

Алфа БК универзитет

ЈЕЗИК, КЊИЖЕВНОСТ
И ЕМОЦИЈЕ

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND EMOTIONS

ЈЕЗИК, КЊИЖЕВНОСТ И ЕМОЦИЈЕ

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE,
AND EMOTIONS

Edited by: Melina Nikolić, Tijana Parezanović
Приредиле: Мелина Николић, Тијана Парезановић

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LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND EMOTIONS

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Melina Nikolić
Tijana Parezanović

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Мелина Николић
Тијана Парезановић

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Садржај / Contents

УВОДНА РЕЧ / INTRODUCTION	5
Laura Barna , BOJENJE REČI Plenarno izlaganje na konferenciji Jezik, književnost i emocije	7
TRANSLATION AS A KEY GLOBAL ACTIVITY Artea Panajotović & Valentina V. Budinčić , An Interview with Daniel Dejica.....	25
Ljiljana Radenović , HUMILITY IN THE WORLD WITHOUT GOD	33
Iris Vidmar & Leonard Pektor , DANGEROUS PASSIONS OF FICTIONAL CHARACTERS: WHY WE NEED THEM IN OUR CLASSROOMS	44
Iva Beljan Kovačić , EMOCIONALNOST I SEKSUALNOST U KULTURI MAGIJSKOG I MITSKOG STUPNJA SVIJESTI (NA PRIMJERU HRVATSKE KNJIŽEVNOSTI U BIH)	62
Tin Lemac , PRILOG SEMANTIČKOJ TEORIJI POETSKE HIPERBOLE.....	78
Nataša Šofranac , “OF COMFORT AND DISPAIRE” – A TRIUMPH OF STOICISM IN SHAKESPEARE’S TRAGEDIES (EXAMPLE OF <i>HAMLET</i>)....	93
Jelena M. Rakić , LINGUISTIC REALIZATION OF PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL RESPONSES TO ANGER IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN: WHAT LANGUAGES REVEAL ABOUT BODY, MIND, AND CULTURE	104
Tijana M. Rabrenović , WHAT MAKES THE BRITISH PEOPLE PROUD? A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PM DAVID CAMERON’S PRE-BREXIT SPEECHES.....	135
Elena N. Shirlina , FIXED PREPOSITION-NOUN COMBINATIONS IN GERMAN AS A MEANS OF EXPRESSING AMPLIFYING AND EMOTIONAL- EVALUATIVE MEANINGS	149
Igor D. Ivanović , THE MULTICHANNEL REALITY OF LANGUAGE AND PARALANGUAGE.....	156
Valentina V. Budinčić & Anica V. Glodović , PERSONALNE POSLOVNE VEŠTINE U NASTAVI POSLOVNOG ENGLESKOG JEZIKA	169
Darko M. Kovačević , (LINGUISTIC) REPRESENTATION OF EMOTIONS IN TEXTS ON ART MUSIC	180
Марија П. Паунова , ГРАФИТИ СРЦА	193
БЕЛЕШКЕ О АУТОРИМА / NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS	209

УВОДНА РЕЧ / INTRODUCTION

Поштовани читаоци,

Пред Вама се налази Зборник са научног скупа *Језик, књижевност и емоције*, одржаног 18. и 19. маја 2018. године на Факултету за стране језике Алфа БК универзитета. Тема научног скупа окупила је велики број како искусних, тако и нових младих научника и истраживача, који су својим учешћем допринели да и овај, седми у низу, годишњи научни скуп Факултета за стране језике буде један изузетно успешан научни догађај, на коме су могле да се размене идеје, да се дискутује о новим научним сазнањима, стекну нова познанства, започну нови научни пројекти.

Наконведеног рецензентског поступка, у Зборник је уврштено 14 радова, који су категорисани као оригинални научни радови и прегледни радови. Сви текстови пружају теоријски утемељене свеже погледе на значај и конструкцију широког спектра емоција унутар људске културе. Овде окупљени радови анализирају књижевност различитих периода и жанрова и са различитих меридијана. Смеју ли се „опасне“ емоције из

Dear readers,

We are proud to present the Book of Proceedings from the conference on *Language, Literature, and Emotions*, which was held on 18 and 19 May 2016 at the Faculty of Foreign Languages, Alfa BK University in Belgrade. The topic of the conference attracted a number of academics and young researchers, who have all contributed to making this fifth annual conference of our Faculty a very successful academic event, which provided a platform where thoughts and ideas were freely exchanged, new approaches productively discussed, new projects initiated, and new and hopefully lasting friendships made.

After the completed peer review process, 14 texts found their place in this collection. They are categorized as original research papers and review articles. All these texts provide theoretically and methodologically well grounded fresh perspectives on the significance and construction of the broad range of emotions in human culture. The here collected papers analyze literary works of different genres and historical periods, and from different parts of the world. Can “dangerous” emotions

УВОДНА РЕЧ INTRODUCTION

књижевних текстова обрађивати у настави и шта наш савременик Шекспир има да каже о љубави, само су нека од питања на која ови радови пружају одговор. Знатан број радова осврће се на улогу и значај емоција изражених кроз различита језичка средства, како у писаном тако и у говорном дискурсу. Полазећи од тога, аутори радова елаборирају о месту и функцији емоција у образовању и настави, политичком дискурсу и језику струке, као и у разговорном језику израженом кроз форму графита или паралингвистичке феномене у виду невербалне комуникације.

Захваљујемо свим колегама, сарадницима и пријатељима који су дали допринос, како самој организацији и реализацији научног скупа, тако и припреми и уређивању овога Зборника. У нади да ће Зборник наћи пут до оних који ће га са уживањем читати и у њему пронаћи нова сазнања, као и инспирацију и мотивацију за нова истраживања, исти са задовољством предајемо јавности.

Уреднице

experienced by fictional characters successfully be transferred into the classroom, and what does Shakespeare, our contemporary, have to say about love – these are only some of the questions to which the collected papers provide answers. On a slightly different note, a considerable number of papers address the role and significance of emotions expressed through various linguistic means, both in written and spoken discourse. The authors use these as starting points to elaborate on the place and functions of emotions in education and teaching, political discourse and language for specific purposes, as well as in everyday language conveyed by graffiti or paralinguistic phenomena in the form of non-verbal communication.

We would like to express our gratitude to all our colleagues and friends who helped with the organization of the Conference and contributed to the preparation of this Book of Proceedings. Hoping that this Book will easily find its way to those who will take pleasure in reading it, discovering among its pages some useful knowledge, as well as the inspiration and motivation for future research, we are happy to present it to the audience.

Editors

Laura Barna
Književnica, Beograd

BOJENJE REČI

Plenarno izlaganje na konferenciji Jezik, književnost i emocije

Apstrakt: Godine 1919. u Beogradu grupa slikara, vajara, muzičara, pisaca, pesnika i drugih umetnika oformila je pokret „Grupa umetnika“ s ciljem da se prožmu sve vrste kreativnog stvaranja kao isijavajuća svetlost avangardnog modernizma. Bio je to dobar pokušaj da se različite umetnosti Kostićevskim metodom ukrste u jednoj tački i iskažu simetriju i harmoniju duha vremena, kako bi se od nje razlili valeri relikata prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti. Ali, bila je to i dobra polazišna osnova gotovo svih mojih romana u kojima su akteri veliki umetnici a teme – njihove mahom tragične sudbine, u vidu sumiranja sopstvenih tragizama, teškom mukom i nadljudskom upornošću bojenih zlatnim oreolom, što su jednom dobu priuštili istorijski status: Zlatno doba.

U radu je istaknut proces bojenja reči u četiri literarna dela (*Crno telo*, *Sanatorijum pod belim*, *Crveni presek*, kao i u novom romanu *Drvo za gitaru* u kom su sažete sve boje prethodnih umetničkih senzibiliteta kroz spektar našeg vremena bojenog zelenim). Opisan je način hromatskog i svetlosnog komponovanja rečenica, gde intenzitet boje zavisi od intenziteta emocionalnog naboja autora, koliko i od ambijenta i atmosfere određene epohe opisanih u romanima, u sadejstvu sa bojama savremenosti u kom su ova dela nastajala. Dakle, ukrštaj u kome se hromatskim metodom razobličava ponaosob svako Zlatno doba, da bi se ono što vernije i iskrenije razumelo, potom i prihvatilo *Osnovnim načelom* Laze Kostića: Dobro, Lepo i Korisno.

Ključne reči: Grupa umetnika, ukrštaj, prostor, tragizam umetnika, telo-kuća, Zlatno doba, proces bojenja reči, emocionalno stanje, nijansiranje emocija, hromatski metod, crno, belo, crveno, zeleno, rivalstvo.

Sve boje – grupa umetnika

Možda bih predavanje mogla početi pitanjem, upućenim svima nama, pitanjem kao misao-teza ili kao misao-ideja koje želim danas da vam izložim kroz svoja četiri književna dela. A pitanje glasi: Da li je boja u čoveku, kako je tvrdio Gete, ili je, po Pitagori, čovek pred svetom boje? Ili možda drsko da sažmem obe tvrdnje, Geteovu i Pitagorinu, u sopstvenu: Čovek je boja! I ovo bi već mogao biti kraj mog izlaganja, budući da je u ovoj rečenici sažeto sve o čemu ću ipak danas detaljno da govorim. Dakle, kako je to i zašto čovek boja? Ovo pitanje otvara jedno sasvim logično potpitanje ili pretpitanje: Da li boja može biti spona različitih umetnosti, za šta imam brojne primere kroz istoriju, ali pomenuću samo takozvanu „Grupu umetnika“: slikara, vajara, pisaca, pesnika, muzičara... koji su se 1919. godine udružili s ciljem da odškrinu vrata modernom i avangardnom i propuste ih u srpski ambijent ogrezao u akademizmu sa teško propusnim tradicijskim oreolom. Deo te „Grupe umetnika“ junaci su i mojih knjiga kroz čije lavirinte ćemo se zajedno probijati kako bismo doprli do sopstvene boje koja je odraz čulnih utisaka pojedinačnog sveta.

Da je Laza Kostić počeo i posle 1910. godine, zasigurno bi i on bio pigment „Grupe umetnika“, uđenuo bi se u srpski umetnički eksperiment kao poentilistička tačka, crta ili mrlja, ili tek primarna boja romana *Crno telo* kroz koju inatno glavinja narušavajući tradicionalizam urastao u naviku. Time ću i početi razotkrivanje emocija putem bojnih reči, senčenjem ili nijansiranjem – **crnog**.

Dakle, sve boje CRNO.

Crno

„Silazak u suteran, s proleća, ravan je silasku u Had. Živozeleno dobrovoljno je zamenjeno mrtvozemljanom. Vidim sasvim jasno – crno.“

L. Barna, *Crno telo*, str. 71

Boja nije fenomen koji razotkriva samo suštinu umetničke slike, odnosno jednog rukavca: likovne umetnosti. Ona u svom fenomenološkom opusu obuhvata i psihološki, fiziološki, estetski i etički, simbolički, metaforički, pa i morfološki značaj pojedinih reči ili sintagmi određenog književnog žanra. Dakle, još jednog rukavca. Najzбудljivije je izražena u poeziji, ali uočljivo je njeno prisustvo kao gradivnog elementa i u proznim delima,

osobito kreiranju atmosfere u romanima. I gotovo mi je nezamislivo da postavim romanesknu kompoziciju, odredim joj naslov i napišem prvu, pokretačku rečenicu, kojom kanim dati zamajac ostalima i na taj način izraziti sopstvenu poetiku, a da nad svakom od ovih, naizgled zanatskih radnji, ne postavim jednu dominantnu boju, izvučenu namenski iz hromatskog spektra. I ne nanosim ih kistom ili prstima, već trenutnim ili onim nataloženim emocijama i njihovim intenzitetom, običnom mehaničkom radnjom: pisanjem ili kucanjem na tastaturi.

Crno telo u kom je i duhom i fisisom šajkaško dete, književnik i prevodilac, eksperimentator u poeziji, začetnik srpske avangardne lirike, inicijator novotarija ne samo u pesništvu već i u drami, novinarstvu i kritici – Laza Kostić (1841–1910). Ali „crno telo“ nije samo skrovište za umetnika ili genija, niti je samo ljudsko teleso umetnika ili genija, ono je u mom istoimenom romanu pojam iz fizike koji mi je poslužio kao metafora ambijenta u kojem je jedan vagabund lazovao, otvarajući vrata po vrata mnogobrojnih soba svog umetnički složenog organizma – kao mikrokosmos.

„Crno telo je idealno telo koje apsorbuje sve elektromagnetske talase koji padnu na njega, a takođe ih maksimalno zrači. Ma koliko bilo crno obojeno, svako telo delimično odbija zračenje koje pada na njega, pa se crno telo u praksi ostvaruje pomoću šupljeg tela s veoma malim otvorom i unutrašnjim zidovima koji dobro reflektuju zračenje. Služi za kalibraciju jačine svetlosti, i drugo“ (*Mala enciklopedija Prosveta*, 1978: 645). Ovako je opisan pojam „crno telo“ u *Maloj enciklopediji Prosveta*. I ovo je ta Kostićevska romaneskna atmosfera, uvek na žarišnoj granici crvenog i crnog, prostor pesnika koji nadilazi svoje vreme i belilo postojećeg ambijenta, udevajući se u potpunosti iskoristivom životnom snagom u nadstvarni prostor, koseći pritom kao snoplje varljivi život i njegove aktere iluzioniste.

I nije to *crno* htonskog sveta, Donjega sveta kao slike vidljive stvarnosti koji osenjuju demoni. To je nadčulni svet čija se budućnost stalno obnavlja. Jer, Laza Kostić je moderan i za ovo vreme koliko je bio avangardan i za svoje – kraj XIX i početak XX veka. I zasigurno se može svrstati u prethodnicu „Grupi umetnika“, nezavisno koje umetnosti, jer on ih stavlja u istu vrednosnu ravan. I Laza Kostić živi i danas, jer nije uspeo do kraja da izvede srpski umetnički eksperiment, on ga je ostavio na izvođenje

hrabrim i radoznalim naslednicima. Njegovo telo je kuća-izvidnica, paradigma velikog spremišta inovacija i modernizama, koji ipak traže vreme da se rasporede kroz epohe da bi se doslovno razumeli i primenili. Otuda, možda, i stalno nerazumevanje pa i ignorancija genija i naizgled vagabunda koji jedno doba svojim smelim i dalekovidim poduhvatima učine Zlatnim. Zato mi je najadekvatniji prostor za opis četrnaestogodišnjeg nastanka pesme *Santa Maria della Salute*,¹ kroz najuzbudljivije i najkreativnije Kostićeve godine, bilo – crno telo.

Crno kao nepropusnim plaštom pokriva Pupak sveta uvezan crvenim konopom, natopljen krvlju duhovnog oslobođenja. Tamni do crnila embrionalni sindrom u sadejstvu je sa ognjenim crvenim sindromom, jer u konačnom ostvaruju isti cilj – prikupljanje i odživljavanje prirodne životne snage. I u sadejstvu su večito crno i crveno kao dva supstitutata za pomenute životne snage.

Slično je i sa antipodima: crno i belo, koji bi po kostićevskom *Osnovnom načelu* imali ukrštaje u: Lepom, Dobrom i Korisnom, što je u realnom vremenu romana *Crno telo* čest slučaj. Ukrštaju se epohe sa nizom događaja u drugim i drugačijim prostorima i novim okolnostima.

Sa stanovišta psihologije, pak, crno je odsustvo svetla ali i boje, te je tako najbliže stanju koje u različitim kulturama smatramo i opisujemo kao ništavilo ili iskonski kaos, predreligijski stupanj nereda i sveopšteg nediferenciranog stanja, ili čak smrt. Isto tako, u psihologiji, crno se veže za zlo i loš ishod, ono je boja tuge, pesimizma, nesreće, velike patnje i tragedije, produkt satanskih radnji, ritualnih egzibicija, u konačnom – istorijskih tragizama.

„Crno je poput kakvog NIŠTA bez mogućnosti, poput mrtvog ništa nakon smrti Sunca, poput večne tišine, bez budućnosti, čak bez nade u budućnost, odjekuje iznutra crno...“, piše slično i slikar Vasilij Kandinski u svom artistskom ogledu *O duhovnom u umetnosti* (2004). Ali moć crnog ima široku gradaciju mogućnosti koje premošćuju dualizme ili ublažavaju

¹ Matica srpska u Novom Sadu 1909. izdaje Kostićeve *Pesme*, koje je pesnik sam priredio. U tom izdanju prvi put je objavljena pesma *Santa Maria della Salute*, čiji se pomenuti stih ponavlja četrnaest puta, onoliko koliko je prošlo godina od smrti Lenke Eli Dunderske, kojoj je pesma i posvećena (završena 3. juna 1909. godine).

njihov poguban efekat izazvan krajnostima: Dobro – Loše, Lepo – Ružno; Tuga – Radost, Dan – Noć, Život – Smrt...

U romanu *Crno telo*, crno je stoga uzeto kao zbir boja ambijenta koji će poslužiti za izražavanje karakterologije i kreativnog naboja smelog književnog eksperimentatora i pesnika Laze Kostića. Crno koje svojim osobinama samo naizgled nalikuje Kostićevom karakteru, prateći njegove unutrašnje sobe i na taj način postaje najpogodnija podloga za lirsku priču nastanka pesme *Santa Maria della Salute*, ipak je pokazalo sve valere, mesta senčenja, ublažavanje i naglašavanje jačine tonova, kao i kolorističke i svetlosne mogućnosti kroz pesnikov buran stvaralački opus. U romanu se u vezu direktno dovodi Kostićevo telo, istovremeno kao polazišni prostor i kreator sopstvenog prostora, odnosno unutarnjih soba, ali kreator i drugih prostora koje njegovo telo privremeno zauzima, ili osvaja. U tom smislu se pesnikovo telo može metaforički shvatiti kao kuća – crno telo, odnosno mesto za intuitivno obitavanje duha i fizisa pojedinca, unutar šireg kolektiva.

Laza Kostić je nagonom genija izgrađivao od svog tela kuću, gdekad besramno i hram od golog tela, bilo da je to u domu porodice Palanačkih u Somboru varoši, dok je nag gimnasticirao pred otvorenim pendžerom koji je gledao na korzo Velike ulice, ili dok je krstario krševitim crnogorskim vrljetima i sa Simom Matavuljem polemisao na Cetinju o tamošnjim političkim i kulturološkim prilikama, ili kad je usled nemaštine i usamljenosti potražio utočište u tišini manastira Krušedol u kom je stišavao emocije za rađanje životne pesme Sveta Marija od Spasa, ili dok mu je duh lebdeo nad Belom kućom u B., i konačno, dok je bolovao u čuvenom bečkom sanatorijum Loew, gde će mu se strašću razoreno srce, nakon smrti Lenke Dunderske, zaustaviti u petak 9. decembra 1910. godine.

A umro je na rukama svoga prijatelja i ličnog lekara Radivoja Simonovića.

Po kazivanju Veljka Petrovića, poslednje Simonovićeve reči ticale su se upravo Kostića, s resignacijom i očinskim tonom on savremenici ali i budućim pokolenjima izriče molbu simbolički izraženu bojama: „Nemojte Lazu ocrniti nego Lazu obelите. Nesrećnijeg čoveka od njega ja nisam sreo u životu.“ I opet antipodi crno – belo, u ovom slučaju sa smislom: loše – dobro, kazani više iz navike nego stvarnog značenja njihovih suprotnosti.

BOJENJE REČI

Ali svakako su obojili reči i dali im novu efektniju dimenziju, koja ostaje kao upozorenje kroz istoriju.

Vrhunac strasti koji će definitivno oblikovati četrnaest strofa pesme *Santa Maria della Salute* izazvaće Kostićev boravak u Veneciji, gradu raskoši kolora kojima dominiraju plavo i zeleno: boje neba, mora, i večeri omeđene tim nebom i morem. One su suštinski atmosferske boje koje će načas rasvetliti ambijent *crnog tela* i ispuniti svaku živčanu pesnikovu poru novim, naizgled neiskazivim rečima, bojenim napetim životnim damarima.

„I kako je mogao da nasluti zamešateljni medeni mesec kao dobar, vođeni slučaj, tek da bi video Nju – okamenjenu u neizrecivu lepotu od koje mu je prepukao glas, i više nije progovorio ni reč. Čutnjom, sporo, ispisuje stihove. Omađijan bolno dirljivom ljupkošću oseća najsnažniju ljubav od koje mu se rastače razum, otiče, razliva bespovratno u kanale mutne vode, što zapljuskuje jarkocrvenu opeku zaštitnog zida u podnožju čarobnice Santa Maria della Salute“ (Barna, Crno telo: 153), vrhunac je Kostićevog ushićenja, dok je stajao pred baroknim zdanjem, jedan tren – jedna godina u četrnaestogodišnjem toku nastanka istoimene pesme, koja mu je značila ljubav. Srećom po nas, Laza Kostić nije znao šta bi sa tom i tolikom ljubavlju i lepotom, osim da ih pretoči u reči besmrtnih pesme.

Skalom venecijanskih boja vazduha, on finišira strofu za strofom, završavajući ih u uporišnoj tački s talozima iskustva nastalog u miljeu *crnog tela*, stihom: *Santa Maria della Salute*, koji će se ponavljati četrnaest puta, onoliko koliko je godina prošlo od smrti Lenke Eli Dunderške, kojoj je pesma i posvećena.

Geteove naučne studije o povezanosti boja i atmosfere koju one ispunjavaju i na taj način delimično usmeravaju, čak i determinišu tok sudbine svega i svih koji se u tom konglomeratu zateknu, mogu se uzeti kao primer o slučajnostima koje su ipak samo iluzija, jer reč je o zacrtanoj, predodređenoj sudbini kroz čiji špalir prolazi pojedinac – kreator u procesu izrađanja sopstvenog velikog dela. U ovom slučaju pesme.

Antipod crnom je BELO.

Belo

„Dakle, disali smo belo, kolektivno belo u našim individualnim plućima.“
L. Barna, *Sanatorijum pod belim*, str. 22

Antipod crnom je belo. *Sanatorijum pod belim* je mesto koje zovem Beograd, kao što je Bruno Šulc zvao svoje bizarno mesto *Sanatorijum pod klepsidrom*. Telo – kuća prevodi se u širi prostor – grad, kao zajedničko stanište ali i mesto gde se odigrava, neretko i ponavlja istorija. Nadolazeća katastrofa, kulminirala je bombardovanjem Beograda i Srbije u godini s troistim brojem: 1999, što je i kulminacija u romanu opisanih fragmenata događaja kroz istoriju civilizacija: od preistorije do savremenog doba. I bilo je potrebno umeće akrobate kako bi se balansiralo između nekoliko tokova radnje, geometrijskom logikom gradio lavirint, uz konstantno menjanje položaja i učestalo biranje vizura ne bi li se ublažio strah od *tog* kobnog nadolazećeg. A kobno kao pretnja čovečanstvu pretače se iz vremena u vreme kao iz obruča u obruč, i poput jakog začina istorijskih procesa predstavljen je upozorenjem – **belo na belom**.

Belu boju u romanu *Sanatorijum pod belim* ne koristim samo u svrhu naglašavanja specifične atmosfere belog grada pod belim nebom, koji po asocijativnosti nalikuje duševnom oporavilištu, već belo paralelno tretiram kao „čudesnost ravnju življenju“, kao metaforu beskrajnog prostora koji je u sadejstvu sa beskonačnom ljudskom svešču. I razumljivo, dolazi do izražaja antipodna simbolika belog: belo kao smrt, belo kao život, belo kao sanatorijum, belo kao sloboda, belo kao nesreća, belo kao nevinost, belo kao otvorene žive mogućnosti... S obzirom na to da je belo apsolutna boja, ona unutar svoga bića ima asimptotičke vrednosti, te označava kako odsustvo tako i zbir boja, raspon od prigušenih do sjajnih emocija, brisan put između vidljivog i nevidljivog, i kao takva, bela je sama po sebi antipodna, ona nema kraj, završetak, kao ni početak, njena simbolika se obnavlja, regeneriše značenja, jer se uvek vraća na pomenuti početak, koji hrli ka kraju, i umnožavajući ih, stvara iluziju beskonačnosti, odnosno večnog.

Splet priča od kojih je jezički i slikovno tkan roman *Sanatorijum pod belim* ima širi značaj i njihove sadržine se simbolikom prelivaju na druge prostore i kulture, prethodne ali i one postojeće, kao kontinuitet civilizacijskog hodograma. Tako, jedan roman postaje legitimno utočište mnogim velikim umovima i genijima kroz istoriju i istoriju umetnosti: čuvenom inovatoru u slikarstvu skraja XIX veka Vinsentu van Gogu koji

pokreće i kreira meandre od namnoženih –*izama*. Ili ruskom suprematisti Kazimiru Maljeviću. Ili ekspresionisti i začetniku kubizma u Srbiji Savi Šumanoviću. (Svi oni imaju zasluženno mesto u nekom od krakova lavirinta romana.)

Vinsent van Gog je predstavljen kao paradigma tragičnosti genija, a nerazumevanja njegovih smelih, čisto intuitivnih ideja, postupaka i teorija u likovnoj umetnosti, nadilaze i vreme i prostor u kojima slikar stvara. Da li je za života prodao jednu ili nijednu sliku, danas gubi smisao a za njega taj smisao nikad nije ni postojao. Jer, njegova želja i nagon ka radu, pa i po cenu života, koštali su ga upravo života, a nas kojima je ostavio svoje slike, ne samo da bismo popunili kolekcije – što privatne, što muzejske i galerijske – opominje na kamen o koji se večito kroz istoriju spotičemo, praveći greške, uz njih i nepravde upravo tvorcima od kojih uzimamo stvoreno: Lepo, Dobro i Korisno.

S druge strane, belim geometrijskim oblicima na naizgled definisanom belom geometrijskom obliku, Kazimir Maljevič označava svoju teoriju „čiste bespredmetnosti“ u umetnosti, čime postiže oslobađanje od čulne determinisanosti, odnosno otklon od svakog predmetnog iskustva. Maljevičevo suprematističko slikarstvo rasterećuje prostor, dedimenzionišući ga, pri čemu daje mogućnost posmatraču da ga ispuni svojim, intimnim duhom i na taj način ga sačuva i prepusti kolektivu. Tako, Maljevičeva podloga za nastup čistog duha u romanu postaje brana nadolazećem zlu, a nju ipak grade individualci, pojedinci, uglavnom označeni u istoriji kao geniji, posprdno gdekad nazivani i osobenjaci.

Uporedo, u *Sanatorijumu pod belim* začinje se dijalog i sa slikarom Savom Šumanovićem. Ekspresivnim metodama, nanoseći belo na belom u debelim pastuoznim slojevima, Šumanović simbolično ističe ulogu čistog slikarstva, odnosno umetnosti kao metafore i predskazanja nadolazećeg zla, što je bio Drugi svetski rat. Poput štita, Šumanović istura belo kao suprotnost mračnim silama i bezumlju, natapajući nanose beloga ekstatičnim lirskim doživljajem sveta, dajući mu, pored znakovne, i muzikalnu polifoniju.

Ali podmetanje sopstvenih unutarnjih soba i sebe kao kuće koja štiti širi, ambijentalni prostor, pa i određenu državu i naciju, izaziva neminovan rasep ličnosti, što je u gotovo svim slučajevima pomenutih genija uslovalo zapadanje u svojevrсно ludilo pa i samoizolaciju, gde se

mesto poprišta tretira kao metonomijska zamena za duševnu bolest, ili za omeđeni haos iz kog teško da se može naći izlaz bez posledica.

U simboličkoj ravni Beograd, odnosno Srbija, postaju dakle sanatorijum. Bombardovanje Srbije 1999. biće samo povod za spoznavaju užasa čija je poruka data kao kriptogram u romanu. Beograd je zakratko: „...užasan i strašan kavez, beli sanatorijum, učvoran u godini s troistim brojem (1999). Učvorana tragičnost pod belim...“ (Barna, *Sanatorijum pod belim*: 111). I postaje paradigma poligona za ispitivanje dometa i izdržljivosti zla.

Takođe, u romanu je stvorena idealna atmosfera u koju su pozvani moderni starci ili stari modernisti kroz istoriju, a upravo su oni svom dobu uspeli da priušte oreol zlatnog. Arhimed, Sokrat, Leonardo da Vinči, Vinsent van Gog životne su jedinice od kojih je, između ostalih, sklopljen mozaik istorije čovečanstva. A budući da su umetnosti zbir životnih jedinica, oni su stoga koherentna celina jer životno se ne može raskomadati i sagledavati svaki komad zasebno, jer se tad ne vidi celovita slika i ne očitava znakovna poruka. Umetnost je dakle živi organizam, makrokosmos koji prati čulno delovanje pojedinca koji ga stvara iz sopstvenog silosa tela – mikrokosmosa. I svest pojedinaca o toj činjenici uzrok je i lične ali i kolektivne drame koja se razvija oko njih i koja ih za života prati.

U romanu *Sanatorijum pod belim* prepliću se prvo i treće lice pripovedanja. Sa muškog i ženskog aspekta se definišu imaginarni događaji, u nizu pripovedačkih rukavaca i iz različitih uglova posmatranja. I deluje da su radnje haotično uvedene kroz dva i vremenska i situaciona paralelna toka: Sanatorijum „Van Gogh“ pod Avalom i čuveni Sanatorijum u Sent Remiju, u kom je u vreme najžešćeg ludila boravio Vinsent van Gog i u njemu čak pokušao samoubistvo. Ali, neuspelo! Dva tela, dve kuće, ponovo su suprotstavljeni i na teg se stavljaju strah i borba za izbavljenje od imaginarnog straha, odbijanje poraza pred nametima većine i manifestovanja bojazni od genija i njihovih dalekovidnih produkata za dobrobit sveg čovečanstva. „Strah od Zla koje više i ne pokušava da prikrije Mefistofelovo lice dovodi me do apsolutne bespomoćnosti i u taložini beznađa uglubljen je uzrok mog velikog straha“ (Barna, *Sanatorijum pod belim*: 114), vapaj je glavne junakinje, glasa savesti jedinke u ime množine.

BOJENJE REČI

Srednjovekovni simbolizam boja dodatno pojačava tenziju pred nemilom stvarnošću ali i budućnosti planete, a posebno naglašenu ulogu ima *bela* kao odlika nečeg toliko uzvišenog da prerasta u svoju suprotnost – zastrašujuće. Govor čula pretače se u kakofoniju zapomažućih glasova koji postaju prenaplašeni za razumevanje i prirodno izazivaju nesporazume. Bela boja osvaja prostor i prostore namenjene čoveku i njegovoj kući kao puževoj ljušturi, pred njome se gube predmeti i ostaje samo, po tvrdnji Pitagorinoj: „čovek pred bojom“, ili boja postaje čovek. Poenta, nažalost, nije optimistična „jer od zla smo satkani i rođeni, zli smo oduvek i bili“ (Barna, *Sanatorijum pod belim*: 114). Zlu je malo potrebno da preuzme primat, zatruje nam unutarne sobe i telo i kuću, čineći nas iz dana u dan bolesnijim. Zato roman *Sanatorijum pod belim*, sa istorijskim fragmentima značajnim za razvoj i bitak čovečanstva, nežnim metodama, predstavljajući ključne istorijske scene kao filmske kadrove, apeluje na otrežnjenje. Jer, za trezvenost nikad ne može biti kasno, pa i kad ovlada belilo kao Saramagovo slepilo.

Ali, po Kantu, stvari tek jesu i postoje u prostoru.

Dakle, čovek postoji u prostoru, i on nije monohroma pojava, već spektar sveg postojanja. Čovek je uskovitlana svetlost, s dominacijom prokrvljene boje – crveno!

Dakle, sve boje CRVENO!

Crveno

„Kako početi roman, prvu rečenicu? *Crveni presek* mi se nametnuo kao sasvim intrigantan naslov, a i dovoljno asocijativan. Ali prvu rečenicu i dalje nemam. Imam naslove unutar glavnog naslova, kao pokrića za pokretačku rečenicu ili besmislenost insistiranja na njoj. Dakle, crveno!“

L. Barna, *Crveni presek*, str. 9

Donekle su i uloga boje, ali i igra reči, određeni naslovom dela, gde je konkretna boja – crveno – sastavni njegov deo, što je slučaj i sa ostalim mojim romanima o kojima danas govorimo. U sklopu naslova su: crno i belo. Boja iz naslova samo navodi na pojačanu pažnju za prepoznavanje nijansiranja ostrvâ kao samostalnih literarnih celina, ali i mogućeg načina sagledavanja radnje romana pomoću boja. Ovakvo metaforičko komponovanje hromatske skale izraženo kroz jezik može imati tek dodirne

tačke sa poimanjem boje u slikarstvu, čija svojstva i značenja smo, upravo kroz likovne umetnosti, naučeni da prepoznavamo i stereotipno ih prihvatamo, docnije i proizvoljno određujemo. Ali boja može bojiti i reč gradacijom emocija pod uticajem velikih istorijskih dešavanja i okolnosti u kojima se događaji razvijaju, naravno, i skalom jačine primanja razvoja tih događaja a potom i manifestovanja, uslovljenih angažmanom pojedinaca ili grupacija: od stišanih do burovitih. I tada bojenje reči ima osobenu simboliku u kontekstu određenog pasusa ili poglavlja, ili može čak asocijativno pojačati intenzitet značenja i tumačenja izvesnih pojmova unutar književnog dela.

Prokrvljenost reči stoji kao crveni presek: belog i crnog, može biti: mesta i vremena, prošlog i sadašnjeg, i time je svesno pravljen jezički kontinuitet jezikom mešanja krvi i misli. Na taj način, sva četiri romana, koja danas pominjemo i spektralno analiziramo, mogu se pratiti kao curak nijansirane svetlosti određenih, odnosno namenski izabраниh boja.

Dakle, sve boje **crveno**.

Crveni presek u svojoj osnovi priča je o ukrštaju dva vremena, gde akteri iz svakog od vremena, svojim tragičnim sudbinama otvaraju nove/stare tokove i deluje naizgled da se istorija ponavlja. Ali oni ipak prave sponu početka XX i početka XXI veka. Nad stolecima je u raskoraku, više gladan nego sit, nepravedno skrajnut i usamljen, začetnik srpskog umetničkog eksperimenta, impresionista Kosta Miličević (1877–1920). I koja bi boja mogla biti adekvatnije utočište za tako opsednutog i strastvenog modernistu u slikarstvu, njegovo telo-kuću, još jednu paradigmu tragizma u istoriji umetnosti, od – crvenog, boje polnosti, mladosti, izobilja, boje ljubavi, prokrvljenih gena i kodova, boje dominirajućeg ženskog elementa, boje prednjeg plana, pa i u društveno-socijalnom smislu.

Žarišni presek boji u crveno prostor koji Miličevićovo telo sa mnogobrojnim sobama u različitim fazama zauzima: od rodne Vrake kod Skadra, beogradske Srpske crtačke i slikarske škole Kirila Kutlika, posle i Umetničko-zanatske škole Riste i Bete Vukanović, čiji će dak ostati do kraja života, Velesa kao inspirativnog likovnog utočišta koji će mu priuštiti legitimno zvanje: pejzažista, pa bečkog ateljea Hajnriha Štreblova kom će zakratko biti učenik (1899), minhenske umetničke škole Antona Ažbea, gde se pojavljuje sa pogrđnim zvanjem „nesvršeni student“ jer nikada nije

uspeo da dobije stipendiju potrebnu za školovanje, do stanovnika praških parkova, trgova i memljivih haustora, i Beograda u kom je tragično okončao život u četrdeset i trećoj godini, upravo onako kako ga je i živeo: pronađen je smrznut, iznemogao, izgladneo, bolestan na tramvajskoj stanici Gospodarska mehana na Senjaku; nekoliko dana posle umire u bolnici u Vidinskoj ulici od zapaljenja pluća.

Ključno mesto u kom se Kosta Miličević zatekao za ratnih godina: Krf i ostrvo Vido, usloviće da uprkos stradanju to bude najproduktivniji period njegova stvaralaštva. Ali i novi presek u kom je crveno koncentrisano nabojem jakih emocija slike koju kao kruna završetka rata oslikava 1919. godine – „VIDO, ostrvo smrti“. Nastala u Prvom ratu, stradaće u Drugom, u nemačkom bombardovanju Beograda. I u bezumlju uništena slika, imaginativnim, gotovo harmsovskim slučajevima, koji više nalikuju na mozgovne igre, u romanu *Crveni presek* volšebno oživljava, puneći se živim bojama savremenika i savremenosti, i tako opredmećuje tragičnu prošlost i daje mogućnost iskajavanja grehova prethodnika. Time je crvenim do alarmantnosti pojačano upozorenje da je umetničko delo neuništivo i kad mislimo da je uništeno, jer je život Veliki Kreator nezamislivih čuda! A čuda proizašla iz snage umeća i htenja pojedinaca, nadilaze zlu kob, pa i onu ratnu – i Prvog svetskog rata, u kom je Kosta Miličević aktivno učestvovao kao ratni slikar, beležeći muku i stradanja slikovnim jezikom, ali i Drugog u kom u plamenu nestaju slikareve beleške, rađene napetim emocijama u gotovo somnambulnom stanju.

Vizionar, istinski slikarski posvećenik i boem velaskezovskog tipa i ophođenja, povučen u svoje unutarne sobe, oslikava svetlosne trenutake ratnih stradalaštava, i konačno iskoračuje u realan, stvaran svet. Ali, kasno! Naslikavši „Vido“, Miličević se gasi, njegova gama posrebruje platno do zaslepljujućeg belila, i konačno, prepušta se bespomoćno bolesti i smrti – BELOM.

Ovo je i roman o pisanju romana i potrazi za građom o tragičnoj sudbini jednog od najzaslužnijih srpskih slikara novog doba, koji su upustili duh i dah moderne Evrope u Srbiju, zajedno sa „Grupom umetnika“, ali i sudbinama svih preosetljivih, nespremnih da zarad sitnih, trenutnih interesa izgube vekovima građen identitet. Ovo je i roman o ljubavima, nesporazumima, željama i nadanjima, emocijama isprepletenim kroz savremene ali i događaje iz prošlosti, koje pisac kao

glavni akter kroz nametnutu mu igru, u koju je uvučen spletom gotovo nemogućih okolnosti, prikuplja i od njih gradi autentičnu priču prilagodljivu svakom vremenu.

Izvesni Matematičar u svom iznajmljenom stanu, u nekadašnjoj prvoj Srpskoj crtačkoj i slikarskoj školi na Dorćolu, otkriva sef sa sedam crteža, koje je Kosta Miličević crtao u kupeu Orijent ekspresa na putu iz Minhena za Beograd 1903. godine, kao predskazanje Velikog rata (1914–1918). Igrum kombinatorike, Matematičar bira saveznike ali i bizaran način, pa i mesto – rusku knjižaru u centru Beograda – gde će im ostaviti crteže, svestan da će ih tek oni, svojim jakim senzibilom i povezanim sudbinama, sklopiti u jednu sliku kao magični pazl – čuvenu sliku „Vido, ostrvo smrti“, vraćajući je u život, ali i istoriju umetnosti.

I nastavila se posthumno nepravda, nepriznavanje i nerazumevanje. Iako je bilo očekivano ali i pravedno, s obzirom na siromaštvo i nemaštinu u kojima je živio i umro, veliki slikar nije sahranjen uz učešće prosvetnih i vojnih vlasti, a javnost je uskraćena za informaciju o odlasku sa umetničke scene začetnika srpskog impresionizma, jer njegova smrt nije zabeležena u domaćoj štampi.

Čuveni teoretičar umetnosti Teodor Adorno tvrdio je da umetničko delo može tumačiti jedino onaj ko ga različitim načinima sagledava, nikako njegov tvorac. Svesno, otvorenog uma i srca ulazeći u *Crveni presek* saznaćete koju slikovnu poruku dobijamo kada ljubav i samoću prevedemo u oblik geometrijskog tela. A njegov prostor možete potom sami bojiti svojim intimnim čulima. Pa i magičnom moći nijansi crevenog!

Uzimam stoga ključ i otvaram novi prostor: svoju sadašnjicu. I svim bojama bojim je u ZELENO!

Zeleno

„Zelena gitara je bila ključ kojim se otvarao naš zajednički prostor s mnoštvom oblika, i oboje smo znali da više nije bilo povratka, iako takav sunovrat nismo sebi priznavali.“

L. Barna, *Jugo je okrenuo na buru* (roman u rukopisu)

Savremena priča iz romana u rukopisu *Jugo je okrenuo na buru* možda samo prvim utiskom vuče u divlje predele Latinske Amerike, Meksika i

Meksiko Sitija, a zapravo miruje u mestu današnjice, ovog našeg podneblja – bojenog osvešćujuće *zelenim*. I bilo je potrebno zaći stvarnim korakom u novo doba kako bi se sažeo smisao prethodnih tema vezivih za život i sudbinu značajnih umetnika i genija kroz istoriju i istoriju umetnosti koje sam predstavila u svojim romanima. Ali, vraćam se nakratko na pokret „Grupa umetnika“ iz 1919. godine, odnosno ideju sjedinjavanja, prožimanja i ukrštaja svih umetnosti kako bi se zajedničkim umešnim snagama sačuvalo dostojanstvo ljudskog bitisanja, odvratilo zlo i neminovna kob koji prate svaku od prethodnih epoha, jednako koliko i današnjicu. Ovim, dakako, samo imaginarno pravim „Grupom umetnika“ našeg vremena u okviru datih okolnosti, ujedinjujući muziku i slikarstvo u preseku – literature.

Dakle, sve boje **zeleno!**

Drvo kao simbol života, konkretno brest od kog čuveni američki gitarista srpskog porekla Ognjen Tanović gradi instrument iz čijeg tela izvlači tonove koji kompariraju strašću prokrvljenom ženskom telu, mahom iz tačaka u kojima je po verovanjima različitih naroda smeštena duša, kako bi tim tonovima i njihovim nijansama, valerima i harmonijskim spektrom uspeo da potre rivalstvo dvoje intimno bliskih, dvoje prijatelja, kolega, najposle, ili čak na prvom mestu – ljubavnika. To i ne bi bila priča za neki naročiti pomen, s obzirom na to da su dvoje likova izmišljeni, da izobraženi junaci romana nisu umetnici: slikarka i klasični gitarista, čije će živote povezati zeleni instrument, odnosno univerzalna simbolika i poruka *zelenog*.

U romanu u rukopisu *Jugo je okrenuo na buru* ideja pretočena u reči bojena je intenzitetom emocija pisca, koji svojevrsnim uživljavanjem u karakterologiju muškog i ženskog modela daje od sebe oba svojstva: Animu i Animusa, razvijajući ljubavnu ali i profesionalnu priču dvoje igrom (ne)slučaja spojenih umetnika. Isto tako, ostavljeno je i definisanju konačnog, pre osetilnog značenja priče kako kolorističkom tako i muzičkom tonalitetu. Reč, odnosno reči, ovoga puta komponovane su sadejstvom raspoloživih mogućnosti, naime one emituju poruku jačinom i intenzitetom boje i zvuka, jer ton gitare savršeno je telesan, koliko i boja crpena iz ženskog tela. Pogotovo što je u razmatranju osetljiva tema iz domena najfinije ljudske psihologije: uzajamne emocije, kako u intimnom partnerskom tako i kreativnom partnerskom pogledu. I uzet je u okulus

jedan neiscrpn segment psihologije čoveka, važan u karakterologiji i muškarca i žene, samim tim rukavac za razotkrivanje postupka nastanka umetničkog dela – kroz rivalstvo.

