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■ UVODNA REČ

Uređivački odbor časopisa *Philologia* sa posebnim zadovoljstvom predstavlja svojim čitaocima deseti broj časopisa i želi da sa njima podeli svoj prvi značajniji jubilej. Od samog početka ideje o pokretanju časopisa koji će objediniti filološke i njima srodne nauke prošla je čitava jedna decenija u kojoj je od jednog skromnog izdavačkog pokušaja, *Philologia* prerasla u ozbiljan naučno-stručni časopis sa duboko ukorenjenom transdisciplinarnom tradicijom. Neretko Uređivački odbor dobija pitanja o opsegu disciplina koje promoviramo, a odgovor leži u želji da se obuhvati, objedini i predstavi što više novih naučnih oblasti koje su komplementarne filološkim naukama i čija će saznanja produbiti naša shvatanja o filologiji uopšte.

Na pitanje ko je počasni gost ovog broja ili šta je jubilaro u njemu, nedvosmisleno se ističe jedan rad iz oblasti lingvistike. U ranijim brojevima imali smo nekoliko posebnih gostiju časopisa, čiji su radovi objavljeni u cilju njegovog promovisanja u rubrikama Emeritus/Emerita i Naučni intervju. Svima njima se od srca zahvaljujemo jer su uvek s velikim elanom prihvatili pozive za saradnju i time doprinikli postizanju boljeg kvaliteta časopisa i njegovoj afirmaciji u zemlji i inostranstvu. Ovog puta, umesto renomiranog stručnjaka, ističemo jedan kod nas manje poznat jezik koji se govori u istočnom delu Gambije, jezik mandinka. Autoru članka zahvaljujemo na minucioznoj studiji i želimo mu uspeh u daljem proučavanju ovog egzotičnog jezika. *Philologia* je pionir i u davanju prostora manje poznatim jezicima i njihovom predstavljanju na području Srbije, što nas posebno raduje, a ovom tomu daje posebnu crtu.

Broj koji je pred nama nudi jedan, nadamo se, zanimljiv spektar radova iz nauke o jeziku, primenjene lingvistike i nauke o književnosti. Rubrika Nauka o jeziku obuhvata sedam originalnih naučnih radova, pokrivajući oblasti od sociolingvistike i pragmatike do stilistike. Autori u svojim studijama nude rezultate istraživanja iz domena germanskih i romanskih jezika, katkad u korelaciji sa srpskim jezičkim područjem. Primenjena lingvistika zastupljena je sa dva naučna rada, u kojima se autori bave pažnje vrednim fenomenima, kulturološkim aspektima i njihovom zastupljenošću u nastavnim programima stranih jezika, kao i jezičkom kompetencijom nastavnika koji ih predaju. Nauka o književnosti u vidu pet članaka približava čitaocu kompleksne teme kojima se autori članaka bave, predstavljajući književno nasleđe američke, engleske, južnoafričke, kineske i srpske literature. Posebnu vrednost ovim priložima daje komparativni pristup proučavanjima književnosti i eventualne paralele koje bi se mogle napraviti sa srpskom književnošću. U skladu sa svojim principom promovisanja filoloških nauka, i ovaj broj časopisa *Philologia* nudi pregled odabranih naučnih skupova i prikaza novije literature iz oblasti jezika i književnosti.

Na red dolaze i oni bez čijeg učešća ovog časopisa ne bi ni bilo. To su, pre svih, autori priloga koje je Redakcija primila u 2012. godini. Mi im se svima zahvaljujemo na ukazanom poverenju i nadamo se plodnoj budućoj saradnji. Posebnu zahvalnost dugujemo članovima recenzentskog odbora koji su sa ogromnim elanom i spremnošću, kvalitetno i efikasno, još jedanput pregledali radove koje je Redakcija primila. Uređivački odbor ovog časopisa, kao i do sada, poziva potencijalne autore na saradnju. Na molbu mnogih kolega odlučili smo da promenimo uređivačku politiku i postanemo fleksibilni u pogledu rokova za prijem radova. Sada je poziv za slanje radova otvoren tokom cele godine.

Redakcija želi da strogom, ali poštenom i valjanom selekcijom, objavi samo visokokvalitetne naučno-stručne priloge iz oblasti koje promovišemo. Takođe, molimo autore članaka da, pre nego što nam pošalju svoj prilog, bez izuzetka konsultuju veb-stranicu Udruženja na www.philologia.org.rs, gde će pronaći sveobuhvatne tehničke smernice za uobličavanje radova, kao i elektronske verzije svih prethodnih brojeva časopisa.

Glavni i odgovorni urednik, prof. dr Biljana Čubrović

■ A WORD FROM THE EDITORIAL

Philologia is a peer-reviewed academic journal whose primary objective is to promote, cherish and advance research in the humanities and social science. The journal comes out annually, both in print and electronic edition. *Philologia* publishes original scientific and review articles, research notes, critical essays, book reviews and conference reports grouped into the following sections: Linguistics, Applied Linguistics, Literary Studies, Cultural Studies, Translation Studies, Scientific Interviews, Conference Reports and Book Reviews. The Editorial is open to new proposals with regard to the disciplines not currently included in the scope of the journal.

The tenth anniversary issue of the *Philologia* journal contains over twenty contributions submitted by the scholars from different parts of the world on a broad range of topics. Most modern and innovative approaches are used by the authors, enriching the scientific fields of linguistics and literary studies. *Philologia* aims at providing news on selected new literature, and scientific and professional events in Serbia and abroad. We hope that you will find the original scientific articles provocative, and the review articles helpful in deepening the understanding in the areas they deal with. The anniversary edition of the journal that is in your hands at the moment has a special guest in the form of an understudied language, spoken in the easternmost part of Gambia, the Mandinka language. We greatly appreciate the author's effort to bring this language closer to the linguistic audience in Serbia and outside of it, and wish him success in his future academic endeavours.

The Editorial Board wishes to gratefully acknowledge the work of both international and Serbian members of the reviewing and advisory boards for their insightful commentaries and benevolent criticism. Special thanks go to the Serbian Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development for recognizing the importance of financially supporting this publication project.

The Editorial will invest every effort in bringing the journal closer to its international readership by working on its inclusion into the electronic databases. We wish to once again proudly announce that the articles published in the *Philologia Journal* have now been indexed in the Modern Language Association International Bibliography (MLA Bibliography), the most widely distributed humanities database, and the journal listed in their Directory of Periodicals.

The Call for Papers is now open all year round and we would like to hear from potential authors shortly. The reviewed papers will be published on a *first come, first served* basis until the completion of the current issue.

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■ DIFFICOLTÀ DI APPRENDIMENTO DEI TEMPI E MODI VERBALI DELL'ITALIANO L2 DA PARTE DEGLI APPRENDENTI SERBOFONI

NEVENA CEKOVIĆ-RAKONJAC¹Università di Belgrado, Facoltà di Filologia
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Kroz kontrastivnu analizu i analizu grešaka u radu se ilustruju teškoće srpskih govornika u učenju italijanskog kao drugog/stranog jezika na morfosintaksičkom nivou, prvenstveno u vezi sa oblicima i upotrebom glagolskih vremena i načina. Istovremeno, ukazuje se i na međujezički nivo na kojem se takve poteškoće najčešće manifestuju, s namerom da se nastavnicima pruže korisne smernice za osmišljavanje ciljanih didaktičkih aktivnosti koje bi uzele u obzir specifične jezičke potrebe srbofonih studenata.

Ključne reči: italijanski J2, srbofoni učenici, kontrastivna analiza, analiza grešaka, glagolski sistem.

1. INTRODUZIONE

Basandoci sull'Analisi contrastiva e l'Analisi degli errori (Đorđević 2000, Odlin 2003, Gass & Selinker 2008), ci siamo prefissati l'obiettivo di illustrare con questo contributo, in maniera più sintetica possibile, le difficoltà che un discente di madrelingua serba (L1) incontra lungo il suo percorso di apprendimento dell'italiano come lingua seconda/straniera (L2), precisando, ove possibile, in quale fase dell'interlingua tali difficoltà solitamente appaiono. Ci siamo però limitati a discutere in questa sede soltanto la problematica relativa alle forme ed agli usi dei tempi e dei modi verbali,² suddividendola per sezioni dedicate ai tempi verbali (ovvero all'aspetto verbale e al confronto dei relativi sistemi nelle due lingue), alla forma attiva e passiva, ai modi (in)definiti, alla concordanza

1 Kontakt podaci (Email): n.cekovic@fil.bg.ac.rs

2 Per approfondimenti riguardo alle difficoltà a livello fonologico e ortografico si veda rispettivamente: Ceković-Rakonjac (2011a) e Ceković-Rakonjac (2011b).

dei tempi, al periodo ipotetico.³ Nella parte conclusiva del contributo, abbiamo infine cercato di riassumere le maggiori lacune dei nostri studenti, nonché di indicare le possibili implicazioni glottodidattiche della nostra analisi.

Siamo partiti dai suddetti approcci teorici per mettere in luce il transfer negativo causato dalla L1, senza tuttavia voler con ciò gettare l'ombra sul transfer positivo dovuto alla lingua madre dell'apprendente. Sebbene dunque verranno analizzati solo gli errori causati dalle interferenze con la L1, riteniamo opportuno ricordare che non tutti gli errori possono essere interpretati in ottica della L1: oltre a considerare in questa sede la lingua madre come l'unica fonte di problemi acquisizionali, siamo consapevoli che il processo acquisizionale viene influenzato in maniera potenzialmente negativa anche da altri fattori linguistici ed extralinguistici.

2. TEMPI

2.1 ASPETTO VERBALE

La categoria del tempo è strettamente legata ad un'altra categoria tipica delle lingue slave: l'aspetto dei verbi, il quale in serbo, oltre al modo e al tempo, fornisce informazioni anche sulla durata dell'azione. Data l'inesistenza dell'aspetto verbale in questo senso nella lingua italiana, si potrebbe dire che l'aspettualità di un verbo serbo si rispecchia in italiano nell'uso dei modi e dei tempi verbali.

In serbo si hanno, dunque, verbi *imperfettivi* o *durativi* („*nesvršeni*“) e verbi *perfettivi* o *momentanei* („*svršeni glagoli*“). Vengono solitamente formati dalla stessa radice e nel caso dei perfettivi, vengono abbondantemente sfruttate la suffissazione e la prefissazione, la quale a volte introduce un cambiamento di significato. “Per esempio, „*piti*“ (*bere*) ha i momentanei: „*popiti*“ (*bere un po'*), „*ispiti*“ (*bere tutto*), „*napiti se*“ (*bere a sazietà*), „*opiti se*“ (*ubriacarsi*) ed altri” (Cronia 1959: 63). “I verbi imperfettivi esprimono l'azione nel suo compiersi, nel suo scorrere, i verbi perfettivi, invece, esprimono la realizzazione dell'azione, il processo compiuto o la durata dell'azione prima del suo compimento” (Lipovac Gatti 1997: 84). Ai fini illustrativi, presentiamo alcuni verbi italiani in cui è possibile riscontrare delle analogie con i verbi imperfettivi (citati per primi) e perfettivi serbi: „*učiti*“ (*studiare*) – „*naučiti*“ (*imparare*); „*sedeti*“ (*stare seduto, sedere*) – „*sesti*“ (*sedersi*); „*ležati*“ (*giacere*) – „*leći*“ (*sdraiarsi*); „*gledati*“ (*guardare*) – „*pogledati*“ (*dare un'occhiata*); „*šetati*“ (*passaggiare*) – „*prošetati*“ (*fare una passeggiata*); „*pomagati*“ (*aiutare*) – „*pomoći*“ (*dare un aiuto*); „*gristi*“ (*mordere*) – „*zagristi*“ (*dare un morso*).

In che modo, allora, viene resa in italiano L2 l'idea dell'(im)perfettività da parte dello studente serbo? Non è un compito facile, davanti ad una vasta gamma di tempi e modi italiani, capire che in linea di massima il Presente e l'Imperfetto corrispondono all'idea dell'imperfettività, mentre invece il Passato prossimo, il Passato remoto e il Trapassato prossimo rendono l'idea della perfettività. Tale compito diventa ancora

3 Gli esempi di cui ci siamo serviti per illustrare gli errori tipici degli apprendenti sono frutto dell'esperienza dell'autore nell'insegnamento di lingua italiana presso la Facoltà di filologia di Belgrado a partire dal 1999, e sono basati sui compiti scritti e orali degli apprendenti di I, II e III anno di studi (livelli di competenza: basico, intermedio e avanzato).

più difficile quando lo studente si rende conto che in questi casi non esiste una corrispondenza assoluta tra le due lingue a confronto: “A proposito dei tempi passati in serbo e in italiano, è sbagliato identificare automaticamente il verbo imperfettivo serbo con l'imperfetto italiano e il verbo perfettivo serbo al passato con il passato prossimo oppure il passato remoto italiani. Tali coincidenze sono solamente parziali, dato che l'uso dei tempi passati in italiano si basa su regole diverse rispetto a quelle che valgono per l'uso dei tempi passati in serbo. Confronta: “*Era* IMPERFETTO *una bella giornata* („*Bio je lep dan*”); *È stata* PASSATO PROSSIMO *una bella giornata* („*Bio je lep dan*”)” (Moderc 2004a: 263). È possibile, in effetti, riscontrare certi casi in cui, da un lato, i verbi imperfettivi corrispondono, oltre all'Imperfetto, anche al Passato prossimo, al Passato remoto e al Trapassato prossimo e dall'altro lato, i verbi perfettivi vengono resi anche con l'Imperfetto (oltre che con il Passato prossimo, il Passato remoto e il Trapassato prossimo)⁴. Sono comprensibili allora le difficoltà e i dubbi degli studenti serbofoni rispetto all'uso dei tempi passati italiani.

Il serbo, inoltre, grazie alla capacità di distinguere l'aspetto verbale imperfettivo da quello perfettivo, ha praticamente ridotto il proprio sistema di tempi passati ad uno solo: il Perfetto (corrispondente del Passato prossimo italiano), di carattere quasi universale e più frequentemente utilizzato tra tutti i tempi del passato. Il Perfetto serve quindi a esprimere sia l'idea di passato che la nozione di anteriorità rispetto al passato: di conseguenza, lo studente non solo fatica a distinguere il Passato prossimo e l'Imperfetto italiani, ma gli risulta molto difficile anche il tentativo di rendere l'anteriorità per mezzo del Trapassato prossimo italiano. A causa di tutto ciò, è possibile nella prassi didattica riscontrare errori come: *Tutto il giorno ieri ascoltavo la musica („*Juče sam ceo dan slušao muziku*”, „*slušati*” – imperfettivo); *Sono state le cinque quando mi ha chiamato („*Bilo je pet sati kad me je pozvao*”); *Non ho voluto vedere quel film perché l'ho già visto due mesi prima („*Nisam hteo da gledam taj film jer sam ga već gledao pre dva meseca*”).

2.2 TEMPI VERBALI A CONFRONTO

Il serbo dispone di un sistema composto di 7 tempi verbali che vediamo ora a confronto con quelli italiani:

ITALIANO	SERBO
Presente	Presente („ <i>Prezent</i> ”)
Passato prossimo	Perfetto („ <i>Perfekat</i> ”)
Imperfetto	Imperfetto („ <i>Imperfekat</i> ”)
Passato remoto	Aoristo („ <i>Aorist</i> ”)
Trapassato prossimo/remoto	Piuccheperfetto („ <i>Pluskvamperfekat</i> ”)
Futuro	Futuro („ <i>Futur I</i> ”)
Futuro anteriore	Futuro anteriore („ <i>Futur II</i> ”)

Tabella 1: Tempi verbali a confronto

4 Per approfondimenti v. Moderc (1995) e Moderc (2004b).

2.2.1 PRESENTE

Riguardo all'uso del Presente italiano, in genere non si rivelano particolari difficoltà negli apprendenti serbofoni, se non in certi casi in cui lo studente cerca di riprodurre la forma dell'infinito anche all'interno del paradigma verbale dimenticando che si tratta di forme atipiche e/o irregolari: **io piangio* (dal verbo *piangere*); **io spedo* (dal v. *spedire*); **io uscio* (dal v. *uscire*).

2.2.2 PASSATO PROSSIMO

Oltre a quanto già accennato a proposito dell'aspetto verbale, ci pare opportuno sottolineare che per analogia con il serbo, dove il Perfetto domina gli altri tempi passati, gli studenti tendono a fossilizzarsi sul sovruso del Passato prossimo italiano, non sfruttando la vasta gamma dei tempi passati che la lingua italiana gli mette a disposizione.

Relativamente invece alla formazione del Passato prossimo (così come degli altri tempi passati e di tutti i tempi composti in generale) la difficoltà più spiccata nell'ottica del discente riguarda la scelta dell'ausiliare e l'accordo del participio. Per formare il Perfetto in serbo viene usato sempre lo stesso ausiliare („*biti*” – *essere*) e il participio accorda sempre al numero e al genere con il soggetto. Sono comprensibili allora gli errori come: **Lei ha detta* („*ona je rekla*”), **Noi siamo viaggiati* („*mi smo putovali*”), soprattutto ai livelli basici.

2.2.3 IMPERFETTO

L'Imperfetto serbo, data l'esistenza dell'aspetto verbale, si usa molto di meno che in italiano e viene quasi sempre sostituito dal Perfetto dei verbi imperfettivi (il Perfetto serve a sostituire anche l'Aoristo serbo (v. 2.2.4), visto che sia l'Aoristo che l'Imperfetto vengono percepiti come forme arcaiche).⁵

2.2.4 PASSATO REMOTO

La corrispondenza tra il Passato remoto italiano e il suo equivalente serbo è parziale, dato che l'Aoristo serbo, oltre ovviamente a poter riferirsi agli eventi remoti, può far riferimento anche ad un passato immediato, dove coincide con l'uso del Passato prossimo italiano. Nonostante quindi sia vivo nel parlato, l'Aoristo è una forma verbale in genere non molto usata: nella lingua serba contemporanea infatti, viene usato perlopiù per esprimere un'azione compiuta nel passato recente, mentre per esprimere le azioni compiute in un passato piuttosto remoto gli viene preferito il Perfetto dei verbi perfettivi, essendo l'Aoristo percepito come arcaico. Inoltre, “la forma serbocroata sottolinea l'azione compiuta senza precisare il periodo temporale in cui questa viene eseguita (passato, presente, futuro), e indica un particolare interesse del parlante per le vicende che sta esponendo, riattualizzandole; il passato remoto è invece un puro preterito, e perciò non può riferirsi né al presente né al futuro, e come tale si limita a una semplice constatazione verso la quale il parlante non nutre alcun interesse

⁵ Sugli errori tipici legati all'uso dell'Imperfetto italiano si veda la sezione dedicata all'Aspetto verbale.

soggettivo" (Savić 1980: 75-76). È comprensibile allora che, partendo dalla propria L1, lo studente serbo faccia fatica ad acquisire gli usi del Passato remoto italiano. Riteniamo inoltre altrettanto importante mettere in evidenza la difficoltà che lo studente riscontra nell'acquisizione delle complesse ed arcaiche forme del paradigma verbale in questione.

2.2.5 TRAPASSATO PROSSIMO E TRAPASSATO REMOTO

Tra tutti i tempi verbali del passato, l'uso del Trapassato prossimo rappresenta indubbiamente una delle maggiori difficoltà per un apprendente serbo. Il suo corrispondente serbo viene utilizzato molto di meno (a favore del Perfetto). Occorre quindi sensibilizzare lo studente all'anteriorità espressa dal Trapassato prossimo italiano allo scopo di evitare errori come: **Ero stanco perché il giorno prima ho lavorato tanto* („*Bio sam umoran jer sam prethodni dan puno radio*”). Lo stesso discorso vale anche per il Trapassato remoto, il quale tra l'altro non ha una forma verbale corrispondente in serbo.⁶

2.2.6 FUTURO SEMPLICE E FUTURO ANTERIORE

Relativamente all'uso dei due tempi italiani non si rivelano grosse difficoltà nei discenti se non quando si tratta del loro valore modale. Sebbene anche il Futuro serbo (insieme ad altri mezzi)⁷ possa veicolare la modalità ed indicare quindi un dubbio o una supposizione, la stessa funzione modale in italiano L2 risulta piuttosto difficile da apprendere spesso anche fino ai livelli avanzati di interlingua. Per questi motivi, gli studenti diranno: *Dov'è Mauro?* piuttosto che: *Dove sarà Mauro?* („*Gde (li) je Mauro?*”); *Dov'è andato?* invece di *Dove sarà andato?* („*Gde (li) je otišao?*”). Riflettendo inoltre sull'uso del Futuro anteriore serbo nelle subordinate temporali e condizionali (e premettendo che non si tratta di un vero tempo anteriore dato che esprime azioni contemporanee ad altre azioni in futuro, per cui può essere usato solo nelle subordinate, a differenza dell'italiano),⁸ ci sono da aspettarsi degli errori di transfer come: **Quando avrai avuto tempo, chiamami!* („*Kad budeš imao vremena, pozovi me!*”); **Se sarai venuto, chiamami!* („*Ako budeš dolazio, javi mi se!*”).

3. FORMA ATTIVA E PASSIVA

A differenza dell'italiano, che usufruisce abbondantemente della forma passiva, il serbo, pur avendo a disposizione entrambe le forme, predilige utilizzare quella attiva. Di conseguenza, gli apprendenti serbi tendono ad usare maggiormente la forma attiva anche in italiano L2 ed in genere soltanto ai livelli di interlingua avanzata si può aspettare un uso adeguato della forma passiva (anche nel parlato).

6 Va accennato che il Trapassato remoto sta quasi completamente scomparendo dall'italiano contemporaneo, soprattutto quello parlato e quello usato dai mass media, rimanendo tuttavia presente nelle opere letterarie dove a sua volta si sottopone alle regole sintattiche d'uso piuttosto severi.

7 Quali, ad esempio: i costrutti col verbo *essere* al futuro „*bīće da*”; l'espressione „*može biti da*” (*può darsi che*); gli avverbi di giudizio „*možda*” (*forse*), „*(vrlo) verovatno*” (*(molto) probabilmente*); l'uso del Presente, nel caso del Futuro semplice, o del Passato, nel caso del Futuro anteriore.

8 Si pensi agli esempi come: *Quanto tu tornerai, io sarò già partito* (si ringrazia per la gentile osservazione il prof. Ivan Klajn).

4. MODI

4.1 MODI FINITI: CONGIUNTIVO, CONDIZIONALE E IMPERATIVO

Una serie di errori che l'apprendente serbo può commettere riguardo all'uso del Congiuntivo risultano indubbiamente dall'inesistenza di tale forma in serbo. Sebbene ai livelli di varietà avanzate gli studenti riescano a padroneggiare in maniera soddisfacente questa forma, alcuni dei suoi usi particolari rimangono pur sempre difficili da acquisire, così come negli esempi: **Non è che è stanco, ha solo dormito poco („Nije da je umoran, samo je nedovoljno spavao“)*, **Cerco un uomo che saprebbe ascoltarmi („Tražim muškarca koji bi umeo da me saslušati“)*.

A proposito del Condizionale italiano, il suo corrispondente serbo, il Condizionale („*Kondicional*“) può essere fonte di certi errori di transfer, dovuti in particolare al suo valore iterativo che serve per indicare un'azione che si è ripetuta nel passato e che, tra l'altro viene reso in italiano con l'Imperfetto, ad es: **Quando ero al mare... andrei ogni giorno in spiaggia e prenderei il sole („Kad sam bio na moru...odlazio bih svaki dan na plažu i sunčao bih se“)*. Inoltre, risulta particolarmente difficile per uno studente serbo impadronirsi dell'uso del condizionale composto, dato che la corrispondente forma della sua L1 („*Kondicional prošli*“) è quasi scomparsa dall'uso quotidiano. Invece di dire, per es.: *Chi l'avrebbe pensato!* lo studente serbo preferisce in effetti esprimersi nel seguente modo: **Chi lo penserebbe! *Chi l'ha pensato! Chi lo poteva pensare!* („*Ko je to mogao da pomisli?*“).⁹

L'imperativo italiano ha come corrispondente in serbo l'Imperativo („*Imperativ*“) e di solito non crea tanti problemi agli apprendenti, se non nella sua forma negativa alla 2ª persona singolare. Malgrado anche in serbo esista una formula espressiva contenente l'infinito, ai fini di una maggiore enfasi viene solitamente preferita la negazione *non* seguita da un'apposita forma derivante dal tema del presente. Ne risultano errori come: **Non scrivi!* („*Ne piši!*“ cfr. „*Nemoj pisati!*“), **Non guardi!* („*Ne gledaj!*“ cfr. „*Nemoj gledati!*“), ecc.

4.2 MODI INDEFINITI

Ecco a confronto i modi indefiniti nelle due lingue:

ITALIANO	SERBO
<i>Infinito presente</i>	„ <i>Infinitiv</i> “
<i>Infinito passato</i>	-
<i>Participio presente</i>	-
<i>Participio passato</i>	„ <i>Glagolski pridev radni</i> “ „ <i>Glagolski pridev trpni</i> “
<i>Gerundio presente</i>	„ <i>Glagolski prilog sadašnji</i> “
<i>Gerundio passato</i>	„ <i>Glagolski prilog prošli</i> “

Tabella 2: Modi indefiniti a confronto

⁹ Per approfondimenti sull'analisi contrastiva del condizionale v. Tekavčić (1982: 7-8).

4.2.1 INFINITO

Premesso che la lingua serba in una serie di proposizioni subordinate preferisce in genere la forma esplicita, anche se le strutture implicite non le sono del tutto estranee, è naturale aspettarsi che questa differenza tra le due lingue crei una serie di difficoltà all'apprendente. Sebbene a volte usare l'infinito significhi per lui prendere una via più semplice (per evitare, ad es. le "trappole" del congiuntivo) e stilisticamente più plausibile, lo studente di solito fatica ad acquisirlo e tende a preferire le forme esplicite fino ai livelli intermedi. Invece di: *Penso di aver lasciato le chiavi in macchina*, dice piuttosto **Penso che ho lasciato le chiavi in macchina* („*Mislim da sam ostavio ključeve u kolima*”), anche perché, come si è visto dallo schema, non esiste una forma corrispondente all'infinito passato nella sua L1.

La differenza tra le due lingue si rispecchia anche nell'uso delle preposizioni abbinate all'infinito. Mentre in italiano l'infinito viene spesso preceduto dalla preposizione, tale fenomeno in serbo è piuttosto raro ed è frutto di influssi esogeni (cfr. *C'è qualcosa da mangiare?* „*Ima li nešto za pojesti? Ima li nešto da se jede?*”). Per tale motivo, soprattutto nelle varietà iniziali, è possibile riscontrare esempi come: **Vado vedere*, **Corro per/a prendo l'autobus*, **Lui comincia di ridere*, **Desidero di andare*.

Osserviamo più dettagliatamente alcuni errori legati all'uso dell'infinito nelle proposizioni oggettive e soggettive:

- con i verbi ed espressioni che indicano desiderio o timore: con i verbi modali la forma più diffusa in serbo è composta di „*da*” (*che*) + presente. Ne risultano spesso, ai livelli prebasici soprattutto, strutture del tipo: **voglio che io vado* („*želim da idem*”), **devo che mangio* („*moram da jedem*”). In questi casi è possibile utilizzare anche l'infinito in serbo, solo che tale struttura risulta molto meno diffusa e più tipica del croato, eppure produce errori di confusione come: **devo che partire* („*moram poći/da pođem*”);
- con i verbi di significato dichiarativo: anche con *verba dicendi* lo studente preferisce utilizzare la forma esplicita, creando così frasi del tipo: **ti dico che vai* („*kažem ti da ideš*”), **ti chiedo che mi compri* („*molim te da mi kupiš*”);
- con i verbi che esprimono giudizio: si usa preferibilmente la forma esplicita, trascurando inoltre il congiuntivo, data la sua assenza in serbo. Per es.: **penso che ho ragione* („*mislim da sam u pravu*”);
- con i verbi che indicano un sentimento: similmente ai casi precedenti, anche con *verba sentiendi* si hanno produzioni come: **sono arrabbiato che tu non mi hai detto niente* („*ljut sam što mi nisi ništa rekao*”);
- con i verbi impersonali: per gli stessi motivi, si incontrano casi come: **mi sembra che ho capito* („*čini mi se da sam razumeo*”);
- nei cosiddetti costrutti con accusativo + infinito dopo verba sentiendi: considerato che questi costrutti vengono resi in serbo con una forma esplicita introdotta dalla congiunzione „*kako*” (*come*), gli studenti dicono in italiano L2: **Vedo un uomo come corre* (senza volerne esprimere il valore modale).

Per quanto riguarda la forma sostantivata dell'infinito, anch'essa può diventare oggetto di molti dubbi dello studente giunto ormai a livelli avanzati di apprendimento. La sua corrispondente serba, il sostantivo verbale (sostantivo formato sulla base verbale tramite la suffissazione, per es. „čitanje”- *il leggere, la lettura*), induce gli apprendenti ad utilizzare l'infinito italiano anche in quei casi dove è stilisticamente sconsigliato e dove invece, in serbo, risulta del tutto regolare. Ad es. *“I soldi per il viaggiare non ci sono invece del più plausibile I soldi per il viaggio non ci sono* (cfr. „Novca za putovanje nema”)” (Moderc 2004a: 75).

4.2.2 PARTICIPIO

Avendo già accennato gli errori legati al participio (si veda la sezione 2.2.2), ci limitiamo a questo punto a precisare ancora che il participio serbo, a differenza di quello italiano, accorda al numero e al genere con il soggetto della frase anche in quei casi dove, all'interno di quella stessa frase, vengono utilizzati i pronomi in funzione di complemento oggetto. Risultano dunque prevedibili le forme scorrette come: **Li ho comprato io* („Ja sam ih kupio”), **Le abbiamo visto* („Videli smo ih”).

4.2.3 GERUNDIO

L'acquisizione di questa forma di solito non crea grosse difficoltà. Si può però verificare qualche problema con la scelta dell'ausiliare nel caso del gerundio passato oppure nell'uso della perifrasi con il verbo *stare* + *gerundio*, data l'inesistenza di una tale struttura in serbo (è in effetti il compito dei verbi imperfettivi esprimere la durata di un'azione). Ecco perché gli studenti preferiscono dire: *Cosa fai in questo momento?*- *Scrivo* invece di: *Cosa stai facendo?* - *Sto scrivendo* (cfr. „Šta radiš? - Pišem”).

5. CONCORDANZA DEI TEMPI

La *consecutio temporum* rappresenta per lo studente serbo uno dei problemi più grossi e difficili da risolvere. La sua L1 non ha concordanza dei tempi o meglio dire, le proposizioni subordinate nel discorso indiretto mantengono in serbo lo stesso tempo verbale usato nel discorso diretto. Sono perciò prevedibili una serie di errori riguardo innanzitutto la concordanza al passato e non solo, dato che tali errori possono implicarne tanti altri ancora come, ad esempio, quelli legati all'uso del congiuntivo.

Per esprimere quindi la contemporaneità nel passato, nella subordinata in serbo viene usato il Presente. Ne risultano produzioni erranee tipo: **Pensavo che ha i soldi* (cfr. „Mislio sam da ima para”). Nel caso della anteriorità, in serbo si usa il semplice Perfetto dal quale si avrà il Passato prossimo nelle frasi agrammaticali come questa: **Pensavo che il giorno prima ha avuto i soldi* („Mislio sam da je prethodnog dana dobio pare”). Per esprimere invece un'azione posteriore lo studente cerca di usare il semplice Futuro, proprio come in serbo: **Pensavo che il giorno dopo avrà i soldi* („Mislio sam da će sutradan dobiti pare”).

6. PERIODO IPOTETICO

Data la differenza tra le strutture delle due lingue, anche il periodo ipotetico rappresenta una grossa difficoltà che lo studente serbo è tenuto a superare in italiano L2.

Per quanto riguarda il periodo ipotetico della possibilità, vengono utilizzati nella protasi in serbo la congiunzione „*kad*” (*se*) con il condizionale o la congiunzione „*da*” (*se*) con l’indicativo Presente. È questa la causa dell’errore più tipico degli apprendenti serbi (ma anche di molti italiani) che si riflette nell’uso del condizionale dopo la congiunzione *se* laddove l’italiano di norma prevede il congiuntivo Imperfetto. Per es.: **Se avrei i soldi, comprerei la macchina.* („*Kad bih imao para, kupio bih kola*”). Oppure, a causa del presente nella protasi serba: **Se lo so, te lo direi.* („*Da znam, rekao bih ti*”).

Relativamente invece al periodo ipotetico della irrealtà, nella protasi serba si hanno la congiunzione „*da*” (*se*) e il Perfetto, e nell’apodosi il condizionale presente. Considerata la differenza rispetto all’italiano, si possono rilevare notevoli errori sia nella protasi che nell’apodosi. Per es.: *Se lo sapevo, te l’avrei detto* / **Se l’avessi saputo, te lo direi* / **Se lo sapevo, te lo direi* (cfr. „*Da sam znao, rekao bih ti*”).

7. CONCLUSIONI

In base a quanto esposto in questa sede, le maggiori difficoltà di apprendimento dell’italiano L2 da parte dello studente serbo riguardo alle forme e all’uso dei tempi e dei modi verbali italiani, risultano: la distinzione e il conseguente uso del Passato prossimo e dell’Imperfetto; la nozione di anteriorità espressa per mezzo del Trapassato prossimo; la possibilità di sfruttare la vasta gamma dei tempi passati italiani senza ridurli ad uno solo (il Passato prossimo, ad es.); la preferenza verso la forma attiva laddove l’italiano preferirebbe quella passiva; la necessità di una maggiore sensibilizzazione alle funzioni del congiuntivo; l’uso maggiore delle forme esplicite a sfavore di quelle implicite; la concordanza dei tempi, specialmente al passato; l’uso corretto dei tempi verbali all’interno del periodo ipotetico. Premesso che il corretto utilizzo della vasta gamma dei tempi e dei modi verbali diventa oggetto di uno studio approfondito ai livelli postbasici di acquisizione, possiamo concludere che le difficoltà succitate si incontrano generalmente ai livelli medio-avanzati di interlingua.

Seppur coscienti che la L1 rappresenti una fonte preziosa del transfer positivo, con la nostra analisi contrastiva abbiamo voluto, oltre che mettere in confronto il serbo come L1 e l’italiano come L2 rilevando soprattutto le differenze tra le due lingue, individuare in maniera più esauriente possibile gli errori tipici degli apprendenti serbofoni. La “prevedibilità” degli errori, come risultato della nostra analisi, ci aiuta a prevenirli ed a superare in modo opportuno le difficoltà che appaiono nel processo acquisizionale.

Lo scopo che ci siamo prefissati è di offrire ai docenti di italiano, sia nel contesto di insegnamento di L2 che di LS, oltre che ai ricercatori ed agli autori di materiali didattici

(libri di testo, grammatiche contrastive, dizionari per gli apprendenti, ecc)¹⁰, uno strumento potenzialmente utile per la pianificazione di un intervento didattico mirato. Tale intervento dovrebbe presupporre la creazione di sillabi e di attività didattiche, nonché la pianificazione dei contenuti didattici, incentrando il tutto sui problemi contrastivi rilevati dalla nostra analisi e tenendo conto dei diversi stadi di acquisizione così come delle caratteristiche formali della L1 degli apprendenti.

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10 Secondo quanto ci risulta è disponibile una sola grammatica contemporanea che tratta i problemi contrastivi dei serbofoni, v. Moderc (2004a), e sono del tutto assenti appositi dizionari per gli apprendenti. Il libri di testo utilizzati nell'insegnamento di italiano LS nel contesto accademico non sono rivolti all'apprendente serbo di specifico bensì agli stranieri in generale, di varie provenienze, e di conseguenza non prendono in considerazione la problematica da noi trattata.

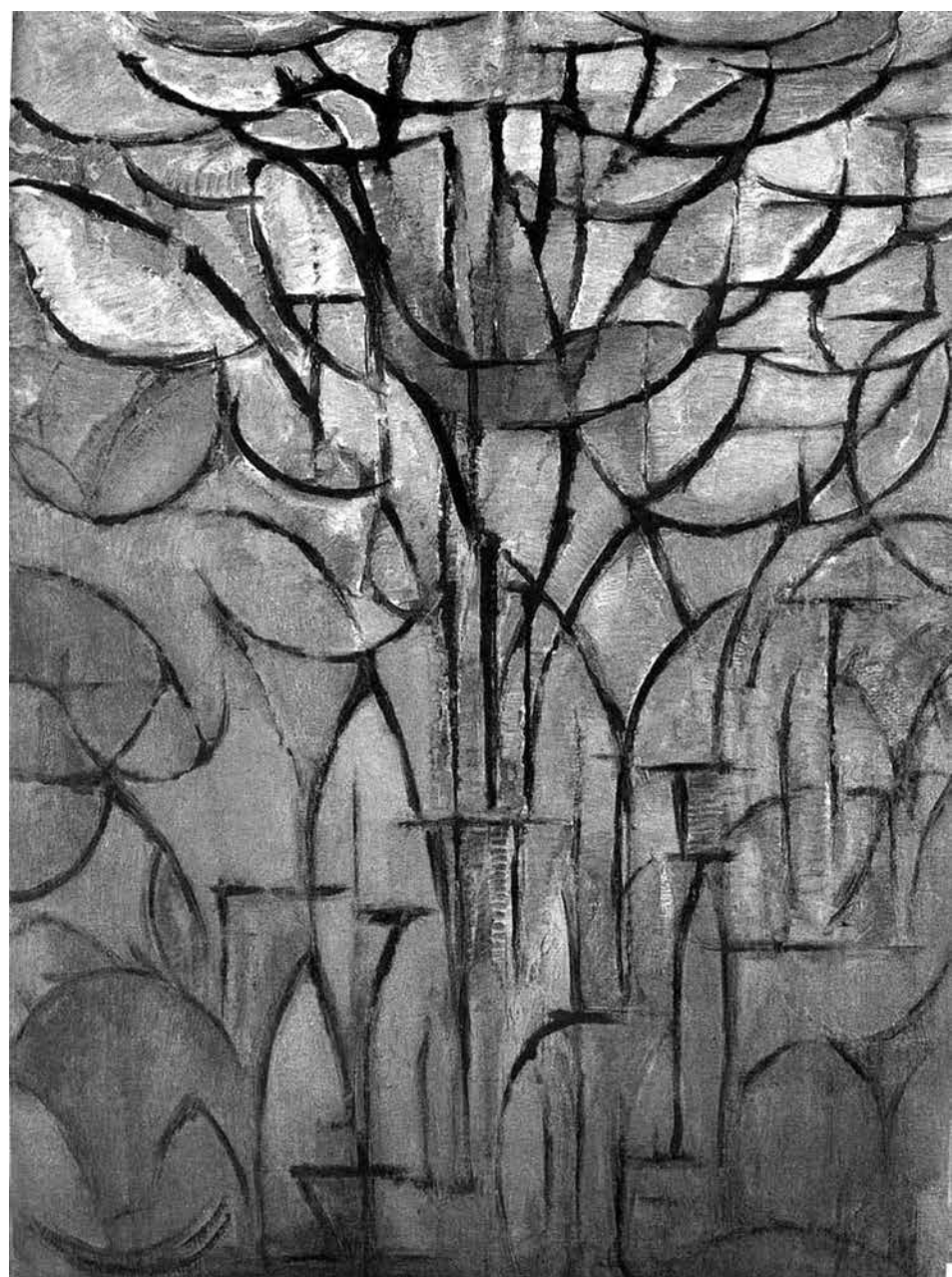
RIASSUNTO

DIFFICOLTÀ DI APPRENDIMENTO DEI TEMPI E MODI VERBALI DELL'ITALIANO L2 DA PARTE DEGLI APPRENDENTI SERBOFONI

Il presente contributo mira ad illustrare le difficoltà degli apprendenti serbofoni nell'acquisizione dell'italiano L2, basandosi sui presupposti dell'Analisi contrastiva e dell'Analisi degli errori e con particolare riguardo alle forme ed agli usi dei tempi e dei modi verbali. Vengono inoltre indicati i livelli di interlingua dove tali difficoltà solitamente si manifestano con l'intenzione di offrire ai docenti di italiano uno strumento pratico per la pianificazione didattica avente come scopo principale l'interesse linguistico dello studente serbo.

PAROLE CHIAVE: italiano L2, apprendenti serbofoni, analisi contrastiva, analisi degli errori, sistema verbale.

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■ THE USE OF THE PASSIVE IN THE BRITISH DAILY PRESS: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH

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Ovaj rad je inspirisan teorijom „jezička upotreba uslovljena publikom“ (eng. *audience design*) novozelandskog lingviste Alana Bela. Prema toj teoriji upotreba jezičkih sredstava ne zavisi od društvenog statusa govornika/ pisca nego od onih kojima je taj jezik upućen. U skladu sa ovim rad počiva na pretpostavci da ni upotreba određenih gramatičkih konstrukcija – u ovom slučaju upotreba pasivne konstrukcije u jeziku britanske dnevne štampe – neće biti proizvoljna nego će biti uslovljena socioekonomskim profilom čitalačke publike kojoj je taj jezik namenjen. S obzirom na to da se pasiv najčešće smatra odlikom formalnog jezičkog stila, u radu se pretpostavlja da će pasivna konstrukcija biti u najfrekventnijoj upotrebi u novinama čija čitalačka publika pripada najvišim socioekonomskim slojevima. Kako bi testirali ovu hipotezu, u radu je posmatrana frekventnost upotrebe pasivne konstrukcije u primjercima dnevne štampe koji su odabrani na osnovu socioekonomskog statusa njihove čitalačke publike: *The Guardian* (visokotržišne novine), *Daily Mail* (srednjetržišne novine) i *The Sun* (niskotržišne novine).

Ključne riječi: pasiv, frekventnost upotrebe, socioekonomski status, formalnost jezičkog stila, jezička varijacija, čitalačka publika.

This article is concerned with the use of the passive in the language of British newspapers. My initial hypothesis is that the use of this construction is correlated with the socio-economic status of the readers of the newspapers in question. The definition of the passive on which this article is based is taken from Quirk *et al.* (1985). They define the passive as a construction consisting of “an auxiliary (*be* or *get*) and a past participle” (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 167). On the basis of this very formal definition they posit the passive gradient in which passive-like constructions are divided into three classes: central (true) passives, semi-passives and pseudo passives. The prime criterion adopted for this classification is the potential of passive clauses to be transformed into

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their direct active extensive counterparts. At the top of the gradient are central or true passives. They occupy this position since they can be placed in direct correspondence with their unique active counterparts and are therefore considered as 'ideal' passives. Mixed or semi-passives are found in the middle of the scale since they have both verbal and adjectival characteristics. The members of the third and final class only formally resemble the passive. They can neither have active counterparts nor agent extensions and are therefore called pseudo-passives.

All the passives found in my corpus are first divided into finite and non-finite constructions according to whether the verb element in a sentence is finite 'showing tense, mood, aspect and voice', or non-finite 'not showing tense or mood but still capable of indicating aspect and voice' (Quirk & Greenbaum 1973: 17).

On the basis of Quirk *et al's* passive gradient, finite passives will be further divided into central, as in (1)-(4) semi-passives, as in (5)-(6) and pseudo-passives, as in (7)-(8), according to whether they have a clear correspondence with an active verb phrase or active clause. Non-finite passives are rarely dealt with in the literature. I therefore had to set up my own classification of such structures. In the present article they have been classified according to the function of the subordinate clause in which they occur: nominal, as in (9), adjectival, as in (10) and adverbial, as in (11). Examples (1)-(11) illustrate the constructions that will be dealt with in this article.

- (1) The results of an inquiry by the Independent Police Complaints Commission into how Essex police investigated the suspicious death of Stuart Lubbock, 31, eight years ago *were welcomed by the man's father*, who said he was considering launching a civil case. (*The Guardian*, p. 7)
- (2) The poll, which questioned 1,045 people, found that 63 per cent thought that the law *should respect and be influenced by Britain's traditional religious values* – in other words Christianity. (*Daily Mail*, p. 17)
- (3) Nearly all women with breast cancer *are denied* the chance of reconstruction at the time they have a breast removed. (*The Sun*, p. 30)
- (4) Though the regime *is hardly undermined by sanctions*, it is anxious to remain within the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and has responded to pressure. (*The Times*, p. 2)
- (5) The Met's defiance says that at the hearing that led to Saeed's dismissal the panel was concerned about the "demeanour" of one of his accusers. (*The Guardian*, p. 4)
- (6) They *were*, deduced Mr Mackinley, '*ashamed and embarrassed by this announcement*'. (*Daily Mail*, p. 4)
- (7) AILING US insurance giant *is poised* to reveal losses of £41 billion – for a THREE-MONTH period. (*The Sun*, p. 42)
- (8) In her opening address to the conference, Mrs Lawrence said she feared that the issues of racial equality in many walks of public life *had become "watered down"*. (*The Guardian*, p. 16)
- (9) Many analysts had expected Thomson Reuters *to be battered by the global recession*, as banks cut their subscriptions to its real-time data services. (*The Times*, p. 47)
- (10) A police officer told of his anger yesterday after *being taken off* frontline duty for a year and hauled before a court for defending himself against a suspect who he thought was about to headbutt him. (*Daily Mail*, p. 19)

- (11) Dr Martin Neovius, who led the Swedish study – *published* in the British Medical Journal – said: “The excess risk conferred by obesity in late adolescence was of similar magnitude as smoking ten cigarettes a day.” (*The Sun*, p. 17)

As previously indicated this article observes the use of the passive in a certain context and therefore deals with more than just its syntactic properties. Namely, its main objective is to account for the frequency and use of the passive in British daily press. Questions concerning context, frequency and rationale behind the use of a particular linguistic structure inevitably lead us to the concept of style. According to Jucker (1992) there are three specific approaches to the concept of style within the confines of linguistics i.e. the concept of style as used by traditional stylistics, the ethnography of speaking, and correlational sociolinguistics. Since this article correlates certain linguistic features with a non-linguistic feature such as the socioeconomic status of newspapers’ readers, it is obvious that this article is closely connected to the concept of style as approached by correlational sociolinguistics. Jucker then continues with his discussion of variety and style in light of the failure of traditional approaches to style to distinguish between style and other varieties, even though they take into consideration the context and situation of production of the text. In his discussion Jucker talks about “interspeaker and “intraspeaker” variation. Interspeaker variation refers to variation “according to the users” (Jucker 1992: 23) and in this sense the connection of interspeaker variation with the notion of style in correlational sociolinguistics is obvious. That said, however, variation can be dictated by both users and audience. Jucker defines “intraspeaker” variation as “a correlate of the speaker’s audience” (Jucker 1992: 25). Furthermore, intraspeaker variation is correlated with the “audience design” as defined by Bell (1977), who investigated the style of speakers on New Zealand radio stations. He noticed that sometimes the style of the same speaker would differ according to radio station. Since this change could not be attributed to the difference in the speaker’s age, social status, occupation or the style of broadcast (reading style), he concluded that there must be a correlation between this kind of variation and the audience: “The intraspeaker variation is explained in terms of the social status, sex and age not of the speaker but of the hearers” (Jucker 1992: 28). Jucker applies Bell’s audience design to the classification of the newspapers he uses in his study of noun phrase complexity in different newspapers. Accordingly, he dismisses the traditional classification of British newspapers into “qualities” and “populars” as unsuitable since each designation refers to two different concepts. The term ‘quality’ implies a judgement on the value of newspaper while ‘popular’ refers to the audience. He also dismisses the classification that divides newspapers according to their format into “broadsheets” and “tabloids”. This classification, like the traditional one, fails to take account of the fact that “the tabloid newspapers, which are traditionally regarded as popular, fall into two quite distinct groups, if, among other things, the readership appeal of the papers is taken into consideration.” (Jucker 1992: 48).

Finally, Jucker adopts the terms introduced by Henry (1983) and divides all the newspapers into upmarket, midmarket and downmarket, according to the socio-economic profile of their readers. Like Jucker we will also use Henry’s classification of newspapers in this article. The results periodically published by the *Joint Industry*

Committee for National Readership Surveys based on the occupation on the head of the household show that the majority of readers of upmarket newspapers belong to the middle class and the upper middle class, the majority of the readers of midmarket papers are members of the lower middle class and the skilled working class while a great number of the readers of downmarket papers are members of the skilled working class, the working class and those at the lowest level of subsistence. On the basis of this classification the newspapers analysed in this article belong to the following newspaper categories: *The Guardian* (upmarket), *Daily Mail* (midmarket) and *The Sun* (downmarket)

All three newspapers were published on February 29, 2009. The same number of words (33,066) from each newspaper was investigated, the corpus thus totalling 99,198 words. The frequency of the passives will also be given per 1,000 words as well as their percentage in the total number of the investigated words. The investigated words include orthographic words, i.e. 'any set of letters or numbers enclosed by spaces or punctuation' (Biber *et al.* 1999: 38). Hyphenated words are counted as single words. The corpus is drawn only from news articles. Letters to the editors, comments and advertisements are excluded from the investigation, as are headlines.

Inspired by Allan Bell's theory of "audience design" my article is based on the hypothesis that the frequency of passive use will not be random, but closely related to the socio-economic profile of the readers of the analysed newspapers. Since the passive is "more frequent in formal than in informal styles" (Trudgill 2002: 162), the main hypothesis of my article is that it will be used more frequently in those newspapers whose readers belong to higher socio-economic classes. Namely, the vast majority of readers who belong to higher socio-economic classes are also the most educated members of society. Given their education, they have frequently been exposed to standard and formal varieties of the language, which has in turn largely influenced their own linguistic preferences and use. In accordance with this I have presumed that, in their choice of daily press, such readers will choose those newspapers which are characterized by the use of more standard and formal language. On the basis of this I have hypothesized that the language employed in *The Guardian* will be more formal than the language in the *Daily Mail*, while the language used in *The Sun* will be characterized by the lowest level of formality. Accordingly, the passive construction, being characteristic of formal language, will be most frequently used in *The Guardian*, somewhat less frequently in the *Daily Mail*, and least frequently in *The Sun*.

The tables below show the results of my investigation, which will be tested against my hypothesis.

All passives			
	Freq.	1 000	%
<i>The Guardian</i>	471	18	39.9
<i>Daily Mail</i>	390	14.9	33.1
<i>The Sun</i>	318	12.1	27
Total	1179	15.2	100

Table 1: All passives – frequency

As shown in table 1, passives are most frequently used in *The Guardian* with 471 (39.9%) occurrences, less frequently in the *Daily Mail* with 390 (33.1%) occurrences, while they are least frequently used in *The Sun* with 318 (27%) appearances. As noted, the passive is regarded as the characteristic of formal language. This is consistent with the fact that the majority of *The Guardian* readers belong to 'well-educated socio-economic classes' (Jucker 1992: 53) while, in comparison, the majority of *Daily Mail* readers belong to less affluent and educated socio-economic classes, and therefore the language in this newspaper is less formal than the language used in *The Guardian*. In this respect it comes as little surprise that the language used in *The Sun* is least formal since the majority of its readers belong to the least affluent and educated socio-economic classes. Such results agree with my hypothesis according to which language use is strongly correlated with the socio-economic profile of the audience.

All passives							
	Finite			Non-finite			Total Freq.
	Freq.	1 000	%	Freq.	1 000	%	
<i>The Guardian</i>	334	12.7	38.9	137	5.2	45.4	471
<i>Daily Mail</i>	289	11	33.6	101	3.9	33.4	390
<i>The Sun</i>	236	9	27.5	82	3.1	27.2	318
Total	859	10.9	100	302	3.8	100	1179

Table 2: All passives – finiteness

Table 2 shows that in terms of total numbers of passives found in all three newspapers, finite passives are more frequent than non-finite passives. There are 859 occurrences of finites and 302 occurrences of non-finites, making a total of 1,179 passives. Contrary to non-finite passives, verbs in finite passives, as their name implies, appear in finite form, give us information about person and tense, and in this way are more informative and explicit than verbs in non-finite passives. Based on this we can conclude that the language of newspapers (one of the most popular media) generally strives to be both highly informative and explicit.

As shown in Table 1, both finite and non-finite passives are most frequent in *The Guardian*, least frequent in *The Sun*, with the *Daily Mail* again occupying the mid position – expressed in terms of numbers: 334 vs. 289 vs. 236 for finites, and 137 vs. 101 vs. 82 for non-finites. The ratios are thus quite similar for all three newspapers: 38.9% vs. 33.6% vs. 27.5 % for finites, and 45.4% vs. 33.4% vs. 27.2% for non-finites. These results correspond to *Biber et al.* (1999) and their corpus-based findings which show that non-finites are generally less frequent than finites. The frequency of finite passive use in the newspapers analysed further supports my hypothesis.

Even though non-finite passives are less explicit and informative than finite passives they still represent a form of a passive construction, which is generally considered to be formal in its expression. That explains the fact that the frequency of their use is again highest in those newspapers whose readers belong to the most affluent socio-economic classes, and therefore they tend towards the use of more formal and standard

varieties of language in their articles. In this regard, their frequency is also strongly correlated with the socio-economic profile of a newspaper's readers.

