ENGLISH – VIEWS, VOICES, PEOPLE AND PLACES: CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

1st Symposium of the
Society for the Study of English in Bosnia and Herzegovina

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and Herzegovina

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
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PRESSUM

DAuBiH

Mostar, 2020

Contents

Translation Studies

Literature

Foreword

Dear reader,

The publication before you are the proceedings of the First Symposium of the Society for the Study of English in Bosnia and Herzegovina "English – Views, Voices, People and Places," that was held at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Mostar from 6th April till 7th April 2018.

The publishing of these proceedings has been delayed on account of the untimely passing away of our colleague, professor Marijana Sivrić, a distinguished linguist from our English Department. The late Marijana Sivrić worked tirelessly on the organisation of the Symposium, bringing together, for the first time, researchers from all the English departments at universities across Bosnia and Herzegovina. In recognition of her excellence in the field of sociolinguistics and discourse analysis, her commitment to students and to the promotion of high educational standards, we dedicate this volume to her. Professor Sivrić was not only a highly revered colleague and a distinguished intellectual who always boldly engaged in critical thinking and deep self-reflection but was also a dear friend. Professor Marijana Sivrić's passing is a loss for English studies at our University, in Bosnia and Herzegovina and further afield, and her absence will be greatly felt.

Mostar, February 2020
Ivana Grbavac, Associate Professor
Head of English Department
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
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Marijana Sivrić
1966. – 2019.

Introduction

In June 2013, the initiative to form a society for the study of English in Bosnia and Herzegovina was launched during the CELLS conference (Conference on English Language and Literary Studies) in Banja Luka. The initiators agreed that the association should include all the English departments in the country to foster the exchange of ideas, cooperation and advancement of the field. The inaugural meeting of the new organization, named *The Society for the Study of English in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (DAuBiH), was held at the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo in 2015. In 2016, DAuBiH became a full member of the European Society for the Study of English (ESSE). Currently, DAuBiH has 76 members who teach English language and literature at different universities throughout the country. The Society has organized three workshops in cooperation with the European Centre for Modern Languages of the Council of Europe (ECML).

The idea to organize a conference was put forward at the second DAuBiH meeting which was held in Tuzla in 2016. At the third DAuBiH meeting in Banja Luka in 2017, our late colleague, professor Marijana Sivrić, suggested that the University of Mostar host the first DAuBiH symposium. She played a pivotal role in the organization of our first symposium, thus we dedicate this book to her. We were honoured to have her as our member.

The first DAuBiH symposium *English – Views, Voices, Places and People* was held on April 6-7, 2018 at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Mostar. It was hosted by the English department of the above-mentioned Faculty. The focus of the symposium was the position of English language in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a country marked by multilingualism, intercultural contacts and cross-border movements which are highly dominated by English. How the role of English changes from the BH perspective, how different courses and disciplines within English studies are taught and what is to be offered in the future, including the introduction of necessary innovations to address new challenging situations, are just some of the questions our symposium explored. Prof. Gretchen Eick from Friends University in Kansas, USA and prof. Ilka Mindt, from the University of Paderborn in Germany were the keynote speakers.

All the articles included in these proceedings are papers delivered at our First Symposium. Even though they were written by experts from Bosnia and

Herzegovina, their scope is wider and they raise a number of relevant issues. As the articles cover a wide variety of fields within English Studies, they have been grouped thematically into the following sections: Linguistics, Discourse Analysis, Cognitive Linguistics, Methodology, Translation Studies and Literature.

The broad spectrum and depth of topics covered demonstrates the potential of our Society, thus we hope that DAuBiH conferences will become a tradition.

Mostar, February 2020

Lidija Mustapić, editor-in-chief

Linguistics

Nejla Kalajdžisalihović

University of Sarajevo

SOCIAL LANGUAGE PROCESSING AND READING ONLINE—ON WRITTEN ERRORS IN PREDATORY JOURNALS

Abstract

The present paper discusses linguistic features of potentially predatory academic journals and the rising trend of predatory publishing where several factors are concerned: a) the researcher is unfamiliar with all the aspects of digital literacy and the changing landscape of scholarly publishing, and/or b) the researcher is eager to publish and is not a native speaker of English (Nobes, 2017). In some cases, the researcher is proficient in English and attributes errors on the journal webpages to different factors, some of which may even be linked to social language processing and personality traits (Boland, 2016; Hancock, 2010). Since Beall's list of predatory journals is no longer available, researchers abroad are starting blogs to discuss predatory publishing. Therefore, one aim of this paper is to present the most frequent linguistic features in potentially predatory journals and discuss why authors choose not to detect grammatical errors on their websites. Furthermore, this paper invites scholars to pay more attention to written errors while reading online and links responses on written errors to personality traits of the researcher and readability scores of domain-specific texts.

Key words: readability, text processing, predatory journal, error, contemporary English

1. Introduction

The present paper discusses academic writing in predatory journals and the rising trend of predatory publishing. Other than the adjective 'predatory' used to premodify the noun 'journal', adverbs modifying the adjective 'predatory' used for academic journals in this context are: 'potentially', 'possibly' or 'probably'. It is difficult to establish the degree to which a certain journal is 'potentially predatory', 'possibly predatory' or 'probably predatory'. Furthermore, according to Beall (2017), predatory journals not only publish poor quality

research but also resort to 'template plagiarism' by means of which authors re-publish previously published data and findings.

In the research conducted so far, it has been concluded that the cues to deception are not universal or identical across research domains and are context and genre-specific as well (Markowitz et al., 2014, p. 5). Since the world's academic literature is based on trust, as stated in Beall's (2017) conference talk, one aim of this paper is to introduce new terms that have begun to be used in the world of publishing as they are relevant for the lexis of contemporary English, i.e. terms coined to refer to fraud and deceit. Furthermore, a relevant framework to mention in terms of authors' international background is that of Social Language Processing (SLP), an interdisciplinary framework that joins social and psychological theory with computational techniques for modelling the relationships between discourse and social dynamics (Hancock, 2010). SLP discusses issues relevant when determining the degree to which people and groups share a common perspective.

For instance, reading is sometimes observed as a process depending on one's personality and culture and deception as a function of perceiver's culture, deceiver's intention and deceiver-deceived relationship (Seiter et al., 2002). What this means is that, for instance, personality traits of the reader may have an effect on the assessment of the language used on the journal fronts of predatory journals. Depending on a number of different factors, the reader may opt to overlook grammatical errors on journal fronts. Also, since authors often ask for their papers to be translated into the English language, it is unlikely that the language of predatory journals will be recognized as deceit by authors themselves. Therefore, it is important to pay special attention to journal fronts and the English language used on the websites of potentially predatory journals which seek authors that need to be recognized, after conferences, or after their talks.

In this paper, the grammatical errors and other features of journal fronts which tend to be overlooked by authors who are not proficient users of English will be presented. For instance, a researcher may be unfamiliar with all aspects of digital literacy (i.e. trusts the websites and accepts to read their content). Another reason for deciding to submit a manuscript to a potentially predatory journal is that the researcher may be eager to publish and tends to attribute suspicion to the changing landscape of scholarly publishing and is not a native speaker of English. In some cases, the researcher is proficient in English and attributes errors on the journal webpages to different factors (e.g. the errors are temporary and will be fixed). Even with the number of published articles on predatory publishing becoming lower, this paper also invites scholars to pay

more attention to the English language used by potentially predatory journals, 25% of all open-access journals in total being 'predatory' (Perry, 2015).

2. Corpus

The corpus used for the purpose of this paper is the website content published by Lukić et al. (2014). After browsing the content of each website and after analyzing e-mails received from potentially predatory journals, the following features have been extracted as indicators that the journal might be predatory:

2.1. Grammatical errors

Across journal fronts, i.e. websites of potentially predatory journals a consistency has been detected in the grammatical features described below:

– Errors in third person singular: (1) Each accepted paper range between 2000-5000 words.
– Missing plural: (2) data analysis in all discipline
– Incorrect past participle: (3) *charges will be pay*

2.2. Tone

In regards to the social language processing mentioned in the introduction of the present paper, the following features have been extracted to demonstrate a language of 'immediacy', i.e. a tone that places authors in an inferior position asking them to react immediately, press the 'pay' button and have their paper published, e.g.:

– (4) (authors) will be charged; each additional word will be charged
– (5) we ask authors to pay the article processing charge
– (6) (authors) can now pay by the Pay Now button

The usage of capital letters may also be an indicator that a journal is possibly a predatory one, e.g.:

– (7) ONLINE PAYMENT!!!
– (8) IMPORTANT: If you do not receive e-mail in your 'inbox', check your 'bulk mail' or 'junk mail' folders.
– (9) IMPORTANT: Sometimes you will not recieve response because emails don't go to your mail box. Always check your Junk/spam email folder.

2.3 Impersonalised title of the paper

Once sent, the paper is usually impersonalized and a reference number given for identification, e.g.:

– (10) A reference number will be mailed to the corresponding author
– (11) Paper ID 255400 - Review Report

2.4 Generic reviews applicable to any paper

Another feature in terms of the style of peer review is that in fake journals, the review may be applied to any topic, e.g.:

– (12) Discussion is a section in which the author discusses the findings of the study by relating them to 1) Aims of the research 2) Research questions raised 3) Literature review. That is, s/he should discuss, CRITICALLY, how the findings have achieved/failed to achieve the aims of the study, have answered the research question, which the study aimed to answer and how the findings of the study are 1) in line with the view of the scholars/findings of the studies surveyed in literature review 2) are against /different from the view of the scholars/findings of the studies surveyed in literature review, etc.

Interestingly, there have been several cases where a fake journal congratulated authors on their papers being accepted although the papers were not written by authors but rather— by random text generators (Sergan, 2015; Stromberg, 2014).

3. Discussion

A question arises as to what makes the author trust the journal front of a fake journal. It is proposed that, because trust is in-built in academia when it comes to publishing (or at least it has been until recently), the reader rarely notices the features described above. To test the narrativity scores of journals, ten journal fronts were analysed through Coh-Metrix, a piece of software for computing coherence and cohesion in text that has been tuned for the English language. It may be used for multiple purposes, one of them being to allow readers, writers, educators and researchers to measure the difficulty of text for a target audience. It may be used in corpus analysis, computational linguistics, education, and cognitive science.

For instance, in the ten journal fronts analysed to illustrate how Coh-Met works, the 'referential cohesion' average for the texts analysed is 37.75%. This

means that cohesion gaps require the reader to make inferences, as explained in the analysis following the result, which can be challenging and unsuccessful without prior knowledge. In Coh-Met, 'coherence' is defined as a linguistic category that contributes to the coherence of the mental representation of text and is measured by means of the repetition score, the verb phrase density, noun incidence, pronoun incidence, etc. (see: Appendix).

A low narrativity score (7.25%) indicates that the content is less story-like and such texts are more difficult to comprehend. In other words, the author "browses, reads, clicks, and submits the manuscript" because of having assumptions about the context and processes linguistic strings, thereby avoiding more complex inferencing (Žegarac, 1998, pp. 343-344).

To support this claim, there are also important results from eye-tracking studies in terms of reading online:

– "To complete their tasks efficiently, people have learned to pay attention to elements that typically are helpful (e.g. navigation bars, search boxes, headlines) and ignore those which are usually void of information" (Pernice, 2018).
– "Online readers read in an F pattern (Nielsen, 2006) and give up reading the content after the two screenfuls of content when browsing" (Fessenden, 2018).

It can be, therefore, concluded that the very nature of the multimodal platform of online journals is, at least when it comes to readability scores, a convenient platform for manipulating trust by decreasing attention (see: Galir, 2017). The author is, in that way, distracted from text containing errors pointing to discriminators which are relatively constant among journal fronts indicating a potentially common authorship.

Other content appearing at the top of journals' websites intended to distract the reader are flashing images, e-mail addresses, editorial boards that have not agreed to be affiliated with the journals, fake impact factors, acronyms, or flashing 'pay now' buttons, all appearing in the very top of the fold of the website where fixation occurs, according to eye tracking studies conducted recently (Pernice, 2018; Nielsen, 2006).

4. Conclusion

Beall (2016) defined predatory journals as "counterfeit journals [used] to exploit the open-access model in which the author pays. These predatory publishers are dishonest and lack transparency". In this paper, the focus of research

has not been on determining whether a particular journal is 'predatory', 'potentially predatory' or 'possibly predatory'.

On the contrary, the names of the journal fronts are not given in this paper as the aim was to analyse the website content by means of Coh-Met to determine and assess how the reader might be processing the English language on the journal fronts in terms of coherence, narrativity and text readability given that journal fronts are online.

It has been concluded that the text of the websites analysed, grammatical errors aside, is low in narrativity and cohesion. At the same time, the website content contains numerous distractions such as images, acronyms, e-mail addresses and names of scholars who have not agreed to be affiliated with these journals. A reader cannot know this, especially if he or she comes from a culture where scholarly publishing is based on trust.

At the same time, the features extracted may be seen to have high repetition scores, indicating a common authorship behind journals. At this moment, the area of predatory publishing is still insufficiently researched and scholars publishing in English as a second language are advised to consult other colleagues and journal evaluation tools (Reele et al. 2017) while, at the same time, awareness needs to be raised regarding the eye tracking studies and how an average reader selects what content to process while scrolling and deciding when to stop reading.

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NEJLA KALAJDŽISALIHOVIĆ

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Appendix

Components of text analysed by Coh-Met applications

Narrativity: Narrativity seems intuitive: the more story-like a text the higher the narrativity score, and the easier the text. Though this is true, some texts will score high on narrativity and not seem very story-like.

Syntactic Simplicity: Syntactic simplicity is measured through several indices such as average number of clauses per sentence, the number of words per sentence, and the number of words before the main verb of the main clause. Texts with fewer clauses, fewer words per sentence, and fewer words before the main verb will give a text a higher score for syntactic simplicity. T.E.R.A. also measures the similarity of the sentences within each paragraph. Paragraphs that contain sentences with similar structures and verb tenses are easier to read.

Word Concreteness: Concrete words (mask, spoon, forest, ammunition) are words that refer to things you can see, hear, taste, touch, feel, or smell. Abstract words (democracy, appear, success, joy) cannot easily be seen, heard, touched, felt or smelled. A text with relatively high numbers of concrete words is easier to read and will have a high word concreteness score.

Referential Cohesion: Referential cohesion is the overlap between words, word stems, or concepts from one sentence to another. When sentences and paragraphs have similar words or conceptual ideas, it is easier for the reader to make connections between those ideas. Sometimes, however, low cohesion is desirable if you want the reader to create connections to understand the text.

Deep Cohesion: Deep cohesion measures how well the events, ideas and information of the whole text are tied together. T.E.R.A. does this by measuring the different types of words that connect different parts of a text. These words are called connectives. There are different types of these connectives: time connectives such as *after, earlier, before, during, while, later*; causal connectives such as *because, consequently, thus*. Then there are additive connectives such as *both, additionally, furthermore, moreover, what is more*. There are also logical connectives; *actually, as a result, due to*. Finally, adversative connectives are words that connect two phrases or notions that on some level conflict with each other, such as "My favorite sport is baseball. **However**, I watch more football" or "Whales are not fish **yet** they spend their life in the water." Some examples of adversative connectives are: but, yet, however, although, nevertheless.

All of these connectives help to tie the events, ideas and information in the text together for the reader (Coh-Metrix Common Core, 2012).

DRUŠTVENI FAKTORI U PROCESIRANJU JEZIKA I ČITANJU U ONLAJN OKRUŽENJU — PRAVOPISNE GREŠKE U PREDATORSKIM ČASOPISIMA

Sažetak

U radu se govori o jeziku potencijalno predatorskih akademskih časopisa čiji broj se u posljednje vrijeme povećava usljed nekoliko faktora: a) istraživač nije upoznat sa svim aspektima digitalne pismenosti zbog činjenice da se priroda izdavaštva akademskih radova mijenja i/ili je b) istraživač želi objaviti rad u časopisu na engleskom jeziku pri čemu istraživač nije izvorni govornik engleskog jezika (Nobes, 2017). U nekim slučajevima, istraživač odlično poznaje engleski jezik ali pripisuje greške na internet stranicama predatorskih časopisa različitim faktorima, pri čemu neki od njih mogu biti povezani sa društvenim faktorima u procesiranju jezika ili ličnim stavovima istraživača (Boland, 2016; Hancock, 2010). S obzirom na to da Beallova lista predatorskih časopisa više nije dostupna, mnogi autori naučnih radova u inostranstvu počinju pisati blogove na temu predatorskih časopisa. S tim u vezi, jedan od ciljeva ovog rada je predstaviti najfrekventniji jezični sadržaj koji upućuje na to da se radi o potencijalno predatorskom časopisu i razmotriti iz kojeg razloga autori ne obraćaju pažnju na gramatičke i pravopisne greške na internet stranicama predatorskih časopisa. Ovaj rad također poziva autore da detaljnije analiziraju gramatičke i pravopisne greške dok čitaju sadržaj internet stranica naučnih i stručnih časopisa na engleskom jeziku i, s tim u vezi, povezuje stav prema gramatičkim i drugim greškama s ličnim stavom istraživača i čitljivošću teksta.

Ključne riječi: čitljivost, procesiranje teksta, predatorski časopis, greška, savremeni engleski jezik

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KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY: COMPARISONS IN ENGLISH AND CROATIAN KINSHIP SYSTEMS

Abstract

Kinship terminology refers to the words used in a specific culture to describe a specific system of familial relationships. It includes the terms of address used in different languages or communities for different relatives and the terms of reference used to identify the relationship of these relatives to the speaker, listener or to each other. The idea of kinship is therefore understood as universal to all of humankind. Societies in different parts of the world and using different languages may share the same basic terminology patterns; in such cases, one can very easily translate the kinship terms of one language into another, although connotations may vary. Using limited examples of kinship terminology corpora, the aim of this paper is to analyze and compare the various differences and similarities of such kinship terminology in both English and Croatian language, specifically concerning the historical and regional area of West Herzegovina.

Key words: anthropology, Croatian, English, family, kinship, kinship terms, sociolinguistics

Introduction

All societies have terms that are used to address and to refer to one's kin. Collectively, such terms of references used by societal members form what most anthropologists refer to as *kinship terminology*. By kinship terminology is therefore meant the terms used to refer to, or express, the corpus of culturally recognized kinship relations a particular individual can have to another individual in a particular society.

Societies in different parts of the world and using different languages may share the same basic terminology patterns; in such cases, one can very easily translate the kinship terms of one language into another, although connotations

may vary. In this paper, using examples from both English and Croatian language, we will analyze and compare differences and similarities of kinship terminology as well as the kinship system in both languages. For the purposes of this paper, we limited the corpora of comparison to general English terms of kinship with the historical and regional area of West Herzegovina where Croatian language is used.

A Comparative Approach to the English and Croatian Kinship Systems

Within a kinship terminology, there is a single term corresponding to each culturally recognized kinship relationship, though two individuals may have more than a single kinship relationship between them. The corpus of kinship terminology is typically divided into two parts: cosanguineal kin terms based on the assumption that the primary kinship relations are determined through biological procreation (kin relations are therefore usually said to be blood relations) and affinal kin terms which designate kinship relations determined through marriage. It must be noted, however, that in many societies, kin relations can be, and usually are, established by such criteria other than procreation and marriage, such as adoption, godparent relationship, co-residence etc, forming therefore another category of fictive kinship. The aforementioned division is therefore not completely satisfactory.

The systematic study of kinship terminology can be traced back to the seminal works of H. Lewis Morgan, in the late 19th century, and G. Peter Murdock in the mid-50s of the 20th century. Morgan made the first distinction to refer to terminologies which systematically included collateral with lineal genealogical relations as *classificatory terminologies* while all others which distinguished such relations, as we will see in the paper, were labeled as *descriptive terminologies* (Morgan, p.105-111). Murdock's extensive, comparative work led him to develop a six part typology still used today, named after a society whose terminology is an example of that given type; these are Eskimo, Hawaiian, Sudanese, Iroquois, Crow and Omaha, respectively (Murdock, p.81).

Coincidentally, the typology most frequently encountered in Western societies, and to which both English and Croatian belong to, is the aforementioned Eskimo typology. It places no distinction between patrilineal and matrilineal relatives, instead focusing on differences in kinship distance (the closer the relative, the more distinguished). The system also emphasizes the *nuclear* family (or immediate family), identifying directly only the mother, father, brother, and sister (*lineal relatives*). All other relatives are grouped together into categories. It uses both classificatory and descriptive terms, differentiating between

gender, generation, *lineal relatives* (kin relatives in the direct line of descent), and *collateral relatives* (kin relatives not in the direct line of descent).

The comparison of English and Croatian descriptive kinship terms as used in the nuclear family is as follows: for the English term *mother* we have equivalent terms such as *majka, majčica, majkica, mama, mamica, manja, mater, mati, nana, ama, hama*; for the English term *father* we have equivalent terms such as *otac, tata, tajo, oco, oćo, ćaća, ćaćko, dadan, dadica, dado, dakica, dako, apa, babo, baban, babuka, babuša, pape*; for the English term *son* we have equivalent terms such as *sin, sinan, sinčić*; for the English term *daughter* we have equivalent terms such as *bika, ćer, ćerca, kćer, kćerca, kći*; for the English term *brother* we have equivalent terms such as *baća, baćo, bajica, bajić, bracan, braco, bracuka, brajan, brajen, brato, brajo, brajko, bralan, brale, bralo, brat, bratac, burazer*; and lastly for the English term *sister* we have equivalent terms such *seja, seka, sekana, sekica, sela, sestra, neca, nena, nene, nenica, nenka* and *nenkica* (Zovko, p. 123-37). If we include grandparents as a somewhat extended part of the nuclear family the list then expands: for the English term *grandfather* we have equivalent terms such as *bakac, dedo, deduška, djed, djedak, djedica, djedo, djekan, did, didan, dido, diduš, đedo, đeko,* while for the English term grandmother we have equivalent terms such as *baba, babikaća, baka, bakica, dedimica, heba, mala baba, velika baba, nena.*

It should be noted that not all of the aforementioned terms are strictly used interchangeably given the difference in dialect throughout the area we cover in this paper; for example, the term *pape* for *father* is almost exclusively used toward the southern-southwestern end of the region, more closely associated with the coastal areas of Dalmatia; which is not surprising given the etymology of the word, coming from Italian *pappa*. Moving into the interior, one can expect Turkish loanwords to become more prevalent, as in use of *babo* for *father*, derived from Turkish *baba*, or colloquial terms *buraz / burazer* used for the term *brother*, also derived from Turkish *birader* (Dupanović, p.597). Likewise, some of the terms might fall out of use due to their perceived 'age' or 'prestige'; the term *mater* for *mother* can be considered either appropriate or pejorative, depending on various factors.

