedan od njih: “He did a little Churchill” moglo bi da označava Brajanovu improvizaciju na temu kondoma.

16 Termine „liminalno“, „liminalnost“ (od lat. limen – „prag“) razradio je, na temelju Van Genepovih inicijalnih istraživanja obreda prelaza, antropolog Viktor Turner. Liminalne oblasti jesu oblasti prelaza (pojedince, neoficijelne zajednice...) u novo stanje, tako da se za njih vezuje neodlučivost i neizvesnost, jer se ne može ustanoviti da li će doći do reintegracije u sistem ili do trajnog otpadništva. Liminalne oblasti nisu, ipak, samo ritualno izdvojena mesta inicijacije, već su takva, po Turneru, i boravišta svojevrsnih otpadnika od sistema i onih koje je sam sistem marginalizovao ili stigmatizovao i učinio inferiornim. One su paradoksalne i ambivalentne jer su istovremeno izolovane i integrisane, i sistemske i anti-sistemske (Turner 1991: 94-96, 102-111). Detaljnije o liminalnosti u *Podzemlju*, ali u svetlosti interesovanja savremene eko-kritike (Rozelle 2010).

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SUMMARY

GRAFFITI IN DON DELILLO'S UNDERWORLD

The paper deals with DeLillo's representations and interpretations of various graffiti types in his *Underworld*. There are several episodes, discussions and accounts of graffiti practices in the novel, so that DeLillo's attitudes toward these practices, their aesthetics and politics, and his view of their relationships with other cultural movements, creative industries and artistic forms and genres are the topic of this research. The influences of these graffiti forms and styles on the work of Clara Sax, as presented in the novel, and her re-interpretation and re-appropriation of graffiti artists' stylistic devices and motivations are accentuated.

KEYWORDS: graffiti, nose art, politics of art, subculture.

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■ OČUVANJE MANJINSKIH JEZIKA I JEZIČKA POLITIKA NA PRIMERU VLAŠKE MANJINSKE ZAJEDNICE U SRBIJI

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U ovom radu istražuju se mogućnosti očuvanja manjinskih jezika koji su veoma ugroženi u državama sa dominantnom monolingvalnom ideologijom. Jezička ljudska prava i jezička obrazovna politika dobijaju sve veći značaj na međunarodnoj političkoj sceni budući da su u ovakvim okruženjima neophodan preduslov za očuvanje ugroženih jezika i jezičkog diverziteta. U radu je dat osvrt na etničke manjine u Srbiji i njihov pravni položaj, i tvrdi se da je država Srbija, na osnovu niza zakona kojima garantuje širok krug prava nacionalnim manjinama, bar deklarativno orijentisana ka modelu jezičke raznovrsnosti i očuvanju manjinskih jezika. Rad se dalje fokusira na položaj i jezička prava vlaške manjinske zajednice u Srbiji. Vlaški jezik nije standardizovan niti prihvaćen od strane Nacionalnog saveta Vlaha za zvanični jezik vlaške zajednice pa samim tim ne može biti obuhvaćen državnim obrazovnim politikom. U radu se zastupa stav da država treba da pronađe mehanizme koji bi pomogli očuvanju i razvoju etničke, kulturne i jezičke posebnosti Vlaha i više radi na podizanju svesti o značaju multikulturalnosti i višejezičnosti.

Ključne reči: jezička raznovrsnost, imigranti, jezička politika, Srbija, vlaška manjinska zajednica.

1. UVOD

Procesi industrijalizacije i globalizacije se negativno odražavaju na jezičku raznovrsnost i manjinske jezike i kulture. Statistika pokazuje da od oko 6.700 jezika koliko ih danas ima na svetu, samo 600 jezika ima više od 10.000 govornika, što je minimalni broj da bi opstanak jezika bio siguran. U stvari, 90% svetskog stanovništva govori samo 100 jezika, ostalih 6.600 jezika upotrebljavaju male grupe govornika i može se reći da njihov broj konstantno opada (Hinton 2003: 44). Pored ovog, gubitak

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jezika simbolizuje i krizu biodiverziteta, pošto urođenički jezici sadrže mnoštvo ekoloških informacija koje će biti izgubljene zajedno sa jezikom. Kako bi se stalo na put izumiranju i zameni jezika, 70-ih i 80-ih godina nastao je pokret za održanje jezika koji je nastojao da sačuva *status quo* za manjinske jezike. Međutim, od 1990-ih godina sve veći broj naučnika i istraživača obraća pažnju na gorući problem izumiranja jezika i iz toga se rađa pokret revitalizacije jezika, čiji cilj nije puko preživljavanje nekog manjinskog jezika koji je već u procesu zamene, već vraćanje komunikativnih funkcija u različitim domenima i medijumima upotrebe. Međutim, da bi se to postiglo potrebno je obučiti nove govornike, odnosno pomoći ljudima da nauče jezik u situacijama gde uobičajeni transgeneracijski prenos više ne postoji (*ibid.*,45).

2. POZITIVAN BILINGVIZAM KAO NAČIN OČUVANJA IMIGRANTSKIH JEZIKA

Mnoge zapadne zemlje imaju veliki broj imigranatskih grupa. Za razliku od drugih manjinskih zajednica koje vekovima žive na nekoj teritoriji, imigrantske zajednice ne traže teritorijalno samoupravljanje niti status zvaničnog jezika. Njihove nove zemlje pretpostavljaju da će oni naučiti njihov jezik, budući da je to uslov za dobijanje državljanstva u većini zapadnih zemalja. Imigranti obično prenose svoj maternji jezik deci, i koriste ga u svom domu ili crkvi, ali ga njihova deca retko prenose sledećoj generaciji pa dolazi do zamene jezika već u trećoj generaciji. Ovaj šablon zamene jezika je bio toliko uobičajen da su ga mnogi smatrali neizbežnim. Međutim, nekoliko trendova uzdrmalo je ovaj istorijski obrazac: porast imigrantskog „transnacionalizma“, odnosno tendencije imigranata da održavaju veze sa svojom matičnom zemljom i kulturom, kao i porast ideologije multikulturalizma, odnosno ideje da imigranti ne treba da napuste svoj etnički identitet da bi se integrisali, kao što su iziskivali stari modeli asimilacije, već da treba da ga vidljivo izražavaju u javnoj sferi što državne institucije treba da omoguće (Kymlicka/Patten 2003: 6). Ovi trendovi usloveli su potrebu za kreiranjem državnih jezičkih politika koje prepoznaju multietničnost i postojeće jezičko šarenilo koje je karakteristika najvećeg broja modernih država.

Sjedinjene Američke Države predstavljaju dobar primer države koja, iako u stvarnosti izrazito višejezična zahvaljujući desetinama jezika koje su unete imigracijom iz svih delova sveta, održava dominantnu monolingvalnu ideologiju. Iako statistika pokazuje da danas preko 30 miliona stanovnika ove zemlje ne govori engleski kao maternji jezik, institucionalna podrška monolingvalizmu je već decenijama izuzetno jaka, toliko da je bilo nekoliko neuspelih pokušaja da se engleski proglasi jedinim nacionalnim jezikom države. Mnogi smatraju da je on već toliko dominantan i prestižan u odnosu na ostale urođeničke i imigrantske jezike da dodeljivanje statusa nacionalnog jezika nije ni neophodno. Međutim, u cilju jačanja američkog nacionalnog identiteta u SAD-u, nastali su pokreti poput *English-Only Movement* ili *U.S. English* koji propagiraju isključivu upotrebu engleskog jezika na državnom nivou. Ovi pokreti se zalažu, između ostalog, za stimulisanje zamene jezika, za davanje veće javne podrške jezičkim obukama i za reformu koja vodi ka ukidanju programa tranzicionog bilingvalnog obrazovanja za decu imigranata. Pristalice ovih

pokreta smatraju da upotreba drugih jezika osim engleskog nije potrebna, da je u suprotnosti sa duhom američke nacije, i da ukoliko njihovi govornici žele stvarno da se integrišu u američko društvo i prihvate američke vrednosti moraju preći iz jednog monolingvalizma u drugi. Engleski zapravo znači ne-španski: španska jezička zajednica, koja bi po svojoj snazi i brojnosti trebalo da ima glavnu reč po pitanju učenja stranih jezika zapravo nema nikakav uticaj na kreiranje jezičke politike u Americi koja je anglofona (Edwards 2001: 118).

Sjedinjene Američke Države nemaju eksplicitnu nacionalnu jezičku politiku, i mada ne ignorišu u potpunosti pitanje jezičkog obrazovanja jezičkih manjina, one ne pokazuju jaku nacionalnu posvećenost očuvanju multilingvalizma ili zaštiti jezičkih manjina (Harper 2011: 518). Tokom proteklih decenija u SAD-u je nastao znatan broj zakona koji se tiče jezičkog obrazovanja, i mada ovi zakoni prepoznaju interese govornika drugih jezika, sve je uočljiviji trend insistiranja na usvajanju engleskog i asimilaciji nego na multilingvalnosti. Plurilingvalnost se doživljava kao pretnja nacionalnom identitetu koju je potrebno iskoreniti. Vrhovni sudovi, Kongres i savezne države donosile su u proteklom veku niz odluka u korist jezičke diskriminacije koje ukazuju da je jezički diverzitet zapravo marginalizovan u SAD (*ibid.*, 526). Istraživanja su pokazala da gotovo sve imigrantske grupe zamene jezik već u trećoj generaciji, a ignorisanjem ove činjenice, jezičke obrazovne politike koje se sprovode u državnim školama u SAD tome samo doprinose. Važan izuzetak od ovog procesa zamene jezika je samo španski koji raste velikom brzinom (Bugarski 1996: 77). Pretpostavlja se da danas živi oko 30 miliona govornika španskog u Americi što ih čini najvećom manjinskom zajednicom. Za razliku od drugih imigrantskih grupa koje su već u drugoj generaciji gubile maternji jezik, do ove zamene nije došlo u španskoj zajednici uprkos jakim pritiscima države. U ovakvom neprijateljskom okruženju gde su podsticaji za jezičkom asimilacijom veoma jaki, uslov za očuvanje španskog u SAD-u je lingvistička segregacija, odnosno stvaranje autonomnih organa u španskoj govornoj zajednici u cilju očuvanja jezika (Eriksen 1992: 324). Trenutno, govornici španskog jezika u Americi imaju veliki broj novina, časopisa, TV i radio stanica na španskom, kao i ograničen pristup osnovnom obrazovanju na španskom koji finansira država. To su sve preduslovi koji omogućavaju španskoj zajednici da se razvija i ojača u toj meri da može da bude konkurentna maternjim govornicima engleskog, i to na svom, španskom jeziku. Međutim, ova jezička segregacija je moguća isključivo zbog brojnosti španske zajednice u Americi, dok drugi imigrantski i urođenički jezici ne mogu dugoročno opstati bez jasne i sistematske jezičke politike na državnom nivou koja će brinuti o njihovom očuvanju.