Količina zelenog u strukturi i tvrdoći drveta, u ovom slučaju obojenog sekretima praroditelja insekata, bodljikavog crva sa kičmom – *Hallucigenia*, koji inhibiran milionima godina u zemlji, čudesnim spletom okolnosti oživljava našavši pogodno tlo – uslovljava i količinu odanosti i ljubavi koju glavni junak, gitarista na akustičnoj gitari i graditelj istih, uspeva da podari a da to nije dar umetnosti, muzici, odnosno apstraktnom, nego jednoj ženi, konkretnoj, stvarnoj, od krvi i mesa, njegovoj ženi, biću tananim čulima izabranom i izdvojenom iz mase. Shvativši značaj i vrednost blagodeti koja mu je priuštена – da može da dâ ali i primi – u potrazi je širom sveta za drvetom od kojeg će izgraditi zelenu gitaru, po želji ili hiru svoje žene, i to zelenom – bojom zdrave i prirodne osnove jedne ljudske veze, ali i bojom njihove zajedničke sudbine.

„Treba mi drvo sa svim karakteristikama, vrstama, raznim identitetima, istorijom, gusto, tvrdo drvo. Drvo divljine. Drvo koje pamti. Hirovito drvo, nepredvidljivo. Da, i zeleno drvo! Treba mi drvo za gitaru!“ (Barna, *Jugo je okrenuo na buru*: rukopis), reći će gitarista, obraćajući se svima nama koliko i sebi, doduše, više zapovednim načinom nego što se pravda. I vođen iskonskom potrebom za čistom ljubavlju, kakvom i komponuje ili gradi gitaru, slučajevi će mu otvarati put ka meksičkim prerijama, i plantaži crvenih narandži u okolini Meksiko Sitija, ka veštačkom ostrvu Soćimoko, kao pandan njegovom Ostrvu na kom mu Ona za uzdarje oslikava 7 dasaka. Ali i misteriozno izraslom krugu brestova usred ostrva, a čije je korenje alhemijskim mešanjem sekreta preinsekta *Hallucigenia* poprimilo zelenu, onu traženu boju.

Zelena je atmosferska boja a ne predmetna, ona je muzikalna boja koja skalom emocija svira atmosferu, lišava telesnosti i stvara utisak daljine i prostranstava, što mi je bila polazišna tačka za završetak priče o specifičnom odnosu dvoje umetnika lociranom baš na ostrvcu u dalekom Meksiku. I ono će poslužiti kao protivteža Ostrvu na Jadranu koje nije ucrtano ni u jedne geokarte niti morske mape, te mu stoga nije ni nadenuto ime. Jednostavno, zove se Ostrvo, sa jakom antipodnom simbolikom koja će se ponavljati tokom romana, menjanjem lokaliteta na

kojima se odigrava radnja, lokaliteta istih ili sličnih svojstava, ali na različitim krajevima sveta.

Na malom jadranskom Ostrvu, od stotinak stanovnika, razvija se ženski princip. Slikarka, okružena fantazmagoričnim imaginarnim likovima, pa i predelima, islikava damarima sopstvenog tela, ali i upamćenim telesnim impulsima svoga ljubavnika i partnera, sedam dasaka na kojima je predskazana njegova sudbina, sudbina čoveka kojeg pokušava da upusti u svoj lični prostor, nadilazeći nadljudskim naporima samoživost, istovremeno dajući šansu i da On nadiđe svoj ego i svoju sebičnost. Divljina i neuređenost prostora – osim prirodnog uređenja – asocira na slobodu, bazu u kojoj bi trebalo da nastane jedno umetničko delo, rasterećeno svih utega i pritisaka koji bi kao balast mogli da ga parališu i time lokalizuju, što nije svrha univerzalne poruke koju odašilje.

S druge strane, u divljinama Meksika razvija se muški princip. Gitarista u predgrađu Meksiko Sitija, na izolovanom, veštački obrazovanom ostrvcu Soćimoko, izbegavajući razne opasnosti u koje neminovno kao stranac zapada, gradi instrument iz kog istovremeno izvlači tonove saglasne ženskim damarima, i njima komponuje pesmu svojoj ženi. I oboje, i slikarka i gitarista daju maksimum sadržine sopstvenih tela-kućâ, otvaraju gotovo sva vrata unutarnjih soba i pale svetlost, ne bi li jasno i realno sagledali jedno drugo, ne samo umetničkim sredstvima nego onim primarnim – ljudskim.

Sadržine unutrašnjih soba slikarke i gitariste u svojoj ćutljivoj sebičnosti i egoizmu predstavljene su divljim prostranstvima na dva kraja sveta, i mahom nenaseljenim, u koja su locirani svojom voljom ili voljom onog drugog, ili slučajem, što bi mogla biti svojevrsna simbolika značenja i osobenosti umetničkog procesa koji vodi ka krajnjem cilju – umetničkom delu, i njegovom uticaju kako na bližnjeg, pojedinca, tako uopšte i na svet i ljude.

I, svakako, obojeno svim bojama – ZELENO!

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Artea Panajotović & Valentina V. Budinčić
Alfa BK University, Belgrade

TRANSLATION AS A KEY GLOBAL ACTIVITY

An Interview with Daniel Dejica

Daniel Dejica, PhD, Habil., is Professor in translation studies at the Faculty of Communication Sciences, *Politehnica* University of Timișoara, Romania. His research interests include translation theory and methodology, LSP translation, and discourse analysis for translation purposes. Daniel Dejica is a member of the Advanced Translation Research Center (ATRC) team at the University of Saarbrücken, Germany and a member of the Doctoral Studies Committee of the European Society for Translation Studies. He is the editor-in-chief of *The Scientific Bulletin of Politehnica University of Timisoara, Transactions on Modern Languages* and he has been co-editing the *Proceedings of the Professional Communication and Translation Studies* conference, organized at *Politehnica* University of Timișoara since 2001. He is also a member in the editorial boards of other international peer reviewed journals including *conneXions: international professional communication journal* (New Mexico Tech), *MuTra Journal* (University of Saarbrücken), *Translatologia* (University of Maribor) and *The European English Messenger* (ESSE – European Society for the Study of English, 2013–2015).

As a keynote speaker at the *Language, Literature and Emotions* conference, Prof. Dejica delivered a lecture entitled “A Historical and Emotional View into the Evolution of the Translation Profession,” in which he discussed how “the recent advances in science and technology, the internationalization of trade and the globalization of institutions have led to the transformation of one-dimensional, traditional translation tasks into multidimensional, modern communication scenarios.” In this interview, Prof. Dejica provides profound and valuable insight into the

increasingly complex relationship between translation and digital technologies, the development of translation studies as an emerging field, the status of the English language and its influence on other languages.

1. Science of translation in the digital era

What does “the craft of translation” mean today? To what extent has the meaning of this phrase changed with the advent of new technologies?

Translation has become a key global activity and the situations which account for the need and importance of translations are numerous. They range from the need for cooperation in such areas as industry, transportations, communications, entertainment, to the ever-growing increase in international trade, the enlargement and proliferation of international institutions, the need to keep up with the latest advances in science and technology, or to the curiosity about other people’s countries and cultures. In this context, especially with relation to the professional genres which are translated in these fields, the act of translation shifted and is seen as science rather than craft or art. An important role in this change has been made by the variety of texts being translated, the increasing market demands, and the diversity of clients’ requirements. To keep up, translators’ only solution was to embrace new technologies.

How do the workload and demands imposed upon the individual translator before the e-revolution compare with those of today? Have they changed significantly?

In Europe, there are 47 countries, over 200 languages and about 60 minority languages. There are 24 official EU languages. At the European Commission alone, more than 2 million pages are translated on a yearly basis (2013) and translators are working with more than 500 language combinations. Translators and their employers could not have remained unresponsive to these figures and to these increasing market demands. If three decades ago translators were still using pen and paper, now they are using sophisticated translation tools which help them translate a larger volume of texts, at a higher speed and with improved qualitative results.

In what way does the development of digital technologies influence the demand for translators? Is it growing or declining?

Digital technologies are present in all social and professional settings. There is a huge demand nowadays for well-trained professionals in the language industry, and this implies the translators' ability to work with new technologies, as well. On the one hand, universities are continually adapting their translation curricula to include new and emerging hardware devices and software programmes as part of their teaching and research programmes. On the other hand, translators working individually or in companies are undergoing translator training programmes to keep up with these advances. At least from a technological standpoint, translation is a lifelong learning activity, which sooner or later all translators need to experience.

In which direction are electronic translation tools developing – towards becoming a replacement for translators or towards being translators' aid?

Translation tools were never meant to replace translators, but to assist them in the translation process. The traditional translation process needed to reinvent itself, both in theory and in practice. Thus, if originally it consisted of three stages, source text analysis, transfer and reproduction, the modern translation process includes more stages, such as post-editing and revision, which are done by human translators.

What is your view of the importance of translators and interpreters today and the future of translation in the context of the digital age?

Translators and interpreters are one of the most important links in today's globalized world. I have already mentioned some of the reasons. I also believe that the digital era has still much to offer translators as well. As long as there will be technical and scientific progress, the translation process will need to adapt and cope with these challenges, while for the translation profession, it will be essential to evolve and include new or more sophisticated skills and competencies.

**TRANSLATION AS A KEY GLOBAL ACTIVITY:
AN INTERVIEW WITH DANIEL DEJICA**

Do you think that the quality of translation in your country is at a satisfactory level?

Quality is a complex aspect of translation which can and should always be improved. I do believe that we have the experience, the knowledge, the infrastructure and the schools to prepare translators produce qualitative translations. And I trust most of the translation graduates are up to the task. The problem is that on the market there are many amateur translators who are not formally trained in translation, do not have any experience or do not hold any degree, and as such they are slow and inefficient, have low or no technological capability, and their work lacks quality assurance. But after all, the final decision as to commission a translation to a professional or to an amateur, belongs to the client.

What difficulties do translators most frequently encounter when it comes to translating professional texts?

It depends on how familiar they are to the field and to the specificities of that particular professional genre. Novice translators may have terminological problems which usually slow the translation process and they run the risk of not meeting an expected deadline. More experienced translators may have technical difficulties when it comes to translating specialized texts which come in different file formats. Every translation situation may be at some point problematic, but possible answers are always found in collaborative environments.

What is the status of translators and interpreters in big translation companies? Do they get a fair deal?

The status of the translation profession itself has changed rapidly in the past decades and there are many advocates who claim that the profession should be rebranded. With a multitude of skills and competencies, the present-day translator should benefit of a higher esteem and prestige in all socio-economic and professional settings, in a similar way in which translators were associated to scholarly persons hundreds of years ago.

2. Translation studies – possibilities and challenges

What is the most important factor in the education of a non-literary translator? Which specific skills are developed through your study programmes and by what means?

Any BA program in translation should offer a successful combination of language, culture, translation, technology, personal and interpersonal skills. Practical classes should be predominant, and if combined with relevant internship programs in companies, should offer a rich experience to any student and bring her/him closer to the realities on the market.

To what extent is general knowledge important for a non-literary translator?

Knowledge is a must for all translators and a prerequisite for felicitous translations. Both general and domain-specific knowledge contribute to the development of skills and competencies needed by translators to produce good translations.

What are the key differences between a general English studies curriculum and translation studies?

The main differences reside in the subjects offered. If there are some core disciplines which may be common to both programs, such as language and culture, there are also disciplines which are usually found only in translation programs, such as LSP translation, terminology, or CAT tools. The ratio between practical and theoretical disciplines is generally higher in a translation program when compared to other programs in the humanities.

What are the greatest challenges teachers and students encounter during the study of translation?

It is universally accepted that Translation Studies has become a discipline in its own rights. It has developed its own theories and concepts, but given that it is still young, it has a lot to offer in terms of didactic and research activities. Some of these have been mapped by international programs

such as the European Master's in Translation (EMT) or the International Doctorate in Translation Studies (ID-TS), others have been prioritized by independent scholars and curricula developers. The fact that it offers a generous ground for research, the novelty of some technology-based disciplines, the interdisciplinarity of the field and the possibility to continually access new information about specific domains, people and cultures make it appealing and challenging to both students and teachers.

Have you developed any cooperation with similar study programmes in the region?

We did, and we are always open to new cooperation opportunities. We have good contacts with colleagues from various universities in the region but also in other parts of Europe, we take part in teacher/student exchange programs, publish together or organize joint scientific events. We are continually trying to enlarge the scientific pool of reviewers for our department's publications – *The Scientific Bulletin of Politehnica University of Timisoara*, *Transactions on Modern Languages* and *Professional Communication and Translation Studies* and the scientific board of our conference. All these allowed us to be in contact with the latest trends in TS, and at the same time, to share our experience with others.

3. English language – lingua franca for years to come

Will the status of the English language change after Brexit, in what way, and to what extent?

In my opinion, English is and will remain the language in which most research is published worldwide, in which technological advances are disseminated on a global scale, the language of communication in official settings, and the language of education in many international schools or academic programs. At the level of the EU, other languages such as French, German or Spanish may gain some ground when it comes to the translation of official documents, but this does not necessarily mean that English will no longer be used in business or administrative

environments. So, for the moment, translators using English as one of their working languages need not worry.

Do you think that machine translation can affect the status of the English language as a lingua franca in the world?

Yes, and in a good way. Given that dedicated software programs facilitate the translation of a larger volume of texts in a shorter period of time, and since the majority of these texts are translated from/into English, I believe that translation tools can consolidate and preserve the status of the English language as a lingua franca in the world for years to come.

Is there a clear language policy in your country regarding the borrowing of English words in Romanian? Are English words being uncritically accepted, or the viewpoint regarding English borrowings is predominantly puristic?

Words of foreign origin, including English, are generally accepted in Romanian. Neologisms, especially in the technical domain, are quickly absorbed, some of them naturalized. There is of course the issue of acceptability when it comes to using barbarisms or to borrowing a word which already exists in the language. We do have an Academy which guards the language, but as it usually happens worldwide, the final word will be given by usage...

Technical and technological innovations in various professional fields, which are mostly coming from the English-speaking countries, are accompanied by a number of new terms. Do these terms adequately and on time go through standardization procedures in Romanian? Are appropriate and updated specialized dictionaries available in Romania?

Most translators rely on IATE, a reliable source which is updated regularly. Professional associations also create their own glossaries of standardized terms. In some technical fields, e.g. computer science, telecommunications, etc., existing dictionaries may become quickly obsolete and translators have to rely on other professionals or on informal sources. But solutions can always be found, even in the case of words

**TRANSLATION AS A KEY GLOBAL ACTIVITY:
AN INTERVIEW WITH DANIEL DEJICA**

which have not been introduced in the language, and may include using a third language, a specialized translation forum, or parallel texts.

Substandard translation from English to Serbian, which is not unusual in our country, leads to the hybridization of the Serbian language and the emergence of a new so-called urban sociolect – Anglo-Serbian language. Do certain aspects of translation failures cause some similar sociolinguistic phenomena in Romanian?

The use of jargon is something which cannot be avoided in any language. However, I believe it is a characteristic of the oral discourse and indeed, it may be problematic for interpreters if they are not familiar with it. Written professional genres are safer in this respect, and jargon may only occasionally be problematic to translators. Luckily, jargon is ephemeral: it either disappears in time, or it is accepted and introduced in the vocabulary and will no longer be problematic for interpreters or translators.

Ljiljana Radenović
University of Belgrade
lradenovic72@gmail.com

HUMILITY IN THE WORLD WITHOUT GOD

Original research paper

Abstract: In the Christian tradition an individual is considered to be humble when she does not take the credit for her accomplishments because she is aware that it is only through grace of God that she has achieved them. But, does it make sense at all to aspire to be humble if there is no God? E. J. Wielenberg (2005) provides a framework for thinking about the virtue of humility in a naturalistic world. Wielenberg argues that in order to keep humility as a virtue in such a world we should acknowledge the enormous extent in which mere “dumb luck” contributes to our achievements. Wielenberg, however, does not tell us more about the way specific metaphysical beliefs contribute to the ways we experience humility. In this paper my goal is to explore such contribution. I will argue that the feeling of humility is different for a Christian and for an atheist. First I focus on humility as it is described by Thomas Aquinas (1892), then I turn to Wielenberg’s concept of naturalistic humility, while in the final section I provide psychological profiles of two distinct emotional experiences: naturalistic and Christian humility.¹

Keywords: virtue, emotional experience, Thomas Aquinas, Christian humility, naturalistic humility.

A brief overview of the literature on humility shows that the virtue of humility has more than one definition. Traditionally humility has been tied to God’s existence and associated with the feelings of meekness and inferiority, and generally with the inclination to put ourselves and our

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needs last. Humility has also been related to our understanding of our proper place in the universe and society and with the feeling of respect of those who are in the social hierarchy above us. Finally, specific behaviors have been the mark of a humble person. Such a person lowers their gaze, dresses modestly, does not ask for honors, and does not talk or laugh too much.

All of these various psychological and behavioral aspects of humility make it clear that humility could not have been unequivocally accepted as good and desirable. In Ancient Greece it was not cited as a virtue. The first to praise it were Christian philosophers. But, philosophers of the Enlightenment rejected it. Hume for instance says:

[H]umility . . . and the whole train of the monkish virtues; for what reason are they everywhere rejected by men of sense, but because they serve to no manner of purpose . . . ? We justly, therefore, transfer them to the opposite column, and place them in the catalogue of vices. (Hume, 1994: 219, 270).

Now, the question is even if we agree with Hume partially and consider ourselves to be the “men of sense,” do we really want to abandon humility altogether? It certainly seems that there are some meanings of humility that we are reluctant to dispose of as vices. For instance, modesty regarding one’s own successes is likely to be a good candidate for a character trait that we would like to keep.²

My main goal in this paper is to examine more closely various sides of humility and see if any of those could survive in the secular world. To do this I will first explore more closely the Christian meanings of humility. Since it is not possible to cover all, not even most, Christian thinkers and what they say on the topic, I will focus on humility as it is described by Thomas Aquinas (1892). This will help us tease apart what it means to be humble within the Christian tradition. Then, I will examine one particular meaning of humility, the one proposed by E. J. Wielenberg (2005). Namely, Wielenberg argues that the virtue of humility is nothing but an

² A number of contemporary philosophers have argued that humility is indeed a virtue worth pursuing. See e.g. Grenberg (2005), Richards (1992), Driver (2000), Flanagan (1990). Ben-Ze’ev (1993), Horner (1998), Morgan (2001), Schueler (1997), Snow (1995), Statman (1992).

insight that most of our accomplishments are not really our own, but are either matter of God's grace or if there is no God, pure dumb luck. When understood in this way, humility as a virtue survives in various metaphysical settings including the secular one. This leads me to the final part of the paper and its central point, namely that the very feeling of humility in a Christian and in a secular world is different. That is, I will argue that depending on the metaphysical worldview we embrace we experience the emotion of humility differently. To show how different these feelings of humility are I will use Griffiths' (1997) insights about the nature of emotions and Solomon's (2006) phenomenological approach to emotions.

Thomas Aquinas on humility

According to Thomas Aquinas, humility makes sense and gets its meaning only when we are aware of our relation with God. As God's creatures we are his subjects and we should obey him. Furthermore, we need to respect the place in society that was assigned to us by him. So, we need to be humble in front of the people who occupy higher positions in the society. Along these lines Aquinas argues: "But humility, as it is a special virtue, particularly regards the subjection of man to God, for whose sake also he humbles himself in submission to other men" (Aquinas, 1892: 355).

But, what kind of virtue is humility? As in other matters Aquinas accepts Aristotle's division of virtues and in addition to the ones elaborated by Aristotle, i.e. moral and intellectual virtues, he adds theological virtues as well. Since humility is not mentioned in Nichomachean Ethics, it is solely on Aquinas to find its proper place. So, is humility a moral, intellectual, or theological virtue? Aquinas opts for moral. For him, humility/feeling humble is to guide us not to overstep our limits, not to ask for more than we could achieve. Aquinas says: "And therefore the knowledge of one's own shortcoming belongs to humility, serving as a guiding rule to appetite; but humility essentially resides in the appetite itself" (Aquinas, 1892: 355). So, being humble is rather like "being brave" than like having intellectual virtue of "prudence" (phronesis). When we are brave, we curb our fear. This allows us to be brave. When we are humble, we curb our hope, hope that we can achieve things that we are not destined to or made for, things that God didn't give

us through his grace. In other words, when we are humble, we curb our pride. In this way we connect with God who we forget when we are proud, i.e. when we ascribe to ourselves and take credit for what we have done. In this way humility is the virtue that connects us with God, while pride is a mortal sin that alienates us from God. Now, even though humility is a moral virtue and not a theological one (as love for God is, for instance) it is crucial for the development of theological virtues. Without it we cannot have either love or true hope because without it we lose our connection with God and forget about him. Finally, it is important to notice that self-deprecation and feelings of inferiority are not what Thomas Aquinas thinks constitute real humility. On the contrary, if we try to belittle our own qualities, qualities that God gave us, we are committing a sin. Such self-deprecation might be our attempt to avoid the mortal sin of pride. But Aquinas warns us: “A man ought not to commit one sin to avoid another; and therefore he ought not in any way to lie to avoid pride” (Aquinas, 1892: 226).

According to Aquinas, there are twelve aspects of humility. The first is shown through our respect and obedience of God. Other aspects of humility involve the following:

to avoid inordinate striving after excellence, and that in three particulars. One is that a man should not follow his own will; and that is the *eleventh* degree. Another is that he should regulate his will according to the will of his superior; and that is the *tenth* degree. A third is that he should not desist from this for the hardships and severities that he meets with; and this is the *ninth* degree. There are also set down some points appertaining to the man's thought and recognition of his own shortcomings; and that in three ways. One is recognition and acknowledgment of his own shortcomings; and that is the *eighth* degree. The second is, upon consideration of one's own deficiencies, to esteem oneself insufficient for greater posts, and that is the *seventh* degree. The third is to prefer others to oneself in this regard; and that is the *sixth* degree. There are also set down some points appertaining to outward signs: one of which is that a man should not in his works withdraw himself from the common way; and that is the *fifth* degree. Two others are concerning words: that a man should not be hasty to anticipate the time to speak; and that is the *fourth* degree;

nor exceed measure in his speech: and that is the *second* degree. Two others are taken up with exterior behaviour: namely, in repressing the raising of the eyes, which is the *first* degree; and in checking laughter and other signs of foolish mirth, which is the *third* degree. (Aquinas, 1892: 361)

Let us now briefly take a look at some of these aspects and see which ones will not be particularly appealing to a nonbeliever. It seems obvious that some of the behavioural manifestations of humility described by Aquinas would sound unacceptable and outdated, particularly the ones that advise us not to laugh, how to dress and how to avoid eye contact with one's superiors. Aquinas' suggestion to respect and be subjected to other men who occupy a higher place in the social hierarchy wouldn't seem proper unless some additional reasons are given. Just because God arranged the world in this particular way will not do for a nonbeliever. Finally, the traditionalist aspect of humility that tells us to stick to the ordinary way will look unfounded. Namely, if we want to improve the world and make progress, we need to abandon the old way from time to time.

Upon brief analysis it seems that most meanings of humility proposed by Aquinas do not seem fitting for the world without God. Now, the question is whether there is something left of Aquinas' humility that a nonbeliever could still find desirable. I would say that recognition and acknowledgment of "our own shortcomings" qualifies. This is exactly what E. J. Wielenberg (2005) is going to keep in his attempt to accommodate the virtue of humility to the worldview of nonbelievers. I am turning to his position next.

Naturalistic humility

Wielenberg rightly notices that humility within the Christian tradition, as we have seen in Thomas Aquinas, enforces us to be obedient to God's laws simply because God is the one who created us, gave us all our talents, and enabled us to accomplish all that we have in our lives. For a Christian to be humble means to be grateful to God. However, if we remove God from the picture, the essential aspects of humility do not make much sense. In a naturalistic universe we do not have God above us to ensure our place in

HUMILITY IN THE WORLD WITHOUT GOD

the universe. This means that the proper source of the feeling of humility is lost for us.

So, Wielenberg asks what we can do in the naturalistic world to keep humility as a virtue. First we need to acknowledge what seems right in the Christian concept of humility. Along with Thomas Aquinas Wielenberg argues that the essential feature of humility is not in putting ourselves down and belittling our own worth. According to him “being humble is not a matter of underestimating one’s own worth and accomplishments, but rather a matter of *giving proper credit* for the worth and accomplishments” (Wielenberg, 2005: 106). Now, what is humility exactly and who is to be credited for our successes if there is no God? Are we all of a sudden masters of our own destinies? This is hardly the case, Wielenberg argues. We are all aware to what extent we do not have the final say in our lives and how forces that are far beyond our control contribute to the choices we make.

Each of us is spit out into the universe into a set of circumstances not of our choosing, endowed with psychological and physical characteristics and potentialities bestowed on us by factors beyond our control. We have no say over whether to exist at all, or under what circumstances, or with what capacities to be endowed. And yet it is beyond doubt that our circumstances, together with our various capacities, determine what it is possible for us to achieve, and, at least to a large extent, what we in fact do achieve. [...] Is it possible to overestimate the sum total of the impact these things had on the course of your life? (Wielenberg, 2005: 108)

Having said this Wielenberg concludes: “In a naturalistic universe, each of us should recognize the tremendous contribution *dumb luck* has made to all human accomplishments, and that in the case of any such accomplishment, the majority of the credit goes to blind chance.” (Wielenberg, 2005: 110)

For Wielenberg, this insight that blind chance is to be credited for our successes is sufficient to keep humility as a virtue in the naturalistic world. In other words, to boast around with our accomplishments without acknowledging that other forces helped us in the matter cannot be a virtue even if we do not believe in God.

Wielenberg's position is not without problems. Cottingham (2006) in his paper *What difference does it make? The nature and significance of theistic belief* accepts that there is nothing controversial in the belief that dumb luck gave us our fortune and successes, but he argues that such belief is 'psychologically thin' to be our proper motivation or a guideline in life. What Cottingham wants to say is that dumb luck is a poor substitute for God and that atheists are not so much and cannot be so much motivated to remain humble and to behave humbly. If this is really the case it is for social psychologists to explore. But it would be of importance to examine more closely why Cottingham seems to have such an intuition about the psychological thinness of naturalistic humility. This can be done by analysing more closely how (dis)similar Christian and naturalistic humility as emotional experiences are. It is interesting to note that Wielenberg makes a step in that direction. He does say:

In a theistic universe, recognition of our dependence should engender gratefulness toward God; in a naturalistic universe, it should engender a sense of being lucky (in those who have accomplished much). In either sort of universe, taking the balance of the credit for one's accomplishments is foolish. There is indeed such a thing as naturalistic humility, and it is a virtue. (Wielenberg, 2005: 112)

Here Wielenberg opens the problem that I explore in the final section by saying how Christian humility involves the feeling of gratefulness while the naturalistic one emphasizes the feeling of being lucky. By acknowledging the difference, Wielenberg acknowledges that these two kinds of humility have different psychological profiles. This is what I turn to now.

Humility: two psychological profiles

As we have seen so far humility can be understood as a cognitive insight into our own limited and flawed nature as well as a modest behaviour. But humility is also a feeling, i.e. it is an emotional experience too, and we can ask what kind of emotion humility is. What does it look like to feel humble?

In answering this question, the first thing to notice is that humility cannot be a basic emotion (such as sadness, joy, anger or fear), but it is rather a higher cognitive emotion more similar to say, a feeling of guilt than any of the basic ones.³ While basic emotions are marked by universal emotional expressions that are the same across cultures, cognitive emotions lack such expressions and have more variety. So, for instance, the feeling of guilt is usually tied to the feeling of responsibility in Western cultures while this is not the case in Eastern cultures (Griffiths, 1997). Indeed, we should not conclude that we deal with entirely different and incommensurable emotions here as some social constructivists would like (see e.g. Harre, 1986). Griffiths suggests that instead of embracing such incommensurability of emotions we should investigate the overlaps between them and compare emotional lives of people from different cultures to see how cultures can differently shape similar emotional potential. But, despite the fact that we are dealing with similar but not identical cognitive emotions when we study different cultures, we need to acknowledge that the emotional experience of, say, guilt somewhat differs in these cultures. Moreover, one of the characteristics of cognitive emotions such as guilt or humility is that they do not have to be present and valued in all cultures, while the basic ones must be. As we have seen, humility was not mentioned by Aristotle, but it became one of the central virtues in Christianity. In other words, when it comes to cognitive emotions, no matter how valuable they seem to us, there could be entire communities in which people do not foster them at all.

Finally, when categorizing the emotion of humility, it is important to keep in mind one phenomenological insight regarding the nature of emotions and emotional lives brought up and elaborated by Solomon (2006). Solomon correctly notices that many different cognitive and physiological processes contribute to and compose an emotion. Such processes include cognitive appraisals, physiological reactions, behavioural manifestations and the like. But, they all belong, in fact, to a unified emotional experience. So, if we want to understand how emotional experiences feel, how they appear to us we need to identify the object of such experience, the way the emotion is conceptualized in our community

³ For an extensive discussion about basic and higher emotions see e.g. Griffiths (1997).

and what kind of beliefs and meta-beliefs the community has about a particular emotion. All these aspects that contribute to and accompany the occurrence of an emotion cannot be separated from our emotional experience since all of these factors do shape it, i.e. shape the way it feels.

With these points in mind let us now examine how different naturalistic and Christian humility are. We can start the analysis by identifying the object of humility in these two cases. Both are directed at the world and our relationship with the world. But naturalistic humility involves the non-personal relationship between us and the coincidences that brought us into existence, while the other involves a personal relationship between us and God. Also, the way we make sense of the emotion, its causes and where it leads us is different in both cases. In the case of naturalistic humility, we say that it is caused, produced, or comes out of our insight that we were lucky if we succeeded in life. No immediate feelings follow it. More specifically, when we think about the very concept of naturalistic humility, it seems that it does not involve other feelings. If such feelings occur nonetheless is a matter of empirical research. For instance, psychologists might want to know whether atheists feel more bitter when they have no luck in their lives than Christians do. As for Christian humility, we can see that it is produced by our subjection to God. We are aware of his grace and everything he gave us. So, we feel grateful as a result. Within a Christian framework the feeling of gratefulness is conceptually tied to the feeling of humility. Also, the relation between the feeling of pride and humility is more pronounced in the Christian framework. Humility serves to curb pride and this is to keep us close to God. If naturalistic humility to a certain extent plays a similar role (curbs pride), it is not for the same purpose, i.e. to maintain our relationship with God. Instead, when we feel naturalistic humility, we know that we have been lucky and that we should not feel that we are better than others.

However, despite the differences and similarities between these two kinds of humility and the way we can experience them in different metaphysical settings it is not certain whether and to what extent the resulting behaviour would differ. Wielenberg argues that both atheists and Christians may behave humbly. But as we have seen, Cottingham thinks that it would be substantially harder for an atheist to remain humble. At first sight we might side with Cottingham and share his intuition that “blind luck” is not as good a motivator as the Christian God is. But it

would be more prudent not to rush into conclusions. Social psychologists (not philosophers) are to help us in this matter and tell us whose behaviour can be more consistent over a longer period of time. The results of the empirical studies could go either way. Moreover, they could also reveal that people can be consistently humble just by maintaining cognitive principles regardless of the differences in emotional experiences. This would be a very significant finding too.

These are all empirical questions that I cannot address in this paper but I do hope that the outline of the psychological profiles of two kinds of humility that I have provided here cast more light on the nature of humility and will come in handy in future empirical research. Furthermore, I hope that this kind of analysis can be useful in ethical debates on humility and that it can help us determine if we should keep it as a virtue after all.

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Iris Vidmar & Leonard Pektor

University of Rijeka
ividmar@ffri.hr; lpektor@ffri.hr

DANGEROUS PASSIONS OF FICTIONAL CHARACTERS: WHY WE NEED THEM IN OUR CLASSROOMS

Original research paper

Abstract: This paper is motivated by two concerns: Plato's dismissal of educational value of literature on the grounds of its alleged epistemic unreliability and its capacity to inspire emotions in readers, and by a recent initiative in Croatia to ban certain literary works from school curricula on the account of their alleged immoral content. To address the problem of such "dangerous literature," we look at works which portray characters whose passions led them to commit immoral acts – as exemplified by Emma Bovary's adultery – and we ask about the cognitive, moral and other kinds of influences such works have on readers. By analysing ways in which literature depicts such passions, and ways in which readers process and experience such fictional portrayals, we provide a defence of why these works should be included in our educational system. Along the way, we discuss the function that emotions play in lives of rational cognizers, so as to dismiss traditional philosophical view on emotions as secondary and detrimental to human's rationality.

Keywords: education, emotions, fictional characters, immoral acts, values.

1. Plato's concerns

Having cheated on her husband for the first (of what came to be many) time, Emma experiences the following emotional state:

But when she saw herself in the glass she wondered at her face. Never had her eyes been so large, so black, of so profound a depth. Something subtle about her being transfigured her. She repeated, 'I

have a lover! a lover!' delighting at the idea as if a second puberty had come to her. So at last she was to know those joys of love, that fever of happiness of which she had despaired! She was entering upon marvels where all would be passion, ecstasy, delirium. An azure infinity encompassed her, the heights of sentiment sparkled under her thought, and ordinary existence appeared only afar off, down below in the shade, through the interspaces of these heights. (Flaubert, 1993: 101-102)

It is not hard to imagine old Plato frowning upon this paragraph, reiterating his claim about the harm of passions which elicit the soul, make one less prone to intellectual pursuits, and, most dangerously, inspire a certain sense of identification with the one experiencing them.¹ Of course, it is not all that dangerous when the passions depicted in a literary work are put to the service of morally praiseworthy actions: such works can indeed be beneficial to the youth, and direct them towards the path of moral righteousness. Unfortunately, however, not many works do that, and moral heroes that we occasionally bump into when we wander through our fictional worlds are by far surpassed by the morally blameworthy sinners, as exemplified by poor Emma. If Plato was right, we should not allow our youth to be introduced to the deeds of such morally corrupted characters, as, he insisted, such exposure might harm our youth's benevolence, moral integrity and ability to make right moral decisions. As he argued, given the psychological principle of identification, one can easily assume the mental states of these characters and become swayed by their passions. Were one to follow Emma, one just might end up like her – desperate, heartbroken, in debt and, eventually, dead. Worse yet, one might feel that certain immoral deeds, such as adultery, lying or stealing, are justified and feel encouraged to commit them in everyday life.

¹ See his *Ion*, and in particular the *Republic*. Our intention is not to engage with all the arguments that Plato discusses in his works, or to present a detailed analysis of why he bans literature from the republic, and deems it dangerous. Rather, we bring together two of his claims: his defence of censorship, according to which only those works which present morally superb characters should be allowed, and his view that emotions generally are to be avoided. We unite these two, by analysing how literary portrayals of extremely emotional characters might be beneficial for the young students who read them as part of their curricula, even when the characters depicted are less than superb role models.

DANGEROUS PASSIONS OF FICTIONAL CHARACTERS: WHY WE NEED THEM IN OUR CLASSROOMS

Who, after all, would not want to sense the elevation and delight that Emma experiences?

Plato was not the only one who feared dangerous passions of fictional characters and felt that it was a duty of the state to protect the youth against the allure of flesh, vice and sensations. Those in charge of school curriculum, at all levels of education, often face the same difficult questions that philosophers have been struggling ever since Plato dethroned poets as the knowledgeable ones in charge of education: how to approach literature so as to enjoy its artistic appeal, absorb its moral lessons, yet resist the allure of so many of its “immoral characters”?² That literature contains morally charged situations is hardly worth disputing; that one can take a wrong lesson is a very real possibility and therefore presses us all the more to find a proper way of handling such books as *Madam Bovary*.³ What if, even once, some poor soul finds herself convinced that, like Emma, she too has been brought to her misery by a “disagreeable ... dull” husband (Flaubert, 1993: 117) and decides to follow in Emma’s footsteps?

The problem with the role of literature in education is further reflected in the fact that morally charged situations that we read about in literature always involve a clash of values, and when there are values to be taught, opposing, often emotionally charged opinions rather than critically refined views as to which values should be promoted, and why, are put forward. More often than not, reasons for advocating a certain novel which presents a certain perspective on any given value, are rooted more in one’s pre-existing, fixed, political worldview, rather than in aesthetic and/or didactic considerations – just think of the great works of literature that have been criticized, even forbidden, for its apparent immoral content. Flaubert himself stood a trial and was asked to defend his masterpiece

² This situation is currently a point of contention in Croatia, as the importance of literature as a tool for refinement of emotional sensitivity and easier acquisition of values is hotly debated, this itself being part of a larger debate concerning the Curricular reform of the Croatian educational system. For more information, see: <https://www.jutarnji.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/zeljka-markic-izbacite-iz-lektire-ove-naslove-mladi-ce-se-navuci-na-pornografiju/4121382/>.

³ Goldman (2013), Landy (2010).

against the angry mob who read it as an attack on their chastity and virtuousness. Luckily, Flaubert succeeded, but to this day educators from around the world are left with the hard task of introducing his fallen heroine to the students' attention in a manner which is educational and sensitive to the moral and psychological perplexities Flaubert was so keenly aware of.

Be that as it may, the topic of the potential harm that immoral works may have is of great relevance since literature plays a part in shaping the personalities of those who read: we like certain characters and dislike some others, and the fictional situations we read about often speak loudly about the complexities of our everyday lives. As Plato insisted, it is not only because people have a natural tendency to impersonate, to identify with the characters, to sympathize with those who are not morally superb, that literary portrayals can be detrimental to the soul. It is because authors tend to seduce with the beauty of their lyrics and prose that one loses the sense of right and wrong and follows their path to decay. Ignorant of the truth and dedicated to inspiring aesthetic delight, authors are neither obliged to tell the truth nor capable of doing so; yet they often present their works as truthful accounts of the world because the sheer power of their writings woos the reader into believing what she reads.

In what follows, we want to argue against Plato's attack on what, it is safe to assume, he would consider inappropriate art – works, in other words, which fail to meet his criteria of appropriateness and present moral superheroes. These works present, often in an inviting, non-condemning way, immoral acts and morally blameworthy characters. Very often, at the core of such works are characters who experience particularly moving and often “dangerous” emotions which induce them to commit immoral acts, or in some other way contribute to their decay. We will argue that Plato's worries were not unfounded – one might indeed become seduced by fictional portrayals – but that the possibility of such seduction does not justify their exclusion from the public sphere, in particular from education. More importantly, we will argue that such works have important educational values which trump the potential harm they might bestow upon individuals (particularly children). Such value is recognized once a proper account of emotions is provided, one which Plato was entirely unaware of, given his dismissal of and annoyance with human emotional life. What our discussion shows is that the real problem is not

DANGEROUS PASSIONS OF FICTIONAL CHARACTERS: WHY WE NEED THEM IN OUR CLASSROOMS

the fact that certain works present immoral characters and do so in a potentially morally harmful way, such that a reader might feel invited to join in the immoral behaviour. Rather, the problem is in finding the proper way in which to introduce such topics to students' attention.

2. Emotions, and why we need them

It took philosophers some time to realize that emotions are not only necessary but beneficial for the normal functioning of human beings. They regulate our social interactions, put our goals in hierarchical order, provide the motivational drive, regulate our attention span, inform us about our surroundings, reveal the danger that lurks around us, expose our friends and foes and do all sorts of other things that make it possible for us to navigate the convoluted paths of everyday existence.⁴ Emotions are involved in our moral, epistemic and aesthetic engagements and they are the driving force behind the choices we make and interactions we engage in. Contrary to what Plato believed, they do not stand opposite to reason but work in alliance with it, as one relevant and in many ways crucial aspect of emotional experience has to do with “cognitive appraisal” of the situation: how does the situation in which one finds oneself support, or work against, one's goals and aims.⁵ Just how conscious one is of such appraisal is not entirely clear, but there is no doubt that emotions have a crucial role in one's cognitive appraisal of the situation.

This isn't to say that emotions do not lead us astray. Negative emotions in particular, such as jealousy, pain, anger, resentment and hatred, are not only painful, and thus unpleasant in themselves, but they often induce us to behave in ways potentially harmful or disrespectful towards ourselves and others – consider making an “emotional” scene when one's partner is in the company of another potential mate, throwing plates or destroying furniture when in grip of an anger attack, or the bitter sense of stomach-ache induced by a colleague's unjust promotion. However, for all their unpleasantness, such emotions have beneficial function from the

⁴ See Ben-Ze'ev (2000), Brady (2013); Ekman & Davidson (2004), Oatley & Jenkins (1998); Solomon (2000), de Sousa, (1987, 2018).

⁵ See Damasio (1994), Hogan (2011), Robinson (2005); de Sousa (1987, 2018).

functional and evolutionary standpoint. Jealousy makes us attentive to the potential rivalry, thus ultimately helping us preserve our partner and keep the family together. It can thus inspire us to do things we otherwise might not do, such as realize the value of what we have and hold dear and work harder on maintaining it and protecting it from the predators. Anger informs us about the harm we suffered and motivates us to take a course of action that will prevent others from harming us in the future. Suffering makes us more attentive towards those circumstances and creatures that might induce the pain again and thus motivate us to avoid engaging in potentially harmful behaviour.

Emotions are necessarily involved in the choices we make and actions we commit, including those that can be evaluated on moral grounds and considered praise or blame-worthy. This isn't to embrace any form of emotivism, but to acknowledge the intimate bond between our actions, which have an ethical component (whether we act towards others or towards ourselves), and our emotions. One can commit an immoral deed – for the purposes of this paper, consider the usual examples of immoral actions such as lying, cheating, stealing, murdering, harming etc – because one is hurt or feels unjustly harmed, in light of one's overall lack of sympathy for others, out of a bad character, promise of personal gain etc. Emotions can also induce praiseworthy behaviour, as when love for others induces us to help promote their goals, sometimes even at the expense of ours. Given that people are not purely rational beings, we can properly understand their behaviour only if we acknowledge the role of emotions in their actions. As we argue, literature is particularly capable of providing such understanding. But whereas Plato feared that it can lead to people's failure in differentiating what is righteous and what is not, and therefore called for a radical form of censorship, we claim that even works which present people acting emotionally with harmful results can be beneficial and therefore should be included in mandatory curricula. We will elaborate on this in the final part of the paper, where we discuss the inclusion thesis. First, however, let us look in more detail at the benefits available from literary presentations of emotions.

3. Emotions in literature

The fact that narrative art, in particular literary works, are particularly well equipped to focus on human's emotional lives is more or less a common place in contemporary philosophy of literature.⁶ It is more and more clear why we have emotional reactions to fictional characters and why we are not irrational when we have them – not only does research on fiction show that our brains process information in the same way irrespectively of whether or not we read fictional or factual reports, but most research on empathy suggests that we can react to fictional portrayals of characters in the same manner in which we react towards real people in hardship.⁷ This in a sense proves Plato's point about human capacity to identify with others but, as we argue, this capacity is not a fundamental error in humans but the necessary aspect of their psychological being which enables social interactions. Therefore, there is no reason to restrain from reading literature for the fear of being influenced by fictional portrayals of characters' emotional states, even in cases where such states might induce immoral action on their part.

In fact, there are good reasons to turn to literature precisely for the way it portrays emotional states. For one thing, literature often presents a very detailed portrayal of what goes on in the mind of a character, which enables better, more profound understanding of what is involved in a certain emotional state.⁸ Given the link between emotional states and actions, which in turn inspire further emotional states and further actions, continuously, literary portrayal of this chain of mutual influence, particularly when an emphasis is also given of the character or agency experiencing and inducing such states, makes it possible for readers to

⁶ See Hogan (2011), Plantinga & Smith (1997), Robinson (2005, 2010), Scruton (2010), Smith (2010).

⁷ See Polvinen (2017) for a more elaborate discussion on differences in reading literature, fiction and non-fiction. See also Currie (2016), Novitz (1984), Zunshine (2015).