It is particularly notable to point out the numerical quantity for certain terms; the term *father* has eighteen equivalent terms, the term *brother* has seventeen while the term *grandfather* has fifteen. We can attribute that to the fact that fatherhood and brotherhood, essentially male-to-male kinship relationships, were, or still are, an expected important norms in a highly patriarchal and arguably homosocial society, hence the many names for these relationships. Notably, the term *velika baba* (lit. 'great [in physical sense] grandmother)

denotes the father's mother while the term *mala baba* denotes the mother's mother. **(**Zovko, p. 123-37).

Both English and Croatian use specific descriptive terms if a particular child shares a lineal relationship with only a single parent in their nuclear family. Generally, when a woman has children with more than one man or a man has children with more than one woman, the aforementioned kinship system refers to such children who share only one parent with another sibling as *half-brothers* or *half-sisters*. For children who do not share biological or adoptive parents, English uses the term *stepbrother* or *stepsister* to refer to their new relationship with each other when one of their biological parents marries one of the other child's biological parents. Compared to Croatian, one may use the terms *polubrat* or *polusestra* in the former case,while the latter usually makes no difference in everyday speech, although historical terms such as *inobrat* or *inosestra* do occur (Zovko, p.123-137). Albeit not fully equivalent, the terms *pobratim* or *posestra* may also be used.

Any person (other than the biological parent of a child) who marries the parent of that child becomes the *stepparent* of the child, either the *stepmother* or *stepfather*. The same terms generally apply to children adopted into a family as to children born into the family. Croatian terms can be *maćeha, maćiha, maćija, maćuha, pomajka, polumajka*, and *polumajkica* or *očuh, oćuh, poočim*, respectively (Zovko, p.123-137).

Typically, societies with conjugal families also favor neolocal residence; thus upon marriage a person separates from the nuclear family of their childhood (*family of orientation*) and forms a new nuclear family (*family of procreation*). This practice means that members of one's own nuclear family once functioned as members of another nuclear family, or may one day become members of another nuclear family. Members of the nuclear families of members of one's own (former) nuclear family may be classed either as *lineal* or as *collateral*. Kin who regard them as lineal refer to them in terms that build on the terms used within the nuclear family, such as *grandfather*, *grandmother*, *grandson* or *granddaughter*. As we have already listed the equivalents of the terms *grandfather* and *grandmother*, we will not list them again; however, equivalent terms for grandson and granddaughter are usually *unuče*, *unuk* and *unučic*, *unuka*, respectively.

Regarding collateral relatives, more classificatory terms appear, usually terms that do not build on terms used within the nuclear family. These collateral relatives can actually encompass relatively large categories; for example, the English term *uncle* can refer to a father's brother, a mother's brother, a husband of a father's sister or a husband of a mother's sister. On the other hand, Croatian uses a variety of classificatory terms. Respectively, the equivalents for a father's

brother are *adže, amidža, stric, strijo, strikan, strike, strinan*; for a mother's brother are *daidža, dajidža, dajo, ujac, ujak, ujko, ujo*; for both father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband the usual term is *tetak* (Zovko, p.123-137). The situation is similar in regards to the English term *aunt*; the equivalents are *tetka, balduza* and *hala* for either a father's sister or a mother's sister; while for the wife of either a father's or a mother's brother the terms are *amidžinica, dajinica, strina* and *uja, ujna, una,* respectively. The English term *nephew* has general equivalents of *nećak, nećo, pećak* but for a sister's son the diminutive *sestrić* may be used, similarly to the brother's son in the term *sinovac*, while the wife's sister's son or wife's brother's son would be either *tetić* or *daidžić*. On the other hand, husband's brother's son and husband's sister's son both use the general term *nećak*. The terms for the English term *niece* also follow a similar pattern: the general term in Croatian might be *neća, nećaka, nećakinja, nećica* but a sister's daughter is *sestrična, sestrička, sestrana,* while a brother's daughter is *bratana, bratićka, bratična, bratučeda*; the daughter of a wife's sister may be called *tetična*, while daughter of a husband's sister may be called *zaovična* or *zaovka*. Again, the daughter of husband's brother uses the general term.

If additional generations need to be mentioned, or more simply, when an individual's collateral relatives belong to the same generation as grandparents or grandchildren, English uses the prefix *grand-* to modify these terms; although in casual usage in American English a *grandaunt* may be referred to as a *great-aunt*. Similarly to the terms grandparent or grandchildren, if more generations are involved, the prefix becomes *greatgrand-*, adding an additional *great-* for each additional generation. In Croatian the prefix *pra-* is used similarly although for every two such prefixes an expression šukun or čukun (cf. Latin *secundus*) can also be used (Anić; Goldstein, p.563). Therefore, an English term *greatgrandfather* would therefore be translated as the term *pradjed*, while *greatgreatgrandfather* would be *prapradjed* as well as šukundjed.

The term *cousin* seems to be the most classificatory term both in English and Croatian; it generally refers to the children of aunts and uncles. The equivalent terms would be *rođak* for male cousins and *rodica, rođakinja* for female cousins, with the literal meaning of '(person) being related to' (Anić, p.492). However, many of the already used terms can be used, namely *amidžić, bratić, stričević, tetić, daidžić* for male cousins and *sestrična, sestrička, sestrana, amidžićka, bratana, bratićka, bratična, bratučeda, daidžićka, tetična, zaovična, zaovka*, respectively, depending on the actual kinship with the cousin's parents (Zovko, p.123-37). Cousins can furthermore be distinguished by the actual degree of collaterality and by generation. For example, two persons of the same generation who share a grandparent count as *first cousins* (one degree of collaterality); if they share a greatgrandparent they count as second cousins (two degrees of

collaterality) and so on. The equivalent in Croatian is somewhat different; one degree of collaterality, expressed as 'koljeno' applies to siblings because they are one step below their parents but they obviously cannot be cousins, therefore you can only be third, fourth, fifth etc. cousins depending on how far both cousins are related to the person that is their common ancestor.

There are some differences regarding kinship terminology of higher generation in relation to the individual. In English, if two persons share an ancestor, one as a grandchild and the other as a great-grandchild of that same individual, then the two descendants are classified as *first cousins once removed* (that is, removed by one generation); if the shared ancestor figures as the grandfather of one individual while being the great-great-grandfather of the other at the same time, then the individuals class as *first cousins twice removed* (again, removed by two generations), and so on. There is nothing similar to this in the Croatian terminology where cousins of an older generation, one's parent's first cousins, though equivalent to the term first cousins once removed, often get classified with terms *pratetka* and *pratetak*, for example.

Likewise, a person may refer to close friends of one's parents as *aunt* or *uncle*, or may refer to close friends as *brother* or *sister*, using the practice of *fictive kinship*. The same is applied to the term *kum*, which encompasses both English words *best man* and *godfather*, and can also describe just a close male friendship along with actual kinship terms. Similarly, one may call any young woman *snaha* or *nevista*, meaning bride in English, although there may be no kinship between the persons mentioned.

Although Old English had extensive descriptive terms, Modern English is also different from Croatian in marking kinship relationship by marriage, except for the *wife / husband* dynamic, with the tag *–in-law*, in general meaning 'related by marriage' (Dupanović, p.594). The mother and father of one's spouse thus become one's mother-in-law or father-in-law, which has equivalent terms *punica, svekrva* and *punac, svekar*, respectively; the female spouse of one's child becomes one's daughter-in-law or *snaha, nevjest, neva, nevica, nevka*; finally, the male spouse of one's child becomes one's son-in-law or *zet, zetazet, domazet*; the latter term specifically describes a son-in-law who becomes part of the spouse's nuclear family. The English term *sister-in-law*, somewhat economically refers to three essentially different relationships, either the wife of one's sibling or the sister of one's spouse or the wife of one's spouse's sibling. Croatian, however, retains specific affinal terms for each of these, including đeveruša, djeveruša, jetrva, svaja, svastika, zaova, zaovke, zava, depending on actual relation to the individual. The term *brother-in-law* expresses a similar ambiguity and so the equivalents may be đever, djever, šura, šurjak, šurnjak,

šurnjo. (Zovko, p.123-37) No special affinal terms exist for the rest of one's spouse's family.

Conclusion

Both English and Croatian belong to the same, Indo-European language family, which makes not only their languages but likewise their kinship systems similar to each other. The main difference seems to be how, through its development and history, English has lost many descriptive kinship terms for affinal kin, while Croatian has not just retained many but still uses many and various descriptive kinship terms for affinal kin. The reason for this could be simply the exposure to various other languages through history; English in its development of kinship terminology mostly took influences from Romance languages, namely French, while Croatian, being at the focal point of Western culture border, was exposed to many more languages such as Italian, German, Hungarian and Turkish. Such richness of descriptive kinship terms served its sociolinguistic purpose in maintaining a more cohesive and precise understanding of kinship relations, especially among males, and paradoxically in spite of external influences. Notably, even though the phenomenon of kinship is universal to all of humanity, and two languages may share common kinship systems, equivalent kinship terms may end up denoting different classes of relatives.

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MARIO PENAVIĆ

TERMINOLOGIJA SRODSTVA: USPOREDBA ENGLESKOG I HRVATSKOG SUSTAVA SRODSTVA

Sažetak

Terminologija srodstva odnosi se na riječi koje se koriste u određenoj kulturi kako bi se opisao specifičan sustav rodbinskih veza. Obuhvaća nazive koji se u različitim jezicima ili zajednicama koriste za različite srodnike kao i izraze koji opisuju odnos srodnika s govornikom, slušateljem ili jednih s drugima. Ideja srodstva se stoga smatra univerzalnom cijelom čovječanstvu. Društva u različitim dijelovima svijeta koja govore različitim jezicima povremeno dijele iste terminološke obrasce; u takvim slučajevima, moguće je lako prevesti izraze srodstva s jednog jezika u drugi, iako konotacije mogu varirati. Koristeći ograničen broj izraza koji opisuju srodstvo, cilj ovog rada je analizirati i usporediti različitosti i sličnosti takvih izraza u engleskom i hrvatskom jeziku, s posebnim osvrtom na povijesno i regionalno područje zapadne Hercegovine.

Ključne riječi: antropologija, hrvatski, engleski, obitelj, srodstvo, izrazi koji opisuju srodstvo, sociolingvistika

Discourse Analysis

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GENDER DISCOURSE IN SERBIAN TURBO FOLK LYRICS

Abstract

Music has always been an important part of human life. It is a tool that can be used for various purposes—to express feelings and emotions, describe heroic acts, in rituals and worship, etc. Together with the changes in human society and culture, music has changed too. Music is also an integral part of a society's culture, in which the society's practices, customs, values and lifestyle are reflected. Different social groups identify themselves with different types of music. Various aspects of everyday life, relationships, gender roles, etc. are presented and described through music so that parallels can be drawn between behavior and changes within a social group and its music. The aim of this paper is to analyze gender discourse in the lyrics of Serbian turbo folk songs. The choruses of six Serbian turbo folk songs will be analyzed and the focus will be on the ways male and female gender are presented - both in creating one's own gender identity and describing the others' gender identity. The analysis focuses on gender stereotypes in presenting men and women, the choice of vocabulary, "doing" gender—the way male and female gender are created and presented throughout the lyrics and the ideology behind the lyrics. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) will be applied in the analysis of the selected lyrics.

Key words: turbo folk, lyrics, gender, ideology, discourse

Introduction

From the dawn of civilization, music has always been an important part of human life. As such it is a tool used for various purposes – to express feelings and emotions, describe heroic acts, in rituals and worship or simply to make one feel better. Together with the changes and advancements in human society and culture, music has changed too. It can also be said that music is an integral part of a society's culture - one in which a society's practices, customs, values

and lifestyle are reflected. The reason for this is that various aspects of every-day life, relationships, religion, male and female roles, etc. are presented and described through music so that parallels can be drawn between behavior and changes within a society group and its music. Different social groups identify themselves with different types of music and this goes beyond the lyrics, beat and tempo and permeates the members' fashion choices, lifestyle and even the choice of words and ways of expressing themselves. The aim of this paper is to analyze gender discourse in the lyrics of Serbian turbo folk songs. The choruses of six Serbian turbo folk songs will be analyzed - three performed by female artists and three performed by male artists. The songs have been chosen randomly and the focus will be on the ways male and female gender are presented - both in creating one's own gender identity and describing the gender identity of others. The analysis focuses on gender stereotypes in presenting men and women, the choice of vocabulary, "doing" gender—the way male and female gender are created and presented throughout the lyrics and the ideology behind the lyrics. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) will be applied in the analysis of the selected lyrics. The thesis is that gender specific differences in language use, the use of semantic structures, and the choice of vocabulary create differences in discourse between male and female performers of turbo folk songs. The antici-pated problems are the question of the author behind the lyrics and the differences in analyzing only written lyrics and analyzing the actual performance of the song with video included. It is not uncommon for one artist to write lyrics for multiple performers, both male and female. Videos together with clothes, setting, facial expressions, gestures and dance moves add new layers of meaning to the lyrics, layers which are not always visible from the text of the lyrics only.

1. Turbofolk- A Brief Overview

While the nineties in the Western world were characterized by inventions such as World Wide Web, the rise of capitalism, the worldwide spread of movements such as rave, hip hop and grunge, etc., the situation in the countries of former Yugoslavia was somewhat different. The countries affected by war and its inevitable consequences in the form of poverty, destruction and tragedy were struggling to return to normal life. Although it is difficult to define what turbo folk actually is, there are no doubts about its country of origin. Turbo folk originates in Serbia and it emerged during the eighties of the twentieth century, but reached the height of popularity during the last decade of the twentieth century when it got its final form – a provocative sound that awakens all senses and urges (http://www.serbia.com/turbo-folk-music/). The term itself was coined by Rambo Amadeus who used it to describe his sound: "Turbofolk

is the combustion of the people. Turbofolk isn't music. Turbo-folk is the love of the masses. Activation of the lowest passions of the homo sapiens. Turbo-folk is the system of injecting the people. I didn't invent Turbo-folk, I gave it its name" (cited in Prnjak, 2008). While turbo folk's origins are clearly in folk music and lyrics, its rise to popularity is often associated with the era of brutal nationalism and it glorified a newly emergent criminal class in Serbia. Political and sociological factors had a great impact on the popularity of the newly created genre; Serbia lost four wars, was bombed by NATO, and Kosovo Albanians declared the Republic of Kosovo a sovereign and independent state (https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2008/0505/p20s01-woeu.html).

The lyrics and the beat were initially not as important as the genre's close association with nationalist politics. Many academic texts look at turbo folk from this perspective.

Journalist Peter Morgan described Turbo Folk as "the music of isolation," while another journalist, Robert Black, described the singers of Turbo Folk as the "balladeers of Ethnic Cleansing." Black added that Turbo Folk represented "the sound of the war and everything that war has brought to this country" (Hudson, 2003, p. 172).

These "ballads of village girls and heroic battles, of unrequited love and faithless men" (https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2008/0505/p20s01-woeu.html) combined with a mixture of electronic, disco and folk music and the influences of Arab, Greek and Turkish folk music became popular outside Serbian borders regardless of their close association with Serbian nationalism. Neighboring countries embraced this new trend, accommodating it slowly to their own market needs. Today, turbo folk "connects Balkan nations extremely well, in spite of the fact that most of them have a strong nationalist sentiment and officially don't like each other" (http://satibara.blogspot.ba/2015/06/clip-and-turbo-folk-generation.html). Turbo folk gradually moved away from the strong influences of nationalism and somewhat oriental sound towards the worldwide music trends and "lighter" topics such as criminal lifestyle, sex, drugs, alcohol, hedonism, dominance et cetera.

2. Creating Gender Identity

The study of gender is relatively new, but views and perceptions on gender, gender differences and differences in speech between men and women were pointed out and emphasized a long time before the actual scientific study of gender. Though many use the terms interchangeably, there are important differences in meaning and use. Sex is a biological thing: humans are born with it and it depends on different biological processes connected to chromosomes,

hormones, gonads, etc. Gender is not a matter of biology as it is a socially constructed category.

The relationship between language and gender can be considered through three main frameworks: dominance, difference and social constructionist. The dominance framework is best presented in Spender's *Man Made Language* (1985). It emphasizes the subordinated position of women which is obvious not only in everyday life situations but also in language and language use. Male dominance and patriarchal society are considered to be the main reasons for different language use. The difference framework presented in Gumperz's *Language and Social Identity* (1982) tries to explain the differences between male and female language as a consequence of growing up in different "subcultures". Men and women are raised differently; they learn how to behave and speak as a male or female from the day they are born, which results in different language use. The social constructionist framework is now the prevailing paradigm in discourse analysis and sociolinguistics. Gender is defined as a social construct and speakers can "do" different genders, regardless of their biological sex, depending on the situation and goals they wish to accomplish. This way the speakers can choose from a whole range of different discourses. In this sense, discourse is conceptualized as a "system of statements which cohere around common meanings and values" (Hollway, 1983, p. 131). The choice does not depend on the speaker solely as the society surrounding the individual dictates and defines what is considered desirable and what counts as proper male or female behavior. Based on the goals and expected outcome, gender identity is tailored and presented to the audience. This would make context a very important factor in creating gender identity and 'presenting' it to the audience present. Due to this fact, the focus of gender and language study has also changed; the previous frameworks (dominance and difference) are simply not enough in a world of ever-changing gender identities which can no longer be seen as clear cut and defined but rather as a continuum—constructed and changed if necessary. Sunderland (2006, p. 22) explains that "these changes in the perception of gender and gender identity have shifted the field yet again towards a more post-structuralist concern with how gender is performed, constructed, enacted and/or displayed in spoken and written texts. Here, the sex of the speaker/writer may be of little or no interest.

Post-structuralism shed a new light on the views and perceptions of gender and "doing" gender as gender is seen as a "set of ideas (rather than something embodied), hence an ideology, a set of values and norms, and simultaneously, frequently sexist stereotypes." (Wodak, 2015, p. 699)

This suggests that gender is not just a set of attributes that a person possesses, but something one chooses to do as "membership of a gender constitutes a

performative act and not a fact" (Wodak, 2015, p. 701). Furthermore, gender is not only connected to and influenced by biological sex and choosing to "do" gender, it is also influenced by many different factors such as economic background, sociocultural background, education, etc. Throughout life, people belong to many different groups such as family, school, work environment and "the groups we operate in have certain stereotypical conceptions about how, e.g. men, women, gays, lesbians, etc., communicate, and normative expectations about how they should communicate" (Pavlidou, 2010, p. 407). Besides family, school and various institutions, the media can also play an important role in presenting desirable gender roles and stereotypes as

> in situations of war, totalitarian rule, and the disintegration of a system of old values and family and educational institutions, new values, imposed by the media, can have a great influence on the attitudes and behavior of a major part of the population. (Štulhofer and Sandfort, 2008, pp. 134-135)

Indeed, media played an important role in the nineties in Serbia, when turbo folk gained in popularity. The influence of the media reduced female gender roles to extreme biological limits: the sexy mother and the aggressive warrior (Štulhofer and Sandfort, 2008, p. 135). Other acceptable roles are that of a *sponsored girl* (Vujović, 1999, p. 32) and a model. Men are, on the other hand, the consumers of what is offered and provide the necessary funds. They were supposed to play the acceptable roles of strong, dominant men and "mobster-like noveaux riches" (Vujović, 1999, p. 32). The social media and political events of this era in Serbia influenced the lyrics and the music associated with the era - turbofolk.

3. Critical Discourse Analysis

Before we analyze the examples, it is important to define Critical Discourse Analysis as a theoretical framework. Van Dijk (2005) defined it as "a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (p. 352). Fairclough and Wodak (1997, pp. 271-80) identified its main features:

1 CDA addresses social problems
2 Power relations are discursive
3 Discourse constitutes society and culture
4 Discourse does ideological work
5 Discourse is historical

6 The link between text and society is mediated

7 Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory

8 Discourse is a form of social action.

With the emergence and rise in popularity of new media and new ways of communicating with one's audience, Critical Discourse Analysis is no longer focused on text and talk solely, and as van Leeuwen argued in Wodak (2009)

> [c]ritical discourse analysis has also moved beyond language, taking on board that discourses are often multimodally realized, not only through text and talk, but also through other modes of communication such as images... Overall, then, critical discourse analysis has moved towards more explicit dialogue between social theory and practice, richer contextualization, greater interdisciplinarity and greater attention to the multimodality of discourse. (p.16)

Critical Discourse Analysis is an acceptable theoretical framework for analyzing gender differences due to multiple reasons. First of all, gender differences and gender identity are an important part of today's society, where dichotomies such as men/women, male/female are no longer sufficient. Different gender stereotypes, present even today in a society that aims at equality and presents itself as liberal, are the consequences of power relations between men and women. Both women and men are still expected to play certain roles and are frowned upon if they fail to do so. Patriarchal ideology is one of the main reasons for this, an ideology which has been present for quite a long time. Furthermore, discourse does ideological work and Critical Discourse Analysis "seeks to show how ideological presuppositions are hidden underneath the surface structures of language choices in text" (Machin and Mayr, 2012); patriarchal ideology and other ideologies should be visible in the analysis of gender discourse. The fact that discourse is a form of social action makes gender discourse also a form of social action through which gender roles and stereotypes are presented and visible alongside contemporary social and cultural circumstances and background. Fairclough defines discourses as "ways of seeing the world" (cited in Sunderland, 2004, p. 6). Speakers use discourse for different purposes and with different aims, just like they use different gender identities. These aims and purposes are hidden behind linguistic elements and choices, and they can be interpreted and explained through CDA as CDA "aims to show non-obvious ways in which language is involved in social relations of power and domination" (Fairclough 2001, p. 22).