Slični anti-imigrantski stavovi i nastojanja za njihovom brzom asimilacijom postoje i u Zapadnoj Evropi, gde je kao razlog za teškoće u integraciji imigranata istican nedostatak njihove volje da nauče državne jezike. Istraživanja pokazuju da imigrantska deca u Zapadnoj Evropi ostvaruju lošiji uspeh u školi u odnosu na njihove vršnjake iz većinske jezičke zajednice. U zvaničnim državnim publikacijama se za loše rezultate u obrazovanju ne optužuje školski sistem, već se okrivljuju njihovi roditelji koji navodno ne razumeju značaj obrazovanja i imaju staromodne vrednosti koje sprečavaju njihovu decu da uče i ostvaruju uspehe u školi (Skutnabb-Kangas/Phillipson 1996: 299). Pored roditelja, mnogi političari i istraživači iznose stav da zbog samih urođenih osobina

imigranata oni nisu u stanju da ostvare značajne rezultate u školama. Međutim, istraživanja ukazuju da na rezultate imigrantske dece u školama zapravo utiče njihova nedovoljna kompetencija na jeziku instrukcije (Christensen/Stanat 2007: 2). Veliki broj imigranata kod kuće govori jezikom koji se razlikuje od jezika instrukcije u školama i drugim obrazovnim institucijama. To praktično znači da jedan petnaestogodišnjak koji ne govori jezikom instrukcije kod kuće zaostaje godinu dana za svojim vršnjakom kome je maternji jezik ujedno i jezik instrukcije. Dakle, neophodno je da deca imigranata steknu kompetencije na jeziku instrukcije kako bi imala podjednake šanse u akademskom svetu kao i njihovi vršnjaci; najčešće se s tim u vezi ističu intenzivni monolingvalni programi koji pomažu učenicima da usvoje jezik instrukcije tako što su mu konstantno izloženi. Međutim, države treba da ponude i bilingvalne programe kako bi negovale multilingvalnost kao resurs. Jezička politika sa orijentacijom „jezik kao resurs“ podstiče vitalnost i očuvanje ugroženih imigrantskih i urođeničkih jezika (Hornberger 1998: 452). Poznato je da školski sistem ne može očuvati ugrožene jezike ukoliko nema generacijskog prenosa, ali pojedini naučnici ističu da su ključni elementi kod obrazovanja imigrantskih i drugih manjinskih zajednica upravo bilingvalna i bikulturalna raznovrsnost i bilingvalno obrazovanje. Važno je dati izbor manjinama da same odlučuju o tome koje jezike žele da unapređuju i u koje svrhe.

Imigranti žele da očuvaju svoj jezik pred socijalnim, političkim i ekonomskim pritiscima da se asimiluju i prihvate jezik i kulturu njihove nove zemlje. Oni zapravo žele da im se omogući da nauče i koriste novi jezik, ali i da sačuvaju i koriste i svoj maternji, „stari“ jezik u njihovoj novoj zemlji. Ova želja za pozitivnim bilingvizmom je prisutna kod imigrantskih zajednica širom sveta, ali je uočljivo nastojanje njihovih novih država da im nametnu izbor između ova dva jezika ili da potpuno ignorišu obe želje. Iz ovog razloga, jezička ljudska prava i jezička obrazovna politika dobijaju sve veći značaj na međunarodnoj političkoj sceni. Oni predstavljaju mehanizam za održanje i razvoj manjinskih jezika koji države treba da primene ukoliko žele da se jezički i kulturni divezitet sačuva. Filipović (2009: 58) ističe da se jezička ljudska prava formulišu u skladu sa deklaracijama o opštim ljudskim pravima i pozivaju na proaktivno političko i moralno delanje, promociju i prihvatanje relevantnih političkih i društveno-kulturnih sporazuma na nivou država i međunarodnih institucija. Na dve konferencije koje su organizovane pod pokroviteljstvom UNESCO-a zahtevano je usvajanje Univerzalne deklaracije o jezičkim pravima koja bi osigurala upotrebu manjinskog jezika u službenim situacijama i učenje i na maternjem i na zvaničnom jeziku u zemlji boravka. Deklaracija generalno podržava pravo pojedinaca na obrazovanje na maternjem jeziku i na određeni stepen kontrole nad obrazovnim procesom u koji su uključena imigrantska deca (Hornberger 1998: 451). Iako postoji veliki broj povelja, deklaracija i konvencija koji povezuje ljudska prava sa jezičkim pravima regionalnih ili nacionalnih manjina, u mnogim nacionalnim državama se manjinama i dalje uskraćuje pravo na obrazovanje na njihovom maternjem jeziku. Generalno gledano, postoje naponi za kodifikovanje prava manjinskih jezika ali oni još nisu dali rezultate koji bi se ogledali u institucionalnoj podršci manjinama da održavaju i razvijaju svoje jezike, naročito u obrazovnom sistemu (Phillipson/Skutnabb-Kangas 1997: 43).

3. ETNIČKA STRUKTURA U SRBIJI I PRAVNI POLOŽAJ ETNIČKIH MANJINA

Mnoge države sveta, od kojih neke važe za uzore demokratije, negiraju ili prećutkuju da na njihovoj teritoriji postoje razne, ponekad i vrlo brojne manjine, pa je bespredmetno diskutovati o jezičkim i drugim pravima tih zajednica kada one zvanično – ne postoje (Krivokapić 1996: 158). Srbija ne samo da priznaje činjenicu njihovog postojanja, već im svojim Ustavom i nizom zakona garantuje širok krug prava.

Naime, Srbija je nacionalno veoma šarolika država. Zvanično je prepoznato 18 etničkih grupa kojima je dodeljen status nacionalnih manjina. Prema popisu iz 2002. godine, u Srbiji (bez Kosova i Metohije) živi 13,47% pripadnika manjinskih zajednica. Najbrojniji su Mađari (293.299, tj. 3,91%), Bošnjaci (136.087, tj. 1,81%) i Romi (108.193, tj. 1,44%), dok neke nacionalne manjine poput Grka broje tek nekoliko stotina pripadnika. Nacionalno najkoloritniji deo Srbije je Vojvodina. Dve glavne etničke zajednice su Mađari (14,28%) i Srbi (65,05%). Mađari čine većinsko stanovništvo u šest opština na severu Vojvodine, a prisutni su u još dvadeset pet drugih opština u tom delu države. Pored srpskog jezika i ćirilicnog pisma, u službenoj upotrebi u Vojvodini su još i mađarski, slovački, hrvatski, rumunski i rusinski i njihova pisma. Većina pripadnika neke manjinske zajednice skoncentrisana je u jednom delu države, izuzev Roma koji žive po celoj Srbiji.

Etničke manjine u Srbiji, bez Kosova i Metohije, prema popisu iz 2002. godine:

Etnička grupa	Rezultati popisa iz 2002. godine
Mađari	293.299
Bošnjaci	136.087
Romi	108.193
Hrvati	70.602
Albanci	61.647
Slovaci	59.021
Vlasi	40.054
Rumuni	34.576
Makedonci	25.847
Bugari	20.497
Bunjevci	20.012
Rusini	15.905
Ukrajinci	5.354
Nemci	3.901
Jevreji	1.158
Egipćani	814
Aškali	584
Grci	572

Izvor: OSCE – *Ethnic Minorities in Serbia, an Overview, 2008.*

Svi ovi podaci ukazuju na činjenicu da je Srbija multietnička i multikulturalna država. Republika Srbija svojim najvišim pravnim aktima garantuje, ne samo opšta ljudska prava koja stoje na raspolaganju svim njenim građanima, već i posebna prava manjina. U kategoriju posebnih prava manjina spadaju ona prava koja su manjinama kao kolektivitetima odnosno njihovim pripadnicima zajamčena kao jedna vrsta „pozitivne diskriminacije“ i to upravo iz razloga što se radi o stanovništvu koje se nalazi u manjinskom položaju, te je njegov status i identitet potrebno na određeni način i dodatno pravno osigurati (Krivokapić 1996: 160). Među najvažnija Ustavom utvrđena posebna prava etničkih manjina odnosno njihovih pripadnika spadaju:

- pravo na očuvanje, razvoj i izražavanje njihove etničke, kulturne, jezičke i druge posebnosti;
- izričito pravo na slobodnu upotrebu svog jezika i pisma;
- pravo na školovanje na svom jeziku;
- pravo na javno informisanje na svom jeziku;
- službenu upotrebu jezika manjina na područjima na kojima one žive;
- pravo da nastavni programi prosvetnih ustanova obuhvataju i njihovu istoriju i kulturu; i dr.

Prema Ustavu, zaštita manjina i njihovih jezika uživa u Srbiji visok stepen priznanja. Ustavom Republike Srbije iz 2006. godine i ratifikacijom dva glavna instrumenta Saveta Evrope – Okvirne konvencije za zaštitu prava i sloboda nacionalnih manjina iz 2001, i Evropske povelje o regionalnim ili manjinskim jezicima iz 2005, stvoren je pravni okvir kojim se štite ne samo individualna već i kolektivna prava nacionalnih manjina. Prema odredbama ovih dokumenata, manjinskim narodima garantuje se pravo na svoj jezik i pismo, obrazovanje i informisanje na maternjem jeziku, zaštitu kulturnog identiteta kao i na službenu upotrebu svog jezika i pisma. Pored Ustava, niz zakona i podzakonskih akata takođe reguliše pitanje prava manjinskih zajednica. Najvažniji je savezni Zakon o zaštiti prava i sloboda nacionalnih manjina iz 2002, koji je usvojen na federalnom nivou i koji je država Srbija nasledila nakon raspada Državne zajednice Srbije i Crne Gore. Njime je uređen način ostvarivanja službene upotrebe jezika i pisma (obavezna u jedinicama lokalne samouprave gde pripadnici manjina čine najmanje 15 odsto stanovništva) i izbor nacionalnih simbola i znamenja. Pored ovoga, Srbija je potpisala bilateralne sporazume sa četiri susedne zemlje: Rumunijom (2002), Mađarskom (2003), Hrvatskom (2004), i Makedonijom (2004). Kao jedno od najvećih dostignuća stručnjaci navode usvajanje zakona koji nacionalnim manjinama omogućava formiranje nacionalnih saveta preko kojih ostvaruju ova prava. Pripadnici deset nacionalnih manjina konstituisali su svoje nacionalne savete (Bunjevci, Bugari, Bošnjaci, Mađari, Romi, Rumuni, Rusini, Slovaci, Ukrajinci i Hrvati) i njihovi nacionalni saveti obaveštavaju organe, između ostalog, o pitanjima koja se odnose na službenu upotrebu jezika.