⁸ A problem with this claim is the fact that such portrayals can be unreliable, as Plato feared in *Ion* when he pointed out that poets lack epistemic credentials with respect to the subject they write about. We can't engage with this problem here in detail, but see Vidmar (2012) for a defence of literature's epistemic reliability.

grasp how certain actions follow from certain emotions, and how certain emotions spring from certain conditions. It is an imperative for a reader to understand how characters feel in order to follow the story, which gives her an impetus to pay particular attention to, and understand, what characters are experiencing emotionally.⁹ Rarely are such details with respect to the nexus of emotions, action and character available in real life, as other people's mental states are hardly as transparently given to us as those of fictional characters. *Madam Bovary* exemplifies this nexus down to its final full stop. Page after page, Flaubert is giving us an insight into Emma's emotional states, enabling us to get a sense of what motivated her actions. We thus read that

At bottom of [Emma's] heart, however, she was waiting for something to happen. Like shipwrecked sailors, she turned despairing eyes upon the solitude of her life, seeking afar off some white sail in the mists of the horizon. She did not know what this chance would be, what wind would bring it her, towards what shore it would drive her, if it would be a shallop or a threedecker, laden with anguish or full of bliss to the port-holes. But each morning, as she awoke, she hoped it would come; that day she listened to ever sound, sprang with a start, wondered that it did not come; then at sunset, always more saddened, she longed for the morrow. (Flaubert, 1993: 48)

For the reader who engages reflectively with the novel, it provides a window into what sadness, loneliness and disappointment feel like, how they develop, and, given Emma's subsequent actions, what one, in grips of such states, can do and why. Naturally, this isn't to say that readers do not know ahead of reading what sadness feels like – if anything, such experiential knowledge enables them to grasp Emma's states. However, there is a sense in which fictional portrayals, detailed as they are, help us understand in a better way more complex emotional states, particularly those we have not experienced first-hand. Emma's sadness and loneliness are tied to her unrealistic expectations of what marriage is, of her lack of experience and of social surroundings that offer little chances of happiness

⁹ See Pirlet and Wirag (2017) for a closer analysis of readers' attention and characters' emotions.

DANGEROUS PASSIONS OF FICTIONAL CHARACTERS: WHY WE NEED THEM IN OUR CLASSROOMS

for women. In this, her sadness is different from the sadness of, for example, Isabel Archer, Henry James's heroine in *The Portrait of a Lady*, who suffers marital misery at the hands of non-living, brutal husband. But whereas Emma's reactions tend to be self-centered and self-absorbed, lacking reflection on her own role in her misery, leading her eventually towards criminal financial malversation, stealing and suicide, Isabel remains other-centered and dedicated to fostering the wellbeing of others. Isabel develops a kind of sensitivity and becomes reflective on her own responsibility for her circumstances, eventually achieving maturity that evades Emma, who remains focused on her misery rather than on the role she has in bringing it about. The two heroines act in entirely different ways, and such divergent nexus of emotions-actions-character depicted in these novels can help readers grasp the various manifestations of the sense of pain, grief and misery.

Naturally, there is always a gap between one's first-hand experiences and the understanding one reaches upon reading about such states in fiction. However, such discrepancy is no less palpable in our interactions with other people. There is nothing to suggest that no epistemic benefits are available from fictional portrayal of the ways in which emotions work. This isn't to suggest, as Jerome Stolnitz misleadingly did,¹⁰ that every woman will by default cheat on her husband if she is unhappy with him. Rather, literature puts to view that such actions occur and explains some conditions which generate them. Considering that, to go back to Flaubert's heroine, we are given such a transparent view into her emotions that it is easier for us to follow the emotions-actions chain, and to see how such interactions tie in with the character (understood in psychological sense).¹¹ The sadness and loneliness, caused partly by Emma's high and unrealistic expectations of marriage, in turn related to her super-sensible and highly romantic character fostered by her reflection-less devouring of romantic literary works, push her into sexual relation with Rodolphe, which she mistakenly identifies for true, long-awaited romantic love. Flaubert gives us a sense of how she justifies such actions to herself – for example, when

¹⁰ Stolnitz (1992).

¹¹ Goldie (2000) insists on recognizing the role of one's character for the way in which one processes emotional states.

Emma believes Charles to be solely responsible for her misery and thus excuses herself for tossing herself into the arms of another man and for stealing money from Charles. In real life we are rarely exposed to such a clear and direct chain of causal mechanism that holds between person's emotions and actions, and in turn actions and emotions (consider Emma's emotional reaction to her initial act of adultery quoted above) and we are often left with the uncomfortable sense of, as Susan Feagin puts it, "how could you?" (Feagin, 2007) It is precisely the answer to this question that literature is well equipped to answer.

Another way in which literary portrayals of emotional states matter for gaining a deeper grasp of what is involved in particular emotional states and actions that issue from these states concerns cases in which characters undergo experiences that are in some sense extreme and can lead to deeply immoral acts, such as murder or torture. For example, when Clyde, a passion and desire-driven hero of Dreiser's *American Tragedy*, contemplates killing his pregnant girlfriend so as to marry a rich girl who promises a nicer and more comfortable life, a reader might feel that Dreiser is crossing the line – surely, to murder someone is not to be offered as a solution for one's problems and it certainly isn't what the majority of people choose when they find themselves in a position similar to Clyde's. Furthermore, murdering someone should never be a potential course of action, as murder represents the final act of brutality and disrespect for another person's life. Therefore, as Plato would put it, we should not read about it in literature as one might feel persuaded that Clyde was right, perhaps in the light of his despair or lack of character. As a source of education, literature should only present moral actions and virtuous people; for if it doesn't, we risk moral corruption. Unfortunately, however, people like Clyde do exist and they do horrible things when driven by blind forces of ambition – and literary works are a rich source of just how deviant they might become in those circumstances. One educational purpose of such works is in explaining what goes on in the mind of those who choose to act on such impulses. Another one is in giving us the opportunity to discuss certain instances of immoral behaviour in order to understand them better, to understand why they occur, to find potential means of rooting them out, and to discuss value we want to protect and develop in our society. *The American tragedy*, with its emphasis on the social and psychological conditions which join forces in

**DANGEROUS PASSIONS OF FICTIONAL CHARACTERS:
WHY WE NEED THEM IN OUR CLASSROOMS**

Clyde, is thus a valuable source for testing our intuitions about the value of hard work, respect for others, religious worldview, one's duty and responsible behaviour etc.

4. Education, values and literature: in favour of the inclusion thesis

We argued that literary works are epistemically beneficial because they portray emotional experiences in a manner which provides the possibility for understanding them better. The example of *Emma*, depicting emotional states most people experience (sadness, anger, desire) and actions that *might* follow (betrayal, adultery) from such states, help us understand the exact casual mechanism operative between emotions and actions of a particular character. *American Tragedy* took us a step further, into depicting emotional states that led to actions that the majority refrains from doing, thus explicating what goes wrong in those who do not. The worry that is still with us concerns the possibility that a reader might, rather than appreciating the educational power of literature, develop moral attitudes that are in some sense detrimental to the good, morally sensible and mature citizens – to put it differently, readers might develop wrong values. For example, while an optimistic view to movies such as *Citizen Kane* would have us convinced that the movie shows the downfall of instrumentalizing others for personal gain, given the loneliness that Kane experiences towards the end of his life, when he is left alone and has no comfort from his possessions, someone might rather conclude that life spent in wealth is worthy of a miserable death. In a similar way, someone might come to believe that adultery is justified when one feels trapped in a dull marriage, or that murdering someone is justified when life promises a rich beauty as a reward. To put a more formal spin on the problem, how are we to avoid the moral corruption through literary engagements? It is only if we can provide an answer to this problem that Plato's worries might indeed be silenced. For unless we manage to do so, a Plato-like educator might still feel that expelling inappropriate art and "dangerous" characters is a moral obligation of educational system. We however do not accept this conclusion. Rather, we argue in favour of the inclusion thesis, according to which morally problematic works have to be on the obligatory reading syllabus. While

there is no guarantee that such literature will not “seduce,” we feel that the overall educational value of these works trumps the potential harm they might induce.

So, how are we to incorporate literary works into modern-day curricula, and what place should morally problematic characters have within this system? Here is a sketch. We start from the idea that there are two dominant approaches to institutional education and upbringing; a prescriptive and a descriptive one. Prescriptive approaches¹² typically offer a set of values which are to be instilled, but sometimes lack proper justifications for the choices made, while descriptive ones focus on teaching methods and development of critical thinking, but often lack concrete values to fall back on.¹³ If we were to transfer this theoretical consideration into the practical reality of the classroom, there would need to be a synthesis of the two to yield the most wholesome results. This is due to the fact that there seems to be a need for both, the concrete values considered desirable to be put forward, and the development of critical faculties in pupils which are to allow them to put under scrutiny any system of belief, including their own. Doing literature classes without one of these approaches might fail to get the most of it.

In teaching literature effectively, one of the biggest challenges lies in making it alive: making it vibrate with what the students find relevant in their lives while also using it to question their intuitions, opinions and values. Even though great works of literature speak about universal themes that everyone wonders about sooner or later in life – themes such as love, death, sacrifice, betrayal, destiny, paternal and filial relations, free will, etc. – it is not always easy to render this relevance apparent to students. In this day and age, while certain educational influence on the pupils still rests with the teacher, the room for direct teaching through authority-based frontal teaching methods seems to be diminishing. With

¹² Prescriptive approaches typically focus on virtue ethics, using biographies of renowned role models as a teaching method of sorts. Here we attempt to show that this is not necessarily the only way to make use of this normative ethical approach. To go into depths concerning values and ethics, see Berčić (2012).

¹³ For a more detailed analysis of these approaches, see Golubović, Zelić, Pektor (2018).

DANGEROUS PASSIONS OF FICTIONAL CHARACTERS: WHY WE NEED THEM IN OUR CLASSROOMS

digitalization and globalization in full swing, and the attention span of pupils being, generally speaking, rather low, the importance of choosing literary works pregnant with meaning, but also that of finding fitting methods by which to present them to pupils, cannot be emphasized enough. More and more, pupils search for role models outside of their homes and classrooms, and for this process to be stopped, let alone reversed, careful consideration is needed when making policy decisions concerning which books to have them read, and which characters to have them analyse.

This is just another way of saying that a bridge is needed between learning about facts and learning and/or internalizing values through literature.¹⁴ The two methods most commonly used to this end are the problem analysis and case studies, and this is where the aforementioned synthesis of the two approaches to teaching could be especially useful. This is done through the figure of teacher assisting with the process of analysis, while at the same time allowing the students to give their own ideas and reasons concerning the characters' actions. This would result in there being some values which are still considered crucial; however, these are not to be simply stipulated as such or imposed through the characters of hero-like protagonists, but are to be realized through different ethical dilemmas and choices that a more morally nuanced character makes. Children are encouraged to go deeper into the reasons why, the conditions that bring the characters into their circumstances, with the teacher serving as a facilitator and guide.¹⁵ While the teacher remains the key figure of the process, bearing the burden of getting the students interested in exploring the complexities of a literary work, he or she must still offer guidance (a touch of prescriptive approach). However, this should not be done in a spoon-feeding fashion, forcing morals prepared in advance down the pupils' throats. It has been shown repeatedly that this backfires quickly. Instead, the students should be engaged with the story without being forced into it, with the teacher facilitating, not prescribing, helping them

¹⁴ Polić (2006) gives a detailed account of the nuances in the teaching of facts and values.

¹⁵ For a more in-depth analysis of the teaching methods to be used, from the standpoint of the philosophy of education, see Golubović (2010); Cahn (1997); Peterson (1986); Polić (1993).

develop their own moral sensitivities while also honing their critical faculties (descriptive component).

When it comes to teaching literature, morally problematic characters make for a more realistic and believable embodiments of real-life values than the usual, over the top, black-and-white heroes. While Emma might seem incomprehensible to the 21st century female pupil who does not share her material, social or political conditions, she might nevertheless share with Emma a strong sense of desiring something unreachable, of failing to articulate herself, of failing generally. What the novel does is help such student understand her own desires better and search for the means available for fulfilling them. Educational value of the novel lies in furthering this pupil's sense of why one fails in connecting to others – make her consider, as a teacher should, and reflect about, differences in characters between Charles and Emma, discrepancy of their expectations with respect to marriage, flaws of Emma's character inductive of her misfortune, etc. We are not suggesting that works of literature should only be approached with an eye towards potential educational benefits – it would certainly be a grave mistake not to acknowledge the aesthetics of Flaubert's writings – but such benefits are available and should be made use of in educational process without conflating ethical/educational dimension with artistic/aesthetic value of works.

Flawed characters are not typical role models, but that is not their purpose. They provide students with opportunities to go down the lanes they would not usually take, and see for themselves what the consequences might be, without actually taking the risk themselves. Research shows the benefits of imaginatively engaging with certain situations¹⁶ and literary works offer scenarios on which emotions to experience, which actions to take. One can thus come to understand certain motivational patterns and judge whether or not to accept them. There is, of course, a potential risk involved with this approach; that is, someone could claim that some of the students could use the encouragement to try and understand the choices made by the characters, or to develop compassion for them, as justification for their own immoral deeds. However, a risk of misuse is very difficult to avoid in any

¹⁶ See Gaut (2007); Kieran & Lopes (2003); Stock (2011).

DANGEROUS PASSIONS OF FICTIONAL CHARACTERS: WHY WE NEED THEM IN OUR CLASSROOMS

endeavour. Teachers cannot control what pupils might take out of their classroom, as the education is always a two-way process. Provided, of course, that the teaching is done in accordance with the methods, guiding students step by step through case study and/or problem analysis into developing their own analytic and emotional abilities. If this is done properly, there are reasons to conclude that the benefits of using morally problematic characters as message-bearers could far outweigh the risks. This goes to show that the importance of literature in the public curricula is not to be ignored, and within it, the so-called morally problematic characters should be adequately represented.

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**DANGEROUS PASSIONS OF FICTIONAL CHARACTERS:
WHY WE NEED THEM IN OUR CLASSROOMS**

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Iva Beljan Kovačić
Sveučilište u Mostaru
iva.beljankovacic@ff.sum.ba

EMOCIONALNOST I SEKSUALNOST U KULTURI MAGIJSKOG I MITSKOG STUPNJA SVIJESTI (NA PRIMJERU HRVATSKE KNJIŽEVNOSTI U BIH)

Originalni naučni rad

Sažetak: Teorijski je temelj ovog istraživanja model razvoja svijesti koji su prezentirali Jean Gebser i Ken Wilber, a sastoji se od devet stupnjeva: arhaične, magijske, mitske, racionalne, vizijsko-logičke, psihičke, suptilne, kauzalne i nedualne svijesti. Rad se usmjerava na prepoznavanje i opisivanje karakterističnih kulturnih obrazaca vezanih za drugu i treću razinu u spomenutom modelu – magijsku i mitsku – i to na primjeru hrvatske književnosti u Bosni i Hercegovini u 17. i 18. stoljeću. Polazi se od pretpostavke da srednjovjekovlje u bosansko-humskoj kulturi predstavlja početak prijelaza s magijske na mitsku svijest, koji se nastavlja kroz 17., 18. i 19. stoljeće u trima izrazito konfesionalno obilježenim kulturama (katoličkoj, pravoslavnoj i muslimanskoj). U radu se analizira proces u kojem kultura mitske razine u spomenutom vremenu mijenja, potiskuje, ali i preoblikuje i integrira kulturne obrasce prethodne razine. Pritom se najveća pozornost posvećuje načinu na koji se kultura mitske svijesti odnosi prema emocionalnom i tjelesnom aspektu čovjeka, osobito prema agresivnosti i seksualnosti, suprotstavljajući im ideale poslušnosti, samokontrole i ovladavanja nagonima.

Ključne riječi: stupnjevi svijesti, magijska svijest, mitska svijest, seksualnost, emocionalnost.

Teorijski okvir

Opisujući narav promjena u europskim društvenim i kulturnim kretanjima prve polovice 20. stoljeća, a nalazeći im korijene i puno ranije, filozof i književnik Jean Gebser u svom je pionirskom djelu s područja

kulturne evolucije *Ursprung und Gegenwart* izložio tezu da je u njihovu temelju pojava nove „strukture svijesti“, koju je nazvao integralnom, a njezin svijet „aperspektivnim“ (Gebser, 1985). Da bi izgradio temelj svom opisu fenomena koji danas zovemo postmodernom, Gebser je poduzeo istraživanje onoga što naziva strukturama svijesti i imenovao ih arhaičnom, magijskom, mitskom, mentalnom i integralnom.

Tvorac integralne teorije Ken Wilber ustvrdio je da je Gebserov rad ostao nenadmašan „u domeni prosječnog kolektivnog razvoja“ (2000: 148), ali je zamijetio da se Gebser zaustavlja kod struktura koje su se realizirale u kolektivnom ljudskom iskustvu. Određujući osnovne strukture svijesti kao glavne razvojne valove, razine ili stupnjeve kroz koje prolaze razvojne linije svijesti,¹ u svoj model, koji pokriva „razvojni prostor punog spektra“ (Wilber, 2000: 90), uključuje devet stupnjeva svijesti: arhaičnu, magijsku, mitsku, racionalnu, vizijsko-logičku, psihičku, suptilnu, kauzalnu i nedualnu. Model nije zamišljen kao ljestve na kojima svaka prečka nadvisuje prethodnu, nego kao „spektar“ (Wilber, 1993) ili pak „gnijezdo“, u kojem svaki sljedeći sloj integrira i sadrži prethodni, istodobno ga nadilazeći (Wilber, 2000: 5).

Model pak stupnjeva svijesti kao spirale u utjecajnoj su knjizi *Spiral Dynamics* predstavili američki autori Don Edward Beck i Christopher C. Cowan. Gradeći na temelju biopsihosocijalnih sistema i „razina ljudske egzistencije“ svoga profesora, razvojnog psihologa Clarea W. Gravesa, kao i na radu britanskoga biologa Richarda Dawkinsa, oblikovali su koncept „metamemova“ ili sistema „vrijednosnih memova“. Riječ je o organizacijskim principima koji služe kao „magnetsko polje“ ili „gravitacijski centar“ koji privlači manje memove (politiku, književnost, jezik, religiju, životni stil itd.) i daje im osnovni karakter. Inicijalno se oblikuju u pojedinačnom ljudskom umu, ali su tako vitalni da se protežu na cijele skupine ljudi te u konačnici formiraju mišljenje, vrijednosne sustave, vjerovanja, način života, političke forme i svjetonazore cijelih civilizacija (Beck & Cowan, 1996: 31–32).

¹ Kao razvojne linije Wilber navodi moral, identitet, pogled na svijet, vrijednosti, doživljaj sebe, seksualnost, predodžbe Boga, igranje uloga, kreativnost, altruizam, spiritualnost, komunikacijsku kompetenciju, modalitete prostora i vremena, potrebe, svjetonazor, logičko-matematičku kompetenciju, rodni identitet, empatiju i druge (2000: 28).

Polazeći dakle od pretpostavke da „ljudska priroda nije statična niti konačna“ (Beck & Cowan, 1996: 29) te da ljudski mozak dolazi s latentnim nadgradnjama, nabrojani autori stupnjeve svijesti vide kao „morfogenetsko polje ili razvojni prostor“ kojim prolaze glavne razvojne linije svijesti, a procesom ravna sebstvo (Wilber, 2000: 30).² Dominantni stupanj svijesti pojedinca ili zajednice određuje način na koji vide svijet i sebe, uređuju odnose s drugim ljudima i vrijednosti koje s njima dijele, način na koji formiraju društvene institucije, kulturu, umjetnost i drugo.

Predstavljene modele istraživanja razvoja svijesti ovdje koristim u okviru književnopovijesne problematike i primjenjujem na književnost u Bosni i Hercegovini s namjerom da ponudim okvir za razumijevanje velike promjene koja u njoj započinje u srednjem vijeku, a nastavlja se u 17., 18., dijelom i 19. stoljeću, kada dolazi do postupnog kolektivnog prelaska s magijskog na mitski stupanj svijesti i na odgovarajući model kulture.

Treba pritom naglasiti da, kada govorimo o kolektivnom stupnju svijesti ili kulturnom obrascu određenog stupnja u određenom vremenu, govorimo o dominantni – u stvarnosti se preklapaju kulturni proizvodi i vrijednosti različitih razina. Ako dakle govorimo o magijskom stupnju svijesti, podrazumijevamo da je „prosječna razina svijesti općenito magijska i da, još specifičnije, zakoni, principi kulturne organizacije i običaji svakodnevice proizlaze pretežno iz magijskog svjetonazora“ (Wilber, 2000: 145–146). Dakle svi pojedinci jednoga kolektiva u istom vremenu ne dijele istu razinu svijesti, razlike dapače mogu biti jako velike.

Važno je naglasiti da ovaj model proučavanja promatra stupnjeve svijesti kao niz „dobrih i loših vijesti“: svaki novi stupanj rješava neke probleme prethodnoga, ali donosi nove, kompleksnije jer se susreće s kompleksnijim zadacima (Wilber, 2000: 150). Također vodimo računa o mjeri u kojoj novi stupanj integrira prethodne stupnjeve i njihove kulturne svjetonazore, ali i o mjeri u kojoj ih potiskuje.

² Sve razvojne linije (a ne samo kognitivni razvoj) tako prolaze isti set osnovnih razina ili stupnjeva (predkonvencionalne, konvencionalne, postkonvencionalne i postpostkonvencionalne stupnjeve), a ove su razvojne sekvence u velikoj mjeri „univerzalne, invarijantne, holarhične“ i prate osnovno morfogenetsko polje ili razvojni prostor „Velikog Gnjezda“ (Wilber, 2000: 30).

Kultura magijske i mitske svijesti

Magijski stupanj svijesti obilježavaju, kako se izrazio J. Piaget, „čarobnjačka uvjerenja“ o svijetu, viđenje svijeta kao mjesta ispunjena tajanstvenim i moćnim silama. Gebser za njega veže jednodimenzionalnost, jedinstvo čovjeka i svijeta, bezvremenost i besprostornost (1985: 46), a Wilber i visok stupanj identifikacije s tijelom, s emocionalnim i biološkim aspektom čovjeka, te impulzivno djelovanje pojedinca po svojim porivima (2000: 103). Magijski je identitet dakle egocentrično zasnovan, instinktivan, impulzivan, ali još animistički orijentiran prema okolini i u borbi za moć nad njom.

Gebserov i Wilberov koncept magijske svijesti ovdje dopunjam distinkcijom koju u svoje modele istraživanja uvode Beck i Cowan, kao i Tara Springett.³ Na mjestu magijskoga oni razlikuju dva stupnja svijesti: prvi karakterizira tijesna povezanost pojedinca s uskom grupom kojoj pripada, osjećaj jedinstva sa svijetom i povjerenje u benevolentne sile, dok drugi karakterizira buđenje vlastite volje u pojedincu i potreba da je svijetu nametne. Prvi stupanj Beck i Cowan obilježavaju purpurnom bojom, bojom plemenskih vračeva i šamana, a drugi crvenom, bojom velikih osvajača i bojom krvi (1996: 67).⁴ Distinkcija se pokazuje važnom i na planu kulture, gdje plemenske kulturne tradicije zamjenjuje interes za moćne bogove i osvajače (1996: 216).⁵

Mitski stupanj svijesti obilježava viđenje svijeta kao hijerarhična mjesta kojim ravna strogi i pravedni autoritet Otac (najčešće Bog, ali može biti i svjetovni autoritet), kojem se treba pokoravati zbog zajedničkog

³ Njezina knjiga *Stairway to Heaven*, u kojoj izlaže svoj koncept stupnjeva svijesti, pripada literaturi popularne psihologije, međutim širinom svojih uvida prelazi te okvire i donosi korisne dopune istraživanjima ovdje spomenutih autora.

⁴ Springett prvi stupanj naziva stupnjem nedužnosti, a drugi stupnjem dominacije, na kojem se otkriva vlastita volja i želja da se ovlada svijetom, a poistovjećenost s biološkim i emocionalnim aspektom ličnosti rezultira slobodnim izražavanjem agresivnosti i seksualnosti te viđenjem svijeta kao bojišta (Springett, 2015: 107–108).

⁵ Budući da ograničen prostor rada ne omogućuje detaljnu elaboraciju ovih razlika, kulturom i svjetonazorom magijske svijesti ovdje označavam obje pojave, između ostalog i zato što je objema usmjerena kultura mitske svijesti.

dobra, te stoga učenje discipline i poslušnosti, samokontrole i svladavanja nagona (Springett, 2015: 108, 128–129). Umjesto dakle identifikacije s tijelom dolazi do identifikacije s ulogama i pravilima (Wilber, 2000: 38–39). Pojedinaac se uči podvrgavati pravilima za opće dobro i počinje se uklapati u hijerarhiziranu strukturu svoje zajednice, ne slijedeći više samo egoistične impulse. Egocentrični identitet zamijenjen je sociocentričnim.

U europskoj kulturi, ako promatramo njezin najširi plan, srednjovjekovlje predstavlja veliki prijelaz s magijske na mitsku razinu svijesti, čiji kulturni obrazac ostaje vitalan i stoljećima kasnije, paralelno s kulturom racionalne svijesti koja dominira u renesansi i kulminira prosvjetiteljstvom.⁶

Usmena kultura plemenskih zajednica pretkršćanskog razdoblja u Europi ima u prvom redu magijsku funkciju, odnosno bolje rečeno: ona jest magija.⁷ Služi kao sredstvo ostvarivanja interakcije s moćnim silama koje vladaju svijetom. Čaranja, gatanja, zazivanja, priče o vilama, vješticama i drugim moćnim bićima konkretne su upute o tome kako se odnositi prema tim silama, a tek kasnije, s dominacijom drugih tipova kulture, one postaju skup priča ili metafora.⁸ Ovu funkciju kulture omogućuje osjećaj jedinstva čovjeka i svijeta koji karakterizira magijsku

⁶ Na kolektivnom se planu magijska svijest, dominantna svijest plemenskih društava, pojavljuje otprilike 500.000 godina p.n.e. i traje otprilike do 10.000 godina p.n.e., kada prosječni stupanj svijesti prelazi u mitski, dok se oko 6. stoljeća p.n.e. modus kolektivne svijesti mijenja iz mitskog u racionalni (Wilber, 2000: 154). Prvu kolektivnu pojavu racionalne svijesti Wilber i Gebser vežu za antičku Grčku, a njezino cvjetanje za vrijeme renesanse.

⁷ Gebser pokazuje kako je primjerice crtanje bizona probodenog strijelom sastavni dio magije lova (1985: 47–48).

⁸ Usp. Havelock 2003: 58. U svojem utjecajnom djelu *Muza uči pisati* Eric Havelock iznosi pretpostavku da je usmena kultura bila povezana s „usmenom“ razinom svijesti. Havelock povezuje tip mišljenja, tip kulture i usmenost, odnosno „usmeno stanje svijesti i usmene uvjete kulture“ (2003: 65). Tako „povijesnu usmenost“ vidi kao „zaseban modus svijesti s vlastitim pravilima“ (2003: 53).

razinu svijesti, u kojoj je sve zamjenjivo sa svime, neovisno o vremenu, prostoru i racionalnim vezama.⁹

S druge strane kultura i književnost mitske razine svijesti europskoga srednjovjekovlja ima u prvom redu regulativnu funkciju i artikulira se kao kultura zakona i propisa. Estetska je funkcija podvrgnuta pragmatičnoj – moralističkoj i didaktičnoj – a visoka frekvencija religioznih djela razumljiva je zbog toga što religija preuzima ulogu regulatora moralnog, društvenog i kulturnog života. Odrednicu „književnost“ vežemo upravo za ovu razinu jer je pismo izum mitske svijesti i njezina linearnog načina razmišljanja: „doktrine su općenito dokumentirane u 'knjizi' jer je pisani jezik dio PLAVE inteligencije (mitske, op. I.B.K.)“ (Beck & Cowan, 1996: 234).

Na racionalnom pak stupnju svijesti dolazi do odvajanja domena umjetnosti, morala i znanosti, zahvaljujući kojem se razvijaju neovisno i bez nadzora jednih nad drugima (što istraživači drže temeljnom zaslugom moderne). U kulturi se estetska funkcija izdvaja od drugih i naglašava se autonomija umjetnosti.

Kontekst Bosne i Hercegovine

Književnost i kultura bosansko-humskog srednjovjekovlja po tipičnim se osobinama uklapa u kontekst europske srednjovjekovne kulture i njezine misije prelaska s magijskog na mitski svjetonazor. Međutim taj se prijelaz ovdje nastavlja i u sljedećim stoljećima (a pojava se racionalne svijesti zapaža tek u drugoj polovici 18. i u 19. st.). Na društveno-političkom planu bilježimo stalne ratove, osmanski prodor i osvajanje, uspostavu nove vlasti i (ponovo) feudalnog društvenog poretka. Na kulturnom se pak planu, uslijed konfesionalne segregacije stanovništva, tipične za društva mitske svijesti, formiraju tri (četiri ako govorimo i o židovskom) kulturna obrasca, izrazito konfesionalno (kasnije nacionalno) obilježena – muslimanski, pravoslavni i katolički – od kojih ovdje promatram katolički/hrvatski obrazac.

⁹ Simbol ove razine po Gebseru je točka: svaka se „točka“ (stvar, događaj ili akcija) može zamijeniti drugom „točkom“, što omogućuje i magiju. Zamjenjivost „točaka“ najočitija je u ritualnom žrtvovanju (1985: 50).

Od početka 17. stoljeća u hrvatskoj književnosti BiH prevladava religiozna književnost mitske razine svijesti, s regulativnom, moralno-didaktičnom funkcijom, a usmjerena je recipijentu prethodne, magijske razine. Osnovna joj je misija supstitucija kulturnih oblika magijske svijesti novima – primarno supstitucija svjetonazora, vjerovanja, običaja, morala, pravila kojima se ravna čovjek magijske razine. Nositelj je ove kulture katolički kler, u prvom redu franjevci provincije Bosne Srebrene. U literaturi stoga prevladava srednjovjekovni sustav žanrova, u kojem se izdvajaju katekizmi, homiletika, priručnici za sakramente (osobito ispovijed), a narativna je proza rezervirana za egzemple, u kojima su estetska i pragmatična funkcija također neodvojive (usp. Beljan, 2014: 93–113).

Ako pođemo od činjenice da nam magijska kultura ovoga doba nije izravno poznata – prijepisi usmene književnosti kasnijeg su postanka i, po vladajućem shvaćanju istraživača, kao i svi zapisi usmene književnosti kontaminirani vjerovanjima i kulturom sljedeće razine (usp. Havelock, 2003: 57–66) – o njezinu profilu ovdje možemo saznati i posredno, iz pisane književnosti mitske razine, koja joj je usmjerena. Iz primarnih zadataka te književnosti saznajemo o profilu recipijenata i njihova kulturnog svjetonazora.

Mitska kultura u spomenutom vremenu služi učvršćivanju sustava kršćanskih vjerskih dogmi i pratećih pravila ponašanja – dakle upućivanju u kršćanski moralni/vrijednosni sustav. Pisana djela, ali i zapisi o usmenim nastojanjima klera (poukama, nagovorima, ukorima), pokazuju da je oko toga trebalo truda, tj. da se publika kojoj su ove knjige namijenjene ponašala i vodila drukčijim uvjerenjima i pravilima ili pak „nepravilima“ (impulzivnošću). Stoga se mitska literatura koncentrira na izlaganje osnovnih kršćanskih vjerskih istina u striktnim, crkvenim autoritetom definiranim obrascima, s tumačenjima kojima vjerodostojnost također daju ovlašteni crkveni autoriteti.

U kontekstu ovoga rada osobito je važna pozornost koju literatura mitske svijesti usmjerava na biološki i emocionalni aspekt čovjeka, upravo onaj s kojim se identificira magijska svijest. Na tom se planu osobita pozornost posvećuje regulaciji seksualnosti i afekata. Seksualnost kao grijeh bludnosti tema je brojnih stranica ove literature. Suprotstavljaju joj

se dva principa: čistoća (sveci kao uzor) i regulirani brak (koji za crkvu predstavlja posebno polje problema).

Kad je riječ o emocijama, pozornost se posvećuje kultiviranju pobožnih emocija ljubavi prema Bogu i svecima, ali i negativnima, napose snažnim afektima koji dovode do nepoželjnih oblika ponašanja. Suprotstavlja im se poslušnost (crkvenom) autoritetu te samodisciplina i kontrola emocionalnih impulsa. Emocija koja se podržava kao „protuotrov“ jest strah od (Božje) kazne.

Seksualnost u magijskoj i mitskoj kulturi

Iz literature mitskog stupnja svijesti iščitavamo – već i prema velikoj važnosti koja joj se pridaje – da je nastojanje oko reguliranja seksualnosti bilo jedan od njezinih važnih ciljeva. Tema je zastupljena u katekizmima, priručnicima za sakrament ispovijedi, u mirakulima, egzemplima, u biskupskim vizitacijskim izvješćima, i to kao opominjanje na različite oblike grijeha bludnosti, oko kojeg se pleće sustav zabrana i kazni.

Iz pažnje koja joj se pridaje, kao i načina obrade ove teme, može se posredno zaključiti da je seksualnost na razini magijske svijesti prakticirana potpuno drukčije. Naime zbog identifikacije pojedinca s biološkim aspektom ličnosti ona se živi impulzivno, pa dolazi do niza zloporaba o kojima govore brojni propisi i zabrane u literaturi mitske svijesti. Ako pretpostavimo da se zabranjuje ono što u praksi predstavlja problem, stječemo dojam kakvoj su publici zabrane usmjerene.¹⁰

Ispovjedaonik Pavla Posilovića,¹¹ jedno od brojnih ostvarenja u žanru priručnika za ispovijed, kao i *Nauk krstjanski* Matije Divkovića, kad je riječ o šestoj zapovijedi i grijehu bludnosti među prvim zabranama

¹⁰ Premda su djela ove književnosti kompilacije latinskih i talijanskih izvora (suvremenih i srednjovjekovnih), iz njih ipak možemo zaključivati o profilu publike kojoj su namijenjene. Studije pokazuju da su ovi pisci birali predloške prema svom svjetonazoru i potrebama svoje publike te slobodno prerađivali izvore, tj. ispuštali ili mijenjali ono što su smatrali nerazumljivim ili nepotrebnim. V. primjerice studije o Divkovićevu prevodilačkom postupku (Petrović, 1982: 175–206) ili o njegovu odnosu prema antici (Knezović, 2014: 203–231).

¹¹ Prijevod djela *Confessario* Jeronima Panormitanskoga (1575).

odnosno smrtnim grijesima popisuju sodomiju, incest, silovanje (Matijević, 1630: 64–66; Divković, 2013: 245–246). *Izповijed krstjanska* Stjepana Margitića, jedno od najutjecajnijih franjevačkih djela ovoga doba, uz seksualne odnose s bliskim rođacima kao strašni grijeh navodi i „udavljenje od dice“, tj. čedomorstvo (2015: 32).

Seksualnost se strogo svodi u okvire crkveno ovjerena braka, čija regulacija crkvi stvara brojne probleme. Zloporabe koje se nastoje spriječiti odnose se na sklapanje braka između bliskih srodnika, između premladih osoba, kao i na čestu pojavu brakova s otetim ženama (Divković, 2013: 399–407).¹² Osobit problem crkvi predstavljaju česta vjenčanja kod kadrije – upravo zbog izbjegavanja različitih zabrana (usp. Knezović, 2008: 171).

Seksualnost koja nije u službi rađanja djece – koja služi za „naslađenje“ (Matijević, 1630: 66) – konstantno je okružena pitanjem grijeha i kazne, te fantastičnim slikama pakla.¹³ Matijevićev i Divkovićev popis s jedne strane pokazuju da mitska svijest magijskoj nadređuje sposobnost samokontrole, ali s druge strane pokazuje i pojavu represije tipične za mitski svjetonazor.¹⁴ Još bolje primjere nalazimo u narativnim egzemplima sa slikama strašnih i okrutnih kazni koje čekaju prijestupnike. Oni svjedoče da književnost mitske svijesti, nastojeći uspostaviti (prijeko potrebnu) odgovornost na seksualnom planu, ide u suprotnu krajnost

¹² Da je praksa bila raširena pokazuje i Ivan Ančić, koji u svojoj zbirci oprosta i blagoslova kojima se ima koristiti njegova provincija, *Thesaurus perpetuus*, donosi poseban tekst oprosta za „otimače djevojaka i udovica“, lamentirajući nad tom strašnom pojavom (usp. Knezović, 1986: 129).

¹³ Učestalost motiva paklenih kazni u literaturi mitske svijesti postaje jasnija kad imamo na umu da je magijska svijest (osobito se to odnosi na fazu koju Beck i Cowan označavaju crvenom bojom) nesposobna za sagledavanje posljedica vlastitih djela (Beck & Cowan, 1996: 220; Springett, 2015: 85). Književnost mitske svijesti zato uvodi i osobito naglašava koncept osobne odgovornosti.

¹⁴ Matijević tako zabranama okružuje sve što se tiče seksualnosti: homoseksualnost (1630: 64), korištenje kontraceptivnih sredstava („primati likarije za ne rađati“; 1630: 58), masturbaciju („prosipanje sjemena izvan mjesta dužnoga“; 1630: 80), nedopuštene položaje tijekom bračnoga čina (1630: 81), doticanje „nepoštenih mjesta“, ljubljenje „bludnijem načinom“, plesanje, sviranje, odijevanje „cječa bluda“ (1630: 66). Gotovo iste zabrane nalazimo u Divkovića (2013: 245–246).

represije seksualnosti, a identifikaciju s tijelom zamjenjuje mržnjom prema „poganom i smrdećem“ tijelu.¹⁵

Primjetno je također da se u najvećem broju ovih ezemplja pojavljuju ženski likovi, jer se žena povezuje sa seksualnošću, rađanjem i uopće biološkim aspektom čovjeka. Među njima je zacijelo najpoznatiji onaj iz Divkovićevih *Besjeda* o ženi koja se nakon smrti ukazuje dvojici redovnika, jašući na strašnu zmajicu i trpeći fantastične muke (2016: 262–263).¹⁶ Primjer za nasljedovanje koji se u ovoj literaturi nudi kao suprotnost bludnosti lik je sveca, osobito svetice (djevice i mučenice), a napose Marijin lik.

U opisanom se procesu zamjećuje i važna strategija mitske kulture koja se sastoji u integraciji forme, a supstituciji sadržaja kulturnih proizvoda magijske razine. Autori ovih djela prepoznaju i vješto koriste ulogu

¹⁵ Propovijed „U nedilju drugu od Došastja Gospodinova. Od griha puteni“ iz jednog od najpopularnijih franjevačkih djela 17. i 18. stoljeća *Fale od sveti Stjepana Margitića*, dobar je primjer intenziteta prezira prema tijelu. Grijesi na području seksualnosti proglašavaju se najopakijim, gorim „od ubojstva i od lupeštva“ i od svega drugoga jer „ostali grisi kakono zdvora su, sa strane su, a ovi grijeh iznutar, o po naravi“ (Margitić, 2015: 308–309). Bludnost je prokleta, smrdeća i vražja te čovjeka čini „živinom nerazložnom“ (2015: 310). Blud je grijeh zbog kojeg je svijet kažnjen potopom, koji zaslužuje smrt i kaznu (2015: 312). Koji čine ovaj grijeh „[h]rana su od zmijske pakleni. Gavrani su pogani koji na mrline padaju. Slipe krtice koje u zemlji leže. Slipimiši pogani“ (2015: 313). Tijelo je pak „vrića smetlišta“ na koju žene još stavljaju nakit: „Tak[a] je budalaština jednu vriću punu smetlišta i stvari pogani svilom zavezati. Govorim od tijela smrdećega“ (2015: 410). Bogu je grijeh bludnosti tako mrzak da ga vrijeđa i cvjetni miris na ženama: „Tako Isukrstu Bogu našem, pčeli divičanskoj i nebeskoj, kakono da udi i mrsko mu je miris pogani od gorke čemerike, od zla jezika, od smrdećega mirisa od du[v]jana od priljubodivaca i kurava, a osobito cvijet od jasena od žena brezobrazni, koje se ukazuju nakitiv kano cvijet, a truju Isukrsta pčelu nebesku u srcu ljudskomu, da biži“ (2015: 407).

¹⁶ Oni autori druge polovice 18. stoljeća kod kojih se zamjećuju pojava racionalne svijesti i elementi vjerskog prosvjetiteljstva s kulturom se magijske svijesti „razračunavaju“ na drukčiji način, naime racionalnim argumentima. U tom kontekstu kao indikativnu pojedinost Boris Čorić navodi da je biskup Augustin Botoš-Okčić, pristalica ideja Josipa II., plijenio Margitićeve knjige kao štetne (Čorić, 1979: 25–26).

pjesništva i priče u prenošenja znanja o običajnom pravu i društvenim normama u magijskoj kulturi (usp. Havelock, 2003: 90). Na oblikovnoj se razini gradnja narativnog egzemplara, ali i retoričke proze, zato oslanja na elemente usmene priče.¹⁷

Novi se sadržaji i novi sustav vrijednosti prezentiraju u formi koja je poznata i privlačna recipijentu magijske razine. Tako se moćna bića, zle sile kojima čovjek magijske razine nastoji ovladati, pojavljuju u obliku đavla, a benevolentne sile u obliku svetaca. Magijski predmeti i rituali, kao važna sastavnica magijske kulture, zamjenjuju se kršćanskim ekvivalentima. Tako se od opasnosti čovjek može štititi svetim „moćima“ – misom, ispovijedi, pričešću, posvećenim predmetima, zazivanjem Božjeg imena i imena svetaca, utjecanjem ispovjedniku i crkvenom autoritetu.¹⁸ I sami popularni srednjovjekovni žanrovi koje ovi pisci rado prerađuju – mirakuli i legende – svoje moralne pouke artikuliraju koristeći interes recipijentata s magijske razine svijesti za motive čudesnog, zbog čega je i Divkovićeve kompilacija mirakula *Sto čudesesa* bila veoma popularna.

Emocionalnost u magijskoj i mitskoj kulturi

Literatura mitskog stupnja svijesti potiče pobožne emocije ljubavi prema Bogu i bližnjemu, ali je ipak primarno orijentirana na negativne, potencijalno destruktivne emocije. Usmjerenje je shvatljivo kad imamo na umu da čovjek magijske svijesti nesputano postupa po impulsima i instinktima (Gebser, 1985: 67; Springett 2015: 85; Beck & Cowan, 1996: 216–218). Mitsko ili „konceptualno sebstvo“ (Wilber, 2000: 104) počinje se diferencirati od tijela i emocija (napose seksualnosti i agresije) i potiskivati ih, zbog čega je književnost ove razine svijesti veoma zaokupljena tim temama.

¹⁷ Pojava je često zamjećivana u stručnoj literaturi, osobito kad je riječ o M. Divkoviću (usp. Beljan, 2014: 15–16), ali i o piscima 18. st. Primjerice intrigantni predgovor *Pismi od pakla* Lovre Šitovića, koji se u literaturi često čitao kao pokušaj iskorjenjivanja narodne književnosti, P. Knezović čita kao polemiku s (ratničkim) svjetonazorom usmene epike (2009: 205–215).

¹⁸ Usp. primjerice Divković, 2013: 238, 308–312, 363–364.

Tretiranje negativnih emocija – osobito stanja jakog intenziteta odnosno afekata – u književnosti je povezano s pitanjem moći te s procesom u kojem se samovolja i egocentrizam zamjenjuju pokornošću autoritetu i hijerarhičnošću mitske svijesti. Tretman emocija tako je povezan i s vrijednosnim sustavom koji je također u procesu promjene, jer se na magijskoj razini agresivnost cijenila kao snaga i vitalnost.

Najučinkovitije sredstvo kojim književnost mitske svijesti utječe na svjetonazor svoje publike jest slika moćnoga Boga, kakvog ta publika respektira. Beck i Cowan, opisujući magijsku strukturu svijesti kao dva stupnja – „purpurni“ i „crveni“ – primjećuju da plemenska vjerovanja prvoga polako prelaze u svjetonazor osvajača drugoga. Tako „duhovi postaju nalik bogovima“, „magija postaje oružje za kontroliranje ljudi i događaja“, a tradicije predaka „inspirativne priče o junačkim djelima, poraženim neprijateljima i nemogućim pothvatima“. Bogovi pak „stječu ljudske mane: pakosni su, zahtjevni, ljubomorni, a dobrohotnost im je podložna hiru“ (1996: 216).