4. Methodology and Analysis

The turbo folk lyrics were chosen randomly. They are performed by the following artists: Seka Aleksić, Ceca, Maya Berović, Aca Lukas, MC Stojan ft. Djans and Mile Kitić, three male and three female performers. All of the performers are very popular judging by the numbers on their YouTube channels. The choruses of the songs were found online (all the choruses are available in the Appendices) and will be analyzed using Critical Discourse Analysis as the theoretical framework. The analysis will focus on the following categories: gender stereotypes in presenting men and women, the choice of vocabulary (vocabulary of intent and submission, directive speech acts), "doing" gender—the way male and female gender are created and presented throughout the lyrics and the ideology behind the lyrics visible from the choice of words, stereotypes, metaphors etc.

4.1. Gender stereotypes- presenting men

Through the lyrics of the female performers men are presented as owners, the ones who claim their possession (*da znam da tebi pripadam*), they are expected to enjoy the services and benefits offered by women (*popij me kao lek, uzmi me kao dar, po mojoj koži slikaj*). Even when presented in a negative sense, as it is the case with Berović's *Djevojačko prezime*, they are still seen as conquerors wanting to dominate and have their own way with women (*ne dam na sebe, ne dam slobodu muškom rodu, nisam ja igračka za maštanje*). The lyrics of male performers present men as physically and sexually active, dominant and in control (*pravi sam grubijan, okolo se kurvam*). Men are the initiators, they make offers to women, which they are only supposed to refuse or accept (*da li bi volela da ti pokažem svet, hajde da uradimo to na vrhu Burj Khalife*). They are presented as experts in handling women and giving pleasure (*biće tajac kad je sredi ovaj specijalac, puna dima biće njena soba*).

4.2. Gender stereotypes- presenting women

Both male and female performers present women the same way throughout their lyrics. Women are seen as objects, both metaphorically and literally (*tebi pripadam, stavi me u ram*) and sexual objects (*ajde da uradimo to*). They are something that can be consumed (*popij me kao lek*), easily offered and claimed (*uzmi me kao dar*). As they are "owned" by men, even their name depends on their marital status (*djevojačko prezime*). Woman is presented as a patient, silent and caring human being who loves her man regardless of basically everything and accepts anything (*kad okolo se kurvam i zdravlje zbog mene zauvek izgubiš, reci mi da me voliš*). They are also presented as inexperienced "little girls" who

want to be taught by male experts (*hoće sa mnom sve da proba, pamtit će me mala bomba*).

4.3. Vocabulary of intent

As both male and female performers present men as conquerors and initiators, vocabulary choice of male performers is connected to making offers and suggestions (*da li bi volela da ti pokažem svet, da se bacimo sa padobranom, hajde da uradimo to*), expressing their intentions (*kad je sredi ovaj specijalac*) (usually those of sexual nature) and using directive speech acts (*reci mi da me voliš*).

4.4. Vocabulary of submission

In accordance with the roles of objects, sources of pleasure and possessions, the choice of vocabulary of female performers is connected to submission. Even though they use directive speech acts and imperative mood (*popij me, uzmi me, diraj me usnama, po mojoj koži slikaj, stavi me u ram*), the context is what determines the actual meaning- they willingly offer themselves to men to benefit them (cure them and make their lives longer *produžit ću ti vek, nikad nećeš biti sam ni star*) and give them pleasure. The only exception are the lyrics of Berović's *Djevojačko prezime* throughout which she refuses the traditional roles and asserts her emancipation and independence (*ne dam na sebe, ne dam slobodu muškom rodu, naći ću pravog il' biću sama*).

4.5. Patriarchal ideology

Patriarchal ideology ascribes attributes to both men and women, defines values and norms, expected behavior and desirable gender roles. As turbofolk originates from a country that is predominantly patriarchal, the ideology is present in the lyrics too. "Woman is supposed to be obedient to, respectful of and dependent on men" (Totten, 2003) and as she is dependent, her purpose is to belong (*tebi pripadam*). Obedience is also reflected in her willingness to fulfil wishes and (sexual) desires of her man (*diraj me, stavi me, po mojoj koži slikaj, uzmi me kao dar*) and her compliance and openness to all suggestions (*hoće sa mnom sve da proba*) as "Female intimates should be sexually accessible, loyal, and faithful to their male partners" (Totten, 2003). Even though Berović's *Djevojačko prezime* does not show a typical patriarchal woman and, to a certain extent, defies the stereotypes and expected gender roles, patriarchal ideology is still present behind the lyrics as the father figure is what defines her, or rather her identity as a single woman (*ponosno nosim djevojačko prezime*).

As opposed to female qualities of being loyal and faithful, manhood is defined through being "physically tough, sexually active, and having control on

life and women" (Totten, 2003). It is, therefore acceptable and even desirable to behave in a certain way if you want to be perceived as a real man (*okolo se kurvam, kad sam mrtav pijan, pravi sam grubijan*). The traditional role of a man is to provide for his family, to earn enough to take care of them. In one of the songs, man is presented as a wealthy breadwinner (Totten, 2003), able to provide for his woman and take her to see the world with him (*da ti pokažem svet sa vrha Burj Khalife, da se bacimo sa padobranom*), which is a more modern version of bringing bread to the table. Man is the one who is in control, experienced and well versed in all things sexual (*biće tajackad je sredi ovaj specijalac*).

4.6. Doing gender

As previously mentioned, when it comes to "doing" gender and creating gender identity, context, audience and their expectations have to be taken into account. At first glance, it seems that all the examples simply show expected, stereotypical characteristics, traditionally perceived as male and female, but it must be taken into account that turbofolk as a byproduct of the nineties era in Serbia carries in itself certain values and norms, certain expectations of men and women, consequences of patriarchal ideology. Not all songs used for the purpose of this research were written in the nineties of the past century; some of them are quite recent but that does not change the fact that the audience around turbofolk performers still has certain expectations regarding the way men and women are presented, and what their roles in society are. Women in the lyrics create their gender identity through presenting themselves as passive, immobile objects (*diraj me, stavi me, uzmi me*) and as an aid, a tool for the wellbeing of man (*popij me kao lek*). One of the performers shows willingness to redefine typical and desirable female roles through refusing to be what is expected of her (*nisam ja igračka za maštanje*) and multiple negation (*ne dam na sebe, ne dam slobodu muškom rodu*). They use the vocabulary of submission and present men as conquerors, something that they embrace and willingly participate in as they express their willingness to satisfy their man (*produžit ću ti vek, po mojoj koži slikaj*). References to sexual intercourse are present through metaphors whereby the female body is presented as an empty canvas and the actual intercourse is presented as the act of painting (*pomešaj ove noći crno i zlatno, po mojoj koži slikaj kao po platnu*). Another way of referring to sexual intercourse is through connotative meaning of *uzmi me kao dar* and *igračka za maštanje*.

Men create their gender identity through presenting themselves as abusive, dominant, aggressive (*pravi sam grubijan, kad sam mrtav pijan, reci mi da me voliš*), and this is something that women are expected to accept. They use the vocabulary of intention and present themselves as the ones with the necessary

initiative, who make suggestions and decide on the course of action (*da li bi volela da ti pokažem svet, da se bacimo sa padobranom, slobodan let, hajde da uradimo to*). Man is presented as the one in control of the situation, he is dominant and experienced (*specijalac, kad je sredi*). References to sexual intercourse are done in a blunt and very open way (*ajde da uradimo to, okolo se kurvam*) and in the metaphorical context of handling explosive devices (*kad je sredi ovaj specijalac*).

5. Discussion

The lyrics analyzed in the previous chapter were composed in different periods of time, some of them originating from the nineties of the twentieth century and some of them recent. Regardless of the time span, there are similarities in vocabulary, topics, the semantics behind the lyrics, ideology, and gender creation.

Almost all the lyrics show excessive use of gender stereotypes, deeply rooted in patriarchal ideology. Men are presented as owners and conquerors, initiators and experts (*uzmi me, tebi pripadam, kad je sredi ovaj specijalac*) while women are metaphorical and literal objects, something that can be owned and consumed by men (*po meni slikaj, stavi me u ram, uzmi me kao lek*)

The vocabulary used in lyrics performed by men is connected to alcoholism, violence, weapons, sex, extreme sports and world travel (*bomba, mrtav pijan, Burj Khalifa, da se bacimo sa padobranom*). The vocabulary of intention is also an important part as men are the ones with initiative and control. Men either give women options or they command them (*da li bi volela, reci mi*). Sexual innuendo is present in all the examples of lyrics performed by men, the only difference is in subtlety or the lack of it (*hajde da uradimo to, okolo se kurvam, hoće sa mnom sve da proba*).

The vocabulary used in lyrics performed by women is connected to ownership and submission, works of art, painting, medication, relationships, weddings, sex and female emancipation (*tebi pripadam, po mojoj koži slikaj kao po platnu, popij me kao lek, stavi me u ram, naći ću pravog, ne dam na sebe*). Sexual innuendo is present in all examples, always hidden behind metaphors and connotative meaning (*diraj me usnama, stavi me, uzmi me kao dar, igračka za maštanje*). Although the verbs used by female performers are imperative in almost all cases (*uzmi me, pomešaj, slikaj*) the context has a more important impact on the meaning - the lyrics are not about ordering and dominating men but female submission and objectification of women.

Patriarchal ideology is strongly present in all examples and greatly influences the creation and representation of male and female gender with their desirable

and acceptable characteristics. Women are presented as objects, tools and weapons (*bomba, igračka, lek, platno, dar*) both by female and male performers. Men are experts and owners of these objects, tools and weapons (*tebi pripadam, uzmi me, specijalac*) and they are presented this way both by female and male performers. The only exception (but only to a certain extent) are the lyrics and chorus of *Djevojačko prezime* performed by Maya Berović. She sings about an independent woman who makes her own decisions and refuses to submit to men (*ne dam na sebe, ne dam slobodu muškom rodu*) but defines her identity through connection to her father (*djevojačko prezime*) thus confirming the importance of patriarchal ideology once again.

The female performers "do" gender through singing about subordination to men. Women are there to fulfil the wishes and needs of men, to help and benefit them. They present themselves as objects that are expected to remain passive and obedient, their only action may be accepting or refusing the offers made by men and caring for them. The offers are there to lead to and result in sexual intercourse and women are expected to satisfy the needs of men and give pleasure.

The male performers "do" gender through singing about the dominance of men over women. Men are in control; they are the ones with initiative, making both suggestions and decisions. They present themselves as strong, tough, experienced, simultaneously experts in handling women and their owners. The offers and suggestions are always initiated by men, at the same time demanding the submission of women. Sexual innuendo is present in all the offers as the end goal is to receive pleasure and sexual gratification provided by women. The roles and gender characteristics presented are a result of the patriarchal ideology behind them that clearly defines men as natural bread winners and women as natural child rearers and home makers. (Totten, 2003)

Conclusion

Critical Discourse Analysis of the choruses chosen has shown the existence of gender stereotypes in presenting men and women in the lyrics, specific differences in vocabulary use (vocabulary of intention and vocabulary of submission), undeniable influence of patriarchal ideology on the creation of gender and desirable and acceptable gender characteristics and differences in the way gender is done and presented. Turbofolk as a music movement connected to a specific era in the history and politics of Serbia has left its trace on representation of men and women and desirable male and female roles in society. Women and female gender are perceived as obedient, loyal and submissive and are presented this way by both male and female performers. Men and male gender are

perceived as tough, dominant, violent and in control, asking for female submission and obedience. The choice of vocabulary and topics together with omnipresent sexual innuendo further strengthen this perception. Gender discourse of male and female performers and the act of "doing" gender are different due to different expectations from men and women dictated by patriarchal ideology and is visible from different language use shown in the analysis of the choruses. In accordance with the recent perspectives on gender identity and "doing" gender, gender characteristics and presentation of genders in the lyrics can be seen as a conscious choice rather than a set of attributes that already exists. The audience interested in turbofolk music has certain expectations regarding the presentation of male and female roles, which is something that the performers and the authors of the lyrics are aware of. For future research it would be interesting to include age factor and the area of the performers' origin together with complete lyrics of songs, not just choruses. Turbofolk is nowadays a widely popular phenomenon, present in the whole Balkan region, not exclusively connected to Serbia anymore. Because of this it would be interesting to analyze and compare the lyrics of turbofolk songs from various countries to see whether there are differences in gender discourse and how gender is done connected to the country of origin. Possible differences between performers from different age groups could also make interesting grounds for research in order to investigate whether gender roles and creation of gender change over time and changes of society. Similarly, lyrics and songs from different time periods (1990s, early 2000s and present) could be compared and analyzed with a focus both on gender characteristics and the roles presented and possible changes in society's values and norms that affect the creation of gender, too. Music in general and turbo folk as a music movement popular in the Balkans should not be underestimated, as they are not only a source of entertainment but also indicators of the changes in society's norms and values.

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Appendices

Seka Aleksić "Crno i zlatno" (2003)

"Pomešaj ove noći crno i zlatno, po mojoj koži slikaj kao po platnu, diraj me usnama po telu i vratu a onda stavi me u ram, da znam da tebi pripadam."

Ceca "Popij me kao lek" (1993)

"Popij me kao lek produžiću ti vek, uzmi me kao dar i nikad nećeš biti sam ni star."

Maya Berović "Djevojačko prezime" (2011)

"Ponosno nosim djevojačko prezime, naći ću pravog il' biću sama, dajem obećanje. Ne dam na sebe, ne dam slobodu muškom rodu, nisam ja igračka za maštanje."

Aca Lukas "Voliš li me" (2016)

"Voliš li me kad sam mrtav pijan, voliš li me kad pravi sam grubijan, voliš li me kad okolo se kurvam i zdravlje zbog mene zauvek izgubiš, reci mi da me voliš."

MC Stojan feat Djans "Burj Khalifa" (2017)

"Da li bi volela da ti pokažem svet sa vrha Burj Khalife, da se bacimo sa padobranom, slobodan let, sa vrha Burj Khalife? Da li bi volela da ti pokažem svet sa vrha Burj Khalife, 'ajde da uradimo to na vrhu Burj Khalife."

Mile Kitić "Bomba" (2011)

"Bomba, bomba mala bomba, hoće samnom sve da proba. Pamtit će me mala bomba

puna dima biće njena soba. Bomba, bomba mala bomba, hoće samnom sve da proba.

Bomba,bomba biće tajac kad je sredi ovaj specijalac."

DIJANA JURČIĆ

RODNI DISKURS U SRPSKIM TURBOFOLK PJESMAMA

Sažetak

Glazba je oduvijek bila važan dio ljudskog života. Koristi se u različite svrhe- izražavanje osjećaja, opisivanje junačkih djela, u ritualima i bogoslužjima i tako dalje. Glazba je također integralni dio kulture jednog društva, dio u kojem se ogledaju običaji, norme, vrijednosti i stil života. Različite društvene skupine se poistovjećuju s različitim vrstama glazbe. Brojni aspekti svakodnevnog života, odnosi, rodne uloge i slično se predstavljaju kroz glazbu te je moguće povući paralele između ponašanja i promjena u određenoj društvenoj skupini i glazbe tog društva i/ili društvene skupine. Svrha je ovog rada analizirati rodni diskurs u stihovima srpskih turbo folk pjesama. Refreni šest srpskih turbo folk pjesama će biti analizirani s naglaskom na načine na koji se prezentiraju muški i ženski rod, uzimajući u obzir stvaranje vlastitog rodnog identiteta i opis rodnog identiteta drugih. Analiza je usredotočena na rodne stereotipe, izbor vokabulara, teme o kojima stihovi govore te značenje istih, stvaranje rodnog identiteta kao i ideologiju u pozadini stihova. Kritička analiza diskursa će se koristiti prilikom analize stihova.

Ključne riječi: turbo folk, stihovi, rod, ideologija, diskurs

Cognitive Linguistics

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THE PRESENCE OF METAPHORICITY MARKER (PMM) IN THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF MOSTAR

Abstract

Linguistic landscape research is a new scientific field that investigates the intersection of language, communication and space. LL can be defined as visibility and salience of language in public space (Gorter, 2006). LL researchers come from a wide range of language-related disciplines, most notably applied linguistics, multilingualism studies, sociolinguistics, discourse studies, and linguistic anthropology. They believe that linguistic and communicative practice can only be properly understood in the context of its emplacement. Also it is important to be recognized that the physical location and public visibility of different ways of communication have deep social, political implications. The discipline was launched by a now classic paper by Landry & Bourhis (1997), with some notable precursors, such as Spolsky & Cooper (1991). On the other hand, metaphor research is not losing its popularity, not even 38 years after the publication of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) *Metaphors We Live By*. Therefore, this paper combines the two – the linguistic and metaphorical approach in the LL research. Using *MP Method* (De Landtsheer, 2009) we analyze the frequency of metaphors in the linguistic landscape of a multilingual city in B&H. We propose the hypothesis that in the LL of post-war ecologies the Presence of Metaphoricity Marker (PMM) is highly prominent. The corpus of the study consists of 1010 signs collected in the post-war period in the mentioned city.

Key words: linguistic landscape, sociolinguistics, language, space, metaphors, *MP Method*

Introduction

Linguistic landscaping is a new phenomenon in the sociolinguistic studies of language in the public space. As one of the earliest definitions says "The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration" (Landry and Bourhis, 1997, p. 25). Linguistic landscaping has been developing at a high speed ever since the publication of the pioneering paper by Landry and Bourhis (1997). Nowadays, more than twenty years afterwards, it has become a highly recognized discipline of sociolinguistics that has caught the attention of many prominent names in sociolinguistics (Coulmas, 2009; Gorter, 2006; Huebner, 2016; Malinowski, 2015; Shohamy & Waksman, 2009; etc.). Various workshops on linguistic landscaping have been held across the globe; most recent one was held in Bern, Switzerland, in May 2018, and the approaching one is to be held in Bangkok, Thailand in 2019. The community of researchers that became passionately involved in the investigation of language in multicultural and multilingual environments has discovered the heuristic potential of this discipline. Namely, the linguistic landscape is an investigation not only of language and language patterns, but it offers huge potentials and insights into the deep sociolinguistic structures of a speech community. Through LL research we can discover huge amount of data concerning politics, ideologies, religion, linguistic behavior, language policies, tourism, economy, etc.

Linguistic landscape is also an excellent frame for the investigation of linguistic phenomena, such as language mixing, code mixing, idiosyncrasies, etc. but also, on the semantic level of analysis, of metaphors, metonymies etc. For the purpose of this paper we shall limit our research onto the investigation of metaphors in the linguistic landscape of a given territory, the city of Mostar, in a given period of time. The study is synchronic, developed on a set corpus from a previously done research (Grbavac, 2018). The aim of the paper is to check the frequency of metaphors in the linguistic landscape of a multilingual city in B&H using a highly established method for the count of metaphors (De Landtsheer, 2009). We set the hypothesis that in the LL of post-war ecologies the Presence of Metaphoricity Marker (PMM) is highly prominent.

1. Linguistic landscaping and its heuristic potential

As already emphasized linguistic landscaping has a huge potential in discovering sociolinguistic data. That has been the reason for the steep ascend of the discipline since the very beginning of the first phase of the LL research (1997

– 2007, according to Grbavac, 2018). The first phase of the LL research started in 1997 when a paper by the two Canadian authors, Landry and Bourhis, "Linguistic landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality" was published. That was a direct impetus for LL research that spread quickly all over the multilingual hotspots worldwide. This phase was characterized by a huge and quick interest of many scientists all over the world who were documenting and analyzing languages on public signs in urban agglomerations. In the first phase of LL research the authors recognized the potential and meaning of linguistic landscape research. The LL research became a separate sociolinguistic discipline. Basic theoretical, methodological and practical issues were determined.

In the second phase of LL research (2008 – onwards) the linguistic investigation of the visibility and salience of language in the public space continues. It acquired a broader aspect, broader theoretical and methodological perspectives. The authors believe that linguistic landscaping is a wider concept than just language documenting. This is a very productive phase that has "expanded the scenery" (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009) of LL. The authors of this phase believe that "Language in spaces and places is calling for the attention of researchers and scholars who attempt to study and interpret its meaning, messages, purposes and contexts" (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009, p. 1). Various questions arise: What is LL really? Does this term refer only to language or also to other things around us, like images, sounds, buildings, thoughts? How are signs and people and languages connected? etc.

We also belong to the group of researchers who believe that deeper messages can be discovered in the LL in various contexts. LL can be an instrument for measuring changes in the society, an indicator of changes, but also it is a whirlpool of information that are present at the synchronic level. It does have documentary value but not only that. LL offers new insights into the meaning and function of language in multilingual, urban environments. Thanks to LL research we can come to various conclusions about speech community and its social and political implications, prevailing cultural beliefs; it mirrors different social but also psychological issues. As a result of this type of research we can reach the data and find out the results about the ethnolinguistic composition of the surveyed area, geographical distribution, power relations, prestige, symbolic value, vitality and literacy (Grbavac, 2013, p. 144).

2. Linguistic landscape and metaphors

"Metaphors are all around us" is the basic premise of the book *Metaphors We Live By* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). The fact is that metaphors are so pervasive in language. Mark Johnson and George Lakoff claim that metaphor is rife

in language and that much of our conceptual structure is actually metaphorical in nature. That is the thesis of their widely popular book that was so influential that even four decades after its publication we still have metaphor in the center of numerous cognitive linguistic studies. Thirty-nine years after this book about metaphor was published, we still have dissertations being written on the topic of metaphors and their meanings. We took this thesis as the foundation for our hypothesis.

We believe that linguistic landscape, in other words language in the public space, is also full of metaphors and metaphorical meanings. In that way Lakoff and Johnson's statement that metaphors are all around us gets its physical realization: metaphors are around us on buildings, on T-shirts, on huge billboards, on small stickers in a café, ...If we are a careful observer, or, let us use the LL terminology, if we are a careful LL actor, we shall notice an abundance of metaphors in the LL, just like in every other discourse, as already noted and discussed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Metaphors, just like every other aspect of language, are an integral part of LL and as such they deserve a scholarly attention.