Finite passives										
	Central			Semi			Pseudo			Sum
	Freq.	1 000	%	Freq.	1 000	%	Freq.	1 000	%	
<i>The Guardian</i>	307	11.7	41.4	14	0.5	20	10	0.4	20.8	334
<i>Daily Mail</i>	243	9.3	32.8	23	0.9	32.9	17	0.6	35.4	289
<i>The Sun</i>	191	7.3	25.8	33	1.3	47.1	21	0.8	43.8	236
Total	741	9.4	100	70	0.9	100	48	0.6	100	859

Table 3: Finite passives – possibility of having active counterparts

According to Table 3, central passives are more frequent than semi- and pseudo-passives in all three newspapers. Central passives are again most frequently used in *The Guardian* (307 occurrences, 41.4%), less frequent in the *Daily Mail* (243, 32.8%), while *The Sun* again brings up the rear with the smallest numbers of passives (191, 25.8%) found in the same number of words. Semi-passives are more frequent than pseudo-passives in all three newspapers. As to semi-passives, 14 (20%) instances of this passive category appear in *The Guardian*, 23 (32.9%) in the *Daily Mail*, and 33 (47.1%) in *The Sun*. Pseudo-passives represent the least frequent category, with 10 (20.8%) instances in *The Guardian*, 17 (35.4%) in the *Daily Mail*, and 21 (43.8%) in *The Sun*. It is interesting to note that when it comes to the frequency of both semi- and pseudo passives, the results are unlike those that have appeared in the previous tables. Namely, the frequency of their use goes the other way around, thus they are most frequent in *The Sun*, less frequent in the *Daily Mail*, while the number of their occurrences is the smallest in *The Guardian*. It would appear that semi- and pseudo passives differ from central passives in that they lack the 'formality' of the latter category. Given that *The Sun* is characterized by the use of the least formal language of the three analysed newspapers, it is not surprising that the frequency of semi- and pseudo-passives in that newspaper is higher than in the *Daily Mail*, which is characterized by the use of more formal language, while they are least frequent in *The Guardian*, which employs the most formal language in its texts.

Non-finite passives										
	Nominal			Adverbial			Adjectival			Sum
	Freq.	1 000	%	Freq.	1 000	%	Freq.	1 000	%	
<i>The Guardian</i>	12	0.5	36.4	32	1.2	42.1	92	3.5	43.8	137
<i>Daily Mail</i>	11	0.4	33.3	23	0.9	30.3	68	2.6	32.4	101
<i>The Sun</i>	10	0.4	30.3	21	0.8	27.6	50	1.9	23.8	82
Total	33	0.4	100	76	0.9	100	210	2.6	100	320

Table 4: Non-finite passives – function

Table 4 shows that the frequency of adjectival non-finite passives (210 occurrences) is considerably higher than the frequency of adverbial (37 occurrences) and nominal non-finite (33 occurrences) passives in all three analysed newspapers. In all three newspapers, adjectival non-finite passives are also followed by adverbial and nominal non-finite passives: *The Guardian* (92 vs. 32. vs 12), the *Daily Mail* (68 vs. 23 vs. 11), and *The Sun* (50 vs. 21 vs. 10).

The high frequency of adjectival non-finite passives could be partly explained by Jucker's (1992) findings concerning syntactic variation within the noun phrase across different styles of English newspapers. Jucker's data show that the adjectival non-finite passive assumes the role of postmodifier in a noun phrase. Jucker (1992: 104) states that postmodifiers are more explicit than premodifiers. Therefore it is not surprising that adjectival non-finite passives as noun postmodifiers are frequently used in all three newspapers since they in general aim at using explicit language. The fact that noun postmodifications are most frequently used in *The Guardian*, less frequently in the *Daily Mail* and least frequently in *The Sun* is probably an indication that the language of *The Guardian* is most specific and explicit, it is less such in the *Daily Mail*, while it is least specific and explicit in *The Sun*. As noted above, being explicit and specific are characteristics of more formal language use, therefore we can conclude again that the language used in *The Guardian* is more formal than the language used in the *Daily Mail*, while it is least formal in *The Sun*, which confirms our hypothesis according to which the level of language formality will be proportional to the socio-economic profile of newspapers' readers.

On the basis of the findings mentioned above it seems legitimate to conclude that the present investigation has confirmed my initial hypothesis that the passive is most frequently used in *The Guardian*, less frequently used in the *Daily Mail*, while the frequency of its use is lowest in *The Sun*. As far as my data go, they show that the language of *The Guardian* tends to be more formal than the language of the *Daily Mail* whose language is more formal than the language of *The Sun*. My data therefore support the claims made by scholars such as Bell (1984) and Jucker (1992), according to whom the use of linguistic features is not random, but to a great degree dictated by certain non-linguistic features, such as the socio-economic profile of readers.

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SUMMARY

THE USE OF THE PASSIVE IN THE BRITISH DAILY PRESS: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH

This paper is inspired by the theory of “audience design” (Bell 1977) according to which language variation is not based on the socio-economic status of language users, but on the socio-economic status of those at whom language is directed, i.e. receivers, or intended audience. In this regard, the author of this article assumes that language use, or more to the point, the use of certain syntactic structures such as the passive, will differ in newspapers whose readers belong to different socio-economic classes. Since the passive is usually seen as being “more frequent in formal than in informal styles” (Trudgill 2002: 162), it is presumed that it will be used more frequently in those newspapers whose readers belong to higher socio-economic classes. The analysed articles are therefore taken from a representative cross section of newspapers, divided on the basis of the socio-economic status of their readers into upmarket (*The Guardian*), midmarket (the *Daily Mail*), and downmarket newspapers (*The Sun*). The method used is quantitative-qualitative.

KEYWORDS: the passive, frequency, socio-economic status, newspapers, language variation, readership.

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■ THE MEANING OF THE YE FORMS IN BASSE MANDINKA

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U ovom radu se analizira semantički sadržaj gramova formiranih oblikom *ye* u varijanti jezika mandinka koja se govori u Baseu i okolnim selima u naistočnijem delu Gambije. Ove konstrukcije mogu se podeliti u dve grupe: tipovi YE_1 i YE_2 . Kada je reč o varijanti YE_1 , naš materijal pokazuje da se ta konstrukcija koristi kao sadašnji perfekt (sa rezultativnim, inkluzivnim, iterativnim, iskustvenim, neodređenim i performativnim značenjem), prošlo vreme (svršeno, prosto i trajno), prošli perfekt i budući perfekt. U kondicionalima ova konstrukcija uvodi tri vrste značenja: hipotetičke aktivnosti, kontrafaktuelne ali još uvek moguće akcije i irealne kontrafaktuelne situacije u prošlosti. Kada se izvodi iz nekih glagola primanja, opažanja i osećanja, ova konstrukcija funkcioniše kao simultano-rezultativno, stativno prosto sadašnje i buduće vreme. Takođe se sreće u izrekama gde ima vrednost univerzalnog ili habitualnog prezenta. Kada je reč o YE_2 gramu, značenje je uvek modalno. Ova konstrukcija funkcioniše kao kohortativ, imperativ i jusiv. Ona, takođe, može iskazivati realno (sadašnjost-budućnost), ili irealno (prošlost) optativno značenje. Oblik YE_2 ima snagu namernog subjunktiva u finalnim zavisnim rečenicama, kojim se izražavaju ciljevi i namere.

Ključne reči: afrička lingvistika, porodica jezika mande, manding jezici, glagolski sistem, semantika.

1. INTRODUCTION

Mandinka may be classified as the westernmost variety of the Manding cluster (Wilson 2000:109) which, in turn, forms a part of the Western branch of the Mande family (Kastenholz 1996:281, Vydrine, Bergman & Benjamin 2000 and Williamson & Blench 2000). Manding, itself, includes various regional variants or dialects such as

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Bambara (employed especially in Mali), Malinké (used in Guinea) and finally Mandinka – an idiom widely spoken in Gambia, Senegal and Guinea Bissau with a total number of speakers amounting, as for the year 2006, to almost one and a half million (Lewis 2009).

The use of Mandinka in Gambia, as well as in other countries,² is almost exclusively colloquial. However, in recent times, the language has acquired a more respectful status due to the standardization of its spelling, completed in *A practical Orthography of Gambian Mandinka* (1988 and 1993)³ and subsequently employed in *Mandinka English Dictionary* (1988 and 1995) and in translations of some important Christian and Muslim religious texts, e.g.: *Kambeŋ Kutoo* ('New Testament' 1989), *Kambeŋ Kotoo* ('Old Testament' 1998) and *Selections from the Writings of the Promised Messiah* (1988). This constant endeavor for homogenizing or standardizing the tongue and, consequently, for its adjustment to a literary production – together with a timid but yet increasing appearance of Mandinka in television, radio and the Internet – has indisputably improved the socio-political position of the idiom.

The description of the Mandinka language, although greatly advanced by several important articles and some insightful grammar books (cf. for instance, Rowlands 1959 and Creissels 1983), still include areas which could be studied in a more exhaustive manner. One of them is the semantics of verbal constructions.

The present paper – meeting the above-mentioned demand for further grammatical analyses – aims at providing a detailed examination of the semantic load of a verbal category of Mandinka, labeled in accordance with its most distinctive morphological marker, the *YE* form: in order to form the construction, exemplified in (1), one employs the lexeme *ye* (cf. however, the *ŋa* and *ŋà* markers are also frequently used in the first person singular and plural).

- (1) A **ye**⁴ faloo saŋ
 he **YE**⁵ donkey buy
 He bought a donkey

The formation – invariably transitive and positive (its negative form employs the lexeme *maŋ* instead of *ye* or *ŋa*⁶) – has been classified in some general grammar books or papers dedicated to other linguistic phenomena as an aorist tense (Macbrair 1842: 15), a stative (Creissles 1983) or a perfective-completive aspect (Creissels 2008: 77, 2010a: 3, 2010b: 3; cf. also Rowlands 1959, Spears 1965, Long 1971 and *Mandinka Learning Manual* 2002). More specifically, Macbrair (1842: 15-16) proposes that the construction describes past and present actions as well as states which exist from a certain instant in the past to the present day, or more accurately, to the moment which is simultaneous to the main reference time. It approximates, thus, a past tense, present tense, perfect and pluperfect. According to Creissels (1983), the *YE* affirmative

2 We will focus on Gambian Mandinka given the fact that, as will be explained, our evidence has been collected in the Upper River Region, an Eastern part of that country.

3 This spelling convention has likewise been maintained in the present paper.

4 The relevant *YE* verbal forms will be given in bold type.

5 All markers of the *YE* formation – either *ye* or *ŋa* – will be glossed as *YE*.

6 The negative variant of the sentence quoted in example (1) would be *A maŋ faloo saŋ* 'He did not buy a donkey'.

transitive stative marker may apply to present and past time spheres. It introduces both completive actions and ongoing states, being furthermore employed to convey the meaning of future eventuality. A similar description may be found in *Mandinka Learning Manual* (2002: 14-15) where the *YE* construction is said to be an aspectual form which denotes a completed action or a state which is presently actual, corresponding to the English simple past, simple present and perfect tenses. Finally, Gamble (1987: 17-18), Colley (1995: 9, 12 and 15) and Drammé (2003: 47 and 50) specify the value of the *YE* form as equivalent to past and present tenses.

It should be noted that the marker *ye* may also be used to derive another verbal expression, which – in contrast to the previously described *YE* gram – can be both transitive and intransitive (cf. example 2) and which is furthermore negated by employing the entity *kana* instead of *maŋ*.⁷ This construction has been viewed as prototypically modal, a type of a subjunctive (Creissles 1983 and Wilson 2000). Its meaning includes injunctive, optative, suggestive or purposive values (ibid.) or corresponds to an imperative-exhortative category (Gamble 1987: 18 and 22), equivalent to the English expressions such as *let us, shall I, so that I shall/I can*.

- (2) A *ye* naa!
 he *YE* come
 May he come!

Our paper, yet devoted to the semantics of the two kinds of the *YE* constructions, does not study the values of these forms in what would be called Standard Mandinka, i.e. the normalized language used in grammar books and literary texts. The description of the properties of the *YE* gram is narrowed to Mandinka native speakers, residents of Basse, the capital of the Upper River Region, and of neighboring villages (Bassending, Manneh Kunda and Kaba Kama and Mansajang) in the easternmost part of the Gambia. Basse Mandinka, although profoundly similar to the standardized literary language, displays various divergences.⁸ For instance in Basse, the voiced velar stop [g] – absent in the “official” Mandinka – is regularly used and certain genitive or pronominal constructions may be formed with the postposition *ye* besides the standard form with *la* (for a complete review of differences, see Andrason forthcoming).⁹

In our discussion on the particularity of Basse Mandinka, we shall not overlook the fact that the territory where this variety is employed is dominated by other ethnic groups, in particular by Fulas and, much less importantly, by Serehules. This signifies that Fula and Serehule idioms prevail in various parts of the region although there are villages, a type of linguistic islands, with the Mandinka “supremacy”. Finally, it should be acknowledged that in Basse and its proximities another regional variety of Manding is spoken: *Jaahanka*.

7 The negative variant of example (2) would be *(fo) a kana naa!* ‘Let him not come!’

8 On the other hand, it should be emphasized that some of these dissimilarities are not limited to Basse Mandinka but, quite the opposite, may also be detected in other parts of Gambia.

9 Despite a number of differences, it may not be adequate to regard Basse Mandinka as a dialect of the standard language given the fact that the dissimilarities are mostly phonetic and lexical. On the other hand, it is evident that the issue of classifying a certain linguistic system as a dialect – or at a higher level, as a language – is not exclusively linguistic, but also depends on political, sociological and economic factors.

As for the *YE* formation, Basse Mandinka admits three alternative variants of the marker employed for the first person singular or plural. Besides the standard form *ŋa*, one may find by-forms such as *na* (very frequent), *ne* and *ñe* [*ɲe*] (these two varieties are relatively seldom met). Since the vernacular used in the capital of the Upper River Region and in its neighborhood is far from being a normalized consistent system, a unified solid language, it is not surprising that the acceptability of the four mentioned lexemes varies from one speaker to another. While some informants accepted all of them, giving the preference to *na*, others regarded the form *ŋa* as the most accurate – yet being aware of the use of the auxiliary words *na*, *ne* and *ñe*.¹⁰ Below, we offer the entire conjugational pattern of a gram derived by means of the *ye* entity, taking as an illustration the sentence *motoo saŋ* 'buy a car (lit. in the inverse order, i.e. car + buy)':

	Singular	Plural
1p	<i>ŋa (na, ñe, ɲe) motoo saŋ</i>	<i>ŋà (nà, ñè, ɲè) motoo saŋ</i>
2p	<i>i ye motoo saŋ</i>	<i>ali ye motoo saŋ</i>
3p	<i>a ye motoo saŋ</i>	<i>ì motoo saŋ</i>

In the first person singular and plural, the form *ye* may also appear: *nte (fanaa) ye motoo saŋ* 'I (also) bought the car'.

All the examples quoted in the present paper have been provided by ten native Mandinka speakers residing in Basse or in villages located in the vicinity of the Upper River Region capital. All of them participated as informants in an extensive field research which aimed at writing a grammar of Basse Mandinka (cf. Andrason forthcoming). Below we list these persons together with their age, occupation and place of residence:¹¹ Keba Suusoo (13 years old, primary school student, Bassending), Malik Suusoo (18, high school student, Bassending), Musa Yaffuneh (24, watchman, Basse), Lamin Manneh (25, university student, Manneh Kunda), Mamanding Sanyang (27, nurse assistant, Basse), Musa Sanneh (29, driver, Kaba Kama), Baba Kamara (30, teacher, Mansajang), Saikou Drammeh (44, nurse, Basse – originally from Serekunda, but has lived in Basse for ten years), Kumba Jallow (56, cook, Mansajang) and Mariama Mendi (32, nurse, Basse – originally from Fulla Bantang)¹².

It should be noted that all the examples have been video-recorded and systematically studied with the listed native speakers. In accordance with their methodological source, these examples may be arranged into three classes. The first group includes sentences spontaneously formulated by informants. The second assembles phrases which were produced on the request of the author. And the third class reflects examples which, although pronounced and – if necessary – reformulated by the native speakers, were inspired by passages found in standardized written texts, in particular in the Bible and in Islamic literature.

10 This also means that Basse Mandinka should be viewed as a combination – not a fusion – of several more local (limited to villages) or even personal realizations.

11 The list has been arranged according to the age of the informants.

12 The last two informants are entirely bilingual: Fula-Mandinka and Manjago-Mandinka. Their ethnic background is Fula and Manjago respectively.

2. EVIDENCE

As it is the case in Standard Mandinka, the tense-aspect-taxis-mood (TATM) values of the locutions derived by means of the auxiliary *ye* may be divided into two major classes. The first group includes invariably transitive constructions which are negated substituting the entity *ye* by *maŋ* (e.g., *A maŋ motoo saŋ* 'He did not buy the car'). As will be demonstrated in sections 2.1 and 3 below, this type of the *YE* construction – hereafter labeled YE_1 – provides meanings which parallel semantic properties displayed by the intransitive *TA* gram (observe that the negation of the *TA* formation also uses the particle *maŋ*; cf. Andrason 2011b).

The other class embraces typically modal functions, which are usually referred to as subjunctive (cf. Creissels 1983 or Wilson 2000; for details see section 2.2). This variety – hereafter labeled as YE_2 – offers two formal or syntactical properties which enable us to differentiate it from the variant mentioned previously. First, the YE_2 locution may be virtually employed with all kinds of verbs either intransitive or transitive ones, in contrast to the YE_1 form which is restricted to transitive constructions. Second, in order to negate the YE_2 variant, the lexeme *kana* is used contrary to the element *maŋ* which appears in the negation of the YE_1 gram (e.g. *Nà kana taa!* 'Let us not go'). Additionally, the YE_2 formation may be differentiated by placing the modal particle *fo* at the beginning of the sentence, before the subject (*Fo a ye naa!* 'May he come' / 'Let him come').

2.1 VALUES OF THE YE_1 FORMATION

The YE_1 construction is commonly found with the force of a resultative present perfect: it portrays an already accomplished activity as relevant for the current situation. In other words, a formerly completed action has a patent effect on the preset state of affairs:

- (3) a. Danko doron **ŋa** motoo saŋ
just only I-YE car buy
I have just bought the car (i.e. Now, I am an owner of the car)
- b. A **ye** bundaa soron ne
he YE door close EMPH¹³
He has closed the door (i.e. The door remains closed)
- c. **Ŋa** a domo
I-YE it eat
I have eaten (i.e. I am done with the food)
- d. I **ye** a baŋ?
you YE it finish
Have you finished?

The YE_1 formation may also appear with the value of an inclusive perfect. In that case, it indicates that a situation or an activity has been holding without interruption from a certain – explicitly determined – point of time in the past to the present moment:

13 The lexeme *le* or *ne* (if following a nasal consonant) is an emphatic particle which will be glossed hereafter as EMPH.

- (4) a. **Na** motoo ñiŋ soto kabiriŋ 2001
I-YE car this have since 2001
I have had this car since 2001
- b. **Na** sayikuloo ñiŋ soto sanji saba
I-YE bicycle this have year three
I have had this bicycle for three years
- c. **Ŋa** ñiŋ yaamaroolu bee muta le ka bo n na dindiŋyaa waato la
I-YE this orders all EMPH from¹⁴ I of¹⁵ childhood time at/with
I have kept all these orders from my youth up
- d. **Ŋa** a loŋ ne kabiriŋ foloodulaa to
I-YE it know EMPH since beginning at
He has known it from the beginning

Likewise, the YE_1 locution can express iterative resultative activities, functioning as an iterative perfect:

- (5) a. **Ŋa** ñiŋ filimoo juubee siiŋaa luulu
I-YE this film see time four
I have seen this film four times
- b. Bii **ŋa** wo ke siiŋaa keme
today I-YE that do time hundred
Today, I have done it one hundred times

The YE_1 gram is also commonly employed as an experiential perfect, indicating that the subject has performed a given activity – as a minimum – once during his or her life. Put differently, the person has an experience of carrying out the action expressed by the verb. In this sub-value of the perfect, the undertone of current relevance remains clearly recognizable, but on the contrary, the sense of resultativity is no longer available:

- (6) a. Fo i **ye** nene sitajiyo miŋ?
Whether you ever baobab.jus drink
Have you ever drunk baobab-jus?
- b. **Ŋa** bukoo ñiŋ karaŋ
I-YE book this read
I have read this book (it might have occurred at any time during my life time)

The YE_1 gram can also function as an indefinite past (labeled alternatively ‘indefinite perfect’), denoting indisputable past events and activities, without however specifying their temporal location in the past sphere in an overt manner, for instance by means of adverbial locutions:

14 The slot *ka bo...la* is a circumposition that means ‘from’.

15 The slot *n na* (i.e. *n/ŋ + la*) corresponds to a possessive adjective with the meaning of the English *my*.

- (7) **N̄a** a je marisewo to. A **ye** duuta luulu saŋ. A **ye** ì samba suwo kono.
 I-YE him see market at. he YE mango five buy. he YE them bring home in
 I saw him at the market. He bought five mangos. He brought them home.

The YE_1 form – approximating the category of a performative perfect (cf. Hebrew *qatal* and Arabic *qatala*, cf. Andrason 2011a) – is occasionally employed in order to perform certain acts rather than to describe a situation or an activity. This means that, if determined conventional circumstances are respected, the fact of uttering a given proposition with the verb in YE_1 gram triggers a new state in the speaker's reality (cf. Austin 1962: 5, 60). This usage is restricted in Basse Mandinka to predicates which lean themselves for performative acts, e.g. verbs of speaking or giving:

- (8) a. **N̄a** n kali!
 I-YE myself swear
 I swear!
 b. **N̄a** i daani
 I-YE you pray
 I pray you / I beseech you

With a high frequency, the YE_1 gram functions as an explicit definite past tense expressing immediate (e.g. hodiernal, 9.a), recent (e.g. hesternal 9.b), general (a person's life time 9.c) or remote (e.g. ancient 9.d) past events. This means that the activity conveyed by the YE_1 formation may be located in a past temporal sphere, whatever its distance from the speaker's present time is:

- (9) a. **N̄a** a ke bii soomandaa
 I-YE it do today morning
 I did it today in the morning
 b. Kunuŋ **n̄a** i je
 yesterday I-YE you see
 I saw you yesterday
 c. **N̄a** ñiŋ motoo saŋ sanji luulu kooma
 I-YE car buy year five ago
 I bought the car five years ago
 d. Bituŋ Mansa Sulemani **ye** Banisirayila alifaalu kumandi...
 then king Solomon YE Israel elders call
 Then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel

Functioning as a definite past, the YE_1 gram is frequently employed in order to convey aspectually perfective actions: unique, punctual and presented in their entirety:

- (10) a. Seruŋ ate **ye** kewo faa
 last.year he YE man kill
 Last year, he killed a man

- b. Kunuŋ, **ŋa** sayikuloo saŋ
yesterday I-YE bicycle buy
Yesterday, I bought a bicycle
- c. Sulemani ye Yaawe la buŋo baŋ loo la
Solomon YE Lord (Yahweh) of house finish build to
Solomon finished building the house of the Lord

Nevertheless, the YE_1 construction may also function as an aspectually neutral simple past, i.e. as a preterite, being sometimes able to introduce activities of a wide temporal length or simply durative:

- (11) a. Kunuŋ **ŋa** n doŋ baake
yesterday I-YE myself dance very.much
Yesterday I danced a lot (cf. the use of the imperfective past *bailaba* in the Spanish translation)
- b. Kunuŋ **ŋa** m bamban
yesterday I-YE myself be.in.a.hurry
Yesterday I was in a hurry (cf. the use of the imperfective past *tenía prisa* in the Spanish translation)
- c. A niŋ ì tarata jee, aniŋ a **ye** batiseeroo ke
he with them was there and he YE baptizing do
He was there with them, and he was baptizing
- d. Baawo a ye ñiŋ kuwolu ke, wo le ye a tinna ì **ye** a toora
Since he did this things do that EMPH did it cause¹⁶ they YE him persecute
Because he did (or had done) these things, for that reason, they persecuted him (cf. the use of the imperfective past in the Spanish translation: *persegúan*)

The typical value of the perfect category, i.e. the concept of anteriority – previously discussed within the present time frame (cf. examples 3, 4, 5 and 6 above) – may also be found in the past and future temporal spheres. In the former case, the YE_1 formation approximates a pluperfect (it expresses actions which preceded another clearly past activities; cf. examples 12a-f) while in the latter, available only in certain temporal subordinated phrases – especially in clauses which are introduced by the conjunction *niŋ* –, the gram is employed with the force of a future perfect (it expresses acts which shall take place before other situations in the future; see examples 13a-b):

- (12) a. Mansa Yehowasi ye saateewolu seyinkanŋ muta Beni-Hadadi bulu,
king Y did villages repeat seize BH from,
King Jehoash took again from the hand of Ben-hadad the cities
a **ye** mennu muta nuŋ a faamaa bulu
he YE which seize then his father from
which he had taken from the hand of his father

16 The slot *wo le ye a tinna* glossed as [that EMPH did it cause] corresponds to an English expression: ‘for that reason’.

- b. Kabirin a **ye** ì la miiroolu lon, a ye ì jaabi
when he YE they of thoughts know he did them answer
When he had known their thoughts, he answered them...
- c. Kabirin a **ye** ì la lannoo je, a ko:
when he YE they of¹⁷ faith see he said:
When he had seen their faith, he said:
- d. Ì ye kajo laa ñinj dookuulaa kuntiyo la ko a **ye** a la fejolu le tiña
they did accusation present this servant chief against that he YE he of¹⁸
things EMPH spoil
They accused the steward that he had wasted his [of the master] goods
- e. Í muruta suwo kono, komej Alla **ye** a fo ñaamenj
they returned house in like God YE it say as
They returned home according to the word of the God (i.e. as God had said it)
- f. Moolu bee naata, ko a **ye** a fo ì ye nun ñaamenj
People all came like he YE it say them for then as
All the people came as the king had appointed
- (13) a. Saama ninj i **ye** bukoo karan, i si n kili!
tomorrow when you YE book read you shall me call
Tomorrow, when you have read the book, you shall call me!
- b. Sii jan foninj **ja** a ke
Sin.down here until I-YE it do
Sit down here (be seated) until I have done it

The YE_1 construction may also appear in conditional protases being, again, introduced by the conjunction *ninj* 'if'. In that case, the formation expresses hypothetical but yet possible future events or situation which – if performed – would logically and temporarily precede actions conveyed by the apodosis. This value approximates the use of the indicative future perfect in *modus realis* in Latin: *Si te rogavero aliquid, non respondebis?* 'If I ask you something, will you not answer?' (Jurewicz *et al.* 1993: 128) or *Si id credideris, erraveris* 'If you (shall have) believe(d) that, you will have gone (will go) wrong' (Gildersleeves & Lodge 1895: 380):

- (14) a. Ninj i **ye** motoo san, ntelu be taa la Banjunu
if you YE car buy we are go to Banjul
If you buy a car, we will go to Banjul (i.e. once you have bought the car,
we will be able to go to Banjul)
- b. Ninj **ja** kodoo soto, m be motoo san na
if I-YE money have I am car buy to
If I have money I will buy the car (i.e. once I get some money, I will buy the car)
- c. Ninj Laamini **ye** booroo minj, a be kendeyaa la le
if Lamin YE medicine drink he is be.healthy to EMPH
If Lamin drinks the medicine he will be well (i.e. once he has drunk the
medicine he will get well)

17 The slot *ì la* (lit. 'they of') corresponds to a possessive adjective with the meaning of the English *their*.

18 The slot *a la* (lit. 'he of') corresponds to a possessive adjective with the meaning of the English *his*.

Sometimes, the reading can be real and counterfactual. In such cases, the YE_1 form introduces activities that refer to a present temporal sphere but portrays them as conflicting with the current state of affairs. This function corresponds to the use of the Latin *coniunctivus imperfecti* in the *modus irrealis* in the present: *Si id crederes, errares* 'If you believed (you do not believe but you still could), you would go wrong' (Gildersleeves & Lodge 1895: 385):

- (15) Niŋ ali **ye** wo moolu kanu, mennu ye ali kani,
if you YE that people love who did you love
Even though you loved people who love you (i.e. you do not love them
but you still could),

wo be ali nafaa la muŋ ne la?
that is you benefit to what EMPH at/with
how would that benefit you?

The YE_1 gram can likewise be found in conditional protases denoting past unreal counterfactual activities or situations, thus equaling the Latin *coniunctivus plusquamperfecti* in the *modus irrealis* in the past: *Si id credidisses, erravisses* 'If you had believed that (but you did not), you would have gone wrong' (Gildersleeves & Lodge 1895: 385):

- (16) a. Niŋ ali **ye** nte kanu, ali be seewoo la nuŋ
if you YE me love you are be.happy to then
If you (had) loved me, you would have rejoiced (but you did not love me
and consequently you were not happy)
b. Niŋ ite **ye** wo ke nuŋ, tennuŋ nte baarinkewo te faa la nuŋ
if you YE that do then, so.then I brother is.not be.dead to then
If you had done it, my brother would not have died

In cases where the YE_1 formation is derived from certain verbs of receiving (e.g., *a soto* 'receive, have' and *a muta* 'get'), perceiving (e.g., *a moyi* 'hear, understand' and *a loŋ* 'know') and feeling (e.g., *a kanu* 'love' and *a koŋ* 'hate, detest'), it may denote three additional types of meaning. First, approximating a simultaneous-resultative category, it denotes a present static condition, portraying it as acquired due to a previously performed action. This value is similar to the sense offered by resultative perfects. However, the meaning of a resultative perfect displays a reverse arrangement of the two semantic planes: the most relevant segment of the meaning reflects a dynamic event which, due to its results, is in some way related to a present state of affairs.

- (17) a. Fo i **ye** a moyi?
whether you YE it hear
Have you heard it? / Do you know that?
b. **Na** leetaroo muta
I-YE letter receive
I have gotten / I have got a letter

Second, in the case where certain verbs expressing feelings (e.g. *a kanu* 'love' and *a koŋ* 'hate') are employed in the YE_1 gram, the value of the construction can be interpreted as stative, contrasting with more dynamic expressions formed, for instance, with the auxiliary *ka*:

- (18) a. Nte **ye** i kanu le
I YE you love EMPH
I love you
- b. Ate **ye** n koŋ
he YE me hate
He hates me

And third, certain verbs when used in the YE_1 locution introduce present activities with no evident traces of resultative (perfect or anterior) and stative shades of meaning. In this function, the construction displays an analogous force to various Indo-European simple presents:

- (19) a. *Ŋa musoo soto*
I-YE wife have
I have a wife
- b. *Ŋa wo loŋ*
I-YE that know
I know that

If the context locates the reference time in the past, the meaning of the YE_1 construction, formed from the above mentioned predicates, approximates a simple or durative (imperfective) past:

- (20) a. *Ŋa a loŋ nuŋ*
I-YE it know then
I knew that (cf. the use of the imperfective past in the Spanish translation: *lo sabía*)
- b. *Kunuŋ a ye kodoo soto*
yesterday he YE money have
He had money yesterday (cf. the use of the imperfective past in the Spanish translation *tenía dinero*)

The YE_1 expression may also be found in maxims or proverbs, introducing atemporal universal truths and coexisting, in certain cases, with the habitual-iterative formation *ka* + verbal base (cf. 21.b):

- (21) a. Moo, meŋ **ye** katiroo **ke**, a **ye** jooroo **soto**
person who YE harvesting do he YE payment have receive
He who reaps, receives wages

- b. Moo doo ka fiiroo ke, doo **ye** katiroo ke
 person the.one KA sowing do the.other YE harvesting do
 One sows and another reaps

2.2 VALUES OF THE YE₂ FORMATION

When used with the first person singular or plural, the YE₂ formation approximates a cohortative gram: the subject – a person viewed as an individual or as a member of group – directs orders, suggestions or advises to him- or herself, or to the group in question. In that function, the gram has a similar force to the English expression *let me* or *let us*, Polish imperative *Cieszmy się* 'Let us be happy!' and to the Latin *coniunctivus hortativus*: *Amemus patriam* (Jurewicz *et al.* 1993: 109):

- (22) a. **N**a dun suwo kono!
 I-YE enter house in
 Let me enter into the house
- b. M bula, **n**a taa!
 me leave I-YE go
 Leave me, let me go!
- c. **N**à ñinj motoo saŋ!
 we-YE this car buy
 Let us buy this car!
- d. Ali **n**à domoroo ke!
 all we eating do
 Let us eat!
- e. Ali **n**à a faa!
 all we-YE him kill
 Let us kill him (L.20.14)

When directed to the second person plural – most frequently following an overt imperative construction – the YE₂ formation acts as an imperative: it expresses orders, commands or suggestions directed to a single interlocutor or to a group of them:

- (23) a. Wuli, i **ye** loo ñ teema!
 stand.up you YE stand we among
 Arise and stand here in the middle of us
- b. Wuli, i **ye** taa!
 stand-up you YE go
 Stand up and go!
- c. Ñinj kewo faa, i **ye** doo bula!
 this man kill you YE another leave
 Kill this man, leave the other!

- d. Wuli, i **ye** i la basoo sika, adun i **ye** sayi suwo kono
stand.up you YE you of¹⁹ mat pick.up and you YE return house in
Arise, take up your bed, and go to your house

Since orders may also be introduced by the verbal locution *si* + verbal base (a modal-future construction), the YE_2 formation in the sense of an imperative frequently follows the *si* periphrasis:

- (24) a. Ali si a samba nan, ali **ye** a faa
you shall him bring to.here you YE him kill
Bring him here and kill him!

The YE_2 gram can also be found with the third person singular. In that case – still introducing commands, suggestions and advice, the formation acts as a jussive category. In this use, it approximates the English construction with *let* (*Let him do it!*), the Polish periphrastic imperative with *niech* (*Niech przyjdzie* ‘Let him come’) or the Latin *coniunctivus iussivus* (*Suum quisque noscat ingenium* ‘Let each one know his own mind’; Gildersleeve & Lodge 1895: 173):

- (25) a. A **ye** naa!
he YE come
Let him come!
b. Itolu **ye** taa!
they YE go
Let them go
c. N teerima **ye** a ke i ye
I friend YE it do you for
Let my friend do it for you!

In all the uses, introduced thus far, the YE_2 construction constitutes a suppletive (with the first and third person singular and plural) or alternative (in the second person singular and plural) form of the imperative.

However, in various cases, the sense of the YE_2 construction approximates an optative mood rather than the category which covers imperative, cohortative and jussive domains. In these cases, instead of conveying orders or suggestions, the locution expresses wishes, desires or hopes as for the present-future situation. This use has its parallels in the English construction with the verb *may* (*May you live long!* or *May God help you!*), in the Polish expressions with the particle *oby* (*Oby przyszed!* ‘May he come!’) and in the Latin *coniunctivus optativus* (*Stet haec urbs!* ‘May this city continue to stand!’; Gildersleeve & Lodge 1895: 172):

19 The slot *i la* (lit. ‘you [sg.] of’) corresponds to a possessive adjective with the meaning of the English *your* [singular].

- (26) a. A **ye** faa!
 he YE be.dead
 May he day / May he be dead
- b. A **ye** bamban!
 he YE be.strong
 May he be strong!

Such wishes may also be formulated as for past (presently irreversible) states of affairs. In this use, the gram approximates the *coniunctivus optativus irrealis* in Latin: *Utinam illo tempore vixissem* 'May I have lived in that time' (Jurewicz *et al.* 1993: 120):

- (27) A **ye** naa nun!
 he YE come then
 May he have come then!

The YE_2 gram is also extensively employed in depending subordinated final clauses, introducing a broad spectrum of more specific values which, nevertheless, may be embraced under a single term of a purposive subjunctive: the proposition with the relevant YE_2 form indicates intentions, goals or desires to be accomplished. It should be noted that the clause which includes a relevant YE_2 construction may be linked to the principal clause either *asyndetically* (28) or by means of a conjunction, such as, *fo* or *puru* 'in order that, so that' and *ko* 'that' (29):

- (28) a. Dalasi tan dii n na, **na** taa mbuuroo san na
 dalasi ten give me to I-YE go bread buy to
 Give me ten dalisis to go to buy the bread (lit. so that I may go to buy)
- b. N lafiti i **ye** kurutoo kara n ye
 I want you YE trousers sew me for
 I want you to sew trousers for me (lit. so that you may sew)
- c. N lafiti i **ye** kendeyaa
 I want you YE be.healthy
 I want you to be healthy (lit. so that you may be healthy)
- (29) a. Ì ye Laamini daani fo a **ye** naa jan
 they did Lamin ask so.that he YE come here
 They asked Lamin to come (lit. so that he would come)
- b. Nà a faa puru nà a la bunjo soto
 we did him kill so.that we-YE he of²⁰ house have
 We killed him to have his house (lit. so that we would get)
- c. A ye a fo n ye ko **na** naa
 he did it tell I for so(that) I-YE come
 He told me to come (lit. so that I would come)

20 Cf. footnote 18.

The purposive final meaning can also be observed in clauses introduced by the verb *ko* 'say':

- (30) a. A ko *ŋa* n na joobaloo joo
 he said I-YE I of²¹ debt pay
 He said [that] I should pay my debt
- b. A ko i *ye* taa
 he said you YE go
 He said [that] you should go

One should also note that asyndetic purposive uses presented in examples (28.a-c) and (30.a-b) are profoundly similar to the imperative-jussive-exhortative meaning found in principal clauses (cf. examples 22, 23 and 25).

3. CONCLUSION

The evidence provided by the interviewed Mandinka speakers in Basse and its vicinity shows that the grams formed by means of the entity *ye* display the following semantic load. First, as for the YE_1 variety, the construction is used as a present perfect, offering resultative, inclusive, iterative, experiential, indefinite and performative meanings. It is also used with the force of a past tense with any degree of temporal remoteness from the speaker or narrator's present. The aspectual value of the YE_2 locution in its definite past function is usually perfective or simple. Nevertheless, examples with a durative reading are not infrequent. The sense of anteriority – prototypical for the present perfect function – may also be found in the past and (only in subordinate clauses) future time frames. In conditional phrases, the gram can introduce hypothetical eventual activities or counterfactual but yet real actions, as well as – when located in the past temporal sphere – counterfactual unreal situations. Furthermore, when derived from certain verbs of receiving, perceiving and feeling, the YE_1 expression functions as a simultaneous-resultative, stative and simple present. With the past temporal reference, the three above-mentioned values correspond to a simultaneous-resultative, stative and simple (including durative or imperfective) past. Finally, the gram is found in proverbs with a value of a universal, atemporal or habitual present. It shall be observed that the total semantic content of the YE_1 formation almost perfectly parallels the meanings displayed by the *TA* gram (cf. Andrason 2011b). The sole distinction – given the transitive nature of the YE_1 construction and hence its incompatibility with adjectival stative verbs – is the infrequency of the simultaneous-resultative or present meanings and, in particular, the properly stative value, offered with a great abundance by adjectival roots in the *TA* formation.

Second, in respect to the YE_2 gram, the meaning is invariably modal. More concretely, the construction functions – depending on the person to whom a given sentence is addressed – as a cohortative (1st), imperative (2nd) and jussive (3rd). In the

21 Cf. footnote 15.

optative function, the gram may introduce real (present-future) and unreal (past) wishes and desires. In dependent final subordinate (including asyndetic) clauses, the YE_2 form is used with the force of a subjunctive purposive category, conveying goals and intentions.

Although the results of our study *grosso modo* confirm the analysis available in the literature published thus far, they also provide some new facts which enable us to sketch a more complete map of the semantics of the *YE* grams. In particular, as for the YE_1 construction, we have detected, until now ignored, values of performative perfect, durative past (especially in the case of dynamic action verbs), future perfect, real counterfactuality, unreal counterfactuality and universal (habitual/gnomic) present. We have furthermore offered a more meticulous description of typical perfect functions having distinguished resultative, inclusive, iterative, experiential and indefinite uses.²² Likewise, we have proposed a more detailed picture of the values displayed by verbs of reception, perception and feelings, dividing them into three domains: simultaneous-resultative, stative and simple present. In respect to the YE_2 formation, we have made a clear distinction between cohortative, jussive and imperative meanings (a suppletive or alternative form of the imperative) and optative senses. We have also shown that the optative type may be both real (wishes formulated concerning present and future situations) and unreal (desires formulated as for past, impossible to change, conditions).

We also consider that although the present analysis – dedicated to the semantic load of the constructions formed by means of the auxiliary *ye* – was limited to the Mandinka variety employed in Basse and neighboring villages, it can also be valuable to the study of the *YE* formation(s) in the standardized language. We are convinced that the values detected in our examples should likewise be available in Mandinka whether it is spoken on the sea-coast, on the northern bank of the river Gambia in Upper River Region or elsewhere in the country. In an opposite case – i.e. if some differences between the potential of the *YE* grams in Basse and in other areas have been detected – our description will additionally constitute an important piece of information concerning the Mandinka dialectology.

Finally, it would be highly interesting if we could unify the semantic load offered by each-one of the two *YE* formations. In particular, one should aim at explaining the deeply heterogeneous YE_1 gram as a consistent and coherent semantic category where all the specific values are fully balanced and harmonized. Even more tentative – but significantly more difficult – would be the unification of the semantics of the two varieties within a single gram. These two goals inevitably constitute a future research plan of the author.

22 Such a specification is important due to the fact that perfects in various languages offer a distinct semantic load admitting or not the mentioned sub-types (cf. for instance that the Spanish present perfect *he hecho* 'I have done' contrary to the homologue English construction is not employed with the inclusive sense).

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SUMMARY

THE MEANING OF THE YE CONSTRUCTIONS IN BASSE MANDINKA

The present paper analyzes the semantic load of grams formed by means of the entity *ye* in the Mandinka variety spoken in Basse and neighboring villages in the easternmost part of Gambia. Such constructions may be divided into two classes: YE_1 and YE_5 types. As for the YE_1 variety, our evidence demonstrates that the construction is used as a present perfect (resultative, inclusive, iterative, experiential, indefinite and performative), past tense (perfective, simple and durative), pluperfect and future perfect. In conditional phrases, the formation introduces three sorts of meaning: hypothetical eventual activities, counterfactual but yet possible actions and unreal counterfactual past situations. When derived from certain verbs of receiving, perceiving and feeling, it functions as a simultaneous-resultative, stative and simple present and past. It is also found in proverbs with the value of a universal or habitual present. In respect to the YE_2 gram, the meaning is invariably modal. The construction functions as a cohortative, imperative and jussive. The gram may also display real (present-future) and unreal (past) optative meanings. In dependent final subordinate clauses, the YE_2 form is used with the force of a subjunctive purposive category, expressing goals and intentions.

KEYWORDS: African linguistics, Mande family, Manding tongues, verbal system, semantics.

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■ THE USE OF MITIGATING DEVICES IN REQUESTS BY SERBIAN EFL LEARNERS

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U ovom radu ispituju se načini na koje izvorni govornici srpskog koji uče engleski kao strani jezik koriste sredstva ublažavanja prilikom izražavanja molbi. Rad počinje definicijama i klasifikacijama pojmova koji se ispituju. Zatim, rad predstavlja ciljeve istraživanja koji uključuju upotrebu sredstva ublažavanja u molbama kod srpskih učenika engleskog kao stranog jezika kao i značaj učenja ovih pragmatičkih aspekata u školama. U radu se, dalje, navodi korišćeni metod i objašnjava se proces prikupljanja podataka. Na kraju rada se podaci dobijeni iz upitnika analiziraju i razmatraju se mogući rezultati. U zaključku se navode rezultati dobijeni istraživanjem i naglašava se potreba za učenjem ispitivanih pojmova.

Ključne reči: govorni činovi, molbe, sredstva ublažavanja, engleski kao strani jezik.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Requests are by definition the most face-threatening acts (Trosborg 1995: 187). She states that “a *request* is an illocutionary act whereby a speaker (requester) conveys to a hearer (requestee) that he/she wants the requestee to perform an act which is for the benefit of the speaker” and, sometimes, for the hearer. Therefore, requests are usually considered some kind of a threat or imposition to the hearer since “the speaker who makes a request attempts to exercise power or direct control over the

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intentional behaviour of the hearer, and in doing so threatens the requestee's negative face" (Trosborg 1995: 188). There is a threat not only to the hearer's face but also to the speaker's as he/she may not comply with the request. Consequently, it is important to somehow lessen the impact of the request, which is achieved by the means of introducing additional peripheral elements to the core request i.e. mitigating devices or "expressions used to soften an imposition" (Yule 1996: 131). Carrying out a particular social function, mitigating devices are greatly considered a tactical means for reducing the strength of a speech act whose effects are undesirable to the hearer. Having such an essential function, these forms have been regarded as a fundamental part of the pragmatic competence for foreign language learners who usually face difficulties in acquiring the pragmatic principles of the target language (Usó-Juan and Martínez-Flor 2008).

1.2 CLASSIFICATION OF MITIGATING DEVICES

One of the possible classifications of mitigating devices is into internal and external. The difference between the two lies in the positioning of linguistic elements. Internal mitigating devices are found within the core request itself, whereas those which are external are placed in the immediate linguistic context surrounding the core request (Salazar Campillo 2007: 212). Moreover, these two types of mitigating devices can be further divided into subcategories for the purpose of providing a more detailed analysis. The classification and the examples presented in this pilot study are taken from the paper "Teaching learners to appropriately mitigate requests" (Usó-Juan and Martínez-Flor 2008: 349-357) since they appeared to be the most appropriate for this research.

Starting with the **internal mitigating devices**, three subtypes have been outlined:

1. openers – opening items and expressions that introduce the intended request. e.g. 'Gentlemen, *would you mind* leaving us, please?'
2. softeners – items that soften the impositive force of the request, e.g. 'Listen, can I talk to you for *a second?*'; 'If you could *possibly* return this to Fred's for me, please.'
3. fillers – items that fill in gaps in the interaction, e.g. *er; OK?; right?; excuse me; hello; you see.*

Regarding the **external mitigating devices**, five subtypes have been identified:

1. **preparators** – devices that prepare the addressee for the subsequent request, e.g. 'Colonel, *I do have to ask you a couple of questions about September 6th.*'
2. **grounders** – devices that give reasons that justify the request, e.g. 'Call my family, *I'd like them to have dinner with me tonight.*'
3. **disarmers** – devices that are employed to avoid the possibility of a refusal, e.g. 'Colonel Jessep, *if it's not too much trouble, I'd like a copy of the transfer order, Sir.*'
4. **expanders** – devices related to repetition that are used to indicate tentativeness, e.g. 'Can you take him to the airport in the morning? ... *Can you pick him up at 8.30?'*)
5. **promise of a reward** – devices that are used by the requester so that his/her request may be accomplished, e.g. '...she wants a bottle of wine ... *I would promise to send you the money.*' (Usó-Juan and Martínez-Flor 2008: 350-351).

In addition, '**please**' can also be considered another type of mitigating device, which is used to signal politeness, e.g. 'Would you hang up *please* and I'll call your machine?' (Usó-Juan and Martínez-Flor 2008: 351).

It can be stated that the learners of EFL should be aware of the existence of the listed mitigating devices so that they become more capable of appropriately using them in the given situations. Since many mitigating devices can be used in the same context, it is important that learners rely on interactional and contextual factors in choosing a particular pragmalinguistic form for performing a successful communication (Usó-Juan and Martínez-Flor 2008).

2. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

A contrastive analysis of the use of specific politeness strategies in Serbian and English seems to demonstrate slight differences in the way native speakers of these two languages formulate certain types of speech acts – specifically, requests. Namely, it appears that, in formulating requests, Serbian native speakers most often tend to use *positive and negative politeness strategies*, or *conventional indirectness*, followed by a large number of *hedges* and *grounders*. However, speakers of Standard American English, for instance, demonstrate a higher use of internal modifiers, or *fillers*, especially hesitators, when compared to external modifiers. Considering the external mitigating devices, they tend to use *please* far more than other types. These observations were obtained from the comparison of the studies on the use of speech acts in Serbian, (Mišić-Ilić and Dimitrijević 2006, Mišić-Ilić 2008), as well as in English, where Standard American English is examined, (Martinez-Flor and Vilar Beltran, Al-Ali and Alawneh 2010).

Therefore, the main objectives of this study are:

1. To examine the use of mitigating devices in requests by Serbian students of EFL because: mitigating devices represent a very important feature of politeness present in requests produced by native speakers of English; this specific type of "communication facilitators" is most frequently used in everyday communication; the Serbian language generally exhibits a smaller degree of indirectness in formulating requests, and, therefore, apparently, a reduced usage of mitigating devices.
2. To emphasize the importance of the need of teaching pragmatic aspects in schools since it is essential that students master, among other linguistic phenomena, communicative competence of the given foreign language as well.

3. RESEARCH METHOD

The research assumes that the students are already familiar with the use of some of the mitigating strategies, primarily those involving modal verbs, the application of

which is taught in grammar lessons only. It also assumes that the students will most probably opt for grammar constructions that are similar to those of their mother tongue, such as *Could you please...* to reflect the Serbian phrase *Možete li, molim Vas...* because they are used to using such phrases constantly in their mother tongue.

A group comprising a total of 47 students took part in the present study. These were 47 native speakers of Serbian – third grade students from the Humanities and Languages department in Pirot Grammar School, who study English as a foreign language five classes a week, their proficiency level being intermediate. The method used in this study is a discourse completion task. It should be noted that the expressions obtained from the responses in the questionnaire might be regarded as slightly unnatural since it is done in paper and pencil and not orally, which is considered a general flaw of this type of data elicitation method. Nevertheless, this type of data elicitation procedure is relatively easy to administer, especially among students who are used to completing tasks with pencil and paper since it does not put them in an unfamiliar situation.

4. PROCEDURE

The questionnaire comprising five different written scenarios was given in order to elicit the use of various mitigating devices in requests regarding specific situations appropriate to the participants' age and life experience. The five scenarios were chosen because they represented common, everyday situations, familiar to the participants; however, they differed in terms of relationships between the speaker and the hearer (social distance, relative status, degree of imposition, age), and in terms of request type (personal favor, requirement in a service encounter). The situations were created by the researches of this study according to the models provided by Takahashi in his study "The role of Input Enhancement in Developing Pragmatic Competence" (Kasper and Rose 2007: 298-299). However, the wording was slightly modified in order to shorten the amount of time the respondents needed to fill in the questionnaire so that the results are more valid. The situations were listed in a random order in terms of their level of formality. The questionnaire is given in the Appendix.

Two classes of students participated in the study. They were asked to read the five situations carefully and write the request they found appropriate for each case. It is important to accentuate that they had 20 minutes to complete the questionnaire so that more spontaneous reactions and responses were elicited. The explanation was given in advance without special emphasis on the use of particular mitigating devices.

5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The main purpose of this pilot study was to analyze the use of mitigating devices in requests produced by a group of Serbian students who learn English as a foreign language.

In the first situation, the speaker needs to avoid the imposition on the hearer because there is a great distance between the two. The hearer is a higher authority who is supposed to make an exception in this case only for the benefit of the speaker. There was obviously a tendency to use grounders predominantly. The subjects thought that this was the most effective strategy for achieving the goal because they felt an urge to justify the reason for making the request. The subjects mostly used phrases from the given text (*I had a really bad cold; I was not able to come*). Furthermore, the students opted out for softeners, such as *Could you possibly...; Professor, can I talk to you for a moment, please?*

The following situation posed a challenge to the students. It was an exception to the others since the speaker was not making a request to benefit him/herself but the hearer instead. Although this reverse situation is a polite offer on behalf of the speaker, it may, nevertheless, represent an imposition on the hearer as he/she may not need or want any help. Apparently, the most frequently used type of mitigating devices were fillers, specifically attention-getters, such as *hey*, and *hi*. Some of the examples where the students used them correctly were *Hey, would you like me to help you?; Sorry, do you need some help?; Hi, dude, do you need some help?*. As the situation was different, it posed a serious problem for the subjects, and some of them failed to recognize that it was they themselves who were supposed to offer help, and thus they were asking for help instead. For instance, they wrote *Hey, could you help me move to the new apartment?*

The third situation represents an interaction between a student and a professor who is at least ten years older than the student. The most frequent mitigating devices accompanying the request were fillers, i.e. attention getters – *Excuse me, professor or Professor*. They were followed by softeners such as *If you could possibly lend me your dictionary, please?*, and grounders such as: *It is really necessary for me; I need it for my homework, and I left mine at home.*

In situation number four, which represents a state of emergency in an everyday situation, it was noted that the greatest number of fillers was used. Some of the examples including cajolers were *You see, I really need to make a call.; You know, I need to ask you something*. There were also a few instances of hesitators like *Hmmm, can I, please, use your phone? or Mmmm, would you lend me your phone, please?* As expected, attention-getters were quite frequent in this situation as well: *Sorry, I need to make a call. Can you give me your cell phone?; Hello, my dear, I have a problem ...;* Apart from them, students also used an equal number of softeners and grounders, often in the same sentence, for example: *Could you maybe give me your phone just to tell my mom not to worry?*

Contrary to the previous situation, the last one posed the majority of students with an unfamiliar real-life situation since it involved meeting with a loan officer in a bank. The least number of fillers was used here; however, most students opted for various types of grounders since they felt they needed an extensive justification for their requests. Thus, they used expressions like *Two weeks is too long a period for me to wait.; I have to pay my tuition as soon as possible.; It's urgent.*

The following table sums up the results expressed in numbers:

situation	INTERNAL			EXTERNAL				
	Openers	softeners	fillers	preparators	grounders	disarmers	expanders	promise of a reward
1	19	25	27	11	29	0	0	4
2	1	2	22	6	18	4	0	0
3	8	18	30	8	17	3	0	0
4	0	24	40	7	24	4	0	1
5	7	24	15	20	35	3	0	0
total	35	93	134	52	123	14	0	5

To start with, it is clear that more than one type of mitigating devices was used in the response to one situation. As it can be observed from the table, except for expanders, all other mitigating devices were used. The results indicate that the highest amount of devices used were fillers, followed by grounders, then softeners and openers, while disarmers and promises of a reward show the least frequency of use.

The reason for not using expanders in any of the given situations may be that the subjects did not find it natural to use them, or perhaps are not familiar with their use simply because expanders are not frequent in their native language.

Fillers are used most in almost all of the situations, especially attention-getters such as *excuse me* and *hello* as they are a logical way of starting a conversation, regardless of the relative distance, power, and the degree of imposition on the hearer. Appealers such as *Ok* and *right* were also frequently used, primarily in the fourth situation since they indicate friendliness and positive politeness strategy.