Obrazovanje na jezicima nacionalnih manjina uređeno je zakonima Republike Srbije o osnovama sistema obrazovanja i vaspitanja, društvenoj brizi o deci, osnovnoj, srednjoj, višoj školi i univerzitetu.

Na osnovu ovih podataka može se zaključiti da je država Srbija orijentisana ka modelu jezičke raznovrsnosti i očuvanju manjinskih jezika, budući da ne samo što

priznaje postojanje brojnih manjinskih zajednica na svojoj teritoriji već im i brojnim pravnim sredstvima garantuje jezička prava.

5. JEZIČKA POLITIKA I PLANIRANJE NA PRIMERU VLAŠKE MANJINSKE ZAJEDNICE U SRBIJI

Komitek eksperata Saveta Evrope je 2009. godine sačinio izveštaj sa ciljem da ispita realnu situaciju manjinskih ili regionalnih jezika u Srbiji, i meru u kojoj Srbija primenjuje Povelju o regionalnim ili manjinskim jezicima koju je ratifikovala 2005. godine. Treba istaći da je Srbija izabrala da Povelju primenjuje samo na regionalne i manjinske jezike koji su u službenoj upotrebi prema nacionalnom zakonodavstvu. Izveštaj analizira stanje albanskog, bošnjačkog, bugarskog, bunjevačkog, hrvatskog, češkog, nemačkog, mađarskog, makedonskog, romskog, rumunskog, rusinskog, slovačkog, ukrajinskog i vlaškog jezika. Ovaj odeljak se fokusira na položaj i jezička prava vlaške manjinske zajednice u Srbiji.

U Srbiji, pod Vlasima narod podrazumeva stanovništvo severoistočne Srbije² koje se služi jednim romanskim govorom³ i izdvaja se nekim osobenostima u folkloru, načinu života i mentalitetu (Petrović 1996: 795). Vlasi nisu kompaktni u etničkom smislu, već se dele na više grupa, među kojima su tri osnovne: Carani, Ungurjani i Munčani, a zasebnu grupu Vlaha čine Bufani. Prema poslednjem izvršenom popisu stanovništva, ova zajednica broji 40.054 pripadnika, od kojih 92% govori vlaški kao maternji jezik, koji nije kodifikovan. U Srbiji su predstavljeni preko Nacionalnog saveta vlaške nacionalne manjine.

Sporenja o nacionalnom identitetu Vlaha godinama su prisutna među pripadnicima vlaške nacionalne manjine. Dok jedni ističu rumunsko poreklo Vlaha, drugi tvrde da su Vlasi zaseban etnički entitet. U gore pomenutom Izveštaju Komiteta eksperata navodi se da su pripadnici vlaške nacionalne zajednice podeljeni oko pitanja da li je vlaški poseban jezik ili je varijetet rumunskog. Stav Ministarstva za ljudska i manjinska prava je da „vlaški jezik nije standardizovan“ i da „među pripadnicima vlaške nacionalne manjine nema saglasnosti o standardizaciji tog jezika“, pa samim tim on ne može biti u službenoj upotrebi državnih organa. Međutim, Nacionalni savet vlaške nacionalne manjine koji je osnovan 2006. godine, tvrdi da je vlaški varijetet rumunskog, a ne nezavisan jezik. Savet zagovara službenu upotrebu rumunskog u opštinama s većinskim vlaškim stanovništvom, a ne standardizaciju vlaškog. Štaviše, Savet je proglasio rumunski književni jezik za maternji jezik Vlaha i preporučio njegovo uvođenje u službenu upotrebu na teritoriji gde žive pripadnici vlaške nacionalne manjine, kao i njegovo uvođenje u obrazovni sistem vlaške nacionalne zajednice u Srbiji.

Neslaganje među samim pripadnicima vlaške zajednice oko toga koji je njihov maternji jezik otežava unapređenje statusa vlaškog jezika. Prema rezultatima popisa stanovništva iz 2002. godine, na kojem su građani Republike Srbije slobodnom voljom odgovarali i na pitanja o nacionalnoj pripadnosti i o maternjem jeziku, u Srbiji živi 40.054 Vlaha i 34.576 Rumuna, a od ovog broja Vlaha 91,89% se izjasnilo da im

2 Budući da je i AP Vojvodina deo Srbije, preciznije je reći da Vlasi žive u istočnim delovima zemlje.

3 Tačnije, govore jezikom iz romanske grupe indoevropske porodice jezika.

je maternji jezik vlaški, 7,71% se izjasnilo da im je maternji jezik srpski, a 0,30% se izjasnilo da im je rumunski maternji jezik. Dakle, rezultati popisa stanovništva ukazuju na to da rumunski i vlaški nisu isti jezik i da je broj govornika ovih jezika različit. Da bi vlaški jezik mogao da bude obuhvaćen jezičkom obrazovnom politikom u Srbiji i da bi stekao status službenog jezika, neophodno je da prethodno bude standardizovan i zvanično propisan kao maternji jezik ovog kolektiviteta. Međutim, sama država ne sme se mešati u pitanje samoodređenja neke manjinske zajednice na teritoriji na kojoj ona živi, već ta zajednica mora samostalno postići saglasnost po pitanju svog etničkog porekla, maternjeg jezika i svega drugog.

Pitanje položaja Vlaha u Srbiji za sada je skoncentrisano na tri suštinska zahteva koja je njihov Nacionalni savet kao legitimno izabrani predstavnik ovog kolektiviteta zvanično postavio. Prvi je njihovo priznavanje kao nacionalne manjine rumunskog naroda koja živi u istočnoj Srbiji, drugi je pravo na obrazovanje Vlaha na rumunskom jeziku, i treći, najosetljiviji zahtev, jeste pravo na bogoslužjenje na rumunskom jeziku, što bi u praksi značilo formiranje eparhije Rumunske pravoslavne crkve u Timočkoj krajini, ili proširenje područja delovanja Rumunskog pravoslavnog vikarijata u Vršcu. Tome se predstavnici Srpske pravoslavne crkve izričito protive, tvrdeći da je Timočka krajina pod jurisdikcijom Srpske pravoslavne crkve, te da viševjekovni crkveni kanoni jasno zabranjuju da na prostoru jedne eparhije deluju dve crkve. Dodatni problem nastao je kada je Srbija potpisala briselski Protokol o manjinama marta 2012. godine, čime se obavezala da će rešiti pitanje jezika bogoslužjenja, odnosno obezbediti manjinskoj zajednici u Timočkoj krajini bogoslužjenje na rumunskom jeziku. Predstavnici SPC tvrde da se na taj način država umešala u liturgijska pitanja, čime se zadire u uređenje SPC i međucrkvene odnose.

Po pitanju prava na javno informisanje na svom jeziku, u Izveštaju se tvrdi da je potrebno jače prisustvo vlaškog jezika na radiju i televiziji, i da je vlaški jezik nedovoljno zastupljen u kulturnim aktivnostima organizovanim u opštinama u vlaškom govornom području. Ističe se da država Srbija podržava emitovanje radijskog i TV programa na vlaškom jeziku, kao i da postoji program na vlaškom jeziku koji emituje jedan privatni radio. Što se tiče štampanih medija, jednom do dva puta godišnje štampa se brošura na vlaškom. Autori Izveštaja zaključuju da Srbija pokazuje posvećenost očuvanju vlaškog jezika, ali da treba još da radi na kreiranju i primeni jasne i strukturisane politike koja bi podsticala upotrebu vlaškog u javnom životu.

Što se tiče prava na školovanje na svom maternjem jeziku, Vlasi do sada nisu imali mogućnost da ostvare ovo pravo. U Srbiji postoje tri modela obrazovanja na regionalnom ili manjinskom jeziku u osnovnim i srednjim školama. Nastava se može odvijati na regionalnom ili manjinskom jeziku, dvojezično (sa srpskim), ili na srpskom uz mogućnost učenja regionalnog ili manjinskog jezika sa elementima nacionalne kulture što je oko 2-4 sata nedeljno. Kako se u Izveštaju navodi, vlaški jezik se ne uči ni po jednom od ovih modela, već samo u okviru nekoliko privatnih kurseva. Ističe se da vlaška zajednica nema mogućnost formalnog obrazovanja na svom maternjem jeziku i da je neophodno da država obezbedi sredstva i osmisli oblike nastave vlaškog jezika na svim nivoima u opštinama gde se on koristi.

U Komentarima koje su dale na Izveštaj Komiteta eksperata o primeni Evropske povelje o regionalnim ili manjinskim jezicima u Srbiji, vlasti u Srbiji se ograđuju od bilo kakvog nametanja nacionalnog identiteta i maternjeg jezika ovoj, i bilo kojoj drugoj

manjinskoj zajednici. Dalje, navodi se da ne postoje smetnje u okviru državne zakonske regulative za učenje bilo rumunskog ili vlaškog jezika. Međutim, neophodno je da se Nacionalni savet vlaške manjinske zajednice izjasni o tome na kom će jeziku pohađati nastavu njihova deca i da podnese zvaničan zahtev Ministarstvu prosvete. Naime, 2005. godine Ministarstvo prosvete je predložilo vlaškom Nacionalnom savetu da pokrene inicijativu za uvođenje vlaškog jezika u školama u vlaškom govornom području, ali prema rečima nadležnih u Ministarstvu prosvete, vlaška zajednica nije uputila nikakav zvanični zahtev po ovom pitanju.