So far metaphors have been researched on different corpora (Cameron & Low, 1999; Charteris Black, 2004, 2005; Low et al., 2010; Musolff, 2004; Musolff & Zinken, 2009). As far as we know, there have not been any studies of the frequency of metaphors in a LL. For the purpose of our research we look at the LL of the given territory as a special type of discourse, as a corpus in which we can analyze metaphors.

Stanojević (2013, p. 19) believes that the human represents the foundation of cognitive linguistics, in other words, human thoughts and *(inter)action in the culture and the world* are the foundations of understanding and description of language in cognitive linguistics. In this sense we believe that a human is the key factor in LL and that the relation between the human, his thoughts, LL and culture are crucial for the understanding of language. This means that this paper is seen as an interplay between cognitive linguistics and linguistic landscaping. Metaphor is seen as one of the aspects of the meaning construction (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Kövecses, 2005). In the combination with the linguistic landscape research, metaphor represents a valuable asset for deciphering the depths of human thoughts.

3. Sociolinguistic context of the research

The research was done in the city of Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Mostar has around 100 000 inhabitants. It is the capital of Herzegovina, and the capital city of the Herzegovina-Neretva Canton. It is the political, educational

and economic center of the southern part of the country, very much influenced by the recent war (1992 – 1995) and its consequences. It is a multilingual, multiethnic and multicultural city. It is a space with live language contacts and language conflicts and therefore we believe it is a very good place for LL studies. We look at the city as a dynamic and interactive space where various influences form the LL. It is characterized by complex asymmetries and imbalance in social and political relations (Grbavac, 2013, p. 503). According to the census from 2013, Mostar had 105 797 inhabitants (48, 41 % Croats, 44,19 % Bosniaks, 4,18 % Serbs, 3,22 % others). It is the fifth-largest city in the country. Mostar is a city with a strict geographical distribution (Grbavac 2018), similar to the situation in Brussels (Tulp 1978, according to Backhaus 2007) or Montreal (Monnier 1989, according to Backhaus 2007), where we also have bilingual sociolinguistic environments.

4. Methodology

4.1. Linguistic landscape methodology

The basis for our research was a corpus of signs collected in a LL research of the city of Mostar at its six locations in a post-war period (Grbavac, 2013). It was a quantitative type of research where the author collected 1010 signs at six survey areas (Orca, Rondo, Avenija, Korzo/Musala, Stari grad, Fejićeva) using the *Diversity or Heterogeneity Sampling Method* (Cook and Campbell 1979, Edelman 2010). It is a method of deliberate sampling for heterogeneity. This means that in this model the LL researcher does not do the random sampling of the signs. He or she takes photographs of diverse landscapes; the aim is not to represent all the linguistic landscapes proportionately. Deliberate sampling for heterogeneity is more practical than random sampling for representativeness, because in this way we can depict the most unusual linguistic landscapes. On the corpus collected in this way the author of the study analyzed linguistic features (e.g. languages used, scripts used), semiotic features (e.g. the size of font in different languages, the order of different languages) and other features (e.g. government vs. private sign). For the purpose of our research we took the 1010 photographs from the six locations and analyzed them. We marked them with a PMM (Presence of Metaphoricity Marker) if they contained a metaphorical expression. Then we counted all the marked signs.

4.2. Metaphor Power Method

Another method that we used for the needs of our research was *Metaphor Power (MP) method*. That is a method often used in cognitive semantics. Its

author De Landtsheer (1994) describes it as a political-semantic metaphor analysis and it refers to quantitative analysis of metaphor content. The final aim of the method is to calculate the metaphor power index by multiplying the scores on three variables, metaphor frequency (MF), metaphor intensity (MI), and metaphor content (MC) (De Landtsheer, 2009, p. 65).

The aim of our paper is to analyze the frequency of metaphors (MF), but we shall explain all three variables in order to get a better overview of the method.

Metaphor Frequency (MF) gives the guidelines about the metaphor power of discourse. Simple counting of the metaphors is not enough for determining the power of a certain discourse. Metaphor frequency should be calculated taking into consideration the total amount of language or speech of the sample. Therefore, we divide the total number of metaphors (f) by the total number of words in the discourse sample (tw). Since f-values then are very small and difficult to understand, we multiply this result by 100. According to the formula below MF can be understood as the number of metaphors per 100 words of discourse, or, when examining spoken language, as the number of metaphors per minute of speech (ts = total speech time in seconds) (De Landtsheer, 2009, p. 65):

$$MF = 100f/tw \text{ or } MF = 60f/ts$$

As it was already mentioned the second variable of the *Metaphor Power Method* is *metaphor intensity* which, of course, represents the intensity of the metaphors usage. Metaphor theory states that innovative, creative, and original metaphors are more intense than dormant or dead metaphors (Tsoukas, 1991). If the literal meaning of the metaphor is still strong, then we call it a strong metaphor. In contrast, if the literal meaning does not come to mind, metaphors are weak (Black, 1962). In the *Metaphor Power Method* we calculate the metaphor intensity value of a sample of metaphorical language.

We give metaphors intensity scores with values ranging from (1) for weak (w) metaphors, (2) for moderate or normal (n), and (3) for creative, strong (s) metaphors. The following formula indicates how 'MI' stands for the sum of the weighted values of metaphor intensity divided by the total number of metaphors (T):

$$MI = (1w + 2n + 3s)/T$$

Levels of metaphor intensity can be calculated as follows:

Weak: e.g. decisions that "follow the wind".

Moderate: e.g. problems "put in the refrigerator".

Strong: e.g. 1991 Iraq War "Desert Storm". (De Landtsheer, 2009, p. 66)

The third variable introduces the *content power of the metaphor* (MC). Different semantic fields, identified by different lexical fields have different metaphor power or in other words different semantic fields or sources from which meaning is derived such as illness, nature, or family can be grouped into content categories that have less or more metaphor power. Content categories are awarded scores on a scale ranging from 1 to 6, based on insights from psycholinguistic and social-psychological theories (De Landtsheer, 2009, p. 66).

The values assigned 1–6 represent lower to higher power, weaker to stronger ratings:

1. The first content category consists of metaphors that use images from the semantic field of „everyday-life reality'. The category includes family metaphors and popular sayings, as well as images of objects actions and persons that appear in everyday-life reality. Popular metaphors (**p**) serve the basic function of metaphor of making the abstract tangible and comprehensible to a large audience.

2. Nature metaphors (n) belong to the second category (score 2) because they suggest conformation and natural order, even though they always contain the possibility of change.

3. Political, intellectual and technological metaphors (po) are often sophisticated constructs that are well suited for simplifying complex political processes. These metaphors enable politicians to provide a perspective for framing multi-dimensional processes. They do not produce the same amount of emotive power as the higher categories.

4. Disaster and violence metaphors (d) are much less neutral than the metaphor categories mentioned above. They have in common the expression of despair, depression or aggression.

5. Sports, games and drama metaphors (sp) that appeal to many people and are manipulative receive the value (5). 'Winning' and 'losing' can, for example, be very emotional activities.

6. The category that is attributed the highest metaphor power (6) is the category of body, disease, medical and death (m) metaphors.

Combining the content categories constitutes the metaphor content (MC) variable. Higher MC-values denote stronger emotional appeals. The following formula brings together all the content categories and their values, which results in the metaphor content power score (De Landtsheer, 2009, p. 66-68):

$$MC = (1p + 2n + 3po + 4d + 5sp + 6m)/T$$

Metaphor power can be expressed by calculating the metaphor power index or by multiplying the *metaphor frequency* (MF), *metaphor intensity* (MI) and *metaphor content* (MC) (De Landtsheer, 2009, p. 69):

$$MP = MF \times MI \times MC$$

4.3. MIP method

The third method that was significant for our research was the *MIP method* (Pragglejaz Group, 2007) that was used to recognize whether a text was used metaphorically or not on the signs from our corpus. The main purpose of this method is to give us a tool for researching in a simple way the metaphorical content of the discourse. It enables us to discover through a relatively simple procedure whether a discourse (in our case a linguistic sign) contains metaphorical expressions or not. Identification of metaphors in a concrete discourse is very complex and we could say sometimes problematic. Even scientists with huge experience in metaphor research can be of different opinions what can be considered a metaphor. The prime problem is the fact that the scientists differ in their intuition about what forms the metaphorical expression. A solution of this problem was offered by the Pragglejaz Group, a group of researchers from different academic disciplines who named this method the *Metaphor Identification Procedure* (MIP). Its aim is to establish whether a lexical unit in specific context can be described as metaphorical. Namely, there is a huge number of words that can have metaphorical meaning if we take into consideration the context in which they are used. It is also very important for the LL research because it is the context and physical emplacement of the word (on a sign) that produces special meaning.

The Pragglejaz Group suggests the following metaphor identification procedure that consists of the following four steps:

1 Read the whole text to grasp the meaning
2 Determine the lexical units in the text (in the discourse, on the sign)
3 a) For each lexical unit, establish its meaning in context (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.

   b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. Basic meanings are usually
   – more concrete
   – related to bodily action
   – more precise (as opposed to vague)

– historically older

Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.

c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current-contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given one, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.

4 If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical (Pragglejaz Group, 2007, p. 3).

The method will be exemplified in the following chapter.

5. Analysis

As already emphasized, the aim of our paper is to analyze the frequency of metaphors in the linguistic landscape of Mostar, a multilingual city in B&H. For this purpose we used the quantitative method of counting the PMM (Presence of Metaphoricity Marker). Every photograph, that in LL research represents one sign, was marked with plus if it contained a Metaphoricity Marker, i.e. if it contained a metaphorical expression. All signs that contained only literal meanings of the words were omitted. We proposed the hypothesis that in the LL of post-war ecologies the Presence of Metaphoricity Marker (PMM) was highly prominent.

Here is a list of some of the examples from the corpus of 1010 signs that have metaphorical expressions in them:

–   Samsonite – full of light

–   Hespo – *neopisiva lakoća buđenja* (Hespo is a brand of mattress, it is being advertised as easy waking up.)

–   Namex – *ključ za dobru kupovinu* (Namex is a chain of supermarkets, it is being advertised as 'a key for good shopping'.)

–   Carpisa – what colour are you

–   Art – creative footwear

–   *Kruško lopove odlazi iz svetinje* ('Kruško, you thief, go away from our sanctity', reference to the local football club)

Picture 1: An LL sign
(a stand) with a PMM

Picture 2. An LL sign (a billboard) with a PMM

- *Okle mačke – Mostar grad za pješaka* ('Look at those cats – Mostar, a city for a pedestrian', reference to good looking women)
- *Ožujsko – Uberi osvježenje* (Ožujsko is a brand of beer, 'pick up your refreshment')
- *Vrati kravu (vrati mesnicu)* ('Bring back our cow', reference to the butcher's)
- *Tangerina – tako nova, a već tako iskusna* (Tangerina is a brand of juice, 'So new, so much experienced')

In the process of determining whether some sign contains a metaphorical expression or not we were led by the MIP method (Metaphor Identification Procedure) (Pragglejaz Group. 2007). Here is an example of the procedure:

- Namex – ključ za dobru kupovinu

The first step consists of careful reading of the entire text, which is in our case a phrase on a LL sign. At this level we are supposed to establish a general understanding of the meaning of the text on the sign. At step two, we identify the lexical units in the phrase, with slashes indicating the boundaries between the lexical units.

Namex/ - ključ / za / dobru / kupovinu.

At step three, we consider each lexical unit in turn, starting from the beginning of the phrase. At step four, we report our final decision as to whether the unit is used metaphorically in the context.

C *Contextual meaning versus basic meaning*: contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning

Metaphorically used? No.

kupovinu

A *Contextual meaning*: In this context *kupovina* (shopping) means the process of buying something in a shop. It is very concrete.

B *Basic meaning*: the basic, dictionary meaning of this noun is *activity of shopping*. It is related to bodily action.

C *Contextual meaning versus basic meaning*: contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning

Metaphorically used? No.

This example illustrates the way we used the *MIP method* to determine whether a LL sign contained a metaphorical expression or not.

6. Results and discussion

The results that we got in our research were very much surprising. At the beginning of our research we proposed the hypothesis that in the linguistic landscape of post-war ecologies the Presence of Metaphoricity Marker would be highly prominent. Our results have not shown that. We were led by the thoughts of the cognitive linguists who claim that metaphors are present all around us, and that they are very frequent in language. Therefore we assumed that linguistic landscape, as a special type of discourse, will also be full of metaphors, especially in a post-war ecology that might be vulnerable to different sociopolitical and sociolinguistic challenges. We had expected to detect a higher percentage of PMM (Presence of Metaphoricity Marker) in the LL of the investigated area. But the hypothesis was not proved. Table 1 shows the results of our research:

Table 1. Results of the research – general overview

Survey area	No of institutions	No of signs	No of signs with PMM (percentage)	No of words	Metaphor frequency
Orca	15	137	14 (10.22%)	724	1.93
Rondo	16	216	13 (6.02%)	792	1.64
Avenija	22	153	23 (15.03%)	630	3.65
Fejićeva	25	161	9 (5.6%)	855	1.05
Korzo/ Musala	24	137	16 (11.68%)	574	2.79
Stari grad	18	206	7 (3.4%)	867	0.81
Total	120	1010	82 (8.12%)	5309	1.54

The highest percentage of signs with PMM was detected in the survey area Avenija (15.03 %) which is a residential area full of graffiti. This might be the reason why the percentage of signs with PMM was so high. Namely, graffiti are full-size text signs as opposed to, for example, street signs that carry less text and consequently less metaphorical expressions. Metaphor frequency was also the highest in the survey area Avenija (3.65 %). As regards average metaphor frequency index in the LL of Mostar, it is 1.54, which is a low result compared to the average metaphor frequency index in newspaper articles and full-size texts (4.9) (Zovko-Bošnjak, 2018). We believe that this is an important feature of LLs. It is not so metaphorical as we had expected. Out of 1010 signs only 82 (8.12 %) carried PMM.

Table 1 shows a general overview of the results of our research. But a better insight can be obtained from the comparison with the studies of other types of discourse. Therefore we shall compare the results of our research with the results of a similar study of metaphor frequency (MF) in a political discourse taken from the newspaper articles (Grbavac & Zovko-Bošnjak, 2015).

Table 2. Metaphor frequency index in a full-size text discourse from the newspaper Dnevni list

	No. of words	No. of metaphors	MF
Dnevni list - March	4950	174	3.52
Dnevni list - April	5335	170	3.19

Table 2 shows that average MF index in newspaper articles is 3.35, which is a relatively high metaphor frequency index (MF index) (Grbavac & Zovko-Bošnjak, 2015, p. 140). Our results have shown that metaphor frequency index in the LL of the city of Mostar is quite low (1.54), which can be explained through the different nature of the two types of the discourse.

Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to check the Presence of Metaphoricity Marker (PMM) on the LL signs in the city of Mostar. We combined the methodology of LL research and cognitive linguistic approach to the analysis of metaphors in a discourse. Our aim was to detect metaphorical expressions in the short texts displayed on the signs in the LL of a post-war environment. The hypothesis that was set at the beginning of the research was not proved. We could not prove that in the LL of post-war ecologies the Presence of Metaphoricity Marker (PMM) was highly prominent. On the contrary, due to the specific nature of the LLs in the city of Mostar, we came to the conclusion that PMM in the LL of Mostar was very low. Despite the fact that there is a number of scientific papers that prove the fact that metaphors are very much alive in everyday language and that they have a very important role in the conceptualization of the world that surrounds us, metaphors are not abundant in LL. We believe and conclude that the reason for this is the specific informative nature of the LL signs. LL signs do produce meanings through their emplacement; they have special meanings in special contexts, but due to the fact that they are meager in words, they also have low frequency of metaphors (in comparison to full-size texts).

The first part of our research was based on a quantitative analysis of LL signs from our corpus, in which we counted PMM on LL signs. Prior to that we did a semantic analysis of the semantic content of the LL signs, where we used the *MIP method*. Additionally we calculated the *Metaphor Frequency* index. On the basis of our results, we concluded that LL is a very specific type of discourse that has its special features that call for the scientific attention.

Recommendations for future research include comparative analysis of other LLs in other environments. It would be interesting to compare the LLs of different cities synchronically and diachronically. Another challenge for future researchers of the topic could be to calculate the entire *MP index* (*metaphor frequency* MF, *metaphor intensity* MI, and *metaphor content* MC).

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PRISUTNOST METAFORIČKOGA OBILJEŽJA U JEZIČNOM KRAJOBRAZU MOSTARA

Sažetak

Istraživanja jezičnoga krajobraza predstavljaju novo znanstveno područje koje istražuje vezu jezika, komunikacije i prostora. Jezični krajobraz možemo definirati kao vidljivost i istaknutost jezika u javnom prostoru (Gorter 2006). Istraživači jezičnoga krajobraza dolaze iz različitih jezičnih disciplina, najviše iz područja primijenjene lingvistike, istraživanja višejezičnosti, diskursa, iz sociolingvistike i lingvističke antropologije. Oni vjeruju da se jezična i komunikacijska praksa može ispravno razumjeti tek ako ju stavimo u neki kontekst mjesta. Također je važno naglasiti i shvatiti da fizička lokacija i javna vidljivost različitih načina komuniciranja imaju duboke društveno-političke implikacije. Ova je disciplina doživjela svoj uzlet pojavom sada već klasičnog rada Landryja i Bourhisa (1997). Začetnici discipline bili su još primjerice Spolsky i Cooper (1991). S druge strane, istraživanja metafora nisu izgubila na svojoj popularnosti ni 38 godina nakon objavljivanja knjige Lakoffa i Johnsona (1980) *Metaphors We Live By*. Stoga ovaj rad kombinira to dvoje – jezični, metaforički pristup i istraživanja jezičnoga krajobraza. Koristeći metodu MP (*Metaphor Power Method*) (De Landtsheer 2009) analiziramo učestalost metafora u jezičnom krajobrazu jednoga višejezičnog grada u Bosni i Hercegovini. Naša je hipoteza da je u jezičnom krajobrazu poslijeratnih ekologija prisutnost metaforičkoga obilježja vrlo istaknuta. Korpus na kojem je rađeno istraživanje sastoji se od 1010 znakova prikupljenih u poslijeratnom razdoblju u navedenom gradu.

Ključne riječi: jezični krajobraz, sociolingvistika, jezik, prostor, metafore, *MP metoda*

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A CROSS-LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF METAPHORICAL AND METONYMIC EXPRESSIONS WITH THE LEXEME SALT

Abstract

This paper presents the results of a comparative-contrastive analysis of forty-eight metaphorical and metonymic expressions containing the lexeme *salt* in the following languages: English, Italian, German and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian. The analysis is guided by the principles of cognitive linguistics and each phrase is categorized into the scope of conceptual metaphor and/or metonymy. The aim is to reveal possible overlapping in the wording and meaning of expressions containing the key word *salt* as well as to determine common conceptual metaphors and metonymies employed in these expressions. The paper focuses both on similarities and variations of conceptual metaphors and metonymies in different languages. The research showed that there are several metaphorical and metonymic expressions in the languages analysed with the same lexical content carrying the same or highly similar meaning. Taking into consideration the metaphorical nature of these phrases, it can be established that there is universality of certain concepts across the examined languages. Moreover, there is a significant number of conceptual metaphors employed in more than one language analysed, which yet again proves the universal nature of conceptual metaphors. However, there is a certain level of variation in linguistic expressions of these metaphors.

Key words: cognitive linguistics, conceptual metaphor, metonymy, source domain, target domain, English, German, Italian, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian

1. Research Outline

1.1. Aim of the research

The aim of the research is to investigate the expressions containing the lexeme *salt* since salt is one of the most important commodities used by humankind. The research is of a comparative-contrastive kind, i.e. the non-literal linguistic expressions containing the key word *salt* in the English, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (B/C/S), Italian and German language are examined through the prism of conceptual metaphor and metonymy. The research further aims at revealing possible overlapping in the use, structure and semantics of expressions containing the key word. Moreover, common conceptual metaphors underlying metaphorical expressions that contain the lexeme *salt* will be identified and described as they play a decisive role in understanding these expressions.

1.2. On the corpora

For the analysis, several online and printed sources were used. First of all, a number of online monolingual dictionaries of English, Italian and German were used available at the following websites: http://idioms.thefreedictionary.com, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com, http://www.linguee.it and www. redensarten-index.de, respectively. In addition to this, an online dictionary of common B/C/S phrases and proverbs was used (http://staznaci.com). Secondly, bilingual phraseological dictionaries such as *Englesko-srpski frazeološki rječnik, Srpsko-engleski frazeološki rječnik* and *Bosansko-njemački frazeološki rečnik* represented a valuable source. Finally, various monolingual and bilingual printed dictionaries of all fore-mentioned languages were used (the list provided in References).

1.3. Methodology

The analysis was conducted in several stages. Firstly, phrases and idioms from all four languages that constitute the corpus of this analysis were extracted from the aforementioned online and printed monolingual and bilingual dictionaries. In other words, the initial step was to compile a list of (metaphorical and metonymic) expressions which were further analyzed. The analysis was conducted from the perspective of cognitive linguistics and each phrase was categorized into conceptual metaphor and/or metonymy scope. The next step included identifying their corresponding conceptual metaphors and metonymies and validating them by the previous studies and compiled lists such as Lakoff, Espenson and Schwartz's *Master Metaphor List* (1991), onlineLingan

University – Rootbase and Goatley's *Washing the Brain Metaphor and Hidden Ideology* (2007*)*. All the meanings, both literal and figurative, were provided for all phrases analysed as well as the literal English translations of Italian, B/C/S and German phrases. Since there is overlapping in lexical and conceptual content of phrases in certain languages, such instances are referred to constantly throughout the analysis. Moreover, in instances where there is a slight difference in the lexical content, additional explanations were provided.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Traditional metaphor

In the traditional view, metaphor is a figure of speech defined as "a matter of words rather than thought or action" (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p. 3). It is a linguistic device mainly utilized by poets and authors as their artistic tool and hardly ever by common people. Therefore, expressions such as Shakespeare's "Juliet is the sun" or Dizdar's "Valja nama preko rijeke" are regarded as instances which prove the immense scope of creativity of these authors. Such expressions are not related merely to the capacity of ordinary people to perceive others as precious as the sun or death as a difficult end of a journey.