Although openers have a similar function to fillers as conversation-starters, the results show a lesser degree of usage. The reason may be that in Serbian, speakers would rarely address hearers by *sir* or *madam*, for example, as they imply a much greater formality.

As far as preparators are concerned, the results show what could be taken as a general and logical conclusion: their use is more frequent when the degree of imposition on the hearer is greater. Therefore, more preparators will be used when the request requires a greater degree of politeness. For example, the fifth situation involves the greatest degree of imposition on the hearer, and, that is why the obtained requests included preparatory phrases such as *I would like to ask you something*.

Grounders are most common in the elicited answers. Apparently, while the students do not fail to apply various types of mitigating devices appropriately, what can be clearly stated is that they in most cases opt for grounders. This is probably due to the fact that this form of request is mostly used in Serbian, which is the general observation of the researchers, Serbian being their mother tongue. Thus, this obviously represents

a case of language transfer from L1 to L2. The subjects clearly felt the use of grounders as most natural, as in this way they let the addressee know the purpose of the request and might reduce the threat to the hearer's face, and in this way reduce the possibility of rejection on the part of the hearer.

Generally, the results also support the idea that the students were aware of the level of formality and they varied the use of mitigating devices accordingly. Namely, they made more formal requests when they were addressing someone of a higher social status, and, they made less formal requests in the situations where they were interacting with their friends. Moreover, as it was expected, they used more than one mitigating device in the same situations. Finally, the use of *please* was very frequent among the students, probably because it is an explicit and transparent marker of politeness commonly used in both languages.

6. CONCLUSION

Our pilot study aimed at examining the use of mitigating devices by Serbian learners of English as a foreign language while completing a discourse completion task. The obtained results indicate, as it was assumed, that the students use some of the mitigating devices, particularly those involving modal verbs, such as *Could you please...*, *Would you be so kind as to...*, *May I...*

The most important finding that stems from this pilot study is the slight difference in the choice of particular mitigating devices found in the requests produced by native and non-native speakers of English. Namely, the study previously mentioned in the paper that investigates the use of mitigating devices by the native speakers of American English (Martinez-Flor and Vilar Beltran) has shown a discrepancy with the results obtained in the examination of the subjects of this study i.e. native speakers of Serbian learning English. First, while both groups tend to use fillers most, it appears that with the native speakers of American English, softeners make up the second largest group by the frequency of their use, while with the examinees it is the grounders that make up the second largest group. Furthermore, unlike the native speakers of American English, Serbian EFL learners appear to opt for preparators more than disarmers, which could perhaps also be contributed to by the transfer from their mother tongue. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that the use of preparators varies generally depending on the degree of imposition on the part of the speaker. The lack of use of expanders could be yet another example of the influence of cultural factors, given that their use is infrequent in Serbian, as observed by the researchers, whose mother tongue is Serbian.

Taking everything into consideration, the implications of this study must be pointed out. The study could raise awareness of the importance of teaching the proper use of mitigating devices in EFL classrooms. As the results demonstrate, the examinees do not seem to use mitigating devices and the request speech act as naturally as possible in the target language, which is another conclusion from the comparison with the native speakers of English. As linguistic competence requires also pragmatic competence, it is essential for the students to be instructed in pragmatic aspects in order to achieve cooperation in a conversation (Mišić-Ilić and Dimitrijević 2006). If formal instruction

of the communicative competence of the target language is not carried out, several problems can occur. For instance, insufficient communicative competence may result in an inappropriate message exchange between the interlocutors, either in comprehension or production. "Worse yet is the possibility of a total communication breakdown and the stereotypical labeling of second language users as people who are insensitive, rude, or inept" (Eslami-Rasekh 2005). When a request speech act is in question, the stress on the appropriate use of mitigating devices is more than necessary, since requests are the most face threatening to the hearer, as already mentioned. The choice of one mitigating device over another could be crucial in particular situations, for example, the misuse of the promise of a reward in a situation in which there is a greater social distance and the degree of power between the requester and the requestee, which could be taken as a grave insult.

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SUMMARY

THE USE OF MITIGATING DEVICES IN REQUESTS BY SERBIAN EFL LEARNERS

The paper presents the examination of the ways Serbian EFL students use mitigating devices in realizing the speech act of requesting. Beginning with definitions and classifications of the main concepts, the paper presents the two main objectives of the study: the use of mitigating devices in requests by Serbian learners of EFL, and, the emphasis on the importance of teaching pragmatic aspects in schools. The method used in the research is presented, and the process of data collection explained. The data obtained from the discourse completion task are analyzed, and the possible results discussed. Finally, the research results are stated, and the attention is drawn to the importance of teaching the use of mitigating devices and to the promotion of students' pragmatic development in EFL classroom settings.

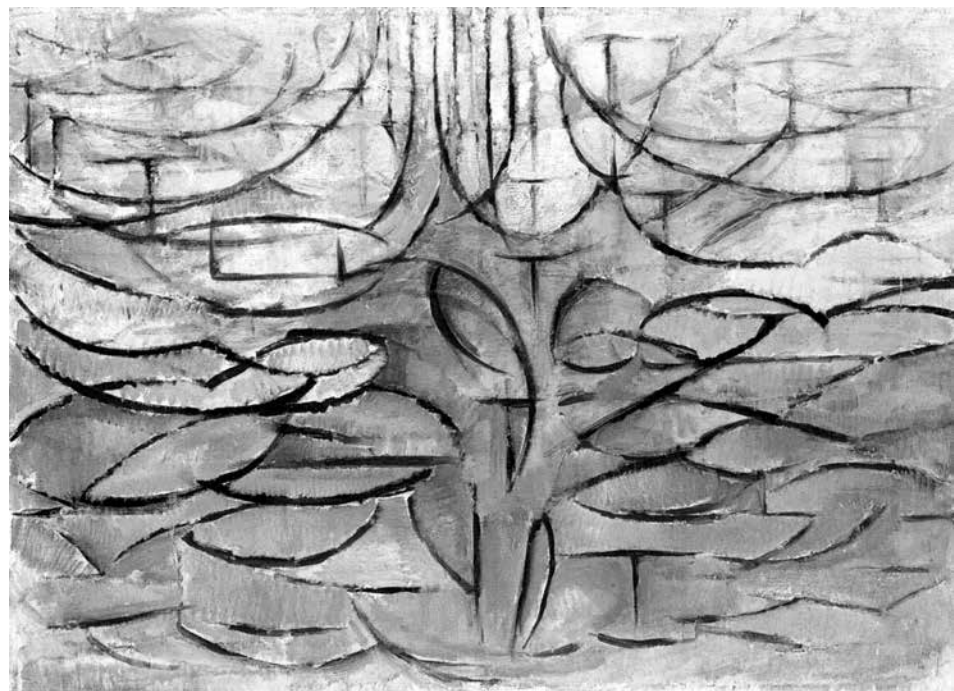
KEYWORDS: speech acts, requests, mitigating devices, EFL.

APPENDIX

Imagine you found yourself in the situations given below. Write down the request you would formulate in each of the situations when you ask someone for a specific thing.

- 1) Since you had a bad cold, you could not take a final exam for the English grammar course. But you want to take a makeup exam for the course because you have an excuse: you could not take it due to your bad health, so you have decided to ask Professor E. (in charge of the course) to give you a makeup exam for the course.
- 2) You are asking a close friend to help him/her move to a new apartment.
- 3) You want to borrow a dictionary from a professor who is at least ten years older than you.
- 4) You are asking a fellow student to make a call from his/her cell phone.
- 5) You are applying for a student's loan at a bank and are meeting with the loan officer. The loan officer is the only person who reviews the applications at this bank. He/she tells you that there are many other applicants and that it will take two weeks to review your application. However, you want the loan to be processed in order to pay your tuition on time.

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■ SEMANTIČKA ORGANIZACIJA DELOVA KUĆE PREMA SRPSKIM I AMERIČKIM ISPITANICIMA

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U radu² se poredе rezultati ankete sprovedene među dve grupe ispitanika, izvornih govornika srpskog i izvornih govornika (američke varijante) engleskog jezika, sa ciljem (1) da se stekne uvid u semantičku organizaciju članova kategorije DELOVI KUĆE i (2) da se ustanovi koje se to vrste entiteta svrstavaju u ovu kategoriju. Za pokazatelje unutrašnje strukture kategorije korišćene su dve mere: učestalost i redosled navođenja naziva za njene članove. Rezultati pokazuju da ispitanici, generalno uzevši, među delove kuće svrstavaju ne samo (segmentalne i sistemske) delove samog građevinskog objekta, već i elemente pokućstva koje on, shodno svojoj funkciji, tipično sadrži, kao i različite površine/objekte koji se na nekom imanju nalaze izvan njega. Ipak, kao najbolje predstavnike kategorije i srpski i američki ispitanici izdvajaju segmentalne delove građevine, kako strukturne, tako i prostorne.

Ključne reči: teorija prototipa, kategorija, unutrašnja struktura, odnos deo-celina (meronimija), DELOVI KUĆE.

1. UVOD

Prema teoriji prototipa, svaka prirodna kategorija formira se oko svog konceptualnog jezgra ili zamišljenog 'ideala' i ima složenu gradijentnu strukturu koju čine njeni bolji i lošiji predstavnici, odn. entiteti koji u manjoj ili većoj meri odstupaju od njenog prototipa (v. Rosch 1975). Tako formirana, kategorija može pripadati i većim konceptualnim skupinama kategorija kao što su hijerarhijski ustrojene taksonomije i meronomije (partonomije) i koherentna područja konceptualizacije poput okvira (frejmova) i domena (Radden & Dirven 2007: 8). Konceptualno grupisanje kategorija u

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meronomije zasniva se na odnosu deo–celina kakav je, recimo, odnos između kategorija MOTOR, TOČAK, KAROSERIJA i dr. i kategorije AUTO. Na nižim nivoima hijerarhije, deo neke celine može i sam predstavljati celinu koja se sastoji od svojih delova, npr. TOČAK od RADILICA, KLIP, CILINDAR i dr., CILINDAR od SVEĆICA, OSOVINA, VENTIL, itd. (Radden & Dirven 2007: 9).³

Iako odnos između delova i celina ima dugu tradiciju proučavanja, a od dvadesetog veka se nalazi i u domenu više stručnih disciplina (logika/filozofija, psihologija, lingvistika, vizuelna percepcija, veštačka inteligencija i dr.), u nauci još uvek ne postoji jedna opšteprihvaćena teorija koja bi obuhvatila i objasnila sve dosta kompleksne pojave koje se za njega vezuju. Štaviše, među teoretičarima još uvek ne postoji opšta saglasnost ni kada je određenje samih pojmova 'deo' i 'celina' u pitanju, ni kada je u pitanju utvrđivanje statusa i definisanje odnosa deo–celina (v. Gerstl & Pribbenow 1995). Na području lingvistike, gde je ovaj odnos češće imenovan terminom *meronimija*,⁴ najstrože kriterijume za njegovo određenje postavio je Dejvid A. Kruz. Smatrajući da kategoriji PART (DEO) odgovara tek jedno značenje iz veoma širokog semantičkog opsega reči *part*, on predlaže da se za izolovanje tog značenja, odn. utvrđivanje odnosa meronomije, koristi dvopartitni dijagnostički test: $A(n) X \text{ is a part of } a(n) Y \text{ i } A(n) Y \text{ has } Xs/a(n) X$, pri čemu se i X kao meronim (tj. naziv za deo) i Y kao holonim (tj. naziv za celinu) moraju tumačiti isključivo u generičkom smislu (Cruse 1995: 160; Croft & Cruse 2004: 153). Ukoliko nazivi za deo neke celine i tu celinu 'prođu' oba dela pomenutog testa, onda je reč o „pravoj meronomiji“, tj. „pravom“ delu posmatrane celine, a ukoliko neki od rečeničnih okvira ispitivani nazivi ne zadovolje, onda među njima postoji odnos koji je tek sličan meronomiji, ali nije i sam meronomija (v. Cruse 1995: 160–161; 172–177).

- 3 Kao u svakoj (granajućoj) hijerarhijskoj strukturi, i u meronomijama se članovi, odn. delovi neke celine sa istog nivoa hijerarhije prikazuju tako što se postavljaju jedan pored drugog, a oni sa različitih nivoa jedan ispod drugog (v. Cruse 1995: 157; Radden & Dirven 2007: 9). Međutim, u konceptualnom smislu ti delovi su integrirani u celinu koju čine i u kojoj svaki od njih ima svoje mesto i svoju funkciju. Takvu sposobnost razumevanja koherentne „prirode“ stvari omogućavaju nam konceptualni okviri (frejmovi), tj. koherentni „paketi znanja“ koji natkriljuju kategorije i koji se aktiviraju svaki put kada mislimo ili komuniciramo o stvarima. Na primer, kada čujemo rečenicu *Možeš li da upališ auto?* [u stvari, motor auta] ili *Možeš li da usisaš auto?* [u stvari, unutrašnjost auta], zahvaljujući zajedničkom poznavanju frejma 'auto' mi odmah 'znamo' da se misli na neki deo auta i, štaviše, na koji to deo bez obzira na to što je u oba slučaja u stvari imenovan samo auto kao celina. I dok frejmovi predstavljaju strukture specifičnog znanja koje okružuju kategorije, konceptualni domeni su šira područja konceptualizacije kojima neka kategorija ili okvir pripada u datoj situaciji, npr. nož pripada domenu 'obedovanje' kada se, recimo, za vreme doručka koristi za sečenje hleba ili dr., a u domenu 'borba' kada se koristi kao oružje (Radden & Dirven 2007: 9–11).
- 4 U leksikologiji se meronomiji tradicionalno poklanja mnogo manje pažnje nego drugim paradigmatičkim odnosima (sinonimiji, antonimiji, hiponimiji i dr.), jer, kako smatra Lin Marfi, meronomija nije čisto lingvistički odnos, tj. ona nije ni čisto leksički odnos (odnos između reči), ni čisto smisaoni odnos, tj. odnos između značenja reči (npr. iako je rep deo psa, 'rep' ne mora obavezno biti i deo značenja reči *pas*, niti 'pas' deo značenja reči *rep*), već pre odnos između denotata koje te reči označavaju (2003: 9; 2006: 13). Ipak, zahvaljujući skorašnjim izmenama u pristupima značenju koji su više usmereni na interfejs između jezika i uma i brišu razliku između rečničke i enciklopedijske informacije (čiji bi deo bila i meronomija), ovaj odnos dobija na većoj važnosti, naročito na području primenjene lingvistike. Na meronomiju se danas gleda kao na jedan od centralnih odnosa (pored hiponimije) koji služi za sastavljanje rečničkih definicija. Jer, kako se značenje u novim (kognitivističkim) pristupima ne tumači pomoću klasičnog (aristotelovskog) skupa nužnih i dovoljnih obeležja već je zasnovano na pojmu prototipa ili idealnih primera neke kategorije, meronomijski odnos poput *pas > rep* može biti uključen u predstavljanje značenja reči *pas* pošto se time nikako ne implicira da svako stvorenje koje nazivamo tim imenom mora obavezno i imati rep. Trenutno interesovanje za meronomiju podstaknuto je i aktuelnim projektima obrade prirodnih jezika i izradi leksičkih baza podataka (npr. *WordNet*, *EuroNet*, *BalkanNet*) u kojima se kao neizostavna komponenta predstavljaju i različiti tipovi meronomije (Murphy 2006: 13, 15).

Winston, Šafin i Herman, s druge strane, definisanje meronimije pomoću konstrukcije *part of* (sa celokupnim semantičkim opsegom reči *part*) ne samo da ne ograničavaju dodatnim dijagnostičkim okvirom kao što to čini Kruz pomenutom *have-*konstrukcijom, već ga i proširuju uvođenjem rečeničnog okvira sa izvedenicom *partly* – *X is partly Y*, npr. *Bicycles are partly aluminium* (1987: 418). Time oni pod meronimiju svrstavaju većinu odnosa koje Kruz vidi tek kao kvazimeronimiju ili nemeronimiju, smatrajući ih potpuno ravnopravnim članovima jedne meronimijske porodice: (1) component – integral object (*pedal – bike*); (2) member – collection (*ship – fleet*); (3) portion – mass (*slice – pie*); (4) stuff – object (*steel – car*); (5) feature – activity (*paying – shopping*); (6) place – area (*Everglades – Florida*) (v. Winston, Chaffin & Herrmann 1987: 420–426).

Polazeći od osnovnih postulata teorije prototipa – gradijentna struktura kategorija i fleksibilnost njihovih granica, možda bi se izneta gledišta kategorije *PART* (i meronimije), iako nesumnjivo različita, ipak mogla videti i kao ne toliko suprotstavljena koliko se u prvi mah čine. Jer, široko poimanje kategorije *PART* Vinstona i njegovih saradnika moglo bi u stvari da ukazuje na sve ono što ovoj kategoriji može pripadati, pa makar obitavalo i samo na njenim perifernim delovima, dok bi Kruzovo uže definisanje kategorije moglo ilustrovati samo njeno jezgro, odn. izdvojiti njene najbolje predstavnike.

2. KATEGORIJA *DELOVI KUĆE*: ČLANOVI I NJIHOVA ORGANIZACIJA

Meronimija je, kao što je rečeno, smisaoni (sadržinski) odnos koji, sledeći trijadnu koncepciju znaka Ogdena i Ričardsa, pripada sferi denotacije i na kom se zasniva jedan od načina hijerarhijskog organizovanja leksikona (Šipka 1998: 43; Cruse 1995: 157). Stoga, dobijene leksičke hijerarhije, tzv. meronimije, predstavljaju u stvari lingvistički odraz ekstralingvističke hijerarhije bazirane na odnosu deo-celina između kojih se, uprkos čestim poklapanjima, javljaju i izvesne razlike, npr. u meronimiji ljudskog tela, tj. hijerarhiji naziva za delove tela, prikazuje se samo jedan čvor za *ruku* i jedan za *nogu*, dok u ekstralingvističkoj hijerarhiji i za *ruku* i za *nogu* postoje po dva čvora (Cruse 1995: 160). Takođe je rečeno da se za signalizatora meronimije tipično uzima reč *deo*, ali i da se teorijska gledišta o tome koliki udeo iz vrlo širokog semantičkog opsega ove reči zaista i odgovara kategoriji *DEO* uglavnom podosta razlikuju.

Imajući ovo u vidu, prilikom odabira građe za jedno šire ispitivanje leksičko-semantičke grupe *kuća i njeni delovi* u srpskom i engleskom jeziku, autor ovog rada suočio se sa nizom pitanja i dilema: (a) Da li 'kuću kao celinu' treba shvatiti samo kao vrstu fizičkog (konkretnog) objekta ili, preciznije, tip građevinske strukture i pod delovima kuće smatrati jedino (segmentalne i sistemske) delove samog građevinskog objekta, i eventualno delove tih delova⁵? (b) Postoji li u tom slučaju ikakvo opravdanje da se u građu uključe i nazivi za materijale od kojih se kuća, odn. neki njen deo pravi uprkos tome što pomenuti nazivi uglavnom predstavljaju nebrojive imenice a sam holonim brojivu imenicu?; (c) Ako je tako, do kojih bi granica to 'razlaganje' uopšte dosežalo, da li npr. samo do maltera ili betona ili, možda i dalje, do cementa, peska,

5 O lancima entiteta zasnovanim na odnosu deo-celina v. u Croft & Cruse (2004: 154–156).

kreča, vode kao njihovih sastojaka? (Ipak, *Voda je deo kuće* ili *Kuća je delom voda* zvuče u najmanju ruku čudno.); (d) Da li 'kuću kao celinu' posmatrati i kao sadržatelja⁶, odn. da li se po principu prostorne uključenosti pod delovima kuće mogu podrazumevati i elementi pokućstva, koji, dakle, ne predstavljaju komponente same građevinske strukture već se samo nalaze unutar nje?; (e) Da li 'kuća kao celina' možda izlazi i van ovog fizičkog okvira i po principu prostorne (i funkcionalne) bliskosti zahvata i područje/prostor oko njega, verovatno ne dalje od granica jednog imanja?; (f) Da li bi se u tom slučaju među delove kuće zaista mogli uvrstiti baš svi entiteti koji se nalaze na nekom imanju?; (g) Koji bi se od njih onda našli u samom jezgru ove kategorije a koji na njenoj periferiji? itd.

Kako odgovore na ova i slična pitanja nisu mogle da pruže ni leksikografske definicije naziva za *moгуće* delove kuće preuzete iz većeg broja deskriptivnih rečnika oba jezika, odluka o uključivanju, odn. izostavljanju pojedinih leksema iz građe bila bi prepuštena jedino istraživaču i njegovom (u većini slučajeva) tek intuitivnom gledištu. Pomoć je, stoga, potražena od većeg broja ispitanika, izvornih govornika srpskog i izvornih govornika (američke varijante) engleskog jezika, u anketi održanoj u Kosovskoj Mitrovici, Srbija, i Atlanti, Džordžija, SAD. Anketa je imala dva cilja: (1) steći uvid u semantičku organizaciju članova kategorije DELOVI KUĆE i (2) ustanoviti koje to vrste entiteta ispitanici svrstavaju u ovu kategoriju. Za indikatore unutrašnje strukture kategorije odabrane su dve mere: učestalost i redosled navođenja naziva za njene članove, za koje je u jednom od ranijih eksperimenata pokazano da se nalaze u značajnoj korelaciji sa stepenom tipičnosti članova neke kategorije (v. Mervis, Catlin & Rosch 1976). U anketi je navedeno ukupno 497 naziva, uključujući sinonime, od kojih je srpskih bilo 270 a engleskih 227. Semantičke organizacije članova posmatrane kategorije prikazane su u vidu rang-lista koje su date u Дилпарић (2011) (prema srpskim ispitanicima) i Dilparić (2012) (prema američkim ispitanicima).

U ovom radu daje se pregled sličnosti i razlika između pripadnika dve kulture u poimanju kuće kao celine, klasifikovanju entiteta u kategoriju njenih delova i njihovoj organizaciji unutar kategorije.

(1) Imajući u vidu sve nazive navedene u anketi, 'kuću kao celinu' obe grupe ispitanika, generalno uzevši, tumače na sva tri gore pomenuta načina: (a) kao vrstu fizičkog objekta, odn. tip građevine sastavljene od svojih karakterističnih segmentalnih i sistemskih delova⁷; (b) kao sadržatelja, odn. unutrašnji prostor definisan (i segmentovan) pomenutim fizičkim okvirom koji, shodno funkciji koju ima, tipično sadrži najrazličitije elemente pokućstva; (c) kao šire područje/prostor koji osim kuće kao građevinskog objekta zahvata i okućnicu, sa različitim entitetima koji se na njoj mogu naći.

(2) Ipak, na obe liste naziva za delove kuće nazivi za one entitete koji se *uvek* nalaze izvan glavne zgrade na nekom imanju javljaju se u dosta malom broju. Ovo uključuje dvorište, travnjak, baštu, ogradu, staze, kao i poneke vrste pomoćnih, uglavnom smeštajnih objekata poput šupe, štale, ambara i sl. Njihovi rangovi i na srpskoj i na američkoj listi tipičnosti pokazuju da se ovi entiteti, iako uključeni u kategoriju, ipak ne vide i kao njeni

6 Od engl. *container* (v. Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 29).

7 O razlikama između ova dva opšta tipa delova v. u Cruse (1995: 169) i Croft & Cruse (2004: 154).

dobri predstavnici. Najbolje kotirani među njima su OGRADA (38/36)⁸ i DVORIŠTE (46/47), s jedne, i YARD (30/26), s druge strane, a daleko iza njih, zaključno sa 80. mestom, našli su se i sledeći najbolje rangirani entiteti: BAŠTA (76/68), LAWN (58/57), GARDEN (71/70) i DRIVEWAY (76/79).

(3) Posebno je posmatrana grupa entiteta kao što su garaža, radionica, kotlarnica, zimska bašta, bazen, fontana i sl., koji se, shodno mogućim varijacijama u arhitektonskim rešenjima, na jednom imanju mogu naći ili u sklopu glavne zgrade, ili izvan nje. Većina tih entiteta, dakle, može predstavljati ili segmentalne delove same kuće ili pak zasebne, pomoćne objekte, odn. delove takvih objekata. Iako su, generalno uzevši, rangovi ovih entiteta na listama tipičnosti podosta razučeni, njihova veća koncentracija uočava se pri dnu obe liste, što znači da većinu njih ispitanici takođe vide tek kao periferne članove kategorije. Kao najbolji predstavnik dela kuće u odnosu na sve druge entitete iz ove posmatrane grupe u oba slučaja izdvojio se isti objekat/prostorija – GARAŽA / GARAGE. Štaviše, na američkoj listi on je pozicioniran već na 5/8. mestu, dok na srpskoj listi on zauzima tek 35/33. mesto. Od ostalih takvih entiteta ističu se još i SUNROOM / FLORIDA ROOM (31/27) i LAUNDRY ROOM (36/35), dok su daleko od njih pozicionirani sledeći najbolje rangirani: POOL (85/77) i STORAGE (ROOM) (88/86). Na srpskoj listi, posle GARAŽE, entiteta iz ove grupe nema sve do 121/120. mesta na kom se nalazi BAZEN.

(4) Pojedini američki ispitanici među delove kuće svrstavaju i manji broj entiteta koji ne predstavljaju građevinske tvorevine ili njihove delove poput navedenih pod tačkom (3), ali se kao i oni na nekom posedu mogu naći ili (samo) izvan kuće ili unutar nje. To su pojedine vrste prevoznih sredstava (CAR, BICYCLE), životinja, uglavnom kućnih ljubimaca (PETS, DOG, CATS, TURTLE, SQUIRRELS) i biljaka (TREES, PLANTS, GRASS). Vrlo niske statističke vrednosti oba posmatrana parametra (Σ_1 i Σ_2), međutim, ukazuju na sasvim perifernu pozicioniranost svih navedenih entiteta unutar kategorije (od 72. mesta pa nadalje), što se takođe odnosi i na (SOBNO) CVEĆE kao jedinog člana iz posmatrane grupe koji se našao na srpskoj listi.

(5) Najrazličitije elemente pokućstva, tj. kućni nameštaj i opremu koja se koristi u domaćinstvu, obe grupe ispitanika nesumnjivo vide kao delove kuće. Njihove nazive, štaviše, američki ispitanici navode i u najvećem broju. Njihov udeo među svim popisanim nazivima iznosi 54,62% na američkoj i 37,92% na srpskoj listi. Iako se nijedan elemenat pokućstva ne smatra i najtipičnijim delom kuće, nekolicina njih je ipak našla svoje mesto u blizini samog središta kategorije. Ovo se pre svega odnosi na američku listu na kojoj su se među šesnaest prvoplasiranih članova našla čak četiri takva entiteta: CLOSETS (10/10), (KITCHEN/DINING) TABLE (12/13), TELEVISION (14/15) i CHAIRS (15/16), a među prvih dvadeset dva još i BEDS (20/20), SOFA/COUCH (21/21) i CARPETS (22/22). Sličnih entiteta na srpskoj listi nema sve do 18/18. mesta na kom je pozicioniran KRETVET, a među prva dvadeset dva člana našli su se još samo STO (19/19) i STOLICE (20/22).

(5a) Među navedenim elementima pokućstva, kao što se vidi, u oba slučaja dominiraju komadi (sobnog, kuhinjskog, kupatilskog) nameštaja. Od ostalih članova te

8 I srpska i američka lista delova kuće sortiranih po opadajućem stepenu tipičnosti sastoji se u stvari od po dve liste, jedne sastavljene prema skoruu za učestalost (Σ_1) i druge prema skoruu za redosled (Σ_2) navođenja njihovih naziva. Između tih lista u oba slučaja javlja se značajna podudarnost, što je potvrđeno i statistički. U nastavku rada pozicioniranost nekog entiteta u jednoj i drugoj listi navodiće se, bez posebnog isticanja, prvo prema Σ_1 , a potom prema Σ_2 , npr. OGRADA (38/36) znači da je ovaj entitet pozicioniran na 38. mestu u listi sastavljenoj prema Σ_1 i na 36. mestu u listi sastavljenoj prema Σ_2 .

kategorije bolju poziciju među delovima kuće zauzeli su još (KITCHEN) SINK (29/24) i CABINETS (34/33), te ORMAR (33/34) i SUDOPERA (40/42).

(5b) Osim na američkoj, TELEVIZOR se i na srpskoj listi pokazao kao najbolje kotiran uređaj koji se koristi u domaćinstvu (23/25), a slede ga ŠPORET (34/38), FRIŽIDER (41/46) i KOMPJUTER (50/55) kao nešto bolje rangirani članovi ove kategorije. Isti uređaji se po identičnom redosledu ređaju i na američkoj listi nakon TELEVISION, iako sa dosta boljim pozicijama nego na srpskoj: STOVE (25/29), REFRIGERATOR (28/37) i COMPUTER (38/38).

(5c) Denotacioni opseg i naziva *šporet* i naziva *stove*, međutim, obuhvata i one vrste šporeta koje osim za pripremanje hrane služe i za zagrevanje prostorija, te bi se takva klasa entiteta, osim u kategoriju uređaja, mogla klasifikovati i među grejna tela. Posmatrano na taj način, ŠPORET (34/38) bi na srpskoj listi predstavljao najbolje rangirano grejno telo daleko ispred KAMINA (55/54) i RADIJATORA (68/73), dok bi na američkoj listi FIREPLACE (24/23) zamalo pretekao STOVE (25/29), a na daleko lošijim pozicijama u odnosu na njih našli bi se i sledeći najbolje kotirani FURNACE (48/47) i HEATERS (53/52).

(5d) Sanitarije, kojima se ovde pridružuje i tuš(-kabina), ređaju se po donekle sličnom redosledu na obe liste, s tim što srpska sadrži nešto veći broj takvih entiteta, a oni koji se nalaze i na američkoj listi uglavnom imaju znatno bolju poziciju nego na srpskoj: KADA (37/40), LAVABO/UMIVAONIK (54/57), WC ŠOLJA (56/58), TUŠ-KABINA (73/74), ĐAKUZI (KADA) (95/93), BIDE (103/118) i TUŠ (144/151); (BATH)TUB (23/25), SHOWER (26/31), (BATH)SINK (33/30), TOILET (35/34) i JACUZZI (219/219).

(5e) Među podnim prostirkama, čiji su nazivi na obema listama navedeni u izrazito malom broju, u oba slučaja dominira TEPIH (25/28) / CARPETS (22/22), kojeg na srpskoj listi sledi još samo daleko pozicionirani OTIRAČ (174/132), a na američkoj RUGS (50/51) i, takođe, DOORMAT (175/176).

(5f) Nazivi za rasvetna tela, uključujući i hiperonime i hiponime, takođe se u malom broju navode na obe liste, a njihov redosled po rangu jeste sledeći: LUSTER (29/31), LAMPA (69/72), OSVETLJENJE (234/254); LIGHTS (41/42), LAMPS (107/106), CHANDELIERS (205/205).

(5g) Različite vrste posuda, pribor za jelo, delovi posteljine i drugi (uglavnom) tekstilni elementi pokućstva kao što su zavese, stoljnjac, salvete, peškiri, krpe, te ukrasni predmeti kao što su slike, svećnjaci, vaze takođe predstavljaju marginalne članove kategorije. Među njima se ističu jedino ZAVESE zauzevši 36/37. poziciju, a do 80. mesta na srpskoj listi javljaju se još samo SLIKE (58/60) i, eventualno, (SOBNO) CVEĆE (72/76), ukoliko bi se i ono posmatralo kao vrsta kućnog ukrasa. Među prvih osamdeset prvoplasiranih članova na američkoj listi pak uglavnom se javljaju posude: DISHES (55/55), POTS (61/64) i PANS (62/65), i takođe PICTURES (75/76).

(5h) Za razliku od nekolicine američkih ispitanika, nijedan srpski ispitanik među delove kuće nije kategorisao komade odeće ili obuće uprkos tome što se i oni, kao i svi navedeni u tački (5), mogu nalaziti u kući. Na američkoj listi oni se većinom imenuju hiperonimima *clothes*, *clothing*, *shoes*, a njihovi rangovi takođe ukazuju na dalju pozicioniranost unutar kategorije: CLOTHES / CLOTHING (52/50), SHOES (72/71).

(5i) Srpski ispitanici kao delove kuće ne vide ni razne entitete iz kategorije alata ili oruđa. Na američkoj listi javljaju se tek dva takva člana i to na vrlo lošim pozicijama: BILLHOOK (134/129) i (KNIFE) SHARPENER (151/149).

(5j) Takođe u manjem broju i uglavnom na lošim pozicijama na obe liste javljaju se i strukturne komponente delova pokućstva: OVEN (25/29) < STOVE, FAUCETS (63/74) < (KITCHEN/

BATH) SINK / (BATH)TUB / SHOWER, HEARTH (206/206) < FIREPLACE, BULBS (209/209) < LIGHTS / CHANDELIERS / LAMPS, SHOWER HEAD (217/217) < SHOWER; SIJALICA (59/59) < LUSTER / LAMPA, ČESMA/SLAVINA (63/62) < SUDOPERA / LAVABO / KADA / TUŠ, ABAŽUR (195/215) < LAMPA, RAM ZA SLIKE (242/206) < SLIKE, ČUNAK (256/193) < ŠPORET NA DRVA, itd.⁹

(6) Udeo naziva za najrazličitije delove kuće posmatrane sada isključivo kao građevinske strukture među svim popisanim nazivima u anketi pokazao se daleko većim na srpskoj (53,53%) nego na američkoj listi (31,72%, odn. 37% računajući i entitete navedene pod tačkom (3)). Ovo navodi na zaključak da je naziv kategorije kao zadati stimulus srpske ispitanike prvenstveno asociirao na građevinsku strukturu dok su američki ispitanici u tom pogledu bili pre svega usredsređeni na njen sadržaj (v. udeo naziva za pokućstvo na američkoj listi u tački (5)). Navedeni procenti uključuju nazive za segmentalne (prostorne i strukturne) delove kuće, delove strukturnih delova kuće, systemske delove kuće i njihove komponente, kao i materijale od kojih se ova struktura, odn. neki njen deo pravi, ukrašava ili fiksira.¹⁰

(6a) Ispitanici, dakle, materijale ipak svrstavaju među delove kuće. Međutim, dok su američki ispitanici njihove nazive na svojim listama naveli u nešto manjem broju (STONE, WOOD, BRICK, SHINGLES, TILE¹ (= crep), TILE² (= (keramičke) pločice), GROUT, FLOORING, SIDING, DRY WALL, SLAB, TRIM, MOLDING, NAILS, STAPLES, SCREWS, itd.), na srpskoj listi broj takvih naziva je pozamašan. Ovo podrazumeva ne samo nazive za izvorne gradivne materijale poput drveta, kamena, peska, zemlje, metala, vode nego i nazive za najrazličitije forme građevinskih materijala koji su od prethodnih dobijeni ili samo njihovom obradom ili pak mešanjem sa nekim drugim sastojcima, npr. kreč, cement, malter, beton, armatura, staklo, staklena vuna, stiropor, daske, grede, letve, parket, keramičke pločice, crep, cigla, blokovi, čerpič, ekseri i dr. Među navedenima, kako se može videti, javlja se i jedan broj naziva za entitete (npr. crep i cigla) koji se mogu posmatrati na dva načina: ili kao materijali, kada se stojeći u odnosu tipa *materijal - predmet* sa kućom kao celinom tipološki ne poklapaju, ili pak kao integralni predmeti pojedinih strukturnih delova ove građevine, kada se sa njom kao takođe predmetom tipološki poklapaju (Kuczora & Cosby 1989: 226). Čini se da je ovakva mogućnost dvostruke perspektive posmatranja, kao i njihova perceptivna istaknutost na kući, omogućila CREPU (16/13) i CIGLI (22/21) dosta dobru kotiranost među svim ostalim delovima kuće na srpskoj listi. Njih po rangui slede i pojedine vrste podnih i/ili zidnih obloga, PARKET (30/30) i (KERAMIČKE) PLOČICE (32/32), a onda i BLOKOVI (41/35). Na američkoj listi, s druge strane, među prvih četrdeset članova kategorije nema nijedne vrste materijala. Niz sa takvim entitetima kreće tek od 49/48.

9 Pojedini od navedenih primera ilustruju i jednu za meronimijske hijerarhije sasvim uobičajenu pojavu da jedan entitet ponekad može predstavljati komponentu više različitih entiteta, odn. da jedna reč može služiti kao meronim čitavom nizu holonima. Zbog takve karakteristike pomenute hijerarhije katkad se nazivaju i *zamršenim* hijerarhijama (Miller 1990: 257).

10 Odnos između predmeta i materijala od kojih se on pravi, međutim, čest je predmet spora među teoretičarima. Takav odnos Kruz ne smatra vrstom meronimije jer su nazivi za materijale najčešće nebrojive, a nazivi za predmete najčešće brojive imenice, ali i zato što, kako on smatra, delovi neke celine i ta celina moraju biti istog ontološkog tipa, tj. delovi nekog predmeta moraju biti predmeti, delovi nekog vremenskog perioda vremenski periodi, delovi nekog apstraktnog entiteta apstraktni entiteti itd. (Cruse 1995: 177; Cruse & Croft 2004: 153-154). S druge strane, Vinston i dr. ovaj odnos ipak vide kao vrstu meronimije, a on je ujedno i jedan od svega tri odabrana meronimijska odnosa koji se predstavljaju u *WordNet*-u, velikoj leksičkoj bazi podataka engleskog jezika po čijem uzoru su izrađene ili su trenutno u izradi i leksičke baze većeg broja drugih jezika, uključujući i srpski (Miller 1990: 256; Kpcteb et al. 2008: 57).

mesta sa članom SIDING i nastavlja se sa dosta dalje pozicioniranima: FLOORING (68/67), TILE¹ (69/68) i BRICK (74/75). Uzeti kao celina, materijali se, dakle, pretežno vide kao lošiji članovi kategorije.

(6b) Daleko na periferiji kategorije egzistiraju i svi sistemski delovi kuće, tj. razne vrste instalacionih sistema (struja, gas, vodovod, kanalizacija, grejanje i sl.), uključujući ovde i njihove (u perceptivnom smislu uglavnom ne tako istaknute) komponente kao što su cevi, kablovi, žice (mada bi se oni mogli svrstati i među građevinske materijale). Na obe liste kao najbolje kotirani član među njima izdvojio se isti sistemski deo – ELEKTRIČNE INSTALACIJE (68/79) / ELECTRICITY (79/82).

(6c) I konačno, izrazitu prednost u odnosu na sve vrste delova kuće i srpski i američki ispitanici daju segmentalnom tipu delova građevine. Segmentalni delovi ne samo da preovlađuju među dobrim predstavnicima posmatrane kategorije već i dominiraju u samom vrhu obe liste predstavljajući njene najtipičnije članove. Među devetnaest prvoplasiranih delova kuće ovom tipu pripada čak šesnaest članova na srpskoj i petnaest na američkoj listi (računajući i GARAGE, koja bi se mogla videti i kao jedna od prostorija u sklopu kuće). Među njima su gotovo podjednako zastupljeni i strukturni, i prostorni delovi. Redosled strukturnih delova (do 19. mesta) na srpskoj i američkoj listi je sledeći: KROV (1/1), PROZORI (2/2), VRATA (3/3), TERASA (4/4), STEPENICE (5/5), DIMNJAK/ODŽAK (7/8), ZIDOVI (8/7), OLUK (17/17); ROOF (5/5), DOORS (7/6), WINDOWS (8/7), WALLS (9/9), FLOOR² (= pod) (11/11), STAIRS (13/14) i CEILING (19/19). Prostorni delovi pak organizuju se po sledećem redosledu: KUPATILO (6/5), KUHINJA (9/9), SOBE (10/10), PODRUM (11/11), DNEVNA SOBA / DNEVNI BORAVAK (12/12), ŠPAJZ/OSTAVA (13/16), HODNIK (14/14) i SPAVAĆA SOBA (15/15); BATHROOM (1/1), KITCHEN (2/2), BEDROOM (3/3), LIVING ROOM (4/4), GARAGE (6/8), DINING ROOM (16/12), BASEMENT (17/17) i ATTIC (18/18). Pomeranjem granice posmatranja do 28. pozicije, navedenim prvoplasiranim segmentalnim delovima kuće mogu se priključiti još čak pet članova sa srpske liste: POTKROVLJE (21/23), TEMELJ (24/20), TAVAN (26/24), PLAFON/TAVANICA (27/27) i POD/PATOS (28/26) i svega dva sa američke liste (na kojoj ovde apsolutno dominiraju elementi pokućstva) i to posmatrano samo prema jednom parametru (Σ_2): SUNROOM / FLORIDA ROOM (31/27) i PORCH / VERANDA (32/28).

Od svih strukturnih delova kuće, dakle, i srpski i američki ispitanici prednost daju istim entitetima – krovu, prozorima i vratima, a od prostornih – kupatilu i kuhinji. Štaviše, sudeći po vrednostima Σ_1 i Σ_2 njihovih naziva koje su daleko veće od sledećih rangiranih članova na listama, navedeni entiteti se ubedljivo izdvajaju kao najtipičniji članovi kategorije. Razlika se, međutim, ogleda u tome što su za većinu srpskih ispitanika najtipičniji delovi kuće u stvari pomenuti strukturni, a za američke pomenuti prostorni delovi. Ipak, dodeljena visoka pozicioniranost istim strukturnim delovima od strane oba uzorka ispitanika implicitno ukazuje na ono što se, gledano iz pozicije ukućana, od jedne kuće najviše i očekuje: pre svega, da pruži zaštitu od nepovoljnih spoljnih uticaja koji, kako se izgleda doživljava, najpre dolaze s neba (krov), da u svojoj unutrašnjosti ima neophodnu prirodnu svetlost (prozori) i da ima vezu sa spoljašnjošću, odn. da ukućanima obezbedi mogućnost kretanja u pravcu spolja–unutra i obrnuto (vrata). Imajući sada u vidu i funkcije izdvojenih prostornih delova u kući, izgleda da su od svih osnovnih potreba koje ukućani mogu da zadovolje unutar kuće za anketirane ispitanike ipak najvažniji higijena (kupaćilo) i ishrana (kuhinja).

3. ZAKLJUČNA REČ

U ovom radu iznet je pregled sličnosti i razlika između dva uzorka ispitanika, govornika srpskog i govornika engleskog jezika, u poimanju kuće kao celine, klasifikovanju entiteta u kategoriju njenih delova i njihovoj organizaciji unutar kategorije. Rezultati poređenja pokazuju da obe grupe ispitanika kuću kao celinu vide i kao građevinsku strukturu, i kao sadržatelja, i kao šire područje/prostor koji osim građevinske strukture zahvata i okućnicu. Stoga su u kategoriju DELOVI KUĆE svrstani najrazličitiji entiteti koji su u radu grupisani u nekoliko grupa: entiteti koji se uvek nalaze izvan kuće kao glavne zgrade na imanju (delovi okućnice), entiteti koji se alternativno mogu naći ili unutar ili izvan nje, entiteti koji se nalaze u kući ali nisu deo same građevinske strukture (pokućstvo) i entiteti koji predstavljaju delove same građevinske strukture razvrstani na segmentalne delove (strukturne i prostorne), sistemske delove i građevinske materijale.

Ipak, sudeći ne samo po manjem broju navedenih naziva za delove okućnice već i po njihovoj, generalno uzevši, lošijoj pozicioniranosti unutar kategorije, 'kuća kao celina', vrlo retko se tumači tako da zahvata i područje/prostor neposredno oko kuće. Naziv kategorije kao zadati stimulus ispitanike je ipak prevashodno asociirao na građevinski objekat (znatno češće srpske) i njegov sadržaj (znatno češće američke ispitanike). Od svih delova same građevinske strukture najlošije su pozicionirani svi sistemski delovi kuće, koje čak pretiču i pojedine vrste (u literaturi na temu meronimije najčešće spornih) materijala, uglavnom one koje se mogu posmatrati ne samo kao mase nego i kao pojedinačni predmeti (npr. crep i cigla). Segmentalne delove kuće oba uzorka ispitanika smatraju najboljim predstavnicima kategorije, s tim što srpski ispitanici u tom pogledu prednost daju strukturnim, a američki prostornim delovima. Usredsređenost američkih ispitanika na unutrašnji prostor kuće ogleda se ne samo u znatno većem broju navedenih naziva za prostorije sa različitim namenama, već i u podosta boljoj pozicioniranosti istih elemenata pokućstva unutar kategorije. Štaviše, nekolicina njih, pretežno iz kategorije nameštaja, na američkoj listi je našla svoje mesto čak i na područjima vrlo bliskim samom jezgru kategorije. Prema srpskim ispitanicima pak na takvim područjima su i dalje dominantni segmentalni delovi građevine.

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SUMMARY

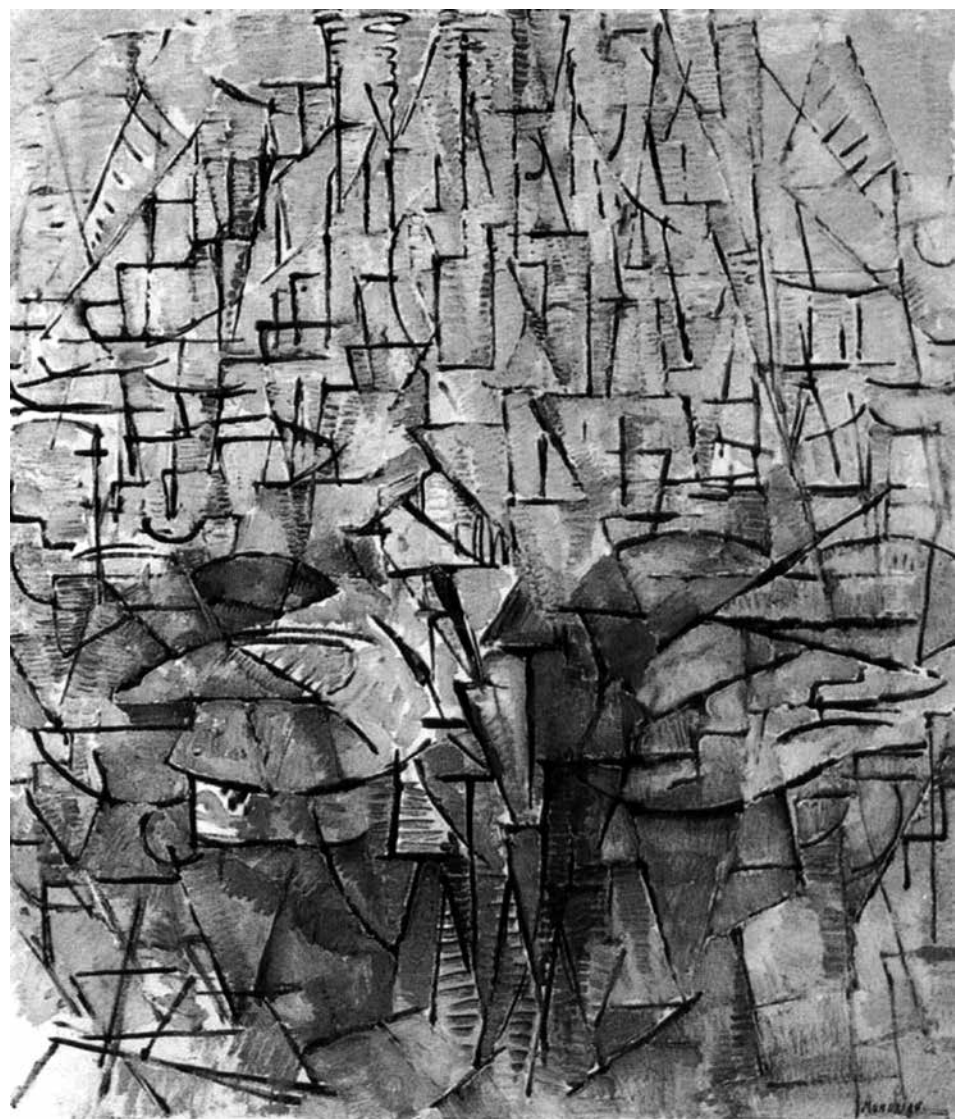
SEMANTIC ORGANIZATION OF HOUSE PARTS AS PERCEIVED BY SERBIAN AND AMERICAN SUBJECTS

This paper compares the survey data obtained from native speakers of Serbian in Kosovska Mitrovica, Serbia, and native speakers of (American) English in Atlanta, Georgia, USA. The objective of the survey was twofold: (1) to provide insights into the internal structure of the HOUSE PARTS category, and (2) to determine what types of entities are generally classified into this category. The internal category structure was measured by the frequency and order with which the category members were named by the subjects in response to the category name. The study shows that the category is generally considered to include not only parts of the building itself, but also a large variety of household items it may contain, as well as surface/spatial entities found on a

property area outside it. However, segmental parts of the building, seen either in terms of spaces or in terms of the structural elements that define those spaces, are regarded by both Serbian and American subjects as the best examples of the category.

KEYWORDS: prototype theory, category, internal structure, part-whole relations (meronymy), HOUSE PARTS.

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■ HONESTY VS GREED, MACCA VS MUCCA: OTHERING IN TWO BRITISH NEWSPAPERS

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Feministi odavno osuđuju trivijalizaciju i seksualizaciju žena u britanskim novinama, ali su se verovatno nedovoljno usredsredili na ono što ponekad deluje kao istinska demonizacija žena visokog profila. Na primer, smrt Ejmi Vajnhaus leta 2011. na prvi pogled ne čini se sasvim nepovezanom sa godinama besomučnog ogovaranja kome je bila izložena, naročito u listu „San“. Ovaj članak bavi se uporednim ispitivanjem konstruisanja „druge“ Heder Mils, bivše supruge Pola Makartnija, u dva članka, iz „Sana“ i iz „Gardijana“. Kako bismo sproveli višeslojnu jezičku analizu upotrebićemo niz funkcionalno-gramatičkih sredstava: *tranzitivnost*, da bismo uporedili uloge dodeljene Milsovoj i Makartniju; *nominaciju*, da bismo videli kako ih nazivaju; *kategorizaciju* u vezi sa stereotipima sa kojima ih povezuju; i *procenu vrednosti* da bismo pokazali da li ih prikazuju pozitivno ili negativno. Rezultati ukazuju na to da postoji veliki disbalans u prikazu pomenutih poznatih ličnosti. Postavlja se pitanje zašto je to tako. Da li je Milsova toliko monstrozna, a Makartni anđeo? Ili se radi o tome da priča o razvodu, u kojoj se junak stavlja naspram zlikovca, pruža savršeno sredstvo za posredno širenje ideologije novina i slanje ranije postojeće poruke.

Ključne reči: kritička analiza diskursa, funkcionalna gramatika, jezik i mediji.

1. INTRODUCTION

This study seeks to throw light upon the representation of women in our media by comparing parallel articles in two British newspapers, The Sun and The Guardian.

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The former is the UK's most popular tabloid daily, the latter a broadsheet generally considered liberal-centrist or left-wing, depending on one's politics. Our study looks at the extent to which, if at all, the woman is more often trivialised and negatively portrayed than the man, above and beyond what is strictly warranted by the facts of the case. It also examines whether this is more pronounced in the tabloid than in the broadsheet and, if so, how. Our analysis is in part quantitative (counting and comparing instances) but also qualitative, interpreting the data and placing them in the broader context of Othering, particularly in *The Sun*. The latter is thought to have a daily audience of 7,694,000 (NRS 2010), including reading online and by borrowing others' copies of the paper. Judging by sales, it is the most representative of British tabloids, indeed the archetypal tabloid. The *Sun's* standing within the country, and its potential to influence public opinion, may account in part for the frequency with which it has been criticised by linguists, including for its negative representation of women (e.g. Clark 1998). Its standing alone warrants critical monitoring by linguists, but where it appears that the newspaper is presenting a warped version of reality and, worse, that this warp runs along gender lines, no further justification is needed.

What gave the impetus for this study was a survey testing public attitudes to sexual assault, in which 56% of interviewees considered '...there are some circumstances where a victim should accept responsibility [for being raped]' (Opinion Matters 2010: 9). Our interest ignited, we examined 22 articles in *The Sun* and *The Guardian* and recorded our findings in a broader but less detailed article, *Sexism: Do our Newspapers have a Choice?* This study found a marked overall difference between the degree of trivialisation and sexualisation in the two newspapers and therefore, more importantly, suggested that the decision to portray women in a certain way was a matter of choice rather than of linguistic normality or necessity. The present paper now conducts a related examination that is narrower but deeper, going into greater detail regarding the mechanisms involved, and seeking to show through numerous examples how the newspapers construct their particular styles of representation.

We research loosely within the tradition of CDA (critical discourse analysis), which takes the view that language production always involves choice on the part of the speaker/writer and actually creates divisions and definitions. It assumes that "...the English language allows us to describe the same event in many different ways" (Richardson 2007: 56) and explores "...text in terms of what is present and what could have been but is not present" (ibid: 38). The implication here is that "...reality (including such aspects of it as power and gender relations) is constructed in and through discourse" (Cameron 2001: 51). In this instance the chunk of real world at issue is the divorce of two British celebrities, Heather Mills and Paul McCartney. The former is a high profile model and charity campaigner, the latter a world famous musician. The two articles, one from each of the two newspapers, refer to the same events, probably drawing upon the same information sources. Our study asks how it is – in a technical linguistic sense – that they create such differing portrayals. It also asks what ideological agendas might be behind these respective portrayals.