Imajući na umu takav odnos svojih recipijenata prema moćnim silama koje vladaju svijetom, ali i zbog toga što suzbija osobnu moć i nadređuje joj ideal poslušnosti, književnost mitske razine moć i agresivnost projicira u „kontrolirano“ područje – u sliku Boga. U njoj zamjećujemo široku paletu emocija, od ljubavi preko ljubomore do snažne srdžbe, pri čemu uvjerljivo prevladava srditost, koja rezultira kažnjavanjem prijestupnika i premoćnim pobjeđivanjem đavla. U mitskoj dakle književnosti dominira slika srditog starozavjetnog Boga koji je prije svega nadmoćno (muško) biće (usp. Beck & Cowan, 1996: 226).

U hrvatskoj književnosti BiH u 17. i 18. st. jedan je od najboljih primjera ovakvog odnosa prema emocijama Margitićeva *Fala od sveti*, zbirka propovijedi za svetačke blagdane, koja je i jedno od najpopularnijih djela ove književnosti. U skladu s naslovom, u njoj dominira slavljenje Božje moći, moći njegovih svetaca i njegovih simbola, ali i snage njegove kazne i odmazde prema grešnicima – on naime satire i kraljeve, gradove, cijele narode koji mu se protive.¹⁹ Zbirka je koncipirana dvodijelno: svetačke propovijedi hvale Božju moć i čuda koja čini po svojim svecima i

¹⁹ Osobito se ističe moć i odmazda protiv nevjernika: „Žudija“, „Grka“, „Turaka“, „eretika“, „šizmatika“ i „zločestih krstjana“ (Margitić, 2015: 428, 334).

vjernima, a ostale propovijedi hvale njegovu pravednu kaznu. Takva slika Boga predstavlja protutežu moćnim bićima magijske kulture, ujedno se pokazujući kao najučinkovitiji regulator nepoželjnih oblika ponašanja, koji se suzbijaju strahom od kazne. Strah je dakle emocija koja se potiče i koja služi kao motivacija za promjenu.²⁰

Uočljivo je da motivi borbe i rata s pripadajućom retorikom dominiraju u Margitićevim propovijedima. Karakteristični su za kulturu magijske svijesti, a ovdje artikulirani kao borba Boga s grešnicima, nevjernicima i hereticima. Bog ratuje sa svojim protivnicima i premoćno ih pobjeđuje. Dolazi tako „u prilici od munje da posiče grišnike, strilom da i[h] udari, ognjem da i[h] opali, na pristolju da i[h] sudi“ (2015: 333). Njegova se moć očituje preko svetaca (2015: 173–174, 225, 271, 281, 177), preko svećenika (2015: 455), preko nepobjedivih simbola križa i Isusova imena (2015: 169). U ovom kontekstu opet uočavamo kako mitska literatura suzbija magijski sustav vrijednosti zadržavajući slavljenje moći i snage, kao i motive čudesnog.

Takvom odnosu prema emocijama u Margitićevoj zbirci doprinosi i stilizacija propovijedi, s puno izravnih oslovljavanja slušatelja, retoričkih pitanja, uskličnih i prijetjećih rečenica koje sugestivno djeluju na publiku i žele izazvati (pobožni) strah.

Nešto blažom retorikom, ali kojom ipak dominira zakonodavna čvrstoća, autoritarnost i sigurnost u sustav vjerskih propisa koje obrazlaže, Divković emociju straha povezuje i s ljubavlju prema Bogu: „Ne imamo se G[ospodi]na Boga bojati da nas ne pokara, ali ne osudi u muke paklene, nego ga se imamo bojati samo za jednu čistu i pravu ljubav. Kakonoti pravi sin aliti kći veli *nije mi žao što me će otac aliti mati karati, nego mi je žao što mu sam pomanjkao i sagrišio* (2013: 115). Pozitivna dakle emocija koja se potiče u ovoj literaturi jest ljubav prema Bogu i bližnjemu (usp. Divković, 2013: 168–169; Divković, 2016: 720–733), koja se osobito

²⁰ Strah proizlazi iz Božje moći, kojoj se ne može pobjeći jer obuhvaća sve kutke vidljivog i nevidljivog svijeta; njegova strašna srdžba okrenuta je onima koji se ne pokoravaju (Margitić, 2015: 297–307). Strahom se suzbijaju nepoželjni, ali i potiču poželjni načini ponašanja: „Ako se ukažemo Bogu ponizni i milosrdni na uboge, i ljubav izkrnjega, bi[t] će nami Bog krotak i milosrdan. Ako se ukažemo o[h]oli, srditi i nemilosrdni, onako će se nama Bog ukazati“ (2015: 396).

može njegovati pobožnim promišljanjem Isusove muke (Divković, 2013: 439; 137–139; Divković, 2016: 133). Slika Isusa kao milosrdnog Sina Božjeg, koji umire iz ljubavi prema čovjeku (Divković, 2013: 173, 182; Divković, 2016: 395), pritom se u tekstovima pojavljuje kao protuteža slici srditoga moćnog Boga.

Zaključna razmatranja

U hrvatskoj književnosti Bosne i Hercegovine u 17., 18., a dobrim dijelom i u 19. stoljeću dominira književna produkcija mitskoga stupnja svijesti, koja preoblikuje i integrira, ali i potiskuje kulturu magijske razine svijesti. Mitska se kultura pokazuje kao kultura zakona (najvećim dijelom religioznih i moralnih propisa), koja zamjenjuje kulturu magije, preuzimajući neke njezine formalne odlike i integrirajući ih u svoj sustav, a odbacujući sadržaj (s njim i sustav vrijednosti) i zamjenjujući ga novim. Pritom se velika pozornost posvećuje emocionalnom i tjelesnom aspektu ličnosti, osobito destruktivnim emocijama i zloporabi seksualnosti, kojima se suprotstavljaju ideali poslušnosti, samokontrole i ovladavanja nagonima.

U kontekstu razvoja svijesti prijelaz je nužan jer bi bez učenja discipline i kontrole „svijet bio mjesto vječnog rata i neopisive okrutnosti“, a bez učenja uloga svijest vezana za tijelo (Springett, 2015: 30). Promičući sliku svijeta kao uređena mjesta kojim ravna strogi i pravedni Bog, ova književnost kod svoje publike promiče i koncept osobne odgovornosti. S druge strane, nastojeći uspostaviti (prijeko potrebnu) odgovornost na seksualnom i emocionalnom planu, ona ide u suprotnu krajnost njihove represije, što generira nove probleme, pogotovo kad se uzme u obzir da mitska kultura knjige doprinosi institucionaliziranju mitskog sustava vrijednosti. U procesu dakle prijelaza s kulture magijskog na mitski stupanj svijesti očituje se niz „dobrih i loših vijesti“ (Wilber) koje treba uzimati u obzir u istraživanju kulturne povijesti.

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Summary: EMOTIONALITY AND SEXUALITY IN THE CULTURE OF THE MAGIC AND MYTHIC STAGE OF CONSCIOUSNESS (EXAMPLE OF CROATIAN LITERATURE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA)

The theoretical basis of this research is to be found in the model of consciousness development presented in the works of Jean Gebser and Ken Wilber, which consists of nine stages: magic, mythic, rational, vision-logic, psychic, subtle, causal, and non-dual. This paper aims to recognize and describe characteristic culture patterns related to the second and third level of Wilber's model – magic and mythic – through examples of Croatian literature in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 17th, 18th and partly 19th century. It is based on the hypothesis that Medieval times in Bosnia and Hum (Herzegovina) represent the beginning of a transition from mythic to magic consciousness, continued especially in 17th, 18th and 19th century in three highly confessionally marked cultures (Catholic, Orthodox, and Muslim). The paper analyses the process in which mythic culture level in the above-mentioned period changes, suppresses, but also transforms and integrates cultural patterns of the previous level. The main focus is put on the way in which culture of mythic consciousness relates to emotional and physical human aspects, especially aggression and sexuality, opposing them the ideals of obedience, self-control, and instinct mastering.

Keywords: stages of consciousness, magic consciousness, mythic consciousness, emotionality, sexuality.

Tin Lemac

neovisni istraživač, Hrvatska

tinlemac01@gmail.com

PRILOG SEMANTIČKOJ TEORIJI POETSKE HIPERBOLE

Originalni naučni rad

Sažetak: U radu se rezimiraju dosadašnja znanja o poetskoj hiperboli koja su prisutna u retorici, stilistici, semantici i pragmatici. Prije svega, ukazuje se na manjkavosti retoričke definicije i potrebe preciznijeg semantičkog definiranja kako bi bila operativna u stilistici. Na tragu Jakobsonove teorije poezije kao metafore, Blackove interakcionističke teorije metafore, ruskog i američkog naslijeđa strukturalističke poetike i Chomskyjeve semičke analize postulira se semantički model hiperbole kad se ona pojavljuje kao derivat metafore u dvočlanoj i višečlanoj začudnoj sintagmi i poetskoj rečenici.¹

Ključne riječi: hiperbola, semantika, stilistika, analiza, model.

UVOD

Hiperbola je stilska figura koju pribrajamo retoričkim figurama, tropima i figurama mišljenja. Zahvaćemo je retoričkim, stilističkim, semantičkim i pragmatičkim teorijskim instrumentarijem. U ovom ćemo se radu prvo referirati na povijesno naslijeđe antičke retorike u kojoj je hiperbola prvotno opisana, te uočiti izvjesne kategorije koje su joj se pridijevale. Na prijelazu u stilističku ili poetičku sferu retoričko se naslijeđe nastavlja, tj. u

¹ Ovaj je rad prvotno prijavljen i održan kao izlaganje pod naslovom *Hiperbola kao kvalifikator i kvantifikator emocija u poeziji* na Međunarodnoj konferenciji *Jezik, književnost, emocije* koja je održana na Fakultetu za strane jezike Alfa BK Univerziteta u Beogradu. Od navedenog smo naslova kao i nekih teza u sažetku odustali u daljnjem istraživanju navedene problematike, pa je i sam naslov preformuliran i usklađen s trenutnim dosezima i saznanjima o ovoj problematici.

tim se poljima hiperbola slično definirala. To je stvorilo izvjesnu retoričko-stilističku pomutnju gdje se jasno definiranje hiperbole nije provelo ni u leksikonima teorije književnosti, lingvistike i stilistike, te na pojedinačnim primjerima analize jezika pojedinog pisca. U retoričkom opisu postoje neki singulariteti koje kanimo opisati i koji su upravo razlog navedene pomutnje. U središtu našeg zanimanja za hiperbolu prije svega je njezina uporaba u poeziji, stoga ćemo je kraće u tekstu nazivati poetskom hiperbolom. Nastojat ćemo razložiti njezinu semantičku paradigmu i pojasniti njezinu vezu s bliskom figurom metaforom na začudnoj sintagmi i poetskoj rečenici kao sintaktostilističkim jedinicama. Pragmatičku ćemo perspektivu samo uzgred spomenuti zbog potrebe teorijskih pitanja koje ona otvara, a tiču se same definicije hiperbole. Navedeni ćemo model testirati na uzorcima tradicionalnog lirskog pjesništva.

HIPERBOLA – DEFINICIJE I PRISTUPI

Hiperbola u leksikonskim priručnicima retorike i stilistike

Hiperbola se kao stilska figura smatra jednom od retoričkih univerzalija. U *Enciklopedijskom rječniku lingvističkih termina* (Simeon, 1969: 474-475) pridaju joj se karakteristike *prekomjernog uveličavanja, pretjerivanja, prikazivanja nečega većim, manjim, boljim ili gorim nego je u stvarnosti*. Te se definicije pribrajaju hiperboli kao retoričkoj figuri. Nadalje, definira se kao *pretjerani način izražavanja, isticanje nekog pojma uporabom izraza koji ga preuveličava*. U tropološkom smislu, hiperbola se definira *zamjenom značenja u riječi koja se razlikuje po sili (stupnju) značenja, te kao povećavanje preko mjere i mimo istine*, te se njezina funkcija u književnumjetničkom tekstu *definira slikovitim izrazom koji se sastoji u pretjeranom preuveličavanju jakosti*, a uporaba *pojačavanjem dojma ili slike*.

Stilistički leksikon *Los elementos de la retórica literaria* (Lausberg, 1983: 112) hiperbolu smatra *rastućim pretjerivanjem, namjerom zastranjenja s one strane vjerodostojnosti, karakteristikom doručena stila, pjesničko-evokativnim učinkom*, te u poeziji *emotivnim stvaranjem slike koja nadvisuje stvarnost*.

Leksikon antičkih termina (Škiljan, 2004: 124) također razlikuju retoričku i tropološku prirodu hiperbole. U retoričkom smislu, taj je izvor

definira kao *prijelaz, nadilaženje i pretjerivanje*. Tropološki gledano, *Leksikon* je definira kao *pretjerano isticanje nekog sadržajnog elementa riječi pomoću konteksta tako da graniči s nevjerovatnim*. Također, izdvaja i njezinu funkciju kao figure mišljenja pri čemu ona obuhvaća cijeli iskaz.

Dictionary of Stylistics Katie Wales (1990: 134) govori o hiperboli kao o tropu pretjerivanja zbog stvaranja dojma, konstituensu ženskog govora i o kršenju Griceove maksime kvantitete u pragmatičkom obzorju.

Dizionario di retorica e stilistica (2004: 195) govori o hiperboli kao pretjerivanju zbog postizanja emocionalnog učinka. Razlikuje hiperbolu prisutnu u svakodnevnom jeziku te onu poetsku. Poetsku stavlja u funkciju emfaze kao stilskog postupka isticanja i naglašavanja, te izdvaja baroknu poeziju kao područje njezine obilate realizacije.

Rječnik stilskih figura Krešimira Bagića (2012: 134) definira je kao *figuru misli, naglašavanje ideje, emocije ili obavijesti pretjerivanjem koji ističe afektivni odnos govornika spram govora izražavanja*.

Navedene leksikonske natuknice perpetuiraju slična značenja vezana za hiperbolu kao retoričku figuru. To su uglavnom pretjerivanje, preuveličavanje, isticanje, prijelaz i nadilaženje. Sve su one dio povijesnog naslijeđa antičke retorike i kao takve su se u tim pristupima razumijevale, no nedostaju im detaljnije definicije i razrađeni parametri. Kad se kaže *pretjerivanje*, nije jasno naglašeno u čemu se pretjeruje. Je li riječ o nekoj jezičnoj jedinici ili cjelokupnom dojmu koji uporaba hiperbole donosi? Jezična jedinica kreće se od leksema do tekstema obuhvaćajući nekoliko jezičnih razina što je dakako važno u konceptualizaciji i analizi uporabe hiperbole, a cjelokupni dojam može biti vezan za situaciju govorne realizacije hiperbole (ovdje možemo razlikovati retoričku uporabu i uporabu u razgovornom jeziku i stilu). Definicijom preuveličavanja nije sasvim jasno što se i na koji način preuveličava. Je li riječ o predmetu kazivanja koji je predstavljen nekom jezičnom jedinicom, njegovim osnovnim značenjem, denotatom, konotatom? Preuveličavanje se metonimijski može povezati sa značenjem riječi ekstenzija koja bi već mogla ući u jasniji analitički instrumentarij. Hiperbola kao isticanje miješa se s emfazom kao stilskim postupkom isticanja koja se ostvaruje hiperbolom. U definicijama rastućeg pretjerivanja i isticanja nekog pojma uporabom izraza koji ga preuveličava nazire se jasnija slika. Rastuće pretjerivanje implicitno može uvesti pojam uzlazne gradacije (klimaksa u

retoričkom smislu) ili sintaktičko-semantički složenije kumulacije, dok isticanje nekog pojma izrazom uvodi jezičnu dimenziju hiperbole kao rečenične jedinice.

U tropološkim definicijama također postoje određeni singulariteti. Definicija hiperbole kao *zamjene značenja u riječi koja se razlikuje po sili (stupnju) značenja, te kao povećavanje preko mjere i mimo istine* uvodi se razlika u stupnju značenja za koje nisu jasno uvedeni semantički parametri. Stupanj ili sila značenja, pri čemu pojam sile zvuči pomalo slobodno uporabljenim, mogu se približno prikazati pojmom ekstenzije između zamišljenog najnižeg i najvišeg stupnja što je iznimno složena semantička operacija. Pojam *mjera* slobodno je uzet, a pretpostavljam da označava moguće značenjsko širenje nekog leksema do zamišljene i proizvoljno odabrane granice, dok je pojam istine lingvističko-filozofski pojam koji zahtijeva drugi tip konceptualizacije i teorijske primjene (slično s pojmom stvarnosti u retoričkoj definiciji). Određenje hiperbole kao *pretjerana isticanja nekog sadržajnog elementa riječi pomoću konteksta tako da graniči s nevjerojatnim* jasnije uvodi pojam sadržaja koji je prikladnije zamijeniti pojmom značenja, važan pojam konteksta koji je bitan determinator u uporabi hiperbole, dok se pojam nevjerojatnog rabi pomalo proizvoljno jer nadilazi jezičnu konceptualizaciju i pomiče hiperboličku uporabu i značenje prema drugim poljima književnoteorijske naravi (npr. pojam mogućeg svijeta ili slično).

Pragmatičke definicije hiperbole iz strukture govornog čina predstavljaju drugovrsnu konceptualizaciju i trenutno nisu u domeni naših interesa.

Što se tiče nama najvažnije poetske uporabe hiperbole, definicije iz retoričkog polja prenesene su i prilagođene poetskoj funkciji. Pojmovi kao što su *slikovit izraz* često su rezultat hiperboličke uporabe, ali ne moraju nužno biti dio slikovne komponente pjesničkog teksta, a definicijom *emotivnog stvaranja slike koja nadvisuje stvarnost* uvode se tri različita parametra od kojih svaki pripada drukčijoj konceptualizaciji. Pojam emocije pripada tonu autora, slika stilskim komponentama pjesničkog teksta,² a stvarnost spomenutom diskurzu filozofije jezika.

² Pitanje slikovnosti ili refleksivnosti podrazumijeva složenu genezu koja počiva na semantičkoj i stilističkoj analizi pripadnog jezičnog iskaza, a još je zanimljivije

Hiperbola u teoriji književnosti

Dragiša Živković u svojoj *Teoriji književnosti s teorijom pismenosti* (1981: 74-75) piše kako hiperbola najviše izražava emocionalni ton pjesničkog jezika, dok je definira kao *preuveličavanje osobina predmeta ili intenziteta radnje u cilju jačeg emotivnog djelovanja* i pridaje joj funkciju izražavanja jakih osjećaja.

Milivoj Solar u *Rječniku književnoga nazivlja* (2006: 118) govori o hiperboli kao *pojačavanju i pretjerivanju u opisu likova, predmeta i radnje, pojačavanju izraza do krajnjih granica, naglašenom izricanju snažnih osjećaja*, a u poetskom smislu govori o njoj kao *neobičnom pojačavanju predodžbe*.

Iz navedenih postavki možemo zaključiti kako su se retoričke definicije izravno uključile i u poetička, tj. književnoteorijska istraživanja i kako se ne razaznaje jasna definicija hiperbole. Pritom, u književnoj analizi preuveličavanje se podrazumijeva i intuitivno analizira. Naime, podrazumijeva se izvjesni nulti stupanj značenja od kojeg počinje preuveličavanje kao što se i diskurzni učinak proizvoljno procjenjuje u vezi s kontekstom. Nedostatak jasnijih parametara proizlazi iz nedovoljnog dijaloga poetike i retorike što je bitan korak u osvajanju prostora stilistike književnoumjetničkog medija.

Hiperbola u stilističkim analizama jezika pojedinog autora ili stilske formacije

U književnim analizama retoričkog instrumentarija autori se uglavnom oslanjaju na tekstne funkcije određenih stilskih sredstava ili povezuju poetičku uporabu sa stilskim opisom. Problem se pojavljuje kad neko

pripada li ona pjesničkom tekstu, diskurzu ili znaku. Pritom, nije nam namjera miješati konceptualizacijske razine jer se u ovom radu orijentiramo na tekst, već potaknuti zapitanost je li navedena kategorija pitanje rada metafore unutar organizacijskih jedinica teksta, dakle unutar tekstnih relacija, pitanja semantičkog prijenosa elemenata izvantekstovnog polja u tekstovno (diskurz) ili semantičke ukupnosti znakovnih polja i prijenosa (znak). Svaki je konceptualizacijski korak u ovom trenutku izvan domašaja.

sredstvo bilo na formativnoj ili sadržajnoj razini otvori mnogo značajnija pitanja retorike i poetike nego sama analiza teksta.

U studiji *Hiperbola Stefana Bennija* (2004: 22) Manuela Kotlar i Valter Tomas istražuju jezik naslovnog autora držeći se retoričke definicije hiperbole koju pronalaze kod već spomenutoga Heinricha Lausberga. Osim Lausbergova modela, uzimaju u obzir i tropološku formalizaciju hiperbole iz pera Flavie Ravazzoli (u: Kotlar, Tomas, 2004: 22) koja izdvaja hiperboličku metaforu, hiperbolu zasnovanu na sličnosti, poredbenu hiperbolu, hiperboličku litotu, antonomastičku hiperbolu i hiperboličku ironiju. U kontekstu samoga Bennijeva djela izdvajaju više primjera hiperbole koje dijele na čiste i tropološke hiperbole. Čiste su hiperbole uobičajene i kodificirane u svakodnevnom govoru (hiperbola prostora i vremena posjeduju stanovite determinatore), dok se tropološkima uvide složenost teksta kako bi se moglo stvoriti moguće polje detaljnijeg poetičkog opisa. Zanimljivo je i njihovo korištenje tehničkog pojma kontinuirana hiperbola koja je evidentno tekstni konektor čime se uspostavlja granica između sintaktičkih i tekstnih dimenzija.

Proučavajući hiperbolu u engleskoj renesansnoj književnosti, Goran Stanivuković (1995: 223) postavlja semantičku relaciju subjekta i objekta u hiperboličkoj sintagmi pri čemu se svojstvo subjekta naziva kvalifikatorom, a unutar objekta kao označenog izdvaja značenjske entitete osobe, predmeta, stanja, osjećaja, pojma i ideje. Hiperbola nastaje usporednom relacijom subjekta i objekta pri čemu subjekt pojačava osnovno značenje objekta. Uvodi i pojam operativnog djelovanja hiperbole pri čemu razlikuje konceptualnu podlogu neke hiperbole i jezičnu sliku koju ona proizvodi. Ističe i pojam konteksta, te ga u relaciji sa zadovoljavajućim operativnim djelovanjem smatra stilskim učinkom hiperbole. Njegove dragocjene spoznaje o semantici djelovanja hiperbole nadopunjene su pitanjem hiperboličkog minimuma i maksimuma. To pitanje, tvrdi Stanivuković (1995: 225), može se riješiti prijelazom iz književne kritike u lingvostilistiku. Izdvaja dvije kategorije za jednostavnu hiperbolu, a to su elativ i numerički determinator. Glede funkcionalne ekspresivnosti hiperbole, oprezno zaključuje kako su to tematske i estetske odlike nekog teksta koje se nalaze izvan domene formalne analize (1995: 227).

U jednom smo ranijem radu o pjesničkom jeziku Darije Žilić (Lemac, 2011: 135-144) pisali o hiperboli kao makrostrukтури stila i konotaciji stvarnosnog diskurza (retorički izvedeno načelo literarnosti pripadnog diskurza). Pritom, referirajući se na neke od prethodnih definicija (Lausberg, 1983, Wales 1990, Kotlar i Tomas 2004), operativnu smo definiciju postavili kao kombinaciju njezinih definirajućih kategorija. Tako, stvarnost smo definirali *kao referencijalno značenje nekog entiteta koje je dogovoreno, a njegovo predimenzioniranje u kontekstu stvaranja karakteristika jednog njegova sema u metaforičkoj relaciji*. Ova definicija jest semantičke naravi, no u njoj postoje neke nedostatnosti koje ćemo pokušati razriješiti u narednom poglavlju.

SEMANTIČKI MODEL POETSKE HIPERBOLE

Poetska je hiperbola, kako smo uvidjeli iz prethodnih paragrafa, poseban stilski problem kojim se kanimoz pozabaviti. Prije svega, u ovom tekstu sužavamo analitičko polje na koje primjenjujemo naš model poetske hiperbole. Baviti ćemo se isključivo tradicionalnim pjesništvom. To naglašavamo jer svako poetsko iskustvo pretpostavlja imanentnu analizu, a za neka kao što je klasično postmodernističko intertekstualno/interdiskurzno pjesništvo ili označiteljsko pjesništvo nisu ni stvoreni analitički alati. Tradicionalno pjesništvo uključuje razvijenu metaforu koja se realizira kao sintagmatska serija ili poetska rečenica, eufoniju, asonance i aliteracije, razvijen ritam i prepoznatljiv romantičarko-simbolistički predmetni inventar.

Ovaj model, kako smo naglasili u sažetku, radimo na dvočlanoj i višečlanoj začudnoj sintagmi te poetskoj rečenici. U tim sintagmatskim dimenzijama hiperbola se uglavnom realizira metaforom ili usporedbom. Model se sastoji od nekoliko metodoloških pravaca. Prvi je Jakobsonova teorija pjesme kao metafore. Taj strukturalistički pristup i do danas je primjenjiv na poetske tekstove, a podrazumijeva razvoj metafore na sintagmatskoj i paradigmatškoj osi pri čemu sintagmatska serija tvori mikrometafore pjesme, a paradigmatška os producira temeljnu metaforu pjesme. Drugi je Blackova interakcionistička teorija metafore (Blek u: Kojen, 1986: 45-73) u kojoj se svaki sudar različitih semantičkih sfera nekog leksema smatra metaforičkim. Iako to ne mora biti tako s obzirom na figurativne obrate u jeziku, načelno se možemo složiti da se mnogi

figurativni obrati temelje na metafori, tj. na metaforičkoj zamjeni. Treća je Chomskyjeva semička analiza (1984) koja je bitna zbog izdvajanja određenih semova kao karakteristika nekog entiteta koji ulazi u hiperboličku relaciju. Četvrta je naslijeđe strukturalističke poetike u kojoj postoji lingvopoetička ravnoteža hiperboličkog značenja i emocionalnog efekta koji on proizvodi.

Preuveličavanje kao takvo istaknuto u retoričkim definicijama semantički je sasvim neopravdan naziv jer za legitimiranje takvog pojma mora postojati relacija u koju stavljamo neki entitet i utvrđen niz parametara što se preuveličava i u kojem stupnju. Kako je pisao Stanivuković (1955: 225), a što smo naglasili u prethodnim paragrafima, mora postojati hiperbolički minimum i maksimum. Krešimir Bagić (2012: 71) u identifikaciji hiperboličkog izričaja iznosi niz jezičnih oznaka koje nazivamo hiperboličkim determinatorima. To su prefiksoidi (*hiper, super, mega, ekstra*), pridjevi (*izvrstan, ekstreman, nadljudski, genijalan*), prilozi (*nevjerojatno, totalno*), superlativi pridjeva (*najveće, najbolje*), zamjenica (*sve*). Osim navedenih oznaka, u poeziji postoje brojni izričaji koje je teže semantički definirati. Emocionalni učinak hiperbole definiramo iz tona autora koji je prisutan u pjesmi. Ton se također pripisuje autoru i objašnjava kao kvaliteta, frekvencija i afektivnost koji su metaforički povezani s nekim djelom ili dijelom djela kao stil. Povezuje se s čovjekom i uvodi kao komponenta estetičke evaluacije samog djela o kojoj ovisi retorička efektivnost diskurza. U njegovoj se realizaciji odlikuje selekcija stila i sadržaja, kvaliteta govora i indirektna ekspresija emocija koja počiva na izboru riječi, slika i poetskoj sintaksi. Može također biti izvor objektivne procjene djela i opisuje se kao ironičan, naivan, sentimental, konfuzan ili konvencionalan (Preminger i Brogan, 1993: 856). Kako ton ulazi u fonostilistički instrumentarij, lingvostilističari ga definiraju kao spoj logičkog naglaska i subjektivnog stava (Radenković, 1980: 32) i vezu glasovne strukture riječi, njezina misaonog značenja i emotivnog zvučanja (Živković, 1978: 50-51). Ono što je nužno uključiti u ovu analizu pitanje je metafore u pjesmi. Tehnički je dijelimo na makrometaforu pjesme (M) koja se u prvoj aproksimaciji izvodi iz idejnotematskog sloja i mikrometaforu dijela (stiha ili strofe – (m)) koja se također u prvoj aproksimaciji izvodi iz predmetnotematskog sloja pjesme.

U analizi dvočlane sintagme utvrđujemo smjer hiperboličke relacije (→) između sastavnica od *determinatora* (tehnički naziv za riječ koja je

nositelj hiperboličkog značenja) i *indikatora* (tehnički naziv za riječ koja se hiperbolizira). Zatim, izlučujemo sem determinatora koji ulazi u hiperboličku relaciju ([...]) i sem indikatora na kojem se vrši hiperbolizacija i ispitujemo semantičko međudjelovanje koje tehnički nazivamo *intersemskim raspršenjem*. Ono se ovjerava u kontekstu koji zahvaća širu cjelinu od sintagme, a to je poetska rečenica, stih ili strofa. Tumači se kroz metaforu stiha ili pjesme.

Tročlana ili višečlana sintagma analizira se utvrđenjem smjera hiperboličke relacije i izdvajanjem determinatora (njih je više) prema jednom indikatoru. Između determinatora postoji *intrasemska intenzifikacija* jednog istaknutog sema jednog determinatora preko metaforički predočivih semova drugih determinatora koji u međudjelovanju sa semom indikatora daju također intersemsko raspršenje. Također, tumači se kroz metaforu stiha ili pjesme.

Poetska rečenica iznimno je složen problem poetske sintakse,³ stoga približno određujemo njezinu realizaciju u hiperboličkoj relaciji. U ovom radu tretirat ćemo isključivo jednostavnu rečenicu u kojoj određeni dijelovi sintaktičkog ustrojstva semantički međudjeluju po načelu intersemskog raspršenja slično kao u sintagmi. Navedena se rečenica u hrvatskom jeziku, slijedeći tipologizaciju Ive Pranjkovića (2002: 58-59), može podijeliti na jednokomponentnu, dvokomponentnu i trokomponentnu unutar koje svaka ima nekoliko sintaktičkih ustrojbenih mogućnosti što ćemo vidjeti na primjerima.

Determinator i indikator pokazuju nekoliko različitih vrsta semskih međudjelovanja. Sem determinatora može djelovati na sem indikatora ili njegovo denotativno značenje. U oba slučaja razlikujemo interakciju kao intersemsko raspršenje koje se zbiva u metafori pjesme ili stiha ili

³ Razina poetske rečenice i teksta nisu još istražene u stilistici poezije. Što se tiče poetske rečenice, postoje radovi ruskih autora koje je aktualizirala u svojim tekstovima Rafaela Božić-Šejić (2008: 256-263), no oni se tiču tradicije ruskog vezanog stiha. Načelno gledano, poetsku rečenicu obilježavaju dijelovi sintaktičkog ustrojstva sa specifičnim strukturno-semantičkim svojstvima, ritam, metrika (ako je riječ o tradicionalnom pjesništvu) i opkoračenja. Na slobodnom stihu još nisu napravljene adekvatne analize, stoga poetsku rečenicu aproksimativno povezujemo sa sintaktički definiranom rečenicom u prozi. Tomu je tako jer nas u razmatranju hiperbole ne zanimaju ritam i opkoračenja.

spomenutu intenzifikaciju koja zahvaća indikator. Važno je naglasiti kako i sami semovi bivaju metaforički inducirani u pjesmi i izlučuju se iz pripadne metaforičke konotacije ili subjektivnom procjenom stilskog učinka.⁴

Provjerit ćemo navedeni model na pjesmi Vesne Parun *Djevičanstvo* (1955: 9) jer posjedujemo primjere za svaku kategoriju, a i lakše je ukazati na okolne kategorije bitne za dokaz hiperboličke relacije.

DJEVIČANSTVO

Taj topot i taj dim što dolazi sve bliže
ući će u tvoj vrt, rastvoriti usnula vrata.
Sama si u kući. Što ćeš mu reći djevojko
nepoznatom čovjeku koji želi umrijeti
na tvojim nagim rukama, što ćeš mu reći?

Sama si u praznoj napuštenoj kući
koju grli paprat. Nebo s tvoga prozora
jednako je uvijek, blago i daleko.
Cestama umorni konjanici idu.

A netko želi da umre na tvojim tihim rukama
koje nitko nije uspavao u ponoćima.
Netko žudi noćas da ogrli, umirući,
tvoj tanki struk i netaknutu kosu.

Pogledaj niz cestu, pogledaj niz vodu, niz široku večer:
netko te je kradom sa obale zvaao.
Spusti niz ramena pletenice. Potrči
otkrivena srca; ne boj se, što drhtiš.
Potrči, potrči! Ne pitaj tko jeca
ni tko u mraku prati tvoje korake.

⁴ Metaforička konotacija nekog leksema leži u njezinoj uporabnoj funkciji koju načelno možemo provesti kroz funkcionalnostilsku paradigmu, dok je subjektivizam u procjeni stilskog učinka kao takav neizbježan zbog nepoznavanja dovoljnog broja parametara kako bi se navedena problemska situacija učinila transparentnijom.

Već su grobari odnijeli iz razvaljene kuće
svjetlucave koralje i zlatne kanarinke.
Priče su se u tišinu razišle.

Ne plači: to je ljubav. Kreni kroz bespuće.
Umjesto naušnica nosit ćeš uteg bola,
djevojko, ako si život izabrala.

Navedena je pjesma refleksivne tematike u kojoj lirski subjekt potiče adresata (lirski objekt) na prepuštanje ljubavi i životu. Čini to u nizu metafora kojima se oblikuju pjesničke slike i svaka strofa donosi još više sugestivnosti i konotativnog naboja u izricanju te ideje. Ton je sentimentaln.

Hiperbolički sintagmatski i poetsko-rečenični uzorci u pjesmi su:

rastvoriti usnula vrata

prazna napuštena kuća

(kuću) grli paprat

široka večer

već su grobari odnijeli iz razvaljene kuće / svjetlucave koralje i zlatne kanarinke

priče su se u tišinu razišle

uteg bola.

Analizirat ćemo svaki pojedini uzorak.

rastvoriti usnula vrata (tročlana glagolsko-pridjevska sintagma, determinatori su *rastvoriti* i *usnula*, dok je indikator *vrata*; iz pjesme uočavamo kako je riječ o nadiranju nepoznatog u zatvoreni svijet lirskog objekta, pri čemu se determinatorom *rastvoriti* koji zbog prefiksa *raz-* nosi sem [+veliko] i drugim determinatorom *usnula* koji nosi sem [+čvrsto] inducira porast značenja u indikatoru *vrata* sa semom [+granično] koji je metaforički obilježen, cijela metaforička hiperbola značenjski je inducirana u metonimijskom približenju semova determinatora i interakciji sa semom indikatora; intersemsko raspršenje

uvjetuju značenje koje smo prethodno iznijeli, a tiče se otvaranja zatvorenog svijeta lirskog objekta)

prazna napuštena kuća (tročlana pridjevska sintagma, determinatori su *prazna* i *napuštena*, dok je indikator *kuća*; u pjesmi se nazire kako je riječ o metonimiji zatvorenog svijeta lirskog objekta; u determinatorima su semovi metaforički inducirani i približno ih možemo odrediti jednim semom [+samo], indikator *kuća* određuje se semom [+zatvoreno], u intersemskom raspršenju osvaja se navedeno pjesmino značenje)

(*kuću*) *grli paprat* (iako je dio atributne rečenice, možemo je razmatrati kao trokomponentnu jednostavnu rečenicu; determinatori su subjekt *paprat* i predikat *grli*, dok je indikator objekt *kuća*; iz pjesmina značenja uočavamo da je riječ o razradi zatvorenog unutarnjeg svijeta lirskog objekta, sem determinatora *paprat* metaforički je induciran i može se označiti kao [+vječno], a sem drugog determinatora *grliti* je [+blisko]; intersemsko raspršenje približava se pjesminu značenju)

široka večer (dvočlana sintagma; determinator je *široka*, indikator je *večer*; iz pjesme uočavamo da je riječ o temporalnoj oznaci svijeta koji želi narušiti zatvoreni svijet lirskog objekta; u determinatoru inducira se sem [+veliko], a u indikatoru [+vječno]; u intersemskom raspršenju pojavljuje se prethodno iznesena metaforička ideja)

već su grobari odnijeli iz razvaljene kuće / sujetlucave koralje i zlatne kanarinice (poetska rečenica; trokomponentna jednostavna rečenica; razmotrit ćemo je kao spoj dviju sintagmi (*razvaljena kuća*, *zlatni kanarinac*) i spoj subjekta (*grobari*), predikata (*odnijeli*) i priložne oznake mjesta (*iz (razvaljene) kuće*); u pjesmi se nazire kako je riječ o konačnom rušenju zatvorenog svijeta lirskog objekta; prva pridjevska sintagma *razvaljena kuća* sadrži determinator *razvaljen* sa semom [+jako] i indikator *kuća* sa semom [+zatvoreno]; druga sadrži determinator *zlatni* koji također sadrži sem [+jako] i indikator *kanarinac* koji sadrži sem [+zatvoreno] – metonimijska povezanost s pticom u krletci; intersemsko raspršenje u sintagmama govori o rušenju zatvorenog svijeta; također je slična situacija i u rečenici *grobari su iz kuće odnijeli* pri čemu se s determinatorom *grobari* veže sem [+smrt] čime se u intersemskom raspršenju signalizira navedena ideja.)

(*priče su se*) u *tišinu razišle* (dvočlana sintagma *razići se u tišinu* sastoji se od determinatora *razići se* koji nosi sem [+vječno] i indikator *tišina* koja nosi sem [+početno]; intersemsko raspršenje nagovještava novi početak lirskog objekta i svijeta)

uteg bola (dvočlana sintagma koja se sastoji od determinatora *uteg* i indikatora *bol* pri čemu determinator *uteg* nosi sem [+teško] i time intenzivira indikator, tj. njegovo denotativno značenje; iz pjesmina značenja uočava se da je riječ o prihvaćanju života i svijeta kao nesreće i boli)

ZAKLJUČAK

U ovom smo se radu bavili hiperbolom i primarno iznjedrili singularitete u njezinoj retoričkoj definiciji. Tomu je tako jer se neka retorička značenja prenose u definiciju hiperbole kao tropa i njezine poetske funkcije, a nužno ih je razraditi na semantičkoj osi. Semantičnost hiperbole razradili smo orijentirajući se na razinu osnovnih sintaktičkih jedinica njezine realizacije. U tom smo se pristupu referirali na strukturalističke zasade lingvistike i poetike, te Chomskyjeve semičke analize. S obzirom da je riječ o poeziji kojoj je temeljna tvorbena jedinica metafora, razmatrali smo metaforičku indukciju semova i intersemskih raspršenja nastojeći dohvatiti moć i djelovanje hiperboličkog značenja u pjesmi. S obzirom na shemu metaforičke rešetke i derivaciju hiperbole iz metafore (koja ne predmnijeva isključivo konstitutivni tropološki formalizam), nametnula su nam se daljnja promišljanja ove problematike. Prvo je vezano za složenu međuovisnost retorike i poetike, tj. u kojoj je mjeri analiza hiperbole pitanje učinka rada metafore unutar teksta ili između teksta i pripadnog jezičnog i kulturnog konteksta, tj. koliko se hiperbolu u poetskom diskurzu treba smatrati poetemom (poetičkim elementom), a ne samo stilemom. Predstoji istraživanje razine tekstema i primjene na drugim pjesničkim iskustvima kako bi se jasnije uvidio problem.

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Summary: CONTRIBUTION TO THE SEMANTIC THEORY OF POETIC HYPERBOLE

In this paper we resume the current knowledge about poetic hyperbole. It is related to rhetorics, stylistics, semantics, and pragmatics. Within all these fields, we point out the defects of the rhetoric definition and offer precise semantic definition so that this thesis would be operative in stylistics. Combining views like Jakobsonian theory of poetry as metaphor, Black's interactionistic theory of metaphor, Russian and American heritage of structuralist poetics and Chomskian semic analysis we postulate a semantic model of hyperbole, when it is derived from metaphor in a metaphoric phrase made of two or more elements or poetic sentence.

Keywords: hyperbole, semantics, stylistics, analysis, model.

Nataša Šofranac
University of Belgrade
natasha.sofranac@gmail.com

“OF COMFORT AND DISPAIRE” – A TRIUMPH OF STOICISM IN SHAKESPEARE’S TRAGEDIES (EXAMPLE OF *HAMLET*)

Original research paper

Abstract: Shakespeare depicted love in all its “infinite variety” throughout his plays and, notably, sonnets. Selfish, egotistic, elusive, tragic, unconditional, parental, filial, spousal, destructive, bi-/homosexual... we can all find ourselves somewhere along this spectrum. More than its type or sub-type, Shakespeare’s centre of interest was the power and outcomes of love. Transformative or healing, love turns into sacrifice and forgiveness in tragedies, or playful exchange between lovers in comedies. Following Plato and the Renaissance Neo-Platonists, Shakespeare made a clear distinction between physical love and its pure, elevated form known as platonic. Gender differences are also conspicuous in love. Yet, given the playful tug-of-love in the latter and the tragic sufferance in the former, the conclusion is that Stoics got it right – only the imperturbable survive in the end, because they are not “passion’s slaves.”

Keywords: emotions, Plato, Stoicism, Shakespeare, madness, gender.

Former Artistic Director of Shakespeare’s Globe, Dominic Dromgoole, called Shakespeare an emotional gymnasium where you can rehearse all feelings in a safe environment (Edmondson & Holbrook, 2016: 140). Indeed, emotions seem to be the lifeblood of Shakespeare’s plays. The OED’s first citation of ‘emotion’ is from 1602, meaning “an agitation of mind, an excited mental state,” with ‘emotion’ conceived as ‘passion’ (Escolme, 2014: xix). It is a heightened emotional state, with a clear sense of ‘motion’ in ‘emotion’, as we are ‘moved’ in such states. The early modern ideas drew on Aristotelian concepts of rest and motion, taken up

"OF COMFORT AND DISPAIRE" – A TRIUMPH OF STOICISM IN SHAKESPEARE'S TRAGEDIES (EXAMPLE OF *HAMLET*)

by Wright in his *Passions of the Mind in General* (Escolme, 2014: xxii). The fear of emotion is that of losing self-control, as passions were conceived a somatic excess. Humoral imbalance led to sickness and insanity. Much as the important Christian thinkers thought passions desirable part of Godly life, there is the need to restrain and moderate them. Cultural materialism, notably Jonathan Dollimore, named this problematic a subversion/containment debate (Escolme, 2014: xxvi). In *From Passions to Emotions*, Thomas Dixon suggests that a range of scholarly works since the 1970s have sought to rehabilitate the passions from an antagonism with reason, because "thinking, willing and feeling are intertwined with one another (Escolme, 2014: xxxii). The entire history of philosophy has been characterized with a view that emotions are to be subjected at all times to almighty reason. Excessive passion was madness caused by humoral imbalances and mad figures of the early modern drama are excessive subjectivities, objects of both comedy and compassion. Burton and Ferrand (author of *Erotomania*) wrote about love melancholy related to the state of insanity and driving figures in the drama to extremes of action and inaction (Escolme, 2014: xxxvi). But, although human love can be benevolent and selfless, it needs policing because it should follow the light of reason instead of being a violent and furious passion. It undoes the gendered subject, rendering men effeminate and turning women into active agents. That is why there is so much gender bending in Shakespeare's comedies and problem plays. Gentle Viola is capable of all the admirable things that shift Orsino's attention from Olivia to her, his page – would this have been possible if he had really loved Olivia, or was that but love for love itself, mere fantasy? But love madness is found pleasurable in romantic plays, because it is un-selfish, it is de-individuating, undoing the self. Orlando does not want to be cured of love, though he goes to see the "love doctor" who is love-sick himself/herself. David Schalkwyk argues that love is not an emotion *per se*, but "a form of behaviour over time," involving a range of emotions (Escolme, 2014: 113). But love is not the only emotion in Shakespeare's plays – there are jealousy, vanity, shame, fear, narcissism (self-love) and, of course, hatred. While "positive" emotions are mainly shown reticently, being suppressed or denied, "negative" ones are overt, vehement and destructive. Alienation, denial and disowning are the main patterns. Agonizing memories, trauma, betrayal, violence, grief – they all emanate from emotional core. The gender aspect gives additional dimension to

modern interpretations of Shakespeare's plays, as emotions and, in particular, their expression, are womanly, unworthy of manhood. If men betray them, they are weak, cowardly or undergoing a nervous breakdown.