U skladu sa državnim zakonskom regulativom, vlaška zajednica može da se opredeli za sledeće: a) mogu da imaju celokupnu nastavu na rumunskom jeziku za šta nastavni planovi i programi već postoje, b) mogu da imaju celokupnu nastavu na rumunskom jeziku uz mogućnost izbora izbornog nastavnog predmeta Vlaški jezik sa elementima nacionalne kulture i, c) mogu da pohađaju celokupnu nastavu na srpskom jeziku uz mogućnost izbora nastavnog predmeta Vlaški jezik sa elementima nacionalne kulture ili Rumunski jezik sa elementima nacionalne kulture. Jedino nemaju mogućnost pohađanja celokupne nastave na vlaškom jeziku budući da on nije standardizovan i da u Srbiji ne postoji visokoškolska ustanova na kojoj bi predavači koji bi izvodili nastavu na vlaškom jeziku stekli formalno obrazovanje. Međutim, ukoliko bi Nacionalni savet uputio Ministarstvu prosvete zvanični zahtev za izvođenje nastave na vlaškom jeziku, najpre bi morao biti izrađen nastavni plan i program za ovaj predmet, nakon čega bi bilo moguće organizovati nastavu u školama koja pohađaju deca ove manjinske zajednice.

Iako je s jedne strane dobro što se država ne meša u unutrašnje pitanje samoodređenja vlaške zajednice, neophodno je da se pronađu i ojačaju mehanizmi koji bi pomogli očuvanju i razvoju njihove etničke, kulturne i jezičke posebnosti. Neophodna je pre svega standardizacija vlaškog jezika da bi se mogao naći u službenoj upotrebi, i da bi mogao biti uključen u jezičku obrazovnu politiku i planiranje. Ustavom i drugim zakonima ovoj, kao i drugim nacionalnim manjinama, pravo na školovanje na maternjem jeziku jeste zagarantovano, ali je potrebno da vlaški jezik bude zvanično priznat od strane Nacionalnog saveta ove etničke zajednice kao njihov maternji jezik da bi Vlasi mogli da ostvare ovo pravo. Uprkos ovim preprekama usled kojih pripadnici ove manjinske zajednice ne mogu da se školuju na vlaškom jeziku, ono što država može da uradi jeste promovisanje vlaškog jezika u javnoj i medijskoj sferi, širenje tolerancije i podizanje svesti o značaju multikulturalnosti i višejezičnosti.

6. ZAKLJUČAK

Održavanje i revitalizacija jezika su u tesnoj vezi sa podizanjem svesti populacije o gorućem problemu izumiranja jezika, obezbeđivanjem resursa za obrazovanje i opismenjavanje ljudi na etničkom jeziku, kao i sa političkim angažovanjem i institucionalnom podrškom koja je neophodna da bi se manjinski jezici dugoročno održali. Neophodno je priznavanje pozitivnih jezičkih prava manjinskim zajednicama na svoj jezik i pismo, obrazovanje i informisanje na maternjem jeziku, zaštitu kulturnog identiteta i službenu upotrebu njihovog jezika i pisma. Obrazovna jezička prava najvažnija su za održanje i razvoj jezika, odnosno za globalni jezički i kulturni

diverzitet. Sve je veći broj povelja, deklaracija i konvencija koji jezička prava ubrajaju u fundamentalna ljudska prava. Odgovarajuća jezička politika i obrazovanje mogu podstaći vitalnost, raznovrsnost i stabilnost ugroženih i manjinskih jezika, a konačno i prava njihovih govornika da ravnopravno učestvuju u globalnom društvu.

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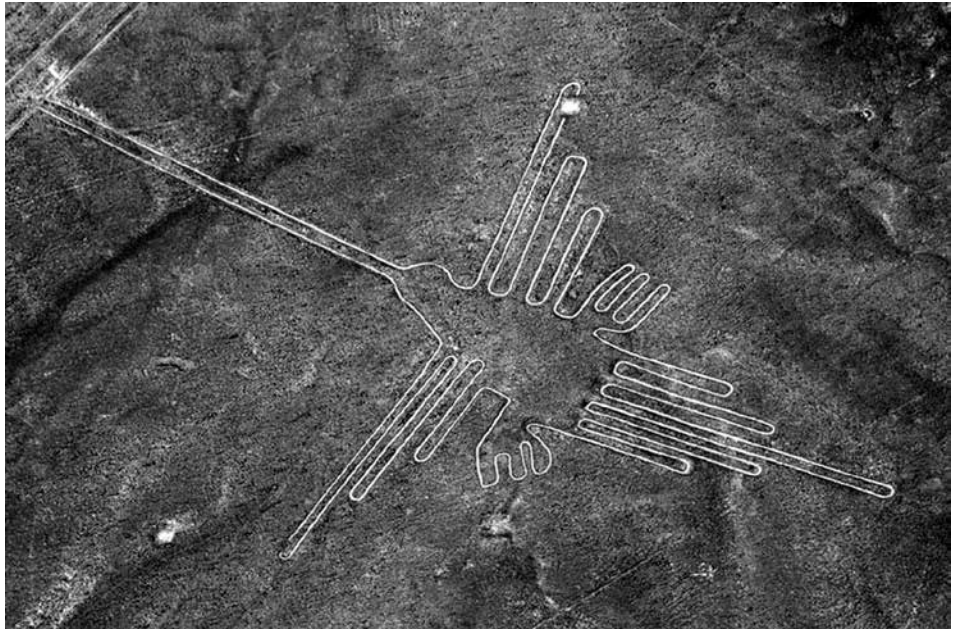
SUMMARY

MINORITY LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE POLICY: THE CASE OF THE VLACH MINORITY IN SERBIA

The issue of the protection of minority languages has been a widely-discussed topic in scientific and political circles for several decades. The paper advocates bilingual education as a means for preserving minority languages and language diversity in states with a dominant monolingual ideology. Immigrants to Western countries pass on their mother tongue to their children, but they rarely pass it on further, so the language is lost by the third generation. This calls for strong state language policies that would prevent language loss. The second part of the paper deals with the legal regulation of the status of minority languages in Serbia with a particular focus on the Vlach minority language.

KEYWORDS: language policy, minority language, immigrants, Serbia, the Vlach minority.

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Roberto Cagliero and Anna Belladelli (eds.), *American English(es): Linguistic and Socio-cultural Perspectives*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013, str. 242.

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This volume, edited by Roberto Cagliero and Anna Belladelli, and contributed to by nine other scholars, comprises eleven chapters divided into three major sections devoted to the three macro-sociolinguistic topics the authors singled out as being the most worthy of attention in the current socio-cultural landscape of America. The concept for the volume originated from the eponymous symposium held in Verona in 2009, which dealt with the same issues through the use of the same largely qualitative methodology.

The first section, entitled "'Minority' and American English", deals with the minority vs. hegemonic dialectic or rather its outdatedness in the discourse devoted to disparate varieties of American English today. The second section, "Spanish/Inglés", is devoted to the controversial and much-debated issue of Spanish in present-day America. Finally the subject of the third section, "Hunting for Slang", is the nature and status of American slang today, and its spread to non-American varieties of English, reflecting a relationship between US English and a globalized world.

In the opening chapter of the first section, Luisanna Fodde challenges the conventional myth of a common language in America, one which has been espoused by the supporters of the English Only movement, and trotted out, inter alia, during the Ebonics controversy in the mid-1990s. She points out how "at least until the 19th century, multilingualism and multiculturalism were common, especially in schools". The unprecedented linguistic diversity was caused not only by the fact that the United States was a multi-ethnic refuge for the tired, the poor, and the huddled masses of the Old Continent, but also due to the "decentralized political organization of the new nation, which favoured the consolidation of regional, cultural and ethnic identity". Whereas in Britain class and social position were the key factors in constructing and maintaining the standard language ideology, in America the language ideology and attitudes focused on racial discrimination, ethnic division and xenophobia. Fodde points out, however, that ethnicity and race in the United States have been known to assume both positive and negative values. The chapter also touches upon the politics of space/place, and the way this framework can be used to describe and better understand the history of American English.

In the next chapter Nicola Maurizio Strazzanti considers the unique position of American Jews. Their ambivalent status as "both insiders and outsiders in the American mainstream" owes a lot to the processes of *deterritorialization* and *reterritorialization*

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they embarked upon, and to their “natural predisposition towards the acquisition of ever-changing adopted languages”. Strazzanti finds that the language of American Jews “carries a spatial sense that is linked to an imaginary, textual homeland”. In their new country Jews’ old language, Yiddish, has become a post-vernacular – a language that is not used, but performed – and thus on a “theoretical, performative and semiotic stage the homeland *is* the language”. Borrowing certain theoretical concepts from continental philosophers such as Lyotard and Derrida, the author also briefly examines the writings of Abraham Cahan and Franz Kafka.

In the final chapter of the first section, Stefano Bosco starts by pointing out the discrepancy between the amount of work done on various Native American languages, and the attention paid to Native American English. After briefly noting the tragic fact that out of the some 300 Native American languages spoken at the time of the European conquest about 150 survive today, out of which only 20 are vital, and giving a cursory glance to Native American borrowings in English, the author turns to examining different aspects of American Indian English, such as its emergence and the existence of slang within it.

The second part of the volume begins with Donna R. Miller having a thorough censorious look into the “English Only” movement and other similar movements which advocate the exclusiveness of English in schools and other public institutions. Miller traces back the history and socio-political origins of such movements, as well examining their present proponents and the main thrust of their arguments. Comparing this debate with the one concerning the use of non-standard English, the author tries in the end to provide a balanced view, arguing for a reconciliation, fully aware of the two sides’ flaws as well as merits.

The following chapter, by Anna Scannavini, deals with Puerto Rican bilingualism, especially codeswitching and codemixing, in United States. More precisely, it focuses on the attitudes of Puerto Rican writers concerning their own bilingualism, or rather the self-representations they construct for the media, and the way these attitudes affect their writing. Scannavini’s corpus consists of interviews (all of them taken during the previous two decades) with sixteen different American authors of Puerto Rican descent, most of whom moved to the USA during their early childhood.