2. OTHERING WOMEN IN THE MEDIA

Here we briefly summarise, firstly, a selection of feminist criticism of media portrayals of women generally and, secondly, Othering in *The Sun* and examples of the more specific Othering of women. A substantial body of feminist literature insists that gender is an ‘...ongoing, reaffirming process’ (Benwell 2002: 154) rather than fixed by nature, and that ‘gendered dichotomies’ and ‘stereotypical representations’ (Litosseliti 2002: 133) of men and women must be regarded with suspicion. According to Butler (1990: 25), gender is something one ‘does’. Defining it has in the past been the preserve of what feminists see as a male-dominated elite. Therefore, in the words of Marshment (1993: 123), ‘representation [including the representation of women and men] is a political issue’.

One complicating factor is the claim that women can themselves internalise male-dominated ideology and ‘...encourage their own exploitation’ (Jule 2008: 35). Another is that there is disagreement within feminism, such that ‘...no work can be guaranteed to deliver an acceptably feminist message to all feminists’ (Marshment 1993: 139). Some feminists call for images of ‘strong’ women to be portrayed in the media. Others dismiss such images as unrepresentative of the majority of women and counter-productive. Some consider images of women as ‘sex-objects’ as demeaning, while others consider them as empowering (Marshment 1993: 130).

Mulvey (1975), focusing on ‘gaze’ in cinema, claims women are often defined by their appearance and how it may be rated in terms of male desire. Two very different positions are constructed from this perspective: men who gaze, and women who are gazed at. Women are more likely to be portrayed with a focus on the physical, particularly with sexual connotations, whereas men are more often described in terms of their activity. Some consider that gaze theory implies a situation where ‘...the woman simultaneously controls the desire of the man’ (Marshment 1993: 146), others that this emphasis on women’s beauty and self-image helps to maintain male dominance and reifies women as (mere) ‘objects of male desire’ (Caldas-Coulthard 1996: 255).

Additionally, feminists have argued that the media feature disproportionate levels of trivialisation and/or negative portrayal of women. Proponents of critical discourse analysis seek to challenge such negative portrayals by ‘...exposing the often subtle role of discourse in the construction and maintenance of injustice, inequality and domination’ (Litosseliti & Sunderland 2002b: 19). One study targeting negative representation of women in the media is Clark (1998), which examines reports of sexual violence against women in *The Sun* and identifies three main strategies the newspaper employs to ‘manipulate blame’ (p194). One of these is to portray ‘good men’ (those presented ‘...in terms of social normality’ e.g. ‘husbands’ – p184) as being tempted by ‘bad women’ (i.e. those implied to be promiscuous or ‘unrespectable’). Clark finds that the tabloid emphasises female ‘culpability’ by foregrounding women and their actions, or publishing erotically encoded photos of them, as did our own previous study *Sexism: Do our Newspapers have a Choice?*

With particular reference to *The Sun*, Hawes (2010) claims that celebrities are exploited in the media to cultivate an ‘us and them’ mentality. The way this functions is that, firstly, a cult of celebrity is encouraged in the newspaper by regularly focusing on

high-profile individuals and groups; then this cult of celebrity is exploited by including or excluding, highlighting or demoting specific news items in line with the paper's ideological priorities; next particular people are singled out for transformation into icons of what the paper considers positive or negative values; finally extra elements may be attached at will to these icons in order to endorse or attack political and other opinions as expedient. What is important is that all this may be less than obvious to consumers while they are concentrating on the said celebrities (Hawes 2010: 1).

The Sun posits a binary polarity between *us* and *them*, between *friends* and *outsiders*, fostering an association between any given person(s) and one or other opposing pole, and thereby has a ready-made argument for or against them. In this way readers may be ideologically positioned to accept what has traditionally been known as 'Othering'. This notion has been employed by feminists who criticise male patriarchal thinking's inability to perceive woman except as man's negative mirror image or 'Other' (e.g. de Beauvoir 1949). 'In a similar way to friends or family negotiating through the medium of gossip which of their acquaintances belong to a favoured in-group and which they disapprove of, newspapers consistently portray specific people as favoured or disfavoured, thereby progressively introducing their readers into a synthetic in-group "community"' (Hawes 2010: 7) and positioning them against an opposing out-group.

Approximately one in ten grammatical subjects in The Sun thematises a *friend*, while *outsiders* account for about one in every fifteen (Hawes 2010: 10). The former include British royals and soldiers, sportspeople who are seen as serving Britain well, etc. 'Outsiders' in Hawes' study comprise predominantly Islamic fundamentalists in the UK, criminals, and celebrities behaving badly. In terms of 'behaving badly', it is typically the behaviour of female celebrities, such as Amy Winehouse, rather than males, that is at issue.

A favoured tactic in The Sun is the juxtaposition of articles focusing on 'friends' and 'outsiders'. For instance, a double-page article on pages 4-5 of The Sun on 12.9.2008, under the title 'Slammer House of Horror', comprises a photo of women 'lifers' in Holloway Prison, complete with arrows to smaller photos of the individual women around the outside, as well as short texts outlining their crimes. This double-page 'monster' feature is juxtaposed with a double-page 'heroes' feature based on Theo Walcott's hat-trick in England's 4:1 football victory over Croatia shortly before. The Walcotts are portrayed as an ideal family, compared to the women in Holloway as a holy family versus an unholy family. Two pages later, in the same issue, a cartoon and caption under the heading *Amy moves to a Farm* depict Amy Winehouse as a scarecrow in a field. On the following day, another article attacks her behaviour under the heading *Winehouse of Horror*. It states (and one should remember she was only in her early twenties at that time, perhaps lacking the life experience necessary to deal with such media vilification): 'AMY WINEHOUSE looked a right fright on her latest night out. The bongoed zombie took to London's Camden with monster mate' (The Sun, 13.9.2008: 18).

3. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

Our two texts from 2008 cover the same incident, namely an appeal court judge's rejection of a wife's claims for better financial terms from a divorce settlement. The Sun

text comprises 1255 words including 183 processes, while the Guardian text has 822 words and 131 processes. Our research questions were as follows:

1. in what ways, if at all, is the female protagonist more negatively portrayed than the male?
2. to what degree, if at all, is this more pronounced in The Sun than in The Guardian?
3. what do the results suggest about the newspapers' portrayal of women as opposed to men?

Our study is based on the functional-grammatical theory of Halliday (1985/94) as reformulated by Thompson (2004), as well as on analytical categories from van Leeuwen (1996). We discuss, stage-by-stage, certain issues arising out of our analysis. The specific methodological tools comprise:

- *Transitivity*, which relates to Halliday's experiential metafunction and is most often described as an analysis of 'Who/what does what to whom/what?'. It studies the processes through which the various actors act upon each other and upon their environments. Conducting transitivity analyses allows us to explore in greater detail how various entities (particularly people) are positioned in relation to each other, ie where the writer's bias lies;
- *Nomination* in Van Leeuwen's 1996 model asks "what are the ways in which social actors can be represented in English discourse? Which choices does the English language give us for referring to people?" (p32). For example, it looks at the way people are named: by family name only ("formal nomination"), full name ("semi-formal") or given name only ("informal"). A writer also has the choice available to nickname or "titulate" (e.g. titles such as Dr. , Ms. ...etc).
- *Categorisation* is more complex and can be broken down into two distinct groups: Functionalisation, which refers to "...social actors... in terms of an activity, in terms of something they do, for instance an occupation or role" (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 4), and Identification, which instead defines people "...not in terms of what they do, but in terms of what they are" (p54). There are three main sub-categories of identification: Classification is the labelling of actors in terms of social categories, typically gender, age, class, wealth, sexuality, race and religion, although other more subtle categories also exist. Relational identification describes people in relation to one another (e.g. friend, relative, workmate, sexual partner...etc), while Physical identification "represents social actors in terms of physical characteristics which uniquely identify them in a given context" (p57), such as hair colour, height and level of attractiveness.
- *Appraisal*, finally, refers to instances where people are defined "...in terms which evaluate them" (p58), as good or bad, right or wrong, desirable or undesirable... etc. It can also help to reveal the "value system" (Hunston & Thompson 2000: 6) a writer, consciously or otherwise, encodes in his/her text, since "...evaluations of good and bad are often dependent on the value-system underlying the text" (p22).

4. DISCUSSION

Both texts are largely negative in their representation of Mills, though The Sun is more directly evaluative in its portrayal, its very headline referring to her as ‘lying Mills’. The Sun gives itself licence to make assumptions such as that the judge ‘...could barely conceal his contempt for Mills...’ It injects additional evaluation into his verdict, claiming in capital letters that he ‘SAVAGED’, ‘BLASTED’, and ‘CONDEMNED’ her, and also employs sub-headings to refer to her, such as ‘Humiliating’ and ‘Volatile’. The Guardian on the other hand, uses neither subtitles nor capitalised words, and avoids additional evaluation of Mills, printing the judge’s actual evaluation of her, as in the headline: ‘Judge found Heather Mills “less than candid”...’

Whereas The Sun may begin with a negative claim (e.g. ‘HEATHER MILLS tried to CON husband...’) and contextualise it afterwards (‘...it was sensationally revealed...’), The Guardian tends to do the opposite by beginning sentences with, for example, ‘The ruling revealed...’ This has the effect, in the broadsheet, of prioritising the report rather than the action and this is confirmed by Table 1, below, which shows that the most frequent process in The Sun is Material (with or without a Goal) whereas in The Guardian it is Verbal. These slight differences seem to suggest there is more ‘doing’ in the tabloid version, whereas the broadsheet frames most of its ‘action’ within the words of others and also has relatively higher Mental rates (7% vs 4% in The Sun). Proportionally, the processes themselves are similar, probably because they share and frequently quote directly from the same court material.

Process	The Sun	%	The Guardian	%
Material(+Goal)	31	17	21	16
Material(-Goal)	38	21	20	15
Verbal	66	36	52	40
Mental	8	4	9	7
Relational-attributive	29	16	25	19
Relational-identifying	9	5	2	2
Existential	2	2	2	2
TOTAL	183		131	
Word Count	1254	-	819	-

Table 1: Process types

4.1 ACTIVE MILLS

Perhaps surprisingly, yet consistent with the findings of our article ‘Sexism: Do our newspapers have a choice?’ and also with a study by Clark (1998), Tables 2 and 3 show that the woman in both these texts is more Active than the man and also has a much larger participation presence. McCartney functions as participant in the clauses considerably less often than Mills. However, more ‘Active’ roles and higher levels of participation do not necessarily translate as more positive representation of women.

As a minor character, McCartney's main function, at least in *The Sun*, is to allow the writer to emphasise Mills' negative character by quoting the judge '...comparing Paul's character to hers', as in

(carrier) He (proc:rel-att) was (attribute) consistent, accurate and honest... I (proc:verbal) cannot say (verbiage) the same about the wife's evidence.

	Mills	%	McCartney	%
Actor (+goal)	17	13	6	16
Actor (-goal)	26	21	2	5
Sayer	23	18	5	14
Senser	1	1	0	0
Attributor	1	1	0	0
Initiator	0	0	2	5
ACTIVE TOTAL	68	54	15	41
Goal	8	6	5	14
Beneficiary	4	3	0	0
Scope	0	0	1	3
Target	9	7	3	8
Receiver	2	2	0	0
Verbiage*	7	6	0	0
Phenomenon	3	2	1	3
Carrier	18	14	3	8
Attribute	1	1	2	5
Token	1	1	2	5
Value	2	2	2	5
Existent	0	0	0	0
Circumstance*	3	2	3	8
TOTAL	126		37	

Table 2: Transitivity concordances for *The Sun*

(* verbiage/circumstance only include instances where the participants mentioned do not form any other part of the clause, and do not feature in any embedded clauses...etc that are treated as separate processes)

This more Active role is especially pronounced for Sayer in both texts, and for Actor (-Goal) in *The Sun*, a role Mills fills 26 times, and McCartney only twice. The implications of Actor (-Goal)'s less dynamic role will be dealt with below. However, some reasons for the differences between tabloid and broadsheet (in *The Guardian*, McCartney is proportionally more likely to be Actor (-Goal)), are worth explaining. They largely seem

to be a result of the tabloid’s tactic of associating Mills with the excessive spending and receiving of money.

	Mills	%	McCartney	%
Actor (+goal)	12	16	3	11
Actor (-goal)	7	9	4	14
Sayer	14	19	3	11
Senser	7	9	0	0
Attributor	1	1	0	0
Initiator	0	0	0	0
ACTIVE TOTAL	41	55	10	36
Goal	5	7	3	11
Beneficiary	1	1	0	0
Scope	0	0	1	4
Target	7	9	1	4
Receiver	0	0	0	0
Verbiage *	3	4	1	4
Phenomenon	1	1	0	0
Carrier	11	15	6	21
Attribute	1	1	1	4
Token	1	1	0	0
Value	0	0	1	4
Existent	1	1	1	4
Circumstance *	2	3	3	11
TOTAL	74		28	

Table 3: Transitivity concordances for The Guardian

(verbiage/circumstance only include instances where the participants mentioned do not form any other part of the clause, and do not feature in any embedded clauses...etc that are treated as separate processes)*

4.2 MONEY

As is clear from Table 4, The Sun refers to money in any form far more frequently than The Guardian, even when taking into account the relative differences in size of the two texts. In The Guardian it features less in Material Processes (which involve spending or receiving money) and more often as Phenomenon or Attribute (usually describing the worth of something).

	Goal	Scope	Phenomenon	Carrier	Attribute	Verbiage	Circumstance	TOTAL
The Sun	3	19	0	0	2	2	3	29
Guardian	0	3	3	0	3	1	1	11

Table 4: Money

In The Sun, money is generally Scope. In 17 out of 19 instances Mills is Actor, hence the frequency with which she appears as Actor (-Goal). Additionally, on the three occasions where she is not the Actor in money-related processes, she is Beneficiary. On both the occasions where money appears in The Sun as Verbiage Mills is Sayer (i.e. she is 'demanding' cash). Therefore, much of Mills' dominant Actor status in the tabloid is negative, implying greed, rather than having any impact on the real world. The few Goals that Mills does act upon include 'victims', e.g. when she pours water over a lawyer. McCartney's goals, on the other hand, are largely music-based, as in '(actor) Paul (proc:material) began writing (goal) music (circ) again'. Similar negative contexts also apply when Mills is in the role of Sayer.

4.3 'NO STRANGER TO TELLING LIES'

Table 5 reveals that the Court (judges, lawyers and court officials) is the main Sayer in both texts. Considering that The Guardian's is the shorter text, however, the Court is given voice proportionally more often in that paper. The Guardian's focus is relatively more often on legal proceedings and the courtroom, as compared to The Sun's.

	Mills	McCartney	Both	Court*	Other	TOTAL
The Sun	23	5	2	27	5	62
Guardian	13	3	0	26	2	44

Table 5: Sayers

*'Court' = references to lawyers, judges, rulings...etc

In The Sun Mills is depicted as Sayer almost as often as is the Court. There is a to-and-fro pattern to their shared Verbal participation. Most of these are instances of Mills' 'boasting', 'moaning' or 'lying', followed by the judge (or writer) dismissing such claims. There is a similar pattern in The Guardian, but the processes describing the judge dismissing these claims are voiced less emotively (as are all Verbal Processes, hence the 'plain' verb *say/said/saying* is used 23 times). The Guardian avoids the extra evaluation found in The Sun, such as 'Mills is no stranger to telling lies'. The picture of Mills that emerges from the tabloid is of a 'bad girl' who did not do what she was told, lied too often, took large sums of money and wanted more still. This is less pronounced

in The Guardian, which employs less evaluative language, and does not associate her so often with money.

4.4 NOMINATION

On 14 out of the 26 occasions on which she is nominated, Mills is referred to by the nicknames ‘Mucca’ and ‘Pornocchio’. Both nicknames are created by The Sun, and clearly derogatory. ‘Mucca’, which was penned when details of her nude photos emerged some months before, is both a corruption of her husband’s inoffensive nickname ‘Macca’ and a reference to her ‘mucky’ past. ‘Pornocchio’ plays both on her reputation for lying and the aforementioned pornography. Neither of these names appears in The Guardian versions. She is systematically defined in The Sun in terms of her relations to her husband, her ‘lying’, and her supposed promiscuity.

4.5 CATEGORISATION

Tables 6 and 7, below, demonstrate that Mills is functionalised more often than McCartney in both texts (even when we consider these instances as a percentage of total categorisation). This is relatively truer of The Sun than of The Guardian.

	Mills	McCartney	Both	Judge...etc	Media	Other	TOTAL
Functionalisation	9 (45%)	2 (29%)		10 (44%)		7 (44%)	28
Physical Identification	0	0				1 (6%)	1
Relational Identification -in relation to Mills	-	1 (14%)				2 (13%)	3
- to McCartney	5 (25%)	-		2 (9%)		5 (31%)	12
- to both	-	-	1			1 (6%)	2
Classification - court actors?	1 (5%)	0		11 (48%)			12
Marriage/gender	5 (25%)	3 (43%)					8
Age	0	1 (14%)					1
TOTAL	20	7	1	23		16	67

Table 6: Categorisation in The Sun

However, a more careful reading again suggests this does not equate as more positive representation in the tabloid. Of the 9 occasions on which Mills is functionalised in The Sun, nearly all are negative. The text chooses to label her an ‘ex-porn model’ (on the basis that she appeared in some nude photos many years previously) rather than as a model or campaigner – her current jobs and the roles for which she is far better

known. Other instances of functionalisation are voiced as her own claims ('I was his full-time wife, mother... business partner and psychologist') and dismissed/ridiculed shortly afterwards ('But the judge scoffed at her claims'). This is a pattern employed throughout both texts, and we find The Guardian also dismissing the one case of 'female' functionalisation as 'make believe', though only through the mouth of the judge.

	Mills	McCartney	Both	Judge...etc	Media	Other	TOTAL
Functionalisation	1 (10%)	0		10 (44%)	3		14
Physical Identification	0	0					
Relational Identification - in relation to Mills	-	1 (25%)				1 (17)	2
- to McCartney	1 (10%)	-		1 (4%)		4 (67)	6
- to both	-	-				1 (17)	1
Classification - court actors?	2 (20%)	0	1	12 (52%)			15
Marriage/gender	6 (60%)	3 (75%)					9
Age	0	0					
TOTAL	10	4	1	23	3	6	47

Table 7: Categorisation in The Guardian

In both texts Mills is classified more frequently as both a court-actor and in terms of marriage/gender (e.g. 'the wife'). In The Sun, relationally, Mills is referred to five times as belonging to McCartney in some way, whereas the opposite - McCartney belonging to Mills - occurs only once. This does prima facie seem deliberate. Despite McCartney's smaller presence, both texts identify other people in relation to him much more frequently than in relation to Mills, especially The Sun's. McCartney is, in terms of his 'ownership' of other people at least, presented as a more dynamic character than Mills.

4.6 APPRAISEMENT

Clearer conclusions may be drawn from the appraisal analysis summarised in Tables 8 and 9 below. The Guardian's appraisal is minimal in comparison to The Sun's. All four instances where it does occur in The Guardian are 'borrowed' quotes (e.g. 'Mills' charitable giving', 'own worst enemy'). However, it is also worth noting that it is Mills alone who is subjected to any appraisal at all in the broadsheet.

	Mills	McCartney	Other
Positive	2	3	3
Negative	11	0	1

Table 8: Appraisal in The Sun

	Mills	McCartney	Other
Positive	1	0	0
Negative	3	0	0

Table 9: Appraisement in The Guardian

The Sun's appraisement is far more extensive, and it is disproportionate. 11 out of 12 instances of negative appraisement are focused on Mills. McCartney is only referred to positively in terms of appraisement. The two positive examples referring to Mills ('tireless charity campaigner and fundraiser'; 'his full-time wife, mother, lover...') are claims included solely to be dismissed/ridiculed in subsequent *but* clauses (e.g. 'But tax returns showed she donated NOTHING'; 'But the judge scoffed at her claims'). We can gather from this comparison that the disproportionate amount of negative appraisement Mills suffers in The Sun could be said to reflect a male chauvinistic bias.

4.7 ADDITIONAL FEATURES

The general value-system employed in The Sun centres on honesty and greed. Where McCartney is described as 'consistent, accurate and honest', Mills is portrayed as a liar, and is even awarded a nickname based on this alleged dishonesty. She is frequently represented as spending or demanding too much money, whereas McCartney is often described as paying or buying things for her e.g. '(goal) a flash £3 million house (actor) he (proc:material) bought (beneficiary) for her and Beatrice'. While these processes may represent real events, the Sun's persistent emphasis on financial matters appears excessive when compared to the Guardian's coverage, where any evaluation is largely expressed only through the judge's own statements.

Finally, the use of photos and captions is worthy of comment as it complements this negative portrayal. All the main social actors in the tabloid are pictured, but two of the three photos of Mills are very suggestive: one is a doctored photo of her with a big nose, labeled 'Pornocchio'; the other is an old photo of her in a nude shot. The third photo of her is accompanied with the caption 'underhand'. This seems to deliberately contrast with the caption employed with the sole photo of McCartney, namely 'sombre'. The broadsheet, for its part, has just one picture, which features Mills fully clad and in a court setting.

5. CONCLUSION

While Mills is not more often referred to in terms of physical-identification than McCartney, she is described more in terms of her relational-identification to him than vice-versa, and she suffers a great deal more negative appraisement. With regard to nomination it is Mills, again, who is referred to considerably more often than the man in informal terms or by offensive nicknames in The Sun, while the opposite occurs in The Guardian. She is functionalised more often in both texts, but much of this is ironic and/or sexual in the tabloid, or stated there merely to be dismissed. The divergent patterns in The Guardian highlight the fact that this is essentially a choice on The Sun's part, possibly reflective of the differing ideologies of the two newspapers.

Our transitivity analysis reveals Mills to be the more Active participant in both texts, which runs counter to what an investigation into sexism would traditionally expect. However, this more dominant presence is largely a negative one. In fact, it is her dominance itself in the tabloid which is criticized, as in '...no one tells the wife what to do' and '[she is] her own worst enemy. She has an explosive and volatile character'. For feminists this might ring alarm bells. It sounds very much as though the only husband-wife relationship acceptable to The Sun would be one in which the wife is subservient. Why else would Mills' strong character be so roundly condemned, where such a trait would undoubtedly be welcomed by the same newspaper in a British soldier or sports hero? Moreover, Mills is made a frequent Sayer only to show what a 'liar' she is. Similarly, she is often accorded the role of Actor in the tabloid only to portray her as unreasonably demanding money. The overall message appears to be that a woman should not expect to have these rights. Certainly, it is safe to conclude that this negative portrayal of Mills is a great deal more prominent in The Sun than in the broadsheet version of events.

It seems that The Sun's modus operandi in ideological dissemination has hardly altered for decades. It includes Othering/outsidering as a central strategy and 'friends' and 'outsiders' are overtly juxtaposed and compared – in this case, McCartney vs Mills, or 'Macca' vs 'Mucca' but, more generally, male against female. Fine nuances of fact seem to be readily discounted. Arguably, all that matters is that the opposing parties in a given conflict provide vehicles that parallel the stereotypes of friend and outsider and, therefore, serve to reinforce a pre-existing position on the part of the newspaper. In The Sun, this position appears to be a remarkably reactionary one.

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SUMMARY

HONESTY VS GREED, MACCA VS MUCCA: OTHERING IN TWO BRITISH NEWSPAPERS

Feminists have long condemned the trivialisation and sexualisation of women in British newspapers but have perhaps focused too little on what sometimes appears to be a veritable demonisation of high-profile women. For example, the death of Amy Winehouse in summer 2011 seems prima facie not entirely unrelated to the years of vilification she was subjected to, especially in *The Sun*. This study therefore conducts a comparative examination into the Othering of Heather Mills, ex-wife of Paul McCartney, in parallel articles from *The Sun* and *The Guardian*. To produce a multilayered linguistic analysis we employ a range of functional-grammatical tools: transitivity to

compare the roles allotted to Mills and McCartney; nomination to see how they are named; categorisation regarding the stereotypes with which they are associated; and appraisal to show whether they are depicted positively or negatively. The results suggest that there is a serious imbalance in the portrayal of these two celebrities. We ask why this might be. Is Mills that monstrous, McCartney that angelic? Or is it that a divorce scenario, pitting hero against villain, provides a perfect vehicle for indirect dissemination of the newspaper's ideology and the expression of a pre-existing message?

KEYWORDS: critical discourse analysis, functional grammar, language and the media.

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■ O I JUST WANT TO LEAVE THIS PLACE: AUDEN'S DISCOURSE OF THEMATIZED SELF-ALIENATION

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Ovaj članak ispituje tematsko-rematsku organizaciju na nivou diskursa u pesmi „O Where Are You Going?“ V. H. Odena. Budući da se književni tekst realizuje između autora i čitaoca, nije teško pretpostaviti da organizacija glagola u fiktivnom tekstu otkriva autorovu glavnu nameru. Primenom koncepta tema-rema na tekst odabrane Odenove pesme na nivou zavisne rečenice, pokušaću da dokažem da se tema diskursa junakovog odlaska komentariše kao puko napuštanje mesta na kome se trenutno nalazi i na taj način otkriva se autorova impulsivna želja da ode na neko drugo, prethodno neodređeno mesto.

Ključne reči: književni diskurs, tema diskursa, rema diskursa, medijacija, funkcionalni pristup.

1. INTRODUCTION

This article examines, from the standpoint of literary functions, how W. H. Auden's 'O Where Are You Going?' reflects the author's early eagerness to leave his country. The organizing verbal items such as rhymes, grammatical constructions, and unique semantics configurations all contribute to an organized harmony of items; just as each instrument in a symphony plays part of the score, each verbal item plays its own unique role. Together their 'sounds' show Auden's young eagerness to leave his own country. By looking at the poem 'O Where Are You Going?' functionally, that is, by viewing it from the author's view of how the theme presented in the early organization of the poem (discourse theme) is commented upon in the later stage (discourse rheme), it is possible to access what Auden intended to convey at this stage of his life.

Wystan Hugh Auden was born in York, England, in 1907, and, after moving to Birmingham, he was educated at Christ Church, Oxford. When young, Auden was

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influenced by Robert Frost, William Blake and Old English verse, and at Oxford his talent as a poet was already apparent. In 1939, Auden moved to the United States and took American citizenship. His attitude to life changed between his young days in England, when he was an advocate of socialism and Freudian psychoanalysis, and his later life in America. This 4-stanza poem was written in 1931, when he was eager to leave his country, and this is well reflected in the organization of the poem.

Before analyzing the work in detail, it is necessary to look briefly at the two functional approaches on which the analysis is based: Mukařovský–Jakobson aesthetics and Mathesius–Halliday’s functionalism. The Mukařovský–Jakobson view of literary language, which centers round the idea of ‘parallelism’, should be re-interpreted in a dynamic dimension of communication like M.A.K. Halliday’s functionalism. This dynamism in communication also characterizes literary language placed in society as a communication setting. This approach, functional as well as textual, gives us a far better tool for the understanding of literary language than just thinking of this variety of language as a mere collection of specific linguistic features, like a social or a regional dialect. When placed in the Mathesius–Halliday framework, this poem by Auden emerges not as a collection of parallel items, but as a communicative event.

2. MUKAŘOVSKÝ–JAKOBSON’S MODEL OF COMMUNICATION

Jan Mukařovský and Roman Jakobson assumed language used in communication to be composed of the seven elements shown in Figure 1, each equipped with a macro-function. The communication model below is a revised version based on Hymes (1968: 117), and Cook (1989: 24–26, 1994: 153–154):

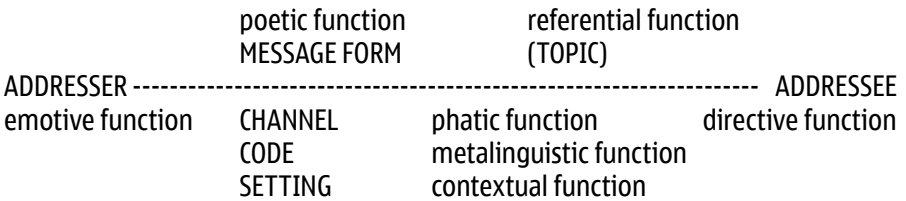


Figure 1: Seven Macro-components and Seven Macro-functions of Language

The addresser is one who sends a message, that is, the writer or the speaker; while the addressee is the receiver of the message, the reader or the listener. The channel is the medium through which the message is sent. A speaker’s voice, a writer’s letters or characters, a telephone line, a computer screen, etc. are media in communication. The message form refers to the specific grammatical and lexical selection of the message. What Jakobson calls ‘poetic function’ is realized here. The topic refers to the content of the message. The code is a specific language like English or German, or a dialect of a language. The setting indicates the social or physical context in which the communication takes place. Each element is associated with one macro-function.

According to Mukařovský (1964: 64) and Jakobson (1960: 356) a message focused upon the message form is 'esthetic' (Mukařovský) and 'poetic' (Jakobson) in its function. According to their poetics, a poetic work is a collection of self-focused equivalent units that correspond with each other. In other words, poetry is a text involving parallelism of linguistic units, from those of lower levels (phonological, morphological, lexical, etc.) to higher levels (text, episode, etc.).²

The Mukařovský–Jakobson approach to literariness confines its focus to the text, or the message form, despite the context-oriented features of their communication model shown in Figure 1. A literary text, however, is better viewed when placed in the communicative framework as Mathesius (1975), Halliday (1994), and others in Prague and London (e.g. Firbas 1964, Firth 1957) claimed for natural discourse.

At the sentence level, Mathesius as early as the 1930s gave "new sense to the traditional distinction of grammatical and psychological subject (and to the analogous distinction of the two kinds of predicate)" (Vachek 1972: 19) by introducing new functional terms indicative of the information that they convey: 'theme' and 'rheme'. The "element about which something is stated may be said to be the basis of the utterance or the theme, and what is stated about the basis is the nucleus of the utterance or the rheme" (Mathesius 1975: 81).

Michael A. Halliday has developed these ideas into the three distinct layers in the clause. As the diagram below shows, what was discussed as a single event by Prague linguists under the heading of 'theme' and 'rheme' is given two definite roles. One stratum is for the speaker's point of view; the other for the listener's viewpoint:

		<i>The Grays</i>	<i>retired</i>	<i>to their beds</i>
Experiential	TRANSITIVITY	Medium	Process	Location: locative
Interpersonal	MOOD	Modal	Propositional	
Textual	THEME (addresser's point of view)	Theme	Rheme	
	INFORMATION (addressee's point of view)	Given information	New information	

Table 1: Three Layers of Semantic Component in Clause (Halliday 2002: 25)

In a literary text at discourse level, a level where the author communicates something to the reader, the elements work together in a communicatively dynamic manner, along the line of theme-rheme development at a text level below the superordinate author-reader structure, in the same way that words and phrases do in a clause.³

2 "Repetition, however, does not just involve recurrence of sounds. It may also rest on an equivalence of syntactic structure or of the semantic content of individual words" (Boase-Beier 1994: 405). See also Toyota (2003, 2012).

3 The Prague School of Linguistics called the original text-functional unfolding of utterance 'Communicative Dynamism' (CD).

Prague linguists' and Halliday's functionalisms examined above, especially their text-forming function, complement the Mukařovský–Jakobson aesthetics. This is because the scope of parallelism, one of the text-level cohesive devices, should be determined according to the discourse-level functional super-structure. The principle of parallelism is effective only when related with some functional superordinate structures that determine its scope.

3. THE OVERALL PARALLEL ORGANIZATION OF THE POEM: THE AAAB PATTERN

Auden's 'O Where Are You Going?' can be divided into two parts: the first part consists of the first three stanzas; the second, the last stanza. This organization is realized by the distribution of the masculine rhyme which falls on the second and the fourth lines from Stanza 1 through 3:

1-2	"That valley is fatal when furnaces <i>burn</i> , — 4 That gap is the grave where the tall <i>return</i> ."	} masculine rhyme
2-2	"That dusk will delay on your path to the <i>pass</i> , — 4 Your footsteps feel from granite to <i>grass</i> ?"	} masculine rhyme
3-2	"Did you see that shape in the twisted <i>trees</i> ? — 4 The spot on your skin is a shocking <i>disease</i> ?"	} masculine rhyme

On the other hand, the fourth stanza lacks this rhyme, but the central two lines are combined with what Jakobson calls pararhyme:

4-2	"Yours never will" —said <i>farer</i> to <i>fearer</i> , — 3 "They're looking for you" —said <i>hearer</i> to <i>horror</i>	} pararhyme
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The grammatical structure of each stanza also shows a pattern which parallels this rhyming organization (AAAB). Each of the first three stanzas has a first reported part consisting of Predicate Verb (*said*) + Grammatical Subject (*reader, fearer, horror*) in the first line, followed by the second reported part in the other three lines as a whole. However, the last stanza shows a different pattern; namely, it has three Predicate Verb (*said*) + Grammatical Subject (*rider, farer, hearer*) patterns in the first three lines, followed by a narrative part (As he left them there, as he left them there).

From the rhyming and the grammatical patterns, it is possible to identify a basic pattern of AAAB underlying this work, which is again reflected in the final stanza.

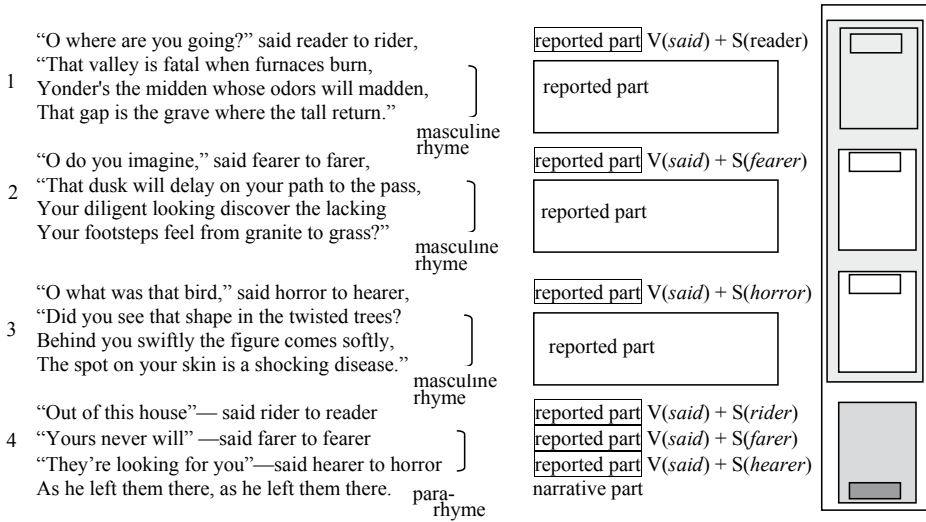


Figure 2: The Basic Verbal Pattern of AAAB

The distribution of questions parallels and supports the above over-all organization of the work: Stanza 1 begins with reader’s question “O where are you going?” which is followed by one non-*wh*-question in, again, the first line in Stanza 2 “O do you imagine” and one *wh*-question in Stanza 3. Only Stanza 4 lacks questions, foregrounding this part as in the above over-all organization.

Stanza 1	1 question (<i>wh</i>)
Stanza 2	2 questions (non- <i>wh</i>)
Stanza 3	1 question (<i>wh</i>)
Stanza 4	∅ question

Figure 3: Distribution Pattern of Wh-Questions

This organization of the work is also supported by the distribution of two *that*-phrases (Stanza 1), one *that*-phrase (Stanza 2), two *that*-phrases (Stanza 3), against one *this*-phrase (Stanza 4), making *that* – *this* contrast:

Stanza 1	2 <i>that</i> -phrases	main clause subjects	} subject-related
Stanza 2	1 <i>that</i> -phrase	subordinate clause subject	
Stanza 3	2 <i>that</i> -phrases	subject complement, object complement	
Stanza 4	1 <i>this</i> -phrase	prepositional complement	} subject-nonrelated

Figure 4: Distribution Pattern of that-this Phrase

The word following the determiners (*that*, *this*) can be categorized into two parts depending on its relation to the status of a grammatical subject. ¹⁻²*That valley* and ¹⁻⁴*that gap* hold the strongest grammatical subjectness in the main clause; ²⁻²*That dusk* is downgraded into the subordinate grammatical subject, still keeping its grammatical subjectness; and ³⁻¹*that bird* and ³⁻²*that shape* barely hold their relation with their grammatical subjects (³⁻¹*what* and ³⁻²*you*) as a subject complement and an object complement respectively. This distribution of subject-related words follows the overall pattern. On the other hand, ⁴⁻¹*this house*, a prepositional complement, in the last stanza loses its grammatical relatedness with the subject of the clause in which it appears, highlighting again the last stanza.

Use of the definite article also shows a unique distribution throughout the work, supporting the above overall pattern of AAAB. Stanza 1 contains three definite noun phrases (¹⁻³*the midden*, ¹⁻⁴*the grave*, ¹⁻⁴*the tall*), Stanza 2 two definite nouns (²⁻²*the pass*, ²⁻³*the lacking*) and Stanza 3 three nouns (³⁻²*the twisted trees*, ³⁻³*the figure*, ³⁻⁴*The spot*), while Stanza 4 shows no definiteness in nouns.

A plural morpheme in the nouns realized in the form of -s also shows the same distribution: ¹⁻²*furnaces*, ¹⁻³*odors*; ²⁻⁴*footsteps*; ³⁻²*trees*; ⁴*∅*-s.

The overall AAAB pattern is also realized within Stanza 4. In the first three stanzas, the person who is going to leave (*rider*, *farer*, *hearer*) is spoken to by three persons (*reader*, *fearer*, *horror*); and in Stanza 4, these three addresser-addressee relations are all inverted. In Stanza 4, the first three lines consist of the three relations of address, while the fourth line is devoted to the description of the rider's actions, giving the last constitutional element a highlighted position:

Stanza 1	reader→ rider
Stanza 2	fearer→ farer
Stanza 3	horror→ hearer
Stanza 4	rider →reader farer →fearer hearer →horror he, them; he, them

Figure 5: Speaker-listener Alterations

A close look at the first three stanzas also reveals this bottom-heavy structure within the trio, in that both parties in the addresser-addressee relation in the first two stanzas (*reader* → *rider*; *fearer* → *farer*) are humans, while in Stanza 3, one of the participants, the addresser, is a personified abstract noun (*horror*).

4. THE SECOND ORGANIZATION OF THE POEM: THE THEME- RHEME FRAMEWORK

As has been examined above, this poem consists of two major parts: the first three stanzas and the fourth stanza. Of the arrangements of items so far discussed, the exchange between the two participants in the first line of Stanza 1 and the first line of Stanza 4 is most highlighted, creating the theme-rheme structure of this poem over the four stanzas, or what I call discourse theme–discourse rheme. The other verbal items in each of the two parts hinge on this exchange. A closer look at the two parts reveals that the addresser–addressee relation in the first line in each part is the major topic of this poem:

Stanza 1	"O where are you going?" said reader to rider,	DISCOURSE THEME	As to leaving
Stanza 2		↓	
Stanza 3			
Stanza 4	"Out of this house"— said rider to reader		DISCOURSE RHEME

Figure 6: Discourse Theme-Discourse Rheme over Stanzas

This poem begins with the reader's question about the rider's departure ("*O where are you going?*"), to which rider replies that the person is just leaving the place ("*Out of this house*"). Other exchanges that follow are just elaborations of this basic exchange. In other words the discourse-thematic question of where the rider is going is commented upon with the discourse-rhematic reply about the person's leaving the place. Considering the fact that the reply does not specify the rider's concrete destination, but the act of leaving, it is possible to say that the author's greater concern is over the rider's leaving.

To support this discourse theme–discourse rheme framework, the last word of the first line in Stanza 1 and the line-end word of Stanza 4 constitute a masculine rhyme: ¹⁻¹*rider*-₄₋₁ *reader*. In addition, the first lines of the middle two stanzas end with ²⁻¹*farer*-₃₋₁ *hearer* respectively, constituting another masculine rhyme pair.

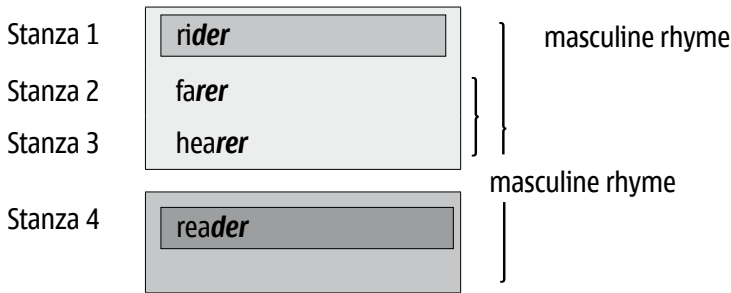


Figure 7: Masculine Rhyme Distribution Supporting Thematization

The two participants in the ¹⁻¹*rider*-₄₋₁ *reader* pair contrast sharply in that the first line of Stanza 1 has the second-person subject of action 'you' ("*O where are you going?*"), while the first line of Stanza 4 lacks this: ₁₋₁*you* (subject of action) – Ø. (See Figure 7) The presence of the second-person subject of action *you* (actor) is supported by the presence of two *you*'s as subjects of human faculties of perception in Stanzas 2 and 3. These other instances of *you* are the second-person subject of perception ₂₋₁*you* (subject of perception) ("*O do you imagine,*" said *fearer* to *farer*), and ₃₋₂*you* (subject of perception) ("*Did you see that shape in the twisted trees?*"). The three instances of *you* in the first stanza group show some involvement of *you* in the world around, while the second part, Stanza 4, lacks this involvement. There appears no subject *you* of action or perception there. The only instance of ₄₋₃*you* in the third line ("*They're looking for you*"—said *hearer* to *horror*), is not the subject of action or perception, but the goal of third-person action. Thus ¹⁻¹*rider* followed by other instances of *you* of perception shows a sharp contrast with ₄₋₁ *reader*, which appears in an environment with no such action or perception:

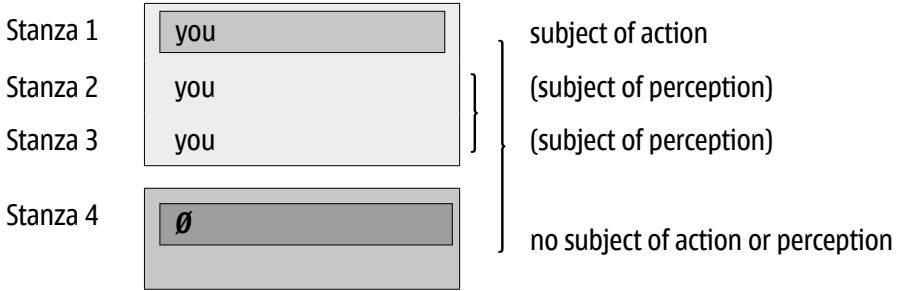


Figure 8: Non-realization of Subject you

In Stanza 1, reader attempts to persuade rider that the distant place is a horrible one by relaying rumors beyond his or her direct experience. Stanzas 2 and 3, however, refer to is something closer to the addresser, something within his or her experience, through which to persuade rider not to leave. In Stanza 2, the addresser’s experience is not within the direct reach of the addressee’s senses (“*O do you imagine,*”); but in Stanza 3, as the verb of perception ₃₋₂see shows the experience is more direct (“*Did you see...*”):

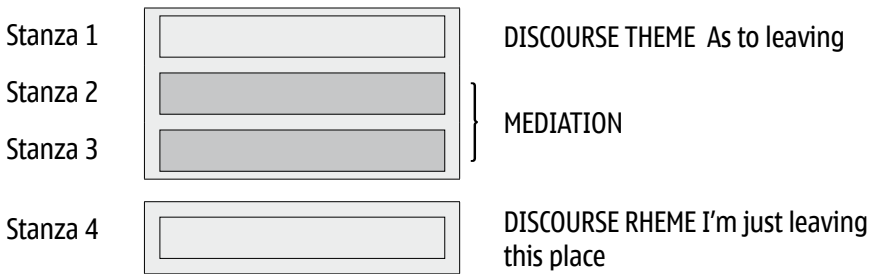


Figure 9: MEDIATION transforming DISCOURSE THEME into DISCOURSE RHEME

These two central stanzas have the function of connecting the first stanza with the last one, which is for the closest environment. We may call this the mediating function of literary discourse. This poem begins with the topic of a distant place in Stanza 1, followed by explanation of closer things in Stanza 2 and 3, leading to the comment in the last stanza that ₄₋₁this place is the horrible place and rider wishes to leave it.

Supporting the rider’s leaving of the place, the highlighted sound /əʊ/ in *O*, which is at the first word of the title and of each stanza, and echoes in the last word of the title *Going*, is equally distributed throughout the work, appearing once at the head of each stanza, though slightly modified in the last stanza (₄₋₁*Out* /əʊt /). This modified /əʊt/ echoes back at ₁₋₃*odors* /əʊd-/ in Stanza 1, giving a prominent position to Stanzas 1 and 4 which encloses the MEDIATION part: ₁₋₁*O*/əʊ/ (, ₁₋₃*odors* /əʊd-/); ₂₋₁*O*/əʊ/; ₃₋₁*O*/əʊ/; ₄₋₁*Out* /əʊt /.

Fukase (1971) rightly points out that the main theme underlying this work is loneliness of a man who is leaving, or has to leave, his place in life:

Just as 'waste' is a key word in T. S. Eliot, so in Auden the word 'lonely' is the clue to the undertone of his poems.

Fukase (1971: 193)

In order to illustrate this mood in his works, Fukase quotes a few lines from 'April 1929':

But thinking so I came at once
Where solitary man sat weeping on a bench,
Hanging his head down, with his mouth distorted
Helpless and ugly as an embryo chicken.

('April 1929', ll.9-12)

No chattering valves of laughter emphasised
Nor the swept gown ends of a gesture stirred
The sessile hush

(ll.29-31)

Around 1929, Berlin was a place of conflicting political factions, and there Auden spent some time of the year, alienating himself from London. Then appears this poem. In 1939 Auden moved to the United States. His moves round this time of life, at least, seem to be driven by a sort of impulse to alienate himself from wherever he was.

This word 'self-alienation' best describes Auden's underlying theme in this work, too. Alienation, or positive distancing of himself from home seems to be the key word in understanding the poet of this period. Positive, because, unlike William Wordsworth wondering lonely as a cloud in the sky, Auden's distancing himself from home seems to have been a compulsive and obsessive act. Compulsive, as the line below shows

Although I love you, you will have to leap;
Our dream of safety has to disappear.

Auden 'Leap Before You Look'

Auden's wandering from his home country did not seem to be based upon a firm belief, psychological or sociological. Poets, keenly sensitive to the things round them, tend to keep themselves away from the world they abhor. The cause of Auden's wandering does not lie in the poet's interest in Marxism and Freudianism at the time; rather, it was his inherent trait of self-alienation that caused him to find a similar theme in the theories of these two philosophers.

5. CONCLUSION

As Fukase (1971: 196) claims that poetical works, those of Auden being no exception, cannot be dissolved into the poet's historical environment in which he or she lived, a poetical work should, first and foremost, be appreciated through the network of verbal

items. These verbal items in poetry are not only there to create a beautiful universe of language. They are there verbally to reveal the poet's major concern manifested in the complex configuration of the work. In the case of 'O Where Are You Going?', through the theme-rhematically arranged "¹⁻¹*O where are you going?*"–"⁴⁻¹*Out of this house*" pair, it is possible to find there the major organization of this poem: '(theme) As for the departure'–'(rheme) I'm just leaving'.

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SUMMARY

O I JUST WANT TO LEAVE THIS PLACE: AUDEN'S DISCOURSE OF THEMATIZED SELF-ALIENATION

This article examines theme-rheme organization at discourse level of W.H. Auden's 'O Where Are You Going?'. Because a literary text is realized between author and reader, it is not difficult to assume that the verbal organization in the fictional text reveals the author's main concern. By applying the concept of theme-rheme at clause level to Auden's text, I argue that the discourse theme of the hero's departure is commented upon as a mere leaving of the place where he is now, revealing the author's impulsive desire to leave the place with no prior idea of destination.

KEYWORDS: literary discourse, discourse theme, discourse rheme, mediation, functional approach.

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■ LANGUAGE COMPETENCE OF A FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHER: A STEP TOWARDS DEFINITION

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Tema ovog članka je usavršavanje jezika nastavnika koji predaju strani jezik, a fokus je na konceptu profesionalne kompetencije nastavnika. Nijedna publikacija nije detaljno razjasnila šta tačno treba da uključi kompetencija nastavnika stranog jezika. Pokušaj definisanja ovakve kompetencije odmah vodi ka različitim i ponekad suprotstavljenim stavovima o tome šta nastavnik stranog jezika treba da poseduje. Koristeći tu činjenicu kao polaznu tačku pokušaću da pružim svoj stav o jezičkoj kompetenciji nastavnika stranog jezika i ključnim elementima koji je sačinjavaju. Polazna hipoteza ovog rada je da pored „opšteg jezika“ i svesti o jeziku, nastavnik stranog jezika treba da ima razvijene komunikativne veštine, kako u učionici, tako i van nje. U prilog ovakvom stavu ponudiću jedan preliminarni, šematski opis jezičke kompetencije nastavnika stranog jezika, što smatram samo prvim korakom pri definisanju jezičke kompetencije nastavnika stranog jezika.

Ključne reči: usavršavanje nastavnika stranog jezika, neizvorni govornik kao nastavnik stranog jezika, jezička kompetencija, engleski, veštine nastavnika stranog jezika.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with the issue of teacher professional competence, namely, target language competence of a foreign language (FL) teacher. Although the definition of teacher competence seems to be clear and, in some respect, obvious, the question is far from being solved and teacher language competence is far from being defined. A clear and precise definition of language competence of a FL teacher may contribute to reconsidering and re-shaping of content and outcomes of language teacher training

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programmes (with many of them still treating teacher language competence as 'general') together with content and format of language assessment and evaluation of language teachers at both pre-service and in-service levels.

The purpose of this article is to demonstrate complexity of the concept 'language competence of a FL teacher' and variety of factors influencing its content. Doing review of publications in the area is similar to doing a jigsaw puzzle – there are a lot of pieces but the picture itself is quite difficult to create. Therefore, I start with reviewing books, articles and research projects on language teacher language development which, in its turn, generates my own view of a model of FL teacher language competence. I then describe empirical steps yet to be done for a tentative model of teacher language competence to be thoroughly described.

2. FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHER LANGUAGE COMPETENCE: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Aims of professional development are considered to be one of core elements in any teacher training programme. Nowadays aims are usually described in terms of competences which are presented through knowledge, skills and attitudes.

Despite the fact that much has been written about FL teacher training and development, there is a considerable gap in TESOL and TEFL literature as far as a language teacher's language competence is concerned though several publications have been traced in this field (Thomas 1987; Wright 1993; Trappes-Lomax 2002; Widdowson 2002; Richards 2010):

There is a gap between books about language (for students, teachers, linguists) which do not deal specifically with teacher education and books about teacher education which do not deal with language. (Trappes-Lomax 2002: 1)

The authors consider the language (**grammar, vocabulary, communication skills, etc.**) a foreign language teacher needs and, directly or indirectly, state that English of an English language teacher is different from English of people of other occupations in terms of amount of knowledge about language, range of language skills, degree of accuracy and fluency of oral and written performance.

Thomas (1987: 34) was the first to introduce the definition of 'language teacher competence' as 'competence to impart competence on learners'. Thomas (1987: 37) singled out three components of language teacher competence:

- Competence in language teaching, i.e. pedagogic competence
- Explicit knowledge of language system and use – language awareness
- Competence in language system and use – language competence:
 - 'formal' component (phonological, graphological, syntactical, lexical)
 - contextual/discourse component
 - stylistic component
 - informational appropriacy (theme and rheme, anaphora, etc.)

According to Thomas (1987: 37), pedagogical competence comprises four components – management, teaching, preparation and assessment – with ‘all these presupposing language competence’, i.e. Classroom English, speaking skills, lesson planning and materials development skills. Thus, Thomas was the first to conclude that language competence of a FL teacher is wider and more complex in comparison to that of a general language user; teacher language competence is interrelated with pedagogical competence. Still, many issues remain unresolved.

The idea of teacher language competence being wider than general language competence was further developed in the work of Wright and Bolitho (1993), Wright (2002) and Widdowson (2002). Wright and Bolitho (1993) view a language teacher as a language *user*, a language *analyst* and a language *teacher*. They define language awareness as ‘awareness of how language works’ and state it is crucial in accomplishing various tasks – preparing lessons, evaluating, adapting and writing materials, testing and assessing learners (Wright and Bolitho 1993: 292). Stating importance of language awareness, Wright and Bolitho do not, however, give any explanation or illustration of its components – knowledge or skills – which teachers must develop. Still, this work clearly demonstrates that language awareness should be an essential aim of FL teacher development and, therefore, assessment.

Wright (2002) states that successful language teaching requires proficiency in language use, knowledge of language and knowledge of teaching methods, which are in many cases interdependent and result in language awareness, or linguistic and pedagogic sensitivity to the problems of students. Besides, Wright (2002: 113) states that language awareness can be viewed as a part of teacher language proficiency, though the definition of proficiency ‘is not so straightforward’. Similar to Wright, Trappes-Lomax (2002) thinks of involving both communicative proficiency and consciousness of language into language teacher education programmes.

A very important step was taken by Richards (2010: 110) who came out with a list of communicative skills a language teacher is expected to demonstrate in the target language:

- to comprehend texts accurately;
- to provide good language models;
- to maintain use of the target language in the classroom;
- to give explanations and instructions in the target language;
- to provide examples of words and grammatical structures, give accurate explanations;
- to use appropriate classroom language;
- to select target language resources;
- to monitor his/her own speech and writing for accuracy;
- to give correct feedback on learner language;
- to provide input at an appropriate level of difficulty;
- to provide language enrichment experience for learners’.