2.2. Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) was developed by Lakoff and Johnson in 1980 in their pivotal book *Metaphors We live By*. According to this theory, metaphor is not merely a figure of speech but a normal mode of thinking, used by speakers of all languages, in everyday use. The view of Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 3) that "Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is metaphorical in nature." is reflected in the linguistic expressions of any language.

In the CMT, one of the key concepts is that of a conceptual domain. Evans (2007, p. 61) defines domains as "relatively complex knowledge structures which relate to coherent aspects of experience." For this reason, conceptual domains are also called experiential domains. For instance, we have coherent knowledge about journeys, wars, buildings, etc. which makes them suitable and quite common as domains in conceptual metaphors.

According to their cognitive function, there are three basic types of metaphors: structural, orientational and ontological. In a structural metaphor, the basic model comprises two domains: a source domain and a target domain. The source domain is the conceptual domain that relies on our experience of the world. To exemplify, a source domain could be our experience of journeys,

money transactions, etc. Target domains represent abstract phenomena such as life, time, etc. According to the CMT, we understand more abstract phenomena by means of concrete experiences. Thus, for example, we understand the ever-elusive concept of life by comparing it to a journey, we understand time by relating it to a money transaction and this results in conceptual metaphors LIFE IS A JOURNEY and TIME IS MONEY. Conceptual metaphors like these do not appear in such form in language. In this form, they represent our way of understanding more abstract things via concrete, experiential things following the formula conceptual domain (A) is conceptual domain (B) and motivate a great variety of forms of metaphorical expressions in language use. In orientational metaphor, however, a spatial orientation, such as up-down or in-out, is given to a concept. For instance, the concepts of happiness and sadness are perceived on a vertical axis, i.e. we conceptualize the state of being happy as being up (the HAPPY IS UP metaphor) and being sad as being down (the SAD IS DOWN metaphor). This comes from our bodily experience, i.e. body posture: when we feel sad, we have drooping posture. On the other hand, when we are happy, we have an erect posture . To sum up, in structural metaphor, we structure metaphorically one concept in terms of another whilst in orientational metaphors an entire system of concepts is organized with respect to one another. In ontological metaphors, however, we view our experiences as entities (animals or objects) or substances. For example, we perceive human mind as a machine (*I am a little rusty today*) (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, p. 27). The most obvious example of ontological metaphors is personification, in which human characteristics are scribed to nonhuman entities as in, for example, *Inflation has given birth to a money-minded generation* (ibid, p. 33). So, ontological metaphors involve "the projection of entity or substance status on something that does not have that status inherently" (ibid, p. 196).

target domain: LOVE		source domain: JOURNEY
lovers	------------------->	travellers
love relationship	------------------->	vehicle
being in a relationship	------------------->	physical closeness of being in a vehicle
lovers' common goals	------------------->	common destinations
difficulties	------------------->	impediments to travel

A significant feature of the CMT are relations that exist between elements in conceptual domains, i.e. cross-domain mappings. In fact, the conceptual

metaphor can be comprehended as a mapping from a source to a target domain with ontological correspondences between elements constituting these domains (Lakoff 1986, p. 216). The ontological correspondences are at times referred to as knowledge structure (ibid. p. 217). So, the knowledge about the source domain of journey is used to better understand the target domain of LOVE. As an illustration, here are the following ontological correspondences for the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY (ibid, p. 217):

Metaphorical mappings represent the way our mind works and this is reflected in the language in the form of metaphorical expressions. Metaphorical expressions are actually words used to express cognitive mappings. Since human mind operates in the same manner all around the world, it is not surprising that there is a plenitude of similar linguistic metaphorical expressions in different languages. For instance, metaphorical expressions for the TIME IS MOTION metaphor are quite numerous some of which are: *time passes, time flows* and *time goes by* in English (Radden 2003, p. 233) or *vrijeme leti* ('time flies') and *vrijeme prolazi* ('time passes by') in B/C/S. All of this implies that cross-domain mappings are an inevitable part of our cognition and they are reflected in metaphorical linguistic expressions.

2.3. Conceptual metonymy

Metonymy, like metaphor, also means understanding, or rather conceiving of one thing in terms of another. The main difference, however, is that a conceptual metaphor involves two conceptual domains, i.e. the metaphorization process involves using the structure of one domain to conceptualize another whereas metonymy involves a single conceptual domain or idealized cognitive model. Another difference is that metaphor is based on similarity whereas metonymy has a more referential function relying on association between elements of the same domain. In other words, metonymy is another conceptual process that motivates a significant number of meaning extensions and is responsible for a great number of cases of polysemy and subsequently figurative meanings of expressions analysed. Metonymic concepts are systematic and some types occur more frequently such as PART FOR WHOLE, WHOLE FOR PART, PLACE FOR INSTITUTION, PLACE FOR EVENT, PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT, OBJECT USED FOR USER, etc. Human cognition makes use of this cognitive mechanism, making it possible to perceive a single aspect of something and use it for the thing as a whole or some other aspect of it (Lakoff 1987, p. 77). To exemplify, a place where an institution is situated might stand for the institution as in: *The White House isn't saying anything*. So, there is *stand for* relation between the elements (ibid, p. 78). These elements are both placed within the same conceptual domain, or idealized cognitive model.

There are various views on the importance and nature of metonymy particularly in relation to metaphor. While some regard it as a sub-type of metaphor, other consider it to be even more fundamental. There are also claims that metonymy is a fundamental process underlying metaphor and very often the two combine to create complex figurative meanings. This comes out of necessity, as some concepts are very complex. For example, emotions have such a complex conceptual structure that includes both metonymy and metaphor. The folk theory of physiological effects of anger (increased body heat, blood pressure, muscular pressure, etc.) is the basis for the metaphor ANGER IS HEAT (Lakoff 1987, p. 383). Therefore, a great number of expressions related to anger are metonymical and metaphorical in nature.

3. SALT across languages

Salt was of such importance and value in the past that it was a part of sacrificial meals. One of the important aspects of salt, i.e. the ability to preserve, made it a suitable symbol of endurance. In addition to that, it acquired connotations of fidelity and honour which was reflected in languages from all around the world. There are many proverbs that contain the word *salt* with these connotations. The lexeme *salt* has been used in the coinage of idiomatic expressions both in the past and in modern times. For instance, there is an old Arab avowal which translates as 'there is salt between us' with the meaning of friendship being made. Two people sitting at a table sharing a meal, with salt between them on the table, is a clear indication of intention to become friends. There is also a modern Persian phrase *namak ḥarām* ('untrue to salt'), with the meaning of being disloyal, or even a traitor. (www.britannica.com)

3.1. Expressions with the same or similar semantic content in all languages analysed

Out of 48 expressions analysed, there are only three expressions that share the same semantic content in all four languages examined and these are: *take something with a pinch of salt*, *Attic salt* and *rub salt into someone's wound* and their equivalents in B/C/S, German and Italian. As it will be seen in the analysis, some of these expressions do not represent full equivalents structurally, lexically, but the overall meaning of the expressions is the same. Let us consider the first example.

(1)   take something with a pinch /a grain of salt (OX[1])

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[1]   https://en.oxforddictionaries.com

The English expression in (1) means to regard something as exaggerated and believe only part of something. The phrase comes from the Latin phrase *cum grano salis* which is literally translated as 'with a grain of salt'. The meaning is motivated by and derived from our experience. Namely, when we are not sure how salty a meal is, we usually add just a pinch of salt just to be on the safe side. This is indirectly implied by the expression in (1). The use of the verb *take* clearly attributes physical characteristics to something abstract (e.g. a story). A piece of information we receive and need to process is compared to, or rather conceptualized as food that is being consumed via "the IDEAS ARE FOOD metaphor". Perfect equivalents can be found in B/C/S and German which is evident from examples (2) and (3) as they have the same lexemes and the same meaning as the English expression.

(2) *uzeti sa zrnom soli što* (SEFR[2]) ('to take something with a grain of salt'[3])

(3) *mit einem Körnchen Salz nehmen* (RED[4]) ('to take with a grain of salt')

The Italian expression, however, exhibits a slight lexical difference. Instead of the verb *take* the verb *intendere* ('hear/understand') is used. The meaning is the same and it refers to listening to something with caution (example 4).

(4) *intendere con un grano di sale* (GDI[5]) ('hear/understand with a grain of salt')

To sum up, in three of the languages, English, B/C/S, and German, expressions observed have the same lexical and semantic content whereas the Italian expression has one lexeme different, but the overall meaning is quite the same as all the expressions imply caution in processing information.

The second expression that exists in all four languages is given in (5)

(5) *rub salt in/into the wound* (OX)

Namely, the phrase *rub salt in/into the wound* means 'to make a difficult situation even worse for someone' (OX). If someone has an open wound, it is very painful and putting salt on it only aggravates the whole situation i.e. increases the pain. It can be concluded that making someone's life more difficult is conceptualized as making someone's physical health worse. This is the notion underlying the conceptual metaphor HARM IS A PHYSICAL INJURY motivating the lexical realization mentioned.

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[2] Srpsko-engleski frazeološki rječnik
[3] Single quotation marks ' ' are used for literal translations provided by the author for German, Italian and B/C(S expressions.
[4] htpp://www. redensarten-index.de
[5] Grande Dizionario Italiano

B/C/S and German, however, show a slight lexical variation. Instead of the verb *rub*, they employ verbs *sipati* and *streuen* respectively which both mean 'to pour' (examples 6 and 7). In Italian expression, the verb *rub* is replaced by the verb *mettere*, which means 'to put' but the figurative meaning is the same. From example (6) it can be seen that the expression can be modified by adding an adjective to highlight the intensity of the pain. This is another slight difference in the lexical structure of the B/C/S equivalent. The mental images evoked with the lexeme *rana* ('wound') and *živa rana* ('open wound') have different nuances in meaning as the latter evokes more vivid image with more suffering of the person wounded.

(6) *sipati (kome) so na (živu) ranu* (RBJ[6]) ('to pour salt on someone's (open) wound')

(7) *Salz auf jmds/auf die /in jmds/in die Wunde streuen* (BNJFR[7]) ('sprinkle/pour salt into someone's wound')

(8) *mettere il sale sulla ferita* (LI[8]) ('to put salt on the wound')

Finally, the third expressions that can be found in all four language is *Attic salt* (also *Attic wit*) (ID[9]) which means 'shrewd, cutting, or subtle humour or wit'. All four languages use the same lexemes conveying the same meaning. Only Italian version uses the plural of the noun *i sali* 'salts'. This expression dates back to ancient Greece and ancient district Attica. Today the district is called the district of Attica and its administrative centre is still Athens. Salt was very important for trade in the ancient times. It was very significant to Greeks, but not only to them. Namely, salt was closely knit in the rituals and cults involving offerings of salt to gods in all ancient nations as a result of the transition from nomadic to agricultural lifestyle. Greeks had highly developed civilization with very sophisticated sense of humour. Therefore, salt, as the basic element in the rituals, and important merchandize was connected with literature and philosophy as well. *Attic salt* was used to symbolize ancient Greek wit (Britannica). In this expression, we can identify salt, something pervasive and precious in all the fields of human action at that time, as a symbol of wisdom and wit. Since Greek culture and empire had an immense impact on European countries at that time, it comes as no surprise that this expression can be found in all four languages analysed. The expression is metaphorically motivated as the importance and value of salt in the ancient times is used as a metaphor for delicate wit. Namely, the source domain is substance (salt) and the target domain is

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[6]   Rječnik bosanskog jezika
[7]   Bosansko-njemački frazeološki rečnik
[8]   htpp://www.linguee.it
[9]   http://idioms.thefreedictionary.com

wit constituting the WIT IS SALT metaphor. Full equivalents for this expression appear in B/C/S, German and Italian given in (9), (10) and (11) respectively.

(9) *atička so* (http://staznaci.com),

(10) *Attisches Salz* (DUD 2[10])

(11) i *sali attici* (GDI).

3.1. Expressions with the same or similar semantic content in B/C/S and Italian

As already mentioned, salt was used with reference to wit and intelligence from ancient Greeks. So, to have salt means to have wit. This kind of conceptualization is what motivates expressions (12) and (13). Both expressions mean 'to be reasonable and intelligent'. Such expressions can be found only in B/C/S and Italian but not in other two languages.

(12) *imati (zrno, dva zrna) soli (u glavi)*(RBJ) ('have (a grain or two of) salt in one's head').

(13) *avere (poco) sale in zucca* (GDI) ('have a bit of salt in your head').

From the translations, we can conclude that there is, or can be, a slight difference in lexical content. Both languages allow slight modification in terms of specifying how small the amount of salt someone has.

The second expression shared by these two languages given in (14) and (15) are rather similar to the previous one as they share metaphorical conceptualization. Once again, salt refers to wisdom. The connotation is slightly negative as both expressions have the meaning of giving someone a useless piece of advice.

(14) *soliti (kome) pamet/mozak* (RBJ) ('pour salt into someone's brains')

(15) *mettere un po di sale in zucca* (GDI) ('to put a bit of salt into someone's head').

The lexical content of these expressions is slightly different. Namely, in Italian the lexeme *zucca* ('head') is utilized whereas in B/C/S the lexeme *pamet/mozak* ('brains'/'brain'). In the phrases above, in addition to the WISDOM IS SALT metaphor, the part for whole metonymy also appears. Its interpretation can be two-fold. Namely, head, as a part of the body, represents the whole person as well as brain. Both of these in fact stand for intellect.

There is another expression in Italian that is conceptually related to the ones previously discussed utilizing the same metonymy and metaphor (example 16).

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10   Duden, Das grosse Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache in 10 Binden

It means to become more judicious due to experience which is compared to the activity of eating, consuming salt, i.e. experience and wisdom.

(16) *mangiare un altro po' di sale* (GDI) ('to eat a bit of salt')

3.2. Expressions with the same or similar semantic content in English and Italian

English and Italian seem to have only one common expression with the lexeme *salt* (examples 17 and 18).

(17) *salt of the Earth* (OX)

The expression in (17) refers to a person or group of people of great kindness, reliability, or honesty. This idiom was coined during the teaching of Jesus Christ. Namely, He said that His disciples were salt of the earth (Mathew 5: 13). Salt was precious and so were Jesus's disciples. From this expression, it is evident that humans are perceived as something precious through the metaphor HUMAN IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY. Simultaneously, the metaphor high moral standards are salt is utilized. The Italian equivalent given in example (18) is semantically broader, i.e. the scope of meaning is extended. Namely, not only is it used to describe a good person of high moral standards but for good things in general. So, the metaphor is expanded into the good is a commodity (salt) metaphor.

(18) *il sale della terra* (GDI)

3.3. Expressions with the same or similar semantic content in German and Italian

When it comes to expressions with the lexeme *salt*, German and Italian have only one in common (examples 19 and 20).

(19) *ohne Salz sein* ('to be without salt') (NJHISR)[11]
(20) *scritto senza sale* (GDI) ('written without salt).

The German expression is used to refer to something that is not amusing, i.e. something boring. The meaning draws on human experience. When there is no salt in a meal, it is tasteless. This is transferred by means of metonymy and metaphor to other aspects of life. The common conceptual metaphor laughter is substance is modified into fun is spice, more specifically fun is salt. The Italian expression has slightly different semantic content as the German as it

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[11] Njemačko hrvatski ili srpski rječnik

is restricted to the activity of writing (refers to something written only), but there is a similar conceptual metaphor. There is common conceptual metaphor knowledge is substance and it is elaborated into: wit is salt. Two other phrases in the German language that have similar meaning (examples 21 and 22) can be considered as modifications or rather extended versions of example (19).

(21) *ohne Saltz und Schmaltz sein* (NJHISR) ('to be without salt and lard')

(22) *wie eine Suppe ohne Salz sein* (RED) ('to be like a soup without salt')

The expression in (21) refers to something lifeless whereas example (22) refers to something boring.

3.4. Expressions with the same or similar semantic content in B/C/S and English

Similarities between B/C/S and English when it comes to the figurative use of the lexemes *so* and *salt* seem to be rare as only one expression with similar semantic content can be found. B/C/S expression provided in (23) has the meaning of catching someone. Its English equivalent with the same lexical and semantic content is given in (24).

(23) *staviti nekome soli na rep* (BFR[12]) ('to put salt on someone's tail')

(24) *put salt on someone's tail* (VEHR[13])

In its mineral form, called halite, salt is a rock. Thus, the image of a rock evokes the image of stiffness. In this sense, folk wisdom is that if you put salt on someone, it will become rock and that person will not be able to move. So, one of the traits of salt is utilized in the formation of a part for whole metonymy: quality for the whole material. In this case, metonymy is combined with metaphor. Namely, as human beings do not have tails, here a person that one is trying to catch is perceived as an animal via the person is an animal metaphor.

3.5. Expressions with the same or similar semantic content in German and B/C/S

There are two expressions in B/C/S and German that have similar lexical content. The phrase in (25), with almost a proverbial status, which means that you should spend a lot of time with someone in order to get to know him or her, is metonymical in nature. It comes from the Latin proverb *Nerriini jidas, nisi cum quo prius medium salis abtumpt.* "Trust no man till you have eaten a

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[12]   Bosanski frazeološki rječnik
[13]   Veliki englesko-hrvatski rječnik

bushel of salt with him" (Riley 1891, pp. 256). Eating 'a bushel of salt' takes a long time and if a person spends that much time (eating) with someone they will definitely get to know each other well.

(25) *treba s nekim vreću soli pojesti da bi ga upoznao* (BRJ) ('you should eat a sack of salt with someone in order to get to know them')

The German equivalent in (26) has the same meaning but slightly different lexical content. Namely, where B/C/S uses the word *vreća* ('sack') German selects *der Scheffel* ('bushel'). Both languages employ containers in terms of volume and shape but of a different kind in order to convey the same figurative meaning.

(26) *mit jemandem eien Scheffel Salz gegessen haben* (RED) ('to eat a bushel of salt with someone')

The following expressions examined both refer to a situation of having basic things in life.

(27) *imati hljeba i soli* (RBJ) ('to have bread and salt')
(28) *Salz und Brot haben* (NJHISR) ('to have salt and bread')

Metonymy is used in the coinage of phrases in (27) and (28). The salt is a basic spice and a basic ingredient but it also represents basic meals we need in order to survive. Therefore, metonymy activated is of the PART FOR WHOLE type. It is interesting that in B/C/S bread seems to be of greater importance than salt, which is reflected in the syntactic structure as evidenced by the word order, whereas in German it is the opposite.

3.6. Expressions with the lexeme salt that exist in one of the languages only

3.6.1. English

From examples that follow, it can be concluded that English is quite productive in forming expressions with the lexeme salt. Expression in (29) means 'an experienced sailor' and is both metaphorically and metonymically motivated. It means that over the years spent at sea, experienced sailors become part of the sea; they become one with the sea. This means that salt stands for the sea representing a part for whole type of metonymy, more specifically the salt for person metonymy. Apart from metonymy, the metaphor WISDOM/EXPERIENCE IS SALT is also utilized in this conceptualization.

(29) *old salt*

The following two expressions will be analysed together as they employ the same conceptual metaphors and metonymies. The expressions in (30) and

(31) were coined in medieval times and describe the state of being in position of high and low standing, rank, regard, or repute, respectively. They originated in dining custom of nobility. Namely, salt was a very valuable commodity at that time and it was placed in the middle of the dining table. People of high noble rank were seated closer to the lord of the house, i.e. above the salt. Those of lower rank were seated on the other side of the dining table, i.e. below the salt. Therefore, the whole social hierarchy of nobility is presented in the seating arrangement in which salt is the central item. In both expressions, the metonymy SEATING AT THE TABLE FOR A POSITION IN SOCIETY is combined with metaphor POSITION IN SOCIETY IS POSITION AT THE TABLE in order to create this complex figurative meaning.

(30) *be above the salt* (ID)

(31) *be below the salt* (ID)

Expression in example (32) means 'to resume one's daily work, often unhappily'. Slaves and prisoners often worked hard in the salt mines. Namely, the actual returning to salt mine meant going back to difficult manual. Over the time, going back to the salt mine started meaning going back to work. All of this supports the idea that the expression is metonymically motivated manifesting the metonymy of a specific type, namely the place stands for the activity performed at that place metonymy.

(32) *back to the salt mine* (ID)

Very commonly used English expression in (34) has three meanings.

(33) salt and pepper
    a) a black and white police car';
    b) 'interracial, including black and white';
    c) 'with some grey hair' (ESFR).

All three meanings are motivated by the same metonymy i.e. part for whole. Moreover, the following metonymy is used simultaneously as well: substance stands for the colour of the substance. In the first meaning (a) colour of the car stands for the car, in (b) skin colour stands for a person and finally, in (c) colour of some hairs stands for the whole hair of a person.

(34) *eat (someone's) salt* (ID)

Expression in (34) means 'to be someone's guest, stay at someone's house'. The first metonymy activated is PART FOR WHOLE as salt, the basic ingredient of a meal, stands for the whole meal. Furthermore, since having meals is only

one activity done when being someone's guest, the initial metonymy is reinforced.

(35) *be true to someone's salt* (VEHR) ('to be loyal to your master/employer')

Every master or employer pays their servants/employees a certain amount of money for the service they provided. So, the master/employer is the source of all the goods, including salt, as a very precious commodity. In addition to this, the expression can be viewed from a slightly different point of view. Namely, employer provides income for employee and this income used to be given in salt.

3.6.2. German

The following phrases (examples 36-38) activate the same metonymic patterns as the phrase *Salz und Brot haben*.

(36) *nicht das Salz zum Brot/zur Suppe haben* (DUD 1) ('not to have salt on the bread, not to have salt in the soup')

(37) jmdm *nicht das Salz in der Suppe gönnen* (DUD 1) ('not able to afford salt in the soup')

(38) *sich nicht das Saltz aufs Brot/in die Suppe verdienen* (DUD 2) ('not to earn the salt in the soup/on the bread'

All three expressions above refer to the state of being poor, of not being able to earn enough money to manage to survive and to suffer due to poverty. They are also all metonymical in nature as salt is considered one of the basic commodities. So, when one does not have even salt on the bread, or cannot even afford to buy salt, they are very poor. So, (not) having salt stands for (not) having basic things which entails the state of poverty.