Elisa Bordin’s chapter is devoted to language policy in Arizona, and the recent ban on certain books by Hispanic authors. The author analyses the Arizona authorities’ suppression of the public display of Spanish, and their use of standard language ideology as one means of combating the perceived attempt to overthrow the Anglophone hegemony. Bordin also mentions the backlash by a part of the public who see the ban as “covert white supremacy in the guise of educational standard-keeping”, and who have undertaken acts of resistance and civil disobedience “freely introducing Spanish in the civil and public domain”.

Daniela Francesca Virdis examines a series of dialogues from the pilot episode of *Nip/Tuck*, a TV show set in Miami, seeking to describe, from a pragmatic and sociolinguistic point of view, the doctor-patient relationship between the white middle-class surgeon Christian and his Hispanic working-class patient Silvio. The author finds, analyzing each utterance for linguistic as well as paralinguistic and non-linguistic signals, that Christian, by using non-standard and colloquial language as well as English to Spanish

codeswitching, i.e. by his skillful use of different sociolinguistic codes, “succeeds in becoming the most powerful speaker”.

The third part of the volume, as we’ve said, is devoted to slang. It begins with *Ramón Martí Solano’s investigation of the pervasiveness of American slang and phraseology, or rather its presence in contemporary British English. After a brief look at the history of American influence on British phraseology, Martí Solano first takes a look at the frequency of American versions of phraseological units (e.g. “burn your bridges” vs. the British “burn your boats”) in the British National Corpus (BNC) and The Guardian electronic archives (GEA), after which he turns his attention to four different dictionaries of idioms and four dictionaries of slang, and analyses their respective treatment of American PhUs.*

Chapter Nine, by Roberto Cagliero, engages in a meta-discussion of slang dictionaries. Cagliero discusses some general points on compiling slang dictionaries, as well as giving a brief glance at the state of publishing such dictionaries. Finally, he expresses concern about the disregard shown by the Italian academia regarding lexicography in general and slang dictionaries in particular.

Anna Belladelli, writing about gender-specific slang, focuses on the words “buddy” and “chick”, and builds on her earlier study which examined the use of these two words in popular American female-oriented magazines *Cosmopolitan* and *Glamour*, and the new meanings and connotations attached thereto. This time she provides a diachronic study using the *Time* magazine corpus consisting of issues published from 1923 to 2006. Her aim is exploring the social and cultural implications of “the linguistic and cultural appropriation of those slang words on the part of the ‘dominant’ culture”.

In the final chapter of the volume Elisa Mattiello studies the use of slang in the American TV show *Friends*. After providing a short introduction on slang generally and delineating some differences between British and American slang, Mattiello moves onto describing various means of word formation employed in the popular sitcom, citing specific examples used by its various characters. She analyzes different properties and socio-pragmatic features of slang in *Friends* and in the end engages in a brief comparison between this show and TV series like *Everwood*, the majority of whose characters are more mature.

American English(es), a volume put together by scholars teaching at various Italian universities, “whose expertise draws on diverse and often contrasting approaches, ranging from corpus linguistics to cultural studies, from lexicography/lexicology to discourse analysis”, presents US English as being manifold in nature and rife with perpetual tension. This tension, however, stemming from its diversity, can be seen as a strength, and used as such, making the use of the motto “*E pluribus unum*” truly deserved.

Biljana Čubrović and Tatjana Paunović (eds.), *Focus on English Phonetics*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013, pp. xvi + 295.

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Focus on English Phonetics is a collection of papers presented at the 3rd Belgrade International Meeting of English Phoneticians, held at the University of Belgrade in March 2012. The book follows the path laid down by the previous two collections, *Ta(l)king English Phonetics Across Frontiers* (2009, Cambridge Scholars Publishing) and *Exploring English Phonetics* (2012, Cambridge Scholars Publishing), and brings together research in various fields of English phonetics, from both theoretical and pedagogical perspectives.

Eighteen chapters, written by researchers from nine different countries, are grouped in four thematic units. Part One, *Phoneme and beyond* looks into prosodic properties of the English language. Part Two, *Suprasegmentals and beyond* explores several questions related to suprasegmental phonetics. Part Three, *Applied phonetics and beyond*, looks into EFL phonetics and phonology teaching, or pronunciation training. Part Four, *Phonology and beyond*, discusses issues related to English phonology.

The volume starts with Alan Cruttenden's chapter titled *Using MRI to see English sounds and their overlap*, which describes the use of Magnetic Resonance Imaging (MRI) in the study of segmental articulation and, particularly, coarticulation phenomena. The author discusses this new procedure recently developed at Oxford, which can produce dynamic images of the tongue moving in the mouth. He illustrates the chapter with some sample MRI images and points readers interested in seeing dynamic images to the website attached to the 7th edition of Gimson's *Pronunciation of English* (Cruttenden, 2008).

In the chapter titled *Acquiring L2 vowels: The production of high English vowels by Bulgarian native speakers*, Tsvetanka Chernogorova focuses on problems in acquiring the English vowel system, particularly the high vowels /i:, ɪ, u:, ʊ/, by Bulgarian students. The study shows that their similarity to the Bulgarian vowels /i/ and /u/ causes different levels of production of English high vowels among first-year English majors at the University of Sofia, ranging from complete substitution to very high degrees of acquisition.

The aim of Andrej Bjelaković's chapter *Original pronunciation: The accent of Shakespeare's London*, is to provide a sketch of Early Modern English (EME) pronunciation. The author draws from several major works dealing with EME phonology, and lists the main differences in pronunciation between present-day English and that of the 17th century. The author confirms that the EME sound system, although phonetically different, is phonologically rather similar to its present-day counterpart and that the mainstream EME pronunciation shares many features with some regional accents of contemporary English.

Stefano Quaino in the chapter *Pitch alignment in Welsh English: the case of rising tones in Gwynedd*, discusses the results of an acoustic analysis of Gwynedd English.

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He uses the Praat program to analyse rising tones and underline their distinguishing features. He suggests that the position of pitch peak could be a distinguishing feature of Welsh English.

In *An acoustic analysis of the punch lines in English Jokes*, Ken-Ichi Kadooka focuses on pitch contour and Paratone. The author uses acoustic analysis to explore the description of the punch-line paratone in jokes as a subtype of the low paratone, characterized by a combination of phonetic features, such as a lower pitch, slower tempo, and a pause preceding it, by which the end of the joke is signalled. The punch line paratone also includes a gradual lowering of the baseline pitch from the beginning towards the end of the joke – until the punch line. The author presents an analysis which illustrates this description, to a certain extent.

In *Observations on the nucleus in English and Serbian*, Brian Mott summarizes differences between English and Serbian utterances in the position of the nuclear stress. He argues that the versatility of the nucleus in Serbian is comparable to that of English, and, partly using Wells (2006), investigates which elements of the Serbian sentence can receive tonic stress and what concomitant changes in pragmatic value this entails. Based on examples obtained from recordings, the author classifies utterances into various types, such as WH-questions, interrogatives with an emphatic particle in Serbian, and those containing negative adverbs, intensifiers, emphatic pronouns or possessives.

In the chapter *Methodological issues in the acoustic analysis of spontaneous speech prosody*, Aleksandar Pejčić investigates the prosodic characteristics of Serbian and British persuasive political speech. He discusses some common methodological problems and difficulties, especially those relating to the choice of suitable speech tokens, in terms of subject, register, and style, the regional, gender and age differences of the speakers, and also errors and subsequent repairs. Data obtained as part of this research is used to illustrate the author's theories, and possible pedagogical implications for spontaneous speech analysis are highlighted.

Vladimir Phillipov attempts to establish a correlation between syntax and intonation in his chapter *The status of intonation in a level approach in the organization of language*. The author argues that intonation is an exponent of fluctuation, in other words, a shift in the status of a linguistic item leading to a different function, while preserving the form.

Yulia Nenasheva examines different approaches to prosodic research. In the chapter *Intonation patterns and phonetic stereotypes: new life for old terminology*, she presents a study of prosodic components of the utterance, such as its durational, dynamic and tonal qualities and argues that the meaning of an utterance is expressed through the arrangement and interaction of prosodic elements in an intonation pattern. Her research shows that these prosodic complexes possess certain distinctive features, and that sets of these features identify them as intonation patterns that serve as models in speech production, through a realization of phonetic stereotypes.

In the chapter *Intonation interference and its impact on effective communication between native/non-native speakers*, Oksana Pervezentseva presents a study on the ways in which prosody affects communication between native and non-native speakers in situations of artificial bilingualism. She focuses on communicative-pragmatic types of utterances that are likely to be subject to interference, and to cause miscommunication.

Her findings show the sensitivity of native speakers to the inaccurate use of intonation patterns, usually in the emotional-modal aspect.

Patricia Ashby looks into the new teaching methodology, 'the flipped classroom', which takes advantage of modern technologies such as screen-capture software, and educational vodcasting. In her chapter *To flip or not to flip? Phonetics, phonology and the flipped classroom* she presents the results of a study of the effectiveness of flipping in teaching final year phonology students at the University of Westminster. She concludes that flipping increased students' confidence and knowledge of the subject matter and argues that there is a place for the flipped classroom in UK tertiary education, and possibly in other countries, too.

Rastislav Šuštaršić discusses the importance of *Minimal pairs in English phonetics teaching*. He argues that knowledge of the phonemic contrasts in English and their frequency of occurrence, and identification of the main differences between the sound systems of English and Slovene are preconditions for the effective teaching of English pronunciation, particularly for teaching sounds that are problematic for Slovene students of English. The author suggests several approaches to introducing minimal pairs in teaching English pronunciation, and some activities that focus on the distinctiveness of English vowels and consonants.

In the chapter *Beginnings, endings, and the in-betweens: prosodic signals of discourse topic in English and Serbian*, Tatjana Paunović discusses the use of prosodic cues at the discourse level, specifically, in signalling discourse structure. She analysed the F0/pitch, intensity, and duration measured at intonation unit boundaries, first peak/onset, and nuclear accent syllable, and overall pitch range and intensity of intonation units in a reading task performed by two groups of participants: L1 speakers of Serbian, who are also EFL learners, and L1 speakers of British English. The study shows that while there are important differences between the native-speaker group and the EFL group in reading the English text, there are also certain similarities, as well as differences in the English and Serbian texts when read by their respective native speakers. The author concludes that not all of the EFL students' problems in reading the L2 text could be attributed to L1 prosodic transfer.