Thus, Richards’ is first attempt to classify skills in accordance with Listening-Reading-Speaking-Writing division and to single out the professional component which

makes teacher skills different from the skills of language users and people of other occupations. Richards (2010: 110-112) suggests that the skills are expected to manifest themselves mostly at the classroom level, though there is an extension to out-of-classroom use which is viewed as lesson preparation. Richards' list may be considered a good basis for further development of teacher language skill taxonomy with some points being classified and explained. For example, for text comprehension, there is no indication on text types, topics, length and whether the texts are written (reading) or oral (listening).

Further literature search revealed some limited advice about language teacher development programmes from preparing teachers for "linguistic emergency" (Marton 1988: 99) to "developing study skills (listening to lectures, contributing at seminars, writing essays) and skills that the teacher will need after the course" (Kennedy 1983: 76) and enhancing the role of the language development component in teacher standards (Barnes 2002: 199).

Another area for analysis which stands a bit apart from the previously reviewed sources due to its completely practice-oriented nature is language coursebooks for language teachers. The literature search in this area resulted in identifying two books for language teachers which aim at FL teacher language competence development (Spratt 1996; Thornbury 1997).

Thornbury's *About Language* was reviewed with the purpose to see if he considers some specific kind of language awareness a language teacher should demonstrate or it may be treated as 'general' language awareness. It seems that the content of the units – phonological and grammatical aspects – does not make it different from a 'general English' course. Similar content is prescribed by Common European Framework (1996, 2001) and can be found in language coursebooks and, therefore no differentiation is made between 'general grammar' and 'teacher grammar'.

There is another dimension though – the way the linguistic content is presented, i.e. the tasks, including materials evaluation and lesson planning. Judging by the way Thornbury presents language items he definitely aims at combining knowledge about language with pedagogical knowledge of a language teacher. In addition, Thornbury discusses pedagogical consequences of limited linguistic knowledge. Judging by these, it is not the language load itself which is different for a language teacher (in comparison to general language awareness) but the way it is applied in the classroom.

Spratt (1996) takes a wider look at FL teacher language competence. As the book title *English for the teacher* suggests, she is considering both teacher language awareness and communicative skills – listening, speaking, reading, writing together with 'teacher-specific' vocabulary areas, ELT terminology and Classroom English. As a result, in addition to a clearly defined bulk of ELT terminology a FL teacher is supposed to master, Spratt singles out essential language skills, text and task types a FL teacher deals with on a routine basis.

The idea of FL teacher language has also received some attention through research projects within the last twenty years. Though the projects differ in scope, research methods and findings, they all cast some light on what a language teacher's language competence might include. They definitely add some empirical data to theoretical findings published in few books and articles.

	Methods	Level	Population	Findings	Countries involved
Singapore 1994	- survey - observation	INSET IN-SERVICE	primary school teachers of English as a FL	3 areas singled out: - language for information - language for teaching - language appreciation	Singapore
'European Profile' 2004	- literature and document review - case study - interviews	PRESET IN-SERVICE	staff of European colleges and universities involved in teacher development	a framework for teacher development curriculum design and evaluation	Austria, UK Germany Spain Finland Latvia Norway Italy, Poland
Croatia 2005	- essay analysis - ranking	PRESET IN-SERVICE	students of English language and literature	professional skills a FL teacher needs (mostly speaking)	Croatia
Australia 2005	- literature review - teacher interviews - survey	INSET IN-SERVICE	teachers of Indonesian as a FL in Australia	a FL teacher's communicative competence described - general language - classroom-related language	Australia
Slovenia 2007	- literature review - survey - lesson observation	INSET IN-SERVICE	Teachers of English with different levels of experience (1 and more years)	Classroom English analyzed in terms of skills Skills prioritized: Speaking, Reading, Writing, Listening	Slovenia

Table 1: *Language for the teacher* projects summary

Narrowing the search down from language development of FL teachers to their assessment (which presupposes teacher language competence defined) results in only a few articles (Grant 1997; Elder 1994, 2001) published on language assessment issues in language teacher development. Grant and Elder both emphasize that the model of language teacher language competence needs further research and development.

Grant suggests using the model of Communicative Language Ability (Bachman 1990) as a basis for teacher language competence description, Elder (2001: 154) comes out with specific language skills required for teaching purposes:

- command of subject-specific/metalinguistic terminology;
- discourse competence required for classroom delivery of subject content, i.e.

command of linguistic features (directive, questioning, rhetorical signaling devices, simplification strategies, etc.).

The examinations for language teachers reviewed by these authors – the Spanish test for bilingual teacher certification in Arizona (Grant 1997) and Language Proficiency test for teachers (LPTT) of Italian and Japanese (Elder 2001) – aim at assessing FL teacher language communicative skills in listening, reading, writing and speaking with a special emphasis laid on Classroom Language (Elder 2001), interaction with parents (Grant 1997) and teacher ability to use the target language as a medium of instruction including the ability ‘to produce well-formed input’ and ‘to draw learners’ attention to the formal features of the target language’ (Elder 2001).

2.1 THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHER LANGUAGE COMPETENCE: TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS

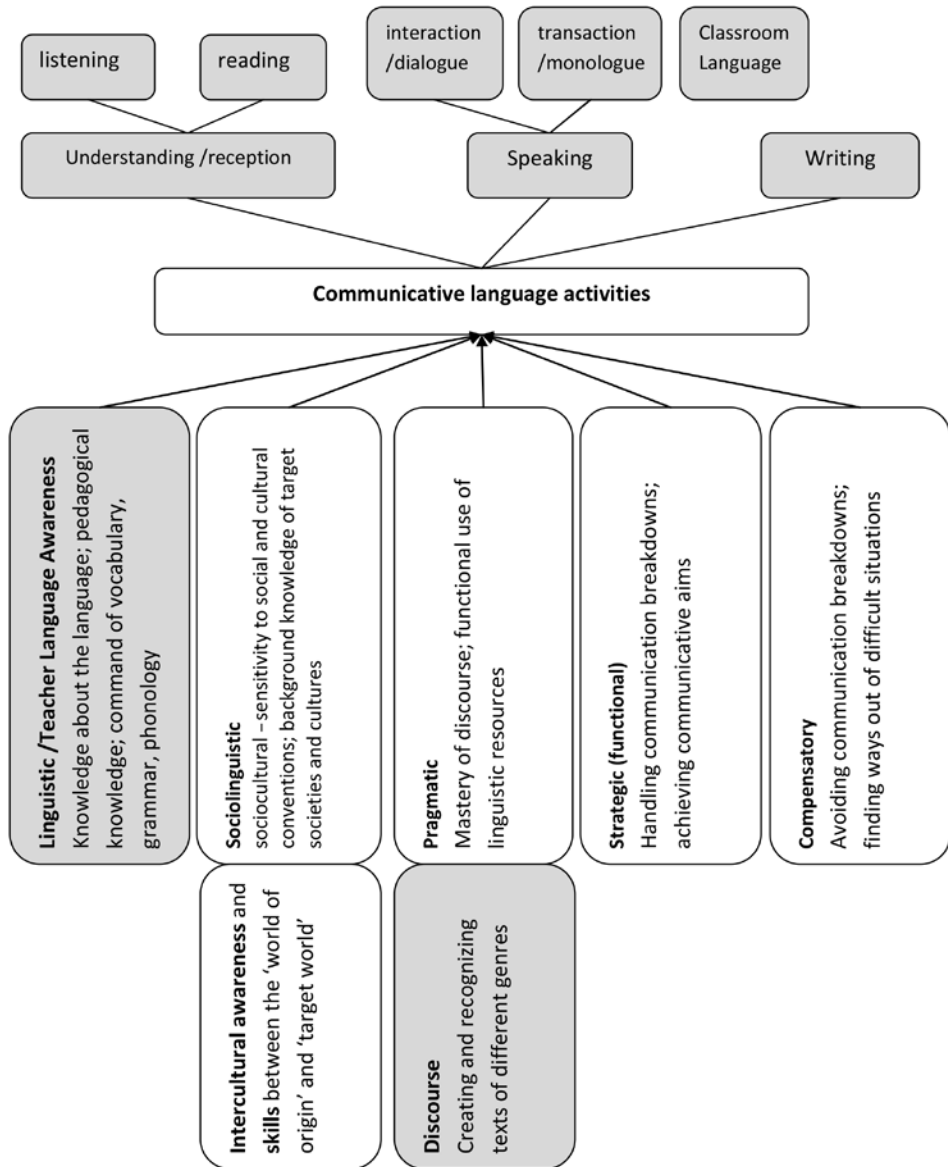
There is no commonly accepted description of language competence one can refer to. The term ‘language teacher competence’ seems to fall into the category of words that are widely used without a precise meaning. It may be explained by the complexity of the term and its high context dependence (different school types, different ‘traditions’ of using the target language in the classroom, different access to teaching materials, etc.).

Elements of language teacher language competence are described by several authors and projects with a different degree of theoretical and empirical detail. No principal contradiction is observed in what authors say about the competence in question, though there are some differences in terminology. The majority of publications state that a FL teacher is expected to demonstrate:

- **teacher language awareness**, which is different from language awareness of other occupations or that of general language users in terms of its interrelationship with pedagogical knowledge, and results in *an ability to teach language* to different groups of students;
- all **four language skills** (listening, speaking, reading, writing) to be employed in the classroom, for lesson preparation, materials development and other professional purposes. There is no direct indication on the priority of some skills, though many research projects emphasize the importance of speaking, with reading and writing following it;
- **‘teacher speaking’**, most often referred to as Classroom Language. This is the area which received much attention in the 1980s through both theoretical and empirical studies (Hughes 1987; Willis 1987). It resulted in Classroom Language quite carefully described with classroom vocabulary, grammar, functions and discourse features identified.

Scarce publications about language assessment for FL teachers, in a similar vein, emphasize the importance of all four skills and raise the issue of language competence of a language teacher agreeing with a general model of language competence. Grant (1997) suggests sticking to Bachman’s (1990) model of communicative language ability,

more recent publications (e.g. Sešek 2007) employ the terminology and approach of the Common European Framework (2001) which, despite some drawbacks, remains the most thorough description of language competence and levels language users achieve. Thus, in this article language competence of a FL teacher is viewed as shown in Picture 2. The components of language competence to a great degree 'affected' by the language teaching profession are shown in grey.



Graph 1: FL teacher language competence (based on CEF 2001)

3. FURTHER RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Review of publications is considered the first and very important step in describing FL teacher language competence as it provides an essential theoretical background. Nevertheless, the research cannot be treated as complete without empirical data which is being obtained from various sources²:

1. Through analysis of documents in the area of foreign language teacher development in different countries (UK, USA, Australia, Poland, Russia, Slovenia, Hong Kong):
 - National curricula for language teacher development
 - Syllabi and sample papers for national examinations for FL teachers (Australia, Brazil, Hong Kong, USA)
 - International language examinations for teachers of English: PRAXIS® (Educational Testing Service, USA); TKT®, ICELT, DELTA (Cambridge ESOL, UK)

The analysis will result in professional language skills, topical areas, text and task types a FL teacher deals with identified as shown in samples (Table 2, 3) which complement 'general' language skills presented in the Common European Framework of Reference (2001).

Listening general (CEF 2001: 65-66).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - listening to public announcements (information, instructions, warnings, etc.); - listening to media (TV, radio, recordings, cinema); - listening as a member of live audience (theatre, meetings, public lectures, entertainment); - listening to conversations (with/without taking part in them)
Professional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - listening to colleagues in formal and informal discussions; - listening to speakers at lectures, conferences, seminars with/without visual support; - listening to students (for error correction and feedback); - listening and responding to student talk; - listening to ELT materials (for lesson preparation).

Table 2. Language skills of a FL teacher (sample; skills not shown in the order of priority)

Listening general (personal) (CEF 2001: 95)	public announcements, instructions, public speeches, lectures, presentations, formal ceremonies, entertainment (drama, shows, songs, audiobooks), spot commentaries, news, public debates, dialogues and conversations, job interviews
professional	lectures, presentations (at seminars, webinars, etc.), student talk, coursebook audio-/videosupport, audiomaterials for teaching purposes

Table 3. Text types a FL teacher deals with
(sample; texts not shown in the order of priority)

² Empirical research is already in progress but will not have been complete at the time of the article submission.

2. Through needs analysis of English teachers (and teachers of other foreign languages in a long-term perspective). Needs analysis that is being currently performed through survey includes dialogues with teachers of English in Russia (with a plan to involve teachers from other countries). The survey aims at getting data on tasks performed by teachers and their frequency; communicative skills teachers require with top skills identified; text types teachers deal with.

It is hoped that empirical data obtained will add to data presented by other researchers and collected with different research instruments (e.g. LPATE Project (Hong Kong 2001); Teacher Competence project (Croatia 2005); Sešek 2007) – mostly classroom observation and interviews with FL teachers. The taxonomy of language skills, text and task types, a list of essential ‘teacher’ vocabulary and description of teacher language awareness would complement a theoretical model of FL teacher language competence to make it clear and transparent for everybody involved in pre- and in-service language teacher education.

4. CONCLUSION

In this paper I have tried to show the complexity of FL teacher language competence and diversity of its elements. I propose that language competence of a FL teacher comprises teacher language awareness, four communicative skills (listening, reading, speaking, writing) for in- and out-of-classroom communication, including Classroom Language; teacher-specific vocabulary with all of them complementing, but not substituting ‘general’ language knowledge and skills users are expected to demonstrate. I am aware of the fact that the components of the model presented in this article are intricately interconnected in practice and the separation is only possible for the purpose of research.

It is hoped the theoretical and empirical procedures described above will produce a multi-faceted analysis of language teacher language competence and its components which, in its turn, may contribute to:

- specifying aims of teacher language development in terms of skills, topical areas, vocabulary, teacher linguistic competence;
- reconsidering the focus of teacher linguistic development – from knowledge about the language to ability to teach language items;
- widening the range of tasks and texts in teacher language development courses.

Though some statements above might seem obvious for some teacher development institutions the facts obtained demonstrate general vagueness of teacher development aims which immediately results in a vague professional component of teacher language courses.

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SUMMARY

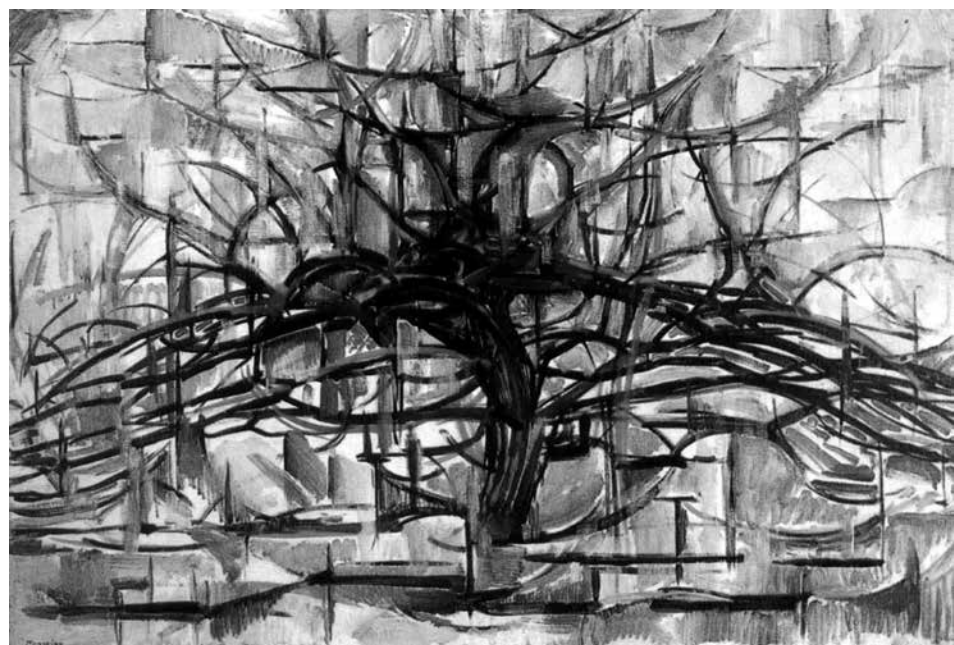
LANGUAGE COMPETENCE OF A FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHER: A STEP TOWARDS DEFINITION

This article is about language development of a foreign language (FL) teacher and is centred around the concept of teacher professional competence. Although the definition seems clear and indisputable, no publication has been traced that would clarify what a FL teacher language competence is. It immediately leads to diverse and sometimes contradictory views of content and language skills a FL teacher is supposed to demonstrate. I use this fact as a starting point and make an attempt to provide

my view of a FL teacher language competence and essential elements that comprise it. My contention is that besides 'general language' and language awareness, a FL teacher should demonstrate skills in classroom and out-of-classroom communication. I support my view by coming out with a tentative and, at the moment, rather schematic description of FL teacher language competence. I consider this as the first step toward the definition of language teacher language competence to be followed by substantial empirical research which, hopefully, will contribute to a valid and more detailed description of the concept in question.

KEYWORDS: foreign language (FL) teacher development, non-native teachers of foreign languages, language competence, English, FL teacher skills.

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■ KULTURA I UČENJE STRANIH JEZIKA

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U radu se ukazuje na važnost izučavanja odnosa jezika i kulture u nastavi stranog jezika. Na primerima iz više jezika pokazuju se razlike u konceptualizaciji i realizaciji jezičkih kategorija i ukazuje se na međuzavisnost jezičkih jedinica i kulturoloških modela. Kao što postoji čvrsta veza između jedne kulture i jezika, tako postoje i razlike između jezika, odnosno između kultura. Učenje stranog jezika je stoga istovremeno i učenje tih kulturoloških razlika i učenje određenih komunikativnih modela ponašanja. Učenjem jezičkih, kulturoloških i komunikativnih pravila stiže se tzv. interkulturalna kompetencija. Uz odgovarajući pedagoški rad, polaznici kurseva stranog jezika treba da budu praktično osposobljeni za komuniciranje u multilingvalnom i multikulturalnom okruženju.

Ključne reči: kultura, jezik, transfer, ponašanje, praksa, komunikacija, interkulturalna kompetencija.

1. UVOD

Priroda i intenzitet međujezičkih kontakata promenili su smisao i način učenja stranog jezika. Istovremena globalizacija i lokalizacija u ekonomiji, integracije i sukobi u politici, informatička revolucija, mobilnost sve većeg broja ljudi i stvaranje mreža i neformalnih zajednica, stvarnih i virtuelnih, relativizovali su političke, lingvističke i kulturalne granice.

No, u komunikaciji, da bi se ostvarili svi ciljevi – lični, organizacioni ili nacionalni, veoma je važno razumevanje konteksta upotrebe jezika. Tako je ekonomsko-politička situacija u svetu doprinela da se strani jezici mnogo više izučavaju nego što je to bilo ranije, pre sedamdesetih godina prošlog veka. U izučavanju i upotrebi jezika, pored ekonomsko-političke situacije, važan je i socio-kulturni kontekst. Redefinišući tumačenja konteksta, jezičke relativnosti, sociokulturalnih faktora u kognitivnom

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razvoju, kompetencije i diskursa, moderna nauka se ponovo bavi odnosom jezika, mišljenja i kulture i posledica koje takav odnos ima za učenje/usvajanje drugog/stranog jezika (Kramsch 2004). Kako se poznavanje samo jezičkog sistema pokazalo kao nedostatno za efikasnu komunikaciju u multikulturalnom svetu intenzivnih kontakata, uveden je konstrukt interkulturalne kompetencije. Taj koncept primarno vezan za znanje i učenje jezika, treba da ujedini širok spektar znanja, veština i stavova pojedinca ili zajednice kako bi mogli da pronađu uspešan odgovor na zahteve kompleksnog okruženja.

2. KULTURA U JEZIKU

U tom kompleksnom okruženju kultura i jezik su tako povezani da je teško povući jasnu granicu u izučavanju jednog ili drugog. U osnovi kulture, koju antropolozi definišu kao „obrazac značenja pretočenih u simbole, sistem nasleđenih koncepcija ... putem kojih ljudi komuniciraju i razvijaju znanje i stavove“ (Geertz 1973), odnosno „kolektivno programiranje uma koje članove jedne grupe razlikuje od drugih“ (Hofstede *et al.* 2010: 6), možemo da prepoznamo jezik kao sistem simbola koji u datoj zajednici prenosi zajedničke koncepte i obezbeđuje stepen uniformnosti potreban za održanje zajednice. Jezik je istovremeno deo kulture i medij kroz koji se ona izražava. Ako kultura postavlja okvire za mišljenje i ponašanje, kulturalne scenarije (Kramsch 1998) po kojima razmišljamo i delujemo, jezik daje oblik mišljenju i supstanciju ponašanju. Vorf je tvrdio da „prirodu seciramo duž linija koje postavlja maternji jezik“, dok Čomski veruje da maternji jezik samo daje „nazive urođenim univerzalnim konceptima“ (prema Wierzbicka 1997). Šta je starije – mišljenje ili jezik i u kom stepenu ljudska priroda i kultura, pojedinačno ili u interakciji oblikuju jezik – i dalje je predmet neslaganja.

Jasno je, ipak, da se fizička stvarnost mora odražavati u jeziku. Otuda ne čudi da arapski ima 255 reči za kamilu (Božović 1984: 8), a australski jezici niz reči za životinje koje svi drugi jezici označavaju kao jednu vrstu – kengura (Wierzbicka 1992: 8). Međutim, kategorizacija fizičke stvarnosti u znatnoj meri je uslovljena zadatim kulturalnim okvirom. Standardni prosečni evropski² jezici (npr. engleski i srpski) u kontekstu situacije obavljanja svakodnevnog posla usredsređuje se na proces i rezultat³, a afrički jezici (npr. drogonski) na način izvršenja radnje (Heath/McPherson 2009). Poređenje evropske racionalističke i utilističke kulture sa linearnim konceptom vremena i uzročno-posledičnim razumevanjem odnosa sa afričkom kulturom cikličnog vremena i odnosa zasnovanih na magijskom i obrednom verovatno daje ključ razumevanja ovih razlika. Međutim, i jezici bliskih kultura pokazuju razlike u konceptualizaciji naizgled univerzalnih pojmova. Reč *individualizam* tako za Amerikance ima pozitivnu konotaciju slobode, kreativnosti i ličnog izražavanja, a za Francuze negativnu konotaciju egoizma, egocentrizma i samoće (Broady 2004: 69).

Ronovič (Ronowicz 1999) ukazuje na to da reči imaju dva značenja: prvo koje se navodi u rečnicima i definiše neutralno izvan socio-kulturalnog konteksta i drugo,

2 Termin prema Vorfu (Vorf 1979).

3 U engleskom se rezultat i proces iskazuju kroz markiranje aspekta: perfektivna i trajna vremena, a u srpskom derivacionim nastavcima.

izvedeno značenje u kome socio-kulturalni kontekst daje dodatno specifično i često promjenljivo značenje. Drugim rečima, kulture drugačije preslikavaju značenja naizgled sličnih reči (Broady 2004) uklapajući ih u drugačije strukturisane semantičke sisteme, koji pod uticajem društvene stvarnosti ne beleže samo osnovno značenje nego i njegova proširenja i sužavanja, prelazak iz referentnog u metaforično, simboličko i poetsko. Pripadnici određene kulturalne zajednice spontano prihvataju i usvajaju ova pomeranja kroz medije ili putem svakodnevnog opštenja, pa ova izvedena značenja stižu prikladnost, čime obezbeđuju legitimno mesto u kolektivnom repertoaru jezičke zajednice.

S druge strane, sistem obaveznih gramatičkih kategorija ima socio-kulturalne implikacije (Hill/Mannheim 1992). Sistem kategorija može, na primer, predstavljati temelj za određenu vrstu hegemonije⁴ (npr. muški i ženski rod imenica i zamenica, oslovljavanje u drugom licu). Iskazujući različite vremenske i prostorne odnose, različitu perspektivu kretanja, strukturu događaja i vrstu informacije (Jarvis 2011), govornici različitih jezika postavljaju okvir za drugačiji društveni fokus i kulturalnu praksu.

Međutim, u međukulturalnim poređenjima uočava se i obrnut uticaj budući da markiranje i učestalost pojedinih gramatičkih kategorija u datom jeziku mogu biti motivisani kulturom. Osećanja se u engleskom najčešće iskazuju pridevom i participom koji ukazuju na stanje, dok u slovenskim jezicima postoje posebni glagoli, prelazni i reflektivni, koji nose aktivno značenje. Vježbicka (Wierzbicka 1997) u ovome prepoznaje kulturalnu razliku između anglosaksonske kulture, koja ne odobrava nekontrolisano iskazivanje emocija, i ruske, koja iskazivanje emocija posmatra kao jednu od ključnih funkcija komunikacije. Učestalost deminutivnih oblika u ruskom, takođe, pokazuje društveno poželjno javno iskazivanje bliskosti, koje u germanskim kulturama i jezicima nije prikladno. Postojanje bezličnih konstrukcija sa dativom koji označava lice o kome se govori (npr. *Dosadno mu je.*), ili konstrukcija bez agensa (npr. *Desilo se.*), koje se javlja i u srpskom, a još češće u ruskom, ukazuje na osećanje ograničenosti individualne kontrole ili potčinjavanje nekoj nekontrolisanoj volji, tako različito od obaveznog isticanja vršioca radnje u angloameričkoj kulturi.

Upotreba jezika je sama po sebi vid kulturalnog ponašanja jer, u zavisnosti od situacionog i kulturalnog konteksta, jezik menja uloge i funkcije i vrednuje se u odnosu na druge komunikativne mogućnosti. Da li u određenoj situaciji u stranoj kulturi i na stranom jeziku uopšte treba nešto reći, ako treba, kada i kako? Kramš (Kramsch 2000: 25-26) daje primer američke studentkinje u Nemačkoj koja, kada je bila opomenuta da zatvori vrata sobe, nije mogla da proceni koji bi odgovor na tu opomenu govornicima nemačkog jezika bio najprikladniji u toj situaciji. Sličnim se pokazuje i potreba govornika srpskog jezika da pre obedovanja sebi i drugima poželi prijatan obrok formom „prijatno“. Engleskom govorniku ova vrsta konvencije je nepoznata i nepotrebna, pa svaki pokušaj da se prevede „prijatno“, uglavnom, ne postiže željeni efekat.

Kulturom uslovljeno ponašanje manifestuje se i u pisanom jeziku. Konvencije pisanja u pojedinim žanrovima suštinski se razlikuju od jedne do druge kulture,

4 Posmatranje imenica muškog roda kao nemarkiranih sa obuhvatnim značenjem oba roda u poslednje vreme se često osporava kao primer muške dominacije u društvu, dok se tendencije zamene formalnog vi neformalnim ti posmatra kao dokaz težnji za demokracišnošću i jednakosti.

od jednog do drugog jezika. Tako se npr. tvrdi da se esej u angloameričkom svetu razvija linearno, dok u ruskom jeziku i romanskim jezicima uključuje i delove koji ne doprinose linearnosti (Connor 2002: 494). Orijentalni jezici neguju indirektni prilaz, pa se u kineskom prvo uspostavlja veza sa klasičnim tekstovima, argumentacija se javlja oko sredine eseja, a teza se postavlja implicitno tek pri kraju (Yue 2009). Za razliku od zapadnih vrednosti individualnosti i originalnosti, vrednosti kojima teži kineski pisac je uspostavljanje dijaloga sa publikom i veze sa tradicijom, odnosno, umesto isticanja ličnih ideja javlja se „promovisanje socijalne harmonije i kohezije“ (Yue 2009: 95).

Kako je rekao Sapir: „Svetovi u kojima različita društva žive su odvojeni svetovi, a ne samo isti svet sa pridodatim drugačijim nalepnicama“ (prema Hill/Mannheim 1992: 385). Ako, dakle, želimo da uđemo u druge svetove učeći jezik, koji je najvažnije sredstvo socijalizacije, susrešćemo se sa drugačijom konceptualizacijom iskazanom kroz gramatičke kategorije i semantički sistem. Sintaksa, leksika i semantika stoje pod uticajem kulturalnog scenarija, a pragmatika i retorika nekog jezika teško se razumeju bez razumevanja šireg kulturalnog konteksta koji određuje očekivanja i granice prihvatljivosti. Drugim rečima, pravilan izbor jezičkih resursa u stranom jeziku i ispravno razumevanje nameravane poruke zavise od razumevanja dubljih slojeva ciljane kulture.

3. KULTURALNI TRANSFER I JEZIČKA PRODUKCIJA

Učeći strani jezik neizbežno se suočavamo sa stranom kulturom, pa se u procesu učenja osim međujezičkog uticaja javlja i međukulturalni uticaj. On se može pratiti dvosmerno.

Strani jezik ne prenosi samo strane reči nego i koncepte koji iza tih stranih reči stoje. U srpskom se u poslednje vreme uvrežio niz kolokacija koje su, u stvari, doslovan prevod sa engleskog (npr. suočiti se sa izazovom – u značenju: početi rešavati problem). Gledanje na problem ili prepreku kao na izazov duboko je usađeno u američkoj kulturi i implicira poziv na akciju i takmičenje (Kramsch 2000). Ostaje pitanje da li se politički korektnom upotrebom jezika namerno prenose i politički korektni koncepti, ili se samo nekritičkim usvajanjem termina stvara jezik koji za većinu izvornih govornika nema ni referentnu ni metaforičku vrednost⁵. Kramš ukazuje na to da se fraze koje su ideološki nabijene, i pored toga što su leksički neprikladne, olako prenose u drugi jezik (Kramsch 2000: 43-44). Učenje stranog jezika, međutim, treba da pomogne u usvajanju obrazaca diskursa stranog jezika, ali i u objektivizaciji diskurzivne prakse na maternjem jeziku. Transfer ideoloških obrazaca (ako ideologiju posmatramo kao izraz projektovanih društvenih vrednosti date zajednice) iz ciljane kulture (K2) preko stranog jezika (L2) u izvornu kulturu (K1) doslovnim prevodom na maternji jezik (L1) nije potpun jer se ideološki markirane fraze smeštaju u neodgovorajuće kontekste i percipiraju na površinskom nivou. Drugim rečima, slabo razumevanje referentnog okvira i kulturalne

5 Nedavno je promovisan sajt za razotkrivanje korupcije pod imenom „Duvači u pištaljku“. *Blow the whistle* u engleskom znači razotkriti nekog u skrivenoj i nečasnoj radnji, ali u srpskom ovaj idiom nema metaforično značenje, nego, eventualno, asocira na političke događaje iz devedesetih godina prošlog veka.

prakse ciljne kulture dovodi do ograničenog ili pogrešnog tumačenja poruke iz L2 i stvaranja tobožnjih ekvivalenata koji se u L1 ne mogu stvarno procesuirati. Iako se svaki iskaz u načelu može prevesti na drugi jezik, prevod iskaza koji je u L2 prirodan i lako se procesuiru ima ograničen domet u L1 jer proizvodi nespretne iskaze (Hill/Mannheim 1992) koji se ne uklapaju u obrasce K1. Uočavanje kulturalne razlike blokirano je duboko ukorenjenim nesvesnim prihvatanjem naučenih kulturalnih pretpostavki kao univerzalnih.

S druge strane, kulturalne pretpostavke iz K1 prenose se u L2 konceptualnim transferom (Jarvis 2011) i pragmatiskim transferom. Konceptualne razlike i obrasci konceptualizacije usvojeni u jednom jeziku, koje mogu biti određene kulturom, utiču na korišćenje drugog jezika (Bylund/Jarvis 2011), a izbor jezičkih sredstava i strategija u realizaciji govornog čina i razumevanje kontekstualnih faktora i varijacija razlikuju se od kulture do kulture (Kasper/Schmidt 1996). K1 kulturalni okvir utiče na L2 jezičko ponašanje, pa su greške u upotrebi reči i gramatičkih kategorija i nedoumice oko iskazivanja različitih jezičkih funkcija u stranom jeziku, u stvari, pre posledica kulturalnog nego jezičkog transfera.

Zanimljiv primer uticaja budističke kulture na produkciju engleskog jezika kao L2 daje Tan (Tan 2005: 130). L1 tajlandanski govornici engleskog obično koriste reč *merit* (srp. zasluga) u kolokaciji sa *make* (srp. napraviti) odražavajući koncept karme („ako činiš dobro, dobro ti se vraća“), dok, u skladu sa konceptom saosećanja sa drugima i nenarušavanja unutrašnje ravnoteže sukobom ili konfliktom, izbegavaju korišćenje poznatih jezičkih resursa (npr. *never mind* srp. nije važno, nema veze) za iskazivanje besa ili ironije. Naglašavanje osećanja pripadnosti tipično za kolektivističke kulture navodi L1 govornike nekih azijskih jezika da zamenicu „moj“ zamenjuju sa „naš“ (npr. naša kuća, naša zemlja, naš nastavnik) iako kontekst u stranom jeziku zahteva „moj“ (Beishamayum 2010: 216).

Kulture različito definišu društvene situacije, kao i prikladnost resursa u datoj situaciji (Richards/Sukwiwat 1992). U Engleskoj je uobičajeno da se na izlasku iz autobusa zahvali vozaču. Jednostavno „*thank you*“ za L1 srpskog govornika ne izgleda prikladno, ili makar uobičajeno, u datoj situaciji. Različito razumevanje faktora društvene moći i distance, ličnog integriteta, ljubaznosti i pristojnosti verovatno deluju na prekomernu upotrebu *must* (srp. morati) u obraćanju u drugom licu uočljivu kod L1 srpskih govornika engleskog.

Kulture se razlikuju po stilu komunikacije – od oslovljavanja, preko pozdravljanja, upoznavanja, tema razgovora, nivoa formalnosti do pravila interakcije i neverbalnog jezika. Na englesko „*How do you do?*“ odgovara se takođe pitanjem, a na arapsko višeminutno propitivanje o zdravlju, porodici i opštem stanju, zahvaljivanjem bogu, klimanjem glave i stavljanjem ruke na srce. L1 srpski govornik lako će naučiti funkcionalni jezik u oba slučaja, ali će problem predstavljati neophodnost svesnog potiskivanja sopstvenog kulturalnog obrasca.

Kulturalna različitost prenosi se i u pismenu formu. U istraživanjima koja su obuhvatila univerzitetske nastavnike u Južnoj Koreji i Australiji pokazalo se da su Koreanci izražavali nelagodnost zbog suviše direktnog stila i nedostatka poštovanja australijskih kolega u elektronskoj komunikaciji, dok su Australijanci smatrali poruke Koreanaca preopširnim i zamerali im što izbegavaju odgovore na konkretna pitanja

(Murphy/Levy 2006). Kramš ukazuje na problem francuskih naučnika koji, ako žele da objavljuju na engleskom, moraju da promene naučni stil uobičajen u njihovoj kulturi (Kramsch 1998: 62-63). Ni u jednom ni u drugom slučaju ne radi se o nedovoljnoj jezičkoj kompetenciji, nego se potvrđuje da se „lingvističko i kulturalno znanje izgrađuje jedno kroz drugo“ (Watson-Gegeo 2004: 339) i zato zajedno i prenose. Intenzivan prenos drugačije retoričke tradicije u strani jezik može usloviti razvodnjavanje uobičajenih standarda u specifičnom kontekstu, kao što pokazuju primeri dokumenata u institucijama Evropske unije koji nagoveštavaju stvaranje neke nove „evroretorike“ (Connor 2002: 505).

Po analogiji sa jezičkim transferom mogli bismo govoriti o kulturalnoj interferenciji koja može da ima i pozitivan i negativan efekat u učenju jezika. „Sopstvena kultura daje nam *sočivo* kroz koje gledamo svet, *logiku* kojom ga uređujemo i *gramatiku* koja svemu tome daje smisao“ (Avruch/Black 1993, prema DuPraw/Axner). Kontakt sa drugom kulturom, prema tome, zahteva promenu dioptrije, odnosno sposobnost sagledavanja realnosti iz različitih perspektiva i prihvatanje raznovrsnih modela konceptualne organizacije i načina percepcije u usvajanju jezičkih formi, modela ponašanja, vrednosti, uverenja i obavljanju komunikativnih aktivnosti (Alpetkin 2010). Jezički i kulturalni transfer dešavaju se spontano i ne uvek pravilno, a sposobnost prekopčavanja iz sveta određenih jezički i kulturalno specifičnih normi i konvencija u drugi i nazad u prvi ili treći, siguran je znak razvoja jezički i kulturalno kompetentnog govornika.

4. RAZVOJ JEZIČKIH I KULTURALNIH KOMPETENCIJA

Primećeno je da multilingvali razvijaju višestruku kompetenciju (Cook 2003) koja u kontinuumu razdvajanja, povezivanja i spajanja dva ili više jezika kod istog govornika omogućava snalaženje pri različitim upotrebama jezika, omogućava razvoj kognitivnih sposobnosti i proces usvajanja kako različitih tako i sličnih ili istih odnosa, sadržaja i formi. Kultura, čije učenje traje čitav život, međutim, deluje na više nivoa i predstavlja fluidniji fenomen od jezika. Pojedinač istovremeno pripada različitim društvenim grupama kroz koje definiše sopstveni identitet i izgrađuje ličnu kulturu. Otuda je multikulturalnost, iako ne na svesnom nivou, uobičajena. Višestruka kompetencija je, svakako, neophodna da bi se takva multikulturalnost funkcionalno održala. Učenje stranih jezika treba da pomogne u stvaranju „delotvornih komunikatora i društvenih aktera u nizu različitih multilingvalnih i multikulturalnih konteksta“ (Kirsch 2008: 15), odnosno da uporedo razvija lingvističku i sociokulturalnu kompetenciju kao deo širih sposobnosti u okviru opšteg obrazovanja.

„Usvajanje stranog jezika predstavlja usvajanje kulturalnih praksi i uverenja koje taj jezik otelovljuje u specifičnoj društvenoj grupi. Ono takođe relativizuje ono što učeniku izgleda kao prirodan jezik sopstvenih identiteta i približava ga shvatanju da su oni kulturalno i društveno konstruisani“ (Byram 1997: 22). Prethodni primeri različite konceptualizacije i društvenih odnosa iskazanih kroz jezike i načini kako se oni prenose iz jednog u drugi jezik pokazuju da su jezik i kultura konvencije čije je prihvatanje važan deo socijalizacije i neraskidiv deo društvenog ponašanja. Jasno je da nije moguće naučiti sve međujezičke razlike i jasno je da u današnjem svetu komunikacija

na stranom jeziku ne znači automatski komunikaciju sa izvornim govornikom ili tipičnim reprezentom ciljne kulture. Stoga je potrebno razvijati metode i pristupe u učenju stranog jezika, a ne samo koristiti gotove koncepte i stavove i nepromenjiva deklarativna znanja. Dakle, potrebno je razvijati neku vrstu stanja duha i intelektualne radoznalosti koja će iskustvo drugačijeg prihvatiti kao proširenje identiteta i društveno poželjnu vrednost. Bajram (Byram 2010) u tom smislu podseća na nemačku tradiciju *bildung*, koja svrhu obrazovanja vidi u formiranju i transformaciji pojedinca, nasuprot utilističkom shvatanju učenja jezika kao marketinški kurentne robe na čiju vrednost utiču ekonomski ili politički razlozi (Kramersch 2005). Zajednički evropski okvir projektuje ulogu pojedinca kao društvenog agensa koji deluje u plurilingvalnom evropskom prostoru. Komunikacija u tom širem prostoru zavisi od „slaganja modela sveta i jezika“ koje su učesnici u procesu internalizovali. Postajući plurilingvalan, učenik razvija interkulturalnost, ali i kompleksniju ličnost, kapacitete za učenje i otvorenost prema novim iskustvima (CEFR 2001). Društvena akcija i interkulturalni građanin zajedno prevladavaju opoziciju utilitarno – obrazovno. Drugim rečima, potrebno je naučiti jezičke elemente i načine njihove upotrebe da bi se omogućila komunikacija kojom se ostvaruju lični ili društveni ciljevi, ali je isto tako potrebno razumeti različite modele i razviti suptilniju mrežu kanala i sredstava za takvu komunikaciju.

To nas dovodi do konstrukta interkulturalne kompetencije, u kojem se presecaju jezik, kultura i komunikacija. U današnjoj nastavnoj praksi prihvaćen je komunikativni pristup kao način razvoja komunikativne kompetencije, koja osim jezičkog znanja podrazumeva veštine neophodne za artikulisanu i društveno prihvatljivu upotrebu jezika. Interkulturalna kompetencija ide jedan korak dalje objedinjujući stavove, znanja, veštine i vrednosti. Bajram (Byram *et al.* 2001; Byram *et al.* 2002) definiše interkulturalni stav kao otvorenost, radoznalost i spremnost na relativizaciju vrednosti, uverenja i ponašanja; znanje kao poznavanje društvenih procesa, proizvoda i grupa; veštine kao sposobnost tumačenja i povezivanja, otkrivanja i interakcije; dok vrednosti posmatra kroz kritičku kulturalnu svest, odnosno sposobnost vrednovanja fenomena u sopstvenoj kulturi i drugim kulturama.

Mogućnosti za razvoj interkulturalne kompetencije daje kritička pedagogija koja nastavni proces vidi kao dinamičan proces stvaranja (a ne prenošenja) znanja u kome su učenici neposredno angažovani u kreativnom kulturalnom razvoju (Byram/Feng 2004). Polazeći od kritičkog vrednovanja pretpostavki i preispitivanja normi, ovaj pristup nastavi se usmerava na razvoj materijala koji upućuju na istraživanje pre nego što daju gotove informacije, odnosno na proces otkrivanja, analiziranja, poređenja, proživljavanja i povezivanja iskustva pre nego na same činjenice. Umesto finalnog proizvoda, cilj je sticanje sposobnosti kontinuiranog razvoja.

Uloga nastavnika je da razvija svest da je svaki međujezički kontakt istovremeno i međukulturalni, da je interakcija iskustvo koje, da bi obogatilo učesnike ili im omogućilo ostvarenje cilja, zahteva i kulturalnu i jezičku kompetenciju. Nastavnik kroz dijalog i razmenu iskustava, osećanja i mišljenja stvara „treće mesto“ u kome se iscrtava „treća perspektiva“ (Kramersch 2000: 210), odnosno kritički pogled i na L1/K1 i na L2/K2 u prostoru u kome se drugačije percipira kao moguće, granice nesmetano prelaze, a identiteti relativizuju.

5. ZAKLJUČAK

Istraživanja jezika kao „kognitivne, društvene i kulturalne prakse“ (Kramsch 2004: 256) važna su za nastavu stranih jezika. Kompleksne psihološke i sociološke stvarnosti neposredno utiču na jezik koji se uči, kao i na onoga ko ga uči. Kako se te stvarnosti razlikuju, razlikuju se i načini na koji se uticaji manifestuju. Kultura daje okvir stvarnosti uobličenoj ljudskom delatnošću u kojoj jezik zauzima posebno mesto, pa je jezička pismenost nerazdvojiva od kulturalne. Zato učenje jezika, kulturalnih značenja i društvenog ponašanja jeste jedinstven proces u kome učenik treba da usvoji praksu koja će mu omogućiti uspešnu komunikaciju i funkcionisanje u hibridnom okruženju (Watson-Gegeo 2004). Promenjivo okruženje postavlja zahteve prevazilaženja tradicionalnih identiteta i ulaženja ispod slojeva pojavnosti u dublje slojeve značenja koji stoje u osnovi jezika i kulture. Kako kultura daje naznake pre nego što otkriva, učenje zahteva spremnost na promenu, prihvatanje drugačijeg i podnošenje neizvesnosti. Povezujući polje kulture, jezika i komunikacije interkulturalna kompetencija, čiji razvoj obuhvata i kognitivni i afektivni domen, počiva na otvorenosti i kritičnosti, na sposobnosti razdvajanja, kombinovanja i spajanja i predstavlja polazište za kreativno generisanje novih znanja čija dinamika razvoja prati dinamiku promena u svetu. Ovako shvaćeno učenje jezika otuda prevazilazi svrhu samo vladanja određenim jezikom i postaje individualna i društvena potreba *par excellence* vremena u kome živimo.

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SUMMARY

CULTURE AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING

The paper focuses on the relationship between language and culture and the importance it has for a successful foreign language teaching and learning. The examples from several languages are presented to demonstrate the differences in conceptualization and realization of language patterns and the interdependence of linguistic items and cultural models. The firm link between culture and language on the one hand, and the differences between not only L1 and L2, but also between target and native cultures on the other hand, provide for cultural transfer to affect linguistic behaviour, thus necessitating transformation of foreign language learning into a process of simultaneous differentiation and acquisition of both linguistic and cultural practices. Integration of linguistic, cultural and communicative perspectives for the purpose of learning the desired behaviour embedded in communication activities is a part of the development of intercultural competence, which, as comprising attitudes, knowledge, skills and values, should enable communicators to act as culturally aware social agents in multilingual and multicultural environments.

KEYWORDS: culture, language, transfer, behaviour, practice, communication, intercultural competence.

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■ WATER AS METAPHOR IN VIRGINIA WOOLF'S *TO THE LIGHTHOUSE*: OUT THERE IN THE FLOODS ALONE

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Rad analizira metaforička značenja koja ima voda u romanu *Ka svetioniku* Virdžinije Vulf u okviru nove mitologije vode koju je uveo modernizam putem tumačenja drevnih mitova od strane prvih antropologa i psihologa. Posebno se osvrće na simboličko putovanje preko vode, u kome voda rastače, ali zatim i regeneriše junaka.

Najznačajniji simbol u romanu, svetionik, suprotstavljanjem fluidnosti života, nastajanja, i nestajanja, ovom analizom dobija dodatna značenja.

Ključne reči: voda, metafora, *Ka svetioniku*, V. Vulf.

The mythology of water newly established in Modernism via interpretations and reinterpretations of ancient myths by anthropologists and psychologists has at its core the story of *Nekyia*, a symbolic night journey over water. The journey begins with the hero's exile from the rational, stable, civilized world, and descent into the irrational, chaotic, watery depths of the unconscious and prime matter. In this underwater Hades or Hell, the hero suffers a symbolic death, which leads to a rebirth. The depths often hide precious life-giving treasure, and the victorious hero is allowed to take the spoils with him back to the surface.

Virginia Woolf seems to have been born exiled from the safe world of stability, sanity, and rationality, and this state appears to have aggravated when she was writing *To the Lighthouse*. She wrote in her *Diary*: "after *Lighthouse* I was, I remember, nearer suicide, seriously, than since 1913" (Woolf 1968: 229), but promised to herself that this "trough of despair shall not, I swear, engulf me" (Woolf 1968: 364). She eventually did, however, allow the 'waters of annihilation' to engulf her, and took the peaceful surrender of a symbolic death by water, so abundantly present in her work, to literal extremes when, on 28 March 1941, she stepped into the River Ouse and drowned herself.

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1. OUR FRAIL BARKS: EXILE, INSTABILITY, THE UNCONSCIOUS

The proposed visit to the Lighthouse is often referred to in the novel as an 'expedition' and a 'journey' into the unknown, unstable, disturbing, and perilous. The abstract expedition to knowledge and truth is similarly described by Mr. Ramsay as "the passage to that fabled land where our brightest hopes are extinguished" and where "our frail barks founder in darkness" (Woolf 1964: 4). He thinks it is his fate as a philosopher "to come out thus on a spit of land which the sea is slowly eating away, and there to stand, like a desolate sea-bird, alone" (Woolf 1964: 51). Lily similarly feels it is "an odd road to be walking, this of painting. Out and out one went, further and further, until at last one seemed to be on a narrow plank, perfectly alone, over the sea" (Woolf 1964: 19).

The search for stability and meaning, the necessary work of life, the expedition or exile that is the pursuit of art or science, are all seen in the novel in terms of going out to sea and battling the watery chaos. Lily the artist, Mr. Ramsay the rationalist philosopher, and Mrs. Ramsay the wife and mother all feel they are the ones out at sea alone, while the rest of humankind is safely harbored. Mr. Ramsay "liked that men should labour and sweat on the windy beach at night, pitting muscle and brain against the waves and the wind; he liked men to work like that, and women to keep house, and sit beside sleeping children indoors, while men were drowned, out there in a storm" (Woolf 1964: 190). In almost identical terms, Mrs. Ramsay sees *her* work of sustaining and nurturing life as controlling the waters, battling chaos, or sailing the seas. At her party, she "began all this business, as a sailor not without weariness sees the wind fill his sail and yet hardly wants to be off again" (Woolf 1964: 97). Mr. Bankes equates Mrs. Ramsay's reading a tale to her boy with finding the solution to a scientific problem, as the result of both is that "barbarity was tamed, the reign of chaos subdued" (Woolf 1964: 55). Since both men and women, scientists and artists, feel alone at sea, there is no real contrast between them, and both seek the stability of harbor and land in the other extreme.

Water is also persistently used to express the unconscious and the internal life. A reference is made to "the lake of one's being" (Woolf 1964: 74), and the minds of men are described as "pools of uneasy water" (Woolf 1964: 153). In Poole's words, water for Virginia Woolf signifies "the deep pull of unconsciousness, easy death. Water is dissolution of the self in something greater than the self." Mrs. Ramsay's 'mystical' state is likewise for him "the death of personality in water" (Poole 1978: 266-271). The description of her mystical experience is flooded with water. Watching the light of the Lighthouse, she feels "as if it were stroking with its silver fingers some sealed vessel in her brain whose bursting would flood her with delight", and "the ecstasy burst in her eyes and waves of pure delight raced over the floor of her mind and she felt, It is enough! It is enough!" (Woolf 1964: 75-76). In her *Diary*, Woolf similarly depicts herself as "slipping tranquilly off into the deep water of my own thoughts navigating the underworld" (Woolf 1968: 80). Her paper "Professions for Women" uses the image of the female imagination as descending into the deepest part of the lake: "The line raced through the girl's fingers. Her imagination had rushed away. It had sought the pools, the depths, the dark places where the largest fish slumber" (Poole 1978: 265-266). Consistent in her use of imagery, Woolf tends to link water with all that is removed from stability, all that is unknown, irrational, or internal.

2. THE MONOTONOUS FALL OF THE WAVES: NATURE, CHAOS, LIFE

Water in *To the Lighthouse* represents the temporal world, the disturbingly mutable nature, and the inevitable passage of time. Mr. Ramsay feels that his eight children, offering him some hope of durability beyond his individual life, will “stem the flood a bit” (Woolf 1964: 80). Men of science, striving to impose order onto nature and achieve immortality, remove themselves from the flow of life, and Mrs. Ramsay pities them: “How much they missed, after all, these very clever men! How dried up they did become, to be sure” (Woolf 1964: 116). The stability and safety of “order and dry land” are contrasted with the chaotic state in which “things wavered and vanished, waterily” (Woolf 1964: 113).

Nature is opposed to civilization, form, and order, and often equated with water. On the Isle of Skye, Mr. Ramsay is “three hundred miles from his library and his lectures and his disciples”, and Mrs. Ramsay complains that the summer house “positively dripped with wet”, and is constantly invaded by the sea and nature. The children “bring the beach in with them”, filling the house with sand, crabs, seaweed, shells, reeds, and stones, and as a result, “things got shabbier and got shabbier summer after summer” (Woolf 1964: 30-31). “Time Passes” shows how the unchecked fecundity of nature threatens to destroy the man-made form of the summer house: “What power could now prevent the fertility, the insensibility of nature?” (Woolf 1964: 160). Nature is perceived as animalistic, bestial, and opposed to reason: “the winds and waves disported themselves like the amorphous bulks of leviathans whose brows are pierced by no light of reason”, and it seems “as if the universe were battling and tumbling, in brute confusion and wanton lust aimlessly by itself” (Woolf 1964: 156). The house is, however, through the hard work of civilizing humans, eventually “rescued from the pool of Time” (Woolf 1964: 161). The fluidity of nature and time is contrasted to the safe, dry order of civilization.

It is tempting to associate women with watery nature and men with dry civilization in the novel, as its male characters often perceive women as irrational and unable to control their emotions, believe women make civilization impossible by their charm, and rue the vagueness of their non-book-learned minds. Motherhood is further repeatedly linked with flow, temporality, and life. Mrs. Ramsay, the prolific mother, “would have liked always to have had a baby. She was happiest carrying one in her arms” (Woolf 1964: 68). Susan, another mother of many created by Woolf, says of herself: “So life fills my veins. So life pours through my limbs” (Woolf 1955: 123). Fertility is explicitly attributed to both nature and women, and denied to men. Mrs. Ramsay exudes “this delicious fecundity, this fountain and spray of life” into which “the fatal sterility of the male plunged itself, like a beak of brass, barren and bare” (Woolf 1964: 43).

All this can lead to inaccurate generalizations, founded on the false premise that ‘life,’ ‘fertility,’ and ‘nature’ are somehow by definition positive concepts. In Blotner’s view, “Exalting the feminine principle in life over the masculine, Virginia Woolf built her novel around a character embodying the life-giving role of the female. In opposition, she shows the male, both in the father and son aspect, as death-bearing – arid, sterile, hateful, and ‘fatal’” (Blotner 1956: 561). Similarly, Hafley (1970: 137) asserts that the

“essential difference between Mr and Mrs Ramsay is that whereas he identifies himself with the land and thinks the sea a destroyer, she – like Lily Briscoe – believes that life is the sea and not the land”. Both views are oversimplifications, as all the characters, male and female, share at least an ambiguity towards the sea, fluidity, and life. Mrs. Ramsay’s ambivalence towards nature and life is apparent as she listens to “the monotonous fall of the waves on the beach, which [...] like a ghostly roll of drums remorselessly beat the measure of life, made one think of the destruction of the island and its engulfment in the sea” (Woolf 1964: 18).

Life is in *To the Lighthouse* often seen as a negative, destructive force, and is described as Mrs. Ramsay’s ‘old antagonist’. For Lily, while she is looking at the Ramsays, life “became curled and whole like a wave which bore one up with it and threw one down with it, there, with a dash on the beach” (Woolf 1964: 54). Women battle the fluidity of life and nature perhaps even more fiercely than men. Most of the work involved in reordering the summer house is done by women, and Mrs. Ramsay thinks that it is her husband’s ruthless adherence to facts which actually threatens civilization.