Pure emotion – love

The title of this paper is from Shakespeare's Sonnet 144, about different forms of love. Plato's traceability in Shakespeare, through Montaigne, leads us to a clear distinction between most sublime forms of love and the baser ones. *The Sonnets* have been linked with *The Republic* and *The Symposium*. Medcalf, Taylor and Grey¹ have argued that Shakespeare had read Ficino's 1484 translation of *The Symposium* and Jean de Serres' Latin translation published in Paris in 1578 (Kambaskovic-Sawers, 2015: 17). Ficino was a great Neo-Platonist with a decisive influence on Montaigne.

As suggested by Danijela Kambaskovic,² different techniques are used in the two sections of the *Sonnets* to promote the same philosophical ends. Both sections showcase unabated desire for a spiritual communion which goes beyond sexual exchange. Both explore the creative implications of an abject battle with love madness. Unlike *marriage, they place focus on emotion— not procreation—as the main motivator for creation* (Kambaskovic-Sawers, 2015: 24). The defining characteristics of Plato's good love, then, are neither its sexual orientation nor its consummation status, but its ability to inspire and to last. Plato's bad love is the love of the body, which, "based on what is mutable, must be inconstant." Noble love is characterised by its unrelenting, sustained desire, and the ability of this desire to inspire immortal work.

¹ Stephen Medcalf (1994). Shakespeare on Beauty, truth and transcendence. In A. Baldwin and S. Hutton (eds.), *Platonism and the English Imagination* (117-125). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

² The author is indebted and grateful to Danijela Kambaskovic, a friend and the official best professor of UWA as voted by her students and colleagues; and to Professor Bridget Escolme, for this extraordinary book and friendly talk in Shakespeare's Globe, 2011. This is a symbolic way of thanking them and, at the same time, bringing their work closer to the readers who may not have encountered their works yet.

"OF COMFORT AND DISPAIRE" – A TRIUMPH OF STOICISM IN SHAKESPEARE'S TRAGEDIES (EXAMPLE OF *HAMLET*)

The Sonnets portray two intense loves felt by the same person for two different people of different genders. Both sections of *The Sonnets* are brought to an equivalent philosophical footing when Shakespeare renders the gender of the beloved irrelevant to what is shown as the fundamental purpose of submission to love madness: pursuit of inspiration and creative immortality. The strategy is both deeply innovative and fundamentally indebted to the Platonic philosophy of love.

Love madness as a condition for inspiration

Plato saw love as a unique, heightened state of mind, supreme amongst divine madnnesses:

And in the divine kind [of madness] we distinguished four types: [1] the inspiration of the prophet [...] that of the mystic, [...] that of the poet, and a fourth type, which we declare to be the highest, the madness of a lover. (1989: 265)

Theseus in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* mentions three categories of madmen: "lunatic, lover and poet" (V.i.8.). Rosalind in *As You Like It* says "Love is merely a madness; and, I tell you, deserves as well a dark house and a whip as madmen do; and the reason why they are not so punish'd and cured is that the lunacy is so ordinary that the whippers are in love too (III.ii.385.)," while Olivia in *Twelfth Night*, literally locks the enamoured Malvolio up in a dark cellar till he sobers up.

Plato's word for "madness" is *mania*. As a psychiatric term, *mania* still, to this day, denotes the same as it did for Plato: an unnaturally heightened state of mind, characterised by contradictory emotions and loss of control: "So between joy and anguish [the soul] is distraught... perplexed and frenzied; with madness upon [it], [it] ...the soul has found in [the beloved] the only physician for [its] grievous suffering." (Plato, 1989: 251)

Yet, according to Plato, madness must be pursued, experienced and used creatively, if one is ever to achieve poetic greatness:

If any man come to the gates of poetry without the madness of the Muses, persuaded that skill alone will make him a good poet, then shall he and his works of sanity with him be brought to nought by the poetry of madness (Kambaskovic-Sawers, 2015: 19).

Professor Bridget Escolme provides us with a special insight into the excess of women's love in *Antony and Cleopatra* and *All's Well*. The idea of love's amorality, outside the gendered and moral boundaries where the heroines had to be places, is wonderfully staged in the Indian production by Arpana Gujarati, with the unabashedly excessive love of Heli for Bharatram (Escolme, 2014: 133). In no other play is there such an urge to justify the female character and to insist on her chastity as in *All's Well*, given her inappropriate excess of emotions and humiliatingly mad pursuit of love, though unrequited, to which Helena admits:

... it hurts not him
 That he is loved of me: I follow him not
 By any token of presumptuous suit;
 Nor would I have him till I do deserve him;
 Yet never know how that desert should be.
 I know I love in vain, strive against hope;
 Yet in this captious and intenible sieve
 I still pour in the waters of my love
 And lack not to lose still: thus, Indian-like,
 Religious in mine error, I adore
 The sun, that looks upon his worshipper,
 But knows of him no more. (I.3.522-533)

Love in Shakespeare transcends all the boundaries of subdivision to encapsulate the very essence of human love. Whether it is heterosexual, homoerotic or pure friendship, it is irrelevant. The purity and spirituality of it comes from God.

One of the greatest love poets, Shakespeare's contemporary John Donne, writes about the "ecstasy" in his eponymous poem, where two lovers are "like sepulchral statues" in a wordless spiritual communion:

We see by this it was not sex;
 But as all several [distinct] souls contain
 Mixture of things, they know not what,
 Love these mixed souls doth mix again,
 And makes both one, each this and that.
 [...]
 So must pure lovers' souls descend

"OF COMFORT AND DISPAIRE" – A TRIUMPH OF STOICISM IN SHAKESPEARE'S TRAGEDIES (EXAMPLE OF *HAMLET*)

To affections, and to faculties
Which sense may reach and apprehend...
To our bodies turn we then...
(Ferguson, Salter & Stallworthy, 2005: 307)

The ideal spiritual love is not immortal, though. "The Phoenix and the Turtle," Shakespeare's allegorical poem from 1601, is precisely about its death:

So they lov'd, as love in twain
Had the essence but in one;
Two distincts, division none:
Number there in love was slain.

[...]

That it cried, "How true a twain
Seemeth this concordant one!
Love has reason, reason none,
If what parts can so remain."

[...]

Death is now the Phoenix' nest,
And the Turtle's loyal breast
To eternity doth rest,

Leaving no posterity:
'Twas not their infirmity,
It was married chastity.

Truth may seem but cannot be;
Beauty brag but 'tis not she;
Truth and beauty buried be.

(Ferguson, Salter & Stallworthy, 2005: 270)

The early modern readers were taught to restraint, control and moderation, against indulging passions. Grief, not just love or anger, were to be contained: "Moderate lamentation is the right of the dead," says the Countess to Helena, mourning the death of her father, and thus echoes the words of Claudius and Gertrude calling upon Hamlet to stop the unnatural woe and "cast off the nightly colour." It was brutish to feel nothing, but to feel too much was equally unreasonable and animalistic. Thomas Playfere

in *The Mean of the Mourning* (1595) calls excessive weeping economically unproductive, juxtaposing rain to sea storms and deluge (Escolme, 2014: xiv). Excessive emotions were politically subversive, such as Ophelia's madness for the "ill-breeding minds" and their dangerous conjectures. The containment of women's emotions and sexuality, manifest in corpses and statues of the plays' heroines as the preferred state that men are at ease with, reflects in the need to silence down the madding, insane Ophelia and her ditties. Despite the attempts to police emotions through tracts and sermons, the Elizabethan society was a culture of demonstrative shows of both anger and affection, unlike the repressed Victorian Stoicism. Why then is Horatio Hamlet's ideal man whom he will wear in the heart's core? How does he manage to resist all the fingers that want to play on his stops and pluck out the heart of his mystery? The right balance of his humours saves him beyond the metatheatrical ending of the play, as the only survivor to testify of the bloody, carnal and unnatural acts.

The great tragedies – exemplified by *Hamlet*

Bridget Escolme suggests that the early modern period was rather anti-Stoical (2014: 229); it even satirized Stoicism and protested against the immunity to the suffering imposed upon man by God (Thomas Adams' sermon on *England's Sickness*, 1615 and Ludwig Lavater's sermons, 1586). Seneca himself was a Stoic, but approving of weeping, just not howling. In tragedies, emotional distress is the main catalyst of action. It is either the excess or the lack of emotions that drive the tragic heroes and their deliberations.

When Shakespeare's tragic heroines unleashed their emotions and words (otherwise silent and suppressed), they typically suffered from what Renaissance called erotomania, illness of emotional and biological roots, typical of young women, unlike the intellectual melancholy typical (and trendy) among learned young men. Men voiced their feelings for women mostly over their dead bodies (or statues), when it was too late.

Love does not have a healing or redeeming power in these plays. It is love, or maybe more the lack of love, its denial and disowning, that spur the tragic action and sets the scene for denouement. Even when there is love, it is often self-love or incestuous love that prevails. The focus is on

"OF COMFORT AND DISPAIRE" – A TRIUMPH OF STOICISM IN SHAKESPEARE'S TRAGEDIES (EXAMPLE OF *HAMLET*)

how emotions are expressed in extreme, catatonic conditions. While "positive" emotions are mainly shown reticently, suppressed or denied, "negative" ones are overt, vehement and destructive. Hamlet finds himself "unpacking his heart like a whore" (II.ii.585), instead of acting like a man, which is an echo of Lady Macbeth's imperative for her husband. He denies love to Ophelia, says that he has never loved her, but when she is dead, he makes a spectacular love confession in her grave, challenging her brother. Similarly, Lear plucks his favourite child Cordelia out of his heart and enkindles the fatherly love in him only when holding her lifeless body in his arms. Denial and disowning are a pattern present from the very outset, so Cordelia inexplicably refuses to tell the truth, even when everybody sees where it is going. She lets her sisters lie and get her part, thus not only accepting her own banishment and dowerlessness, but consciously leaving her father to the mercy of her avaricious sisters. Ophelia's love, on the other hand, was smothered and silenced down just like her identity, autonomy and voice all her life. It cost her sanity to finally speak up and demand to be heard.

Harold Bloom protested against Hamlet tormenting Ophelia into insanity. He believes that Hamlet didn't need love, but the solitary freedom eliciting unreasonable affection for him. Shakespeare wisely avoided the only ending that would be worse than death for Ophelia – marrying Hamlet! (Bloom, 2003: 43)

Clinically, Ophelia's behaviour is typical of what the Renaissance called erotomania, illness of emotional and biological roots, typical of young women, unlike the intellectual melancholy typical (and trendy) among learned young men. From the seventies, there has been a feminist discourse reading Ophelia's madness as protest and rebellion. The furthest this was taken was Melissa Murray's agit-prop performance of Ophelia in 1979, for the English theatre company "Hormone Imbalance." In this rendition, Ophelia becomes a lesbian and runs away with her maid to join a guerrilla commune (Brooker & Widdowson, 1996: 39).

The most extreme Freudian interpretation reads *Hamlet* as two parallel psychodramas about incestuous relationships that both Hamlet and Ophelia had. As represented by Theodore Lidz (Welsh, 2001: 27), this reading sees Hamlet as neurotically attached to his mother, while Ophelia has an unresolved attachment to her father. She fantasizes about a lover

who will abduct her or even kill her father, and when it actually happens, guilt and residual incestuous feelings destroy her reason. She breaks down because she does not accomplish her developmental task of redirecting her sexual attachment from her father to the man she can truly be a woman with.

The gender aspect gives additional dimension to modern interpretations of Shakespeare's plays. Even in her madness, Ophelia sings of love, while Hamlet is bitter and harsh in his feigned madness. As Freud noticed in "Mourning and Melancholy," punishing the former object of one's love was punishing oneself. Seeing that love has brought nothing but pain and disillusionment to him, he decides to wipe it out of the tablets of his mind and focus on his mission (Cavell, 2003: 236).

The context of Ophelia's insanity is sexual frustration, so its description introduces gender inflexion in accounts of madness. Her madness is somatized and its context eroticized, while Hamlet's is politicized and subject to social criticism. Ophelia is not playful and strong-willed like Portia, to outwit men in sharp repartees or to oppose her father's will and choose for herself.

Elaine Showalter contrasts Hamlet's metaphysical, culture-related madness, to Ophelia's madness as product of female body and nature (1994: 229). Her virginal and empty white is contrasted to his solemn, scholarly black. Giving away her flowers and herbs, she symbolically deflowers herself. Virginity is the highest value a woman could possess, so as long as she is still an unconquered fortress, she can tender it, trade with it and negotiate (c.f. *The Merchant of Venice* on a higher, playful note and *Troilus and Cressida*, *Hamlet*, *Twelfth Night*, *All's Well...in* rather disparaging tones).

Professor Stanley Wells concludes that Shakespeare was aware of the danger of mistaking animal desire for a higher passion and of the misuse of sexual instinct leading to rape, murder and prostitution of the best in man (Wells, 2010: 250). But he knew too that sex is the component of even the highest forms of human love, that it can lead to a sublime realization of the self in near-mystical union of personalities such as the one in "The Phoenix and the Turtle." It takes the knowledge of one's inner self and all emotional complexities that he helps us explore, because, to quote Antoni Cimolino of Stratford Festival, Ontario: "Shakespeare is like

"OF COMFORT AND DISPAIRE" – A TRIUMPH OF STOICISM IN SHAKESPEARE'S TRAGEDIES (EXAMPLE OF *HAMLET*)

love – it's technically possible to live without it, but once you've experienced that rush in your heart, you can't settle for anything less" (Edmondson & Holbrook, 2016: 134).

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**LINGUISTIC REALIZATION OF PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL
RESPONSES TO ANGER IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN:
WHAT LANGUAGES REVEAL ABOUT BODY, MIND, AND CULTURE**

Jelena M. Rakić

Independent researcher, Belgrade
ellen.jelena@gmail.com

**LINGUISTIC REALIZATION OF PHYSIOLOGICAL AND
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Original research paper

Abstract: Psycho-physiological responses to emotions are a prominent feature of many emotional experiences. In language, these responses can stand for a whole emotional experience by means of conceptual metonymies. Although it is generally understood that emotions are relatively universal psycho-biological mechanisms, the linguistic realization of responses to them need not correspond fully to the objectively observed psychological and physiological changes to one's organism. This paper addresses the linguistically coded range of psycho-physiological responses to anger in English and Serbian, based on the research of the British National Corpus and Corpus of Contemporary Serbian. The reactions that are in focus of this paper are coded with phrases containing a prepositional phrase with WITH in English (*with anger*), and OD+Ngen in Serbian (*od besa*). The emotion nouns that follow denote concomitant emotions, which are simultaneous with the reaction coded in the language. One aim is to show the differences English and Serbian display in relation to the objectively measured changes in anger. The other is to compare the linguistic means each language employs. The results have shown both similarities and differences – the former stemming from the fact that both languages belong to the so-called Western civilization, while the latter highlight the underlying cultural differences....

Keywords: anger, concomitant emotion, psycho-physiological responses, conceptual metonymy, culture.

Introduction

It is generally understood that emotions are psychological and biological phenomena which are common for all the people in the world. The locus

of emotions is in the brain, but they necessarily involve an individual's body and affect his or her brain, as they are automatically triggered, without an individual's conscious participation (Damasio, 1999: 51). In this sense, emotions are universal – in fact, some approaches acknowledge a set of so-called basic emotions, which are said to develop very early during ontogenesis, have distinct facial expressive manifestation, be caused by similar stimuli across cultures, and result in same or similar expressive reactions (see Ortony & Turner, 1990; Ekman, 1992; Mesquita, Frijda & Scherer, 1997; Alvarado & Jameson, 2011). Although the list of emotions considered as basic varies depending on the researcher and the criteria applied, anger is included in all of them, as a strong feeling of displeasure and hostility caused by a real or perceived wrong.

Another universal regarding emotions is that all languages contain units that enable the speakers to talk about them, including expressions that refer to psycho-physiological responses to emotions. However, this is where universality seems to fade: not only do languages differ in the size and conceptual content of their emotional vocabulary, but the linguistic realization of the aforementioned reactions need not correspond fully to the objective psychological and physiological changes observed in neurological and psychological experiments.

Language, in its turn, develops in a particular society which is governed by its own implicit cultural norms, with language and culture continually influencing and giving shape to one another (see Kachru & Smith, 2008: 31). Speaking of emotions, this would mean that language plays a key role in the conceptualization of emotions – Feldman Barret & Lindquist (2008: 252–253) claim that children acquire emotional categories that are prominent in their culture not because of their biological prominence, but because it is precisely those emotional categories that serve a particular purpose in the society they were born into.

In this paper, we have purported to examine whether these cultural factors play a role in that part of the emotional vocabulary that seems to be motivated by biological factors to the highest degree. The subject of our analysis is linguistic realization of physiological and psychological responses to anger in English and Serbian, based on the examples taken from the corpora. If we assume that anger is a universal, basic emotion, it is expected that both languages will share a range of expressions related to

responses to it. Hence, we have compared the findings from the corpora with the experimentally measured physiological changes in anger.

However, if cultural norms permeate even the biologically motivated expressions to a significant degree, differences in conceptualizations are bound to emerge. The upshot of this is that typical linguistic units denoting responses to emotions can be interpreted as guidelines for channeling one's behaviour and appraising the behaviour of someone else, thus revealing the typical view of emotions in a particular culture.

What are emotions?

Fehr & Russel (1984: 464) started their paper on the prototype of emotion with an axiomatic statement that “[E]veryone knows what an emotion is until asked to give a definition. Then, it seems, no one knows.” Indeed – people seem to know quite a lot about their own emotional experiences, as well as of those of others; they seem to be able to recognize and put linguistic labels on emotional states such as *anger*, *happiness* or *sadness*; they seem to have a shared knowledge of what provokes certain emotions in a particular socio-cultural community, and they seem to have mastered an implicit set of rules that stipulates what an “appropriate” way to manifest a particular emotion is. And yet, a comprehensive, well-rounded definition of emotion(s) remains elusive for both the lay persons and scientists alike, despite the existing bulk of literature on the subject.

Part of the complexity lies in the fact that emotions are both very private, as their ultimate locus is, in fact, the experiencer's brain and body, and very public phenomena, as they are interpreted on the basis of the shared values and conceptualizations in a particular community. Hence, an individual emotional experience is always somewhere between biological and cultural factors (Mastsumoto & Hwang, 2012: 103).

This biological component of emotion, i.e. physiological reaction, occupies a significant place in the three main emotion theories, as classified by *The Oxford Companion to Emotion and the Affective Sciences* (Sander & Scherer, 2009: 146–150).

In evolutionary and structuralist theories (Darwin, James–Lange, Ekman), emotions are considered to be genetically encoded results of

evolutionary adaptations to the environment. William James viewed emotions primarily as a product of bodily changes: in a particular situation, our body reacts the way it is wired to, and our experience of these changes is what constitutes an emotion.



Fig. 1: Evolutionary/Structuralist theories

Cognitive-appraisal theories (Arnold, Lazarus), however, insist on the idea that emotions are created based on judgements, or appraisals about the world, which are often quick and automatic, but conscious in nature. In other words, thinking and feelings are inseparable:

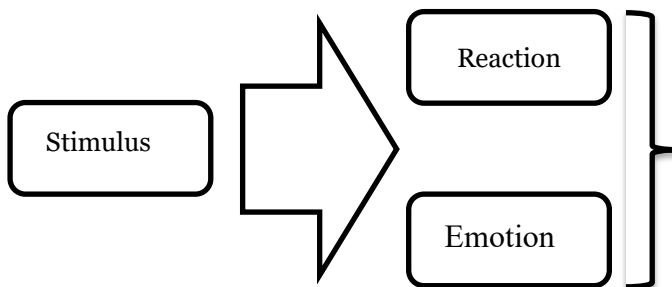


Fig. 2: Cognitive-appraisal theories

The social constructivist perspective (Scherer, Lutz) claims that emotions are words, concepts, metaphors, and other mental representations, rendering them as social and/or cultural constructs. Although seemingly this theory devaluates the biological component of emotions, it is intrinsically present in their definition by the very fact that emotions are defined by how people talk about them and how they are coded in language, as most, if not all languages refer to some kind of physiological, bodily change in their stock of emotional vocabulary:

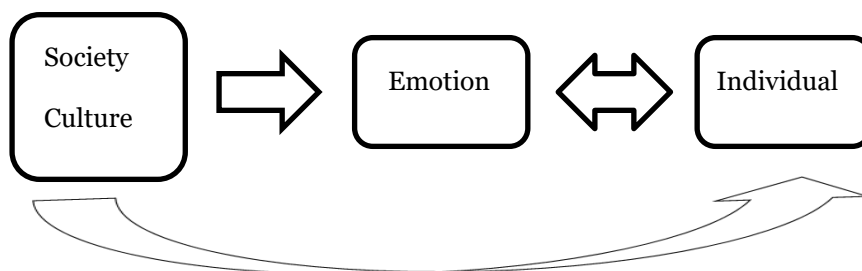


Fig. 3: Social-constructivist theories

To sum up, defining a multi-faceted concept like emotion is a difficult task, dependent on the aims of the researcher and the theory that he or she embraces. What remains a constant in various approaches, though, is its biological, or physiological component, which is also revealed through language use. Therefore, for the purposes of this paper, we will assume that the author and the readers possess the intuitive knowledge of what an emotion is, and more precisely, what anger is, and we will proceed to investigate how physiological components of anger are present in English and Serbian emotional vocabulary, respectively.

Psychophysiology

According to Andreassi's (2007: 2) definition, "Psychophysiology is the study of relations between psychological manipulations and resulting physiological responses, measured in the living organism, to promote understanding of the relation between mental and bodily processes." In other words, the underlying idea of psychophysiology is that every change in the mental and/or emotional state is accompanied by an appropriate change in the physiological state. Psycho-physiological responses are typically elicited in laboratory conditions, when participants are presented with a stimulus set of pictures, sounds and video clips, or, in case of anger, are interacting with an experimenter, who displays a standardized obnoxious behaviour (Wilhelm & Grossman, 2010).

The principal areas of physiological data acquisition include muscle activity; sweat gland activity; eye movement; cardiac response, blood pressure and blood volume; respiration; and electrical activity of the brain.

Andreassi (2007) notes the following responses associated with anger:

- Increased heart rate
- Increased blood pressure
- Increased sweating
- Increased cardiac output
- Respiration changes that enhance fight-or-flight reaction
- Left brain hemisphere activation
- Higher frontalis and corrugator muscle activity
- Rise in skin temperature¹
- Pupil constriction²

Paul Ekman, a pioneer in the study of the relationship between emotions and facial expressions, cites the following reactions and expressive behaviours related to anger (Ekman, 2003: 135):

- Feeling of pressure, tension and heat
- Increase in heart rate
- Increase in perspiration
- Rise in blood pressure
- Reddening of the face
- Biting down hard
- Moving toward the target of anger

If we assume that the registered changes are universal for all people regardless of the language they speak and/or the culture they belong to, the question that arises next is which of these are coded in the English and Serbian languages, and to what extent the linguistic differences can be associated with the underlying cultural differences.

¹ Geeraerts (2006: 242) notes, however, that the increase in body temperature in anger amounts to mere 0.15 degrees Celsius, questioning whether an individual can be aware of it, and whether such a small objective rise can motivate a host of expressions that associate anger and the feeling of warmth in languages.

² Andreassi (2007: 223) notes that some research suggests that females and light-eyed people are more likely to be sensitive in this manner.

Emotions, Language, and Culture

Providing a comprehensive definition of culture is in no way simpler than doing so for emotion, given the fact that both involve defining a psychological reality for members of a particular group. According to Spencer-Oatey (2008: 3), “Culture is a fuzzy set of basic assumptions and values, orientations to life, beliefs, policies, procedures and behavioural conventions that are shared by a group of people, and that influence (but do not determine) each member's behaviour and his/her interpretations of the 'meaning' of other people's behaviour.”

Consequently, emotions in a particular group are culturally determined, as it is culture that filters what aspects of an emotional experience are salient enough to become part of a cultural model of emotions valid in a particular community. Emotions are, therefore, instances of a “cultural conceptualization” (Sharifian, 2011: 5), patterns of knowledge distributed across the cultural group at a single point in time. Closer to the subject of our present research, different cultural models in different communities assign different values to the same physiological reactions or parts of the body, which is manifested in the sanctioned behaviour of the group members, including the linguistic behaviour as well.

Questions that are often posed with regard to the relationship between emotions and culture include the following:

- What emotions are salient in a particular cultural group?
- What stimuli elicit particular emotions in a particular cultural group?
- What are socially acceptable ways of expressing emotions in a particular cultural group?
- What is lexicalized as an emotion in a particular cultural group?
- What is the conceptual content of the emotion labels in a particular language of a cultural group?

Some of these necessarily involve a reference to the linguistic data, which points to the necessity of examining languages for gaining greater insight into the conceptualization of emotions.

With its rich classification system, language categorizes phenomena in a way that is useful in a particular society, as it organizes knowledge that reflects the needs, interests, and experiences of individuals and cultures (Geeraerts & Cuyckens, 2007: 5); lexemes and expressions of a language represent conventional cultural categories and associations that the speakers find useful in their day-to-day interactions with each other and the environment.

Speaking of conceptualizing emotions in different languages, it can be assumed that differences stem from cultural factors, if we accept the stance that emotions as a psycho-biological adaptive mechanism are universal.

In the following sections we purport to investigate whether these cultural factors can be perceived in conceptualizing anger in English and Serbian even when we focus on the subsection of emotional vocabulary that profiles immediate reactions resulting from an emotional episode.

In order to do so, we have investigated a range of conceptual metonymies. Panther & Thornburg (2007: 242) define a conceptual metonymy as a cognitive process in which a source content provides access to a target content within one cognitive domain. In our case, examples denoting body parts and/or reactions in relation to an emotional experience constitute conceptual metonymies physiological reaction stands for anger (effect stands for cause): *hot with anger*, and physical agitation stands for anger: *shake with anger*.

It should be noted that the connection between the source and target domains is contingent; i.e. it is based on proximity, it is “shaped by experimental, perceptual, and motor interactions of humans with their environment, and their culture-specific beliefs and practices” (Panther & Thornburg, 2009: 16). Physiological reactions and their causes (in our case the emotion of anger) are by necessity contiguous. In other words, from the Gestalt of an emotional experience, which contains a panoply of simultaneous physiological reactions, profiling and linguistically coding just one – turning red in the face, or hands shaking – is an instance of a conceptual metonymy in language. Both the source domain of physiological reaction and the target domain of anger belong to the same conceptual domain of emotion because of the factual and perceived connection between particular emotions, body parts, and reactions. While

a physiological change is a symptom of anger, the anger is externalized by the highlighted physiological reaction (Dirven, 1997: 59).

Method and Procedure

To investigate whether there are differences in conceptual metonymies in English and Serbian, we have done a research on two corpora. For English, we used British National Corpus, which contains 100 million words, and its online interface Intellitext (University of Leeds), available at: <http://corpus.leeds.ac.uk/itweb/htdocs/Query.html#>.

For Serbian, we used Korpus savremenog srpskog jezika (SrpKor) [Corpus of Contemporary Serbian (version SrpKor2013)], which contains cca. 110 million words from sources originally written in Serbian (see Utvić, 2014: 247), and which is available at <http://www.korpus.matf.bg.ac.rs/korpus/>.

The search strings that were considered in this analysis were *with anger* for English and *od besa* [with anger-GEN] for Serbian.

These strings were chosen because these prepositional phrases in both languages stand for the so called concomitant, or attending emotions.

The causal relationship between the emotion-cause and reaction-effect can be profiled in both languages using prepositional phrases with several prepositions – *with*, *out of*, *from*, and *for* in English, and *zbog*, *od*, and *iz* + Noun-GEN in Serbian. However, as Dirven (1997) and Radden (1998) noted for English, and Ivić (1954) and Stevanović (1989: 219) for Serbian, a spontaneous, automatic physiological reaction understood as a product of an internal force without any volitional participation or control on the part of the experienter, is coded with the prepositional phrases with *with* and *od*, respectively.

The *with/od* prepositional phrases denote causes of physiological reactions that are typically felt in the body parts most conspicuous in the communicative situation, i.e. they typically involve the face and the mouth, as well as the respiratory and vocal systems. Radden (1998: 281) states that concomitant, or attendant emotions allow these kinds of reactions:

1. Physiological and psychological states

2. Unintended and uncontrolled physiological processes
3. Unintended and uncontrolled vocal reactions

It is for this reason that we have opted to investigate similarities and differences between English and Serbian on this material precisely: the uncontrolled/uncontrollable nature of emotion as profiled in such phrases renders them as candidates for “pure” emotions, i.e. emotions determined primarily as psycho-biological phenomena, independent of cultural and/or societal norms involved in expressing emotions. However, we will attempt to show that even in this case cultural factors determine what becomes profiled in language.

The results that were automatically retrieved from the corpora were carefully read and examples that did not conform to our criterion of emotional concomitance were eliminated³. The search yielded 192 examples for the phrase *with anger*, and 89 examples for the phrase *od besa*.

The examples were then classified according to the nature of physiological and/or expressive reaction they denote. The principal groups we have established are

1. Visible changes, i.e. changes in the experiencer that can be discerned by persons other than the experiencer in a communicative situation
2. Invisible changes, i.e. changes that the experiencer is aware of, but which cannot be discerned by other people in a communicative situation

³ In English, vague examples such as “reacted with anger” were eliminated, as well as instances of WITH as a dependent preposition, e.g. “associated with anger”. For Serbian, as Stevanović (1989: 220) noted, the preposition OD can also stand with a conscious, volitional action, so such examples were eliminated from our analysis. Also, the lexeme BES in Serbian can also have a secondary meaning of recklessness, passion, or ecstasy, so examples containing the phrase *od besa* with this meaning were not taken into account either.

LINGUISTIC REALIZATION OF PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL RESPONSES TO ANGER IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN: WHAT LANGUAGES REVEAL ABOUT BODY, MIND, AND CULTURE

3. Psychological changes; i.e. changes which primarily refer to the experiencer's psychological state, and which may or may not be discerned by others.

From the example sentences, we extracted collocations wherever it was viable, and we created a set of tables comparing and contrasting the results in English in Serbian. Based on these results, we will offer an explanation that primarily relies on cultural factors.

Results and Discussion

1. Visible changes

A. Shaking

Both English and Serbian profile shaking as a prominent reaction. Its locus is most frequently the whole body, although profiling separate body parts is also possible.

SHAKING	English	Serbian
Whole body	tremble/shake/quiver/flutter/shudder/shimmer	tresti se [<i>shake</i>]/ drhtati [<i>tremble</i>]/ cepteti [<i>quiver</i>]/ uzdrhtati [<i>start shaking</i>]
Lips	tremble	–
Hands	shake/tremble	–
Chin	–	zaigrati [<i>start quavering</i>]
Legs	tremble/twitch	igrati [<i>quaver</i>]

Table 1: Reaction of shaking in English and Serbian

B. Posture

English, but not Serbian, profiles a change in posture as a reaction in anger. The body grows stiff, which may be the result of the experiencer's attempt to conceal the emotional state he or she is in. This can be related to the relatively stricter norms for expressing emotions in the English-speaking world, which results in a conscious attempt to prevent the uncontrolled reaction on the part of the experiencer, and in a more careful observation of the experiencer on the part of other participants in a communicative situation.

CHANGES IN POSTURE	English	Serbian
Stiffness	stiffen rigid/taut/stiff/tense	–

Table 2: Posture in English and Serbian

C. Facial changes

The face is an important element that provides non-verbal cues in communication, and therefore it is no wonder that there is a number of changes coded in both languages located in the face. Examples from the corpora highlight the importance of the face as a whole and of the eyes.

In both languages the contorted facial features are profiled as a reaction in anger. But, English also profiles the stiffness in the face as a whole, or in some parts that Serbian does not. Like in the previous instance, this can be brought into connection with a greater effort of the speakers of English to prevent any possible betrayal of anger.

LINGUISTIC REALIZATION OF PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL RESPONSES TO ANGER IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN: WHAT LANGUAGES REVEAL ABOUT BODY, MIND, AND CULTURE

FACIAL EXPRESSION	English	Serbian
Contortion	screwed up / contorted/ distorted/ twisting	izobličeno [<i>distorted</i>]
Stiffness	stiff/tight/ taut	–
Contortion of the mouth	twisted	–
Stiffness of the mouth	thin-lipped/compressed/ a tight line	–
Clenched jaw	clenched tight	–
Moving the chin	rise	–

Table 3: Facial expression in English and Serbian

As we have noted, the real, objectively measured physiological changes in anger do involve cardiovascular reactions that can result in the face turning red. Both languages code this with a multitude of possible collocations.

However, linguistic possibilities do not end there. Both English and Serbian have expressions with colour-words that do not reflect the actual changes. In both languages the face can turn paler than natural – in English the face turns white, and in Serbian yellow. As these changes are not motivated by physiological changes, their origin must be cultural in nature.

In Western civilization as a whole, the remnants of the ancient humoral theory, which dates back to the time of Hippocrates, are still present in emotional vocabulary. According to it, anger is caused by an excess of bile, and is associated with fire, warmth, and the yellow colour⁴. On the one hand, white face in anger in English can be related to the humoral theory insofar as OED cites a pale shade of yellow as one meaning of the lexeme WHITE. On the other hand, being pale is one of the symptoms of being ill. Interestingly enough, the OED definition of WHITE states that it is also a mark of an illness, as well as, obsoletely, a result of an emotion, providing an example of *white rage*. In Serbian, too, yellow is considered as an “unhealthy” colour (Ivić, 1995: 39), and yellow skin is considered to be a symptom of a disease, as is the colour green. Notably, bile is greenish in colour, so there might be an echo of the humoral theory in the Serbian conceptualization as well. So, both languages liken anger to a disease, because the cultural models of both recognize anger as a dangerous, negative emotion. Anger, just like a disease, disrupts normal human functioning in society. Whichever explanation is closer to the truth, both are cultural in nature.

Another peculiarity is the change of facial colour towards dark – black in English, and dark blue in Serbian. Such changes are not necessarily motivated by physiology, either, although it cannot be ruled out that the focus might be on the somewhat darker complexion resulting from the increased blood flow. Be that as it may, this conceptualization fits in with other, more general conceptualizations and cultural models in Western culture, in which things that are beneficial are metaphorically up, warm, and light, while those that are not are down, dark and cold. This conceptualization also highlights the negativity of anger in both cultures.

⁴ About humoral theory see Geeraerts, 2006: 231–247; 2010: 251–252; Kövecses, 2008: 77.

LINGUISTIC REALIZATION OF PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL RESPONSES TO ANGER IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN: WHAT LANGUAGES REVEAL ABOUT BODY, MIND, AND CULTURE

FACIAL COLOUR	English	Serbian
Red	reddden/flush/blush pink/flushed/red/red- faced/crimson	pocrveneti [<i>turn red</i> perf]/crveneti [<i>turn red</i> imperf] crven [<i>red</i>]/zajapuren [<i>flushed</i>]/ rumen [<i>crimson, pink</i>]
White	pale/white/livid/ashen	–
Yellow	–	požuteti [<i>turn yellow</i> perf]
Green	–	pozeleneti [<i>turn green</i> perf]
Dark	darken dark	–
Black	black	–
Blue	–	modar [<i>dark blue</i>]

Table 4: Facial colour in English and Serbian

Eyes have a very special function in a communicative situation, as they can transmit a lot of not-verbal information⁵. Therefore, we expected to find a host of expressions that refer to the changes in eyes in anger. However, the contrast between English and Serbian turned out to be immense.

Speakers of English seem to register meticulously even the tiniest indications of anger that escape the experiencer. The range of expressions

⁵ See Emery, 2000 for the evolution and function of “social gaze”.

and underlying conceptualizations is wide. Some connect it with heat, which is both physiologically and culturally explainable, by placing blaze in the eyes, or by making eyes send out light. The other group of changes is vaguer but focuses on the changes in the eyes that indicate unpleasantness, including the eyes turning cold or dark, which is in line with the more general cultural model in which bad things are cold and dark. We believe that this stems from the stricter norms for expressing anger amongst the English-speaking.

Serbian, on the other hand, lacks such a diversity: collocations that involved the eyes as the locus of anger were few. We came across only one example of eyes boiling with anger. However, only Serbian profiles closing the eyes as a prominent feature.

The only reaction profiled in both languages is crying. Although crying is typically associated with the emotion of sadness or grief, Ekman (2003: 92) reports that some research shows that crying ensues because of feeling helpless. In a similar vein, Efran & Smith (2011: 167–168) suggest that crying is a biological response of an organism while recovering from any intense emotion. They claim that language does not reflect this biological phenomenon accurately, as it treats the emotion-cause and the reaction of crying as simultaneous, which our data from both corpora confirm.

It seems that the speakers of Serbian do not profile such subtle cues like changes in the eyes when interpreting anger in a communicative situation, because of the cultural norms that allow other, more direct expressions of anger.

CHANGES IN EYES	English	Serbian
Burning	ablaze light/flare/blaze	–
Boiling	–	kipteti [<i>boil</i>]

LINGUISTIC REALIZATION OF PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL RESPONSES TO ANGER IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN: WHAT LANGUAGES REVEAL ABOUT BODY, MIND, AND CULTURE

Shining	flash/glitter/sparkle/spark/glint incandescent/sparking/ bright	–
Darkening	dark	–
Showing hostility	insensitive	–
Coldness	cold	–
Closing eyes	–	žmureti [<i>close one's eyes</i>]
Crying	weep/sob tears falling with anger	plakati [<i>cry</i>] suze udaraju [<i>tears burst</i>] uplakan [<i>in tears</i>]

Table 5: Eyes in English and Serbian

D. Changes in Voice and Vocal Expressive Behaviour

Voice is a medium through which we do a lot of communication – we not only communicate our thoughts and ideas, or relay messages, but the voice also conveys the emotional state of the speaker. Both English and Serbian profile changes in voice and in verbal expressive behaviour in a similar fashion.

The voice becomes loud, less clear and unpleasant with anger in both languages. English also profiles tension in voice, probably also a result of attempting to exert control and maintain the normal ring.

Serbian profiles changes in voice that stem from the actual respiratory changes. These are absent in English probably because the speakers of English do their best to mask the tell-tale signs of anger, which is implied by profiling tension in one's voice.

CHANGES IN VOICE	English	Serbian
Loud tone	huge/powerful	vikati [<i>yell</i>]
Tension	crack tight/taut	–
Unpleasant	snap/rise bitter/strident/edged	strašan [<i>horrible</i>]/piskav [<i>shrill</i>]
Unclear	thick	šištav [<i>hissing</i>]
Because of breathing problems	–	gušiti se [<i>choke</i>]
Foaming	–	zapeniti [<i>foam perf</i>]/peniti [<i>foam imperf</i>] zapenušan [<i>full of foam</i>]

Table 6: Voice in English and Serbian

Verbal expressive behaviour that deviates from the norm is profiled in both languages as screaming and uninhibited verbal expression that contains profanities. Notably, and in line with other conceptualizations, English also profiles attempts to refrain from such unseemly conduct in the form of incoherency.

VERBAL EXPRESSIVE BEHAVIOUR	English	Serbian
Incoherency	splutter incoherent	–

LINGUISTIC REALIZATION OF PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL RESPONSES TO ANGER IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN: WHAT LANGUAGES REVEAL ABOUT BODY, MIND, AND CULTURE

Uninhibition	loosen one's tongue	psovati [<i>swear</i>]
Screaming	scream	urlati/urlikati [<i>bellow</i>]

Table 7: Verbal expression in English and Serbian

E. Movement

As we have cited above, movement towards the object of anger is also one of the typical reactions, and both languages code it accordingly. In this case, we believe that listing the actual collocations from the corpora is impractical, as the range of possible kinetic reactions is highly situation-dependent. We have, however, marked the types of kinetic reactions found.

In both languages the experiencer of anger is likely to perform both repetitive (e.g. walking to and fro) and non-repetitive movements (e.g. gestures).

MOVEMENT	English	Serbian
Repetitive	+	+
Non-repetitive	+	+

Table 8: Movement in English and Serbian

This movement usually contains aggressive intentions, in line with the biological fight-or-flight mechanism. But examples from the corpora differ to some extent: Serbian codes aggressive behaviour towards oneself, other people, and things – typically striking – while in English aggression is typically directed towards inanimate objects. Once again, this reflects stricter social norms in English.

VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR	English	Serbian
Towards oneself	–	+
Towards other people	–	+
Towards things	+	+

Table 9: Violent behaviour in English and Serbian

2. Invisible Changes

By invisible changes we mean the changes that the experiencer of anger is aware of, but which are not necessarily perceived by the other participants in the communicative situation. In this sense, the stock of linguistically coded invisible changes provides insight into how speakers of languages conceptualize what they actually feel.

A. Changes in Temperature

As already noted, anger is associated with heat, both biologically and culturally. Hence, unsurprisingly, in both English and Serbian, the experiencer is said to feel hot, typically to a high degree. In both languages the heat is felt in the whole body. English also profiles blood and eyes as typical loci of this sensation.

WARMTH	English	Serbian
Whole body	burn/fume/blaze/seethe/ smoulder/boil hot	kipeti/kiptati [<i>boil</i>]
Blood	boil	–
Eyes	hot	–

Table 10: Warmth in English and Serbian

LINGUISTIC REALIZATION OF PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL RESPONSES TO ANGER IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN: WHAT LANGUAGES REVEAL ABOUT BODY, MIND, AND CULTURE

Contrary to physiological reality, in English the experiencer can qualify his or her sensation as going cold. The reasons for this are primarily cultural. In Western culture, emotions are related to heat, and the lack of them is related to coldness (Searle, 1979: 97–98). Rakić (2014: 387 et passim) found that in English the instances of what is denoted as “cold anger” refer to one particular subtype – anger in which a strong, uncontrollable reaction is absent. The experiencer seems calm as if he or she were not feeling anger at all. As emotions are valued less than reason in Western culture, all excessive emotional reactions are typically written off as unsound. But, when such expressions are absent, an angry individual behaves “normally”, which means that his or her reaction might be potentially more harmful, rendering cold anger even more dangerous (Lakoff & Kövecses, 1987: 216; Kövecses, 2005: 288–289). Such anger approaches the opposite pole on the metaphorical axis of emotions are hot, reason is cold, which is a Western cultural creation.

COLDNESS	English	Serbian
Whole body	go cold	–

Table 11: Coldness in English and Serbian

B. Circulatory Changes

The objectively measured circulatory changes are coded in both languages.

CIRCULATION	English	Serbian
Pulse	pulses thud pulse beats	krv udara [<i>blood beats</i>]
Blood rush	blood rushes to one’s head	–

Table 12: Circulatory changes in English and Serbian

C. Cutaneous Reaction

Although an increase in perspiration has been registered in anger, no such reaction was registered in the corpus of either language. The only skin-related reaction appeared in English, with hair standing upright away from the skin.

SKIN REACTION	English	Serbian
Whole body	bristle	–

Table 13: Skin reactions in English and Serbian

D. Feeling Sick

A number of physiological reactions in anger bear some similarity to physiological responses when an individual is feeling sick. Combined with the cultural notion that emotions in general, and particularly anger, are harmful, anger is conceptualized in both English and Serbian as an emotion that harms the experiencer like an illness does. English registers “symptoms” of anger more specifically than Serbian, coding weakness and dizziness in addition to the general feeling of being unwell.