Snezhina Dimitrova examines language attitudes among Bulgarian EFL learners. In the chapter titled *British or American pronunciation?* She compares students' pronunciation preferences with their spoken performance. The study was done on forty-seven recordings and included both auditory and acoustic analyses with the aim of establishing how consistent the Bulgarian tertiary-level learners were in their use of the well-known salient segmental and suprasegmental features of the pronunciation model of their choice. The author states that the most prominent traits that students use inconsistently when trying to imitate the British Received Pronunciation or the General American accent are the vowel quality of words from the LOT and BATH lexical sets, rhoticity and t-voicing, position of lexical stress and the individual word pronunciation.

In the chapter *Slavic English accents revisited: a case study of Russian Serbian-English in films*, Biljana Čubrović looks at the linguistic credibility of what the film industry approves of as acceptable Russian accents. She analysed Rade Šerbedžija's speech in four recent films, from a segmental viewpoint, using the tools of acoustic phonetic analysis, and also from an auditory perspective, where necessary. The aim was to establish how much his non-native accent was twisted for this purpose, how much

effort was invested in making this actor, with a South Slavonic language background, can sound like a native Russian speaker, and whether he can pass as one.

Isao Ueda in the chapter titled *Phonetic similarity in transliterated English trademarks – a preliminary study in Japanese* surveys how newly proposed trademarks are examined in Japan. Transliteration in *Katakana*, demanded by the Japanese trademark law, may result in distortion of their original phonological structure, which can cause the application to be rejected. The author shows several examples of trademarks and argues that the similarity decision was affected by factors such as segmental contents, the different position of the syllable in a word, and the total length of the trademark. The author also gives several suggestions to improve the existing situation.

In *Level ordering of affixes: a phonological perspective* Jelena Vujić discusses various aspects of phonology-morphology interactions and their implications for suffixation processes. She offers an outline of a number of theoretical approaches to English word-formation. She concludes that phonology and morphology strongly interact when it comes to derivation in English.

In the last chapter in this volume, titled *The functional classification of English vowels: Phonological and orthographic evidence*, Csaba Csides argues that a number of phonological and orthographic regularities demonstrate that the tense-lax division of English vowels is functional rather than phonetic. Phonological processes discussed in connection with these arguments are Vowel Shift, Trisyllabic Laxness, Laxing by ending, CiVlaxing, Pre-cluster laxing and Laxing by free U. Csides also looks into sound values of English vowel letters and the difference between free and covered graphic positions, and concludes that tense and lax vowels tend to occur in different types of graphic (ortographic) positions but also that the effect of the free position rule may be eliminated by overriding phonological regularities.

Focus on English Phonetics offers a variety of theoretical, applied and experimental investigations of English phonetics and English pronunciation. The book will be of equal interest to researchers, students and teachers. The variety of viewpoints will certainly attract a wide audience, as the editors suggest, at least as diverse as the authors and topics. The quality of the papers adds to the recommendations of this volume, and we can only look forward to the 4th Belgrade International Meeting of English Phoneticians, to be held in Belgrade in February and March 2014, and the next volume that will result from it.

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J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Fall of Arthur*, ed. Christopher Tolkien. London: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2013, str. 233.

Prikazala **MILICA SPREMIĆ**¹
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U londonskim knjižarama se proleća 2013. godine, u policama sa odrednicom Epska fantastika, pojavila do sada neobjavljivana, nedovršena narativna poema Džona Ronalda Rejela Tolкина, *The Fall of Arthur (Pad Arturov)*, njegov jedini izlet u arturijansku legendu. Delo je ugledalo svetlost dana zahvaljujući najmlađem od Tolkinove trojice sinova, Kristoferu Tolkinu, kome je otac poverio staranje o svojoj književnoj zaostavštini. Uz tekst poeme objavljene su korisne napomene i još tri poglavlja – “The Poem in Arthurian Tradition”, “The Unwritten Poem and Its Relation to *The Silmarillion*” i “The Evolution of the Poem”. U prvom poglavlju priređivač razmatra moguće izvore za očevu arturijansku poemu, u drugom je dovodi u vezu sa Tolkinovom zbirkom mitopoetskih dela pod naslovom *The Silmarillion*, a u trećem daje uvid u proces nastanka poeme o Arturu analizirajući očev rukopis.

Nema preciznih podataka o tome kada je Tolkin počeo da piše *Pad Arturov* niti kada je i zašto prekinuo rad na ovom delu. Jedini datirani dokument o njemu jeste pismo Tolkinovog kolege sa Univerzitetskog koledža u Londonu, R. V. Čejmbersa, iz decembra 1934. godine, u kome se autor povoljno izražava o delu i sugeriše Tolkinu da ga svakako završi. Međutim, u formi u kojoj postoji, poema ima svega četiri cela pevanja (Cantos) i započeto peto, koje se prekida posle šezdesetak stihova. Iz pomenutih prpratnih poglavlja saznajemo da je sačuvano dosta fragmenata, zasebnih stranica sa pojedinačnim stihovima, kraćim stihovnim pasusima ili pak idejama za nastavak i zaokruženje dela, ali o njima je gotovo nemoguće davati bilo kakav sud.

Posebnu draž, upečatljivost, ali i tragiku poemi *Pad Arturov* daje aliterativno-akcenatski stih kojim je ispevana. Iako je na savremenom engleskom jeziku, aliterativni stih korišćen u poemi ne stvara samo „prožimajući utisak ozbiljne i sudbinske prirode svega izrečenog”, već je čini direktno uporedivom sa atmosferom *Beovulfa* i staroengleskih elegija, sa svetom „lišenim radosti”, sa osujećenim ljudskim stremljenjima, sa tmurnim, vlažnim i maglovitim pustopoljinama i neprijateljskim uzburkanim morem, gotovo crnih talasa.

Prvo pevanje započinje Arturovim pripremama za polazak na istok, u rat protiv Saksona, kako bi ih onemogućio da iznova dolaze u pljačkaške pohode na južne obale Britanije. Sugeriše se da je to poslednji Arturov pohod i da mu duša čezne za ratom jer je, poput ostarelog Beovulfa, još uvek ponosit i hrabar. Ispraća ga Mordred, pun zlobe i nečasnih planova, ali drži govor u kojem podstiče Artura da ide u osvajanja i uverava ga da mu je kraljevstvo sigurno sa njim kao namesnikom. Svi odobravaju Mordredove reči i hvale ga, a čak ni Gavejn, Arturova najveća uzdanica, u njima ne

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prepoznaje izdaju, jer žudi za ratom i samo o njemu misli. U opisu ratnog pohoda često se naglašava da se Artur bori protiv pagana, a jedino pomenuto odredište jeste ušće reke Rajne. Posebno se ističe da u ovom ratu uz Artura nisu ni Lanselot ni njegovi rođaci i saborci – Lajonel, Ektor, Bors i Blamor – a pored Gavejna, „branioca i bedema sveta koji propada“, najviđeniji vitezovi koji čine Arturove snage jesu Bediver, Bodvin, Erej, Ivejn i Kador. Prizori pustih i negostoljubivih predela kroz koje prolaze ne asociraju samo na staroenglesku svetovnu poeziju, nego i na vizije pakla iz religioznih spisa ovog perioda:

Dark and dreary were the deep valleys,
 where limbs gigantic of lowering trees
 in endless aisles were arched o'er rivers
 flowing down afar from fells of ice.
 Among ruinous rocks ravens croaking
 eagles answered in the air wheeling;
 wolves were howling on the wood's border.
 Cold blew the wind, keen and wintry,
 in rising wrath from the rolling forest
 among roaring leaves. Rain came darkly,
 and the sun was swallowed in sudden tempest. (I, 72-82)

Pada veče, hladno i vlažno, vatre se gase u Arturovom logoru u brdima, a kada narednog jutra svane, biće to zora bez sunca, kao nepovoljan predznak. Potom se začuju rog i konjski topot, a vitez Kradok Arturu donosi loše vesti: kaže mu da je predugo odsustvovao iz svoje zemlje u kojoj se sada sprema rat, jer ga je Mordred izdao i udružio se sa njegovim neprijateljima u nameri da mu oduzme krunu. Artur je nekoliko trenutaka bled i preneražen, a onda postaje svestan da se Fortunin točak počeo okretati suprotno njegovim željama i sa setom pomišlja na dvadeset bitaka u kojima se borio i pobedio, nepogrešivo predosećajući da su njegova država i njegova civilizacija osuđeni na propast. Gavejnu saopštava tragične vesti, uz opasku da mu nedostaje Lanselot i pitanje da li da mu se obrati za pomoć. Gavejn smatra da Lanselota i njegove ljude ova izdaja ne dotiče mnogo i da bi Lanselot, ako zaista zna šta je bezrezervna odanost kralju, trebalo da se odrekne svog ponosa i sam pritekne Arturu u pomoć.

U drugom pevanju radnja se premešta u Britaniju. Tamo se, u svom utvrđenju, u osvit zore budi Mordred, mračnih misli, mučen požudom koje oseća prema Gineveri, a koju nije moguće ugasiti ni osvajanjem tvrđava ni zadobijanjem krune. Za to vreme, lepa i otmena, ali nezaštićena Ginevera bezbrižno spava u Kamelotu. Štitonoša poziva Mordreda da siđe sa kule utvrđenja i čuje vesti koje ima da mu saopšti frizijjski kapetan, jedini preživeli sa nekog potonulog broda. Kapetan Mordredu kaže da je Kradok pobegao iz Britanije i da je Arturu preneo vesti o njegovoj izdaji, te da je rat neizbežan jer Artur ima vojsku od devet hiljada ljudi, koja će vrlo brzo stići u Britaniju. Mordredu savetuju da bez odlaganja krene na istok i suoči se sa kraljem, te on odmah počinje pripreme za sukob. Uspeva da sakupi veliku silu jer mu prilaze mnogi velikaši koji izdaju Artura. Pre polaska u rat, Mordred odlazi u Kamelot da traži Gineveru. Nalazi je u njenim odajama, uplašenu ali pribranu. Kaže joj da je on sada kralj i nudi joj da bude kraljica jer je voli, uz obećanje da više nikada neće biti ostavljena sama, bez kralja i i vtezova, što

joj je priredio Artur. Ginevera ga hrabro pita kako može sebe da zove kraljem kada mu je vlast u punom poverenju ostavljena samo za vreme Arturovog odsustva i zahvaljuje mu na ponuđenoj ljubavi. Mordred se razbesni, zgrabi je u naručje i kaže joj da će biti njegova, kao kraljica ili kao robinja, a Ginevera ga tada zamoli da joj dâ malo vremena da razmisli. Mordred joj dozvoljava da razmisli samo do večeri i ljutito odlazi. Kada se spusti večer, Ginevera sa nekoliko odanih ljudi pobegne iz Kamelota i zaputi se u Vels, svome domu i svome ocu, kralju Leodegransu. Tužna i preplašena, misli na Lancelota i pita se hoće li on saznati za njenu nevolju.