3. IN THAT UNDERWORLD OF WATERS: DEATH, DESTRUCTION, DISSOLUTION

It is the remorseless, chaotic flow of nature and cosmic life that destroys the civilized life that we know and find comfort in. However, peace can be obtained by generally surrendering to the fluid element. Lily sees the voyagers swallowed up by the sea, and reflects: “It was so calm; it was so quiet” (Woolf 1964: 218). All the inhabitants of the summer house feel that “peace breathed from the sea to the shore”, and the “sigh of all the seas breaking in measure round the isles soothed them” (Woolf 1964: 164-165). Mrs. Ramsay is also soothed by the sound of the waves on the beach.

Death by drowning is often mentioned and understood to bring peace. Lily has a “headlong desire to throw herself off the cliff and be drowned” (Woolf 1964: 203) and we are also privy to Mrs. Ramsay’s fantasy of the weary sailor who thinks how “had the ship sunk, he would have whirled round and round and found rest on the floor of the sea” (Woolf 1964: 97).

The three sailors who drowned in the waters between the island and the Lighthouse are mentioned, and Cam muses on their fate: “They don’t feel a thing there [...] in that underworld of waters” (Woolf 1964: 211). Simultaneously, on shore, Lily sees Mrs. Ramsay’s “shadow” haunting “the fields of death” (Woolf 1964: 210). Water appears to be a conduit to the Hades.

Water imagery is used to describe both the peaceful dissolution and cruel destruction by nature. In “Time Passes”, destruction and dissolution are often identified with darkness, and darkness with water: “a downpouring of immense darkness began. Nothing, it seemed, could survive the flood, the profusion of darkness” (Woolf 1964: 145), swallowing every shape in it. “One feather, and the house, sinking, falling, would have turned and pitched downwards to the depths of darkness” (Woolf 1964: 160).

4. AFTER A NIGHT'S DARKNESS AND A DAY'S SAIL: SEA-CHANGE, REBIRTH, TREASURE

Death by water offers the possibility of a sea-change. Cam, reflecting on the drowned sailors, uses some of the imagery from Ariel's song, and envisages them tranquil in "that underworld of waters where the pearls stuck in clusters to white sprays, where in the green light a change came over one's entire mind and one's body shone half transparent enveloped in a green cloak" (Woolf 1964: 212). Resurrection after the dissolution of the death by water is most explicitly experienced by Septimus in *Mrs. Dalloway*: "But he himself remained high on his rock, like a drowned sailor on a rock. [...] I went under the sea. I have been dead, and yet am now alive" (Woolf 1996: 77).

"Time Passes" contains the deaths of Prue, Andrew, and Mrs. Ramsay, the destruction of civilization in the Great War, and of the world and life by cold and cruel nature. All these are represented by the watery dissolution of the summer house into shapeless chaos. However, the light of the Lighthouse keeps shining throughout the darkness of "Time Passes", entering the house at regular intervals, and destruction is thus not complete.

The imagery used to describe the reordering of the house is that of a rebirth: "some rusty laborious birth seemed to be taking place, as the women, stooping, rising, groaning, singing, slapped and slammed" (Woolf 1964: 162). After the long night of chaos, deaths, and war, the house, civilization, and the world are resurrected, and the morning finds Lily "sitting bolt upright in bed. Awake" (Woolf 1964: 166). Significantly, Lily the painter and Mr. Carmichael the poet are the first to arrive. The resurrection is the result of hard work and artistic vision.

Apart from enabling regeneration, water also consistently yields treasure in *To the Lighthouse*. During her journey, Cam looks "down into the foam, into the sea with all its treasure in it" (Woolf 1964: 191), and at her dinner party, the centerpiece makes Mrs. Ramsay "think of a trophy fetched from the bottom of the sea, of Neptune's banquet" (Woolf 1964: 113).

Another trophy at the dinner party is that of achieved interpersonal unity, which is expressed in terms of water. Mrs. Ramsay is aware that "the whole of the effort of merging and flowing and creating rested on her" (Woolf 1964: 97) and successfully establishes "that community of feeling with other people which emotion gives as if the walls of partition had become so thin that practically (the feeling was one of relief and happiness) it was all one stream" (Woolf 1964: 131). Lily, smitten with her obsession for Mrs. Ramsay, wonders "What device for becoming, like waters poured into one jar, inextricably the same, one with the object one adored?" (Woolf 1964: 59).

Unity is also perceived as offering stability and opposing fluidity. At the dinner party, "here, inside the room, seemed to be order and dry land; there, outside, a reflection in which things wavered and vanished, waterily" and all present are "conscious of making a party together in a hollow, on an island; had their common cause against that fluidity" (Woolf 1964: 113).

As Mrs. Ramsay hosts her version of the Last Supper, bringing people into communion with herself and each other, so Mr. Ramsay shares a meal with fishermen, much like Christ did after His Resurrection. Fishing itself is a form of retrieving treasure

from the sea, and can be taken to represent the cruel extraction of meaning from the fluidity of life, as performed by art or science, in the description of the baiting of the hook: "Macalister's boy took one of the fish and cut a square out of its side to bait his hook with. The mutilated body (it was alive still) was thrown back into the sea" (Woolf 1964: 209).

The crucial treasure the sea offers is the Lighthouse, reached by a night journey over water. That the Lighthouse can be arrived at "after a night's darkness and a day's sail" (Woolf 1964: 3), as young James hopes, proves to be true, for after the long night of chaos, war, and death, the expedition is finally undertaken.

The characters reach their versions of the Lighthouse in their own different ways. James actively sails the boat, while Cam narrates to herself throughout the journey. Mr. Ramsay reads his book, paying little attention to outside "reality", but Lily generously concedes that "He must have reached it" (Woolf 1964: 241). Lily, having "exchanged the fluidity of life for the concentration of painting" (Woolf 1964: 183) feels her brush is "the one dependable thing in a world of strife, ruin, chaos" (Woolf 1964: 173). She finally receives an artistic vision, and what she adds to her canvas can be interpreted as a representation of the Lighthouse: "With a sudden intensity, as if she saw it clear for a second, she drew a line there, in the centre" (Woolf 1964: 242). Mr. Carmichael publishes immortalizing poetry during the war, and Mrs. Ramsay's beauty "stilled life – froze it" (Woolf 1964: 205).

5. MARKING THE CHANNEL: STABILITY, ORDER, BALANCE

The "hoary Lighthouse, distant, austere" (Woolf 1964: 14), though not as clearly defined a symbol as some would wish, plainly signifies solidity that is opposed to the overwhelming fluidity of nature. Another layer of interpretation of the lighthouse symbol in Woolf's world can be fished out of *The Waves*. Young Rhoda plays with white petals in the basin, imagining they are ships at sea. Her later reflections on life employ the imagery from her game: "We may sink and settle on the waves. The sea will drum in my ears. The white petals will be darkened with sea water. They will float for a moment and then sink. Rolling me over the waves will shoulder me under. Everything falls in a tremendous shower, dissolving me" (Woolf 1955: 147). Rhoda stabilizes her little sea: "I will plant a lighthouse here, a head of Sweet Alice" (Woolf 1955: 13). Sweet Alice, or *Alyssum maritima*, belongs to the cruciferous botanical family, and its symbolic meanings include 'sanity' and 'worth beyond beauty'. It is also called 'Blessed by Mary' and 'Mary's Little Cross', as its four petals form a cross. This links it with both the Blessed Virgin Mary and Christ, the human and the divine, the feminine and the masculine.

Similarly, in *To the Lighthouse*, the Lighthouse represents stability, but also the middle way between rigidity and fluidity. Such is Woolf's skill in making the symbol of the Lighthouse universal, that Blotner (1956: 562), on the one hand, feels compelled to assert that "the symbol refers to Mrs. Ramsay herself", while Pedersen (1958: 585), on the other, claims that Mrs. Ramsay "is revealed as the negative force which usurps the lighthouse and thus prevents the integration of the family while she lives. Only after her death can James and Cam go to the lighthouse, and thus symbolically to their father".

The Lighthouse in fact symbolizes both Mr. and Mrs. Ramsay, and both explicitly identify themselves with it. Mr. Ramsay sees himself as "marking the channel out there in the floods alone" (Woolf 1964: 51), and Mrs. Ramsay feels "she was stern, she was searching, she was beautiful like that light" (Woolf 1964: 74).

The truth or reality may appear like a magical and mystical fairy-tale, as it does in the feminine vision of Mrs. Ramsay, or it may equal brutal and bare facts, as it does in the masculine outlook of Mr. Ramsay. Arriving at the Lighthouse, James is initially disillusioned, for instead of the "silvery, misty-looking tower" of his childhood, he sees "the white-washed rocks; the tower, stark and straight". James, unlike either of his parents, concludes that "nothing was simply one thing. The other was the Lighthouse too" (Woolf 1964: 215-216). Mrs. Ramsay, wishing to provide the Lighthouse keeper with something to read, decides: "Croom on the Mind and Bates on the Savage Customs of Polynesia [...] neither of those could one send to the Lighthouse" (Woolf 1964: 31). Aside from being too intellectual for the simple keeper and his boy, these books also signify the extremes of civilization and savagery, intellect and myth. These do not belong in the Lighthouse, which embodies balance.

Water is so metaphorically significant in the world of *To the Lighthouse* that Mr. Ramsay's notion that "the depths of the sea" are "only water after all" (Woolf 1964: 239) reads as a joke. Leading into exile from civilization, reason, and sanity, and towards the unknown, the unconscious, and the internal, water signifies all that is unstable, chaotic, fleeting, and temporal. It represents animalistic nature, woman as mother, and fertility and life themselves. Water is the peaceful surrender to death and annihilation, but also the cruel destruction of all forms by nature. Death by water offers the possibility of rebirth, watery depths yield the treasures of unity and meaning to those who seek them, and the night journey over water leads to eternity, fixity, and balance, embodied in the Lighthouse.

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SUMMARY

WATER AS METAPHOR IN VIRGINIA WOOLF'S *TO THE LIGHTHOUSE*: OUT THERE IN THE FLOODS ALONE

This paper explores the metaphorical meanings of water in Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse* within the mythology of water newly established in Modernism via interpretations of ancient myths by the first anthropologists and psychologists. Special regard is accorded to the symbolic journey over water, in which the hero is disintegrated, but then also regenerated by water.

The most significant symbol in the novel, the lighthouse, by being juxtaposed to the fluidity of life, becoming, and dissipation, acquires additional meanings in this analysis.

KEYWORDS: water, metaphor, *To the Lighthouse*, V. Woolf.

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■ NA TRAGU O' NILOVOG CARA DŽONSA: CAO JUEVA *DIVLJINA*¹

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U ovom radu ćemo preko komparativne analize drama *Car Džons* (1920) Judžina O'Nila i Cao Jueve *Divljine* (1937) analizirati način na koji je kineski pisac primenio O'Nilovu ekspresionističku tehniku kako bi razotkrio složenost ljudske psihe. Dok O'Nil istražuje srž rasnog i kulturnog identiteta, Cao Ju se bavi moralnim i psihološkim raskolom u čoveku ophrvanom osećanjem krivice zbog zločina koji je počinio. Premda obrađuju različite teme, oba pisca koriste monologe, audio-vizuelna sredstva i halucinacije. Uprkos očiglednom uticaju O'Nilove drame na njegovo stvaralaštvo, Cao Ju je uspešno stvorio originalnu i autentično kinesku dramu.

Ključne reči: ekspresionizam, rasni identitet, osećanje krivice, uticaji, originalnost.

Premda se Judžin O'Nil (Eugene O'Neill, 1888-1953) smatra ikonom američkog dramskog pokreta, njegovo stvaralaštvo, začudo, retko je imalo direktnog uticaja na potonje zapadne dramske pisce. Pa ipak, Judžin O'Nil je, uz Šekspira, Ibzena i Čehova, bio jedan od vodećih uzora kineskim pozorišnim stvaraocima dvadesetih i tridesetih godina minulog veka. Okrenutost kineskih dramskih pisaca zapadnoj drami uopšte lako se može razumeti ako se ima u vidu da taj period predstavlja početnu fazu razvoja kineske *govorne drame* (话剧), to jest zapadne drame koja se, za razliku od tradicionalnog kineskog muzičkog pozorišta, oslanja na govorni dijalog. Pošto je O'Nil bio poznat kao pisac koji je stalno tragao za novim pozorišnim izrazima, i s obzirom na to da je bio savremenik mladih rodonačelnika kineske nove drame od kojih su se neki školovali i u Americi, njegovo stvaralaštvo bilo je neiscrpni izvor zanimanja članova dramskog pokreta u Kini.

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U O'Nilovom dramskom opusu prilično veliku pažnju kineskih pisaca izazvala je drama *Car Džons* (*The Emperor Jones*, 1920), prvenstveno zbog toga što se u toj drami ispituje nov dramski stil – ekspresionizam. Tako je već 1922. godine Hung Šen (洪深, 1894-1955), nakon povratka iz Amerike gde je u čuvenoj harvardskoj pozorišnoj radionici studirao dramaturgiju kod O'Nilovog profesora, po uzoru na tu dramu napisao *Džao, kralj Podzemlja* (赵阎王).³ Kinesku verziju *Cara Džonsa*, doduše s daleko manje uspeha, napisali su i Bo Jen (伯颜, *Reka Sung* 宋江, 1923) i Gu Đijenčen (谷剑尘, *Vlastelin* 绅董, 1929). Ipak, najuspešniju i najkreativniju primenu O'Nilovih ekspresionističkih sredstava ostvario je Cao Ju (曹禺, 1910-1996) u drami *Divljina* (原野, 1937), što će biti i predmet našeg zanimanja u ovom radu.

Pre nego što pređemo na konkretnu uporednu analizu *Cara Džonsa* i *Divljine*, valja istaći i to da se sličnosti između Judžina O'Nila i Cao Jua ne ograničavaju samo na pozorišno-književni uticaj koji je američki pisac imao na kineskog. Na prvom mestu, njihovo dramsko stvaralaštvo označava prekretnicu u razvoju američke, odnosno kineske drame. Naime, za razliku od dotadašnjih sentimentalnih, gotovo patetičnih melodrama u američkom pozorištu, O'Nil je „težeći da stvori 'modernu američku dramu' koja bi mogla, kako se nadao, parirati velikim delima evropskih modernista kao što su Ibzen, Strindberg i Šo“ (Krasner 2005: 143), u melodramski izraz uneo novine poput obrade suptilnijih međuljudskih odnosa zadirući, pri tom, u najudaljenije delove ljudske psihe. Slično tome, Cao Jueva pojava na kineskoj pozorišnoj sceni obeležila je ulazak nove kineske drame u zrelu fazu pre svega zahvaljujući piščevom napuštanju uglavnom stereotipnog i jednolinijskog zapleta društvenoprobleskih drama napisanih u prethodnom periodu, kao i težnji ka oblikovanju raskošnih, psihološki iznijansiranih karaktera likova i ka pažljivom oslikavanju njihovog kompleksnog unutrašnjeg stanja.⁴ Na drugom mestu, i O'Nil i Cao Ju bili su skloni eksperimentisanju s različitim književnim pravcima, dramskim sredstvima, simbolima i tematskim sadržajima, što njihove dramske opuse čini bogatim i raznovrsnim.

U ovom radu ćemo preko komparativne analize drama *Car Džons* i *Divljine* analizirati način na koji je Cao Ju primenio O'Nilovu ekspresionističku tehniku kako bi pred publikom prikazao, na izvestan način materijalizovao, uskovitlanost ljudske duše u trenucima kada je čovek u najvećem sukobu prvenstveno sa samim sobom. Tu ćemo, s jedne strane, govoriti o obradama dve različite teme – poricanja sopstvenog porekla u američkoj drami i griže savesti u kineskoj, pri čemu je radnja obe drame smeštena u istom okruženju (u mračnoj šumi) i u sećanjima junaka. S druge strane, upoređićemo upotrebu verbalnih i neverbalnih pozorišnih postupaka u dvema dramama i

3 O načinu na koji je Hung Šen primenio O'Nilovu ekspresionističku dramsku tehniku u svojoj drami videti Chen (1967) i 孙庆升 (1994: 150-154). Ovde je zanimljivo pomenuti i to da je upravo Hung Šen desetak godina kasnije preveo *Cara Džonsa* na kineski jezik.

4 O nastanku i razvoju kineske nove drame, kao i o Cao Juevom značaju za kinesko dramsko stvaralaštvo videti više u 孙庆升 (1994: 1-40) i Pavlović (2003).

U ispitivanju i opisivanju čovekovog psihološkog previranja, Cao Ju je osim u Ibzenovim i Čehovljevim dramama inspiraciju tražio i u O'Nilovom stvaralaštvu. Tako se, na primer, u liku Džou Fanji iz *Oluje* (雷雨, 1934) mogu uočiti tragovi eruptivne prirode Ebi Putnam, junakinje O'Nilove drame *Čežnja pod brestovima* (*Desire under the Elms*, 1924). Obe drame predstavljaju obrade klasične zapadne teme kvazi-incestuoznog odnosa između pomajke i posinka. Inspirativnu uporednu analizu ta dva lika napisao je Džozef Lau u tekstu "Thunderstorm" and "Desire under the Elms" (Lau 1970: 15-27). O obradi teme incesta u *Oluji* videti više u Pavlović (2009).

pokušaćemo da pokažemo način na koji je kineski pisac uspeo da unese originalne novine u ekspresionistički izraz.

1

U drami *Car Džons* opisan je duhovni slom američkog crnca Brutusa Džonsa, koji je pobegao iz zatvora na jedno karipsko ostrvo i tu se uz pomoć lukavstva i sile proglasio carem ostrvljana crne puti, umišljajući pri tom da je slobodan beli čovek. Njegova vladavina obeležena je tlačenjem i pljačkanjem podanika, te se nakon izvesnog vremena – a tu počinje radnja drame – protiv njega diže pobuna. Pred svojim gonocima, čije je približavanje naznačeno sve bržim udaranjem tam-tama, Džons beži u mračnu šumu. Od osam scena na koje je drama podeljena, šest središnjih predstavljaju svojevrzne poetske slike stanja čovekovog iskonskog straha, usled kojeg se u dubini Džonsove duše budi njegova crnačka svest. On je, naime, žedan, gladan, dobija groznicu i, najzad, u mraku šume priviđaju mu se „mali bezoblični strahovi“: on nanovo vidi belca kojeg je nekada ubio, drugove na robiji, tamničara koji ih šiba i kojeg takođe ubija, da bi se postepeno još više vratio u prošlost – na pijacu robljem, i, na kraju, uz divlje plesove i obrede vračeva, u okrilje domovine njegove rase. Džons se zapravo otisnuo u kolektivno nesvesno, u samu bit svog bića, što je na simboličkom i vizuelnom planu, istaknuto raspadom njegovog carskog kostima i pohabane evropske odeće. On je opet, i u bukvalnom i u prenesenom smislu, goli crnac na ledini, kojeg progonitelji konačno stižu i ubijaju.

O'Nilu prvenstveno zanima pitanje odnosa svesnog i kolektivno nesvesnog u čoveku, pa u izvesnom smislu svog junaka oblikuje kao podvojenu ličnost (胡叔和 1991: 950). S jedne strane, Džonsovo jedno „Ja“ živi u realnom svetu i on je nemilosrdni, samopouzdan car koji vlada crncima, a s druge strane, njegovo drugo „Ja“, ono što on suštinski jeste, ispoljava se u svetu iluzija i ono je glasnogovornik potlačene crne rase. Tek nakon niza halucinacija Džons konačno shvata pravu prirodu svog rasnog nasleđa. Ali, da ironija bude veća, on na kraju poslednje scene ipak gine od ruke svojih sunarodnika, čime O'Nil naglašava svoju poruku da poricanje sopstvenog identiteta može rezultirati višestrukim posledicama, pa čak i onim pogubnim.

Cao Jueva *Divljina* mnogo je duža drama od *Cara Džonsa*. Sastoji se od tri čina od kojih su prva dva napisana u realističkom maniru, a tek poslednji u ekspresionističkom. U kineskoj drami tematsku okosnicu čini krvna osveta koju Čou Hu (doslovno Osvetnički tigar) želi da izvrši nad lokalnim silnikom Đijao Jenvangom, to jest čovekom koji je uništio njegovu porodicu a njega samog poslao u zatvor. Nakon osam godina od nesrećnih događaja, Čou Hu beži iz zatvora i vraća se u zavičaj gde saznaje da je Jenvang već umro. On se sada suočava s krajnje mučnom moralnom dilemom: da li da izvrši osvetu preko Dasinga, nedužnog Jenvangovog sina jedinca, a svog dobrog prijatelja iz detinjstva koji „ni mrava ne bi zgazio“ (曹禺 2000: 433). U prva dva čina *Divljine* Cao Ju je vrlo verno opisao psihološka previranja po pitanju krvne osvete, koja variraju od žudnje za osvetom, preko oklevanja do konačnog čina osvete. S krajem drugog čina, završava se i priča o osveti, da bi u trećem činu pisac pomerio dramski zaplet na novu ravan koja se tiče Čou Huovih osećanja nakon izvršenja osvete. Poput O'Nilovog Džonsa, i glavni junak *Divljine* pred svojim progoniteljima beži u šumu gde doživljava niz halucinacija.

Treći čin *Divljine* tiče se Čou Huovog unutrašnjeg raskola, gde on, razapet između griže savesti i želje da se pravda koliko-toliko zadovolji, pokušava da racionalizuje svoje postupke. To je naročito vidno kada se prouči redosled njegovih halucinacija. Isprva, Čou Huu se priviđa Dasing, a zatim i njegova beba koju je on smišljeno ostavio na klupu gde ga je Dasingova majka, slepa starica, greškom ubila. U tim momentima Čou Hu uspeva da sagleda svu okrutnost svojih postupaka. Štaviše, njegova savest ne može da izdrži pritisak saznanja da je i sam kriv za bebinu smrt, pa taj svoj čin pokušava da ospori time što kaže da je jednostavno zaboravio na dete. U tom poigravanju svesnog i podsvesnog rađaju se nove halucinacije u kojima on nanovo „vidi“ zlehudu sudbinu koju je doživela njegova porodica, te na taj način nalazi opravdanje za svoj osvetnički čin i u izvesnom smislu postiže duševni mir. Ipak, čini se da ni taj duševni mir nije potpun, niti predstavlja tačku od koje bi se eventualno mogao započeti nov život u kojem bi se Čou Huu pružila prilika da se iskupi i, najzad, da kroz proces pokajanja doživi lični preporod. Naprotiv, u Cao Juevoj režiji, destruktivni Čou Huov čin osвете koji prate oprečna osećanja, kao što su griža savesti, kajanje, mržnja, patnja, od samog početka drame neminovno vodi u krajnju autodestrukciju – samoubistvo.

Kao što smo videli, i u *Caru Džonsu* i u trećem činu *Divljine* pisci koriste priviđenja da pokažu borbu glavnih likova sa samim sobom. U oba dramska teksta pozadinu radnje čini mračna šuma, napetost se ističe i pojačava zvukom bubnjeva, oba junaka su gonjeni i obojica se nalaze u stanju konstantnog straha. Pa ipak, zavisno od tematskog konteksta, dve drame dobijaju različite naglaske. Dok se O'Nil bavi opštom temom čovečanstva zadirući u samu srž rasnog i kulturnog identitea, Cao Ju nastoji da ispita konkretan moralno-psihološki problem u određenom društvenom okruženju. Sem toga, u američkoj drami više je reč o iskonskom strahu nezaštićenog čoveka u divljem okruženju, dok je u kineskoj pre svega istaknut strah koji izvire iz saznanja o moralnoj krivici.

Sada treba da vidimo koja ekspresionistička sredstva je Cao Ju preuzeo iz O'Nilovog Cara Džonsa i na koji način ih je inkorporirao u kineski kulturni milje.

2

Da se prvo podsetimo. Ekspresionizam predstavlja književni pravac koji je buknuo u Nemačkoj 1910. godine. Bilo da je reč o tematici ili o jezičkom oblikovanju, ekspresionistički pokret u svojoj osnovi bio je antirealistički. Pisci tog opredeljenja prevashodno su težili predstavljanju tipičnih, opštih problema čovečanstva, a ne ispitivanju dubina duše konkretnog pojedinca. Uopšteno govoreći, njih nije zanimalo detaljno opisivanje događaja, već iskazivanje njihove suštine. Stoga dramski pisci koji pripadaju tom pravcu „žrtvuju“ zaplet i psihološko oblikovanje dramskih likova, zarad dramatisacije, vizualizacije čovekovih unutrašnjih osećanja, što se postiže raspadom dramskog teksta na niz scena, upotrebom monologa, simbola, zvučnih i vizuelnih efekata itd. U tom pogledu, O'Nilov *Car Džons* jedan je od tipičnih predstavnika ekspresionističke drame.

Treći čin *Divljine* Cao Ju je podelio na pet scena u kojima je poseban značaj dat monologu, a za stvaranje dramske atmosfere od O'Nilu je preuzeo više ekspresionističkih

sredstava, kao što su scenografija (tamna noć, šuma), upotreba zvučnih efekata (zvuk bubnjeva, pucnjevi), i, najzad, halucinacije. Ovde, međutim, nikako nije reč o jednostavnoj imitaciji, već je kineski pisac veliku pažnju posvetio tome da preuzete dramaturške elemente uskladi sa sopstvenim kulturnim miljeom i ukusom publike.

Tako, na primer, O'Nilov crnački tamtam u *Divljini* postaje bubanj koji služi za prizivanje mrtvih duša.⁵ Zvuk bubnja, koji, poput kakve utvare, progoni glavne junake, u obe drame jednako je u funkciji stvaranja napetosti i atmosfere straha. No, dok u *Caru Džonsu* neujednačeni i sve brži ritam tamtama predstavlja domorodačke gonitelje, i, dublje, izraz je Džonsovog kolektivno nesvesnog koje se sve više razotkriva, u *Divljini* bubanj ne samo što simbolizuje ovozemaljskog, nego ukazuje i na onozemaljskog progonitelja, to jest dušu mrtvog deteta. Uz to, taj zvučni efekat, kako to primećuje Lau, Cao Ju dopunjava jezovitim dozivanjem slepe starice, majke Đijao, koja u potrazi za Čou Huom tumara šumom (1970: 52). Štaviše, dok u O'Nilovom komadu stanje uznemirenosti nastaje onda kada se prvi put pred kraj prve scene čuju zvukovi crnačkog ratnog plesa, u *Divljini* tu funkciju, kao i funkciju svojevrsne psihološke pripreme publike za treći čin, ima upravo pretnja slepe starice, dakle Dasingove majke, na kraju drugog čina:

... Majka Đijao ulazi kroz vrata s leve strane. Obema rukama podiže Sjao Heiza (telo njenog mrtvog unuka, prim. prev.) prekrivenog crnim ogrtačem. Njeno lice nalik je bolnoj maski, sa obrvama sputanim patnjom i usnama nakrivljenim ka dole. Ne plače niti vrišti, poput kakvog strašnog zlog duha stoji ispred vrata s leve strane. Čou Hu i Đijao Huadin (Da Singova supruga, prim. prev.) uplašeno se povlače unazad i zbijaju u uglu.

MAJKA ĐIJAO (Neljudskim glasom) Hu! (Zastane čekajući odgovor) Hu! (I dalje nema odgovora, zloslutno) Znam da si ovde, Hu. (Planuvši iznenada) Srce ti je okrutno, Hu, nebesa ti neće oprostiti! Porodica Đijao ti se jeste zamerila, ali si se ovog puta silno ogrešio. (Od velikog bola gotovo mahnito) Dobro si pogodio, pogledaj! Dete sam ja svojom rukom ubila. I sada ga ni stari Buda neće povratiti u život, Hu, (svirepo) pratiću te, pa ma kuda krenuo... (曹禺 2000: 456).

Čini se da ove reči ne bi bile toliko efektne i zastrašujuće da majka Đijao nije slepa! Naime, čitalac/gledalac je svestan toga da s obzirom na njeno slepilo, majka Đijao ne bi mogla doslovno da ispuni pretnju koju je izgovorila. Ali, ako se ima u vidu da je tu reč o više nego ogorčenoj ženi koja se bavi crnom magijom, onda se značaj njene pretnje podiže na ravan natprirodnog što samo po sebi izaziva jezu. Sem toga, upravo kontrast između fizičke onesposobljenosti majke Đijao i njene natprirodne moći u Čou Huu stvara strah koji je, premda prvenstveno moralne prirode, pomešan sa praiskonskim strahom. Stoga se sasvim slažemo sa Džozefom Lauom (1970: 52) kada kaže da upravo zahvaljujući slepilu lik majke Đijao u tom trenutku „smesta postaje živi rekvizit ekspresionističke pozornice“.

Kao jedno od važnijih ekspresionističkih sredstava, i O'Nil i Cao Ju koriste monolog, s tom razlikom što je američka drama gotovo cela sazdana od Džonsovog

5 U prepravljenoj verziji *Divljine* iz 1957. godine Cao Ju je zvuk bubnja zamenio prepoznatljivim zvukom tradicionalnog kineskog udaračkog instrumenta *muju* (木鱼).

monologa, a u trećem činu *Divljine* Čou Hua verno prati njegova nekadašnja ljubav Huađin, sadašnja Dasingova žena, tako da se u tom činu prepliću dijalog i monolog. Huađin ne samo što je autonomno izgrađen dramski lik, ona istovremeno ima i vrlo važnu dramaturšku ulogu. S jedne strane, njena racionalnost u snažnom je kontrastu sa Čou Huovom iracionalnošću, čime se dodatno objašnjavaju njegove halucinacije i duševna previranja. Razumna promišljanja Huađin, s druge strane, spoljni su pokretač poigravanja Čou Huove podsvesti, jer se ona intenziviraju upravo njenim prisećanjem i tumačenjem prošlosti.

Sličnu ulogu imaju i audio-vizuelna sredstva u ovim dramama. Tako dolazimo do još jedne specifične i originalne upotrebe O'Nilovog ekspresionističkog postupka u Cao Juevom delu. U *Caru Džonsu* halucinacije i monolog glavnog lika ispresecani su pucnjevima iz puške i premda se njima označava promena iluzornih prizora, čini se da tok Džonsove podsvesti ima sopstvenu logiku razvoja, to jest nije u gotovo nikakvoj suštinskoj vezi sa spoljnim svetom. U *Divljini*, pak, ta sprega između Čou Huovog unutrašnjeg bića i njegovog realnog okruženja značajno je veća. To je naznačeno već u prvoj sceni trećeg čina kada Čou Hu, koji još nije izašao na pozornicu, uzvikne: „Vidi! Svetlo! Crveno svetlo!” (曹禺 2000: 462). To crveno svetlo, odnosno crveni lampion, kojim slepa starica pokazuje put izgubljenoj duši svog unuka, u Čou Huovom umu direktna je asocijacija na njegov zločin i, gotovo trenutno, u njemu stvara osećanje straha i grižu savesti, koji, dalje, proizvode halucinacije. Zapravo, crvena svetlost, koja s vremena na vreme osvetljava tamnu šumu tokom celog čina, za ubicu je u neku ruku oličenje stvarnog duha. U tom kontekstu, jasno je da je u poređenju sa *Carom Džonsom* unutrašnji svet glavnog lika u trećem činu *Divljine* prikazan znatno realnije. Stoga, mogli bismo reći, Cao Ju ovde, sledeći karakterno-psihološku logiku svojih likova, uspešno koristi realističke postupke ne bi li pojačao uverljivost nerealističkih dramaturških sredstava.

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Premda je pisana pod direktnim uticajem Judžina O' Nila, sudeći po raznovrsnoj upotrebi dramaturških sredstava *Divljina* predstavlja daleko ambiciozniji dramski tekst nego što je to slučaj s *Carem Džonsom*. U njoj su zapravo vešto ispreplitana dva različita stila pisanja koji se ne uočavaju samo na onoj očiglednoj ravni, to jest u podeli na prva dva čina gde dominira realizam i ekspresionistički treći čin. U trećem činu, kako smo videli, realistički postupci podupiru ekspresionističke i *vice versa*. Sem toga, i u situacijama kada Cao Ju direktno pozajmljuje O'Nilovu tehniku, on je uvek menja u skladu s potrebama tematike svoje drame i sopstvenog kulturnog nasleđa. Tu, naravno, nije reč o prosto zameni nacionalnih simbola, već o prilično inventivnoj i originalnoj nadgradnji simboličkog sadržaja. Upravo u tome se ogleda Cao Jueva maštovitost i umetnički talenat.

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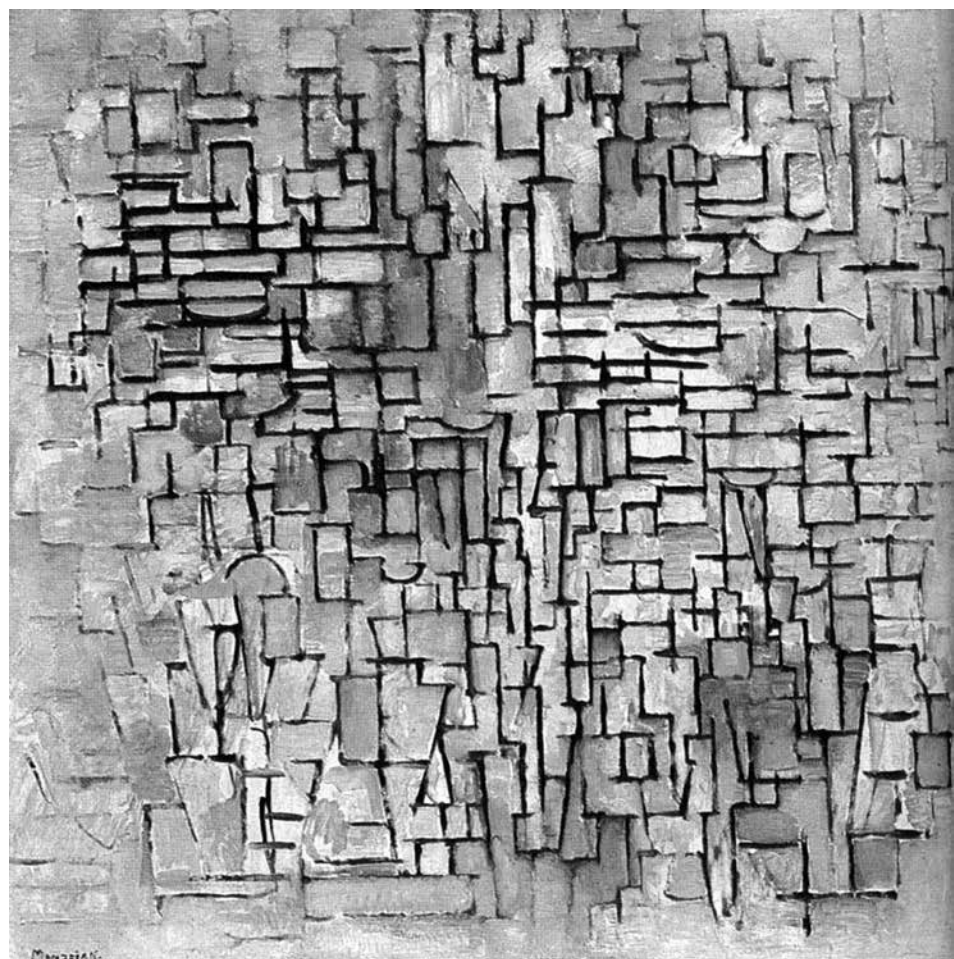
SUMMARY

FOLLOWING THE STEPS OF EUGENE O'NEILL:
CAO YU'S *THE WILDERNESS*

Through a comparative analysis of Eugene O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones* (1920) and Cao Yu's *The Wilderness* (1937), this paper scrutinizes how the Chinese author applies O'Neill's expressionistic technique in order to reveal the complexity of the human psyche. While O'Neill explores the very core of racial and cultural identity, Cao Yu deals with the moral and psychological split in a man overwhelmed by guilty conscience for a crime he committed. Although they treat different subject-matters, both writers use monologues, audio-visual devices and hallucinations. Despite the obvious influence of O'Neill's play in his work, Cao Yu successfully creates an original and authentically Chinese play.

KEYWORDS: expressionism, racial identity, guilty conscience, influences, originality.

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■ HYBRIDITY IN J. M. COETZEE'S *WAITING FOR THE BARBARIANS*

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U svetu kolonijalizma, granična linija koja razdvaja prostor kolonizatora i onoga ko je kolonizovan jasno je vidljiva. U takvoj postavci, ponekad dolazi do pojave ničije zemlje kojom obitavaju hibridi. Ovaj rad istražuje mogućnost postojanja tekućeg procesa hibridizacije u romanu Dž. M. Kucija iz 1980. godine *Iščekujući varvare*. Rad daje pregled definicija termina *hibrid*, kao i njegove upotrebe, i predstavlja moguću primenu takvog termina na lik Načelnika u datom romanu. Uzeti su u obzir različiti upitni i višeznačni aspekti ponašanja ovog lika, i dolazi se do zaključka da su oni pokazatelj da do kraja romana bez sumnje dolazi do pojave znakova hibridnosti u liku Načelnika.

Ključne reči: kolonijalni identitet, superiornost, drugost, hibridnost.

In the colonial world, the "two different species" (Fanon 1963: 40) immediately visible as its inhabitants are those of the oppressor and the oppressed. As Fanon described it, it is a world cut in two, with a dividing line of barracks and police stations (Fanon 1963: 38). The two opposing sides appear to cohabit the same planet, but only in theory: "The zone where the natives live is not complementary to the zone inhabited by the settlers. The two zones are opposed, but not in the service of a higher unity. ... No conciliation is possible, for of the two terms, one is superfluous." (Fanon 1963: 38-39) In such a world of black and white, as in every aspect of life, somewhat of a grey area appears, both literally and metaphorically.

Webster's Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language, as the second of its three suggested definitions of the term *hybrid*, defines it as "a person whose background is a blend of two diverse cultures or traditions". In *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies* the term *hybridity* is defined as "One of the most widely employed and disputed terms in post-colonial theory" which "commonly refers to the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonization." (Ashcroft 1998: 118).

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The dispute mentioned in the definition refers to the disagreement among certain scholars as to whether this term is appropriate for use in colonial discourse. On the one hand, those who advocate for the use of the term, like Homi K. Bhabha, who is thought to have coined it, perceive it as a term defining a natural and inescapable blending of two cultures in contact, which by no means eradicates the existence of the individual cultures as such (Ashcroft 1995: 184). In his book entitled *The Location of Culture* Homi K. Bhabha introduces the definition of what he calls the "Third Space" which is where this intermixing of cultures takes place. It exists between the already determined and constantly present "first" and "second" spaces which are always opposed in the colonial context. According to Bhabha, the production of meaning takes place in this "Third Space" which erases the purity of cultures (Bhabha 1994: 37).

Scholars who oppose the use of the term point out two main reasons. Firstly, the term used to be associated with racism, more specifically the "cross-breeding" between cultures which was paradoxical in itself – sexual relations between races were considered unnatural, but on the other hand necessary (Young 1995: 93-103). Secondly, they believe that the use of such a term attempts to erase the existence of crucial differences and place everything in a colonizing setting in favour of the colonizer (Ashcroft 1998: 119).

Taking into account these different views, one may conclude that the term has so many possible definitions it does not necessarily need to be read as offensive. In this paper, the term will be used in a positive sense, as the definition in *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies* ends, stating that theories of the hybrid nature establish a different form of resistance (Ashcroft 1998: 121). The emergence of a hybrid nature shifts the existing categories and brings into question the main postulates of the colonial world.

J.M. Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians* has been described as "a novel about a man of conscience seeking to disentangle himself from, and oppose, an imperial regime" (Head 2009: 48). The author himself has described it as a novel about torture in his essay entitled "Into the Dark Chamber: the Writer and the South African State" (as per Head 2009: 50). The title was taken from a poem of the same name by the Greek poet C. P. Cavafy (1863-1933). The poem identifies the contradictory dependence on the other, and this idea is in harmony with the topics the novel deals with. For me personally, the title of the novel echoes that of *Waiting for Godot*, because neither Godot nor the barbarians arrive at the end, bringing into question the existence of either.

The key topics addressed in the novel are violence and torture, which make the difference between the roles of the oppressor and the oppressed bluntly and unpleasantly obvious. Setting them aside, this paper will place emphasis on the seemingly hybrid components of the Magistrate's identity. Evidence in the text itself will be used to prove that the Magistrate indeed does show some ambiguity of character.

At first sight, among all the violence and the irreversibly damaged people, physically more than emotionally, the character of the Magistrate may appear as just a voice telling a terrible story. One would expect, since he approaches the reader from the side of the oppressor, that the narration will take its course naturally and without interruptions but, even though his descriptions remain vivid, forcing the reader to occasionally cringe with horror, from the very start it is visible that something is about to change and that the Magistrate might be on the verge of experiencing a change of

character/opinion/heart. It is much easier to track these changes through the intimate narration of the first person singular.

Although I myself would not go as far as to state that the Magistrate has a sympathetic and congenial nature and that he cares for the barbarians, firmly believes they are innocent and helps them, as Mushtaq (2010: 29) does in his paper which, among other things, addresses this issue, one may claim with certainty that there is enough evidence throughout the novel that a strong change is taking place in the Magistrate's character. This change stems from an unfortunate turn of events, one that takes place after decades the Magistrate has spent deceiving himself. It begins when he is no longer able or no longer wishes to remain in the dark about certain practices in the settlement. Once this door is opened, he can never go back to what he used to be; he has been infected by new knowledge and, once having shed light on a different form of truth, he can never go back to being his old self (Coetzee 2004: 22-23). According to Bhabha (1994: 115) "...the existence of two contradictory knowledges (multiple beliefs) splits the ego (or the discourse) into two psychological attitudes, and forms of knowledge, towards the external world."

Before venturing further into a presentation of the Magistrate's newly formed, hybrid identity, let us mention quickly the remains of the "old", presumably colonial identity. In favour of him not being truly changed, one may argue that perhaps his periodical bouts of regret depicted in the novel might only show a periodically guilty conscience of the coloniser, showing that they too are only human. One may also argue that, not having been in the capital for centuries, he has lost touch with "the civilised world". His relationship with the barbarian girl might also be read in two ways - he might be willing to alleviate her condition, forced forward by his guilty conscience, or he might just be the coloniser who is smitten with the dark secrets of exotic young women, who were, aside from the assets, perhaps the most attractive "feature" of the colonies (Young 1995: 102). Finally, although he attempts at one point to help some of the barbarians, in the end one's final conclusion might be that he has given up.

Throughout the novel, the reader never learns the Magistrate's name, which basically places him in the category of Everyman. As the novel opens, the reader does not feel that the man had any choice in the matter - he is on the border because, in his world, it seemed like the natural thing to do. His position as Magistrate is clear, there is no doubt about that. He serves as a go-between of a sort, and, in his own words, he wanted nothing more than to live "a quiet life in quiet times" (Coetzee 2004: 8). He remembers 'the old days' with some melancholy, although it is clear from his narration that even in the course of those 'carefree days' he engaged in practices which would be frowned upon by advocates of human rights. He himself mentions feeling "uneasy shame" (Coetzee 2004: 152) at passing sentences to prisoners, but when these new events have taken place he thinks with yearning of the "familiar routine of his duties" (Coetzee 2004: 81).

As the novel opens, the arrival of Colonel Joll causes a stir in the Magistrate's familiar surroundings. For some reason, which remains unclear in the novel, he decides to go and see what really happened to a couple of prisoners. It remains unclear in the text as to why he does this, there is no clear history of the events which brought him to such a state. For this reason, one might claim that this episode is only a temporary bout of a guilty conscience. It is more desirable to think that it is not.

At certain points in the novel, the Magistrate indicates that what brought him to that state was a higher force at work, and that it had nothing to do with free will. First he feels that he never wished to be drawn into that (Coetzee 2004: 8), then toys with the idea that he might even not be present (Coetzee 2004: 30), further claiming that he was a victim of the randomness of fate – something had fallen in upon him from the sky, from nowhere (Coetzee 2004: 47), finally saying that he was only doing his duty, and then one day events overtook him (Coetzee 2004: 153).

As far as questioning authority is concerned, the Magistrate embarks on a journey of no return. His sudden curiosity buys him a one-way ticket to personal and professional disaster. He opens a door which he can never close again, unless we take the ending of the novel as a return to the old ways. The ending is somewhat ambiguous – he is taking “a road that may lead nowhere” (Coetzee 2004: 170). This use of a strong modal possibility is one of the key indicators that there are hybrid elements in the Magistrate's character. The entire year described in the novel is a year of dilemmas and uncertainties. Towards the end, it seems that he has finally come to terms with having made a whole lot of mistakes, but then there is this “may” at the end which leaves everything open for discussion. Marais (1996: 81) was certainly not alone in his opinion when he declared Coetzee's writing resistant to “interpretative strategies of containment”. Like the space and time in this novel, many other elements of Coetzee's fiction elude the reader and the critic alike.

Be that as it may, it is possible to determine several different aspects in which the possible hybridity of the Magistrate's character is visible. Firstly, there is the contempt that he feels for Colonel Joll. At the beginning of the novel, he doubts his authority and the importance he attributes to himself (Coetzee 2004: 2), but even though he has his doubts, he entertains the Colonel as well as he can, hating himself for it when he goes too far, because they do not need to love each other, he only needs to perform his duty (Coetzee 2004: 6). Further on in the story, after describing the Colonel as a “burden” (Coetzee 2004: 14) the mixed feelings of subordination and disapproval from the beginning of the novel turn into real hatred. He goes so far as to accuse the Colonel of being the enemy (Coetzee 2004: 125) denouncing all connections with him, and during their last encounter the Magistrate feels an urge to beat the Colonel's body to pulp (Coetzee 2004: 160). According to Bhabha (1994: 113), this questioning of authority and hatred towards the policy of Empire is one of the clear signs of an onset of a hybrid character.

The second visible change takes place in the Magistrate's character when he is no longer able to pretend everything is alright with the world. After he finds out what happened to the prisoners, he experiences something new – he informs the reader that he has never had the feeling of not living his own life on his own terms (Coetzee 2004: 43). His troubled thoughts are so strong that he expects an impossible physical manifestation of what he feels, a physical sign of the pain and suffering on the empty walls (Coetzee 2004: 87). At certain points in the novel, the Magistrate indicates that at least in some periods of his life he did not think of the barbarians as an underdeveloped species. He claims that he based his conduct on the non-corruption of barbarian virtues and not making them a dependent people (Coetzee 2004: 41). His taking sides with the barbarians reaches its peak on two occasions. The first is when, against his better

judgement, he decides to return the barbarian girl to her people, intending "to restore some of the goodwill that previously existed" (Coetzee 2004: 62). Somewhere at the back of his mind he knows what will probably happen upon his return to the settlement, but nevertheless, before undertaking the journey he feels content and relieved (Coetzee 2004: 63). After finishing the set task he feels that the oppression lifted from his shoulders (Coetzee 2004: 74). The second occasion is when he intervenes in the torture event taking place right outside the town walls. In this situation, he himself is a prisoner who has broken out of prison, but nevertheless decides to draw attention to himself when he tries to stop the brutal beatings and gets beaten and almost blinded in return. Even though he feels that he should not have left his cell, the other side of him believes he could have done more, and he is angry with himself for not persevering (Coetzee 2004: 118).

The Magistrate's relationship with the girl is where the changes taking place in his character are most clearly visible. He experiences a mixture of feelings, and throughout all the months they spend together he seems not to have resolved his dilemma; he is angry with himself for wanting her and not wanting her at the same time (Coetzee 2004: 35). The grounding for this strange relationship could perhaps be found in his trying to come to terms with himself and his own beliefs through his relationship with an immediate victim of the regime he once seemed to support. He admits that he has not "ceased to see her as a body maimed, scarred, harmed..." (Coetzee 2004: 61) and that he has no idea why he is spending time with her. He suspects that it might be his guilty conscience, but is not sure; he asks himself whether he desires her or her scars and wonders about the obscurity of his reasons for spending time with her (Coetzee 2004: 70). Continuing the argument from above that at certain points he stops seeing himself as something different from the barbarians, with regards to his relationship with the girl it is important to mention the different stages of self-doubt he experiences. First, he frequently questions his 'distance' from the people who mutilated her and realises that the distance between himself and her torturers is "negligible" (Coetzee 2004: 29). Then, he takes a step further and hates himself for being with her because he feels her to be superior, he feels that he is "...acid in milk, ashes in honey, chalk in bread" (Coetzee 2004: 36). Finally, he practically sees the barbarian girl as his equal and it all boils down to him asking himself what he meant to her, as a man, and whether she found him ordinary (Coetzee 2004: 61).

The fourth visible sign of the Magistrate's hybrid identity are the bad dreams he constantly has. He admits that sleep no longer brings peace to his troubled mind (Coetzee 2004: 22). Some nights are oblivion, but others take him to unexpected places, and the novel includes a description of a total of eight dreams. In all his dreams he sees the barbarian girl, she is the central figure in each and every one of them. His obsession with her is best presented in these products of the unconscious. Some aspects of the dreams are sexual, other aspects show how uneasy he feels. The good and bad images follow one another in his dreams, just like the two sides of his character interchange, which brings us to the last aspect of hybridity in the Magistrate's character.

On the one hand, the Magistrate knows his place in history and understands that he is not the opposite of Colonel Joll, but just a different side of Imperial rule. He describes himself as "the lie that Empire tells itself when times are easy" (Coetzee 2004: 13). He

believes that he is “a go-between, a jackal of Empire in sheep’s clothing” (Coetzee 2004: 79), he has his doubts about how the girl sees him (Coetzee 2004: 89), but at times when his mind is clear, he is determined to remove himself from the path Empire has taken and states that there is nothing to connect him with the torturers, and that he will not pay for someone else’s crimes (Coetzee 2004: 48). He renounces his alliance with the Empire and declares himself a free man (Coetzee 2004: 85). He clearly shows how repulsed he is by the deeds of the torturers, he cannot imagine how they live and eat (Coetzee 2004: 138). All these instances of personal rebellion are a potential sign of the Magistrate’s hybrid identity, because, according to Bhabha (1994: 114), when we talk about hybridity, “the presence of colonialist authority is no longer immediately visible”. Even though the Magistrate claims, more frequently than not, that he never thought the domestic population less civilised than his own, throughout the entire novel, as soon as such thoughts start to invade his mind, they are followed by feelings of doubt as to what his real motives are; he is not certain that he believes in what he has been saying (Coetzee 2004: 56) and wonders whether he is nothing but an old man who does not wish to be disturbed in the last years of his life (Coetzee 2004: 56). Troubled by these tangled thoughts, he is not sure that alienating himself from his own people is what he needs to do, he doubts himself and the righteousness of his cause (Coetzee 2004: 104-105). While imprisoned, he does not want to suffer torture if he is not sure anymore about what cause he is defending (Coetzee 2004: 105).

These two opposing sides of his character cause great confusion, and he often mentions that he does not know who he is, what is happening or what he believes in anymore, he defends himself by believing he is a confused and innocent person, a “baby” (Coetzee 2004: 103). He longs for clarity of mind and does not wish to die so “stupid and befuddled” (Coetzee 2004: 103). He feels that the girl could have been the solution, had he realised it sooner (Coetzee 2004: 13). The only space where one may place the Magistrate in such a state of confusion is somewhere in between, in the Third Space that Bhabha introduced. The stirrings of this troubled mind also fit into Young’s definition of hybridisation, according to which a single entity is divided in two and sameness is turned into difference (Young 1995: 24). As the novel ends, the Magistrate does not find his peace. He believed that he was on a road that was true but instead was delivered “into the heart of a labyrinth” (Coetzee 2004: 149). There is nothing else for him to do but patiently wait for barbarians who may or may not come, and who may not even exist.

This paper has presented that in J. M. Coetzee’s *Waiting for the Barbarians*, there is abundant evidence in the text itself that presents the Magistrate as a man of the law and a loyal subject of Empire who does not question his role and his cause. There is just as much evidence that presents him as simply a victim of a troubled mind, a man oppressed by a guilty conscience, a person unable to view the world in black and white, a human being incapable of mindless hatred. It is impossible to strictly categorise the Magistrate as any of the two species mentioned at the very beginning. His character has too many diverse and opposing traits/thoughts/beliefs for either. His psyche slowly travels throughout the novel and towards the end reaches an unfamiliar final destination. He is neither here nor there, the only place left for one to place him in is at the end of the hybridisation process, in the Third Space which eludes the politics of polarity (Bhabha 1994: 39). As we leave him, he is still “...a creature that believes in nothing” (Coetzee 2004: 89), but it seems

that after all the self-doubt he will find his place wherever the obscure road takes him, because as the novel ends one may conclude that the greatest danger to a man's sanity lies in hiding away from the truth, whatever it may be.