FEELING UNWELL	English	Serbian
Feeling sick	sick/nauseous	pripasti (nekome) muka [<i>to befall (Noun-Experiencer-DAT) nausea-NOM</i>]
Feeling weak	weak	–
Feeling dizzy	dizzy	–

Table 14: Being unwell in English and Serbian

E. Blindness

**LINGUISTIC REALIZATION OF PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL
RESPONSES TO ANGER IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN:
WHAT LANGUAGES REVEAL ABOUT BODY, MIND, AND CULTURE**

Although anger does not literally make the experiencer lose his or her eyesight, an angry person may behave as if he or she is deprived of perception or insight. Combined with the existing more general metaphor that understanding is seeing, the picture that emerges is that an inability to see is an inability to judge clearly. Both languages register such instances, which shows that anger is perceived as a negative emotion in both.

BLINDNESS	English	Serbian
	to blind	obnevideo [gone blind]

Table 15: Blindness in English and Serbian

This conceptualization approaches psychological effects of anger, as blindness refers to mental activity, and not actual vision. This goes to show that the conceptualization of the mind and body in both English and Serbian is a continuum, rather than a clear-cut dichotomy.

Psychological Changes

Linguistic realizations of psychological changes in anger underscore the dichotomy between reason and emotions, and in this instance, there is no difference between the languages examined. At its mildest, anger causes confusion, and at its worst, it is equalled with pure madness. In between, both languages recognize the state of being “*out of oneself*”, which implies the co-existence of the Self – subsuming consciousness, perception, volition, control, and reasoning – and the Subject, which subsumes everything else – one’s beliefs or plans, the awareness of the outer world and one’s body, and so on. When an individual is dealing with a situation in which he or she must make a choice between two conflicting plans, beliefs or urges, metaphorically this situation is conceptualized as the dividing of the Self. (Lakoff, 1992: 10; 17–18). *Being out of one’s mind*, and *being in or coming to one’s senses* – expressions that both English and Serbian share – are examples of this metaphor.

Such a metaphorical system differs to an extent from the conceptualization of anger as madness – the metaphor of the divided self involves the simultaneous existence of the active, irrational part, which is overwhelmed by anger, and the passive part, which is supposed to take control eventually, while anger as madness assumes a complete lack of rationality.

IRRATIONALITY	English	Serbian
Confusion	helpless	ne razabirati se [<i>not to make out</i>]
Being out of one's self	be beside oneself/be out of oneself	biti van sebe [<i>be out of oneself</i>]
Madness	wild/mad	poludeti [<i>go crazy</i>] mahnit [<i>frenzied</i>] /izbezumljen [<i>distraught</i>]

Table 16: Irrationality in English and Serbian

Conclusion

From the number of examples taken from the corpora of comparable sizes (English – 192, Serbian – 89) it can be seen that English puts significantly more focus on the linguistic realization of reactions in anger than Serbian, even if we allow for the discrepancies stemming from the different contents of the corpora.

Not surprisingly, the number of reactions coded in the English corpus was higher than that in the Serbian:

English	Serbian
Visible changes	
25	20
Invisible changes	

LINGUISTIC REALIZATION OF PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL RESPONSES TO ANGER IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN: WHAT LANGUAGES REVEAL ABOUT BODY, MIND, AND CULTURE

11	4
Psychological changes	
3	3
Total	
39	27

Table 17: Total number or coded changes in English and Serbian

However, the total number of different reactions to anger coded in each language does not reflect such a huge difference in the number of examples drawn from the corpora. It seems that talking more about angry reactions in English points to the more salient status that anger has in communicative situations for the English-speaking, but the number and types of the actual reactions that are coded do not, however, differ so widely in comparison with Serbian – in part because the actual psychophysiological responses to anger are universal:

RESPONSES	English	Serbian
Cardiovascular	+	+
Respiratory	–	+
Rise in temperature	+	+
Facial and jaw muscle activity	+	+
Reddening in the face	+	+
Movement	+	+
Eyes	+	+(?)
Psychological	+	+

Table 18: Overview of responses in English and Serbian

The differences in most general categories of reactions pertain to the lack of any linguistic realization of respiratory changes in anger in English, and very few changes in eyes in Serbian, respectively. Although the speakers do indeed experience these, languages reveal different significance they have, in line with broader cultural outlines.

Expressing anger in a communicative situation seems to be sanctioned by laxer cultural norms in Serbian than in English – respiratory changes need not be masked or suppressed, and they serve as a visible manifestation, or signal of anger, even though they are relatively easier to control than some other visible changes. Conversely, changes in eyes are much more difficult to be in control of. The fact that English profiles them as salient demonstrates that members of this culture closely monitor every single indication of anger in a communicative situation. On the one hand, the experiencer does his or her best to block any expression of anger, and on the other, the other participants in a communicative situation keep a watchful eye on any such expression.

Some more specific conceptualizations corroborate this stance: stiffness of posture and face in English also underlines the experiencer's effort to conceal any evidence of anger; other participants are equally eager to register them.

We also believe that a significantly larger number of internal changes profiled in English can be brought into connection with these efforts, as it underscores the necessity of introspection in emotion regulation and expression amongst the speakers of English.

Some other reactions are more directly related to cultural factors in both languages, albeit they do not always follow the same pattern.

Speaking of similarities, paler face, which is not objectively perceived in anger, appears in both languages, and in both it can be connected to a more general conceptualization which compares emotions to illnesses. This illness component, culturally associated with anger, lies behind the Serbian conceptualization of anger as turning green in the face. Also, the complexion turning darker than “normal” in both languages pertains to a more general conceptualization of emotions as well – in this case, the one which associates beneficial things with being light, and harmful ones with being dark. Anger as blindness hinges on the dichotomy between reason

**LINGUISTIC REALIZATION OF PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL
RESPONSES TO ANGER IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN:
WHAT LANGUAGES REVEAL ABOUT BODY, MIND, AND CULTURE**

and emotions, manifested by a conceptual metaphor present in both English and Serbian, which equalizes understanding and seeing, and which is a characteristic of Western culture as a whole. This shows that anger is negatively valued in both languages and their underlying cultures.

Major differences include cold anger in English, and violent behaviour in Serbian. Cold anger is specific, insofar as it refers to a dangerous instance of anger, which is devoid of the typical explosive reactions that are dismissed as insignificant or meaningless. Anger whose exterior manifestation resembles the calm, unperturbed state, implies premeditation and possibly a more serious retribution. In Serbian, however, violent behaviour towards objects, other people and even self gets readily coded, implying that such intense reactions in public are not sanctioned to the same degree as they are in English (although this by no means suggests that such reactions are condoned in Serbian culture). Anger, still negatively valued as harmful in Serbian, is allowed to be expressed more freely by the general cultural norms. This explains why some more subtle conceptualizations, like changes in the eyes and posture, are not registered in Serbian, and neither are the experiencer's efforts to conceal them.

In sum, both languages display both biologically and culturally motivated conceptualizations of responses to anger. What is more, even the more "cultural" conceptualizations do not associate anger with body parts or reactions without at least partial grounding – neither language shows deeply symbolic locations of anger, and most of the reactions coded in both languages can be connected to the objectively perceived changes⁶. Still, as our research has shown, even these undergo "cultural filtration" – in English, stricter norms for expressing emotions in general cause an increased focus on the attempts to control anger, while in Serbian, the focus on the expressive behaviour appears to be the result of laxer emotion-related cultural norms.

All in all, our results seem to corroborate the stance that emotions are indeed products of both biology and culture. Although we by no means

⁶ Kövecses (2000: 162) quotes boiling intestines in Japanese; Yu (1995) locates anger in the liver or spleen, but objective measurements do not match these expressions.

intend to provide a definitive answer as to which factors constitute emotions per se, or how people understand them, the results of our linguistic analysis of psycho-physiological responses to anger in English and Serbian seem to point to the conclusion that even biological, universal factors are inevitably permeated by cultural elements and broader cultural norms that hold in a particular society.

Corpora

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**LINGUISTIC REALIZATION OF PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL
RESPONSES TO ANGER IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN:
WHAT LANGUAGES REVEAL ABOUT BODY, MIND, AND CULTURE**

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**LINGUISTIC REALIZATION OF PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL
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WHAT LANGUAGES REVEAL ABOUT BODY, MIND, AND CULTURE**

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Tijana M. Rabrenović
University of Belgrade
tijana.rabrenovic@hotmail.com

WHAT MAKES THE BRITISH PEOPLE PROUD? A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PM DAVID CAMERON'S PRE-BREXIT SPEECHES

Original research paper

Abstract: Pride as a secondary emotion is considered to have two facets. The first one is authentic pride which is associated with one's self-worth as a result of an accomplishment and the second one is hubristic pride associated with narcissism. This paper focuses on authentic pride which reinforces the notion of self and promotes positive social behaviour and relationship maintenance. The aim of this research is to determine how PM David Cameron discursively constructs authentic British pride in his pre-Brexit speeches by analysing the co-text of the word *proud*. The methodology applied in this analysis draws on Reisigl and Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach (2009). The results reveal that the word *proud* is consistently used in two different ways: a) to highlight Britain's achievements and role in the contemporary world; b) to remind the British that Britain has always been a European power. Combined together, these meanings can be viewed as persuasive tools used by the PM which are aimed not only at reinforcing the notion of the British self, but also at promoting a specific social behaviour that could result in the British voting to remain in the EU.

Keywords: authentic pride, proud, Britain, PM David Cameron, Discourse Historical Approach.

Introduction

Being one of the events which has received greater media coverage in recent years, 'Brexit' has sparked the interest of the general public and scholars worldwide. British politicians, whether they are 'Remain' or 'Leave' supporters, have employed effective strategies and delivered

convincing arguments in their campaigns¹. Researchers have been especially interested in determining the cause of 'Brexit'. To be more precise, the research of renowned scholars (Todd, 2014, Wodak, 2016) was inspired by PM David Cameron's Bloomberg Speech delivered on 23 January 2013 during which he promised to hold an in/out referendum on the UK's membership of the EU under the condition that the Conservative party won the next general election in 2015. From that day until the day of the referendum held on 23 June 2016 (which resulted in a tiny majority voting to leave the EU i.e. 'Brexit'), PM David Cameron's position towards the EU had changed from somewhat ambivalent (Wodak, 2016) or soft Eurosceptic (Todd, 2014) to pro-European.

Even though PM David Cameron announced the referendum because of the pressure exerted by many backbenchers who were against the UK's membership of the EU, the PM himself became the leading voice of the Remain campaign afterwards. The aim of this paper is to investigate one of the strategies that the PM used to persuade people to vote 'Remain'. The strategy that will be analyzed in the paper is the discursive construction of pride in PM David Cameron's pre-Brexit speeches. The focus of the analysis will be on the co-text of the lexeme proud. Although this strategy may not sound viable at first, appealing to emotions in political speech may be very persuasive since "emotional effects that certain uses of language might induce are not necessarily under the control of the hearers affected, and because the speaker can in many instances be reasonably assumed to know that certain emotional effects are possible or probable" (Chilton, 2004: 133). Therefore, I will present PM David Cameron's view of Britain (concerning its position in Europe) which serves as an elicitor of pride on the one hand, and assumes that Britain is inherently part of Europe on the other.

The elicitor of (authentic) pride

Arousing strong emotions such as pride may be one of the persuasive tactics PM David Cameron resorted to; by discursively constructing the

¹ Conceptual metaphors have been frequently used in this purpose. See Musolf (2017), Đurović & Silaški (2018), Koller, Kopf & Miglbauer (2019) for their discussion on conceptual metaphors in Brexit discourse.

feeling of pride, PM David Cameron did not only reinforce the notion of the British self, but also promoted a specific social behaviour with the aim of persuading the British to vote ‘Remain’ in the EU.

The concept of pride in psychology is often classified as a secondary emotion and considered to have two facets: authentic pride associated with one’s self-worth as a result of an accomplishment and hubristic pride associated with narcissism. Tracy and Robins (2007a) report a study which suggests that pride is conceptualized in two semantic categories (as defined in dictionaries) that correspond to these two facets. Lewis (2008) also points out that it is the way we think or what we think about that becomes the elicitor of a self-conscious emotion such as pride. Moreover, in the case of authentic pride, people evaluate a specific action and feel joy over an action well done (Lewis, 2008). The event that is the elicitor of authentic pride must be “congruent with positive self-representation” (Tracy and Robins, 2007b: 507). Finally, feeling (authentic) pride in one’s success and relationships promotes positive social behaviour in the achievement domain and contributes to relationship maintenance and altruism (Tracy and Robins, 2007a).

One of the relationships at the heart of authentic British pride, according to PM David Cameron, is the one that Britain has with Europe. However, this relationship has not always been harmonious and strong as the PM described, but rather turbulent, since Britain and Europe-as-a-whole are usually perceived as two distinct concepts (Spiering, 2015).

The representation of Britain in relation to Europe

In his book on Euroscepticism, Spiering (2015: 42) discusses ‘The Island Story’ which Britain is typically associated with and which is indeed “a cultural construct resulting from specific events, not the inevitable outcome of geographical location”. Spiering (2015: 33) also points out that politicians usually evoke the notion of islandness to set Britain apart from the rest of Europe as PM Tony Blair did in his speech at the Polish Stock Exchange in Warsaw on 6 October 2000. In his speech Tony Blair discussed the process of the UK becoming a member of the EU:

- (1) This was complicated by the fact that for all the other key players, there were compelling reasons for being in: reasons of history,

WHAT MAKES THE BRITISH PEOPLE PROUD? A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PM DAVID CAMERON'S PRE-BREXIT SPEECHES

reasons of proximity, reasons of democracy. For Britain, the victor in WWII, the main ally of the United States, a *proud and independent-minded island* race (though with much European blood flowing in our veins) the reasons were there, but somehow always less than absolutely compelling. (retrieved from <https://www.gov.uk/government/announcements>)

Despite the European blood in their veins, the British people find it hard to perceive themselves as Europeans and are more oriented to former colonies. It is believed that Winston Churchill shared the same inclination to the open sea (Mangold, 2006 following Spiering, 2015). Anderson (2004) also notices that during Tony Blair's office there was a preference in the British press for the UK-USA relationship over the UK's membership of the EU. Generally speaking, the post-war politics (from Churchill's to Blair's office) focused more on the USA and less on Europe and even in situations when discussing European integration, Britain was shown as "integrating (or attempting to integrate) to an outside entity called 'Europe'" (Spiering, 2015: 24).

More than ten years after Tony Blair's speech, PM David Cameron evoked the same notion of islandness that contributes to the character of the British people being not only independent, but also open and part of the Continent (Europe):

(2) We have the character of an island nation – *independent, forthright, passionate* in defence of our sovereignty. We can no more change this British sensibility than we can drain the English Channel.[...] But all this doesn't make us somehow un-European. The fact is that ours is not just an island story – it is also a continental story. For all our connections to the rest of the world of which we are rightly *proud*, we have always been a European power and we always will be. [...] We have helped to write European history, and Europe has helped write ours. [...] And contained in this history is the crucial point about Britain, our national character, our attitude to Europe. Britain is characterised not just by its independence but, above all, by its openness.

the Bloomberg Speech (23 Jan 2013), retrieved from <https://www.gov.uk/government/announcements>

This relationship that Britain has had with Europe in historical as well as socio-political context represents a starting point for the methodology applied in this analysis – the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) which belongs to the broad field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Discourse Historical Approach – The importance of history and socio-political context in Critical Discourse Analysis

Van Dijk (2008) emphasizes that CDA relates a micro level of analysis (discourse) to the macro one (power, dominance and inequality between social groups). Moreover, CDA maintains that “discourses construct reality through different types of interaction in different kinds of communicative mediums” (Filipović, 2015: 73). Since discourses construct reality, they cannot be studied in isolation, but rather interpreted depending on circumstances. For that reason, Wodak and Meyer (2009) stress the importance of history and socio-political context in CDA.

The DHA is a socio-philosophically oriented research strategy within CDA which focuses on the concept of context. There are four dimensions of context which are discussed and formulated in the light of the current analysis in a recursive manner (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 93):

- 1) the text-internal co-text i.e. the co-text of the word *proud* in 6 speeches that are selected for analysis;
- 2) the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between discourses i.e. references to other speeches on the EU, such as Tony Blair’s speech at the Polish Stock Exchange and David Cameron’s Bloomberg Speech;
- 3) the context of situation i.e. the date of the 6 speeches – six months prior to the referendum, starting from the speech PM David Cameron delivered on 10 November 2015 when he mentions “a speech about Europe” from almost three years ago, which is of course a clear reference to the Bloomberg Speech;
- 4) the broader sociopolitical and historical context i.e. the representation of Britain in relation to Europe and the rest of the world, primarily the USA.

WHAT MAKES THE BRITISH PEOPLE PROUD? A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PM DAVID CAMERON'S PRE-BREXIT SPEECHES

Special attention will be dedicated to the use of *a topos of history* i.e. a strong argument based on historical facts that is employed in speech in order to persuade the audience in the validity of orators' opinions (Wodak, 2016). These topoi of history are connected to the perception of the British as a proud (and independent) nation belonging to Europe.

Discourse analysis and findings

The analysis presented in this paper is based on pre-Brexit speeches starting from the one PM David Cameron delivered on 10 November 2015 to the one he delivered on 24 May 2016. One of the reasons why Prime Minister's speech on Europe has been chosen as the starting point for the current analysis is because of its clear reference to the Bloomberg Speech, the other being that during this time the Remain campaign was in full swing (six months prior to the referendum when PM David Cameron's attitude to the EU had become overtly pro-European). The corpus consists of 6 speeches (out of 26 delivered during this period), retrieved from <https://www.gov.uk/government/announcements>, in which the word *proud* is used for describing the British nation 17 times in total. The following table contains the names of the speeches and the dates, as well as the number of occurrences of the lexeme *proud* in each speech²:

² Since politicians may repeat the same ideas even in the same word order, this paper will outline only those co-texts of the lexeme *proud* which are crucial for the analysis (for the full text of the speeches see <https://www.gov.uk/government/announcements>).

Table 1: PM David Cameron's pre-Brexit speeches

The name of the speech and the date/	The number of occurrences of the lexeme proud
Prime Minister's speech on Europe (10 Nov 2015)	2
Davos 2016: Prime Minister's speech to the World Economic Forum (21 Jan 2016)	3
PM speech on EU reform (2 Feb 2016)	4
UK-France Summit (3 Mar 2016)	1
PM speech on the UK's strength and security in the EU (9 May 2016)	6
PM speech at easyJet on why the UK should stay in a reformed EU (24 May 2016)	1

Although PM David Cameron was often labelled as the leading voice of the Remain campaign, his position towards the EU was at first ambiguous; Wodak (2016) notices that the Bloomberg Speech oscillates between two extremes, one extreme being its maximum distance to the EU as a political union, the other one being its proximity to its economic policies. The same fear of Britain becoming part of a superstate was reiterated in another speech on Europe three years after the Bloomberg Speech:

- (3) We are a *proud, independent* nation. We intend to stay that way. So we need to be honest about this. The commitment in the Treaty to an ever closer union is not a commitment that should apply any longer to Britain. [...] That will mean that Britain can never be entangled in a political union against our will or be drawn into any kind of United States of Europe.

Prime Minister's speech on Europe (10 Nov 2015)

However, as the day of the referendum approached, PM David Cameron's position had changed to an overtly pro-European one, but still appealing to a reformed EU as opposed to *an ever closer union* indicating full social and legal integration:

(4) I don't believe those people who say, 'Well, my head says we ought to stay in the European Union but my heart says somehow, we would be a *prouder* and *more patriotic* country if we were outside.' I don't think that is right. I think this is an amazing country. [...] And we're members of the European Union. Being in these organisations doesn't diminish our standing and our strength in the world, in my view. It enhances it. So I think the big, bold, patriotic case is to stay in a reformed European Union, to fight for the sort of world that we want, rather than to stand back and be on the outside.

PM speech at easy Jet on why the UK should stay in a reformed EU
(24 May 2016)

To get a better understanding of how patriotism is conceptualized among the British according to PM David Cameron, we must look into those elements of the British culture (film, music, clothes, language, art and media) that set Britain apart from other countries. These are the elicitors of authentic British pride, together with Britain's economy, all of which emphasize the country's achievements and role in contemporary society:

(5) We are a great country. The fifth largest economy in the world. The fastest growing economy in the G7 last year. The biggest destination for foreign direct investment in the EU. Our capital city a global icon. The world, literally, speaks our language. [...] No one doubts that Britain is a *proud successful thriving* country.

Prime Minister's speech on Europe (10 Nov 2015)

(6) Our national flag is worn on clothing and t-shirts the world over – not only as a fashion statement, but as a symbol of hope and a beacon for liberal values all around the world. People from all four corners of the earth watch our films, dance to our music, flock to our galleries and theatres, cheer on our football teams and cherish our institutions. These days, even our food is admired the world over. Our national broadcaster is one of the most recognised brands on the planet, and our monarch is one of the most respected people in the world. Britain today is a *proud, successful, thriving* nation, a nation the world admires and looks up to, and whose best days lie

ahead of it. We are the product of our long history – of the decision of our forebears, of the heroism of our parents and grandparents.

PM speech on the UK's strength and security in the EU (9 May 2016)

Another elicitor of Britain's authentic pride is its political status being a democratic country. Spiering (2015: 31) notes that the Saxons are believed to be a democratic and freedom-loving nation whose rulers relied on a form of parliament which was breached by the Normans' self-sufficient monarchy in 1066. This view of an anti-democratic Continent was even more prominent in the media since the referendum had been announced. Apart from being anti-democratic, the Continent is seen as power-hungry, a source of immigration, inflexible and a threat to national identity to both "hard" Eurosceptics such as Nigel Farage, the leader of UKIP, and "soft" Eurosceptics such as David Cameron (Todd 2014). For that reason the fear of a superstate is reiterated whenever discussing Britain's democracy and independence:

(7) We're a *proud and independent* country, with proud, independent, democratic institutions that have served us well. We're also bound up in the European continent, of which we are an important part, and we need to get that relationship right. [...] So I want to be absolutely clear that we want to carve Britain out of the idea of a closer union. We will be enthusiasts for the economic cooperation, for foreign policy cooperation, for working together on challenges like climate change, but we're never going to be comfortable in something that insists that Britain should be part of an ever closer union.

Davos 2016: Prime Minister's speech to the World Economic Forum
(21 Jan 2016)

Democracy is one of the key products of a long and great history, together with independence and sovereignty and therefore one of the elicitors of authentic British pride:

(8) Britain is a *strong, proud and independent* country with a great history, with strong institutions, and people believe – I believe – profoundly in our country and its institutions and its independence.

PM speech on EU reform (2 Feb 2016)

A long and great history is at the same time an elicitor of authentic pride and a *topos of history*. By referring to Britain's past (8) and Britain's relation to Europe throughout its history (9), the PM uses strategies of justification and legitimization (see Chilton 2004) to envisage Britain as a European power. What makes his case even more convincing and powerful is showing Britain's connection to Europe which goes back 2000 years, contrary to the one that most hard Eurosceptics primarily focus on i.e. the one with modern-day Europe:

- (9) First: Europe is our immediate neighbourhood, and what happens on the continent affects us profoundly, whether we like it or not. Our history teaches us: the stronger we are in our neighbourhood, the stronger we are in the world. For 2,000 years, our affairs have been intertwined with the affairs of Europe. For good or ill, we have written Europe's history just as Europe has helped to write ours. From Caesar's legions to the wars of the Spanish Succession, from the Napoleonic Wars to the fall of the Berlin Wall. *Proud* as we are of our global reach and our global connections, Britain has always been a European power, and we always will be. We know that to be a global power and to be a European power are not mutually exclusive. And the moments of which we are rightly most *proud* in our national story include pivotal moments in European history. Blenheim. Trafalgar. Waterloo. Our country's heroism in the Great War.

PM speech on the UK's strength and security in the EU (9 May 2016)

PM David Cameron nominates Europe as their neighbourhood placing Britain outside the Continent, which he had already done in the Bloomberg Speech (Wodak 2016). However, by the end of the same speech the European Union is perceived as any other union or organization which contributes to Britain's achievement and role in the contemporary world:

- (10) These are the actions of a *proud, independent, self-confident, go-getting* nation, a nation that is confident and optimistic about its future, not one cowed and shackled by its membership of the European Union. On the contrary, our membership of the EU is one

of the tools – just one which we use, as we do our membership of NATO, or the Commonwealth, or the Five Power Defence Agreement with Australia, New Zealand and our allies in South East Asia, to amplify British power and to enhance our influence in the world.

PM speech on the UK's strength and security in the EU (9 May 2016)

- (11) We're *proud*. We're *independent*. We get things done. So let's not walk away from the institutions that help us to win in the world. Let's not walk away from the EU, any more than we would walk away from the UN, or from NATO.

PM speech on the UK's strength and security in the EU (9 May 2016)

- (12) We are both *strong proud* nations [the British and the French] who are clear about our influence in the world and clear that our membership of the European Union enhances that role, rather than detracting from it. We believe we are safer, and better off in a reformed European Union.

UK-France Summit (3 Mar 2016)

From the given extracts, we may conclude that the word *proud* is used in two different ways, sometimes intertwined even in one speech: a) to highlight Britain's accomplishments (its economy, democratic institutions, historical achievements and elements of popular culture) and role in the contemporary world (its position in powerful unions and alliances that favour Britain's influence in the world); b) to remind the British that Britain has always been a European power throughout its history – the topoi of history that are employed in PM David Cameron's speeches are supposed to override the fear of Britain losing its independence and sovereignty in a superstate i.e. the EU. In the first case Britain is depicted not only as a *proud* country, but also as a *successful* and *thriving* one and in the second case as a *proud and independent* country to assure citizens that Britain will not lose its democratic values and sovereignty if it stays in a (reformed) European union. The collocation *proud, successful and thriving* is used only twice, whereas the collocation *proud and independent* is repeated nine times throughout all 6 speeches. Apart from

being far more frequent, the second collocation is of a greater interest having in mind that pride is an emotion which reinforces the notion of self and promotes relationship maintenance and positive behaviour in the achievement domain – by constantly referring to the British as proud and independent, the British national identity is not threatened by Europe; on the contrary, as a member of the European Union, Britain would secure even better future and economic stability. Therefore, voting 'Remain' and staying in the EU is the only favourable outcome for PM David Cameron, which was confirmed by his resignation the day after the referendum.

Conclusion

As we have seen, PM David Cameron discursively constructed authentic British pride in his pre-Brexit speeches. After studying the co-text of the word *proud* in 6 speeches delivered prior to the referendum, two meanings coming from seemingly contradictory perspectives have been deciphered. The first one draws on the country's success and achievements in the domains of economy, democracy, history, culture and international relations and the second comes from the relationship that Britain has had with Europe throughout its long and great history. The fear of Britain losing its independence and becoming part of a superstate is subsided by asserting that Britain is a *proud* and *independent* country which would only benefit from its connections with the EU, together with the connections with other countries, unions and alliances such as the USA or the UN and NATO. One of the key arguments for perceiving Britain as part of Europe and the EU is its history, which teaches the British about their harmonious and lasting relationship with Europe. Moreover, Europe may guarantee a promising future to Britain; indeed, PM David Cameron is said to have argued that 'Brexit' would be "an act of 'economic self-harm'" (*The Guardian*, 24 June 2016).

Although the referendum resulted in a tiny majority voting to leave the EU, i.e. 'Brexit', PM David Cameron's persuasive tactic that relies on discursively constructing the feeling of pride has managed to bridge the gap between two seemingly different entities Britain and Europe – at least for the Europhile minority comprising 48% of the British voters.

Nevertheless, the current study has its limitations since only PM David Cameron's pre-Brexit speeches have been analyzed. A more comprehensive study including other forms of pre-Brexit discourse, such as political talk shows and interviews, could confirm the results of the analysis and the importance of applying Discourse Historical Approach when determining the socio-political context of 'Brexit'.

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Elena N. Shirlina

Belgorod National Research University, Russia
Alexander Herzen Junior Visiting Research Fellow, IWM, Vienna
shirl2005@yandex.ru

FIXED PREPOSITION-NOUN COMBINATIONS IN GERMAN AS A MEANS OF EXPRESSING AMPLIFYING AND EMOTIONAL-EVALUATIVE MEANINGS

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Review article

Abstract: German language has a wide range of tools for expressing emotional-evaluative and amplifying meanings. A special place among them is occupied by fixed combinations of simple prepositions and nouns. Despite the fact that such combinations are not the main means of expressing emotional and amplifying meanings, they represent an ever-growing group of language units and are widely used both in German colloquial speech and in written literary language.

Key Words: fixed preposition-noun combinations, amplifying (expressive) meaning, emotional meaning, evaluative meaning, deverbative

Introduction

This study explores the process of forming amplifying and emotional-evaluative meaning on the bases of fixed combinations (using the example of fixed combinations of prepositions and nouns in the German language). The author sets a goal to describe the changes that occur with the prepositional and nominal components, as well as to classify fixed prepositional-noun combinations with amplifying and emotional-evaluative meaning based on their semantics, as well as the syntactic functions they perform. In spite of the fact that such constructions are not

the main means of expressing subjective modality, they are an ever-growing class of language units with modal meaning. The author attempts to explain their frequency usage. The research material is taken from the COSMOS II database that includes literary texts and publicistic articles.

Category of emotionality in German language

In linguistic science, emotionality has long been regarded as a category “not finding its expression within the framework of linguistic units” (Sapir, 1993: 31). Nowadays linguists assume that language is a means of exchanging not only information, but also feelings and emotions. Consequently, emotional-evaluative meanings can be revealed both at the level of semantics and syntax, and at the level of the whole text. The category of emotionality has even become the subject of a special linguistic discipline – emotiology, or the linguistic theory of emotions.

Emotionality as a component of the semantic structure of words, phrases and sentences usually occurs in colloquial speech, where emotional constructions which arise as a result of modification of a sentence are widely spread.

In German, the function of emotional evaluation is most often performed by two classes of words – adjectives and nouns, more rarely adverbs and participles. “At the word level we can talk about groups of words which have evaluation and emotionality in their structure. [...] At the level of syntax, emotionality manifests itself in the structure of the phrase, simple and complex sentences, being a constant element in the semantic structure” (Sakieva, 1991: 7).

R.S. Sakieva offers the following classification of words and constructions with emotional meaning:

- 1) language units which express emotions, but do not transmit them (interjections);
- 2) language units which communicate emotions, but do not cause them (this includes words that characterize the feelings and emotions of a person: Liebe, Freude, Leid, Kummer, etc.);

3) language units which express and transmit emotions (this group includes words which emotionally characterize individuals and their actions, behaviour, for example: toll, herrlich, Dummkopf, etc.) (Sakieva, 1991: 10).

However, in addition to emotional vocabulary, the bearers of emotional meaning in language may be derivational morphemes, derivational models, or special models of the sentence. In fact, German is relatively poor in affixes with emotional meaning. First of all, it is necessary to mention the suffixes of the nouns *-chen* and *-lein* with a diminutive meaning, as well as the suffix *-ei* and the affix *ge-*, widely used for the formation of deverbals with a pejorative meaning (Rederei, Küsserei, Lauferei, Gerede, Gedudel, etc.). Typical for the German language is the situation when a whole word that consists of emotionally neutral elements has an emotional-evaluative meaning *Schlafmütze*, *Nervensäge*, etc.

Emotional meaning can also be formed on the basis of a phrase. The simplest and most common way to create an emotional phrase is to combine a noun with a determinative adjective of an evaluative character. Prepositions can also act as an element of emotional-evaluative combinations, for example, as a part of the model 'noun + von + noun' (*eine Seele vom Menschen*).

Emotionality at sentence level is achieved through intonation (in oral speech), and also with the help of punctuation and the change of syntactic structure (in written language).

It is necessary to distinguish between emotionality and evaluation. All emotionality is based on evaluation, although it should not be equated with it: "Emotions in themselves are not characterized by a certain evaluative meaning, but they are only a factor in the formation of a value relationship with its subsequent evaluative rethinking" (Chekulay, 2006: 25). At the same time, evaluation may not be accompanied by emotionality. So, for example, such fixed preposition-noun combinations as "zum Glück", "zum Verdruss", "zum Unglück", "zur Unzeit", "zum Guten", "zum Schlechten", "zum Vorteil", "zum Nachteil" are evaluative, but do not have emotional meaning. And the combinations "zum Abkichern", "zum Erschießen", "zum Piepen", "zum Erbarmen", "zum Verzweifeln", "zum Kotzen", "zum Brüllen", which have emotional

meaning, contain in their semantic structure an obligatory evaluative component.

Fixed preposition-noun combinations with amplifying and emotional-evaluative meaning

The subject of this paper are constructions to which scholars did not pay much attention so far because they are not the main means of expressing emotion in the German language. However, they are extremely interesting because of their vividness, expressiveness, relatively productive character of the model on which they are based, and also the parallels that can be drawn with other languages, which can be the subject of further research.

Most preposition-noun combinations with the emotional meaning are formed on the basis of free combinations formed by the preposition “zu” and monosemantic noun (most often deverbative). However, if free combinations of this type have a meaning of goal (Wasser ist zum Waschen), fixed combinations completely lose this meaning in the process of phraseologization and start to point to the final result: zum Verzweifeln – “die Lage ist so schwer, dass man darüber verzweifelt” (the situation is so difficult that it makes us desperate). At the next stage of phraseologization, the meaning of result is obscured and if the speaker uses, for example, the expression “zum Erschießen” (“sich erschießen” means “to shoot himself”), it does not mean that the state of things will lead to exactly this result (Shirlina, 2013: 143).

Fixed preposition-noun combinations can express a wide range of emotions: disgust (zum Kotzen), irony (zum Piepen), discontent (zum Erbarmen, zum Davonlaufen, zum Gotterbarmen), despair (zum Erschießen, zum Verzweifeln), amazement (zum Kinderkriegen) and many others.

Interestingly, combinations of this type can be used in different functions:

1. Expressive-emotive formulas that express surprise, fright, disappointment, curse, swearing and other negative emotions and can be used in speech independently or as a part of the construction “zum S mit Dat.” (“to hell with ...”). Also as an amplifying particle in interrogative

sentences (zum Teufel, zum Kuckuck, zum Henker, zum Donnerwetter). This is the only group of expressions based on this model in which the noun component is not a deverbative.

Der Anfang klingt eher asiatisch als mexikanisch, und *was zum Kuckuck* ist das für ein Geräusch im Hintergrund? (COSMAS II) – The beginning sounds more Asian than Mexican, and *what the heck* is that sound in the background?

Zum Teufel mit der Liebe! (COSMAS II) – *To hell with* the love!

Zum Teufel noch mal! (COSMAS II) – Damn it!

2. Evaluative formulas which express a positive or negative evaluation and which can be found in constructions like “(Das ist)” or “X (ist / sind) ...” (it is .. or someone is ..): (zum Mäusemelken, zum Kotzen, zum Wahnsinnigwerden, zum Haarausraufen, zum Quieken, zum Kugeln, zum Dahinschmelzen, zum Davonlaufen, zum Knutschen, zum Anbeißen and others).

Ist das nicht zum Wiehern, was man in alten Mottenkisten so alles findet? (COSMAS II) – *Isn't it funny (crazy)* what can be found in old moth boxes?

Auf seine letzten Worte an die Amerikanerin Patricia, *sie sei* wirklich *zum Kotzen*, stellt sie in die Kamera blickend die Frage: “Was heißt das, kotzen?” (COSMAS II) – On his last words to the American Patricia, she really sucks, she looks into the camera and asks: “What does that mean, suck?”

[Sie ist] Eine Schönheit *zum Anbeißen* (COSMAS II) – [She] looks good enough to eat.

3. Expressive formulas without an emotional or evaluative component which perform the function of amplifying particles and are used not independently, but together with adjectives (zum Bersten / zum Bersten voll, zum Greifen nah, zum Küssen schön, zum Anbeißen süß, zum Schreien komisch, zum Sterben schön, zum Überlaufen voll, zum Umblasen dünn). In this case, each preposition-noun combination, as a rule, is used with a certain adjective.

FIXED PREPOSITION-NOUN COMBINATIONS IN GERMAN AS A MEANS OF EXPRESSING AMPLIFYING AND EMOTIONAL-EVALUATIVE MEANINGS

Andererseits waren die Stadien *zum Berstenvoll* und es wurde tagelang in den Straßen gefeiert, als Argentinien die Meisterschaft gewann (COSMAS II) – On the other hand, the stadiums were *full to bursting* and it was celebrated in the streets for days when Argentina won the championship.

The reasons for the productivity and relatively high frequency of this model, in my opinion, are as follows:

1) variety of syntactic functions (nominal part of the predicate, interjections, amplifiers);

2) numerous word-formation possibilities: in addition to substantivized infinitives, the structure of constructions can include whole word combinations (Kinder kriegen, irrsinnig werden, Bein ausreißen and others);

3) extraordinary vividness of these constructions (zum Mäusemelken: Mäuse melken – “to milk mice”);

4) possibility, again, thanks to the specific features of German word formation, to create not just single combinations, but whole synonymic groups in which combinations can differ in the intensity of the emotion experienced by the speaker (zum Lachen, zum Schiefachen, zum Totlachen).

Conclusion

To sum up, fixed preposition-noun combinations with amplifying or emotional-evaluative meaning are often represented by models with a specific meaning. The most frequent model is the combination of a noun (mostly a deverbative) with the preposition “zu”. In the process of forming the meaning of the subjective modality partial desemantization of the prepositional and nominal components takes place, for example, the preposition “zu” loses the meaning of direction and purpose. The nominal component is subjected to phraseologization. In sentences such combinations can perform the functions of amplifying particles and predicates. They have a great potential for the formation of emotive, expressive and evaluative meanings due to phraseologization and broad range of combination possibilities. Since fixed preposition-noun

combinations are in the transitional stage between combinations and lexemes, we can observe how emotionality and expressiveness from the meanings which manifest themselves only in certain contexts become integral components of the lexical meaning of the word.

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Igor D. Ivanović

University of Montenegro

iggybosnia@ucg.ac.me

THE MULTICHANNEL REALITY OF LANGUAGE AND PARALANGUAGE

Original research paper

Abstract: This paper tries to critically examine some aspects from the work of the Swiss linguists Ferdinand de Saussure pertaining to paralinguistics and discursal meanings and then, as a critique of semiotics in general, we will move on to the semiotic theory of the American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce. All of these elements will be reanalysed and exemplified through the perspective of non-verbal communication in advertising.

Keywords: semiology, semantics, language, paralanguage, advertising

Saussurean semiology

Saussure's paper, published posthumously in 1915, describes language as a system usually carried by sounds in air or marks on a surface where such signs gain their meaning by virtue of their interplay with each other. Each sign has its place in the system and its users share this system. In this manner, a language becomes a convention where each sign is comprised of a signifier (a word) and a signified (a concept). More complex thoughts and ideas are expressed through a combination of signs, as a complex signifier for a complex signified – a sentence. According to Saussure, there are two ways of creating meaning: paradigm and syntagm. In the paradigm, meaning is created by a given sign and its relationship to other signs that could have occupied the same place, so in an SVO sentence, a number of words can fill each slot, albeit it will change its meaning. In the syntagm, meaning is created through the relationship of signs to their pragmatic environment, i.e. the signs before or after them. This expression of meaning through choice can be applied to other areas

of our lives. Clothing can be understood as the expression of a semiotic system within the framework of social meaning (Barthes, 1985: 56). Therefore, the social, paradigmatic and pragmatic meaning of trousers is different from that of jeans. Different combinations and choices of different linguistic signs offer different meanings. According to de Saussure, there is a connexion between a signifier and a signified and such connexion is maintained by people who use the system, even though there is no any resemblance between the signifier and the signified (Vestergaard, 1985: 35). Additionally, the diachronic development of a sign is not part of its meaning. Although de Saussure claimed that the meanings of signs cannot be changed by any individual (which is debatable if we consider swastika and its original meaning: conducive to well-being or auspicious, symbolising surya (sun) and prosperity, the auspicious footprints of the Buddha) they do change over time. These meanings are constantly being encoded by a person who knows the langue, then transmitted to the person who is in “mental possession” of the identical langue, which enables him or her to successfully decode and retrieve the original or intended message. This “drainpipe view” of language that flows from one mind to another separates language and thought and presents them in the form of what is sometimes referred to as the conduit metaphor (Reddy, 1978: 55).

Saussure’s theory of language represents a useful starting point in terms of defining the elusive nature of human communication and how to transmit one’s message from one “talking head” to another. However, it does not satisfactorily cover two out of three aspects pertaining to the study of a message: the psychological and the psychical, while it deals well with the textual aspect. In our opinion, de Saussure’s description of the first aspect we mentioned, the psychological one, is too dependent on a problematic division between language and thought and on the assumption that if we share the same code, the decoded meanings in our heads will be essentially the same for each person. Our preferred view is that thought is shaped by language in such a manner that it is almost impossible to separate the two. Additionally, the speakers of a language do not have simple mental decoding machinery. This decoding process changes over time, it is influenced by numerous objective and subjective factors and it sometimes changes depending on the person we are speaking to. That is why we can safely claim that our internalised meaning,

encoded through a language realised outside of us, in interaction with others, creates an interpretation, decoded in the heads of our interlocutors, which resembles the intention of the sender.

Language and paralinguistics

In communication, language and substance are intertwined in such a manner that language has some sort of physical substance such as marks on paper, to which the receiver assigns graphemes or phonemes, allowing the receiver to build the signs that create linguistic meaning. Apart from the meaning created from this kind of substance, in face-to-face communication, meanings are conveyed with the help of body language, voice volume, clothing, eye contact, gestures and the same is true of font types and sizes if we consider writing. These factors, as examples of paralinguistics, convey the meaning which supports or contradicts the meaning of the signs they accompany. Paralinguistics is an inextricable part of language and these two modes of meaning are not separate. Just consider the effect of someone crying noisily while saying: "I am ok", where paralinguistics outweighs language. Another example of the importance of paralinguistics is the fact that the learners of English as a second or foreign language have more difficulties in decoding the messages during a telephone conversation than in "regular", face-to-face communication. Part of the problem is that the learners cannot have eye contact, they do not see somebody else's gestures and there is a change in voice quality and pitch range. Additional importance of paralinguistics is that people's perception of communication is largely dependent on the paralinguistic behaviour. This can be seen in the study conducted by (Argyle, Salter, Nicholson, Williams, & Burgess, 1970: 15) with the aim of investigating if tone of voice has any effect on the interpretation of a message. This study had one independent variable, which was the tone of voice of the message: hostile tone, friendly tone, neutral tone, and one dependant variable, which was how people interpreted the message. Groups of people listened to a message that was either hostile in the words used or friendly in the words used in three different tones of voice. The results were clear. When asked to interpret the message the tone of voice had 5 times the impact than the words used, which means the tone of

voice is extremely important when trying to convey a message or in the sense how people interpret verbal meaning.

The nature of paralinguistic signification is quite different from that of language. As we have seen in the text above, the linguistic sign is a discreetly defined meaning, for instance, a sound is received as one phoneme or another. That is why we can say that words inherit this type of quality from the phonemes they are made out of, there are no intermediate cases. On the other side paralinguistic phenomena are graded in the sense that a speaker may smile at his or her interlocutor and increase or decrease the loudness of his or her laugh, which may signify whatever the speaker wants to express by this action. That is why we can say there is a whole range of different degrees in any paralinguistic phenomenon. It is impossible to define the precise number of different kinds of smiles and that is why linguistic phenomena are almost impossible to be properly translated or paraphrased into words. Someone's facial expression can be a clear indicator of different human emotions such as anger, interest, happiness, sadness, surprise. In 1966, Osgood (Osgood, 1966: 8) found that the abovementioned facial expressions are common to almost all societies. One can draw the conclusion that such facial expressions are built into us and not culture-specific. According to Cook (Cook, 1990: 88) paralanguage cannot be completely described in language because it is a different type of communication. That is why, in the text above, we said that his or her laugh may signify whatever the speaker wants to express by this action, so precise definition is not possible, but that does not mean we cannot approximate it. Therefore, the approximation of laugh would be to say it is a general sign of amusement to which we can attribute different meanings depending on the context. Still it is virtually impossible to describe all types of laughs since there are countless intermediate possibilities. On a related note, we have postural echoing when one or both participants in a conversation begin to copy the other's body language. In this manner, conversation participants communicate agreement or friendliness that can be either conscious or unconscious. Somebody's judgement of how friendly somebody else is can be influenced by touching somebody whilst talking to him or her, no matter how subtly. This is why people whose professional role it is to be persuasive "deploy" body language to manipulate how others respond to them. Politicians and sales

representatives may use a variety of gestures in order to convey a sense of friendliness and honesty. Other types of gestures, such as the clenching of a fist or the raising of an eyebrow, may betray feelings you do not wish to express.