Treće pevanje ostavlja utisak najemotivnijeg i najpoetičnijeg. U njemu konačno srećemo Lancelota, u oblasti Benvik u Francuskoj, u njegovom utvrđenju, sa čijih bedema, zamišljen i potišten, gleda olujni kovitlac vetra, kiše i morskih talasa, mučen grižom savesti jer je izdao svoga gospodara Artura. Stihovi koji slede donose Tolkinovu verziju Lancelotove sudbine koja, iako ispevana u trećem licu, ostavlja utisak unutrašnjeg monologa. Lancelot je, naime, bio najbolji Arturov vitez, bez premca po hrabrosti i gospodstvu. Sa njim je uporediv jedino Gavejn, ali isključivo po hrabrosti. Autor diskretno sugerise da Gavejn nije kompletan vitez jer nikada nije poklonio ljubav nijednoj ženi, niti je ijednog čoveka smatrao bliskim prijateljem, kako bi bezuslovno mogao da služi samo svome kralju. Gavejn je, uz to, sumnjao u kraljičinu ispravnost i pažljivo je na nju motrio. Lancelot je zavoleo kraljicu i vremenom počeo njoj da služi više nego kralju i viteškom redu, a ona mu je uzvraćala ljubav, što se proćulo na dvoru. Ova veza rađa Mordredovu mržnju i zavist, istovremeno pospešujući i neke njegove nade, a ubrzo postaje jasno da će ona razoriti čitav Arturov svet. Bez mnogo detalja pominju se Agravejnova smrt, sukob vitezova Okruglog stola i podela unutar družine, smrtna presuda Gineveri za neverstvo, Lancelotovo spasavanje Giverere sa lomače i njegovo nehotično ubistvo Gareta i Gaherisa. Lancelot se ubrzo pokaje jer je direktno doprineo slomu Okruglog stola i time izgubio gospodara. Sa Gineverom je u izgnanstvu, ali je turoman i mrzovoljan, i njoj se ne dopada ta strana njegovog karaktera. Ne prija joj ni samotno izgnanstvo jer čezne za sjajem dvora. Rastaju se tužni i slomljeni bolom, a Artur je prima nazad na dvor kao svoju kraljicu. Lancelotu, međutim, nikada više ne ukaže milost; protera ga iz kraljevine i viteške družine, ali poema ipak sugerise da Artur zbog toga žali u potaji i da je svestan da njegov dvor više nije isti bez Lancelota i njegovih rođaka. Do Lancelota stižu vesti o Mordredovoj izdaji i Arturovom povratku u Britaniju sa velikom flotom i vojskom; ponovo se naglašava da Arturu nedostaje Lancelot, a pominje se i Lancelotova potajna nada da će ga kralj pozvati u pomoć. Lancelot misli i na Gineveru i pita se da li je ugrožena, seća se njihovog bolnog rastanka i svestan je da je i dalje voli. Nema, međutim, vesti ni od nje ni od Artura, što Lancelota tišti i muči. Narednog jutra se budi u sličnom raspoloženju, ali onda iznenada oseti da mu je nestao teret sa srca. Seti se pesme koju je voleo da sluša uz harfu i počinje da je peva, a autor nagoveštava da je to njegov samrtni čas.

U poslednjem celovitom, četvrtom pevanju, radnja se ponovo vraća u Britaniju, gde su najpre opisani nepristupačni predeli na putu za Vels, po kojima Mordredovi ljudi puni mržnje tragaju za Gineverom. Mordred čeka vesti o njoj u svom utvrđenju na jugu, u Kentu, istovremeno motreći na prispeće Arturovih snaga. Štitionoša mu donosi nepovoljne vesti da je Ginevera, pod okriljem noći i surove prirode, uspela da pobegne svome ocu u Vels i da je van njihovog domašaja. Savetuje Mordredu da je zaboravi, da

se pouzda u svoje snage i usredsredi na rat, a Mordred mu besno odgovara da se udalji i da se ne smatra pozvanim da mu daje savete. Nervozan i uplašen, mučen neutaživom strašću za kraljicom, uveren je da je uspela da javi Lanselotu za svoju nevolju i zamoli ga za pomoć. Plaši ga mogućnost da će se Lanselot i njegovi rođaci pridružiti Arturu u ratu protiv njega, te provodi dane u sumornim mislima, sve dok ga jednog jutra ne probudi povik da se na horizontu vidi jedro. Ubrzo postaje jasno da se to Artur vraća u svoje propalo kraljevstvo, vidi se i njegov barjak na brodu, ali Mordred oseti olakšanje kada shvati da uz Artura nema Lanselotovih snaga niti njegove ratne zastave, i da Gavejn predvodi Arturovu vojsku. Rat u Britaniji počinje tako što Arturovi ljudi kroz vodu krče put da bi se iskrkali u Kentu. U bici, opisanoj u stilu staroengleske herojske poezije, Arturove snage uz veliki napor i brojne žrtve neprijatelja uspevaju da prokrče put do obale, a Gavejn zablista u punoj snazi i junaštvu.

Na početku petog pevanja Artur sa broda gleda svoju kraljevinu svestan da joj je došao kraj, jer su ga izdali najbliži i okrenuli se od Boga. Nižu se turbne slike ruševina i pustoši, pomešane sa kraljevim razmišljanjima o dugu koji mora da plati u krvi svojih ljudi i o tome da viteški red nestaje. Artur poziva Gavejna i savetuje se sa njim da li da odlože bitku i povuku se na zapad, i na tom mestu se pevanje prekida.

U Tolkinovoj narativnoj poemi *Pad Arturov* moguće je pratiti i uočiti različite književne uticaje. Njen siže i likovi najviše duguju čuvenim srednjovekovnim verzijama arturijanske legende – *Istoriji britanskih kraljeva Džefrija od Monmuta*, *Aliterativnoj smrti Arturovoj*, *Arturu u strofama* i Malorijevoj *Smrti Arturovoj* – ali u atmosferi Tolkinovog dela, osmišljenog i započetog tridesetih godina XX veka, nemoguće je, makar i samo posredno, ne primetiti i odjeke Tenisonovih *Kraljevih idila*, Svinbernovog *Tristana od Lajonesa* i umetnosti preraphaelita. Njegov priređivač Kristofer Tolkin s pravom smatra da je za arhaičan, uzbudljiv, tragičan i mističan *Pad Arturov* najveća šteta što je ostao među nedovršenim delima njegovog oca.

Irena Avsenik Nabergoj, *Reality and Truth in Literature – From Ancient to Modern European Literary and Critical Discourse*, trans. Jason Blake. Goettingen: V & R unipress GmbH, 2013, pp. 229.

Reviewed by **ZOLTÁN VIRÁG**¹

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According to Johann Wolfgang Goethe necessity originates art, and if matter is brought to life by a real artist, then it would inherently carry eternal value. In *Kunst und Handwerk (Art and Handwork)* he states that the enjoyment of art should be enriched by deepening one's knowledge, the refinement of taste and more sensitivity while creating the long, intergenerational process of the multiplication of meaning and the nivellation of values. Works of art are not only meaning-bearing, but also value-transmitting structures, and the constitution of aesthetic qualities is a proliferation of moves and requirements bound to the given age and society.

Irena Avsenik Nabergoj is interested in the canonic components of different epochs and stylistic trends which were not always able to get free from each other's influence. In her recent book she scrutinizes the historic identity of value orientations and the chances of their survival while she also surveys the modification of their scope and the realignment of their dimensions. The excellence of her approach is that she looks at the spheres of culture and the art of words as a system of hierarchies of the combination of signs, the modification of meanings and literacy trends. We can define literature as an autochthon form of spirituality if we see it through the lens of dialogues and relationships between the national and the universal. She unfolds the consequences of expressing and experiencing aesthetic and artistic truth from a more language-centered point of view (she stresses the mechanisms of metaphorization, allegorization, the usage of symbols and the bounds of forms). Feeling at home in the fields of philosophy, theology, the philosophy of history, comparatistics, psychology and the history of criticism, she presents that the notions (in a broadened semantic sense) of reality, truth, beauty and love do not at all stay so distant from each other.

Her chronology-based reasoning gives way to a communication-system-type of literary typologization, in which she sets artistic practice, the artistic sort of articulation against the ideas of the possible mapping of reality. Armed with thorough classical philological knowledge she traverses the Greek-Latin philosophical tradition, poetical wits and rhetoric expectations. We face the same erudition as in her previous book, *Longing, Weakness and Temptation: From Myth to Artistic Creations* (2009). Her subtle intellectual by-passes reach into the eras of the middle ages, the renaissance, enlightenment, romanticism, modernity and postmodernity while spotlighting international literary tendencies reflected in Slovenian literature.

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The Platonic concept of logical and ontological truth, its counterpart, the Aristotelian interpretation of reality, the universal truth of Aurelius Augustinus, finding home in the spiritual world, the views of Thomas Aquinas that the intertwined existence of beings and of the soul is a basic truth while believing in the polysemy of symbols and words and segments of reality settled in myths, fictional and historic descriptions are all exhaustively covered. In the wake of a 1797 dialogue of Johann Wolfgang Goethe titled *Über Wahrheit und Wahrscheinlichkeit der Kunstwerke* (*On Truth and Probability in Works of Art*) Nabergoj also tackles the problems of the true and the real or things seeming to be true and real, or rather the problems of substituting the real or pretending something to be real. She also invokes the theories of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Friedrich von Schiller, Arthur Schopenhauer, Friedrich Nietzsche, Walter Benjamin, Martin Heidegger and others, and the oeuvre of Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy or Ivan Cankar who she wrote a synthetic work about (*Mirror of Reality and Dreams*, 2008).