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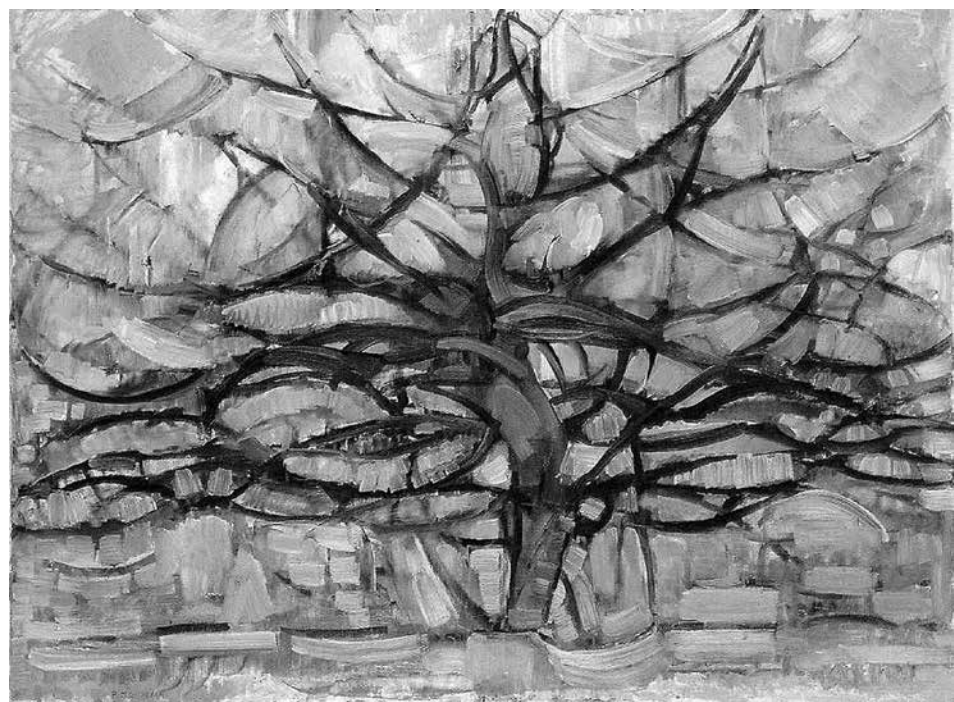
SUMMARY

HYBRIDITY IN J. M. COETZEE'S *WAITING FOR THE BARBARIANS*

In the colonial world, the dividing line between the space of the oppressor and that of the oppressed is clearly visible. In such a setting, there is at times emergence of a no man's land inhabited by hybrids. This paper investigates the possibilities of an ongoing hybridisation process in J. M. Coetzee's 1980 novel *Waiting for the Barbarians*. It gives an overview of the definitions and the use of the term *hybrid* and presents the possible application of such a term to the Magistrate's character in the aforementioned novel. Different questionable and ambiguous aspects of the character's behaviour are taken into consideration, and the conclusion is reached that these indicate that by the end of the novel there are doubtless signs of hybridity in the Magistrate's character.

KEYWORDS: colonial identity, superiority, otherness, hybridity.

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■ THE SPATIAL CONTINUATION OF ENGLISHNESS IN H. G. WELLS'S *MEN LIKE GODS*¹

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Rad analizira kontinuitet i diskontinuitet između Engleske i Utopije u romanu H. G. Velsa *Ljudi poput bogova* (1923). Odredivši mogućnost putovanja kroz vreme, Vels osnažuje ideju da Utopija može biti produžetak Engleske u prostoru.

Ključne reči: utopija, Engleska, nacionalni identitet, prostorni kontinuitet, entropija.

1. INTRODUCTION

Herbert George Wells (1866-1946) was preoccupied with the ideas of progress and gradual evolution. They were, in Laura Marcus's estimation, "substantially based on the admixture in his work and thought of experiments with time and histories of mankind" (Marcus 2007: 58). In his utopian novel *Men Like Gods* (1923), Wells steers the weary and somewhat neurasthenic protagonist Mr Barnstaple into a future which negates the implausibility of progress. Like the protagonist of *The Time Machine* (1895), Barnstaple accelerates into a history set in the same spatial realm as contemporary England, only in another temporal dimension. Yet on closer examination, Utopia contains a number of crucial openings which help to reduce the conceptual distance between Englishness and the Utopian identity. This paper examines continuities and ruptures between England and Utopia on the level of spatiality in *Men Like Gods*. My central contention is that Utopia is derived from England's landmarks and constitutes the spatial continuation of Englishness.

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2. BIFOCAL PERSPECTIVE ON ENGLAND

In *Men Like Gods*, England's spatial continuation unveils itself, for the most part, between the traveller's departure and return. Making his way to "Elsewhere" in a motor car, Barnstaple registers the regularities of a London morning with its lively traffic, and of the English countryside, once he has moved out of Sydenham and Slough: "A conspicuous feature in this tranquil landscape was the board advertisement of a riverside hotel at Maidenhead" (Wells 1923: 14). The intrusion of commercialism into an idyllic England, where nature mingles with houses and is presided over by Windsor Castle, signals a disparity between age-long and temporary features of the landscape. This dissonance is enhanced further after the protagonist's return from Utopia with a notably transformed mode of perception: "This old world seemed to him to be full of unlovely sights and sounds and odours already half forgotten" (Wells 1923: 296). Barnstaple perceives the once familiar landscape through the prism of more pleasing and orderly landmarks that Utopia has offered him. But it is not so much the landscape that he finds deficient on his return, but the disarray of man's livelihood inflicted upon it.

Such a bifocal perspective on England is grounded in Wells's other writings. Wells often portrayed England with a touch of sentimentality and irony, making her figure as a land of curiosities. Even the air and the sun feel different in London than elsewhere when noticed by the eponymous heroine of *Ann Veronica* (1909), "the soft sunshine of London, the softest, the finest grained, the most penetrating and least emphatic sunshine in the world" (Wells 1920: 82). "Joie de vivre" initially reigns in *The History of Mr Polly* (1910), in an England of "pleasant breezes and songbirds and shady trees" (Wells 1982: 32). England's quaintness comes alive due to a deep sense of the past which an American visitor discerns in *Mr Britling Sees It Through* (1916) and compares seeing England with "travelling in literature" (Wells 1933: 10).

Wells also authored less compromising visions of England, frequently marked by decay and doomed to destruction. In Patrick Parrinder's words, *Tono-Bungay* (1909) presented "an allegory suggesting England's dissolution" (Parrinder 2006: 305). This "Condition of England" is magnified through the lens of a fragmented London, starting in the "dignified places" of Westminster, then moving to the "heart of the world" along the Embankment, and exhausting itself near the sea, "beyond all law, order, and precedence" (Wells 2010a: 348-50). What adds to the effect of dissolution is the reduction of the national identity to "a set of unsustainable consumer practices" (Kupinse 1999: 70), turning England into a commodity which will inevitably go to waste: "The river passes – London passes, England passes..." (Wells 2010a: 352). The dissolution of England is taken a step further in some of Wells's scientific romances in which he unleashes his "relish for destruction" (Parrinder 1970: 34). An alien invasion of the country is carried out in *The War of the Worlds* (1898) when a nearly invincible horde of Martians, in search of a better habitat, wipes out human civilization without a second thought, and London looms as "a city condemned and derelict" (Wells 1975: 175). It is hardly surprising that the protagonist of *When the Sleeper Wakes* (1899) feels bewildered and hesitantly inquires: "Is there England still? That's a comfort! Is there London?" (Wells 2003: 29). However, very little remains of London, the epitome of the old world, in Wells's apocalyptic novel *In the Days of the Comet* (1906): "Where is London,

that sombre city of smoke and drifting darkness, full of the deep roar and haunting music of disorder..." (Wells 19--: 220-21).

Consequently, as far as England and Englishness are concerned, Wells's position appears somewhat redolent of his war-time character Mr Britling, in whom he saw an embodiment of his own type and class (Wells 1934: 670). Mr Britling "was proud of England and abused her incessantly" (Wells 1933: 28). Such an ambivalent relationship with England may be said to oscillate between patriotic attachment and rational rejection. On closer look, England rarely becomes the target of elimination for its own sake; instead, want and depravity of its dismal condition are subjected to erasure in order to make room for a new order. In a similar fashion, the main character of *Men Like Gods* is relocated from England to Utopia, noticing a few significant changes: "This was an entirely different road from the one he had been upon half a minute before. The hedges had changed, the trees had altered, Windsor Castle had vanished, and – a small compensation – the big Limousine was in sight again" (Wells 1923: 15). This seemingly continuous progression, in which nature has undergone transformations, obliterates a crucial aspect of Englishness – the symbol of its monarchy. Windsor Castle will undoubtedly re-emerge on Barnstaple's return to England. But originally Barnstaple may sense that it was as irrelevant in Utopia as the Limousine with other Earthlings whose identity will later turn out to be at variance with the whole concept of Utopia.

3. TOPOGRAPHIC HOMOLOGIES AND CONTRASTS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND UTOPIA

The topography of England and Utopia in *Men Like Gods* suggests homologies with John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678). Like Christian, who dreams of finding a way from the City of Destruction to the Celestial City, Barnstaple heads from London to Utopia. The road leading there passes through Slough, while the Celestial City can be reached by overcoming the Slough of Despond (Bunyan 2008: 17). Aside from this "roadmap", Wells does not offer any further deliberation about Slough, but it may be contextualized in Barnstaple's response to the somewhat grim reality of England, overshadowed by "commercial ruin", "unforgettable and unforgivable outrages" in Ireland, a prolonged drought (Wells 1923: 5), which create an atmosphere of despond. To Christian, the Slough of Despond looks like a "particularly filthy ground", arousing "in his soul many fears and doubts, and discouraging apprehensions" (Bunyan 2008: 18). The homologous idea behind the journeys of Christian and Barnstaple is teleological, deeply rooted in Christian symbolism. As John Gray has noted, "theories of progress are not scientific hypotheses. They are myths, which answer the human need for meaning" (Gray 2007: 2). Indeed, the two characters' progress takes them out of despond and brings them, with a varying degree of effort and revelation, to what they perceive as a more hopeful stage. As a matter of fact, Barnstaple distinguishes paradisiacal qualities in Utopia in "groups and clusters of flowerlike buildings", and "paths and steps and pools of water as if the whole place were a garden" (Wells 1923: 37).

The paradisiacal qualities also manifest themselves in the physical clearness of Utopia. Not only is the road to Utopia made of glass, and the air is clear and full of

sweetness, but the sky and water are also crystalline there (Wells 1923: 16, 17, 154). In a way, England has almost completely shrunk from view in such warmer transparent climes, reminiscent of an area “beyond the Alps”, to which Wells referred in *A Modern Utopia* (Wells 1967: 13). However, something very precious, in the eyes of the Earthlings, has been sacrificed on the altar of clearness. Taking a critical line, Mr Rupert Catskill, one of the novel’s characters, admits: “Life on earth was... insecure, full of pains and anxieties, full indeed of miseries and distresses and anguish, but also, and indeed by reason of these very things, it had moments of intensity, hopes, joyful surprises, escapes, attainments, such as the ordered life of Utopia could not possibly afford” (Wells 1923: 91-92). The lack of anxieties, insects and even swallows in Utopia, highlights a divide separating Englishness from the Utopian identity. Whenever such a split is gauged, there appears very little cohesion between the atmosphere of turmoil, from which the Earthlings have emerged, and Utopian clearness, which has arisen as a result of progress. The fact that the Utopians organize a conference to discuss “the Age of Confusion” predating their own existence by several thousand years evokes an episode from William Morris’s *News from Nowhere* (1891). People of “the epoch of rest” commemorate “The Clearing of Misery” by letting young ladies sing of want and suffering that afflicted the previous period. On hearing one such song, Guest’s interlocutor exclaims, “a tragedy [has] grown inconceivable to her and her listeners. <...> [H]ow glorious life is grown!” (Morris 2003: 57).

The testimony to “glorious” improvement under the circumstances of social progress contains an element of deprecation because Utopian clearness leaves no scope to engage either a botanist (as was the case in *A Modern Utopia*) or a social scientist. Perhaps even Wells, who aptly combined the two properties, would have been overwhelmed by such an environment on a first encounter, because the culmination of clearness is likely to trigger processes contrary to progress. Earlier in *The Time Machine*, Wells demonstrated that a transformation into a deficient Eloi species could proceed from intellectual and physical degeneration after certain vital stimuli had been removed and basic needs gratified: “The too-perfect security of the Upperworlders had led them to a slow movement of degeneration, to a general dwindling in size, strength, and intelligence” (Wells 2010: 44). Therefore in *Men Like Gods*, the reminders of turmoil, anxieties, and swallows serve to fill in these Utopian absences with at least a modicum of the human condition as it was known in England.

4. UTOPIA AND THE CRYSTAL PALACE

The spatial continuity between England and Utopia lends itself to further analysis in the light of Wells’s attitude to clearness, which surfaces in *Men Like Gods* and is linked with debates outside of the novel. Sydenham, like Slough, is another site which the protagonist passes by before his arrival in Utopia. Barnstaple’s car “live[s] in a shed” (Wells 1923: 9), and the office of the newspaper he is working for is situated there. Besides, he feels contented “so long as his back was generally towards Sydenham” (Wells 1923: 13). By referring to “the domesticities of Sydenham” (Wells 1923: 208), Barnstaple deflates the importance of the area boasting in the period of 1851-1936 a glass and cast-iron Crystal Palace. Even though the Crystal Palace is not directly mentioned in the novel,

there is little doubt about Wells's, as well as Barnstaple's, awareness of its presence on Sydenham Hill. In his *Experiment in Autobiography* (1934), Wells recalls only "the gardens of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham", through which he would take strolls as a teenager (Wells 1934: 97). *The New Machiavelli* (1911) contains a dubious rendering of the Crystal Palace both as an "immense facade" blocking the protagonist's way to school, and as a playground spectacle of "gratuitous fireworks" (Wells 2005: 44-45). Wells seemed to be casually dismissive of the Crystal Palace, even though its symbolism had spawned a whole range of implications for the concept of utopia and ideas of progress.

One such debate involved two nineteenth-century Russian writers who voiced their competing views on the Crystal Palace. In his revolutionary novel *What Is to Be Done?* (1863), Nikolay Chernyshevsky, reluctant to depict tragic situations at large, saw in the Crystal Palace the pinnacle of human aspirations for equality and rationality. In her fourth dream, the novel's protagonist Vera Pavlovna envisions people's happiness in the communality of their day-to-day labour and transparency of their living conditions concentrated in "a house of vast proportions" (Chernyshevsky 1982: 319). At the opposite end of this debate stood Fyodor Dostoyevsky, who visited the Crystal Palace in 1862 as part of his European tour and regarded it in eschatological terms. In his *Winter Notes on Summer Impressions* (1863), he recorded that "something final has been accomplished here – accomplished and completed. It is a biblical sight, ...some prophecy out of the Apocalypse being fulfilled before your own eyes" (Dostoyevsky 2008: 50). Dostoyevsky took up the subject anew in *Notes from Underground* (1864), where the protagonist fails to reconcile the Crystal Palace with the innermost needs and inclinations of human nature: "suffering is doubt, it is negation, and what good is a crystal palace in which one can have doubts? ...man will never renounce suffering, that is, destruction and chaos" (Dostoyevsky 2006: 34). For Dostoyevsky, the Crystal Palace came to represent a finality dissonant with man's baseness, which could only be rectified by relying on an external moral authority.

A few decades later the debate about the Crystal Palace attained fictional shape in Yevgeny Zamyatin's novel *We* (first published in English in 1924). In the wake of Chernyshevsky's vision, a whole state is accommodated in glass buildings, has names replaced with numbers and is drilled not to question the regular pattern of life and labour. On the surface, it may appear that Zamyatin toes Dostoyevsky's line in allowing the Mephi, who stand for natural human forces from "the other side of the Wall" (Zamyatin 1993: 217), to stoke up an "infinite revolution" against the allegedly stifling entropy of the One State (Zamyatin 1993: 221). However, as Roger Cockrell sums up, in accordance with Dostoyevsky's contention that "freedom is only meaningful if it is bounded by a system of absolute moral values" (Cockrell 2005: 86), Zamyatin stopped half-way between rejecting the Crystal Palace and fully realizing the outcome of this action. A great admirer of Wells's fiction and thought, Zamyatin paid him tribute in his pamphlet *Herbert Wells* (1922), which tended to trace his own dismissal of stagnation back to Wells (Cockrell 2005: 86).

Men Like Gods offers several indications of Wells's anti-entropic stance which help to clarify his attitude to the Crystal Palace and, furthermore, to the question of national identity. The fact that the Crystal Palace was left perhaps intentionally unnoticed in the novel testifies to the irrelevance of its image to the idea of Utopia elaborated by Wells. First of all, based on the fundamental principle of progress, Utopia, as one of the

characters spells out, knows no rest: "Every day men and women awake and say: What new thing shall we do today? What shall we change?" (Wells 1923: 238). The origins of Utopia's self-styled progressive identity can be discovered in Wells's *A Modern Utopia*, drawing a distinction between the static and kinetic types of utopia. Acknowledging the paramount role of Darwinian evolutionism in mankind's intellectual history, Wells interpreted static utopias as "a balance of happiness won for ever against the forces of unrest and disorder that inhere in things" (Wells 1967: 5). Kinetic utopias, on the contrary, "must shape not as a permanent state but as a hopeful stage, leading to a long ascent of stages" (Wells 1967: 5). By extension, Wells prescribed uncertainty and even disease to Utopia whose progress ought to exclude stagnation and degeneration.

Secondly, Wells's Utopia reserves a niche for dissidence. As a witness to an expanding victory over nature and over man's natural predispositions, Barnstaple comes into contact with Utopia's "educational failure". Having lost her husband and sons in an accident at sea, Lychnis reverses from unemotional and steely rationality to more human passions of the heart: "She had rediscovered the lost passion of pity, first pity for herself and then a desire to pity others. She took no interest any more in vigorous and complete people..." (Wells 1923: 266). The misery of "the Age of Confusion", recounted to her by Barnstaple, kindles Lychnis's imagination just as the unnatural substitution of politeness for sympathy in Utopia does not appeal to her. To use Zamyatin's metaphor, Lychnis's "disease", which equals the discovery of the soul (Zamyatin 1993: 220), may be said to bear the hallmarks of Dostoyevsky's *Underground Man*, whose outbursts against the inhumanity of the Crystal Palace strike a very similar if louder chord. Left to her own "failed" devices, Lychnis enjoys an ambiguous position in the Utopian society. On the one hand, her reversion to the basic sentiment of pity discloses a glitch in the system of education in particular and in the line of progress at large. Even under the circumstances of a highly advanced civilization, the call of nature may reassert itself in human beings and cause an emotional transformation. On the other, this case of individual change can be taken as an auspicious caveat to the flaws of education that call for improvement in order to prevent future failures from happening, or at least to know how to handle them.

Lychnis's character fractures the stasis of the potential impeccability of Utopian clearness and contributes to the kinetic direction of Utopia's progress. Unlike the Mephi from Zamyatin's *We*, Lychnis barely presents a serious threat to Utopia because of her seeming solitariness. However, Lychnis is also reported to seek "her healing in healing" others (Wells 1923: 266). Her increasing interests in soul-doctoring may easily be wasted in the extremely rational society she belongs to. But a possibility of attracting a larger following of naturally inclined Mephi-like creatures cannot be discounted either. While *Men Like Gods* does not herald the latter development, *A Modern Utopia* stipulates "purging" socially maladjusted individuals into "islands of exile" (Wells 1967: 147). The islands will primarily accommodate "incurable cheats" who have failed to abide by the Utopian code of satisfactory earnings and social status, necessary for the conception of children (Wells 1967: 144). By exiling culprits from the civilized society, Wells places a premium on segregation, instead of effacement or torture. Thus, the image of the Crystal Palace is written out of *Men Like Gods* due to its entropic overtones which were intolerable to Wells. Inspired by his stay in Utopia, Barnstaple emerges as an advocate

of the Great Revolution, whose principles differ from Zamyatin's "infinite revolution" in the distribution of forces. Unlike the One State, Utopia possesses self-regenerative elements derived from the licensed outlets for dissidence within its space. Therefore the renewal of Utopia may draw on the continuous overcoming of recurrent failures rather than on releasing natural forces in destructive action.

5. CONCLUSION

In the course of discussion, this paper has revealed ascertainable equivalences of the English and Utopian identities in terms of imaginary topography, rejection of the Crystal Palace as a symbol of stagnation and degeneration, and outlets for dissidence. Having demonstrated the limitations of clearness and the necessity of dissent in the construction of Utopia, Wells proceeded with an "awakening to Cosmopolis" in England. Equipped with the means of locomotion, traditions of freedom, and the discourse of "progress with continuity", the English identity appeared to be appropriately geared to a continuous transition into Utopia. On the figurative level, "progress with continuity" also concerned England's national symbol – the rose, which had developed into a double-petal flower in Utopia. The exit from Utopia was to be marked with the rose, which Barnstaple had intended to save as a keepsake; he "tore a single petal from the glowing bloom, and then laid down the rest of the great flower carefully in the very centre of his track" (Wells 1922: 296). Thus, the rose was designated to link the two spaces into one successive progression, serving as a sort of a "door in the wall" which might potentially lead into "another and altogether more beautiful world" (Wells 2007: 28). The envisioned extinction of this flower in Utopia, as well as its likely shrivelling in contemporary England, could equally disappoint the protagonist who would rather preserve the spatial continuity of a journey from England to Utopia.

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SUMMARY

THE SPATIAL CONTINUATION OF ENGLISHNESS IN H. G. WELLS'S *MEN LIKE GODS*

This paper examines continuities and ruptures between England and Utopia on the level of spatiality in H. G. Wells's *Men Like Gods* (1923). In designating the possibility of time travel, similar to *The Time Machine*, Wells enforces the idea of indiscrete space where Utopia has become England's spatial continuation. In line with Wells's bifocal perspective on England, which balances between a sentimental and yet detached depiction, and uncompromising visions of destruction, Utopia is construed of both clearness and dissent. Through the image of and debates about the Crystal Palace, it is sustained that the concept of Utopia is closely linked to Wells's anti-entropic impulses and evolutionary gradualism. It is concluded that, equipped with the means of locomotion, traditions of freedom, and the discourse of "progress with continuity", the English identity is appropriately geared to a continuous transition into Utopia.

KEYWORDS: utopia, England, Englishness, national identity, spatial continuity, entropy.

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■ KONSTRUKT URBANOG U ROMANU *KIŠA I HARTIJA* VLADIMIRA TASIĆA

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U romanu *Kiša i hartija* obrazuje se kulturni i estetski konstrukt grada. Odnosi likova prema urbanom prostoru pokazuju kako taj prostor utiče na formiranje njihovih identiteta. Oni zauzimaju pozicije unutar kontrastnih odnosa svoje/tuđe, kao i staro/novo. Urbani konstrukt se formira i u međusobnoj komunikaciji između junaka, kao i u njihovim unutrašnjim preispitivanjima. Značaj kretanja za slike grada obeležen je parovima otvoreno/zatvoreno i, posebno, centar/periferija. Egzistencijalni sloj značenja prati pojave urbanih predstava, posebno one vezane za performans *Klio i Trepsihora*, u kom se spajaju ritam grada i egzistencijalni krik čoveka. Vizuelni nivo performansa uključuje se u promišljanje problema prava na grad.

Ključne reči: grad, konstrukt, performans, komunikacija, identitet.

Razmišljajući o gradskom magacinu, pri početku *Kiše i hartije*, junakinja romana Tanja primećuje: „Za mene, to mesto kojim su slobodno šetali psi i mačke, beskućnici, bilo je stvarno (u to nema sumnje), ali je bilo i metafora. Projekcija, neko bi rekao“ (Tasić 2004: 22). Upravo ta osobena pozicija prostora u ovom romanu upućuje na razmišljanje o konstruisanju predstave urbanog. Tasićev Novi Sad je fragmentarni prostor sećanja junaka, kao i stvarni grad sa kojim se oni sučeljavaju. Spajajući dva nivoa postojanja, on je „poprište nečeg drugog, nekog drugog, nekog drugog mesta“ (Krauč 2002: 227). To *drugo* su i drugi ljudi, i različiti društveno-istorijski trenuci, i oni *drugi* što se nalaze u samim junacima, gde se sukobljavaju, prelivaju i razdvajaju različite projekcije grada, koji tokom tih procesa zadobija i različite, promenljive granice. Značenja koja mu oni pripisuju transformiše materijalnost samog prostora (Krauč 2002: 235).

Kada se posle urbanog performansa *Klio i Trepsihora*, Tanja suoči sa emotivnim pražnjenjem, sa apokaliptičnim doživljajem sveta, briše suze, „ali one su se vraćale i rastapale grad, kuće od marcipana, mostove od kesten-pirea, parkove od mente. Sve se

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ruši, mislila sam, sve se topi i nestaje" (Tasić 2004: 265). To mesto koje se topi najbolje opisuje kakav je Tasićev Novi Sad. On postoji u ljudima, mnogo je više unutra nego spolja, mnogo više konstrukt nego realan prostor.

Najstariji znak grada jeste zid, a on ne postoji samo u fizičkom smislu, već je najizrazitije simboličko obeležje grada (Doksijadis 1982: 278), utkano u njegovo poreklo. Takav omeđen prostor zadobija značenje celine, do te mere da u srednjem veku stvara i iluziju ostrva.² Grad postaje autonomni svet, koji može predstavljati čitav kosmos. Gradske zidine trebalo je da odrede posvećene granice, da zatvore pristup zlim dusima više nego neprijateljski raspoloženim ljudima (Mamford 2006: 36-37).³ Zid, takođe, ističe razliku između onih spolja i onih unutra, između polja i grada (Mamford 2006: 70). Odbrambeno jedinstvo pretvara se u teskobu, strah, neprijateljstvo i agresivnost prema drugom (Mamford 2006: 325).

Druga oslonja tačka urbane simbolike jeste pamćenje, koje ujedinjuje ono što je bilo i ono što će biti. U tom smislu grad je posuda za skladištenje i prenošenje poruka (Mamford 2006: 105). Obrisi i granice grada, kao i pamćenje o njemu, postoje u ljudima, likovima romana *Kiša i hartija*. Kroz estetski čin izgrađuje se višestruko složen konstrukt urbanog: to je kulturni konstrukt jer je grad tekovina kulture, svet koji čovek stvara, ali i umetnički, jer je deo umetničkog sveta pisca. Prostor nije samo organizovan i ustanovljen, on je isto tako oblikovan, njega prisvaja određena grupa u skaldu sa svojim zahtevima, etikom, estetikom, tj. svojom ideologijom (Lefevr 2005: 167). U *Kiši i hartiji* tu grupu čine romaneskni likovi. Oni su ti kroz čiju se vizuru konstruiše umetnički model Novog Sada.⁴

U umetničkom modelu sveta ili unutar urbanog konstrukta „gradovi se vide kao živa bića, sa plućima, krvotokom, licem, ponekim ogoljenim ramenom, otkrivenim detaljem koji naglašava i obećava; ne kao inkarnacija moći, kao sistem kamera i monumenata, betonskih erekcija i kanala čija je jedina svrha da usmeri i uplaši" (Tasić 2004: 141). Antropomorfna slika ističe ljudske doživljaje gradskog prostora, osećanja prema njemu, promene u odnosima koje su uslovljene vremenom i društveno-političkim promenama.

Ovakav urbani konstrukt podrazumeva etičku dimenziju koja biće uvek postavlja iznad moći. Rusoovski rečeno: kuće čine naselja, ali građani čine grad (Mamford 2006: 100). Pošto ljudi vrše transformacije u gradu, uspostavljajući svoj identitet, ulica nije jednostavno mesto koje se može prodati (Krauč 2002: 246). Shodno tome, centralni problem urbanog konstrukta u romanu *Kiša i hartija* predstavlja dvostruka pozicija ljudi u gradu i grada u ljudima. Zato je Tasićev Novi Sad „obično mesto na kom su živeli neobični ljudi" (Tasić 2004: 267). Oneobičavanje se vrši kroz sećanja junaka, njihove razgovore i, na kraju, zajedničku akciju. Njihovo prisustvo postaje ključno za postojanje grada. Ono što čini odnos ljudi i grada dinamičnim, dijalektičnim jeste to što i grad

2 O osećaju ostrva u srednjovekovnom gradu pisao je Luis Mamford (Mamford 2006: 325).

3 Mirjana Detelić, pak, smatra da zid, kuća, emanaciju svetog treba da zadrži unutra, u povlašćenom unutrašnjem prostoru (Detelić 1992: 133).

4 O takvom složenom odnosu grada i književnosti piše Aleksandar Jerkov: „U gradu kao u idealnom mestu sve ostaje isto i sve postaje različito. Upisanost grada u tekst, urbana imaginacija otisnuta u književnim delima otkriva proces rađanja urbane poetike. Nije reč o opisima grada, već o simboličnom pečatu urbofilije" (1994: 655). Postojanje *istog i različitog* predstavlja suštinu estetskog konstrukta grada. On se referiše na stvarni grad, ali je od njega suštinski različit kao deo umetničkog sveta. Roman *Kiša i hartija* po načinu na koji tretira problem urbanog i po načinu na koji konstruiše slike grada u potpunosti pripada urbanoj poetici.

postaje ključan za njih, jer: „Dok posmatramo, mi osvajamo svet, ali dok nas posmatraju, mi dobijamo svoje mesto u njemu” (Etikem/Lukinbil 2002: 202).

Predstava Novog Sada izgrađuje se iz prepletenih perspektiva petoro junaka: Tanje, Sonje, Nestora, Đure i Žorža. Na formalnom planu prave dijaloške forme gotovo da nema, a suštinski ona postoji u tom prepletu. Tanjinim posredovanjem prikazuju se različite vizure, iskustva i doživljaji, ali celina odaje utisak dijaloga, ili polifonije. *Kiša i hartija* zvuči mnoštvom glasova: iako nema dijaloške forme, postoji komunikacija. Polifonija se postiže kontrastnim slikama društva, sadašnjosti i prošlosti, u susretima, sukobima, unutrašnjim i spoljašnjim. Suštinu tog odnosa otkrivaju Tanjine reči: „Nismo se slagali u svemu; u tome smo bili kao jedan” (Tasić 2004: 25). Upravo slaganje o neslaganju obezbeđuje dijalog. Moguće je napraviti paralelu između forme romana i grada: grad svojom strukturom pruža mogućnost za sadržajni razgovor, ali se dijalog razvio uz teškoću jer je grad prvobitno počivao na monologu moći (Mamford 2006: 124). Odnos među junacima nije obeležen odnosima moći, ali moć postoji kao društveni i politički fenomen, u predstavama promenjenog sveta, koje opterećuju junake, bez obzira da li se vraćaju iz (dobrovoljnog) izgnanstva devedesetih ili fizički nisu menjali mesto boravka.

Transformacije grada prate transformacije junaka. Kroz mnoštvo kontakata oni obrazuju svoj (urbani) identitet i menjaju ga. Izgrađivanje identiteta povezano je sa osećanjem pripadnosti. Ono je u junacima romana poljuljano: „Otkud nam ideja da negde pripadamo, da nam nešto pripada, čak i taj lavirint praznih hala, pogona zatvorenih fabrika, magacina sa razbijenim prozorima?” (Tasić 2004: 22). Odlazeći i vraćajući se, oni nose jedan grad u sebi, a drugi, i drugačiji, vide pred sobom. Unutrašnji grad je njihov, spoljašnji je tuđ. Unutrašnji je vezan za njihov identitet, spoljašnji podseća da je došlo do promena i u identitetu samom.

Veza između ljudi i grada gradi se na opoziciji svoje/tuđe, s tim što se taj mitski kontrast relativizuje, pa Tanja kaže: „Ovo je naš grad! Naša slatka laž, naša uteha” (Tasić 2004: 25). Svest o lažnosti utehe, pa time i prisvajanja grada otkriva moderni senzibilitet u kome ne postoje čvrste i nepomične tačke oslonca. Relativizacija se postiže aktiviranjem istorijskog nasuprot mitskom vremenu. Žorž „je tražio mesta na kojima je ranije, dok je još poznao svoj grad, mogao da sretne sanjare, duvače, svirače, pripovedače, strip crtače, ludake koji još uvek vole tu varošicu na steroidima, vole je dovoljno da o njoj raspredaju povesti i legende, da po njenim zidovima ispisuju nerazumljive poruke...” (Tasić 2004: 71). U takvoj poziciji *svoj grad* ne postoji, on je ili deo prošlosti, ili, još više, legende. Potvrđuje se da je odrednica *svoj* jednako konstrukt kao i grad sam. Lirska predstava nepostojećeg mesta kao kuće posebno je prisutna u Tanjinom pripovedačkom komentaru Žoržove priče: „To je bio naš grad, naša kuća. Kao kada se deca igraju, jedno vreme čuče skrivena iza stabala, buradi, automobila, a onda pojure ulicom uz ciku i neka od njih zadihano dotrče na mesto koje im u mašti i konvenciji igre pruža sigurnost, skoče na njega i uzviknu: kuća! Ko zna koja po redu” (Tasić 2004: 78). Sigurnost gubi stabilne oslonce, pretvarajući se u dečji svet, grad postaje mesto iz mašte.⁵ Tasić lirskim sredstvima slika ljudsku nesigurnost u svetu i dočarava egzistencijalni strah.

5 Vladan Desnica u romanu *Proljeća Ivana Galeba*, pišući o sumnji u *realnost realnog*, beleži: „Doista, zar i fakat našeg doživljavanja u misli, u fantaziji, zar i fakat našeg čuvstvovanja, treperenja naše senzibilnosti, nisu isto tako fakti kao i oni *vanjski*” (Desnica 1967: 132).

Opoziciju svoje/tuđe dodatno relativizuje opozicija staro/novo. S jedne strane, prošlost je obeležena kao vreme sreće, spokojstva, pripadnosti, sigurnosti, pa nestanak starih mesta prati melanholija. Međutim, Žorž je sam postao „željan novog početka, početka koji bi bio kraj svih početaka, željan novog prostora, novog grada, nekog novog sada u kojem bi se, paradoksalno, mogao smiriti, skrasiti” (Tasić 2004: 50). Tako se potreba za odlaskom, za novim početkom ne motiviše samo istorijsko-politički, u kontekstu '90-ih godina 20. veka, već i egzistencijalno i psihološki iz pozicije čoveka kao pojedinca. Upravo iz te humanističke pozicije Tanja zaključuje da se grad posle njihovog performansa promenio jer oni više nisu bili isti (Tasić 2004: 263). Konstrukt se menja zajedno s promenom tačke gledišta, konteksta i promenom onih koji ga stvaraju. Kako se menjaju likovi, menja se i Novi Sad.

Važnu dimenziju doživljaja grada nesumnjivo predstavlja istorijsko-politički kontekst. Sonja objašnjava Žoržu „da je grad drugačiji, da su mnogi otišli, da ih se malo vratilo, ali da nije sve propalo; da postoje određena mesta, zanimljivi ljudi” (Tasić 2004: 75). Svojim iskazom ona stvara konstrukt vremena: sadašnjost (početak 21. veka) određuje kao negativno promenjenu, ali ostavlja „mogućnost ostrva”, predstavljenog u preživelim urbanom duhu. Istorijsko vreme postaje apokaliptično u Žoržovom strahu da „možda postoji samo đubre, svemoćno i sveprisutno, đubre koje i jeste grad, trag koji ostavljamo za sobom kao jedini važeći dokaz postojanja, jedina istorija koja se, doslovno, broji” (Tasić 2004: 48). Posle iskustva s kraja 20. i početka 21. veka, kroz moderno osećanje gubitka iluzija, svet se izjednačava sa đubretom, i u fizičkom i u metafizičkom smislu, a utehe ili nema ili je himerična.

Tanjine reči: „Grad se polako praznio. Ili, ne. Nije se praznio. Nestajali su ljudi koje sam poznavala; pojavljivali su se drugi, nesrećniji. Dešavalo se da izađem i ne sretnem nikog poznatog” (Tasić 2004: 140) ukazuju na isti pristup gradu, na nelagodnost pri susretu sa drugačijim i potrebu za poznatim, svojim.

Likovi se postavljaju u dijaloški odnos sa gradom kao mestom-sastajalištem, na kom dolazi do „mešanja rasa, kultura i tehnologija, do biološke hibridizacije. Grad pruža otvoren pristup strancima iz spoljnog sveta” (Mamford 2006: 102-103). Na gradskim vratima sastajala su se dva sveta, gradski i seoski, unutrašnji i spoljašnji (Mamford 2006: 325). Dolazi do kontakta, ali oni nisu jalovi samo u susretu sličnog sa sličnim (*zanimljivi ljudi*). Različiti se ne razumeju, ne dele svet. Istina grada je prilika za zajednički život s nepoznatim. Grad čini susret neizbežnim, što donosi neprijatnost (Jerkov 1994: 657), čak i kada je susret sa drugim bićem određen kao susret sa nepoznatim u kome nema ničeg strašnog i pretećeg.

Nasuprot idealizovanju grada kao mesta interkulturalnosti, u kome različite osobe i načini života, stavljeni jedni pored drugih, mogu da pruže relativističku perspektivu i osećanje tolerancije za razlike (Virt 2005: 120), moguće je i da potencijalna razlika među ljudima postane tim veća što više pojedinaca učestvuje u procesu interakcije. Takve varijacije podstiču različite vrste segregacije (po kulturnom nasleđu, ekonomskom i društvenom statusu, ukusima) (Virt 2005: 117).

Ljudski kontakti su važni još u jednom aspektu konstruisanja prostora. Vesti u gradu se, zapravo kao i u selu, prenose tako što „uvek ima nekog ko poznaje nekog ko poznaje nekog ko zna, i vest se, kao u igri gluvih telefona, širi i preobražava” (Tasić 2004: 10). Šireći se, vest organizuje i urbani prostor, postavlja imaginarne granice. Kada

Tanja komentariše na koji način su vesti (ili glasine) o njihovom performansu dolazile iz različitih delova grada, kaže: „Vesti iz drugih krajeva grada u početku su stizale sporo, sa pešacima, skejterima i biciklistima koji su uspevali da se probiju kroz saobraćajni kolaps nastao usled prestanka rada semafora. Uskoro je, međutim, ulogu kurira preuzela trojka motorizovanih huligana [...]za mene su bili glasnici doba dezinformacija[...] Vesti koje su prenosili do nas su stizale iz druge, treće, ili ko zna koje ruke, i zvučale su, rečju, fantastično” (Tasić 2004: 255-256). Te vesti koje zvuče fantastično odgovaraju fantastičnom gradu nastalom u umetničkom izvođenju, i onom unutrašnjem koji ljudi nose u sebi.

Čovek formira urbani konstrukt i svojom sposobnošću kretanja, koja je „prirodni i univerzalni jezik ljudskog bića” (Tasić 2004: 18). Od početka istorije grad se određivao kinetičkim poljem čoveka koji je bio u stanju da se kreće i stvori svoje mesto za život (Doksijadis 1982: 111). Taj kinetički grad u *Kiši* i *hartiji* formira se na više nivoa. Tanjin otac pokazuje da sa kćerkom deli isti (imaginarni) prostor time što zna koliko joj vremena treba od radio stanice do kuće, što zna da će ona ići okolnim putem.⁶ Posebne mape grada stvaraju se nabranjem urbanih uporišnih tačaka pored kojih likovi prolaze. Tako Tanjin otac zna da će ona proći „pored pozorišta za decu, neke ruševine koja će tamo ostati godinama, decenijama, prema ulici s papirnicama i poslastičarnicama na čijem je početku bio dvorac boje breskve, da [će] proći kroz pešačku zonu, svratiti u prodavnicu ploča na trgu, preći na suprotnu stranu i zastati pred bioskopom koji će docnije postati tržni centar, i da [će] posle toga, posle te avanture, krenuti *pravo kući*” (Tasić 2004: 13).⁷

Čovek koji se kreće izgrađuje mikrokosmos, u odnosu na njegov položaj odrednice blizu i daleko, ovde i tamo dobijaju smisao, one postaju *ja iskazi*. Figura flâneura u *Kiši* i *hartiji* nije polno određena. To može biti Žorž, ali i Tanja. U tom smislu šetač se udaljava od svog istorijskog značenja, ali glagol *skitati* nastavlja da opisuje istraživanje urbanih prostora; hodanje bez neke određene putanje. Skitnja promišlja grad kao mogućnost za kontinuirano kretanje, a ne niz diskretnih arhitektonskih elemenata. Prostori skitnje ostaju mesta dokolice, zadovoljstva, potrošnje, razmene i pokazivanja. Društvene relacije prostorno su artikulisane – kroz prostor i mirovanje i vizuelno – kroz veze između posmatrača i posmatranog (Rendal 2002: 110). Pozicija šetača u romanu se usložnjava na imaginacijskoj ravni. Kada Tanja kaže: „Putovaću bez kretanja, nepomična u svojoj pećini” (Tasić 2004: 266), onda skitnja dobija interiorizovanu dimenziju. To *putovanje bez kretanja* postaje lik u ogledalu kretanja kroz grad, posebno kada se ima na umu da nam pisac i grad sâm predstavlja kao unutrašnju sliku.

Osim hodom, urbana mapa se stvara i vožnjom. Kompletna slika, potpuni doživljaj dobija se upravo u prepletu različitih kretanja. Složenost pokreta i mapa čini prostor urbanim: „Bulevarom se kretao karavan vozila i mopeda, brodovi-restorani ljuljali su se na talasima, kejom su hodali penzioneri, parovi, deca, čitav jedan pešački grad čiji su ritam povremeno presecale devojčice na koturaljkama, skejteri, biciklisti i psi koji su njušili, jurili mačke ili jedni druge” (Tasić 2004: 246-247).

6 To što dele isti grad, utiče na njihove svakodnevne živote, na prepoznavanja i skrivene bliskosti, nežnosti. Zato što otac zna njene putanje, nju čeka urejano mleko kada se vrati kući (Tasić 2004: 13).

7 Svoju mapu grada pravi i Žorž nabirajući tačke oslonca ili samo urbane tačke pored kojih prolazi kada krene prema kući (Tasić 2004: 72-73).

Radnja se u romanu odvija i na otvorenom (kretanje kroz grad ili urbani performans) i u unutrašnjim prostorima (stan, kafe-knjižara). Međutim, sam pristup gradu je interiorizovan, jer je individualizovan, provučen kroz matricu sećanja i doživljaja. S druge strane, u urbanoj akciji on postaje otvoren jer prevazilazi prostorne granice i određenje grada kao zatvorenog, zidom ograđenog, prostora. Konstruktivistička poigravanja sa dimenzijama i odrednicama unutra/napolju vidljiva su u Tanjinom opažanju galebova: „Negde u beskrajnom prostoru koji je ipak dovoljno mali da se može obuhvatiti rečju *napolju*, galebovi su klikitali, uzletali i ponirali, kružili nad nečim. Ako bih svet pogledala s njihove visine, videla bih igračku“ (Tasić 2004: 8). Upravo spoljašnji, neomeđeni prostor postaje dovoljno mali, što može implicirati da se unutrašnji prostor vidi kao širok, veliki, bezgraničan. Inverzija binarnog para upućuje na moderni doživljaj sveta u kom je težište na subjektivnim, pa i virtuelnim svetovima.

Binarni par centar/periferija određen je ideološki. Kada izvode performans nedaleko od centra grada, na reci, mostu, junaci *Kiše i hartije* nalaze se na periferiji ne toliko prostornoj (iako je voda u mitskom smislu liminalni prostor prvog reda) koliko socijalnoj. U određenim društveno-političkim prilikama njihova kultura je subkultura. Lefevr (2005: 169) kaže da se centar razara zato što odbija drugu centralnost, razara se ukoliko proizvodi akciju onih koji isključuju i teraju ka periferiji. Segregacija čini teorijsku i praktičnu negaciju urbanog. Junaci romana deluju iz pozicije isključenosti, marginalnosti. Međutim, oni ne izazivaju promene u centru. Njihova akcija je romantičarskog tipa – ona je efemerna, liriska, njihov grad se rastapa u suzama kao *kuće od marcipana*. Njena snaga je, poput snage performansa koji se izvodi samo jednom, u kratkotrajnosti i neponovljivosti. Centar i periferija postaju relativni, jer se nalaze u ljudima, ne u realnom prostoru.⁸

Tasićev grad je mesto heterotopije, on spaja kontrastne prošle i sadašnje prostore, prostore različitih estetika i etika. Iz perspektive Lehanove podele na centripetalan (naturalistički) grad, u kom se život kontroliše iz centra urbane sile, i centrifugalni (modernistički), gde se centar pomera ka simboličkim vezama u prostoru i vremenu (Panić Maraš 2010: 64), romaneskni Novi Sad bi pripadao drugom tipu. Urbana sila u njemu dolazi s periferije, pa se konstrukt urbanog centra formira u simboličkom prostoru i vremenu, u ljudima i umetničkoj akciji.

Deo urbanog konstrukta takođe je i čulni grad. U prepletu različitih mirisa, mirisa na sneg koji nije pao, prženo kestenje i kokice, spajaju se priroda i kultura, obe obeležene pozitivno, dok različita sećanja i različite stvarnosti prate kontrast između mirisa snega, kestenja i kokica s jedne strane i asfalta i smeća koje se preliva iz prepunih kontejnera, s druge. Čulni nadražaji se oblikuju kroz prizmu doživljenog, čime im se oduzima objektivnost. Oni postaju deo osećanja marginalnosti savremenog čoveka.

Najsnažniji čulni doživljaj u *Kiši i hartiji* obezbeđuje ritam. On se izdvaja unutar performansa *Klio i Trepsihora*, koji integriše različite medije. Unutar estetike spajanja slike, zvuci, pokreti, radnje spajaju se elektronskim vezama sa živim telima, stvarajući

8 Doksijadis ukazuje na to da savremeni grad ima više centara koji se stalno menjaju. To je dinamičan grad – dinapolis (Doksijadis 1982: 281). Svetski grad više neće imati centralnu tačku. Postojeće centri višeg i nižeg reda (Doksijadis 1982: 299). U *Kiši i hartiji* se ne postavlja problem velikog grada, Novi Sad je još uvek samo *varošica na steroidima*, već je pitanje centra i periferije povezano sa egzistencijalnim pozicijama junaka.

heterogeni sklop, koji se može pretvoriti u mimezis elektronizovane stvarnosti (Jovićević/Vujanović 2006: 258). Elektronska muzika, pomoću skenera i kamera beleži ritmove grada: „ritmove poziva, poruka, sastanaka, rastanaka, crvenih i zelenih talasa, plima i oseka saobraćaja, ritmove raspoloženja, uličnih svetiljki, redova vožnje, ciklusa pekara, praznika, svetkovina, izbora, proslava, vesti i serija, postova i slavskih bahanalija, *radnog* i *slobodnog* vremena, ritmove kafea, stambenih galaksija, godišnjih doba, dana i noći, rođenja i sahrana, numerisanih virova i dalekih satelita” (Tasić 2004: 241). U tom modelovanju ritma spajaju se realni grad i urbani konstrukt, stvarnost i umetnost, dva sveta. Ritam postoji oko ljudi, i u njima. Ritmički prepleti odgovaraju i dvama gradovima: onom pothranjenom u mrežama Žoržovih računara (i u junacima samim), po kojima bi svaka zgrada, raskrsnica, fasada, mogle biti po potrebi rekonstruisane, i onom koje te zgrade, raskrsnice i fasade čine u istorijskom vremenu.

Drugi dvostruki izvor ritma čine građevinske mašine i Nestorov snimak, koji sam ritamski izvor preoblikuje: „Ritam građevinske mašine najednom je postao drugačiji. Bio je svuda oko nas, odjekivao je, činilo mi se, čitavim gradom. Pojačavao se i zatim se u začaranom krugu utapao u bezbrojne kopije sebe (...) i sada su svi ti ritmovi, različiti ali isti, postajali nešto drugo, nešto moćnije” (Tasić 2004: 249).

Elektronski uređaji beleže kretanja ljudi, sabiraju ih i pretvaraju „u zaglušujuću buku hiljade glasova koji pevaju, uzdišu, izdišu, smeju se, mucaju, prete, ustaju, šapuću, preklinju, krkljaju, žale se, hvale se, kikoću se, jecaju, grcaju, mrmljaju, rade sve što glasovi rade na trista različitih jezika, i taj haos se prenosi gradom kao krugovi na vodi, a zatim se vraćaju i u sudaru i suočenju sa sobom postaju nešto novo, jeziva i zadivljujuća simfonija u kojoj most zvuči kao vozovi[...]” (Tasić 2004: 253).⁹ Kao osobenost urbanog savremenog grada izdvaja se spoj tehnike i tehnologije sa humanitetom. Upravo one, osuđene kao uzroci otuđenja, dovode do suočavanja sa izvornim i duboko egzistencijalnim zvucima i stanjima čoveka, sa njegovim najintimnijim unutrašnjim svetom.

Iz te disharmonije „naposletku se uzdigao krik, užasan akord, ili disakord koji nije popuštao već je neprestano uzlazio, preobražavao se, nadletao grad nošen zvučnicima i cvećem, kroz bašte, parkove, groblja, penjao se u bolnom glisandu” (Tasić 2004: 250-251). Iz ritma nastaje egzistencijalni, munkovski krik, a slika grada postaje deo promišljanja čoveka u apokaliptičkom trenutku. Kao što postoje ritam grada i ritam performansa, tako postoje i krik čoveka i umetnički krik: grad i čovek se iznova stapaju u jedno unutar misli o postojanju i nestajanju. Umetnost im pak nije suprotnost, već je deo njih, kao drugo lice istog *organizma*.¹⁰

Metamorfozu tog krika čini jednako važan uzdah koji Tanja čuje: „simultani uzdah mirijade duša, blistavih ili ukaljanih, hropac ili olakšanje, što je brzo zamenio šum uzbuđenih glasova praćenih ritmom koji se ustalio, ustrajavao i pulsirao kroz kosti” (Tasić 2004: 251). Učešće ljudi u doživljaju preformansa uspostavlja veze neophodne za postojanje grada. Konstrukt urbanog se formira u komunikaciji i interakciji, a u ovom slučaju u zajedničkoj graničnoj egzistencijalnoj situaciji.

9 Za američkog kompozitora Džona Kejdža ono što čujemo, gde god se nalazili, uglavnom je buka, koju treba uhvatiti, kontrolisati i transformisati u muziku (Jovićević/Vujanović 2006: 165).

10 Pomenuti spoj prirode i kulture sreće se i u umetničkoj intervenciji postavljanja kalema u cveće tako da se stabljika i latice koriste kao zvučnik.

Vizuelni deo performansa obezbedile su digitalne kamere koje su, postavljene na bilborde, snimale pokrete grada dvadeset četiri sata na dan. Čitav grad je bio platno, skup pozornica na kojima se odigravaju nevidljive drame, crni prostor. Ljudi „na ekranima bilbordâ vide svoj grad, na svakom ekranu upravo onaj deo pejzaža koji je inače zaklonjen tričarijama na reklamnom panou a sada ga pokazuje kao što bi ga prikazalo okno velikog prozora po čijoj se površini sliva olujna kiša, moćna, u velikim kapima“ (Tasić 2004: 251). Otkrivanje zaklonjenih pejzaža jeste reakcija na promenu grada, na izgradnju tržnih centara, prodavnica, turističkih agencija, crkava, banaka na mestu magacina, mestu koje ima sentimentalno značenje, koje je deo nečijeg grada, nečijih života. Bilbordima sa otkrivenim gradskim pejzažem kaže se „ne“ *pripitomljavanju* gradskih ulica u savremenom merkantilnom okruženju (Džekson 2002: 252). Prisvajanje javnog prostora označava ideološki stav: komodifikacija može da prisvoji naša sećanja, znanja, načine na koje se poslovi obavljaju (Krauč 2002: 245).¹¹ Hana Arent smatra da su izvođačke umetnosti bliske političkom delovanju jer, da bi se realizovale, zahtevaju organizaciju javnog prostora (Jovičević/Vujanović 2006: 290). Tako performans *Klio i Trepshora* predstavlja odgovor *modernog iskustva* na sve jaču regulaciju i kontrolu javnog prostora i organizuje gradski pejzaž na nov način, modelujući stvarnost i grad.

Hronotop grada u noći nosi posebna simbolička značenja. Performans iz *Kiše i hartije* može se uporediti sa provokativnim plakatima i grafitima koji se u gradu pojavljuju tokom noći. Oni su alternative rečima koje se javljaju tokom dana i sugerišu da je diskurs noći možda poslednji oblik političke debate (Kresvel 2002: 370). U tom kontekstu grad se ponovo otkriva kao složen, u najmanju ruku dvostruk: ulica je mesto i znak dominacije i reda, ali i mesto i znak nemira, nereda i pobune (Kresvel 2002: 371). *Klio i Trepshora* je kao aktivistička umetnost tu da je svi vide. Ona egzistira na otvorenom, u gradu. Ne može se kupiti, zapravo ceo koncept se raspada pri pokušaju *poslovnih* pregovora sa kompanijom *Pepsi*.

S druge strane, instrumentalizacija prostora, bez obzira s koje pozicije se dešavala, „omogućava segregaciju društvenih grupa, funkcija i mesta“ (Lefevr, prema Vujović/Petrović 2005: 40). Rušenje magacina simbolički izopštava iz grada junake romana, ali i njihov performans isključuje one koji se za rušenje zalažu (čak i ako nisu imenovani).

Osobenu urbanu mrežu obrazuju različiti svetski gradovi. Veze mogu biti asocijativne, vezane za ojkonime: Njujork – Nju Delhi – Novi Sad. Mogu se zasnivati i na vizuelnim sličnostima, kakva postoji u betonskoj arhitekturi Praga 12 (ili 13) i Limana II. Značaj te mreže leži u konceptu svetskog grada i mogućnosti promišljanja sličnosti i razlika između različitih urbanih naselja širom planete. Poređenja se mogu ticati vizuelnih identiteta (arhitekture i urbanizma), ali i društveno-političkih, kulturnih i egzistencijalnih problema. Površne asocijacije omogućavaju dublja promišljanja urbanog konstrukta.

11 Paralela zloupotrebe javnog prostora sreće se i u Rimu tokom fašističke vlasti. Delovi grada bili su porušeni i zamenjeni širokim, modernim, monumentalnim avenijama, koje su postale idealna mesta za fašističke parade i spektakl, kao i za bolji saobraćaj (Etkinson 2002: 38). Stvarajući tipske totalitarne ulice, režim je uništio četvrti stvorene u proteklih nekoliko vekova, u kojima su obitavale davno formirane zajednice (Etkinson 2002: 43).