Human paralanguage, as a form of graded signalling, carries linguistic meaning in the sense that when you hear somebody's voice from its volume and its pitch you will know something about the speaker's emotional state and social identity. The information is carried by the sound waves and then later decoded and interpreted. This means that human communication is using both linguistic and paralinguistic channel, so every utterance utilises a double channel (Ellis and Beattie 1986: 16-77). Human paralinguistic communication has another property, which can be revealed through contrastive cultural analysis. Some paralinguistic action executed in different cultures can bear completely different meanings. When transferred from one culture to another a certain type of eye contact can be interpreted in a different manner and it can be utterly offensive, yet completely normal in another culture. This is why it is of utmost importance for the learners of English as second or foreign language to learn both linguistic and paralinguistic properties of English in order to be able to effectively communicate their ideas. This is also very relevant for advertisers who want to organise international campaigns, since they have to be aware that a successful campaign is often much more than simple translation of the words of an advertisement from one language into another. Many aspects of paralanguage are, at least partially, beyond our conscious control. Sincere smile may emerge spontaneously, but sometimes it may be used deliberately in order to send particular message. On the other hand, language is much more under our conscious control. That is why when we want to lie we use our language in order to accomplish this action, but when, for instance, police investigators want to establish whether you lie or not, they will most likely turn to paralanguage, since it is much more difficult to hide. Because of all of the above-mentioned reasons, it is very odd to say that linguistics should not be concerned with paralanguage and that language is best understood when isolated from paralanguage. These two sides of a coin constantly interact with each other and this interaction is what makes languages both social and psychological phenomena. This is what de Saussure did not want to accept and tried to separate the study of language from paralanguage.

Peircean semiotics

Additional types of sign introduced in the semiotic theory of Pierce are the index and the icon. Both of them can be defined, very broadly, as something that stands to somebody for something else, in some respect or capacity (Peirce, 1958: 128). An index is a designation utilising a causal relationship in order to point to something else. This relationship could be something pertaining to natural co-occurrences as rain and humidity, the greenhouse effect and the current global warming trend, yet the process of decoding is not utilised when we want to interpret an index. The interpretation of the index varies between different language users due to their knowledge of the world. That is why, for example, in some African tribes tasting of somebody's food maybe an index of marriage proposal, whereas in some other culture it means your host is showing his or her hospitality. An icon is a sign, which more or less resembles its signified, and its meaning is also created by syntagmatic ordering and arbitrary semiotic paradigmatic choice (Barthes, 1977: 56). When the connexion between signifier and signified becomes so habitual that it begins to be completely natural, in that context we can talk about iconic signs. An example of this could be the sign of a man or a woman on a lavatory door.

Sixty years ago, the influence of semiotics was a revolutionary one, however, one of the weaknesses in its approach is its utter devotion to similarities, which makes it unable to see what is unique. That is why structuralist analyses, which were under the heavy influence of semiotics, devoted their attention to those features seen as equivalent to another, to the complete detriment of other, equally important features. In some way, we can say that semiotics promoted the studies of abstract structures universally present in different cultures and tried to concentrate on the universal elements of human culture. This approach has been taken by evolutionary psychology, which tries to explain all subtleties of human behaviour as behavioural elements of the species. This approach undoubtedly has its strengths, yet we must not forget that we have to take both perspectives into account, what we have in common with earlier cultures and what is the product of its own time and place. Additionally, the semiotic approach is usually useful, but incomplete. The semiotic approach sees words as equivalent to their denotation. Narratives and utterances are reduced to declarative statements and formulaic patterns. These simplifications are then viewed as the underlying structures, where

this approach of trying to find the underlying structures or deep structure of sentences, implies that surface structures are not important. One such area that is often neglected is paralanguage.

How does it all translate into advertisements?

In order to properly define paralanguage, its use and how it behaves, we will take a look at its behaviour within the genre of advertising and at the same time we will be exploring the double Channel approach. When we talk about paralanguage, we have to take into account that certain types of genres make more use of written texts than paralanguage in order to realise their linguistic form. This tendency is visible in the sense that written words relay information more objectively and impersonally, whereas paralanguage is more often associated with emotions and attitudes and is used to mediate between words in a particular context. Another important function of language is to facilitate the communication process, which means that the meaning is stored in a written text, and it is there to be decoded by a potential receiver of an advertisement, whereas paralanguage is there to express the subjective or the emotional part of the advertisement. As we have said before, this is mainly due to our typical belief that written texts of advertisements have the tendency to eliminate the visibility of the person who originated these advertisements and to convey a clear message to its target groups. This relative importance of paralanguage varies from genre to genre so, for example, in advertising it is very important for the sender to include paralanguage whenever possible, because paralanguage is there to make the message softer, more emotional, more pleasing or whatever is needed in order to successfully advertise and then sell a product. On the other side, contemporary scientific culture is generally trying to exclude paralanguage since the culture puts more emphasis on the function of the written word to relay information objectively and impersonally. Additional difference in terms of how to exploit written paralanguage can be seen if we compare the exploitations of written paralanguage in literature and advertising. Literature, despite all its difficulties of definition, is usually connected to written material even though it can also refer to poems and plays which are often recited and performed, but usually written down before any recital and performance. In our contemporary culture, any valued oral creation is almost immediately written down since, at least in academic study, the value of a poem or a play is judged to be that of the written text.

However, this bias is a relatively modern phenomenon. In the Balkans, the region where the author of these lines comes from, our epic poetry had been passed from generation to generation for centuries, and the tendency to write down these poems appeared in the 19th century when majority of these poems were at least four to five centuries old, some of them even older. In this way, literature preserves the individual nature of oral communication and this is perhaps the main appeal of literature. Yet despite this tendency to shift speech towards writing, it is true that poetry and drama have those features, which are typical for speech and can be only expressed through speech.

Another point worth mentioning is that literature is still very connected to its affective role, which means it more readily associates itself with emotion rather than with fact. This is why literature is the conduit through which some extraordinary emotional situations and personalities come to us. Therefore, literature, when understood as the expression of individuality and away from the clutches of academics, is at odds with the scientific kind of literature that is striving to go towards depersonalisation of the text. Advertising identifies itself with this personal side of literature and is trying to utilise this kind of communication that is powerful and pleasurable. That is why the words in contemporary ads are meticulously scripted, reviewed and rewritten and carefully presented to their potential receivers. Everything is carefully scripted and the room for improvisation is almost non-existent. On the other side, sometimes it is almost impossible to talk about the author of an advertisement because usually we talk about different groups of people and in this respect, advertising is closer to oral communication. This is also confirmed by our perception, when we see an advertisement we do not think about an individual creative personality, we usually associate that advertisement with the company that published it. In terms of paralanguage, advertisements are trying to associate writing with pictures and simulate the paralanguage of face-to-face communication. This is why we can see that literature and advertisements are much closer to orality, even though they differ in the extent to which they exploit the paralinguistic meaning contained in sounds and letters. Concrete poetry tries to evoke both the semiotic meaning of words and their potential to create pictures. This is why Lewis Carroll's "The Mouse's Tale" is in the shape of a table. In this particular case, the words look like they are

subjects. Indeed, the most well-known literary use of paralanguage is found in Tristram Shandy in which Laurence Sterne uses, neither iconic nor conventional signs, such as dashes, squiggles and pointing hands in order to express his narrative stance. In this unconventional simulation of face-to-face interaction, he is trying to simulate the situation where the author directly communicates with the reader. This reciprocal or quasi-reciprocal nature of communication is at odds with the distance communication of print media.

Advertisements are creatively trying to free language from time and utilise less redundant expressions carefully tuned to have maximum effect. However, this creates a gap between a text and a particular situation and deprives such text from the richness offered by paralanguage. That is why advertisers always try to evoke "brand personality" through writing, where the attention of a receiver is focused on the words, which enables such receiver to contemplate about the objective or subjective meaning of an advertisement. For an advertiser, writing is his or her advantage in composition, but not necessarily in reception. That is why advertisers try to exploit written paralanguage as much as possible by using, for example, different patterns, shapes, typefaces in order to create both iconic and indexical meanings. It is clear that advertisers are trying to compensate the losses of written text and to utilise both language and paralanguage. This loss is also partially compensated with mass communication technologies, which enable the displacement of a message from its point of origin and its dispersal to almost anyone. These technologies, such as radio, TV, different kinds of internet broadcasting can achieve displacement and wide dissemination, but they do not enable the receiver ample amount of time to process a message, to connect different and temporally separated segments. That is why advertisers try to make connexion between different broadcasting platforms in order to create interactive media, which seems to be an ideal solution, or perfect combination, to use the advertisers' jargon, to achieve the displaced and disseminated communication of both print and broadcasting. Thus, interactive media tries to imitate face-to-face interaction, but we must not forget that this interaction is something quite different from the interaction that takes place between a human interlocutor and us. This form of interaction reflects a designer's prediction as to how we, the receivers, would respond and react in certain situations, but what makes it

different from a real communication with a human interlocutor is that it cannot adjust to the unpredicted. Under these circumstances, advertisers of course have to tailor these advertisements to best fit the needs of the targeted audience, but still, even interactive advertisements do have to be tailored and they can only try, but not always succeed, to adjust intelligently to their receiver. However, here we have an interesting paradox related to modern communication related to a serious degradation of the importance of human contact. This is best exemplified by the fact that interactive advertisements put us in contact with an operator by giving us a telephone number, but the person who answers our call cannot speak freely, but have to stick to a scripted text, so in this case this real person is being treated as a computer.

Advertisers use other paralinguistic tools in order to bring their advertisements closer to the receivers (Barthes, 1985: 18). So, apart from the conventional signification of written words, we also want to exploit paralinguistic behaviour pertaining to pictures, sounds, gestures, tones of voice, facial expressions, etc. Voice for example may serve as an index of optimism, happiness, solidarity and friendship. This is why more permanent characteristics of somebody's voice, like age and class, are carefully selected in ads and of great importance for the personality of a brand, which advertisers try to attribute to a product. This is why for example, when athletes promote certain products these products want to be defined in terms of their physical or mental strength and that these products are “faster”, better and of more quality than the products produced by their competition. In this way, advertisers are trying to install a desire towards their type of personalities and they will use all the tools at their disposal. This is why a lot of advertisements feature young and attractive women who have no connection with the product being advertised, or there is no logical connection (Dyer, 1999: 98).

From the paralinguistic perspective these images provide the way of identification with “the ideal us”. As far as appearance is concerned, and irrespective of whether the focus of the picture is on the whole body or only on a certain part, “the ideal us”, as far as the women are concerned, is placed somewhere between their slim bodies, one universal S size. The skin is inevitably smooth, without any blemishes, lips are full and eyelashes are thin and curved. Hair has to be shiny, silky and without any signs of fatigue. These are the examples of paralinguistic features, which

function as indices of what our culture has defined as “feminine beauty”. If we “rough up” all of the abovementioned indices, we can get an approximation of what our culture defines as “masculine beauty”. Another vital carrier of meaning in print advertisements is pose (Kress, 1996: 178). These poses vary, depending on the particular message the advertisement tries to convey. Usually, we can distinguish between an aggressively seductive one and a relaxed, maternal one. In addition, the face and the facial expression of the (fe)male characters depicted in print ads form a significant element of paralinguistic. As with body posture, the (wo)men in print ads display a wide spectrum of facial expressions, which are “meant to underwrite the appeal of a product and arouse our emotions” (Dyer, 1999: 102). With very few exceptions, we can notice that most (fe)male characters in advertisements smile. This is due to the fact that the most important signifier seems to be the mouth. Depending on the intensity of the feeling it signals, the smile can vary from a slight upward curving of the lips to a broad grin.

These paralinguistic phenomena, present in print advertisements, confirm Kress and van Leeuwen’s (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 14) theory on the interpersonal function of visual design. Ad designers actively try to establish a social relationship between the depicted (fe)male character and the viewer. Majority of characters in ads have the tendency to look the viewers in the eye, establishing contact. This form of direct address acknowledges viewers explicitly, granting them the entry into the world of the ad and initiates some kind of social relationship (Cook, 1992: 36). The nature of this relationship is fleshed out by other paralinguistic elements, which initiate a relation of social affinity, for instance, eye contact and a smile. Kress and van Leeuwen (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 122) note that this visual form of direct address may be reinforced by a gesture in the direction of the viewer. This gesture is often inviting in its nature and is depicted as if offering the advertised product to the viewer, i.e. in these cases we can see the arms stretched towards the viewer and the product held in (open) hand. Open hand also touches the metaphor of an open relationship and the fact that the advertiser has nothing to hide. Another useful social tool at advertisers’ disposal is that many ads portray the characters in close-up or in medium close shot and in this case we have a clear connexion between the size of a advertisement’s/picture’s frame and the proxemics of social interaction.

In this framework, ad characters are very close to the viewers, which creates an atmosphere of proximity and intimacy.

Conclusion

In this paper, we made the connexion between Saussurean semiology and Peircean semiotics and how these two frames translate into the field of advertising. We presented some advantages and drawbacks of these two frameworks. Another important point was to create strong bond between language and paralanguage, since we are of the opinion that it is very difficult, let us not use the word impossible, to analyse the one without the other. All of the elements discussed in the first part of our paper were “revisited” through advertising in order for us to show the practical application pertaining to language and paralanguage. Here, we can conclude that, in the majority of ads, language is of secondary importance, whereas, the paralanguage of writing is often used to attract attention and to make the ad stand out.

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THE MULTICHANNEL REALITY OF LANGUAGE AND PARALANGUAGE

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Valentina V. Budinčić
Alfa BK univerzitet, Beograd
valentina.budincic@alfa.edu.rs

Anica V. Glođović
Univerzitet u Kragujevcu
glodjovicanica@yahoo.com

PERSONALNE POSLOVNE VEŠTINE U NASTAVI POSLOVNOG ENGLESKOG JEZIKA

Pregledni rad

Sažetak: Pored veština koje su u uskoj vezi sa odabranom stručnom oblašću i koje se najčešće označavaju kao tehničke veštine (engl. *hard skills*), sve veći značaj za uspeh i napredovanje u karijeri imaju brojne druge veštine, koje ćemo u ovome radu označiti kao *personalne poslovne veštine*, a koje se, između ostalog, odnose na: veštine ostvarivanja skladnih međuljudskih odnosa, veštine pregovaranja, upravljanje konfliktnim situacijama, liderske veštine, organizacione veštine, kritičko razmišljanje, upravljanje emocijama i slično, te je ovim veštinama potrebno posvetiti posebnu pažnju u okviru obrazovnog procesa. Zbog svoje specifičnosti, nastava engleskog jezika na univerzitetskom nivou, naročito kursevi poslovnog engleskog jezika, mogu imati veoma značajnu ulogu u razvijanju pomenutih veština kod mladih ljudi. Cilj ovoga rada jeste da se istraže načini na koje bi se personalnim poslovnim veštinama mogla posvetiti što veća pažnja u okviru nastave poslovnog engleskog jezika i to, ne samo kroz sadržaje u udžbenicima poslovnog engleskog jezika u kojima obrađuju neke od ovih veština, već i kroz brojne druge kreativne aktivnosti.

Ključne reči: poslovni engleski jezik, nastava, personalne veštine

Uvod

Za uspeh u poslovnom okruženju u savremenom svetu neophodno je posedovati čitavu lepezu različitih znanja i veština. Koliko je važno posedovati tehnička znanja i veštine iz određene profesionalne oblasti,

toliko je važno i biti vešt u komunikaciji i odnosima sa drugim ljudima i posedovati brojne druge osobine koje su veoma značajne za uspeh u poslovnom, ali i privatnom, okruženju. Uprkos činjenici da su pomenute 'netehničke' veštine od izuzetnog značaja za uspeh u poslu, o čemu svedoče brojne studije (Wahl, Kaufmann et al, 2012; Smith, 2007; Sheikh, 2009; Robles, 2012) u okviru obrazovnog sistema, ovim veštinama se ne posvećuje dovoljna pažnja. Određene studije pokazuju da su ove veštine nedovoljno zastupljene, te da je neophodno da se u većoj meri integrišu u sistem visokog obrazovanja (Tovdevska, 2015; Schulz, 2008). Jedan od načina na koji bi se to moglo postići, kako određeni autori zapažaju, jeste uvođenje novih predmeta u sistem univerzitetskog obrazovanja, dok se kao drugi, jednostavniji način predlaže rad na ovim veštinama u okviru postojećih predmeta (Tovdevska, 2018). S obzirom na to da je jedan od osnovnih ciljeva kursa poslovnog engleskog jezika da osposobi studente za uspešnu komunikaciju na engleskom jeziku u poslovnom okruženju, nameće se zaključak da bi poslovni engleski jezik trebalo da bude predmet u okviru koga će studenti osim rada na usavršavanju jezičkih veština imati priliku da rade i na usavršavanju svih ostalih važnih poslovnih veština. U ovome radu analiziraćemo koliko su 'netehničke', odnosno *personalne poslovne veštine* zastupljene u okviru nastave poslovnog engleskog jezika, te razmotriti određene nove načine na koje bi se rad na ovim veštinama mogao integrisati u nastavu poslovnog engleskog jezika.

Personalne poslovne veštine

Veštine o kojima govorimo u ovome radu, tj. različite specifične veštine potrebne za uspeh u poslovnom okruženju, u postojećim naučnim studijama se imenuju, klasifikuju i definišu na više različitih načina. Termini koje najčešće susrećemo su: meke veštine, interpersonalne veštine, primenjene veštine, veštine 21. veka, te ćemo u nastavku navesti definicije i klasifikacije u vezi sa istim. Prema Šulcu (2008), na primer, meke veštine uključuju: lične osobine (personal qualities), interpersonalne veštine (interpersonal skills) i dodatna znanja i veštine (additional skills/knowledge). Roblesova (2012: 457) meke veštine definiše kao karakterne crte, stavove i ponašanje, nasuprot čega se nalaze tehničke sklonosti i znanje. Meke veštine, prema istoj autorki predstavljaju neopipljive (intangible), netehničke veštine, kao i specifične

karakteristikeličnosti, koje određuju snagu pojedinca kao lidera, fasilitatora, medijatora i pregovarača. Prema Šakiru (Shakir, 2009: 310-311) meke veštine odnose se na sledeće:

- Veštine komunikacije: jasno izražavanje misli i iznošenje argumenata;
- Kritičko razmišljanje i rešavanje problema: sposobnost da se analizira, proceni i primeni znanje;
- Saradnja sa drugima: sposobnost da se radi u timu i saraduje sa pojedincima različitog porekla, obrazovanjai kulture, kao i sposobnost ostvarivanja istih ciljeva;
- Celoživotno učenje i menadžment informacija: sposobnost/veštine da se savladaju, istraže i obrade relevantne informacije;
- Etika i profesionalni moral: sposobnost da se primene moralni standardi u profesionalnom kontekstu;
- Veštine rukovođenja: sposobnost da se preuzme vođstvo i razumeju rukovodeće uloge.

Prema nekim autorima (James & James, 2004; Perreault, 2004) *interpersonalne veštine* i meke veštine odnose se na isti pojam, tj. na specifične netehničke veštine, dok prema drugima (Robles, 2012) interpersonalne veštine predstavljaju samo jedan oblik mekih veština. Zatim, značajno je pomenuti da se termini interpersonalna i intrapersonalna inteligencija, prema definicijama koje daje Gardner (u Goleman, 2009) mogu dovesti u vezu sa personalnim poslovnim veštinama. Naime, *interpersonalna* inteligencija je sposobnost da se razumeju drugi ljudi: šta ih motiviše, kako rade, na koji način saradivati sa njima. Uspešni trgovci, političari, nastavnici, lekari, verske vođe – svi oni spadaju u osobe sa visokim stepenom interpersonalne inteligencije. Sa druge strane, *intrapersonalna* inteligencija jeste sposobnost usaglašavanja unutaršnjeg života. To je sposobnost stvaranja verodostojnog i nepatvorenog modela bića i mogućnost da se taj model upotrebi da bi se plodotvorno živelo. (Gardner u Goleman, 2009: 37)

Meke veštine po nekim elementima mogu se dovesti u vezu sa emocionalnom inteligencijom, koja se deli na pet glavnih područja (Salovej u Goleman, 2009: 40-41):

1. Spoznavanje čovekovih emocija. Samosvest – prepoznavanje osećanja u trenutku kada se ispoljava – ključ je emocionalne inteligencije.
2. Upravljanje emocijama. Savladavanje i upravljanje emocijama tako da one budu tačno odabrane u odgovarajućoj situaciji, sposobnost je koja se zasniva na samosvesti.
3. Samomotivacija. Emocionalna samokontrola i smirivanje afekata u osnovi su svakog uspeha, a postizanje stanja ‚smirenosti‘ omogućiće izuzetna ostvarenja na svakom polju.
4. Prepoznavanje emocija kod drugih. Empatija, još jedna od sposobnosti koja se temelji na čovekovo samosvesti, osnovna je »ljudska veština«.
5. Umeće održavanja međuljudskih odnosa. Umeće održavanja međusobnih odnosa velikim delom predstavlja veštinu razumevanja tuđih emocija.

I na kraju, interesantno je pomenuti da Flin i Tomason (Flynn & Thomasson, 2006) koriste termin *veštine zapošljavanja* (employability skills) navodeći da one obuhvataju sledeće vrste veština: osnovne veštine (tehnička znanja), konceptualne veštine (planiranje, prikupljanje i organizovanje informacija i rešavanje problema), poslovne veštine (inovativnost i preduzimljivost), društvene veštine (znanje o državi i građanima), međuljudske veštine (interpersonalne osobine, kao što su komunikacija i timski rad), lične osobine (odgovornost, snalažljivost i samopouzdanje), dok Gevert (Gewertz, 2007) smatra da se meke veštine mogu nazvati 'primenjenim veštinama' ili 'veštinama 21. veka'.

Imajući u vidu sve prethodne klasifikacije i definicije *netehničkih* veština koje su neophodne za uspeh u poslovnom svetu, a sa namerom da na izvestan način objedinimo sve veštine na koje je usmerena naša pažnja u ovome radu, iste će u nastavku biti označene terminom *personalne poslovne veštine*.

Poslovni engleski jezik na univerzitetskom nivou

Za razliku od usko specijalizovanih ESP kurseva (narrow-ended courses), kao što su, na primer, kursevi za medicinske radnike, knjigovođe, fitness trenere i slično, kursevi (opšteg) Poslovnog engleskog jezika predstavljaju

kurseve namenjene polaznicima različitih profesionalnih usmerenja (Ahmed, 2014: 21). Osnovni cilj kurseva poslovnog engleskog jezika jeste osposobljavanje polaznika za uspešnu komunikaciju na engleskom jeziku u poslovnom okruženju, što je izuzetno važna veština za uspešno obavljanje bilo kojeg posla u savremenom svetu. Uvođenjem nastave personalnih poslovnih veština u okviru specijalizovanih kurseva u različitim profesionalnim poljima stvara se mogućnost da se na jedan specifičan način predaje određeni nastavni sadržaj, dok se istovremeno radi na unapređivanju različitih netehničkih veština. Kako ove veštine imaju veoma važnu ulogu u oblikovanju ličnosti pojedinca, za svakog je pojedinca od izuzetno velike važnosti da, pored akademskog i tehničkog znanja, stekne odgovarajuće specifične veštine (Schulz, 2008).

Integrisanje personalnih poslovnih veština u nastavu

Integrisanje personalnih poslovnih veština u nastavu engleskog jezika može se razmatrati u okviru CLIL metoda (Content and Language Integrated Learning), s obzirom na to da je osnovni cilj nastave koncipirane na ovaj način da se pored jezičkih usvoje i veštine i znanja iz drugih odabranih oblasti. U kojoj meri će svaka od odabranih veština ponaosob biti usvojena zavisiće od definisanog cilja. Nastavni materijali koji se koriste u okviru ovog tipa nastave treba da predstavljaju sadržaje iz odabrane oblasti i da zadovolje sledeće kriterijume (Nurkamto, Saleh & Sultan, 2013: 79):

- usklađenost sa fizičkim, kognitivnim, emocionalnim razvojem studenata,
- usklađenost sa potrebama studenata,
- usklađenost sa vremenom koje nam stoji na raspolaganju i dostupnim izvorima,
- usklađenost sa kulturnim obrascima sredine u kojoj studenti žive.

U kontekstu nastave engleskog jezika, integrisanje personalnih poslovnih veština odnosi se na razvijanje komunikativnih kompetencija i javlja se paralelno sa usvajanjem jezičkih veština (Nurkamto, Saleh & Sultan, 2013: 79). Nastava u vezi sa ovim specifičnim veštinama odvija se kroz aktivnosti, koje se mogu podeliti u sledeće grupe: (1) nastava zasnovana na aktivnostima (activity-based teaching), (2) interakcija ili

učesće (interaction or participation), (3) obnavljanje (reinforcement) i (4) iskustveno učenje (experiential learning) (Nurkamto, Saleh & Sultan, 2013: 80). Personalne poslovne veštine kroz neke od ovih aktivnosti usvajaju se na nesvesnom nivou, kroz zadatke koji se rade u paru, kroz vežbe čitanja, pisanja i slično. (Nurkamato, Saleh & Sultan, 2013: 79)

Imajući u vidu sve prethodno navedeno u nastavku rada više reči biće o nastavi poslovnog engleskog jezika i načinima na koje bi se integrisanjem određenih aktivnosti u okviru ovoga predmeta više pažnje moglo posvetiti radu na *personalnim poslovnim veštinama*.

Poslovni engleski jezik i personalne poslovne veštine na Fakultetu za strane jezike

Poslovni engleski jezik na Fakultetu za strane jezike u Beogradu radi se po udžbeniku *Market Leader Upper-Intermediete* i *Market Leader Advanced*. Lekcije u udžbeniku se zasnivaju na originalnim tekstovima iz Fajnenšl Tajmsa, brojnim audio materijalima, kao i raznovrsnim zadacima za individualni rad i rad u parovima i grupama¹. Radom na svim navedenim zadacima razvijaju se različite jezičke i personalne poslovne veštine i tako stiču brojna potrebna znanja i veštine neophodne za uspešnu komunikaciju na engleskom jeziku u poslovnom okruženju, što i jeste cilj ovoga predmeta. Iako aktivnosti u vezi sa personalnim poslovnim veštinama jesu u određenoj meri zastupljene u udžbeniku, da bi studenti što bolje razvili svest o važnosti ovih veština i usavršili ih neophodno je u nastavu uključiti određene dodatne aktivnosti², što se može učiniti na sledeće načine:

¹ Brojne aktivnosti koje prate lekcije iz udžbenika mogu se naći na sledećem linku: <https://www.pearson.com/english/catalogue/business-english/market-leader.html>

² U radu *Web-based resources for business English Classes* (Budinčić 2017) se mogu naći predlozi za unapređenje nastave poslovnog engleskog jezika korišćenjem onlajn izvora. Poseban odeljak posvećen je personalnim poslovnim veštinama i onlajn izvorima koji se mogu koristiti da bi se ove veštine unapredile.

1. Personalizovanjem zadataka u vezi sa poslovnim veštinama koje se obrađuju u udžbeniku,³
2. Kreativnim radom na personalnim veštinama koje nisu zastupljene u udžbeniku.

Pomenuti ciljevi na određeni način mogu se ostvariti radom na projektima koje ćemo opisati u nastavku:

1. A day out in Belgrade with foreign business partners,
2. Dream job,
3. Virtual company,
4. Virtual English language school,
5. Students' workshops or panel discussions⁴.

U okviru projekta 'A day out in Belgrade with foreign business partners' studenti imaju zadatak da odaberu i opišu mesta u gradu koja bi posetili u toku jednog dana u Beogradu sa poslovnim partnerima iz inostranstva. Studenti u svojim radovima biraju i detaljno opisuju atraktivne turističke lokacije, muzeje, spomenike, ugostiteljske objekte, običaje i sl. Radeći na ovom zadatku studenti saznaju brojne nove informacije o znamenitostima u Beogradu i tako se pripremaju za buduće (stvarne) poslovne susrete sa poslovnim saradnicima u svojim profesionalnim karijerama.

U okviru projekta 'Dream job' studenti imaju zadatak da detaljno opišu svoj idealan posao i pripreme sve što je potrebno da bi se prijavili na konkurs za svoje idealno radno mesto. Studenti, između ostalog, pišu biografije, molbe, prpratna pisma, potom pripremaju odgovore za potencijalna pitanja na intervjuu i slično. Na časovima studenti imaju mogućnost da u parovima vežbaju intervju.

³ Na primer, neke od personalnih poslovnih veština koje se obrađuju u udžbeniku su: pregovaranje, prezentovanje, 'breinstorming', umrežavanje, rešavanje konfliktnih situacija i slično. Svaka od ovih tema data je u određenim kontekstima, koji su nekada u manjoj nekada u većoj meri bliski studentima. Kako bi studenti na što efikasniji način usvojili potrebna znanja i veštine, u situacijama kada je dati kontekst manje blizak studentima, potrebno je isti prilagoditi konkretnim potrebama što se može postići kroz rad na projektima koji se opisuju u radu.

⁴ U toku prethodne školske godine studenti treće i četvrte godine Fakulteta za strane jezike radili su projekte *A day out in Belgrade with foreign business partners* i *Dream Job*. Realizacija ostalih projekata planirana je za naredni period.

U okviru projekta 'Virtual company' studenti dobijaju različite uloge (pozicije) i zadatke koje bi imali i u stvarnoj kompaniji. Tako, na primer, studenti su 'raspoređeni' na radna mesta u sektoru marketinga, finansija i sl. i imaju zadatak da obavljaju različite aktivnosti u kompaniji: održavaju redovne sastanke, bave se marketinškim aktivnostima, izrađuju i prezentuju finansijske izveštaje i sl. Sama delatnost kompanije određuje se prema željama i afinitetima studenata. Na Fakultetu za strane jezike odabrana delatnost može biti proizvodnja i prodaja različitih kreativnih radova nastalih u okviru nastave na drugim predmetima. Svi navedeni zadaci u toku semestra se dovode u vezu sa temama koje se obrađuju u udžbeniku.

U okviru projekta 'Virtual English language school' studenti obavljaju slične zadatke kao u prethodno opisanom projektu. Kako je rad u školama jezika jedna od mogućnosti za zaposlenje koje će studenti Fakulteta za strane jezike imati nakon završenih studija, obavljanje poslovnih zadataka u tom kontekstu posebno je korisno i trebalo bi da bude motivišuće. Kroz ovaj zadatak mogu se dovesti u vezu aktivnosti na predmetima Poslovni engleski jezik i Metodika nastave engleskog jezika.

Projekat 'Students' workshops or panel discussions' osmišljen je tako da studenti u toku semestra imaju zadatak da se pripremaju za radionice i diskusije na teme, kao što su: Motivacija, Samopouzdanje, Menadžment vremena, Menadžment znanja, Govor tela, Veštine prezentacije i slično, tako što će čitati određenu literaturu, prikupljati različite novinske tekstove i video materijale na ove teme. U panel diskusije i radionice povremeno su uključene i osobe iz struke, na primer psiholozi, menadžeri, ili pojedinci uspešni u određenoj oblasti koji govore o svojim iskustvima u vezi sa datom temom.

Cilj svih ovde opisanih zadataka jeste da se nastavni sadržaji koji se obrađuju na Poslovnom engleskom jeziku dovedu u vezu sa kontekstima u stvarnom životu i poslovnom svetu u kojima će studenti moći da primene čitavu lepezu različitih veština koje poseduju. Radom na ovakvim zadacima studenti razvijaju svest o važnosti posedovanja pomenutih veština i rade na usavršavanju istih primenjujući ih u personalizovanom kontekstu.

Zaključak

Cilj rada na unapređivanju personalnih poslovnih veština jeste da se studenti što bolje pripreme za sve izazove koje nosi moderno doba u poslovnom svetu. U ovome radu smo nastojali ukazati da rad na personalnim poslovnim veštinama može veoma uspešno biti uključen u kurseve poslovnog engleskog jezika, a da je zadatak nastavnika da pronalaze načine kako da ove veštine približe studentima i da ih konstantno podstiču da rade na njihovom usavršavanju. Jedan od načina da se to postigne jeste kreiranje različitih personalizovanih nastavnih aktivnosti koje će motivisati studente da im se rado posvete.

Važno je naglasiti da ma koliko se činilo da neke od ovih veština nije moguće unaprediti pohađanjem kurseva u okviru obrazovnog sistema, jer se mahom radi o veštinama koje kao takve posedujemo celi život, profesionalac koji želi imati uspešnu karijeru u izuzetno jakoj poslovnoj konkurenciji u 21. veku mora se posvetiti njihovom usavršavanju, jer drugog izbora nema (Iyer, 2005 in Schulz, 2008).

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Summary: TEACHING PERSONAL SKILLS IN BUSINESS ENGLISH COURSES

In order to achieve success in a competitive modern business environment, ambitious professionals in different fields are constantly striving to develop a whole range of different skills. In recent years, in addition to possessing skills that are closely related to the profession itself, often referred to as technical skills, success and career advancement are becoming very closely related to personal skills, including: skills to achieve coherent interpersonal relationships, negotiation skills, conflict management, leadership skills, organizational skills, critical thinking, emotion management, etc. Teaching these skills is becoming a remarkably important segment of the educational process. English language courses at university level, particularly business English courses, can play a very important role in developing these skills with young people and preparing them for their future careers.

The aim of this paper was to explore ways in which personal skills could be given greater attention in business English courses, not only via content in business English textbooks where special attention is paid to the development of personal skills, but also through other various creative activities. Ideas on how to create certain activities that could improve personal business skills are given in the final part of the paper. We believe that at least some of the ideas presented here will be helpful to all those English teachers who want to enrich their Business English courses by paying special attention to development of these skills.

Keywords: business English, teaching, personal skills

Darko M. Kovačević
University of East Sarajevo
dax1978@gmail.com

(LINGUISTIC) REPRESENTATION OF EMOTIONS IN TEXTS ON ART MUSIC

Review article

Abstract: Texts on different aspects of art music are a significant and constantly growing and developing discourse used within the discourse community of professional musicians and other persons which are directly involved in art music, as performers, theoreticians, educators, analysts, musicologists, historians, etc. The linguistic (lexico-grammatical) representation of emotions in such texts and the relation of such representation with the types of texts, their topics and purposes will be analysed and discussed in this paper. Namely, a generalised, broad classification of topics which the texts on art music may cover includes theoretical considerations, musical analyses, overviews, reviews and historical presentations of music history periods, lives and works of composers, theoreticians, analysts and musical pedagogues and musical careers of significant performers. Each of the topics usually corresponds to characteristic text type(s), with different ways and intensity of expressing the emotions in a text, depending both on the purpose of the text and on the subjectivity or objectivity of the author(s). The discussion and analysis will be made on the basis of a corpus consisting of 200 excerpts from texts on art music written in English, taken from different publications (books, textbooks, scientific and professional papers, journal articles, prefaces and afterwords of printed sheet music) and selected on the basis of their lexico-grammatical properties, which make them specifically and exclusively related to art music and its concepts.

Keywords: emotions, art music, text, analysis, structural interpretation.

Introduction

Art music is the “term used to describe music that is written down and that takes a more or less established form to transmit some sort of artistic expression” (Latham, 2004: 13), acting as an opposition to popular music in terms of its artistic features (Plavša, 1972: 617), as well as to folk, liturgical (spiritual or church music) and dance music. Together with the development of art music, different theoretical disciplines were developed, such as *Harmony*, *History of Music*, *Musical Forms*, *Theory of Music*, *Orchestration*, *Musical Arrangement*, etc. The topics discussed in these disciplines and the used terminology primarily orient their texts towards the discourse community of art music professionals. Namely, the topics primarily include musical works (compositions) and composers, together with their lives, education, compositional techniques and general positions they have within the periods (epochs) and musical styles during which they lived. The periods are also significant topics within the texts, with their characteristics, forms, genres and representatives. A special place in the texts on art music is reserved for the performers playing different instruments, as well as for theoreticians and analysts of music. Finally, the texts include the musical pedagogy publications used for various art music subjects on all educational levels (Kovačević, 2017: 35-36).

Due to their content and communicative purpose, the texts belonging to different theoretical disciplines related to art music can be broadly categorised as academic discourse, with all the features and characteristics such a categorisation may imply, including the reduction of strictly personal and overemotional impressions, expressions and attitudes.

Corpus description

To perform the analysis presented in this paper, a corpus consisting of 200 excerpts taken from different texts on art music in English has been used, with a total of about 60,000 words. At the most general level of selection, it was necessary to include in the corpus the texts which meet three basic criteria: expertise and recognition of authors, relevancy and actuality. In terms of the publications from which the excerpts have been used, the important features were their types, quality (recognition and

usability within the discourse community) and purpose, in the sense of the primary target group of readers. The excerpts of texts which have been included in the corpus were primarily taken from books on art music (11 theoretical books, one encyclopaedic dictionary, one book containing the chapters written by different authors). There are also scientific and professional papers and articles (12 papers from conference proceedings, 9 articles from 6 music magazines), as well as forewords and afterwords to sheet music publications (13 of them). Only printed publications and digital publications in a format which completely resembles a printed publication were used.

Regarding the excerpts included in the corpus, another significant selection criterion was that they were directly related to art music in terms of terminology and not interwoven with any other general or interdisciplinary content that can be found within a particular text. It was also important that they could be analysed and observed both as independent, thematically and semantically completed units and as parts of the texts from which they had been taken.

Speech acts and structural interpretation of texts

After analysing the corpus, it has been concluded that the texts from it can be divided into a few categories, on the basis of their structural organisation. At the same time, it has been identified that the structural organisation is based on predominant types of speech acts found in the texts. Within the five types of speech acts, denoted in literature as representatives, directives, commissives, declarations and expressives (Yule 1997, Meyer 2009), it can be said that representatives are the type which mostly occurs in the texts. There are two variants of this type: objective and subjective representatives. Objective representatives are used for expressing assertions on different aspects of art music, which can be checked and confirmed by an insight into relevant literature, a musical score or a sound recording of a piece of music. On the contrary, subjective representatives are used to express opinions of different authors on various musical phenomena, issues or questions. As such, they are based on personal emotions, feelings and relations and contain a certain amount of authorial subjectivity.

Pursuant to the type of representatives (objective or subjective) which determine their content and the manner of its presentation, there are two types of texts identified within the given corpus: overviews and standpoints.

The overviews appear as analytical, descriptive and historical, as well as the variants in which two of these three types are combined or interwoven (analytical-descriptive and historical-descriptive overviews).

The function of analytical overviews is to present different types of musical analysis (harmonic, formal, melodic-rhythmic and combined). It is common that an analytical overview starts with an objective representative, after which an additional explanation usually comes in the form of an objective or subjective representative. Finally, there is the text of the analysis, written so that it follows the score of the analysed piece of music. In relation to that, there is always an assumption that a reader of the analysis has the score of the analysed musical work at the disposal. After the text of the analysis, it is possible for objective or subjective representatives to reappear, as a sort of conclusion to the ones which appeared at the beginning, before the analysis. If the analysis in question includes a few mutually related musical units, it is also possible that an analytical overview ends with the text of analysis of the last unit.

On the other hand, descriptive overviews deal with different ways of describing musical phenomena, forms, genres, or compositional techniques. Like analytical overviews, they can also be used for describing musical works, their parts and groups of works, but in relation to the parameters which do not require a direct analytical description of a score (genre, style, relation to other works or arts, etc.). In most cases, objective representatives appear at the beginning of descriptive overviews, being complemented and elaborated in more detail in the rest of the text.

Finally, historical overviews have the role to present chronologically various past events related to life, opus and work of composers and theoreticians of music, and also to origination and development of musical forms, styles, genres and other phenomena.

Analytical-descriptive overviews occur in cases when analytical overviews are complemented with additional information, usually outside the scope of the analysis or interwoven with it. Another type, historical-

descriptive overviews, occur when additional information is provided as an addition to the historical data. Due to that, they are a bit wider than the other mentioned and described types of overview in terms of their content, and oriented towards the consideration of musical phenomena on a more general historical or multidisciplinary level. As such, they are often partially complemented with subjective, personal or emotional comments and opinions of their authors.

Standpoints appear in the form of personal judgements, opinions, assertions, and authors' views on various musical issues. Like overviews, standpoints may be related to the lives and works of composers, musical works/their parts, musical forms, genres and phenomena in general. However, it is not possible to classify them into different types pursuant to their content. The basic structure of a standpoint is the *presentation-explanation* model, where the presentation of a standpoint is a subjective representative as a speech act, being later further elaborated and/or explained from the author's personal perspective. It is also possible for an initial presentation (subjective representative) to be further clarified by some other subjective representatives which facilitate its understanding, before the occurrence of the actual explanation. On the other hand, if necessary, the explanation itself may also contain a type of overview.

Linguistic representation of emotions in texts

If the mentioned and described structural classifications of analysed excerpts of texts included in the corpus are considered, it is necessary to say that, due to the nature of their content, analytical and historical overviews are almost completely deprived of any representations of emotions. Such a deprivation also implies the absence of linguistic representation of the emotional content. Namely, on the one hand, analytical overviews deal with different aspects of musical analysis and, as such, they tend to be objective and to present (in the form of a written text), as accurate as possible, what their authors see and notice in the score and/or sound recording of the analysed pieces of music. The analysis thus involves all the details and observations significant for the author (analyst) to be presented and described, but, at the same time, it neither leaves any room for personal or emotional elements in the text nor such elements would be appropriate, due to the objectivity which characterises

the musical analysis. On the other hand, historical overviews deal with historical information relating to different aspects of music, and that also implies the absence of emotional content and elements of any kind, due to a strong tendency towards objectiveness of the texts, based on historical data and facts. The only emotional aspect of these texts can be seen indirectly, i.e. in something that has not been written or included in the texts or the entire publications from which the texts have been taken. In such cases, the avoidance of mentioning or including someone or something (objectively worth mentioning) usually implies negative emotions towards the person and/or phenomenon, or even some ideological or political reasons for the exclusion and ignoring.

Most emotions and their linguistic representations may be found in descriptive overviews and their combinations with analytical and historical overviews, as well as in standpoints. However, the limiting issue that should be taken into account is that the texts are essentially based on the combination of objective facts and subjective statements and assertions. That does not leave too much space dedicated for the expression of emotions outside the genuine (mostly) positive or (very rarely, almost exclusively in the cases of negative criticism) negative authorial attitude, developed through aesthetic pleasure, surprise, disapproval or shocking relation to a certain musical topic, phenomenon or issue.

In his paper *A General Psychoevolutionary Theory of Emotions*, Robert Plutchik identified eight basic emotions: joy, sadness, trust, disgust, fear, anger, surprise and anticipation (Plutchik, 1980: 15). In the process of analysis, only four of them have been found in the texts included in the corpus: joy, surprise, trust and disgust, together with their variants and combinations. In accordance with the consulted literature (Foolen 2012, Baider and Cislaru 2014, Kövecses 2004, Wilce 2009) the presence of such emotions in written textual materials is seen primarily through the presence of so-called emotion words. These are the words from the category of content words (adjectives, adverbs, verbs, nouns), from which emotions can be read and seen, either directly or through different figures of speech in the creation of which they participate. The predominant figures of speech which can be found in the texts within the analysed corpus are personification, epithet, metaphor, metonymy and simile. However, the full power and effect of representation of emotions can be

seen in the best manner within the entire utterances, mostly on a sentence level, through speech acts, i.e. objective and subjective representatives. In such utterances, single or grouped words get the entirety of their emotional component and meaning (very often largely depending on the context), while standing as a sort of stylistic contrast to musical terminology. At this point it is necessary to emphasise that the appearance of the emotion expressions in texts on art music is of relatively secondary importance for their primary communicative purpose because their use is dosed and controlled by the tendency for some sort of objectivity, which should characterise the academic discourse to which they, essentially, belong to. In spite of that fact, the presence of linguistic representations of emotions is still a significant constituent of these texts, because it moderates the level of their seriousness and rigidity and provides that the art music and its issues, topics and phenomena are considered and discussed in a language which is appropriate for an art.