The historic order of movements of things ever happened in the world, epoch forming sequences of events, existing in the current and the chaining of events – they all strongly correlate with time and space, so everything which can be apprehended chronologically has a story, and their story is basically identical with its existence. The answer to the question of the relation between the studying of literature and history is the following: „In principle, history is the search for facts and events that really happened. The primary concerns of history are events based on knowledge concerning the human mind in reaction to the challenge of the natural and social environment of groups of individuals that "create" history and manifest their character and decisions, or defend their thoughts and views of the universe as a whole and affect groups of individuals. History is therefore open to typology. In any case, the expectation remains that the historian's work is bound to eternal facts and events. On the other hand, the writer of fiction is always concerned with the individual as such, with his innermost soul, no matter what the influence on other people. This is also true for the genre of historical fiction. The goal of literary historical fiction is not to divulge the historical setting of an historical time period. Authors of literary history are concerned with characters who managed to transcend time, speak to us from their own perspective and help us to better understand the commonalities and differences between their time and ours.“ It is also useful to take into consideration whether it is not too easy to curtail the arsenal of terms, the basic categories of their historic concreteness while analysing phenomena in their determined historic context which leads to the interpretation of these terms and categories as eternal notions, psychological, theoretical or metaphysical constants. That is why the temporal traits of the historic dimension should never be lost sight of in the historic process (and, of course, the different aspects of existence weltering within it). Literary texts remain constant elements of the historic stage representing another section of the shaping process on a real or an imaginary (if they had been destroyed) level, thus they remain the actors not only of the past, but also of the present. They not only represent the older and the former as precedents of the now, but they also exist together with works created later.

In the middle section of her book Irena Avsenik Nabergoj reviews the real and fictional components of biographies and autobiographies. According to her, both have a significant common feature – they have an intimate relationship with the past. The

echoing, resonating and long-range fading of events which were experienced and recollected by a creative intellect. Besides biblical details, works of antique authors and others like Saint Theresa of Avila, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Georges Sand, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi she also cites the texts of famous Slovenian authors, namely Ivan Cankar, Ciril Zlobec, Marjan Rožanc, Lojze Kovačič and Marjan Tomšič.

The well-selected examples let one come to the conclusion that collecting and organising data, perspectives dissolving into each other, the past seeping through the present are all peculiarities of a point of view which can not only be connected to the note-taker or the narrator, but also to a chosen literary modality, to patterns and schemes of different genres. So, as a spin-off of the Hayden Whitean tropology, it is clear that historians need to encode and present their results as unbiased observations and, consequently, creditable opinions before a reader could decide or state whether any encoded professional certainty is objective or not. In that sense narrative identity is not an illusion, a biography or an autobiography is not a special novel, nor the negation of this statement is true, rather we can cite here Philippe Lejeune who said that 'both are special cases of incorporating something into a narrative'.

After reviewing the value presentations of the religious and literary tradition and the challenges and methodological implications of intercultural and -religious dialogue she looks into the artistic and philosophical reflections of beauty and love. Frames of representation and sources of inspiration are both spotlighted from an aesthetic and an ethic point of view. References to the works of Philon of Alexandria and Maimonides and other correspondences (William Shakespeare, John Keats, François-René de Chateaubriand and Paul Valéry, just to name a few) all serve to show what happens if 'centralism' is not axiomatical any more neither in the classicist, nor in the modernist sense. Refining the object, which evolves in the logic of beauty-related value production, is a deeply rooted prerequisite of idealisation. Which means that both nature and humans have the inmost feature of thriving for perfection, so it is unnecessary for nature to prove its existence, because nature incorporates all reflections of beauty. As the cult of purity and orderliness is fading away, and anticlassical tendencies and methods of derogation are gaining more and more ground, artistic space does not leave much space to serving, search for autonomy means getting unaffectedly distant from previously set borders and rules while turning away from the ideals of beauty and mimesis. Anything dressed in an overdecorated gown, anything which deliberately appears to be lacking problems can only be observed from a critical point of view, while any previous artistic canons and forced literary suprematism can only be taken into account as doubtful or rejectable.

In the last chapter of her work Nabergoj concentrates on *Baptism on the Savica* (Krst pri Savici), the highly influential, romantic work of France Prešeren, which mixes personal life situations with questions regarding national existence. While studying the historical influence of Prešeren's oeuvre which enriched Slovenian lyrical tradition with a lot of new genres, verse forms while showing unique richness in means and style, Nabergoj adds a new colour to its afterlife by bringing the paraphrase of Dominik Smole (which was published as a drama in 1969 under the same title as the original) into the picture. It is interesting that the emblematic music group of Neue Slowenische Kunst, Laibach is not included in the ancestry line with its third album, *Krst pod Triglavom*

(Baptism under Triglav, 1986) which reaches, with its heroic-totalitarian industrial music, hymnic heights when representing seditious ideas. The same is the case with the debut novel of Mojca Kumerdej, *Krst nad Triglavom* (Baptism over Triglav, 2001), which plays with allusions to the world of France Prešeren and the musical originality of the groundbreaking group of artists (founded in Trbovlje) while ironically dethroning the quasi-national anthem of Slovenia and turning it into a private mythology.

After reading the book of Irena Avsenik Nabergoj, we can ask, what is at stake? It is not about making it clear what we can consider reality or truth (and mendacity) but rather about asking the question, how we can make sure what is and what is not true. On the basis of the epistemological concept and theory of logic of David Lewis she creatively points out that the process of the recognition of truth always generates a certain degree of doubt. Historic topicalisation, different literary forms (biography, autobiography, novel and other text types) are basically bound to the same modification models, sets of phenomena and to living or dead individuals' context-generating techniques and meaning-condensing processes. The evoked artists' attitudes and oeuvres, however, show that a philosophical approach is not in every sense useful. Literature enriched by deductive methods and purely rational points of views is based on life experiences and is connected to exact circumstances. History generates interest as a deep well, as a vast territory of knowledge due to a growing amount of responsibility inevitably accumulating and culminating in the quest for truth of historians.

Any kind of literary genre is based on life stories, either personal, national, or universal ones. However, it is worth ranking the sequences of poetic use of language and communicative utterances. Self-declaration, self-affirmation, creating an identity, linguistic-rhetoric condensation are all different formulations of totality and while truth requires universal consent (at least within a community), beauty does not (certainly it does not mean that it is then less important). The unique scientific approach of the author shows the nature of literary creativity through the harmonising, reconciling processes of idealism, realism, materialism, existentialism, etc. That is why the comparative, differentiating method seems to be outdated: it is winning or losing on the basis of a belief which does not cease to require a positive answer to the following question: does the unity and sanctity of a high literature exist which originates from the subtlest elements of a multicultural European tradition? And by doing so it somehow meets the expectations of postmodernism, because its objective is a close reading which considers any kind of literary text a creation of a unique genius in a special time and space. It is clear from the illuminating, inspirational conclusion of Irena Avsenik Nabergoj's book that this "combined method is, furthermore, not exposed to great competition, because historical experience with research in art and literature shows that the main problem with most literary analyses is consistency and constancy in balancing opposites and combining constituent parts into an organic whole".

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NAZCA LINES

The Nazca lines and geoglyphs form a unique and magnificent artistic achievement that is unrivalled in its dimensions and diversity anywhere in the prehistoric world. This unique form of land use bears exceptional witness to the culture and beliefs of this region of pre-Hispanic South America.

The Nasca geoglyphs are located in the arid Peruvian coastal plain 400 km south of Lima, and cover 450 km², both in the desert and in the low Andean foothills. These are covered with ferruginous sand and gravel which has acquired a dark patina from weathering. Removal of the gravel reveals the underlying lighter coloured strata, which contrasts strongly with the darker gravels.

The 'Nazca Lines', as they are commonly known, are the most outstanding group of geoglyphs anywhere in the world. They are also one of the most impenetrable enigmas of archaeology by virtue of their quantity, nature and size, as well as their continuity. The concentration and juxtaposition of the lines, as well as their cultural continuity, demonstrate that this was an important and long-lasting activity.

Intensive study of the geoglyphs and comparison with other manifestations of contemporary art forms suggests that they can be divided into three chronological phases. The first dates from the Chavín period (500-300 BC) and is characterized by the technique of forming figures by piling stones. This was an important time of cultural developments in the Andean region, with strong influence exerted in the Inca region from the north by the Formative Middle Late Culture. The local development known as Paracas represents the second phase (400-200 BC), again strongly influenced from the north. The town of Paracas adapted its culture skilfully to its severe location and achieved a high level of artistic development.

The third phase, which represents the great majority of the geoglyphs, is the Nazca phase proper (200 BC-AD 500). The Nazca culture derived directly from that of Paracas. The Andean towns developed a powerful religious system which produced, along with Moche on the northern coast of Peru, an outstanding culture represented by its handicrafts (notably pottery) and textiles. Most of the geoglyphs of this period are located close to villages of this culture, such as La Quebrada del Frayle, Cahuachi, Palpa and Ingenio, concentrated in Pampa de Jumana.

Two techniques were used to define the geoglyphs. In the earlier Chavín period they were defined in outline, the gravel being removed and piled inwards, so as to leave the figures in slight relief. For the most part, however, the technique used was the removal of the gravel from the figure, providing a solid figure that contrasts with its surroundings.

In general terms the geoglyphs fall into two categories: the first group (of which about 70 have been identified) are representational, depicting in schematic form a variety of natural forms. Many of these are animals, birds, insects, and other living creatures: examples include the spider, the monkey, the guanay or guano bird, the lizard, the hummingbird, the killer whales, and the largest of all, the pelican (285 m).

Stylistically they can be linked closely with motifs on other representational art of the period, such as pottery and textiles. Other figures represent flowers, plants, and trees, deformed or fantastic figures (strange creature with two human hands, one with only four fingers), and objects of everyday life, such as looms and tupus (ornamental clasps). There are very few anthropomorphic figures, for the most part paralleled by the petroglyphs to be found in the more rocky parts of the region and are considered to be early in date.

The second group comprises the lines proper. These generally straight lines criss-cross certain parts of the pampas of the region in all directions. Some are several kilometres in length and form designs of many different geometrical figures - triangles, spirals, rectangles, wavy lines, etc. Others radiate from a central promontory or encircle it, as in the cases of the quipus. Yet another group consists of so-called 'tracks', which appear to have been laid out to accommodate large numbers of people

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