(39) *gesalzene Rede* (NJHISR) ('salted speech')

This expression is used to describe harsh or bitter speech. When there is too much salt in a meal, it is not tasty at all. So, the idea behind the expression is that the excess of spice is not pleasant in any sense. The metaphor behind this expression is HARSH SPEECH IS SALTED. An interesting comparison is to the B/C/S language, where there is an expression *paprena šala* ('a joke with too much pepper') which has the meaning of inappropriate joke with sexual allusions but it includes another spice, i.e. pepper('*papar*'). The excess again represents something undesirable. However, just the perfect amount is a good thing as illustrated in expression in (40).

(40) *Salz in der Suppe* (RED) ('salt in the soup')

This expression depicts something that makes things better, perfect, through the metaphor GOOD IS SALT.

(41) *gesalzene Rechnung* (NJHISR) ('salty, spiced bill')

The expression in (41) refers to a huge bill. Similarly to the previous phrase, the idea behind this expression is that excess of spice is not good at all. The adjective *salato* ('salted') is used in Italian, when talking about something too expensive (cf. 47). In B/C/S there are expressions such as *papren račun* and *paprena cijena* ('bill/price with too much pepper'), so there is a relation between the excess of another spice and excessive payment. In this case, metaphor TOO MUCH SALT IS HIGH PRICE is used.

(42) j*emand hat es (noch bei jemandem) im Salz liegen* (RED) ('someone still has it lying in salt at someone else's place')

There are two figurative meanings of this phrase:

a) someone has not been brought to justice
b) someone's discussion has not been resolved yet

In the past, salt was used for preserving food, so food was placed to 'lie' in salt. There is a metaphor which evokes images of something still being as it is, i.e. status quo is lying in salt.

3.6.3. Italian

The expression in (43) is used to describe something foolish. Cakes are usually sweet so the idea of a cake of salt involves absurdity. This is mapped onto the silly behaviour as being silly can be understood as adding salt when it is not needed or even not advisable.

(43) *dolce di sale* (GDI) ('cake of salt')

Similar to the previous phrase, the meaning of expression in (44) is grounded in the fact that the taste of salt is unpleasant if it is added to meals where it should not be added. This is transferred to another domain and adding salt when not needed stands for something being unpleasant and difficult to endure.

(44) *sapere di sale* (GDI) ('to taste like salt')
(45) *restare/rimanere di sale* (DELI) ('stay in salt')

The expression is used to describe someone who is completely shocked, dumbfounded. Salt, as mentioned previously, is a mineral and its natural form is that of a rock salt. The use of the word to illustrate both the shock and firmness of salt was first noted in the Bible in Genesis 19:26: "But Lot's wife looked

back, and she became a pillar of salt." (https://www.biblestudytools.com/genesis/19.html) People can evoke image of Lot's wife being so shocked by what she saw and becoming a literal pillar of salt. In this way, the shock and the characteristic of salt are connected and used in the expression in (45). There is metonymical relation here as the firmness of salt stands for the stiffness of a human body combined with the metaphor BEING SHOCKED IS BEING ROCK SALT.

(46) *non metterci né sale né olio, né sale né pepe* (GDI) ('not to put salt nor oil, nor salt, nor pepper')

This expression is used in speech when describing someone who is talking or should be talking realistically. Here adding additional information that is unnecessary or true is conceptualized as adding spice and other ingredients. The common conceptual metaphor used is INFORMATION IS SUBSTANCE and it elaborated into another metaphor underlying this expression and that is adding unnecessary information is adding salt.

(47) *salato* (DELI) ('salted')

This lexeme is used in its literal meaning when describing food but also it is used with its figurative meaning to describe a price that is too high (cf. 41). Too much salt in a meal is hardly ever tasty which transfers to other domains as well as excess of any kind is rarely desirable. This experiential basis is utilized for the metaphor TOO MUCH SALT IS HIGH PRICE.

3.6.4. B/C/S

(48) *podijeliti hljeb i so (sa kim)* (SEFR) ('to share bread and salt with somebody')

The meaning of this phrase 'to live with somebody' is metonymical in nature. Namely, when we live with someone, we usually share meals and bread and salt are usually inevitable parts of a meal. Metonymically speaking, eating is only one aspect or one part of the whole experience.

4. Conclusion

Several conclusions can be drawn from the analysis. First, there is a substantial level of concordance, which speaks in favour of the claim of cognitive linguists that metaphorical and metonymic meanings are not arbitrary but motivated. Several expressions with the same lexical and semantic content are found in use in all four languages analysed. These expressions, such as *Attic salt*, are perfect examples of motivation existing across cultures and languages. This points to an important finding that there are conceptual metaphors that occur

in all four languages, such as psychological harm is physical injury as the speakers of these languages conceptualize psychological pain as physical pain caused by rubbing salt to the wound. Secondly, a great majority of expressions appear in two of the analysed languages, which also supports the claim of motivation and universality of certain concepts especially the ones essential for life and survival. Additional discovery is that apart from universality, some expressions allow for a certain level of modification. These variations can be ascribed to slight differences in conceptualization directly related to cultural differences.

Regarding the metaphorical nature of expressions, the analysis showed that *salt* as the source domain is mostly used to stand for wit, common sense, wisdom and fun. In addition to this, *salt* is often used to represent goodness of people and high moral standards. Metonymical relations are achieved through the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy as the metonymical nature of some of the phrases indicates that *salt* stands for basic things in life, such as a meal or a salary.

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KONTRASTIVNA ANALIZA METAFORIČKIH I METONOMIJSKIH IZRAZA KOJI SADRŽE LEKSEMU *SO*

Sažetak

Ovaj rad predstavlja rezultate komparativno-kontrastivne analize 48 metaforičkih i metonimijskih izraza koji sadrže leksemu so ('salt')u engleskom, talijanskom, njemačkom i bosanskom, hrvatskom i srpskom jeziku. Analiza je urađena po principima kognitivne lingvistike i svakom izrazu je pridružena konceptualna metafora i metonimija koje ih motiviraju. Cilj je da se ukaže na strukturu i značenje izraza koji sadrže leksemu so kao i da se odrede zajedničke metafore i metonimije s kojima su analizirani izrazi značenjski povezani. Rad se fokusira na sličnosti i razlike konceptualnih metafora i metonimija u različitim jezicima. Istraživanje je pokazalo da postoji nekoliko metaforičkih i metonimijskih izraza u posmatranim jezicima koje imaju isto ili veoma slično značenje. Uzimajući u obzir prirodu ovih izraza, može se zaključiti da postoji određena univerzalnost određenih koncepata u posmatranim jezicima. Povrh toga, određen broj metafora se javlja u više jezika što također dokazuje univerzalnu prirodu konceptualnih metafora. Međutim, postoje određene varijacije u lingvističkim izrazima posmatranih metafora.

Ključne riječi: kognitivna lingvistika, konceptualna metafora, metonimija, izvorišna domena, ciljna domena, engleski, njemački, talijanski, bosanski/hrvatski/srpski

Methodology

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FROM ESP TO CLIL: INTRODUCING PROJECT-BASED LEARNING IN AN EFL UNIVERSITY-LEVEL COURSE

Abstract

This paper addresses the key dimensions of ESP (English for Specific Purposes) and CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) in EFL (English as a Foreign Language) teaching and learning at the university level. Based on the literature analysis, it offers a brief overview of the main similarities and differences of both approaches. University-level EFL courses have relied for many years on the ESP approach, which emphasizes language learning as well as some content knowledge which is taken from the relevant field of study, e. g. business, law, sciences, etc., or is based on developing academic skills. However, it seems that this English language teaching paradigm should be adapted to some innovative ideas and challenges of the 21st century. CLIL integrates language and content learning by offering non-linguistic content as the basis for learning and teaching, and thus promotes the principles of modern education, such as student motivation and active learning, use of authentic tasks and materials, task or project based learning, etc. Project-based learning (PBL) is a learning method which is compatible with the CLIL principles, as it engages students in acquiring knowledge and language skills through an extended inquiry process structured around authentic questions and tasks. This small scale action research explores students' attitudes to using project-based learning activities in their EFL classes to support content and language learning, i.e. introduction of CLIL into their studies. The participants for this study were the third and fourth year students (n= cca.50) of the Faculty of Educational Sciences in Sarajevo attending an EFL elective course. The project lasted for one semester and data were collected from students through a questionnaire at the end of the term. The results of the questionnaire reveal that students had an overall positive attitude towards using PBL and CLIL in their EFL classes.

Key words: English for Specific Purposes (ESP), Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teaching and learning, Project-based learning (PBL)

Introduction

The age of globalization of the postmodern world has inevitably affected the system of higher education in Europe. Within the framework of setting up a European Higher Education Area (EHEA), more than fourty countries have joined the Bologna Process with the common aim to standardize and internationalize higher education in Europe and thus make an open market for European and non-European citizens, where the agenda of the 'joint system reform' includes categories such as 'mobility', 'recognition', 'joint degrees', 'employability', 'global dimension', etc. (Wächter, 2008). The process of internationalization at universities in Europe usually entails the so-called 'Anglicization', which means introducing more and more English-medium programs at the tertiary level or implementing the entire curricula in English, as it has become the international language for the dissemination of knowledge, i.e. a lingua franca for the academic world.

Therefore, we assume that integrating English into subject content or subject content into English imposes itself as a necessity for the 'Anglicization' process mentioned above. The curricula for general EFL or ESP courses at the tertiary level in Bosnia and Herzegovina mainly focus on grammar and vocabulary based instruction combined with the ESP (English for Specific Purpose) approach to EFL learning, especially at the faculties where students do not major in English language and literature per se. The ESP approach ensures that the content from the learners' particular field of study (pedagogy, psychology, medicine, economy, law, etc.) is used for developing linguistic competences of the learners. Teaching EFL/ESP courses at the University of Sarajevo poses many challenges, e.g. outnumbered groups of students, EFL/ESP being taught only for 1-2 semesters, insufficient number of lessons, lack of student motivation, students mostly used to traditional methodology of teaching, etc.

Assuming all of the above mentioned, introducing the two contemporary and innovative approaches to learning, namely Project-Based Learning (PBL) and Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), in EFL/ESP courses at the university level seems to be an appropriate medium for a more student-centered approach and engaging students in communicative and meaningful tasks while practicing their English language skills at the same time. The present study represents a small-scale action research and focuses on how PBL can effectively be used to support CLIL and foster students' motivation, communication skills and learning in EFL (English as a foreign language) classes at the university level.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. ESP in higher education

English for Specific Purposes (ESP) usually refers to an English course at tertiary level in non-English-speaking countries taught at the faculties where students do not major in English language and literature but in other fields of study. Traditional ESP is a language-focused approach which is designed to meet specified needs of the learner, identified through needs analysis (Dudley-Evans & St John, 1998; Hutchinson & Water, 1987).

Dudley-Evans and St John (1998) pointed out the following major characteristics of ESP courses:

a) they are mainly intended for intermediate to advanced level students, i.e. students who are assumed to have basic knowledge of English;

b) ESP courses make use of methodologies, activities and techniques pertinent to the discipline they serve;

c) ESP courses should focus on the language genres (including grammar, lexis, and register) appropriate for the discipline in different contexts;

d) ESP learning is divided into two main parts, one related to occupational purposes and the other to academic skills and learning to learn (Johns and Price-Machado, 2001), so study skills are part of ESP.

Overall, all LSP (Language for specific purposes) courses representan approach to L2 learning where the content for language learning is taken from students' particular field of study, e.g. business, law, sciences, etc., and it is usually based on developing academic skills. In the same vein, ESP courses at the tertiary level use functional and thematic syllabus and various interactive and authentic tasks in order to facilitate the acquisition of the English language used by the target professional group. In sum, traditional ESP courses focus on learning the English language for professional communication (Robinson, 1991) and the content is only a source from which language forms for learning are obtained and the background for acquiring these forms (Tarnopolsky, 2013). It is assumed that in traditional ESP courses the professional content matter is used only as a tool or source to acquire a target language, and not as a stimulus for acquiring any professional knowledge.

2.2. CLIL vs. ESP at tertiary level

The concept of ESP emerged in 1960s and it gained merits in the academic language teaching as it relied on the principles of the communicative approach. Parallelly, in 1965, Content-Based Teaching (CBT) or Content-Based Instruction (CBI) and the Canadian immersion model provided the basis for

the concept of learning content through an additional or a second language (Coyle, Hood & Marsh, 2010). Thus, ESP and CBI formed a continuum with a language-driven end on one side and a content-driven end on the other. Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) was introduced in the European context in 1994, with the dual focus on content as well as on language. CLIL is in fact an umbrella term which embraces any type of program where a second language is used to teach non-linguistic content-matter (Garcia, 2009; Marsh, 2002). CLIL is an innovative approach which aims to improve language learning opportunities through the use of a target second language (L 2) in the teaching of a particular subject matter. CLIL has become increasingly popular in Europe where considerable value has been placed on knowledge of foreign languages and where conventional teaching methods have been assumed as inappropriate for meeting students' future communicative needs in a globalized society in which English has become the lingua franca (Eurydice Report, 2006). Despite the fact that, principally, any foreign language may be used as a medium of instruction in CLIL, English is the most widely used target language for CLIL in Europe (Dalton-Puffer, 2011).

CLIL encompasses most of the features that 'good', contemporary education implies, e.g. active learning and teaching methods, use of authentic tasks and materials, student-centeredness, focus on project work and task-based learning, etc. (Mehisto, March, Frigols, 2008). This approach relies heavily on the constructivist learning philosophy according to which learning is constructed by learners while working cooperatively in groups and, at the same time, CLIL also reflects the holistic education philosophy which advocates for integrating the learning process and not breaking or fragmenting it into different subjects and skills (Miller, 2007). However, one of the main concerns in regard to the implementation of CLIL in higher education is that CLIL teachers should be competent in both content and language knowledge.

Wolff (2002) offers an interesting definition of a CLIL-type learning environment which corresponds much better to modern pedagogical principles than do traditional learning settings: "the classroom is seen as a learning laboratory, a place in which learners and teachers jointly work in projects, a place in which the different subjects are not divided arbitrarily and taught in isolation, but are seen as a complex whole, a place of autonomous learning in which the learners deal independently with the learning content" (Wolff in Marsh 2002: 48). The pedagogical framework of CLIL is based on four key principles, which constitute 'The 4 Cs Framework' (Coyle 1999, 2002b; Coyle et al., 2010): content, cognition, communication, and culture. The 4 Cs Framework is based on integrating learning (content and cognition) and language learning

(communication and cultures) (Coyle, 1999). Coyle (2002a) explains the principles of 'The 4 Cs Framework' in the following way:

The first principle places successful content or subject learning and the acquisition of knowledge, skills and understanding inherent to that discipline at the very heart of the learning process ... The second principle defines language as a conduit for both communication and learning. From this perspective, language is learned through using it in authentic and unrehearsed yet 'scaffolded' situations to complement the more structured approaches common in foreign language lessons ... The third principle is that CLIL should cognitively challenge learners - whatever their ability. It provides a setting rich for developing thinking skills in conjunction with both basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive-academic language proficiency (CALP) ... The fourth principle embraces pluriculturality. Since language, thinking and culture are inextricably linked, then CLIL provides an ideal opportunity for students to operate in alternative cultures through studies in an alternative language (Coyle, 2002a: 27-28).

The basic principles of the CLIL teaching methodology that are quite often cited in the literature are mentioned below (Lesca, 2012: 4):

(1) multiple focus approach, which entails a high degree of content and language integration within the framework of different subjects;

(2) safe and enriching learning environment, where the CLIL teachers encourage learners to experiment with contents and language as they facilitate their search for authentic learning materials;

(3) authenticity, as it is important to provide connections between learning and students' lives as well as connections with other speakers of the CLIL language; authentic materials should be uses as often as possible;

(4) active learning, which means that the learner has a central role in CLIL lessons, whereas the teacher acts more as a facilitator; student activities should focus on peer cooperative learning and the appropriate content, language and learning outcomes should be based on that;

(5) scaffolding, where the teacher's role is to support and facilitate students' learning by building on their existing knowledge, presenting information in user-friendly way and responding to different learning styles;

(6) cooperation, which assumes a high level of cooperation among different teachers in different fields of study, especially when it comes to lesson planning, involving parents/ or local community in the process, etc.

Generally, CLIL and ESP share a number of key features, e.g. the use of content from different non-linguistic subjects, development of academic and

communication skills, use of communicative language teaching methodology, etc. On the other hand, they differ to a certain extent, and the key differences between themare in their objectives and learning outcomes: in CLIL, content learning objectives are equally or even more important than language learning objectives; whereas in ESP, language-led and language learning objectives are of primary importance. The key principles of ESP and CLIL are presented in Table 1 below (adapted from Fernandez (2009: 13) and Tzoannopoulou (2015: 150)):

Table 1: Key principles of ESP and CLIL

Table 1	
ESP (Dudley-Evans & St John, 1998)	CLIL (CLIL Compendium, 2001; Coyle et al., 2010)
– Designed to meet specific learner needs – Makes use of the underlying methodology and activities of the disciplines and professions it serves – Related in content (themes and topics) to particular disciplines, occupations and activities – Depends on the language (grammar, lexis, register), skills, discourse and genre relevant to these activities – May use a different methodology than that of general English – No pre-ordained methodology (discipline, strategy or need dependent) – Designed mostly for adult learners either at a higher institution or professional settings – Generally assumes basic knowledge of the target language system	– A dual-focused approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language – Language is a tool for learning and communicating; – Content determines the language to be learnt – Successful content learning through another language entails careful reflection on the use of language and on teaching methodologies which should include output and interaction – Language is used in authentic situations; scaffolding occasionally needed – Lexicon is of paramount importance – Develops thinking skills; challenges learners cognitively – Integration of receptive and productive skills – Discourse rules are brought to the foreground – Fosters intercultural understanding through learning about other cultures in another language – Task-oriented – Methods and forms of classroom practice are diversified

To sum up, ESP and CLIL do share some features, yet these two approaches are different in many ways. CLIL focuses more on content-learning objectives, whereas ESP is more based on language-learning objectives. In ESP, language is both the content of the course and the means of learning content, but CLIL uses 'scaffolding' strategies to make content more manageable without really adapting it (Hammond and Gibbons, 2005), so in CLIL language is considered as a means and not a goal in itself. CLIL uses learning strategies that provide language support for content acquisition and it offers more tolerance to language usage, i.e. it tolerates more use of L1 and code switching strategies. When it comes to the teacher's role, ESP teachers are primarily language teachers who do not take on the responsibility for teaching subject content as it is beyond their competence, whereas CLIL teachers are mainly subject specialists with an appropriate level of language proficiency. Sometimes CLIL involves tandem teaching by language and subject specialists. It is also noteworthy to mention that some authors distinguish between a strong CLIL approach and a soft one (Ball, 2009; Bentley, 2010). The strong version of CLIL is represented by those CLIL modules in which non-linguistic subjects are taught with the appropriate number of lessons, with the main focus on content, whereas the soft version of CLIL involves teaching certain subjects and contents during language lessons, i.e. in ESP, where focus is more on language. Bearing in mind all of the above mentioned, we propose that traditional ESP programs in higher education should be enriched by different types of content-based activities that focus on both content and language learning and that are in accordance with the majority of CLIL methodology principles, and definitely one of them is project-based learning.

2.3. PBL to support CLIL at tertiary level

Project-Based Learning (PBL) is a teaching and learning model that organizes learning around projects. Projects are envisaged as complex tasks, based on challenging questions or problems, that engage students in design, problem-solving, decision-making, or investigative activities, while providing them the opportunity to work relatively autonomously over extended period of time, and culminating in realistic products or presentations (Jones, Rasmussen and Moffitt, 1997; Thomas, Mergendoller and Michaelson, 1999).

Blumenfeld et al. (1991) define project-based learning as "a comprehensive approach to teaching and learning that is designed to engage students in investigation of authentic problems" (Blumenfeld et al. 1991: 369). Project-based activities engage students in cooperative learning towards an agreed goal and may include planning, the gathering of information through reading, listening, interviewing, etc., discussion and information processsing, critical thinking

and problem solving, and oral or written reporting, and display. Within the framework of PBL, students use the target language to negotiate, plan, analyze, and discuss information and ideas with their peers. Therefore, PBL activities are based on genuine communicative needs and they successfully capture the three principal concerns of the communicative approach: motivation (how the learners relate to the task), relevance (how the learners relate to the language), and educational values (how the language curriculum relates to the general educational and professional development of the learner). Furthermore, there are four basic elements which are common to all project-based activities (British Council, 2013: 3): (1) a central topic from which all the activities derive and which drives the project towards a final objective; (2) access to means of investigation (e.g. the Internet) to collect, analyze and use information; (3) plenty of opportunities for sharing ideas, collaborating and communicating with others; (4) a final product in the form of posters, presentations, reports, videos, webpages, blogs and so on.

PBL creates connections between the foreign language and the learner's own world and it encourages the use of a wide range of communicative skills, enables learners to exploit other fields of knowledge and provides opportunities for them to investigate in-depth the topics that are relevant to their needs and interests. PBL encourages the development of a wide range of skills, e.g. communication skills, imagination and creativity, problem-solving and critical thinking skills, self discipline and responsibility, collaboration, research and study skills, and cross-curricular work through exploitation of knowledge gained in other subjects, and many of these skills are also listed in literature as the key skills for the 21st century (Ravitz et al., 2012). The role of the teacher in PBL differs from his/her traditionally assumed role of 'a presenter of information', as in PBL "the teacher's role is monitor and facilitator, setting up frameworks for communication, providing access to information and helping language where necessary, and giving students opportunities toproduce a final product or presentation; as with TBLT, the teacher monitors interaction but does not interrupt, dealing with language problems at another moment" (British Council, 2013: 3).