Slike grada u romanu *Kiša i hartija* potvrđuju stav da urbano društvo nije završeno, već da se stvara (Krauč 2002: 166). Promene u gradu, koje se dešavaju kroz istoriju, ali i u savremenom trenutku, i u junacima, od presudne su važnosti za izgradnju urbanog konstruktta. Bez svesti o promeni, o transformacijama i dinamici nema svesti o urbanom. Ta promenljivost omogućava i multifunkcionalnost, kao još jednu od ključnih uloga u uspostavljanju gradskog života. Polifonom organizacijom romana unutar glasa jednog dramatisovanog pripovedača, različitim istorijskim linijama radnje, postavljanjem prostora grada u centar pažnje forma romana *Kiša i hartija* omogućila je sagledavanje složenih mehanizama formiranja konstruktta urbanog u svesti junaka, u umetničkom svetu dela i u kontekstu savremenih promišljanja fenomena urbanog.

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SUMMARY

THE URBAN CONSTRUCT IN THE NOVEL *KIŠA I HARTIJA* BY VLADIMIR TASIĆ

The urban construct formed in Tasić's novel *Kiša i hartija* is a cultural and aesthetic construct. In connection to the main characters, the urban space around them also shows that it affects their identities. They occupy positions within the contrasting oppositions *my own/somebody else's* and *old/new*. An urban construct is formed through the communication between characters and through their own self-observations. The oppositions *outdoors/indoors* and, especially, *centre/periphery* mark the significance of movement for the images of the city. Urban images also have an existential meaning, particularly those connected with the performance *Clio and Terpsichore*, in which the city rhythm and an existential human cry are united. The visual layer of this performance contributes to pondering over the problem of claiming the right to the city.

KEYWORDS: city, construct, performance, communication, identity.

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Third Belgrade International Meeting of English Phoneticians (BIMEP 2012), The University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philology, English Department, Belgrade, Serbia, March 23-24, 2012.

BIMEP12 (*Third Belgrade International Meeting of English Phoneticians*) took place on the 23rd and 24th of March 2012 in the Faculty of Philology of the University of Belgrade and was organized by a group of teachers and student assistants from the English Department under the competent management and administration of Dr Biljana Čubrović.

Since its inception in 2008, the congress has remained at its very comfortable small size of about forty delegates, which enables participants to converse and socialize easily and creates a consistently congenial atmosphere throughout the proceedings. Twenty-seven papers were presented, along with two plenary lectures, and the fact that there were no parallel sessions and everything took place in the same corner of the Faculty meant that there was no need for people to desperately search for rooms in different parts of the building, or in completely different locations, and, in the end, everybody was able to intermingle and exchange ideas. The University of Belgrade, like many of the older seats of learning of its kind, is situated right in the heart of the city, so there was always time to visit the numerous bookshops on Knez Mihailova Street, a pedestrian thoroughfare accessible by a backdoor leading to the English Department of the University, and most of the accommodation booked by those who contributed to the congress was in the immediate vicinity.

The conference was attended not only by scholars from Serbia itself and neighbouring countries, like Bulgaria, Macedonia, Slovenia, Hungary and Austria, but also by people from countries much further afield, such as Russia, the Ukraine, Japan and the UK. The papers which were delivered were also very varied, covering a healthy range of interests, dealing not only with practical considerations of pronunciation of relevance to the teaching of English, but also more theoretical aspects of production and perception, abstract issues in phonology, and studies involving analysis of intonation systems. For example, while Snezhina Dimitrova (Bulgaria) revisited the question of whether to use British or American English as a pronunciation model, and Rastislav

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Šuštaršič (Slovenia) debated the usefulness of minimal pairs in teaching English pronunciation, Tsvetanka Chernogorova (Bulgaria) reported on the production of English high vowels by Bulgarians, Vesna Polovina and Miloš D. Durić (Serbia) undertook an acoustic analysis of stress in multi-constituent constructs in academic discourse, and Csaba Csides (Hungary) proposed a functional classification of English vowels on the basis of phonological and orthographic evidence, claiming that the labels “tense” and “lax” are not purely phonetic or articulatory. Among the intonation studies, we could mention the paper given by Darya Voroshkevich (Russia) on the teaching of politeness strategies and the associated tonal patterns in the Russian classroom. Likewise, while Maja Marković and Tanja Milićev spoke about intonational phrase boundaries in Serbian, Antonina Devitska (Ukraine) offered a comparative analysis of the intonation systems of English and Slovak.

Papers were not only submitted on the standard varieties of languages, but also included studies of regional accents. This was the case of the contribution presented by Stefano Quaino (Austria), who discussed pitch alignment in Welsh English with special reference to the case of Gwynedd, a county in North Wales where Welsh is the first language of most of the population. One paper, that given by Ken-Ichi Kadooka of Ryukoku University in Japan, was based on an acoustic analysis of English jokes, more specifically, the delivery of the punchline and the paratone used for this aspect of discourse.

Another two of this array of interesting papers were, firstly, an approach for students to the study of the rhythmical organization of an English utterance through the use of limericks, which, it was claimed by the author, Angelika Mikhailova (Russia), would subsequently help learners to identify and acquire intonation phrases in the target language. Secondly, Natalia Smirnova, also from Russia, read a contrastive paper, in which she made some observations on the phonetic properties of standard, regional and “defected” (sic) speech in English, Russian and Dutch.

During the conference, two plenaries were given: one on Friday the 23rd and one on Saturday the 24th. On Friday, we were privileged to hear Professor Alan Cruttenden, Emeritus Professor of Phonetics, University of Manchester, and Fellow of the Phonetics Laboratory, University of Oxford. Professor Cruttenden is the man responsible for the monumental task of updating *Gimson's Pronunciation of English* (now in its seventh edition, 2008) and author of the CUP publication *Intonation*, the first comprehensive survey of the facts of intonation, which appeared in 1986, but has since gone through a second edition. His talk was entitled “Tongue Movements by Magnetic Resonance Imaging”. MRI is used to visualize internal structures of the body without the problems of radiation presented by x-rays, and has been applied in the field of phonetics to plot the movements of the tongue directly. Professor Cruttenden captivated his audience with an impressive OHP display in which he showed dynamic images of the articulation of fifteen phrases containing examples of all the phonemes of English.

On the following day, Saturday the 24th, Dr Patricia Ashby, Emeritus Fellow to the University of Westminster and National Teaching Fellow of the Higher Education Academy, presented a pedagogically focused paper on flipping (“To flip or not to flip?”), suggesting ways in which this innovative technique can be implemented in the phonetics classroom. The idea is that students come to class not to learn something new

but to consolidate what they have learned from a lecture viewed before the class. The flipped class puts the students at the centre of the learning process and saves valuable lecture time. Great interest was expressed in this new teaching methodology, but there was also concern about how it might work out on the ground in different countries with varying cultural situations, since Dr Ashby's report provided evidence of its efficacy only in a phonology class in a UK university.

Apart from the above-mentioned speakers, there were other excellent contributors, and the standard of content and delivery throughout the conference was generally high. To complete the event, a dinner was provided on Friday evening, round the corner from the Faculty of Philology at Aeroklub. The conference closed at 18.45 on Saturday evening.

As this is the third edition of BIMEP, it looks as the conference is now well established as a biennial international event. I am sure that all those who attended BIMEP12 are now looking forward to BIMEP14.

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4th International Congress *Applied Linguistics Today*, University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philology, Belgrade, Serbia, October 12-14, 2012.

The 4th International Congress Applied Linguistics Today (ALT 4) was hosted by the Faculty of Philology at the University of Belgrade, October 12-14, 2012. Under the motto "Challenges of Modern Times" the conference explored issues in the areas of language teaching and assessment, language acquisition and processing, sociolinguistics and discourse analysis, language maintenance and translation/interpretation. One underlying theme was interdisciplinary research. Another more prominent focus lay on the incorporation of new technologies in the research methodology and their use in domains such as computer assisted language learning (CALL).

The congress drew researchers from a great variety of countries such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Greece, Great Britain, Italy, Macedonia, Montenegro, New Zealand, Norway, Serbia, Slovenia and Spain. Nearly a hundred twenty-minute papers were presented in five parallel strands and addressed such diverse topics as the "Forms of Communication in Online English Courses", the "Intertextuality in Confrontational Discourse" or "the Impact of Grammatical Differences on Simultaneous Interpreting". Unfortunately, the word limit prevents me from mentioning all the interesting presentations I attended.

The four keynote speakers addressed the various areas of interest. Zorka Kašić (University of Belgrade) gave a presentation on interdisciplinarity and forensic linguistics ("Interdisciplinarnost i dva pravca razvoja forenzičke lingvistike").

Kjersti Fløttum (University of Bergen) reported on the results of a research project investigating the "Variation of Academic Voices Across Disciplines and Cultures". Her research shows that the academic discipline (economics, linguistics, medicine) is a better determiner than the author's language (English, French, Norwegian) when it comes to explaining differences and similarities in the use of academic language in research articles.

Patricia Ashby (University of Westminster) made an exciting and convincing argument for the use of technology in educational institutions in order to use valuable class time more efficiently. In "Making the Most of the Academic Hour - The Flipped

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Classroom Effect”, Dr. Ashby elaborated on the advantages of turning our understanding of institutional learning upside down: In the “flipped classroom” content is studied outside the classroom using various forms of modern technology, e.g. previously recorded lessons. The limited class time can then be used to clarify, to interact with peers or for the teacher to give small group or one-on-one assistance.

Silvia Bernardini (University of Bologna) spoke on the very current topic of use and usefulness of “Corpora in the Classroom: Past, Present and Future Challenges”. In addition, Silvia Bernardini, Adriano Ferraresi, Maja Miličević and Tanja Samardžić provided their audience with many practical and ready-to-use tools – such as the BootCaT toolkit and “insider tricks” to deal with Cyrillic symbols – to compile and work with their own corpora in the highly popular and well-attended workshop “Create and Consult your own Specialized Web Corpus”.

Apart from being a successful academic event, the ALT 4 conference was also a very enjoyable social occasion. On the first day, Prof. Vesna Polovina set the course and greeted everyone warmly. This was followed by the presentation of a Serbian song performed by a group of students. Throughout the conference Borko Kovačević and Maja Miličević attentively looked after the well-being of all attendees.

On the first evening everyone mingled during “cocktail hour”, enjoying drinks and delicious Serbian finger food. The conference dinner took place at the famous “Dva Jelena” in the heart of Skadarlija, the Belgrade’s Bohemian Quarter. Everybody enjoyed the good company, the selection of Serbian dishes and the traditional Serbian music.

Another highlight was the excursion to Viminacium, the excavation site of a Roman town and fortress, built in the 1st century A.D. We went far back in time and admired authentic frescoes inside excavated Roman tombs.



Picture 1: Excursion to Viminacium

We also saw the remains of Emperor Hostilian who died around 251 A.D. In addition, we enjoyed a delicious Roman lunch at the “tavern”.



Picture 2: At the “Tavern”

The conference was a great chance to receive helpful feedback on one’s own research and to hear about current research conducted in the same or related fields within applied linguistics. The atmosphere was engaging, so much so, that the audience of a cancelled talk did not want to go without a presentation. Instead, they convinced Miao Wang (University of Leicester) to present her paper again, as some wanted to hear it a second time or because they had missed out on it earlier due to conflicting parallel sessions.

The conference was also a great opportunity to network. For me personally, the conference resulted in further collaboration with the University of Belgrade and another visit to the Serbian capital where I again received a very warm welcome and all the help I could wish for to conduct my research. Many thanks to the organizers and all helpers for a smooth, enjoyable and stimulating conference. I am looking forward to ALT 5!

Marija Knežević and Aleksandra Nikčević Batričević (eds.), *The Face of the Other in Anglo-American Literature*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011, pp. 262.

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“The Face of the Other in Anglo-American Literature” is a collection of essays which examine the attempts to face the other in the context of Anglo-American studies in the postmodern world. These papers were presented at the conference “Facing the Other in the Absence of Theory” held at the Faculty of Philology in Nikšić in 2010. Marija Knežević and Aleksandra Nikčević Batričević organized the conference and came up with this very inspiring and provocative conference title, encouraging the participants to write excellent papers which tackle the question of the other from many different angles. The collection was edited by Marija Knežević and Aleksandra Nikčević Batričević and was published by Cambridge Scholars Publishing in 2011.

It appears that any attempt to face the other reveals our cultural being and Edward Said is right when he claims that no one today is purely one thing. It is rewarding and difficult at the same time not to think only about ‘us’, but to think about others, to think about multilayered otherness in us rather than monolithic us. These essays aim at reassessing the paradoxical concept of the other, examining the ways in which we know the other, and considering the possible approaches to the other without any preconception.

Adrian Frazer in his key-note lecture titled “Theory and Biography: The Other as Somebody”, criticizes over-intellectualism and he argues for the primal face-to-face encounter of self and other. Frazer says that an attempt to tell the truth about one’s own experience and to learn more about somebody else is to take a step forward towards gaining a fuller knowledge of life on earth. He discusses two theorists, Alasdair MacIntyre and Charles Taylor, who propose a narrative concept of the self and whose pragmatic criticism tries to locate autonomy, seriousness, and responsibility within the person.

In her paper on the archetypal reflection on the Bronte Sisters’ heroines, Milica Nenezić calls her approach non-theoretical because the text stands alone for her as reader. Simon de Beauvoir thought that female selfness had always tried to define otherness in order to define itself as Subject. De Beauvoir suggested that no man had been deprived of having the freedom of choice and establishing himself as the Subject, thus disclosing women under the veil of consequence and the Other. Through times, when considering otherness as Subject, Nenezić concludes that it had become the face the female authors kept seeing in the mirror.

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Ana Vlaisavljević looks into the linguistic domination of European languages in former colonies through the prism of both the colonial past and neo-colonial hegemony of the imperial Centre. By drawing parallels between the colonial and postcolonial contexts, her paper focuses on the three forms of linguistic power of dominant languages: pragmatic, symbolic and signitive.

Sandra Josipović's paper titled "A Chinese Immigrant Family facing the Otherness of its Emerging American self in the Work of Gish Jen" observes that the twentieth century has produced more migrants, refugees, displaced persons and exiles than ever before in history, most of them the result of great post-colonial and imperial conflicts and of changes in economic and political situations and the balance of power. As the struggle for independence produced new states and new boundaries, it also produced homeless wanderers, nomads, and vagrants, unassimilated to the emerging structures of institutional power, rejected by the established order for their intransigence and obdurate rebelliousness and inability to conform to that existing social order. These people exist in a "no-man's land" between the old and the new, between the old empire and their ancestral heritage and the new state and new rules and conventions; their condition thus articulates tensions and contraictions. No one can deny the persisting contuinuities of long traditions, sustained habitations, national languages, and cultural geographies, but there seems to be no reason except fear and prejudice to keep insisting on their separateness and distinctiveness, as if that could explain all of human life. Surviving and living are all about connections. Gish Jen advocates this point, thinking that no one should be seen strictly in terms of groupings, colours and classifications, and that multiculturalism and multiethnicity mean that a person has much vaster experience to draw on when solving problems in life.

Tanja Obradović argues that a number of modern Anglo-American writers insist on the prolonged effects of imperialism in the modern world, in which violence and hatred aimed at the Other prove that the modern world still cannot approach the Other without bigotry. Her paper deals with the following works: *Savages* (1974) written by Christopher Hampton, *Venus* (1996) written by Suzan Lori-Parks and *Maria Kizito* (2003) written by Erik Ehn. These literary examples of violent historical events date from different periods and different parts of the world, most often former colonies and they lead to the conclusion that they weren't just ruptures but logical outcomes of the centuries-long violent practices against the Other.

Faruk Barjaktarević addresses the self as other in Nadeem Aslam's novel *Maps for Lost Lovers*, which also directly attacks religious fundamentalism. He thinks that there is nothing inherent in Muslim/Pakistani identity that justifies isolation or violence and rather sees those problems as defined in a complex web of socio-political relations between the host society and immigrant groups. His paper further argues that the practices of constructing the other in the host society and the immigrant community portrayed in Aslam's novel do not differ and are both founded on fear of destabilization in the face of diasporic encounters and exchanges, leading some individuals to undertake extreme measures to prevent the other from crossing the borders separating it from the world of the self.

Jeanine Belgodere tried to demonstrate how through keen observation, intuitive perception, poetic sensitivity and immersion in the rituals, a sympathetic observer can come close to the essence of Pueblo dance and culture in ways that at once

depart from and meet indigenous conceptual and ethical frameworks. In her opinion the understanding of Pueblo culture would be incomplete without well-informed scholarship, and insightful statements of cultural informants also contribute to a better comprehension of the cultural otherness.

Using Derridean deconstructionist breaching and re-examining of any binary opposition, Mirjana Daničić analyzes the most recent of Toni Morrison's novels, *A Mercy*. According to Jacques Derrida, the concept of opposition should be questioned because the preference for one always excludes the (subordinate) other. As a postmodernist writer, Morrison questions, even annuls the binary oppositions. She creates characters with such personal traits and histories that they can be easily seen through Derrida's conception of alterity beyond any dialectic. In her prose, Toni Morrison, like Derrida, defers the alterity of the other and tends to insist that the other is somehow always within the self.

Jelena Basta discusses female identity in the novel *The Orchard* by Drusilla Modjeska. Australia was first inhabited by the Aborigines and then colonized by the English. Since the first colonizers were exclusively men, the idea of women as other was imposed as the fundamental social norm. In such a social milieu, women were encouraged to find their identity in the reflection of another, i.e. to see themselves as others see them.

In the paper "Paired Characters in Samuel Beckett's Plays", Loran Gorami develops the argument that by enclosing his characters within themselves and distancing them from the influence of their surroundings, Beckett observes them with a solipsistic eye, the self within the self. Gami also states that the characters in Beckett's plays are faced with unknown realities that confront them with relentless indifference.

In their co-authored paper, Milan Marković and Tijana Parezanović explore the versatile identities of Joyce Carol Oates' characters. Both Kelly Kelleher and Quentin are characterized by distorted perspectives on reality, reflected in impairments to their literal vision. Kelly's condition of strabismus and her binary focus are reflected in the confusion about her stereotypically imposed self and the true self, while Quentin's astigmatism reflects his inward-directed point of view and a personality which is radically self-centered. Both characters try to overcome the claustrophobia of their existences by affirming their individuality, yet struggle results in actions which are either deservedly punishable or undeservedly punished.

To the group of the socially marginalized belongs Jake Donaghue, the protagonist of Iris Murdoch's novel *Under the Net*, discussed by Peter Preston in the paper "The Quarrel with Theory in Iris Murdoch's *Under the Net*". According to this analysis, nothing is said of Jake Donaghue's parentage, family or social background, although he is clearly educated. Yet his lifestyle doesn't conform to that of an educated man with literary interests. He remains an outsider to settled bourgeois society, rootless, unsettled, classless. As he searches for truth, understanding and authenticity, he finds it difficult to identify the place he might occupy in Britain's postwar social order.

While Peter Preston demonstrates how new fictive modes fight against the imposed generic conventions, Marina S. Ragachewskaya argues that theory is an integral part of any work of fiction. As they examine issues and mysteries of human nature, a number of British writers today demonstrate a talent for not only creating or re-making their own tales, but also for philosophy and theory.

Ljerka Jeftić develops the idea of textual otherness. Her thesis is that literary texts involve both the text producer and text receiver as social and cognitive agents, that is whole human beings within a cultural setting who engage in discourse interaction. Her paper explores the ways the other is seen in the discourse of Salinger's Glass family.

The last three papers have as their subject the phenomenon of the other in literature written in Serbian and that literature's relation to various literary models of the west. Tatjana Bjelić argues that readers who advocate linguistic postmodernism in contemporary poetic expression still seem to view authenticity as a traditional notion built upon the old Greek word *authentēs*, which means a 'master' or 'perpetrator'. Critics tend to view postmodernism from socio-historical perspectives, and poets themselves sense the necessity of adapting the meaning of authenticity to the realities of everyday living. In a brief reference to diversity of voices now present in two rather different poetic scenes, Bosnia and Great Britain, Bjelić attempts to offer a new definition of authenticity in relation to the notion of otherness. Dubravka Đurić examines the connections between feminism and globalism in the geopolitical space of Serbia. Vesna Lopičić and Milena Kostić attempt to clarify identity confusions deepened by disjointed times in Serbian novelist and playwright Svetislav Basara's re-working of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Contemporary Serbian Hamlet is a gloomy fatalist who does not have a moral dilemma about how to take action in a corrupt world without contaminating himself. In his opinion, the contagion of the world cannot be healed by moral deeds and to him not only Denmark but the whole world is a prison and he constantly receives the news on the rotten state of various countries.

The papers collected in this book approach the topic of the other from diverse cultural, ethnic, gender, psychological and textual perspectives and they contribute to the on-going discussion of the ambiguities inherent in the concept of the other.

Henri Džejms, *Budućnost romana*. Priredila Biljana Dojčinović. Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2012, str. 155.

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Knjiga *Budućnost romana* koju je Biljana Dojčinović priredila kao zbirku tekstova sa predgovorom Henrija Džejmsa o romanu, upotpunjujući je i sopstvenim predgovorom, čini se izuzetno važnom u trenutku kada književnost postaje jedna od najvećih industrija, a roman počinje da se tumači kao rastegljiva kategorija. Poetička misao Henrija Džejmsa, koja je imala veliki uticaj na potonje generacije pisaca i teoretičara književnosti, predstavljena je kroz neke od njegovih najvažnijih tekstova o romanu i prozi, kao i kroz predgovore za *Njujorško izdanje* Džejmsovih dela priređivano od 1907. do 1909. godine. U predstavljanim tekstovima tvorac termina „tačka gledišta“, a po mnogima i začetnik postupka „toka svesti“, bavi se nizom pitanja u pokušaju da definiše suštinu i mesto romana u modernom svetu, izražavajući bojazan da budućnost romana možda nije toliko svetla u vremenu „stravičnog umnožavanja“. Međutim, važno je istaći da se Džejms ovde bavi isključivo romanima koji mogu imati prošlost i budućnost, uveren da roman zapravo predstavlja imaginativni duh autora koji i „samo treperenje vazduha pretvara u otkrovenje“.

U tekstu „Predgovori modernizmu: o poetici Henrija Džejmsa“ Biljana Dojčinović uvodi čitaoce u Džejmsovu poetiku jezgrovito prikazujući glavna pitanja koja Džejms obrađuje u prikazanim tekstovima, od perspektive u romanu i narativnih strategija do ekonomskih pitanja, zbog čega ga Dojčinović vidi kao jednog od začetnika studija kulture. Priređivač se u predgovoru nakratko osvrće na još neke teoretičare književnosti, poput Vejna Buta, Persija Laboka, Simora Četmena, Dženet Holmgren Mekej, Pitera Bruksa i druge, i na njihovu polemiku sa Džejmsom-teoretičarem, izvodeći zaključak da je Džejms „brzo prevalio put od 'naivnog' pogleda na prozu do prevratničke modernističke poetike“. U daljem tekstu Biljana Dojčinović tumači odabrane tekstove koji čine ovu zbirku, ističući da se svuda mogu prepoznati „klice“ modernizma: u potrebi za sažimanjem iskustva, u analogijama sa slikarstvom, u oslanjanju na čitaoce itd. Konačno, Dojčinović predgovore i tekstove naziva nekom vrstom „poverenica“ na granici stvarnosti i fikcije, koje nam ukazuju na najvažnija mesta i najfinije nijanse u romanu, a koje se i same mogu tumačiti kao književni tekst.

U eseju „Umetnost romana“, koji je u knjizi objavljen u prevodu Marte Frajnd, Henri Džejms iznosi jednu od svojih najvažnijih teza, da „umetnost živi od raspravljanja, eksperimenata, radoznalosti, raznovrsnosti pokušaja, izmene gledišta i upoređivanja stanovišta“ i da teorija može biti isto toliko zanimljiva kao i sama umetnost. Džejms se ovde bavi i veoma aktuelnim pitanjem odnosa istorije i fikcije i ističe da romanopisac mora da govori „tonom istoričara“, bez izvinjavanja, ukoliko ne želi da bude lišen svog

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mesta. Razmatrajući mesto romana u umetnosti, Džejms se zalaže za to da je roman jednako vredan kao i muzika, slikarstvo, poezija i arhitektura, s tim što je roman jedina umetnost koja pokušava da neposredno reprodukuje život. Široku definiciju romana kao „ličan, neposredan utisak o životu“ upotpunjuje opis umetnika za koga iskustvo nije presudno – po Džejmsu stvaralac je čovek koji u svoju „paukovu mrežu“ hvata i najmanje čestice iz vazduha, koji može „da od slamke napravi stablo“. Najveći uspeh romanopisca je stvaranje „iluzije života“, „izgled realnosti“. Džejms u ovom eseju otvara mnoštvo tema koje će nastaviti da obrađuje i u kasnijim kritičkim tekstovima.

„Budućnost romana“, u prevodu Zorana Skrobanovića ne bavi se samo temom budućnosti romana već i pitanjem budućnosti društva, problemima koji ostaju otvoreni do danas. Ono što Džejmsa zabrinjava jeste pretvaranje književnosti u industriju i ulagivanje nekritičkim, „neartikulisanim“ čitaocima „svaštojedima“. Uprkos pomalo elitističkom shvatanju književnosti, pitanje Henrija Džejmsa „Kako li će naredna pokolenja uopšte da se nose sa ovim stravičnim umnožavanjem?“ danas, kada se u potrošačkom društvu književnost i umetnost posmatraju više kao roba, iznenađuje svojom aktuelnošću. Termine iz ekonomije Džejms potom primenjuje i na omiljenu temu iskustva. Kaže da svaki čovek želi da dođe do svog iskustva „što jeftinije“, a najbolje preko romana, koji za temu ima „sveukupnu ljudsku svest“. Naposljetku, Džejms pomalo ironično predskazuje sve veći broj „ženskih laktova već razigranih s olovkom u ruci“, ali se nada da će otvaranje tih prozora u budućnosti doneti nove, svežije perspektive.

U tekstu Predgovor *Amerikanca*, u prevodu Lazara Macure, Henri Džejms nastavlja polemiku oko termina roman i romana, koje je prethodno izjednačio u eseju „Umetnost romana“ rečima „ne mogu da se setim nijedne obaveze koja ne bi podjednako važila za pisca romansi i za pisca romana“. On polazi od definicije romantičnog kao stvari koja se ne može neposredno spoznati već samo naslutiti, i govori o tome da je na piscu romanse da krišom preseče konopac koji čitaoca vezuje za zemlju a da on to ne primeti i nastavi da lebdi u „manje-više udobnoj korpi mašte“. Džejms zatim prelazi na narativne strategije i perspektivu koju objašnjava kroz glavni lik romana *Amerikanac*, Kristofera Njumena, kroz metaforu prozora svesti, insistirajući na tome da su svi događaji važni koliko Njumen to oseća, da je čitalac suočen sa njegovom vizijom i tumačenjem stvari.

Naredna tri teksta su odlomci iz Predgovora *Princezi Kazamasimi*, *Blagu Pojntona* i *Krilima Golubice*, u prevodu Zorice Bečanović Nikolić, gde Henri Džejms nastavlja da govori o iskustvu, pripovedaču i inspiraciji. U Predgovoru *Blagu Pojntona* susrećemo se i sa metaforom „klice“ romana, ili „zametka priče“, koju Džejms prepoznaje u svemu što umetnika okružuje, u „slučajnoj sugestiji“, „zalutaloj reči“ ili „neodređenom ehu“, koje obični posmatrač ne prepoznaje. Ovde Džejms podvlači i neophodnost diskriminacije i izbora u umetnosti, nasuprot sveobuhvatnosti i neuređenosti života, što produbljuje u Predgovoru *Krilima golubice* kada kaže da „svaki centar mora, za početak, biti izabran i fiksiran“, zbog čega je neophodno usvojiti određenu tačku gledanja.

Poslednji tekst u knjizi je Džejmsov Predgovor *Ambasadorima*, u prevodu Sergeja Macure, koji priređivač karakteriše kao najsloženiji i najzahtevniji u nizu. Nastavljajući priču o postupku i perspektivi, Džejms u svoju poetiku očekivano uvodi i terminologiju iz oblasti dramske umetnosti, govoreći o funkciji poverenica u romanu. Džejms odlazi i korak dalje i iznosi stav da se građa *Ambasadora* u potpunosti poklapa sa građom drame. Objlašavajući postupke korišćene u ovom eksperimentalnom romanu koji je

osmišljen tako da prati samo jednu tačku gledišta, Džejmsov utire trag najvećim piscima moderne, ali i postmoderne, i Biljana Dojčinović s pravom ističe da bez Henrija Džejmsov „nikada verovatno ne bi bilo ni Klarise Dalovej, Remzijevoj, niti Blumovih, ali ni mnogih drugih, barem ne takvih kakvi su stigli do nas – razotkriveni i razgolićeni u svojoj ljudskoj, životnoj dimenziji“.

Budućnost romana se simbolično završava Džejmsovom pohvalom romanu: „Roman ostaje još uvek, pod pravim uticajem, najnezavisniji, najelastičniji i najčudesniji književni oblik“, a implicitna je i pohvala autoru kao genijalnom duhu koji od najmanje klice, nevidljive običnom oku, stvara iluziju života. Bez sumnje, kritički izbor tekstova, kao i sam predgovor priređivača preporučuju ovu knjigu kao nezaobilazno štivo u izučavanju teorije književnosti.

Biljana Čubrović and Tatjana Paunović (eds.), *Exploring English Phonetics*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012, pp. xii + 256.

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Exploring English Phonetics is a selection of papers presented at the second Belgrade International Meeting of Phoneticians, which took place at the University of Belgrade in March 2010.² The volume consists of sixteen papers by authors from eight different countries. The book is divided into two sections; the first one, *Phoneme and beyond*, comprises eight papers, and is focused largely on segmental and prosodic properties of English speech; the second section, *Applied Phonetics and beyond*, shifts the focus to EFL pronunciation teaching, but also deals with issues regarding the methodology of phonetic research relevant to EFL teaching.

In Chapter 1 Brian Mott revisits traditional Cockney. The data Mott examined consisted of recordings of twelve individual words containing the English monophthongs in the phonetic context /h_d/ spoken by three men from London, aged 55, 63 and 67. The author first provides an introduction to Cockney, or rather to the continuum between the extreme basilectal version of the traditional London accent and the less broad "Popular London" variety. He cites examples of the core features present in traditional London speech, explicitly stating that his paper in no way deals with the features of the Multi-cultural London English (MLE), a fairly recent variety common nowadays in Inner London (Torgersen, Kerswill and Fox 2010). Mott's analysis of the data consisted of measuring the first two vowel formants for each monophthong by using the computer program Plotformant. He then proceeds to compare the obtained results with those from similar studies of RP speech, namely Wells (1962) and Deterding (1997). In this way Mott can be said to combine traditional dialectology and experimental phonetics.

In Chapter 2 Maja Marković and Bojana Jakovljević try to tackle the controversy regarding the phoneme /v/ in Serbian, with the added perspective gained from contrasting the situation in Serbian with that in English, while also looking at the transfer in Serbian L2 English speech. The authors start by giving a short introduction to the problem stemming from the discrepancy between the phonological behaviour and phonetic fact regarding /v/ in Serbian.

They then move to presenting the results of the experiment they conducted, which included an acoustic analysis of a number tokens of /v/ in the speech of two English speaking and two Serbian speaking informants, with the English subjects being asked to pronounce the English tokens only, and Serbian subjects pronouncing both Serbian and English tokens. The English speakers' production of /v/ in terms of the manner of

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2 For the collection of papers from the first BIMEP conference see Čubrović and Paunović (2009).

articulation was consistent, the sound being a non-sibilant fricative in all positions. The Serbian speakers' production, however, vacillated between the sonorant and fricative manner of articulation, the former being especially common in intervocalic environments. Regarding transfer, Serbian speakers tended to conform to the native production in terms of regressive assimilation, but their intervocalic /v/ remained a sonorant.

In Chapter 3 Bojana Jakovljević examines the VOT of word-initial plosives in Serbian and British English, focusing on the transfer in Serbian L2 production of English. The subjects were two native speakers of English and five native speakers of Serbian, while the corpus included words with stops followed by two types of vowels, /i:/ and /ɒ/ in English, and their Serbian counterparts /i:/ and /ô/. Jakovljević found that, as expected, Serbian phonologically voiced stops /b d g/ had negative VOT, while the English counterparts were largely devoiced. The voiceless stops, again as expected, had appreciably shorter VOT duration in Serbian than in English. Another well-known effect that was confirmed was the relation between the VOT and the place of articulation, which as the author rightly puts it, "can be considered as universal". In terms of L1 interference, Serbian speakers tended to produce English word-initial /b d g/ with considerable vocal fold activity, displaying negative transfer. On the other hand, their production of the voiceless stops varied, with some speakers showing signs of hypercorrection, displaying higher VOT values than native speakers, but generally without the presence of a strong L1 transfer.

In Chapter 4 Biljana Čubrović, similarly to the previous paper, investigates the transfer in VOT values in word-initial stops, focusing, however, only on the three voiceless stops. Čubrović's research study included two male and two female (upper) intermediate EFL learners, and took into account nine different phonetic environments, depending on the following vowel. The findings of this study and an earlier mirror study Čubrović conducted suggest that aspiration is "acquired gradually", which leads her to conclude that "it is a phonetic phenomenon worth insisting upon in an EFL classroom". Although, as with the Jakovljević's study in Chapter 3, the conclusions, as Čubrović rightly points out, "may only be considered tentative due to a relatively small sample used".

In Chapter 5 Takehiko Makino seeks to expand the current description of the weak forms used in American English connected speech, using the data from Buckeye Corpus of Conversational Speech (Pitt et al. 2007), noting that far too often the descriptions of weak forms found in literature focus on relatively formal styles of speech. As a starting point, he uses Obendorfer (1998), the most comprehensive list of weak forms in English according to Makino, which he supplements with the data from LPD3 and EPD17. His findings suggest that words "where," "gets," "our," "most," "which" and "went" all include a considerable number of forms with a reduced vowel or without vowels at all, and that they should be added to the list of words with weak forms. Also, Makino suggests some additional weak forms for words such as "a", "an", "been", "was", "have", "do" and "from".

In Chapter 6 Isao Ueda and Hiroko Saito examine the misplacement of the nuclear stress in Japanese-accented English. Their experiment included fifteen students majoring in English who were given the same task twice with one year interval between

the recordings during which the students had no formal education in this area. The subjects were asked not only to read the sentences, sixteen each, but also to underline the word on which they thought the nucleus should be placed, thus providing the authors a chance to compare "production" with "knowledge". The results indicate that by and large little improvement was made during the intervening year; however, the authors cite a previous study by Saito in which 22 students were explicitly taught basic rules for nucleus placement in English, after which there was a dramatic improvement in the students' pronunciation.

In Chapter 7 Ken-Ichi Kadooka introduces the concept of a Punch Line Paratone, a subtype of Paratone, the phonological counterpart of paragraph in written language. He cites six phonetic characteristics of the Punch Line Paratone, and focuses on the one, namely the pause before the beginning of the punch line. Kadooka compares and contrasts the style of telling jokes in Japanese and English, concluding among other things that Japanese jokes tend to be performed in a slower tempo.

In Chapter 8, from a purely theoretical viewpoint, Vladimir Phillipov ponders intonation as a linguistic sign. The author consults different approaches, quoting authors such as Saussure, Smirnitskij, Bally, Labov, Halliday, Bolinger and others, concluding that intonation "does fall" [...] within linguistics proper", and that it "does not lag behind its segmental counterpart but autosegmentally points to it".

Opening Part II of the book is a chapter by Tvrtko Prčić in which the author delineates what he sees as the best approach in teaching pronunciation to ENFL¹ university students, which Prčić calls "usage-enriched descriptivism". This integrated approach involves complementing descriptivism with what Prčić calls "modernized prescriptivism". The author puts forward some theoretical and methodological aspects of descriptivism and prescriptivism, and then moves on to describe the main principles characterizing "modernized prescriptivism", as well as specific examples of its practical application.

In Chapter 10 Ingrid Pfandl-Buchegger, Milena Insam, and Isabel Landsiedler discuss the concentrated listening as an approach to language learning. The authors first introduce the basic tenets of Alfred Tomatis' audio-phonology theory, which posits a connection between speech perception and speech production and according to which selective hearing is a reversible process, and the perceptual capacity can be re-trained, and learners' auditory differentiation improved through specific listening training. The authors then proceed to describe an L2 teaching project named FauvoT organized at the University of Graz, in which they tried to apply the principles of Tomatis' theory. According to the findings presented, focused listening as a means of accelerating language learning could be a very efficient teaching tool for L2 acquisition.

In Chapter 11 Tatjana Paunović argues for a mixed methodology approach, stating that phonetic research could "benefit from widening the perspective to include qualitative methods of analysis, particularly when conducted in the context of English language learning and teaching". She points out that the two approaches need not be regarded as competitive but as complementary, and that furthermore all research can be placed on a quantitative–qualitative continuum. Paunović illustrates the point

1 ENFL stands for English as the nativized foreign language, a term proposed by the author.

using the example of three recent phonetic studies of hers and suggests specific ways of incorporating qualitative perspective into phonetic research.

In Chapter 12 Klementina Jurančič-Petek discusses how different test types may influence research results. She draws data from a large-scale investigation of Slovene primary and secondary school pupils' pronunciation of English (PES: Jurančič Petek 2007), and compares her findings with those of authors such as Labov, Dickerson and Flege, paying due attention to the fact that some of them studied L1 and/or L2 adult speech. Strikingly, the pupils often had fewer mistakes in free speech than in different reading tasks, for which Jurančič-Petek offers several possible explanations in the paper.

In Chapter 13 Anastazija Kirkova-Naskova and Dimitar Trajanov describe a web-based project used for investigating Macedonian learners' pronunciation of English. A total of 17 Macedonian first and second year students of English were given free speech tasks designed to elicit informal speech. The samples thus obtained were included in an online questionnaire administered to 14 native speakers of English, who all had at least some expertise in phonetics. The native speakers were asked to judge the pronunciation of students from Skopje, and comment on specific features of Macedonian-accented English. Generally, the raters showed a higher degree of tolerance to L1 transfer in the production of vowels, rather than consonants, the highest frequency of perceived sound deviations being indicated for final obstruent devoicing and stopping of the dental fricatives. The authors deem this approach to phonetic experiments "ideal for the promotion of research in less developed countries [...] where people and resources are always limited".

In Chapter 14 Rastislav Šuštaršič reports some frequent mistakes made by Slovene students of English in the oral exam in English Phonetics Theory. He classifies the identified problems into ten different types, trying to glean the reasons for their repeated occurrence. In this way, the author suggests, teachers can get very important feedback on the effectiveness of their teaching, "in particular with regard to how certain descriptions and explanations may be confusing or unclear for a number of students".

In Chapter 15 Snezhina Dimitrova and Tsvetanka Chernogorova address the issue of different models for teaching English pronunciation to university-level EFL learners. After briefly considering pros and cons of the Lingua Franca Core model proposed by Jenkins (2000), the authors go on to report the results from several surveys given to students of English at Sofia University, which were aimed at gauging attitudes towards different models of English pronunciation. According to their results, "British English" was viewed as "the best" accent of English. However, even though judged as the most desirable accent, it was also deemed the hardest to acquire. On the other hand "American English" was thought of as not only easy to learn, but also, interestingly, as the easiest to comprehend.

Finally, in Chapter 16 Galina M. Vishnevskaya describes a study that investigated the perception of accented speech. Forty students of University of Boston, USA, and fifty students of Ivanovo State University, Russia participated in the study, which showed that native speakers generally had a more tolerant view of accented speech. Throughout the paper Vishnevskaya emphasizes the role and importance of intonation in the perception and production of accented speech, and concludes that the "goal of phonetic research nowadays is to give a description of intonation in a cross-cultural

perspective, as a linguistic category possessing its own phonetic features and functions in oral native and non-native "lingua franca".

Exploring English Phonetics covers a range of topics that can be of interest, as the editors put it, not only to phonetic researchers but also to EFL teachers, and even, in part, to a wider audience. In the introduction they appropriately emphasize that most chapters in this volume "deal with English spoken and learned by speakers of other languages, thus highlighting both the current status of English as the language of world-wide communication, and the international orientation". Most countries from which the authors of the papers come belong to what Braj Kachru in his famous classification of World Englishes has called the "expanding circle". However, this book is not only by the EFL researchers for the EFL researchers, but should be of concern to anyone interested in what a diverse, international perspective can bring to the table.

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Aleksandra Nikčević Batričević and Marija Krivokapić (eds.), *Voicing the Alternative: Essays in Language and Literary Studies*. Nikšić: Faculty of Philosophy, 2012, pp. 399.

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GENERAL DESCRIPTION AND SUMMARY

Traditional theories had little to say about linguistic and/or literary items and issues that did not fit nicely in the predominant theoretic frameworks of the twentieth century. In the meantime, with the advent of globalisation, we have witnessed a considerable interest in voicing the alternative in both language and literary studies.

This interdisciplinary collection of papers is part of a globalisation-driven field of language and literary studies simultaneously challenging and facing the otherness, predominantly from linguistic and literary points of view. Drawing extensively on linguistic and literary theories, Dr. Aleksandra Nikčević Batričević and Dr. Marija Krivokapić, have produced an interdisciplinary fusion of papers in order to provide a plausible answer to the question posed about alternative views on linguistics and literature. The interdisciplinary nature of the subject matter (i.e. "Voicing the Alternative") makes this collection of papers an excellent reference book for readers with background in linguistics, teaching methodology and literary criticism alike. Due to this interdisciplinarity, this meticulously prepared collection reaches out towards a wide audience of scholars.

I should like to emphasise that the book's strong point lies in a clear, coherent and strenuous organisation. The book opens with the editors' Introduction (p. 7-12) which provides the information the potential reader needs in order to understand what is going to be discussed. Then, the editors summarise the key points of the papers contained within the collection, briefly outline the state of the art in the given field, and thus define the research perspective of the book, although they do not explicitly state that anywhere. The rest of the book is organised into three parts, and, in addition to them, it contains Notes on Contributors (p. 389-399).

PART I: LANGUAGE STUDIES

This section contains the linguistic papers dealing with concrete language problems from the point of view of discourse analysis, text linguistics, pragmatics, etc. In her paper, Ljerka Jeftić explicates the aspects of the virtual world's "Arab spring" (p. 23-31) taking into consideration different aspects of this type of communication.

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Another original contribution is provided by Bledar Toska (p. 33-40), who states that “the paradigm of the dialogic aspect on language use has been mainly focussed on communication, discourse (re)construction [...]” while he tries to concentrate on connectivity, “[...] which seems to bring more dialogic values to the text [...]” (p. 33). This author stresses that he tries to “[...] offer a paradigm of voicing the alternative in political argumentative texts through the connectivity aspect”, and it seems to me that he has succeeded in achieving the stated goal. Elaborating on existing accounts Miloš D. Đurić analyses English and French discourse connectives and considers very carefully English discourse connective “but” and French discourse connective “mais” in the discourse of electrical engineering (p. 49-64). This author analyses the given discourse connectives from a novel perspective. This section closes with the paper provided by Milena Mrdak Mićović, who confines her discussion to hedge as politeness device (p. 65-72). Although Mrdak Mićović does not dispute the fact that two relevance-theoretic distinctions have emerged as fundamental in answering the question of how linguistically encoded meaning may contribute to the interpretation of an utterance, she, quite originally, takes into consideration diverse plausible distinctions. She extends the scope of politeness phenomena research by incorporating communicative strategies, while trying to “[...] deal with the specific ways in which men and women speaking English and those speaking Montenegrin differ when using polite expressions, especially question tags” (p. 72).

PART II: TEACHING ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

This section introduces conceptual paradigms of EFL instruction, which are examined in Emir Muhić’s paper, entitled “Emerging Conceptual Paradigms of EFL Instruction: A Dissenting Voice (Un)Heard” (p. 75-85), which seems to be the most relevant in this section. True to its title, Mr. Muhić’s paper is a refreshing reminder of alternative ways of treating the meaning which “[...] eclipsed the importance of the acquisition instantiation of the speaker’s encyclopaedic schematicity of linguistic capacity” (p. 75). Pointing out that nouvelle-vague linguistic framework “[...] primarily stemmed from rancorous dissatisfaction and disillusionment with meaning-devoid, formalistically and structurally-gearred frameworks” and aiming at merging “[...] the nascent theoretical insights into the endeavour of teaching English as a foreign language” (p. 75), this paper tries to find the theoretical ambiguities explication mechanism. Simultaneously, the author explains the possibility of efficient instruction medium application at the university level. The focus of Emir Muhić is then shifted to the discussion of the results obtained by applying the eclectic model to his research material. Not surprisingly, Mr. Muhić’s approach goes halfway between the diagnostically on-the-money appropriateness approach and an indomitable tour de force commentary morphing of “[...] our interdiscursive confabulation to the curtain tail” approach. The final part of his paper closes with the conclusion that “[t]heatricity or ingenious peroration of one’s view of present state of affairs, this issue should at least merit a morsel of attention and ring out a fugitive reminder on our smart phone and tablet gizmos in honour of all those whose Tower of Babel effect we hope to mollify” (p. 84). Rather than neglect

receptive skills (e.g. listening), Ingrid Pfandl-Buchegger and Milena Insam focus on condensed listening training, as it seems to highlight the importance of eliminating negative transfer pertaining to the phonological level. Their paper, entitled "Alternative Ways of Language Learning: Condensed Listening as a Means to Accelerating Foreign Language Learning" (p. 87-98), tries to re-visit some traditional phonological problems that arise within the EFL framework. Tamara Aralica and Jelena Vujić reconsider the question of alternatives to teaching reading skills to advanced students (p. 99-113), taking as a starting point the empirical research conducted in the classroom. Pointing out that "[n]o one knows exactly what reading is or how anybody learns to do it" and aiming at "[...] establish[ing] the relevance of pre-reading skills and their application for reading comprehension enhancement" (p. 99), these two authors, by way of illustration, examine the bottom-up and top-down approaches having taken into account reading as a cognitive process. In her paper, entitled "Drama in Second Language Learning" (p. 109-113), Dr. Biljana Milatović tries to define what one means by language learning through drama. She, quite successfully, outlines the plausible benefits, while stressing the importance of pragmatic intent. This researcher concludes that "[...]earning a second language can be enjoyable, stimulating and meaningful when combined with drama activities" (p. 112). The rest of this section deals with critical pedagogy in teaching ESP and learners' perception and acquisition of semantic variations of scientific terms. The former has been provided by Nadežda Stojković (p. 125-135), while the latter has been provided by Arjan Shumeli and Artur Jaupaj (p. 147-153).

PART III: LITERARY AND CULTURAL STUDIES

This section comprises the papers covering alternative views on different literary problems as well as culturally-driven studies. Carla Comellini (p. 165-174) concentrates on Michael Ondaatje's fiction taking into account the cases of split identity and illustrating them by means of references to Canada and Sri Lanka. Arijana Luburić-Cvijanović and Nina Muždeka analyse Caryl Phillips's *Crossing the River* and David Dabydeen's *The Intended* (p. 175-190), highlighting the articulation of marginalised perspectives of multitudinous Others. In what follows, Milan Marković and Tijana Parezanović dissect Ursula Rucker's poetic voice in their paper, entitled "Where Are the Romantics to Feed Me My Pill: Poetic Voice of Ursula Rucker" (p. 191-205), while Jelena Basta deals with Zable's alternative (auto)biography (p. 207-223). In her paper, entitled "The Implicate Other of *The Antelope Wife*" (p. 225-238), Marija Krivokapić reexamines Louise Erdrich's novel *The Antelope Wife* from a fresh perspective, which takes into account David Bohm's concept from physics according to which the implicate other "stands for the unbroken wholeness of the totality of existence as an undivided flowing movement without borders" (p. 225). To this purpose, Marija Krivokapić has offered the reading of this novel as "[...] an enfoldment of [...] delicate moment in which this very character [...] reorders her universe" (p. 230). Her hypothesis is verified by means of centripetal spiral novel analysis. In this way two aspects are brought together to represent the novel as "[...] vortex of dispersed beads revolving around one centre" (p. 232). Sanja Runtić explores contemporary American native art (p. 251-269), while Jeanine Balgodere analyses

traditional Indian painting from diverse research perspectives (p. 271-283). On the one hand, there is an analysis of Fred Wilson's output put forward by Claudine Armand (p. 285-295), while, on the other hand, Maja Muhić sketches out the anatomy of revolutions exemplified by anti-normative voices (p. 297-307). Equally commendable are the appropriate observations made by Marina Ragachewskaja, who focuses on Herbert Read's *Green Child* (p. 309-319). This section closes with the elaborate description of alternative or complementary voices, provided by Vesna Lopičić and Milena Kostić (p. 375-387).

EVALUATION

This collection of papers abounds in excellence and quality that lie in coherence and cohesion of the text, and more than successful interconnection of the papers' textual material. The papers within the three sections of this book flow fairly smoothly, according to the layout announced in the introductory part. Although some papers fail to mention current approaches to alternative linguistic and/or literary theories, it seems to me that such an omission might be forgivable in a multi-perspective collection of papers comprising such an immense scope. What makes the overall value of the book extremely high pertains to the authors' well-supported argumentation, as well as their elaborate broadening of diverse topics in terms of alternative approaches to the given phenomena. Having taken into consideration the above said, I may freely assert that this collection of papers is a superb start for expanding the investigation of alternative directions of linguistics, literature and teaching methodology.

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PIET MONDRIAN

Piet Mondrian was born into an artistic family in Holland in 1872. His father gave him traditional drawing lessons and his uncle Frits was a successful painter in his own right. His father wanted Piet to become an art teacher rather than an artist so that he would have a safe job and be able to make a living. Then as now, being an artist was not seen as a safe career option.

He did indeed start off on a conventional path and qualified as an art teacher, but not long afterwards he decided to take his chances as an artist. His uncle Frits was well connected and managed to get him a place at the expensive National Academy of Art in Amsterdam. He first exhibited his work aged 21, a year after enrolling in the Academy.

He travelled Holland and painted landscapes and trees. Piet Mondrian's trees, however, became more and more abstract.

He began leaving out detail he considered unnecessary to the painting. The more abstract he became, the more popular he was with the avant garde art set. Conversely he was criticised heavily by the Dutch art critics who described him as 'confused'.

Like a modern day pop star he reinvented himself more than once and broke from his traditional Protestant upbringing to join the Theosophical movement in 1909. He meditated and lived a lifestyle common amongst the arty set at the time. At this time he was bearded and scruffy and he dressed informally. Later he changed again to be clean shaven and dress in sharp suits. These changes of personal dress reflected his painting styles at the time.

Moving from a love and respect for natural organic forms and landscapes he painted more and more abstract imagery, finally distilling this into painting horizontal and vertical lines.

The horizontal lines represented femininity and the worldly, the vertical lines represented masculinity and spirituality. He aimed to achieve a balance between the two, in harmony with his new spiritual beliefs which were central to his art.

In Amsterdam in 1911 he saw a cubist exhibition featuring Picasso and Braque which inspired him to move to Paris in 1912. He threw himself into the Paris life, the parties, the dancing and the artistic freedom. He gained huge artistic acclaim although he actually sold very little of his own work and made a living making copies of great works in the Louvre.

His father became seriously ill at the outbreak of World War I and Mondrian returned to Holland. He met fellow artists exiled in Holland during the war years including Theo Van Doesburg who co-founded the De Stijl (the style) movement in 1917. Mondrian joined De Stijl and became a leading light, the movement's most famous artist. De Stijl's philosophy was that artists could create a better world by producing art that would be in harmony with nature. They postulated that if art was in tune spiritually then that would create a paradise on earth. In writings for the de Stijl Magazine in 1920, Mondrian called his style Neo-Plasticism. The De Stijl movement had a great influence on The Bauhaus in Germany later on.

Mondrian wrote a series of articles called "De Nieuwe Beelding in de schilderkunst" ("The New Plastic in Painting") during 1917 and 1918. His father had died in 1915 and Mondrian returned to Paris after the war. Here he published a book called 'Le Neo-Plasticisme'.

In the 1920s, he produced a series of 'lozenge' paintings, square canvasses which could be hung in a diamond shape.

In the 30s Hitler announced that Mondrian's art was degenerate and Mondrian took this as a warning. As the Nazis advanced he fled Paris for London in 1938. He'd previously met American artist Harry Holtzman in Paris in 1934 and when the Nazis threatened to invade England in 1940, he moved to New York with Holtzman's help.

In 1944 Mondrian died of pneumonia in a hospital in New York.

His striking geometric shapes were used in fashion, especially in the 1960s and are still an influence to this day.

*

Mondrian experimented with other art forms before settling on his own neo-plastic form, including post-impressionism, pointillism, and cubism, the latter of which this is an example. This piece contains interlocking blocks, which form together in the shape of a tree. But unlike cubist artists from whom he took his cue, such as Picasso and Georges Braque, Mondrian had yet to merge his artistic style with his spiritual pursuits, and as such this was only one of a few of such cubist experiments. Mondrian still had a few years to go before he would begin to finish his real voice as an artist, although one could argue that his style was ever-changing, culminating in his masterpieces in his later years of life.

*

Mondrian wrote, on a postcard to art historian James Johnson Sweeney, planner of a retrospective exhibition of the artist's works at The Museum of Modern Art in New York: "Only now [in 1943], I become conscious that my work in black, white, and little color planes has been merely 'drawing' in oil color. In drawing, the lines are the principal means of expression; in painting, the color planes. In painting, however, the lines are absorbed by the color planes; but the limitation of the planes show themselves as lines and conserve their great value." In these final works, the forms have indeed usurped the role of the lines, opening another new door for Mondrian's development as an abstractionist.

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