In the lines which follow, some examples will be given, from which the way of expressing emotions through appropriate linguistic representations could be visible in a clear manner. They are taken from descriptive overviews and their combinations with analytical and historical overviews, as well as from standpoints. All the examples are given as utterances in the form of complex sentences where different linguistic indicators of emotions are combined to create the final “result”, i.e. the expression of the author’s feeling or opinion in relation to the topic being described or discussed.

In the first example, describing the characteristic of Robert Schumann *Carnaval*, Op. 9, for piano solo, the first linguistic level of emotion expression can be seen through multiple personification of “melodic shapes”, described as “whimsical”, with the possibility to be “engendered”, to “haunt” and to “bind together” the piece of music in question. Also, these “melodic shapes” are, through simile, compared with the “idée fixe” from Hector Berlioz’s *Fantastic Symphony*. Finally, the “way” in which the “binding” of the musical piece, performed by the “musical shapes” is also, in a way, personified through the use of epithets, i.e. adjectives “indefinable” and “mysterious”. All the mentioned linguistic devices depict the emotions of joy and amusement felt and experienced by the author of the text during the listening of *Carnaval* and presented in the form of an

objective representative as a speech act, enriched with author's additional, subjective impressions.

[1] The whimsical melodic shapes engendered by these four notes haunt the whole *Carnaval*, binding it together like Berlioz's *idée fixe*, but in a more indefinable, mysterious way. (Crocker, 1986: 441)

Another example, as an objective representative, deals with Franz Schubert's approach to harmony and, more general, with the changes in harmonic language which characterise the period of musical romanticism in comparison with the harmony of musical classicism. These changes are described as the "dissolution of norms", a metonymy used to denote the complex procedure of expansion and complication of harmony that went far beyond the rules and principles ("norms") set by the classical composers and their "classical-style harmonic practice". Within that context, there is also Schubert's "redefining of constrained chords", i.e. the finding and implementation of new (romantic) ways of their use, in the status of such chords described by epithets as "harmonically stable and valid" by themselves, regardless of the harmonic context and surrounding. With all these means, the author demonstrates the emotions of joy and surprise, but, at the same time, of trust in Schubert's harmonic devices and their contribution to the harmonic language of musical romanticism.

[2] One of the key elements of Schubert's approach to harmony – and, more broadly speaking, of the beginning of the nineteenth-century dissolution of the norms of classical-style harmonic practice – is the redefining of constrained chords such as these as chords harmonically stable and valid in their own right. (Kopp, 2002: 29)

The third example is a rather subjective representative, describing the author's genuine emotions of joy and surprise felt during the process of careful listening to a piece of (in this case, vocal) music and all the nuances which may emerge during that process at the side of a listener. In this case, these emotions are presented in a rather unusual way, through the use of various epithets, in the form of words which would be much more appropriate for writing about some technical or economic issues, to describe and talk about the musical terms and music in general ("attend carefully to music", "shifting sonorities", "management of sounds", "secure control of instruments or voices", "tone that is floating weightlessly", "robust and distinctive voice", "abrasive noise", "limitless tenor", "massive

vocal materials”, “musical dimensions”), thus giving them almost physical properties.

[3] If we are really attending carefully to music, we are bound to be aware of shifting sonorities – the management of sounds, the secure control of instruments or voices; the tone that is apparently floating weightlessly, yet robust, a distinctive voice, abrasive noise, the ‘limitless tenor’ who becomes a problem to everyone else by emphasising control over his massive vocal materials at the expense of the other musical dimensions. (Swanwick, 2003: 22)

The three examples which follow are typical subjective representatives, by which their authors express joy, amusement, admiration and excitement with the musical works (or, in the third example, musical style) they have been writing about, mainly through the use of various epithets (“extraordinary place”, “wide and enduring response”; “powerful and heartfelt elegy”, “one of the most moving examples”; “diverse musical style”, “substantive stylistic differentiation”, “diverse compositional techniques”).

[4] Handel’s Messiah holds an extraordinary place both among the composer’s works and in the history of Western music – no other work has met with the same wide and enduring response. (Mann, 1989: 148)

[5] This work is a powerful and heartfelt elegy, and is one of the most moving examples of elegiac war music from the 20th century. (Wood, 2014: 117)

[6] Ligeti’s diverse musical style underwent various transformations during different periods; each period demonstrates substantive stylistic differentiation, along with his diverse compositional techniques. (Yu, 2014: 173)

In another example, the expression “Mokranjac’s achievement” is used as a deeply appreciating metaphor for all Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac’s compositions belonging to the category of art music, and as such it has been exposed to a sort of personification embodied in the author’s statement that it “became a monument, a cultural icon”. The epithets used to describe Mokranjac’s interest in spiritual and secular music of Serbia (“profoundly and creatively”) are an additional contribution to that appreciation and author’s feeling of joy and a sort of trust in Mokranjac’s

works. Although the sentence presents a subjective representative, the choice of words and their emotional content create a feeling that the author opinion is that the written assertion presents an objective truth.

[7] Mokranjac's achievement, that of a composer of "art music" who was also profoundly and creatively interested in the sacred and folk traditions of Serbia, itself became a monument, a cultural "icon", in the sense that an icon may have a very strong meaning outside strictly religious contexts. (Moody, 2004: 20)

The construction "music of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina" is treated in a similar manner in the example that follows, being, at first, used as a metaphor for his entire musical (compositional) opus and then personified into a "phenomenon" which "may have even been responsible for safeguarding the place of polyphony in the Church". In both ways, the author's joy in Palestrina's music as well as the deep admiration have been demonstrated within this subjective representative.

[8] The music of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525-1594) not only represents the culmination of the composition of polyphonic settings of the Roman Mass, but may have even been responsible for safeguarding the place of polyphony in the Church. (Casimiri, 1993: vii-viii)

Finally, in the last selected example, the last name of Ludwig van Beethoven has been used as a metaphor for all his musical works, compositional, technical, formal, harmonic and other achievements and, as such, it has been described by different epithets ("turning point", "ripe utterance of the modern impulse", "great accumulation of artistic resources") which express authors' admiration of Beethoven and his work, and, consequently, imply their genuine joy in Beethoven's music, given in the form of a subjective representative.

[9] Beethoven stands just at the turning-point of the ways of modern art, and combines the sum of past human effort in the direction of musical design with the first ripe utterance of the modern impulse – made possible by the great accumulation of artistic resources – in the direction of human expression. (Hubert and Parry, 2009 (1893): 298-299).

Conclusion

The first component of the linguistic representation of emotions in texts on art music depends on their structural organization, so that historical and analytical overviews are almost completely deprived of any emotional content, and the emotions can mostly be found in descriptive overviews and their combinations with historical and analytical overviews, as well as in standpoints.

The expressing of emotions mostly occurs on the level of utterances acting as speech acts. It is generally performed by using the emotion words or, even more often, by giving particular words their emotional component and meaning within the utterances and context, mostly through various figures of speech, thus making them a sort of stylistic contrast to the musical terminology and general talk about different musical issues, topics and phenomena.

Within the analysed textual corpus, four basic emotions can be found (joy, surprise, trust and disgust), together with their combinations and variants, expressing author's positive or (rarely) negative attitude (aesthetic pleasure, surprise, disapproval or shock) towards a certain musical topic.

It must be stated that the results and conclusions achieved in the paper largely depend on the fact that the texts from which the analysed excerpts have been taken belong to the category of (written) academic discourse on art music and, as such, tend to be objective and deprived of emotional content, as much as possible. Different and probably more complex results would be achieved if some forms of less formal textual materials (transcripts of oral presentations, lessons, informal musical criticism, etc.) were organised in the corpus and analysed, and that will probably be the direction of a future research, originating from this paper.

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(LINGUISTIC) REPRESENTATION OF EMOTIONS IN TEXTS ON ART MUSIC

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Марија П. Паунова
Универзитет *Св. Кирил и Методиј*, Скопље
maripaunova@gmail.com

ГРАФИТИ СРЦА

Оригинални научни рад

Апстракт: Графити су одувек били нека врста уметности којом аутори желе да јавно и транспарентно преносе своје поруке широј јавности и на неки начин комуницирају с њом. Понекад су духовити, понекад политички, понекад љубавни, али су одличан начин изражавања тренутног, акутног (али и хроничног) потиска, углавном субјективних/индивидуалних емоција на креативан начин. Главни интерес рада су љубавни графити у Скопљу и њихова улога у преношењу најлепше емоције – љубави. Ови графити носе поруке изрезане из срца, углавном путем језичких, али и путем ванлингвистичких средстава. Циљ је размотрити начине и могућности, потенцијал језика којим се изражава ова емоција.

Кључне речи: графити, Скопље, љубав, лингвистичка средства

*За љубов се потребни двајца, а за многу љубов сме
потребни јас и ти!!!¹*

*(За љубав је потребно двоје, а за многу љубави смо
потребни ја и ти!!!)*

Транспарентне зидове Скопља кресе и улепшавају кратки љубавни натписи, које су углавном испрскали спрејом заљубљени или љубитељи графита.

¹Примере текстуалних графита у целом тексту дајем написано искошено (курзив), без навода истих у наводницима. Сви примери преведени су и на српски језик и стављени у заграду. Тамо где је форма иста и у македонском и у српском није дат превод.

Отуда и мотив да се у овом истраживању задржимо на оним графитима у којима је изражена најлепша, исконска, вечно присутна, а уједно и најкомплекснија емоција – љубав,² са циљем да испитамо најфреквентније, то јест најзаступљеније језичке форме изражавања емоције љубави у кратким јавним љубавним порукама на зидовима у Скопљу.

Феномен графита

Графита као цивилизацијске појаве у светском контексту има још од палеолита, па се зато слободно може рећи да графити представљају вредан материјал за успостављање хронике људске цивилизације (Ćuto, 2018: 55).

Крајем двадесетог века неки научници који се баве културном историјом окренули су се проучавању материјалне културе (Berк, 2010: 88) из разлога што материјални елементи културе не само да се сматрају за дуговечније, него и садрже и чувају велик број информација. Неоспорно је да богатство духовног и материјалног живота једног народа откривају бројни књижевни, епиграфски и правно-дипломатски споменици (закони, ктиторски и надгробни споменици, сведочанства, крмчије и сл.).

У Македонији, као и у целом свету, током историјских епоха, поред других бројних достигнућа у домену материјалне и духовне културе, неговала се и једна врло богата епиграфска активност.³

² Dixon (2003) говори о модерној категорији емоција као делу секуларизацијског процеса која утиче на цео систем категорија потребних/корисних за класификацију и за концептуализацију човечијег искуства и односа. Иако људи из различитих култура и који говоре различитим језицима различито могу да категоризују емоције, постоји велика сличност у категоризацији емоција кроз језике и културе и поред тога што се јављају варијације у језицима у броју лексема за неку емоцију (Russell, 1991: 444). Према Големану (2012: 465) емоције су много префињеније од речи које постоје и којима се могу описати.

³Епиграфска активност у Македонији има своју историју прво од времена глагољичке традиције (глагољичка слова на стубовима у манастиру Св.

Графити су део и културног репертоара Македоније у каснијем средњем веку и у османлијском периоду, који, и поред услова/околности у којима се стварају, обезбеђују културни опстанак на овим просторима. Захваљујући повратку епиграфског стваралаштва, обезбеђени су реконструкција и оживљавање материјалне културе на поузданим и још увек постојећим изворима, преко којих данас анализирамо и из којих извлачимо информације хетерогеног карактера.

И у нашем времену графити су и те како део македонске, пре свега урбане културе. Под графитима⁴ подразумевамо случајно/намерно забележену/написану кратку белешку, не цртеж, неофицијелног карактера, која се углавном одликује фрагментираношћу/парцијалношћу (од неколико речи до развијенијег текста) саопштеном на тврдом материјалу.⁵ Раније су древни натписи били црквеног или битског карактера, а у савременим културним тенденцијама текстуални/вербални графити су део градске зоне, авангарде последње четвртине двадесетог века (Ћуто, 2018: 27). У прошлости су графити најчешће били остављани без дозволе на тајној и скривеној површини, на зиду, на стубу унутар храма и изван њега, на стени, на камену у близини цркве и сл., тј.

Наума), а потом и преко ћириличких натписа (Самуилов, Варошки и Битолски натпис).

⁴ Назив *графити* је грчког порекла γράφει = писати, цртати, гребати „γράφει“, „γράφειτο“. Могуће је да реч графити потиче и од италијанског „graffito“ што значи *шкраба*. Италијанско порекло назова *графити* прихвата Высоцкий (1976:5). „Графито је кратак инвентиван исказ написан на видљивом месту (Пандев, 2009: 136).

⁵ Ћућ (1999: 33-35) дефинише графите као додатни текст, чак и изрезан, оштрим предметом или написан кредом, угљем или бојом на објекту (најчешће на зиду, гипсу, глини, цигли, камену) на фасади зграде, и они нису повезани с пореклом или функцијом објекта на ком су написани и на ком се налазе или се појаљују свуда где има погодна места, површина, за графоманијака. Најчешће су написани од путника, посеетилаца, поклоника, чудака. Према Негсигонја (2006: 244), графити су записи издубљени или написани на црквеним зидовима, фрескама, намештају, па чак и у злату и сребру инвентара.

свугде где је постојао погодан простор за писање. Данас су углавном на транспарентној површини, свугде где има одговарајућег места за писање, с циљем да порука дође до примаоца/прималаца. Данашњи графити су написани бојом, испрскани спрејом, написани маркером, што можда утиче на њихову трајност, за разлику од оних дијакроних, који су пре свега издубљени/изгребани. Текст графита није повезан с функцијом објекта (барака, киоск, зграда, грађевински објекат, лифт, степенице, превозно средство, мост, зид установе и сл.), у првом плану је силна жеља аутора да остави зидну белешку, док су раније графити били првенствено остављани на зиду цркве (црква је била медиј за пренос религиозних, моралних, животних порука).

Разматрајући ситуацију с графитима као део историје македонског народа, тј. као део културне историје, а имајући у виду садржински карактер, разликовали су се: црквени, битски графити, као и они летописног карактера и аутографи,⁶ иако су доминирале последње две групе: *прими ги молене рабѣ своето милицѣ ГМат1. азз граматицѣ воиѣна... да за михаилз (...)пѣ писахѣ доидохѣ да вадимѣ лезѣ ГГК1-5. да се знае кад прогнаше немци тоурчина шт боудима до шипѣ достапноу до велесѣ ва лето зрчѣ ГМН1.* ⁷ Графити с историјског аспекта могу да приближе карактеристике животне активности, као и суштину људи у конкретној историјској епохи. Данас, ако се узме у обзир тематска одлика, срећу се идеолошки, спортски, персонални/лични (љубавни графити), морално-филозофки, рекламни, декоративни, еколошки, симболички, чак и нонсенс, загонетке, афоризми. ⁸ Свака класификација подлеже допуњавању, тако да је ово груписање привремено, отворено, флексибилно.

⁶Систематизацију историјских графита даје Рыбаков (1984: 50-57). Михайлов (2012: 202) наводи и друге моменте из интимног живота, који могу бити заступљени у графитима: љубавни осећаји, лепота вољене, политичка убеђења, психа индивидуе. Высоцкий (1976) спомиње и магијске графите.

⁷Ови графити су из Цркве Св. Ђорђа, Горњи Козјак, Штип, из XIV века (ГГК1-5); из манастира Св. Богородице, Матка, 1497. г. (ГМат1) и из Цркве Св. Ђорђа, Младо Нагоричино, 1691 г. (ГМН1).

⁸Више о класификацији графита в. Џуто (2018: 32 -35).

Такође, графити су обележавали и обележавају догађаје и дешавања који су важни с аспекта једног лица, или пак више особа. Одликују се непосредношћу и искреним изражавањем мисли и осећања⁹. Раније су их писали путници, обични посетиоци, богомољци, црквени служитељи, свештенство, монаси (Рождественская, 1972: 116), али пре свега, компетентна лица, и они нам помажу да лакше разумемо живот / животни стил и језик прошлих култура. Данас свако може да буде аутор графита; иако углавном остаје анониман¹⁰ или препознатљив по иницијалима уместо потписа, по неком симболу и сл.

Графити су могли / могу да садрже субјективна и интимна веровања,¹¹ као и лични однос аутора ка нечему/некоме. Могло је да се догоди да нису повезани с актуелним дешавањима, нити с конкретним личностима, него да се у њима проговори о неким општим, обично религиозним или моралним темама (Hercigonja, 2006: 243). Понекад су имали афористичан, лапидаран коментар, тј. шалив карактер (*velika glava mala pamet6, pisa on7 ko voli vino piti...*). Неки од њих садрже и мудре мисли и сл.

Љубавни графити у Скопљу

У ери писаног говора, како се назива 21. век, преко технолошког напретка, свеprisутне мобилне и интернетске везе (Ćuto, 2012), интерес изазивају и кратки натписи анонимног карактера, тј. графити у којима се храбро и уједно креативно, у разиграном стилу презентују (дубоко) скривене жеље и емоције, пориви, стања која нас

⁹Hercigonja (2006: 244).

¹⁰ Анонимност се вероватно задржава због заштите свог идентитета и репутације, зато што се на графите још увек може гледати као на вандализам, хулиганство, тј. као на деструктивну појаву, иако за нас поглед ка топлим љубавним порукама доступним свачијим очима и свачијем срцу по Скопљу, далеко су од негативне појаве.

¹¹У овом контексту се позивамо на Fučić (1982: 20), који говори да епиграфски текст „...је лични натпис, саздан без великих припрема; он је резултат моменталног порива и зато је најчешће афективно обојен.“

преокупирају. Иако су графити међудисциплинарна реалност, иако могу да се посматрају многоаспектно, ми се задржавамо на њима са савременог лингвистичког аспекта,¹² узимајући у обзир теорију природног писања (ЕПР- естественной письменной речи) коју је формулисала Барнаул-Кемерова лингвистичка школа (Лебедева и др. 2011).¹³ Графити су део / жанр спонтаних, јавних и досад углавном необрађиваних текстова. Тачније, овде је реч о вербализовању, тј. о коришћењу језика за материјализовање разговорне, спонтане, природне речи.

Ова продукција писмене активности била је / јесте неправедно игнорисана и маргинализована,¹⁴ иако се одликује специфичним карактеристикама као што су: одсуство филтера (редактора, коректора, лектора и сл.) између аутора и реципијента; спонтаност, случајност, непосредност; емотивност и интуитивност, природност; појављује се произвољно без претходне припреме, прилично демократски и слободно, а демократским општењем преко записаног разговорног дискурса узрокује контакт, можда и масовну комуникацију у одсуству просторних граница и услед опште доступности текста.

У графитима се манифестују индивидуалне карактеристике (идиостил/идиоформа), тј. они изражавају идентитет човека (Ћуто, 2018: 4). При продукцији љубавних графита долази до изражаја строго индивидуалан избор језичних средстава, зато што се самопроизвољно ствара, текст не подлеже цензури, провери и

¹²Графити су досада били посматрани на историјском плану, културолоком, социолошком, психолошком, етнографском, фолклорном итд. (Лебедева 2011).

¹³ У другој половини 20. века лингвисти активно посвећују пажњу некодификованој усменој и писменој речи, тј. и *живој* комуникацији као предмету научног истраживања. Специјалну предмет/интерес истраживања руске лингвистике је природни писан говор (руска скраћеница ЕПР), термин дефинисан 1999 г. (Лебедева 2011). Према Ћуто (2012, 380) реч је о специјалном виду човекове писмено-усмене активности.

¹⁴ У уметничком, књижевном, лингвистичком смислу до сада графити углавном нису били предмет истраживања.

редакцији; вербална слобода долази до изражаја, тако што пред нама имамо разигран и допадљив индивидуални стил. Ови текстови изливени су директно из срца, преко руке/спреја, и представљају самог аутора на зиду, његово стање ума и душе, расположење, потребу (па чак и јавно да проговори), тј. пресликавају ауторов портрет. Тако се на графите може гледати као на аутографе, као на ауторову визиткарту, јер је могуће да откривају биолошку компоненту (пол, узраст), социјалну компоненту, статус, образовну и емоционалну страну индивидуе. Изражавајући личну ноту, графити врше самопрезентацију, идентификацију, тј. самоидентификацију аутора у маси, јер у центру текста/поруке је *ја*, иако треба да се узме у обзир и комуникациона функција ових текстова, функција која омогућава комуникацију међу људима; људи преносе поруку (емоцију) преко експлицитног обраћања адресату, конкретном или потенцијалном.

Језичке особености графита

У овом прилогу с лингвистичког аспекта приступамо око 60 текстуалних, вербалних љубавних графита исписаних у ширем центру Скопља, као део писане форме природно, спонтано произведених јавних текстова, тј. као део природног писаног говора.¹⁵

Циљ је да се види којим избором језичких средстава македонског језика се изражава сложена емоција - љубав¹⁶ на примерима графита у оквиру теорије природног писаног говора. Свакако да постоје и норме у емоционалној експресији, јер начин на који ми доживљавамо неку емоцију није увек исти као начин на који је показујемо, а такође су и начин изражавања и интензитет израженог љубавног осећања строго индивидуални и условљени од много фактора и од много

¹⁵Графити спадају у једну од неколико жанровских подгрупа природног писаног говора од 1999 г., тј. то су спонтани јавни текстови (Čuto, 2016: 129) у којима се писмено *проговара* о свету који нас окружује, и то анонимном адресату.

¹⁶Као што истиче Поп-Јорданова (2014: 15), у лингвистици, у зависности од емоција и њихове експресије, изучава се последична промена у значењу речи речи, што се донекле има у виду и у овом раду.

(ширих) контекста (може бити реч о великој, тајној, забрањеној, неузвраћеној љубави или о љубави уопште), иако сви проговарамо и осећамо једну (исту) свевременску и свељудску емоцију. Задржавајући се на једном аспекту графита, језичког/лингвистичког, пратимо да ли и колико графита (не) држи до језичког стандарда и која језичка средства доминирају, тј. која се користе за изражавање емоције љубави.

Издајамо неке од типичнијих/доминантнијих језичких карактеристика љубавних графита, иако то каква језичка средства ће се употребити у тексту натписа зависи искључиво од воље аутора и његовог индивидуалног стила (Ćuto, 2018: 89).

Графолошке и правописне карактеристике

У графитима нисмо приметили слова с посебним ефектом, све је штампано, великим словима, што је битан визуелан моменат. Чињеница је, као што помиње Лебедева (2011: 8), да су слова написана личним ритмом аутовог телесног осећаја. Аутори графита показују висок ниво писмености, једино прилог за количину сè је редовно без дијакритика: *секој ден се поубаво е ... (сваки дан је све лепше...); ...гајле ми е за се... (баш ме брига за све...); ...се додека ... (...све док...); За тебе ако треба се да изгубам (За тебе ако треба све да изгубим)*. За разлику од правописно правилних: *сфакаме (схватамо), лимон (лимун), лимонада (лимуната), преброј ми ги (преброј ми их...)*, среће се правописно одступање у речи *невоља* (македонски стандардни облик је *неволја*) и у речи *Њутнов* (уместо *Њутнов*). Графити који су били предмет анализе углавном завршавају једним узвичником или трима узвичницима, врло коректно, ако се узме у обзир да се узвичник употребљава да би се изразиле речи изречене у узбуђењу, да би се изразила снажна жеља, емоција; указују на изванредан степен узбуђења.

Доминантни потпис је скелет безглаве рибе,¹⁷ потом срце или нечији иницијали. Могли смо да приметимо, у односу на текст, да се у једном делу графита изражава забрањена, неостварена, недостижна

¹⁷Реч је о субјективној интерпретацији и асоцијацији симбола.

љубав, из неког разлога: *ке се борам за нас се додека имам вид... (борићу се за нас све док имам вид...); ... и секој момент заедно по целиот трнлив пат пак со цело срце!!! (... и сваки тренутак заједно по целом трновитом путу опет целим срцем!!!)*, наспрам већег дела, или другог дела графита, где доминира љубав; аутор опијен љубављу, јавно проговара и изражава љубав: *јас и ти душо сме поим за љубов (ја и ти душо смо појам за љубав); ке поминам за кратко да те љубам долго (свратићу накратко да те љубим дуго).*

Морфосинтаксичне карактеристике

Морфолошки доминирају форме у првом лицу, пре свега једнине: *да те љубам (да те љубим); ја сакам (ја волим/хоћу); имам, а срећу се и у 2. л. јд.: ...ти знаеш како (... ти знаш како); ...ти ми даваш ... (...ти ми дајеш...),* и то углавном у будућем, али и у садашњем времену: *ке поминам (свратићу); ке те скршам (сломићу те); ке те изедам (појешћу те); ке те цедам (цедићу те); ке те чувам (чуваћу те); ке се борам (борићу се); многу сакам (многа волим/хоћу).* Форме у 1. л. мн. су позив, жеља за заједништвомј, за дељењем (у љубави): *ке прочитаме (прочитаћемо); ке сфатиме (схватаћемо); да се гушнеме (да се загрлимо); да се заборавиме (да се заборавимо).*

Говорећи о љубави као општељудској, ванвременској емоцији, срећу се и безличне конструкције: *да се случи (да се догоди); се потребни двајца (потребно је двоје); да се биде (да се буде)* итд. Употребљава се кратка, разговорна (економична) форма личне заменице за прво лице *ја* уместо *јас*: *ја за нас ке гласам (ја ћу гласати за нас).* Доминирају суперлативи, чак и код прилога: *најсреќна (најсрећнија), најмила (најмилија), најмалку (најмање), највеќе (највише)...*

Бележимо форме обраћања (чак и метафорично) преко којих се вербализује адресат комуникације: *душо; волшебна (чаробна),* као и бројне форме императива: *гушни ме (загрли ме); бацни ме (љубни ме); дојди (дођи), преброј (ми ги) (преброј ми их...)...* Радуже фреквентна употреба чланског низа -ов, чиме се вероватно упућује на близину адресата и адресанта, поред основне употребе сигнализације блиске временске и просторне обележености, тј. блиске анафоре: *во*

моментов (у овом моменту); мразов (овај мраз), коскиве (ове кости); од душава (из ове душе)...; Во градиве се слуша (у грудима се чује); градов нека збори!!! (овај град нека прича!!!).

Забележили смо и заступљеност ненаметљивих, службених речи; модалних речи, прилога, речца, везника и то: доминантно само (само, једино, искључиво), пак (опет, поново, наново), може (скраћено од можеби (можда), можно е (могуће је), не е искључено (није искључено)): само гушни ме (само ме загрли); пак сум пијан (опет сам пијан); пак со цело срце (опет целим срцем); може звучи глупо (можда звучи глупо) итд. У вези с понављањем предлога¹⁸ учачамо дуалност, која служи за истицање, и то, недоследност: ни во килограми ни тони (ни у килограмима ни тонама), али и правилно: и во добро и во зло (и у добру и у злу), зато што је као приметна карактеристика именске синтагме у данашњем македонском језичком изразу испуштање, тј. непонављање одвојених службених речи, с акцентом на предлозима, који су пре свега носиоци категорије зависности (Цветковски, 1998: 121). Овакви примери могу да воде ка структурној деформацији и двозначности, што није случај с примерима графита које смо анализирали.

Стилско-експресивне карактеристике

У текстовима љубавних графита посебно долази до израза експресивни потенцијал македонског језика, како преко споменутог вокатива, тако и преко бројних партикула, али и преко елиптичних конструкција, потом употребом експресивне лексике или употребом дериватских суфикса високе експресивности. Није искључена ни фреквентна стилска експресивизација.

Врло упечатљива је изражајност, експресивност у игри речи, па чак и само у употреби ређих речи: *ке те скршам од сакање (сломићу те од вољења)* (без повреда, без ломљења, само се изражава интензитет позитивне емоције, експлозија лепоте, љубави), *сакам да*

¹⁸ У македонском језику, имајући у виду његов аналитички карактер, предлози треба да су у првом плану и ако се не понављају, не сигнализује се синтаксичка функција именице / именске синтагме.

ти ги крцнам коските (желим да ти крцнем кости); многу сум ти настрвен (настрвен - не жесток, него лаком сам, имам жељу за тобом, изазиваш ме). Емоционално обојени изрази; бацни ме во увце цел ден да ми свони (љубни ме у увце цео дан да ми звони), срцево ми пука (ово срце ми пуца); по тебе гладувам (за тобом гладујем); многу сакам што се сакаме (многу волим што се волимо); те сакам секоја стотинка секој милимикрон секој милиметар (волим те сваке стотинке сваки милимикрон сваки милиметар); Душо стави си лабело испукана ми е устата! (Душо стави лабело испуцала су ми уста!)... Преметили смо поређење: ...да ти ги крцнам коските како што крцка мразов ... (...да ти крцнем кости као што крцка овај лед...); затим антитезу, антонимија: Хемџа учев од книга со тебе ја имам во пракса! (Хемџу учих из књиге с тобом је имам у пракси!); Ке поминам за кратко, да те љубам долго! (Навратићу на кратко, да те љубим дуго!); Не сакам никаде да одам, само сакам со тебе љубов да водам! (Не желим нигде да идем, само желим с тобом љубав да водим!); ...ке те почнам нежно ти заврши ме диво! (... почећу те нежно ти заврши ме дивље!); Душо ме "разболе" со љубов ама убаво ми е не се лечам! (Душо "разболе ме" љубављу али лепо ми је да се лечим!). Поред елипсе, тј. компресије раздвојених језичких облика: може од можеби (можда), зато од затоа (зато), глупо од глупаво... срећемо и израз: те сакам како клуб со цело срце (волим те као клуб целим срцем) (уместо како што се сака клуб (као што се воли клуб)); среће се и понављање синтагми: нашата љубов (наша љубав), наш ден (наш дан), Засекогаш твој, Засекогаш моја, било каде, било кога (Заувек твој, Заувек моја, Било где, Било кад).

Лирски моменти, рима, везан стих, где доминирају емоције су безбројни у текстовима графита: може звучи глупо и дебилно, ама само тебе кога те гледам очите ми светат силно! (можда звучи глупо и дебилно, али само када тебе гледам очи ми светсле снажно); срцево ми пука сака да си до мене тука! (срце ми пуца, жели да си до мене ту); сите ме сакаат јако, ама само ти знаеш како! (сви ме воле/желе јако, али само ти знаш како); ...по тебе гладувам (...за тобом гладујем), ...многу ти се радувам! (...многу ти се радујем!); Во градиве се слуша, те сакам ти си ми душа! (У грудима се чује, волим те ти си ми душа!); Нашата љубов од книга

не се учи, вакво силно нешто никогаш нема да се случи! (Наша љубав из књига се не учи, овако снажно нешто никад се неће десити); Силно е нашево како бакља гори колку сум луд по тебе градов нека збори!!! (Јако је ово наше као бакља гори колико сам луд за тобом овај град нека прича!!). И претходно споменута понављања реченичних делова, неке форме, као и рима, гласно и јасно говоре о присуству паралелизма у текстовима, као једног од доминантних стилских средстава у језику графита.

Лексика с емоционалном нотом приближава љубавну поруку љубавних графита до свих нас, и то: *волшебна (чаробна), прекрасно...*; много су присутне конструкције с етичким дативом: *ми се бацуваш (љубиш ми се), си ми секси (секси си ми), ми фалиш (фалиш ми), ми се осеќаш (осећаш ми се)*, што је објашњиво ако се узима у обзир да су ови текстови креирани из личне перспективе, а универзални. Срећу се емоционално обојени суфикси и (деминутивни) глаголи изведени углавном од ономатопејске основе са значењем *извршавање деловања у малој мери*, као и могућност придруженог значења *једнократности*¹⁹: *крцне, бацне (љубне), бапне (удара)* и именице (деминутивне) преко суфикса за изражавање осећајног односа: *бацни ме во увце (љубни ме у увце); Дај ми денес бацка на фацка! (Дај ми данас пољупчић на фацицу!)*.

Лексичке карактеристике

Језичка слобода у графитима се огледа и лексички. У овој лексици у великој мери долази до изражаја индивидуалност човека (Ћуто, 2018: 172), ако су заступљене туђе речи, то говори о процесу социјализације младог човека, при чему он подлеже позајмљивању (Ћуто, 2018: 26). Лексичко шаренило среће се у истом контексту, у тексту од неколико речи, и у томе је и лепота овог језика; писан говорни језик или језик кратких публичних текстова: од турцизама *баш, будала, гајле (брига), инат, цабе*, преку црквенословенизама *твојот небесен вожд (твој небески вожд)*, енглеских позајмљеница: *џоинтот (џоинт), дебилно*, разговорних, жаргонских, локално ограничених: *кречите, бацне*

¹⁹Конески (2003: 135-37).

(љубне), бакља (србизам), зборам, сабајле, све при чему су све лексеме адаптиране након примања од језика-донора у сагласности са морфосинтаксичким карактеристикама македонског језика. Користе се и фразеологизми, исто као и у разговорном језику, зато што носе висок експресивни потенцијал с могућности за утицај на емоције прималаца: *те испив со очи (испих те очима), гајле ми е за се (баш ме брига за све), ќе те чувам како капка во рака (чуваћу те као кап у руци), кога ќе те фатат будалите (кад те буду ухватиле будале), и во добро и во зло (и у добру и у злу), да ти ги крцнам коските (да ти крцнем кости), дава во грб ветар (даје у леђа ветар); Секое чудо за три дена ... (Свако чудо за три дана ...)*. Поред тога, захваљујући готовом исказу у краткој форми (фразема), аутор неретко исказује свој став.²⁰

Закључак

Лингвистичка истраживања љубавних графита који красе Скопље показала су да иако су графити лингвистика разговорне речи, иако су неофицијелног и ненормативног карактера и индивидуална, стваралачка слобода аутора, иако на први поглед о њима можемо говорити као о фрагментарном језику, изгледа да, ипак, све ове карактеристике стварају и већу одговорност у/о језику. Чак и код такве слободе (у избору теме, у избору језичких средстава и у избору простора за писање), језик је веома коректан па и у оним случајевима где обично бележимо одступања.

Након анализе графита као жанра природног писаног говора (према ЕПР-теорији) и након приступа структурно-дескриптивној језичкој анализи, у раду се изводе следећи закључци: језичка, општеприхваћена норма углавном се јавља и при исписивању љубавних графита што говори о одличној језичкој упућености. Језик графита рефлектује доминантно стандардне знакове македонског књижевног језика на свим равнима – творбеној, морфолошкој, лексичкој, синтаксичкој, заједно са понеком специфичношћу разговорног језика.

²⁰Минова-Ѓуркова (2003: 284-85).

Велики број ових текстова представља вапај за саговорником у одсуству *живе комуникације* у једном глобалном, индустријском и информационом друштву. Чињеница да унутрашњи глас, то јест емоција налази изражајну форму и на спонтаним зидним натписима, може се објаснити кореном речи *емоција* са значењем кретање/акција (*motion*). Наиме, под утицајем интернета и средстава масовне комуникације, створен је нови канал за утицај на социјално понашање младих и за ширење ове младе субкултуре, па одатле и актуелност овог истраживања.

Суштина јавног изражавања емоције љубави на зиду вероватно је вишестрана/ комплекснија, нарочито ако се узме у обзир да је и свака емоција комплексан феномен који укључује различите компоненте: субјективан осећај, емоционалну интелигенцију, когницију, моторну експресију, језичку способност, комуникативну компетенцију, тенденцију за акцијом или жељом за неуролошким процесима (Scherer, 2004).

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Summary: GRAFFITI FROM THE HEART

Graffiti has always been a kind of (linguistic) art with which authors want to publicly and transparently convey their message to the wider public and, in some ways, communicate with it. Sometimes humorous, sometimes ideological, sometimes loving, they are a great way of expressing an instant, acute (but also chronic) urge, mainly subjective / individual emotion in a creative way. The main topic of this paper are love graffiti in Skopje and their role in conveying the most beautiful emotion – love. These graffiti carry messages carved from the heart, mainly with linguistic, but also extra-linguistic means. The goal is to consider the ways and possibilities, the potential of the language, which is communicated / expressed with this emotion.

Keywords: graffiti, Skopje, love, linguistic means.

БЕЛЕШКЕ О АУТОРИМА / NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Ljiljana Radenović is Associate Professor at the Department of Philosophy, University of Belgrade. Her main research interests fall into the field of philosophy and history of psychology, cognitive science, and philosophy of biology.

Iva Beljan Kovačić (1979), povjesničarka književnosti. Doktorirala 2010. godine na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu, zaposlena na Filozofskom fakultetu u Mostaru. Bavi se starijom hrvatskom književnošću, književnošću u Bosni i Hercegovini, odnosom književnosti i historiografije te književnosti i razvoja svijesti. Objavljuje znanstvene i stručne radove, a dosad objavila i tri knjige književnopovijesne i književnokritičke problematike: *Pripovijedanje povijesti: ljetopisi bosanskih franjevaca iz 18. stoljeća* (Zagreb – Sarajevo, 2011), *Na rubu književnosti: rasprave o hrvatskim piscima u BiH* (Zagreb – Sarajevo, 2014.) i *O pričama i čitanju: književnokritičke bilješke* (Zagreb – Sarajevo, 2016).

Jelena Rakić rođena je u Beogradu, gde je završila Filološku gimnaziju i srednju muzičku školu Dr Vojislav Vučković. Diplomirala je 2001. godine na Filološkom fakultetu Univerziteta u Beogradu, na grupi za Engleski jezik i književnost. Na istom fakultetu je 2007. godine stekla akademski naziv magistra filoloških nauka na smeru Nauka o jeziku, odbranivši rad pod naslovom *Prototipska struktura prelaznih glagola u engleskom jeziku*. Doktorsku disertaciju pod nazivom *Kulturološki aspekti konceptualizacije prototipičnih emocija u engleskom jeziku* odbranila je 2015. godine na istom fakultetu. Oblasti njenog naučnog interesovanja obuhvataju kognitivnu lingvistiku, konstrukcionu gramatiku i studije kulture.

Tijana Rabrenović is a PhD candidate at the Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade. In 2017 she took part in an international project called *Trans-Atlantic & Pacific Project* that involved collaborative writing of grant proposals. At the moment she is writing a chapter for Professor

БЕЛЕШКЕ О АУТОРИМА
NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Jelena Filipović's monograph on academic writing. She has presented her academic research at several international conferences. Her fields of interest include cognitive linguistics, morphology and critical discourse analysis.

Elena Shirlina, PhD in Philology, associate professor at the department of the second foreign language at the Belgorod National Research University (Belgorod, Russia).

Field of research: German studies, grammar, language development, polycentricity of the German language.

2015-2016 – internship at the University of Jena (Germany) with the scholarship from the German Academic Exchange Service with the project “Preposition-noun combinations in modern German language: development of modal, adverbial and relational meanings”.

January-June 2018 – Alexander Herzen Junior Visiting Research Fellow at the Institute for Human Sciences (IWM) in Vienna (Austria) with the project “Austrian variant of the German language in the academic discourse”.

Igor Ivanović. I was born in Zenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina. I graduated from the Faculty of Arts, Nikšić, in 2006. I earned my Master's degree in Translation in 2009 at the Institute of Foreign Languages in Podgorica. In my Master Thesis, I dealt with loanwords and their influence on our language. In 2014, I finished my PhD studies at the Faculty of Philology in Belgrade and the topic of my dissertation was "Contrastive Analysis of the EU Terminology through the Perspective of Corpus Linguistics". I am interested in Corpus Linguistics, Discourse Analysis and CAT Tools. Apart from my teaching obligations at the University of Montenegro, I am very active in written translation pertaining to the following fields: Medicine, Law, Engineering and Economics. In October 2011, I became a Certified Court Interpreter. Apart from my home institution, the Faculty of Philosophy, I am currently engaged at the following faculties: Medicine, Biotechnical, Material Science and Mechanical Engineering where I teach General English and English for Special Purposes.

Valentina Budinčić docentkinja je za Anglistiku na Fakultetu za strane jezike Alfa BK univerziteta u Beogradu. Angažovana je na predmetima iz oblasti jezika i metodike nastave na osnovnim i master studijama.

Osnovne studije završila je na Filozofskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Istočnom Sarajevu, a magistarske studije na Filološkom fakultetu Univerziteta u Banjaluci. Doktorsku tezu pod nazivom „Međudnos engleske i srpske terminologije u sportu” odbranila je 2014. godine na Filozofskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Istočnom Sarajevu. Bavi se komparativnom lingvistikom, standardizacijom, sportskom terminologijom, metodikom nastave engleskog jezika i engleskim jezikom struke. Do sada je učestvovala na više međunarodnih naučnih konferencija u zemlji i inostranstvu i objavila brojne radove u domaćim i inostranim časopisima. Autorka je monografije pod nazivom *Anglicizmi u sportskoj terminologiji* (2018). Od 2011. godine ovlašćeni je ispitivač za međunarodno priznate Cambridge English ispite.

Anica Glođović je docentkinja za Engleski jezik na Katedri za opšteobrazovne predmete Prirodno-matematičkog fakulteta Univerziteta u Kragujevcu. Rođena je 07.10.1978. godine u Kragujevcu. Na grupi za Engleski jezik i književnost na Filološkom fakultetu u Beogradu (nastavno odeljenje u Kragujevcu) diplomirala je 2002. godine i stekla zvanje profesor engleskog jezika i književnosti. Doktorsku disertaciju pod nazivom *Funkcija adverbijalnih partikula u engleskim fraznim i njihovim srpski prevodni ekvivalenti* odbranila je 7. maja 2014. godine na Filološko-umetničkom fakultetu u Kragujevcu i time stekla zvanje doktor filoloških nauka. Bavi se kontrastivnom lingvistikom, morfosintaksom engleskog jezika i translatologijom. Od februara 2013. god. član je lingvističkih udruženja *The Societas Linguistica Europea* i *The International Society for the Linguistics of English* (isLE). Učestvovala je na brojnim međunarodnim naučnim konferencijama i do sada objavila 18 radova u domaćim i inostranim časopisima.

Darko Kovačević (1978, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina) has been employed at the Faculty of Electrical Engineering and the Academy of Music at the University of East Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, as an assistant professor for a narrower scientific field Specific Languages (Anglistics). He graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy, University of East Sarajevo, Department of English Language and Literature, in 2002. In 2004, he graduated from the Academy of Music, University of East Sarajevo, Department of General Pedagogy of Music. He defended his master thesis at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of East Sarajevo, in 2007. In 2014, Darko Kovačević defended his first doctoral dissertation,

БЕЛЕШКЕ О АУТОРИМА
NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

in American literature, at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of East Sarajevo. In 2016, he defended his second doctoral dissertation, in Linguistics, at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad, Serbia. Darko Kovačević is the author of more than 40 professional and scientific papers, published in various journals and books of proceedings.

Марија Паунова рођена је у Скопљу. 2002. г. је дипломирала на Филолошком факултету "Блаже Конески" у Скопљу. Од 2003. ради на Филолошком факултету, Универзитета „Св. Кирил и Методиј“ у Скопљу држећи наставу старословенског језика и савременог македонског језика. Паунова је објавила преко 40 радова, монографију, три практикума (коауторска). Учествовала је на бројним конференцијама у земљи и иностранству (Будимпешта, Анкара, Букурешт, Валона, Брно, Рим, Париз). Паунова је досад била укључена као истраживач у 11 научних истраживачких пројеката. Од 2006. године ради као предавач на Међународном семинару за македонски језик, књижевност и културу. Досад је остварила научни, истраживачки боравак на Институту за славистику Словачке академије наука у Братислави, на Одсеку за историјско-религијске студије на Универзитету Сапиенца у Риму, у Националној библиотеци у Софији, на ИНАЛКО у Паризу.

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