Overall, PBL is a learner-centered approach that is rooted in constructivism, as it offers an engaging instructional method to make learners become active constructors of their own knowledge. PBL has a lot of advantages both for content and language learning and it is compatible with the basic principles of CLIL methodology. Therefore, PBL can be taken as an efficient tool for supporting CLIL in EFL/ESP classes at the tertiary level. While working on projects, students get the opportunities to practice and learn the English language and at the same time they gain a lot of new information in the field of

their study and develop various important skills. Using the project-based learning approach in EFL/ESP classes can motivate students to learn the English language for a purpose.

3. The Research

3.1. Rationale and goals

This small scale action research explored the benefits of incorporating the project-based learning (PBL) approach into EFL/ESP classes in order to support content-based learning and to enhance EFL teaching and learning. The research mainly focused on the students' attitudes and perceptions of using the PBL approach to support the CLIL-like approach of ESP learning in our EFL context.

Therefore, this study is mainly exploratory in nature with the following research goals:

1 to investigate the possibilities and potential benefits of implementing the PBL approach in an EFL/ESP course at the tertiary level with the aim to support the integrated content and language learning;
2 to determine the EFL/ESP learners' perceptions of project-based language teaching and learning used to support the integrated content and language learning in higher education;
3 to evaluate the level of students' motivation and engagement in connection to the PBL approach;
4 to better understand the students attitudes in relation to PBL-based activities and their applicability within the CLIL framework and students' English language knowledge and skills development.

3.2. Participants and setting

The participants were 47 third-year and fourth-year Bachelor level students of the Faculty of Educational Sciences, University of Sarajevo, at the Department of Lower Elementary Education and the Department of Preschool Education. It was a mixed-level group, ranging from intermediate to upper-intermediate level of English language proficiency according to the CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference) scale for languages. These students attended an optional EFL course, which is basically envisaged as an ESP course for two semesters with 2 lessons (2 x 45 minutes) per week in each semester.

The project lasted for ten weeks in the winter semester of the 2017/2018 academic year. The research focused on using project-based activities to support

the integrated content and language learning in our specific EFL/ESP context. The aim of the research was to obtain the students' feedback with regard to these two novel approaches, namely PBL and CLIL, used to enhance EFL/ESP teaching and learning.

3.3. Instrument

The instrument used in this small-scale action research was a post-project questionnaire mainly focusing on student perceptions and opinions on the usefulness of project-based activities to support content and language integrated learning and to foster their motivation, creativity and active engagement in EFL/ESP classes and provide opportunities to enhance both their EFL/ESP learning and some of the basic skills for the 21st century. The questionnaire was divided into two parts: (1) questions about the project-based learning approach and its impact on the integrated content and language learning along with its usefulness for EFL/ESP learning and the development of basic 21st century skills (20 items), and (2) personal comments (4 open-ended questions), to elicit the students' personal impressions on what they found as the most useful part of the project-based assignments and activities, to report any possible difficulties they might have experienced while doing the PBL activities, and to compare the two innovative approaches, PBL and CLIL, with a more traditional way of teaching and learning EFL/ESP and to acknowledge if these two approaches helped them improve their English knowledge and skills.

As far as the first part of the questionnaire is concerned, the items were answered according to the five-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). The questionnaire was completed by 47 students involved in the project. Percentages were calculated on the basis of the total number of all responses in each of the categories. On the other hand, the second part of the questionnaire which elicited the students' personal comments demanded a qualitative analysis of the collected data.

3.4. Procedure

As it was mentioned earlier, this small-scale action research was conducted during the winter semester of the academic 2017/2018 year with the students majoring in the field of educational sciences, in particular referring to preschool education and lower elementary school education. The whole project lasted for ten weeks when the target group of students attended their elective EFL course, basically conceptualized as an ESP course aimed at teaching the English language along with the specific content related to their field of study. This project of implementing the PBL approach to support the CLIL-like teaching and learning in our EFL/ESP classes was envisaged as both an

in-class and out-of-class project. The preparation phase began in-class, with English-only lessons and discussions on the specific pedagogical topics, such as 'good teaching strategies', 'active learning', 'classroom management, 'bullying in schools', 'cooperative learning', 'challenging behaviors in the kindergarten', etc. This experience helped the students not only to expose themselves to using English more actively in-class, but also helped them to better prepare for the next stage of the project and to get some in-depth knowledge about the topics we covered in-class.

In the mid-stage of the project, the students were assigned their own mini-projects, to complete individually, in pairs or in groups (4-5 students), according to their own choice. Most of the students opted for the group work and only few of them for the individual or pair work. Their assignment was to investigate in-depth a topic they are professionally interested in and they want to learn more about by using the available resources in English only. The teacher provided a list of possible topics, just in case if some of the students would lack inspiration, but the choice of the research topic for their mini-projects was really up to them.

As a final product of their mini-projects, the students were asked to make their group presentations (Power Point, poster or oral presentation) of the topic they had investigated to their classmates. Each member of the group was supposed to take an active part in the whole project and contribute to its realization, including the final stage, i.e. the presentation itself, where each member of the group had his/her own share in the oral presentation. The students were assessed in terms of the PBL assignments outcomes in this project but they were also given rubrics to evaluate each other's performance while presenting their group work. The categories for evaluation were: 'relevant/ interesting topic', 'useful and relevant information', 'coherence', 'correct grammar', 'adequate vocabulary', and 'collaboration with peers'. Each of these categories was evaluated following the pre-arranged criteria for the assessment of their story presentations, ranging from 1 (negative response) to 4 (positive response). Student empowerment and involvement in the criteria-based assessment of their own work proved to be motivating for their more active participation in classes and it was perceived as fair as the majority of the students were of the opinion that their peers assessed their performance in an appropriate way. We also organized in-class discussions about their projects after each presentation, and the students also reported their perceptions and experiences of learning both the English language and the content relevant to their field of study through the implementation of PBL activities in our EFL/ESP classes at the university level.

At the end of the project, the students were given a questionnaire to provide their feedback on the whole project with the main focus on their perceptions

and opinions on using the PBL approach to support the integrated language and content learning in our EFL/ESP classes.

4. Results and discussion

The overall findings of this pilot research show that the majority of respondents have a considerable level of understanding of the crucial principles of both PBL and CLIL, and they show a positive attitude towards their implementation in our higher-education EFL/ESP context. The data collected via the questionnaire were analyzed using the descriptive statistical methods based on frequences and percentages of the students' answers in the first part of the questionnaire, combined with the descriptive and qualitative analysis of the students' personal comments in the second part of the questionnaire. Generally, the participants in this project provided a very positive feedback towards using the PBL approach to support and enhance the integrated content and language learning in a higher-education EFL/ESP course.

According to the results of the first part of the questionnaire, the students mostly responded with 'strongly agree' or 'somewhat agree' to all questionnaire items. The highest rated items, in a hierarchical order, were as follows:

1. 'PBL is an interesting and motivating way of both content and EFL learning.' (Item no. 2 – 97.87%strongly agree)
2. 'I like the idea of using the PBL approach in our EFL classes.' (Item no. 1 – 93.16%strongly agree)
3. 'PBL assignments provided a lot of opportunities to learn and practice the English language.' (Item no. 18 – 89.36%strongly agree)
4. 'Overall, I think that the PBL approach is a very useful method of content-based learning in our EFL classes.'(Item no. 20 – 89.36%strongly agree)
5. 'PBL activates learners' needs and interests as we learn about the content related to our field of study.' (Item no. 4 – 85.10%strongly agree)
6. 'PBL assignments provide a lot of opportunities to practice all basic English skills in general.'(Item no. 10 – 85.10%strongly agree)
7. 'PBL provides a relaxed atmosphere to promote the English language use in our EFL classes. (Item no. 3 – 80.85%strongly agree)
8. 'Working with my classmates on our PBL assignments was very helpful and beneficial for my EFL/ESP learning.' (Item no. 19 – 80.85%strongly agree)

The highest rated item in this study was the item no. 2 in the questionnaire ("PBL is an interesting and motivating way of both content and EFL learning"), which clearly shows that the students have recognized the benefits of using the PBL approach for integrated content and EFL learning and that they are more motivated and interested in learning when involved in meaningful tasks relevant to their interests and needs. Furthermore, the second rated item (Item no. 1 – "I like the idea of using the PBL approach in our EFL/ESP classes") reveals the students' generally positive attitude towards the implementation of PBL in our EFL/ESP classes. The third rated items (Item no. 18 – "PBL assignments provided a lot of opportunities to learn and practice the English language" and item no. 20 – "Overall, I think that the PBL approach is a very useful method of content-based learning in our EFL classes") confirm that the students have recognized the potential and benefits of using PBL to foster both the content and the English language learning in our EFL/ESP teaching/learning context. The fourth rated items (Item no. 4 – "PBL activates learners' needs and interests as we learn about the content related to our field of study" and item no. 10 – "PBL assignments provide a lot of opportunities to practice all basic English skills in general") clearly show that the students distinguish the critical attributes of the PBL approach such as its focus on learners' needs and relevance of contents to their field of study and particular interests. The participants have also pointed out that PBL in EFL/ESP classes creates an encouraging learning environment in which students feel more motivated to use the English language and enhance their basic English skills. The fifth rated items (Item no. 3 – "PBL provides a relaxed atmosphere to promote the English language use in our EFL classes" and item no. 11 – "Working with my classmates on our PBL assignments was very helpful and beneficial for my EFL/ESP learning") also strongly confirm that the students have acknowledged how the PBL activities and assignments are suitable both for cooperative learning in the EFL/ESP context and the use and practice of the English language in a relaxed atmosphere with their classmates. Their answers also reflect their motivation and willingness to work effectively with their classmates in an encouraging learning environment.

Furthermore, the remaining results of this survey indicate that the students show a positive attitude towards the other critical aspects of using PBL to support the integrated content and language learning in EFL/ESP classes, such as the increased student motivation and greater participation and interest from most of the students (72.34%strongly agree), opportunities for practicing reading (68.08%strongly agree) and speaking (68.08%strongly agree) in English, strengthening and building up their vocabulary (74.46%strongly agree) and grammar knowledge in EFL/ESP (59.57%strongly agree), etc. The students'

answers also show that they have recognized how PBL and CLIL are beneficial for the development and improvement of some of the key skills for the 21st century, such as positive interaction and collaboration among students (72.34%strongly agree), communicative skills in general (59.57%strongly agree), interpersonal skills (51.06%strongly agree), problem-solving and critical thinking skills (44.68%strongly agree), etc.

As it was mentioned earlier, the second part of the questionnaire included 4 open-ended questions to elicit the students' comments related to their impressions of using the PBL activities and assignments in our EFL/ESP classes, and the benefits for their learning of EFL/ESP along with the relevant content for their field of study, especially when compared to some more traditional ways of teaching and learning EFL/ESP.

We will quote just a few of the students' comments from this part:

"The most useful part of this project was the opportunity to research topics in our field of study. We had the chance to choose the topic that we wanted to learn more about and, at the same time, we learned English and improvde our language skills."

"I had to research about the topic in English, so I improved my reading skills and learned a lot of new words."

"I improved my vocabulary related to the themes relevant for our field of study (e.g. classroom management, school bullying, preschool learning centers, assessment and grading, inclusive teaching, etc.)."

"I find this method much more appropriate for teaching English to university students when compared to traditional methods of teaching. This is due to the fact that learning becomes a very active process, and we learn through more intresting contents and specific projects."

"This specific approach motivated us to be more creative and actively involved in the process of learning theEnglish language."

"I didn't have any difficulties, but instead I had a lot of fun and still got to learn."

"Traditional way of EFL learning is better for grammar, but PBL is better for building up your vocabulary and better communication. With these project-based activities we were doing what we were interested in, we learned a lot of new words and developed our critical thinking skills."

"PBL is much better than traditional teaching and it offers something new. We are all bored of the old methods. PBL is interesting and refreshing, and also a good way of learning English while still remaining in our field of study." Etc.

Generally, these comments were all very positive and they reflect the students' willingness to use the PBL approach to EFL/ESP learning in order to support both their content and English language learning at the tertiary level.

The participants in this study acknowledged that they prefer this innovative way of EFL/ESP learning to some more traditional methods as it provides them more opportunities to actively engage in the learning process and express their creativity and productivity in the group work and cooperative learning with their claccmates. Furthermore, the students' answers in the questionnaire revealed the fact that they not only gained knowledge in the specific pedagogical topic(s) while completing their PBL tasks (57.44%strongly agree), but the PBL assignments also motivated them to learn more about the specific pedagogical topic(s) (59.57%strongly agree).

5. Conclusions

Generally, the results of the evaluation questionnaire showed the positive response of all students in the target group towards the implementation of the PBL approach within the CLIL framework of EFL/ESP teaching and learning in higher education. The PBL activities and tasks highly motivated the students not only to become more active and engaged participants in our EFL/ESP classes, but also to do more in-depth research of the relevant topics for their particular field of study. This was a clear confirmation of the fact that students' motivation and interest in learning is increased when they are engaged in meaningful tasks and with the authentic materials which are closely related to their specific needs and interests. In PBL, students are expected to construct their own knowledgeand share a common goal with their classmates in the group, they become responsible for their own progress and learning as well as for the progress and success of the whole group, which then results with a greater feeling of belonging to a learning community and the increase in knowledge. This approach also changes the teacher's role, as s/he is no longer a presenter of information but a facilitatorto assist and direct her/his students when needed.

Although this was a small-scale study conducted over a short period of time and with a relatively small sample of 47 participants, the obtained results can still confirm the initial assumptions on the usefulness of implementing the PBL approach to support and enhance the integrated content and language learning in EFL/ESP classes at the university level. PBL enhanced students' motivation and participation in EFL/ESP classes, it fostered cooperative learning and social interaction between students, and stimulated both in-class and out-of-class EFL/ESP learning. Encouraged by these positive outcomes, we are going to continue to use PBL in our EFL/ESP teaching context and further exploit its potential promote and support the integrated content and language learning in ESP at the tertiary level.

Overall, both PBL and CLIL have a lot to offer in EFL/ESP courses at the university level. Although the traditional ESP teaching and CLIL have a number of shared features, ESP can only be classified as CLIL to a certain extent, as it does not pursue content learning objectives in the same way and to the same extent as CLIL does. It seems that the traditional English language teaching paradigms (e.g. ESP) should be replaced with some fresh and new approaches to EFL/ESL teaching and learning, or at least adapted to some innovative ideas and challenges of the 21st century. Therefore, traditional ESP programs at the tertiary level can be enriched by PBL or other content-based activities and assignments that focus on both content and language learning and follow the majority of CLIL principles. This small-scale research has shown that PBL and CLIL-like teaching in higher education can increase student motivation, contribute to both cognitively more demanding content and language learning, and at the same time encourage and enable students to perform to the maximum level of their linguistic and academic competence. Nevertheless, we consider that more research, both quantitative and qualitative, is needed to assess the potential benefits and challenges in using the PBL approach for integrated content and language learning in EFL/ESP courses at the tertiary level.

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OD ESP-A DO CLIL-A: UVOĐENJE PROJEKTNOG UČENJA NA JEDNOM UNIVERZITETSKOM KOLEGIJU EFL-A

Sažetak

Ovaj rad se bavi ključnim dimenzijama ESP-a (engleskog jezika struke) i CLIL-a (integriranog učenja sadržaja i jezika) u podučavanju i učenju EFL-a (engleskog kao stranog jezika) na univerzitetskom nivou. Na osnovu analize literature, rad nudi kratak pregled glavnih sličnosti i razlika za oba pristupa. Univerzitetski kolegiji EFL-a se već mnogo godina oslanjaju na ESP pristup, koji naglašava učenje jezika uz određeno znanje sadržaja koji se uzima iz relevantne oblasti studija, npr. biznisa, prava, nauka, itd., ili se bazira na razvoju akademskih vještina. Međutim, čini se kako se ova paradigma podučavanja engleskog jezika treba prilagođavati nekim inovativnim idejama i izazovima 21. stoljeća. CLIL integrira učenje jezika i sadržaja tako što nudi nelingvistički sadržaj kao osnovu za učenje i podučavanje, te na taj način promovira principe modernog obrazovanja, kao što su motivacija studenata i aktivno učenje, upotreba autentičnih zadataka i materijala, učenje bazirano na zadatku ili projektu, itd. Projektno učenje (engl. PBL) je metod učenja koji je kompatibilan sa principima CLIL-a, jer angažuje studente u sticanju znanja i jezičkih vještina tokom jednog dužeg perioda istraživanja koji je strukturiran oko autentičnih pitanja i zadataka. Ovo akciono istraživanje manjeg obima ispituje stavove studenata prema upotrebi aktivnosti projektnog učenja na njihovim časovima EFL-a kako bi se podržalo integrirano učenje jezika i sadržaja, tj. uvođenje CLIL-a u njihov studij. Učesnici u ovom istraživanju su bili studenti treće i četvrte godine (cca. 50) na Pedagoškom fakultetu u Sarajevu, koji pohađaju izborni EFL kolegij. Projekat je trajao jedan semestar i podaci su prikupljeni od studenata u formi upitnika na kraju semestra. Rezultati pokazuju da su studenti imali generalno pozitivan stav kad je u pitanju primjena PBL-a i CLIL-a na njihovim časovima EFL-a.

Ključne riječi: engleski jezik struke (ESP), integrirano učenje jezika i sadržaja (CLIL), podučavanje i učenje engleskog kao stranog jezika (EFL), projektno učenje (PBL)

Translation Studies

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COMPENSATORY APPROACHES IN TRANSLATION OF CULTURALLY DIVERGENT TEXTS

Abstract

The globalization-induced diversification of approaches to translation has empowered the cultural approach to translation to reassess the reproduction of cultural values in the target culture and reexamine the power relations within the translatorial process. The application of culture-based approaches redefines the function and the purpose of the target text. Building on the principle that languages, in particular those culturally standing apart, perceive and conceptualize world reality and experiences differently, it is tempting to conclude that the significance of these symbols as well as their functions is different from one language to another. It is not surprising then that, in translation, no one cultural cliché can possibly be considered totally equivalent to a cultural cliché in another language system since the associative network of symbols within which the second TL symbol operates will likely differ from that of the SL. Additionally, due to the etymological and syntactic divergence among languages, incongruity of the connotation of the micro-signs between the signifying systems of the juxtaposed languages frequently transpires, making it more problematic for the translator to choose the most apposite equivalent among the alternatives available. Consequently, to reconcile dissimilarities between the signifying systems of languages involved in translation, translators sometimes deploy compensatory procedures in order to transfer the cultural significance that needs special treatment under certain conditions. This approach is further compounded by the fact that presuppositions that are inevitably embedded in an original text are frequently inculcated differently in translation due to different translators' backgrounds. It challenges the manner in which source text cultural values are constructed and rendered in the target text and culture while attempting to illuminate the concealed ideological and discourse practices stemming from the power relations and structures.

Key words: translation, culture, symbol, power, sign, transposition

103

Broad Overview

This paper aims to contribute to the understanding of the importance of culturally conditioned aspects of human communication. Halliday, McIntosh, and Strevens hold that language has many functions and takes different shapes according to the situation in which it is used (1964, pp. 77-94). Cultural polymorphism of translation is consequently a quintessentially multi-faceted and multi-problematic phenomenon with different manifestations, realizations and ramifications, which might explain why, in recent years, the focus of translation studies has shifted from endless debates about equivalence to broader issues, including culture and its effect on both the process and product of translation. Culture thus becomes an indispensable and pervasive element in any translatorial consideration. Nida (2002, p. 157) defines culture as "the total beliefs and practices of a society" which opens up vistas about numerous dimensions of translation, many of which go beyond the pure linguistic considerations.

It is worth noting here that the portents of culturally charged symbols, that is, the relation between a sign and its object, "is not wholly established by rules, by a code, as in the case of ordinary symbols", and "does not preexist with respect to the code, as in the case of indexes, but rather is invented freely and creatively" by virtue of the relation established between a particular object in the real world and what this object invokes in the mind of the hearer/reader (Petrilli, 1992, p. 240). In other words, no matter how well prepared, there will always be certain cultural discrepancies that impede the translator's progress while rendering the text at hand owing to the illusive extra information hidden in the original text that need not be present as such, or in the same amount, in the end-product in the target language (TL).

Cognizant of the cultural aspects of the source language (SL), along with its denotative and connotative meanings, the translator ought to propose a rendering that reflects closely the original expression's form and function at the same time, thereby preserving partially the expression's functions and all the nuances embedded in it. In their recent studies Snell-Hornby (1988/1995) and Bassnett (1980) have shown that the translation process can no longer be seen as being merely between two linguistic systems, but is envisaged as being between two cultures. Consequently, to reconcile dissimilarities between the signifying systems of languages involved in translation, translators sometimes deploy compensatory procedures in order to transfer the cultural significance that needs special treatment under certain conditions. This approach is further compounded by the fact that presuppositions that are inevitably embedded in an original text are frequently inculcated differently in translation due to different translators' backgrounds.

Reassessment of cultural symbols and diversification of approaches

The globalization-induced diversification of approaches to translation has empowered the cultural approach to translation to reassess the reproduction of cultural values in the target culture and reexamine the power relations. The application of culture-based approaches redefines the function and the purpose of the target text. Building on the principle that languages, in particular those culturally standing apart, perceive and conceptualize world reality and experiences differently, it is tempting to conclude that the significance of these symbols as well as their functions is different from one language to another. It is not surprising then that, in translation, no one cultural cliché can possibly be considered totally equivalent to a cultural cliché in another language system since the associative network of symbols within which the second TL symbol operates will likely differ from that of the SL.

This paper aims to show through discussion of authentic translation examples the importance of pragmatic meanings in human communication. When an American executive places his feet on the desk, the message of authority and relaxation that is being sent is readily understood, while the same gesture in an Arabic country would have a totally different implication, one of disdain and insult. Such implications can be culture specific or culture ubiquitous, meaning that in translation, no one sign can possibly be considered totally equivalent to a sign in another language system since the associative network of signs within which the second TL sign functions will probably differ from that of the SL. That is only one of the aspects of the translatorial contemplation which proves to be a semiotic process in which something symbolically stands for something else, in which different sign systems are coordinated and in which one symbol can semantically encompass another.

Given such starting positions, any particular cultural unit in the SL can become a counterpart match, which puts extra burdens on the translator by acquiring further meaning and connotative charges, especially when it does not avail itself easily to the TL. This conforms to Ponzio's views (1990, pp. 142-146) that although propositions are also no doubt conventional-symbolic, they are based fundamentally upon the relation of representation, that is, upon the iconic relation.

Socio-cultural facet of linguistic sign

If the translator fails to take into account the properties of the semiotic sign as well as its functions in a particular socio-cultural environment on the one

hand and its relationships with other signs on the other, the more global layers, such as genre conventions, could potentially also be altered. As a consequence, in order to reconcile differences between the signifying systems of languages knotted in the translatorial process, translators occasionally undertake certain procedures so as to transpose the semiotic content requiring particular treatment under certain conditions. In order to comprehend a culturally charged symbol, which functions primarily as a linguistic peculiarity, translators sometimes resort to intralingual translation, to use Jakobson's (1959/1992, p. 145) classification, in an attempt to elucidate the polymorphic nature of symbols. Hatim and Mason (1990, pp. 105-106) described several phases during this process, beginning with a) identification, in which the translator pinpoints the ST semiotic entity that needs special treatment; b) information, in which the translator selects an appropriate TL denotational equivalent for the ST sign; c) explication, in which the translator evaluates the denotational equivalent chosen in phase two to see whether it is self-sufficient or not.

If the denotative equivalent turns not to be culturally compatible, the translator can seek to explicate by means of synonymy, expansion or paraphrase. Pertilli's view (1992, p. 240) can also be taken into consideration here that translation "is not wholly established by rules, by a code, as in the case of symbols", and "does not preexist with respect to the code, as in the case of indexes, but rather is invented freely and creatively" by virtue of the relation established between a particular object in the real world and what this object invokes in the mind of the hearer/reader.

Boundaries of meaning compensations

As it is difficult to find a TL sign with the same iconic function, translators sometimes neglect the symbolic function and the association between the target language sign and the signified amongst the users of the target language. In other words, they pursue a generalization strategy. For example, some translators would opt to translate an SL brandy (English) as rakija in Serbian. Rakija and brandy are definitely not the same, but some salient clues exist at the same level of meaning - they are both ubiquitous in the given cultures and seem to be generic in nature, albeit distilled from different sources.

Such compensatory strides seem to take a great amount of audacity on the part of the translator, but other alternatives are far and between. It so happens that both the SL and the TL, linguistically conceptualize and utilize such a socio-cultural activity in a similar way. From a perception point of view, given that the SL symbol and TL counterpart refer to particular referents in the real world, they invoke in the minds of readers the same vision. It is far from an

optimal equivalent where the elements of the original symbol are chemically not identical, but are comparable nevertheless. Truth to be told, it is quite rare to have optimal equivalents when translating between two languages which are linguistically and culturally distant like English and Serbian, as cultural discrepancies do not usually make it any easier to resort to literal translation unless an 'inebriating' match occurs equally between the SL word and TL world alike, as in the example above.

For such serendipity to occur, the translator needs to a) analyze and describe varieties of language; b). identify and discern all important aesthetical aspects of text and thus interpret and appreciate texts; c). activate processes and experiences of reading along with their intuitive responses to the text at hand; and d). activate all aspects of knowledge stored in their minds on language, text-typological demands, generic conventions, and the sociological roles of participants in the real world and in text, cultural environment, and so on.

In many instances however, the strategy of literal translation would fail to engender a similar word, with identical functions and elements, thus eventually creating a completely different micro-sign that would affect the meanings of the macro-signs, that is, genre and discourse.

A matter of style?

From the earliest writings about translation, such as those of Cicero or Horace, style has often been mentioned but its role has rarely been systematically explored. Hough sees style as the dress of thought (1969, p. 3). In order to be in a position to define style's relation to translation and culture, one needs to contemplate style first as a tool to increase the expressive capacity of an utterance as it is central to the way we construct and interpret texts. Snell-Hornby (1995, p. 119) holds that any attempt to discuss style will be considered unsatisfactory, since first "no coherent theoretical approach is attempted" and second "the problem of style recedes perceptibly into the background". Appreciating the premise that within any language system, given the language universals, the same intention can be encrypted in various linguistic forms, style being one of them, a better comprehension can be achieved if both interlocutors are familiar with all the facets.

In other words, the same proposition can be transmitted in more than one way, thus putting forth a variability achieved by the intonation, type of narration, choice of words and expressions and syntactic structure at higher levels of discourse. Leech and Short (1981, p. 10) define style as "the linguistic habits of a particular writer . . ., genre, period, school". Some may refer to style as a garnish in the semantic load, or, at the opposite end of the spectrum as an

aberration of linguistic norms. Perhaps, the most accurate description would be to see it as an author's personality trait that has found its way into the text (which might explain the old proverb "style is a complicated way to say simple things").

A real problem, however, emerges when stylistic features that are common in one language fail to conform in another. If the translator undertakes to analyze all the stylistic features , such as parallelism, repetition, irony, long vs short sentences, foregrounding vs backgrounding, formality vs informality, nominalization vs verbalization, passivization vs activization, and so on (Ghazala, 2011), his/her task automatically gets much more perplexed that if they opted to take a blind eye to it. Finding a local equivalent can prove to be like looking for a needle in a haystack, while it is questionable if the ultimate reader will be able to recognize the effort and ingenuity and appreciate it fully.

Trendy narratives and temporal implications

Expectations from the audience with regards to translation can come in sundry disguises. Sometimes, they are strictly technical and the observation of the terms and metalanguage is of paramount importance. In other cases, it can be a purist imperative that no foreign words or expressions must be kept. What they all have in common is that they are trendy and have a limited shelf live; what is a convention in one era may be totally proscribed in another.

These days, however, there seems to be a ubiquitous strife to use domestic TL words as much as possible rather than resorting to the unpopular practice of inculcating and legitimizing borrowings. There are times, however, when the translated topics simply impose certain foreign words upon the audience. The current political turmoil in the American administration and the exertions to delegitimize the current presidency have put the word impeachment on the front pages of numerous media. Translators initially hesitated to transpose it as such in Serbian reports, and used the lengthening and diluting translation strategies to translate it as smjena predsjednika or opoziv predsjednika, but, as time goes by, and the use of the word has persisted in the American political discourse, the cumbersome impičment borrowing is no longer that uncommon.

How long will it take before the borrowed word is actually applied in our political discourse is anyone's guess, but those who bet on the shorter period seem to be spot on. It is not just lack of creativeness on the part of some translators that leads to such egregious transpositions. Political analysts and pundits have a hand in it too. One could just recall how easily the syntagmatic expression vlast i opzicija morphed into pozicija i opozicija. This severely foreignized rendering does not only cripple the target text in terms of cultural transfer, but it also

distorts the consistency of the translation as it does not coherently fit within the cultural molds. It ought to be observed, however, that while the cultural misfortune in the translation of the original terms cannot be fully ascertained because it deviates significantly from the intended cultural dispatch; the ultimate touchstone of translation is its skopos, which can serve as a consolation while giving priority to 'adequacy' over 'acceptability'.

Some lenience should perhaps be taken into consideration since many text analysts (or in the case of the subject consideration - the translators) predominantly rely on their analytical and evaluative skills and their reading experiences and processes so as to discern the language features that have acquired special status in the text and relate these culturally specific idiosyncrasies to their artistic function by analyzing their genre conventionality. Likewise, their instinctive response to the text by triggering their knowledge of all aspects of communication and social relations digs deep into their personal experiences. Such erudition, provides themes with a linguistic perspective to comprehend and appreciate the linguistic features that the original writers deliberately and consciously try to resort to, despite the availability of other alternative options. Boase-Beier (2006, p. 1) holds that "...because the recreative process in the target text will also be influenced by the sorts of choices the translator makes, and style is the outcome of choice (as opposed to those aspects of language which are not open to option), the translator's own style will become part of the target text".

Familiarity with the folklore

Texts can be wrought with culturally delimited meanings and implications. Take the metaphorical meaning for example, where the translator needs to become an inherent insider in the source language culture, which would enable him or her to parse expressions correctly within their own culture, and then subsequently function as an insider in the target language culture to make it possible for him or her to offset the metaphorical value. While fulfilling all those function, they must also be continuously and keenly aware of the culture-based element which operates as an important semantic feature in the source language.

In order to preserve the ingenuity and aesthetics of the source text utmost attention should be paid to the choice between a semantic and a pragmatic representation of the text. In other words, when they diverge, they may advance themselves to both a semantic and a pragmatic handling of the subject to their potential pellucidity and adequacy in the target language. In the case of the two languages that this paper juxtaposes, an appropriate treatment of

conversational acts between English and Serbian is an essential aspect of translation activity. While a semantic handling of a text necessitates imaginative solutions to safeguard adequacy and potential acceptability in the target text, every pragmatic method ought to rely on thorough knowledge of conventionalized conversational norms in the target language to ensure suitability.

Balancing between the two ends (translating literally or deploying a misleading phraseologism) it would appear that the first one is more on the safe side, that is, for as long as phraseological blindness, as in the case of the translation of the title of the British film, Lock, Stock and Two Smoking Barrels rendered in Serbian as Dve čađave dvocevke does not rear its bizarre head. It is a good example of a failed observance of the phraseological content in the source text, which is totally absent in the target text. Besides, this stern mishap in translating the intended illocution has distorted the wit of the original formulation, thus violating the maxim of quality equilibrium.

Conclusion

Before making the final choice, translators need to explore similar expressions in the target language in order to select one that achieves the same amount of expressiveness without jeopardizing the integrity of the text. If the translator wants to maintain the expressive stratification of a particular expression in English, he or she needs to pursue a wordplay in Serbian that would come close to the proposed wordplay in English. There is, therefore, a dire need to alert translation practitioners as well as translation trainees to the various aspects of cultural meanings and the available strategies to deal with them. A proper balance between the intention and the reception is an essential element. Only then will a translator be able to offer a product that leads to both acceptability and adequacy in terms of what is meant rather than in terms of what is said alone.

This is particularly true in the realm of transferred meaning, as it takes a true serendipity to occur in order for two phraseological or metaphorical expressions to match both lexically and semantically in two genealogically divergent languages. More frequently though, translators are intermediaries in negotiations between expressiveness and literalness. In order for a translator to boldly pursue the expressiveness path, he or she must be genuinely positive that they have considered all the implications and implicatures that such a ploy carries along. Translating rakija as brandy is not a perfect match, but at least no one will be offended. Translating It's all Greek to me as To su za mene španska sela again seems not to give rise to any cultural offence, but the more one ventures into culturally specific and emotionally charged realms, the higher the likelihood that sooner or later a translatorial blooper or blunder will occur. This

reinforces the notion of the need for translators' absolute confidence in their familiarity with both cultures before they embark on a meaning compensation strategy when dealing with culturally divergent texts. Thus, the translator, as the Irish theoretician Michael Cronin nicely described it, is also a passenger, one who roams from one culture to another (2000, p. 24).

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DALIBOR KESIĆ ◊ DEJAN MILINOVIĆ

KOMPENZATORNI PRISTUPI U PREVOĐENJU KULTUROLOŠKI RAZLIČITIH TEKSTOVA

Apstrakt

Diversifikacija pristupa prevođenju koja je iznuđena usljed globalizacije omogućila je kulturološki zasnovanom pristupu prevođenju da iznova procijeni reprodukciju kulturoloških vrijednosti u ciljnoj kulturi te da preispita odnose moći u toku prevodilačkog procesa. Primjena takvih pristupa zasnovanih na kulturi redefiniše funkciju i svrhu ciljnog teksta. Nadovezujući se na princip da jezici, pogotovo oni koji su kulturološki udaljeni, poimaju i konceptualiziraju realnost svog okruženja i iskustva na različite načine, uveliko navodi na zaključak da je značaj takvih simbola kao i njihovo funkcionisanje različito od jezika do jezika. Stoga nije iznenađujuće da se, u prevođenju, nijedan kulturološki kliše ne može smatrati potpuno ekvivalentnim drugom jezičkom sistemu u drugom jeziku jer je asocijativna mreža simbola u drugom sistemu drugog, ciljnog, jezika, u drugačijoj funkciji te će se vjerovatno stoga razlikovati od one u izvornom jeziku. Pored toga, usljed etimološke i sintaksičke divergencije među jezicima, često dolazi do neusklađenosti na nivou mikro-simbola između sistema označavanja unutar predmetnih jezika, što prevodiocu otežava izbor najadekvatnijeg ekvivalenta među alternativama koje mu stoje na raspolaganju. Kao posljedica toga, a zarad usaglašavanja razlika među simboličkim sistemima jezika koji su uključeni u interlingvalni prevod, prevodioci ponekad pribjegavaju kompenzatornim strategijama kako bi se izvršio transfer kulturološki značajnih simbola koji u određenim uslovima iziskuju poseban tretman. Takav pristup može biti dodatno zakomplikovan usljed činjenice da određene pretpostavke koje su neizbježno sastavni dio izvornog teksta često bivaju na različit način uspostavljene u toku procesa prevođenja usljed različitih životnih iskustava različitih prevodilaca i sredina iz kojih dolaze. Time se dovodi u pitanje način na koji su kulturološke vrijednosti izvornog teksta predstavljene u ciljnom tekstu i kulturi dok se u isto vrijeme teži ka rasvjetljavanju skrivenih ideoloških diskurzivnih praksi koje proizilaze iz odnosa moći i različitih struktura.

Ključne riječi: prevođenje, kultura, simbol, moć, znak, transpozicija

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TRANSLATION PITFALLS IN THE CONTEXT OF EUROSPEAK

Abstract

As Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) invests efforts to join the European Union (EU), interest in translation issues grows. It has recently become evident that precise and correct translation of various documents and questionnaires plays an important role in the country's meeting all sorts of administrative requirements on its complex road to the EU. A natural part of the evolution of the EU is Eurospeak, "the kind of English being used by diplomats in the corridors of power in the new EU" (Crystal, 1997, p. 136), a language of its own, which also comes under a variety of identifiers – 'Eurojargon', 'Eurobabble', etc.
Since in BiH modern language faculties are currently the only institutions that educate prospective translators, they need to be able to address various linguistic and extra-linguistic issues so as to prepare their graduates for the language industry market and the practicalities of translation tasks. The paper investigates students' translations of Eurospeak elements. The analysis of overtly made errors focused on the mismatch in denotative meaning and the breach of the target language system. In that way, the attempt is made to raise undergraduates' awareness of the specific characteristics of Eurospeak and potential pitfalls lurking in the translation process.

Key words: Eurospeak, translation, denotative meaning, error analysis

Introduction

Due to market and societal tendencies, the demand for professional translation services in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) is constantly on the increase. As this academically underresourced country traditionally lacks translation education institutions and centers (see Hadžiahmetović Jurida & Pavlović, 2016),

113

the responsibility rests upon modern language faculties (MLFs) (at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels) to create proper curricula and provide appropriate translation-learning instruments for student translators. It is only through proper design of translation activities that these faculties are able to prepare their students for acquiring the foundations of translation competence and the skills needed to produce acceptable target texts.

As Presas (2000, p. 8) states, the translator needs to be able to effectively mobilize the diversity of knowledge and skills. In order to do this, implementing translation quality assessment and meeting the internationally recognized standards in translation and interpreting practice need to become an integral part of translation and interpreting classes at MLFs in BiH. This becomes even more important when certain specific registers are taken into account, especially those closely related to European Union (EU) integrations. The current socio-political and economic tendencies in BiH define market needs for prospective graduates of MLFs as employment in the translation industry becomes an increasingly realistic prospect.

Over the past decades there has been research into the teaching of translation albeit very little concerted effort to create innovative pedagogical models for translation education (Kiraly, 2003). Both translation scholars and practitioners need to be brought into a position that would enable them to exchange their practices so as to change the paradigm of the traditional hand-me-down approach (Kiraly, 2003). Efforts are made for the academised university training for translators to change, thus motivating students for a more active involvement in translation classes comes to the fore. Schäffner and Adab (2000, p. x) state that translation competence is most effectively developed at an academic institution, which is why the question of how best to prepare translators for their future careers has been addressed by the emergence of specific programs offered by academic institutions. Keeping in mind that the research available predominantly deals with professional translators and interpreters (see Schäffner, 2014; Koskinen, 2014) as well as teachers (see Pym et al., 2013), academic interest should also include student translators. This may help create and engage in the activities which would further develop students' translation competence and prepare them to face the challenging features of the register-specific translation.

Theoretical Preliminaries

An extensive body of research has been made into a European variety of English in the past as many scholars have so far dealt with this topic (see Berns, 1995; Crystal, 1997, 2001; Graddol, 2001; Jenkins et al., 2001; Modiano, 2001,

2017) although academic interest has not so far focused on its importance for student translators. What the discussion has brought to the fore is a challenging task of defining Euro-English and consequently Eurospeak. Eurospeak can be said to be a natural part of the evolution of the EU, be it as a new political unit or a new social community, whose aim was to create a language of its own. It comes under a variety of identifiers – 'Eurojargon', 'Eurobabble', 'Eurospeak.' Eurospeak is a concoction of acronyms and jargon hastily conceived by the EU administration to help express the EU bodies, decisions, functions, and processes, and due to its complexity, it puts great demands before translators (Lukić, 2016). Modiano (2011, pp. 11-14) broadly describes it as the set of "terms which are peculiar to the European experience and which are not generally understood by users of English living in other parts of the world" and Crystal (1997, p. 136) names it as "Euro-English, [...] a label sometimes given these days to the kind of English being used by [...] diplomats in the corridors of power in the new European Union."

As Lukić (2016, p. 6) states, it is necessary to explain that the word language is used mainly (if not exclusively) to refer to its lexicon and graphological features, as the rest of it (e.g. grammar) is relatively unaffected by Europeanisation or rather largely adopts the general conventions and changes found in diplomatic and legal discourse. She also states that it would be most accurate to refer to Eurospeak (and Euro-English by extension) as "a conceptual and terminological field first developed primarily to avoid the use of potentially offensive language in the post-World War II context and expanded over time to facilitate communication on EU-specific situations and matters" (Lukić, 2016, p. 6).

Euro-English is characterized by newly emerged abbreviations, neologisms and portmanteaux words. Consequently, it is highly productive when it comes to various word-formation processes, such as borrowing (rapporteur), derivation (actorness), conversion (opt-out), back formation (refoule), blending (Eurocrat), clipping (logframe), and compounding (six-pack). It should be mentioned here that precisely due to all these features that add to its complexity, the general linguistic knowledge and the knowledge in translation might prove of no use in deciphering the meaning of certain concepts and phrases. Some of these are given as follows:

Refoule, v.

From the originally French n. refoulement "used to describe the practice of rounding up illegal immigrants and failed asylum seekers and sending them back to the country from where they entered the Union."

E.g. They can be refouled for very serious grounds under Article 33.2 of the Convention, but Article 3 ECHR will rule that out.

Six-pack, n.
"A package of six legislative measures (five regulations and one directive) improving the Economic governance in the EU."
E.g. The six-pack ensures stricter application of the fiscal rules by defining quantitatively what a significant deviation from the MTO.

These examples clearly support the abovementioned idea regarding the potential obstacles that can lurk in the translation of Eurospeak, particularly for the inexperienced translators. In line with Modiano's statement (2017) that English within the EU now has extensive governmental, educational, informational, and work-related functionality, as well as increasing utility in the creation of intellectual properties, this is particularly important for the countries that have still not joined the EU as so many administrative and legal terms need to be adjusted to the existing common source.

Translating Euro-English in BiH

BiH does not participate in the drafting of EU legislation but merely transposes it. Similarly, we either receive from the EU (through its services, projects, etc.) or extract from public sources most of the general literature on EU matters. The selected collocations presented in Table 1 come from the Directorate for European Integration (DEI) English-Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian Glossary of a core text of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) between the European Communities and their Member States and Bosnia and Herzegovina and can be used to illustrate some of the features of Eurospeak translation. Even though the collocations appear to be rather complex, their translation is somewhat less demanding (for experienced translators) as the meanings can be derived from individual lexemes

Table 1. Selected Eurospeak collocations

Source Language (SL) English	Target Language (TL) Bosnian/Croatian/ Serbian	SAA reference
Authorised stay of employment	Odobreno zapošljavanje	Art. 47
Favour certain undertakings	Davanje prednosti određenim preduzećima/ poduzećima	Art. 71

Impartial recruitment procedure	Transparentni postupak odabira zaposlenika	Art. 111
Operationally independent public authority	Samostalno državno tijelo Samostalni državni organ	Art. 71

Notwithstanding isolated glossaries prepared either by the DEI or particular EU-funded projects, to the best of authors' knowledge there is no published Euro-English/(Euro-) Bosnian dictionary. The majority of the resources available to the translators whose everyday practices include Eurospeak terminology come mostly from different mono- and multilingual on-line sources, ranging from EU-Lex (database that provides direct free access to the European law, the Official Journal of the EU as well as the treaties, legislation, case-law and legislative proposals), IATE database (the EU's multilingual term base), Dictionary of European Integration Terms, to SAA Glossary, and BiHTerm (English-Bosnian/ Serbian/Croatian Dictionary of European Integration Terms that is continuously updated with terminology taken from EU legal acts and other EU related documents), as well as laws and bylaws published in BiH Official Gazette. The resources also include the official translations of EU directives, regulations and decisions in Croatian, given that as of 2013 when the Republic of Croatia joined the EU they are not only the documents written in a language shared by the two countries but also an equal and authentic language version of the EU law. These resources are mainly used in everyday practice of professional translators working at various national state bodies in charge of administrative procedures required for cooperation with the EU as well as international bodies with the seat in BiH.

Translation at MLFs has been commonly viewed as a means of improving the students' general knowledge of a second language. However, due to the market and societal tendencies, there is a constant pressure for translation practice classes to be transformed into a translation-learning instrument. The only type of formal translation education in BiH is provided at postgraduate levels of studies at the existing MLFs as undergraduate programs in the country do not exist. Although practitioners proliferated, either through available formal education or other informal types of training, the field of translation education is still rather unregulated in the sense of providing adequate national pool of experts (the know-how). The most serious accusations related to translation activities at MLFs are directed towards the very function of translation exercises as they are regarded as a pure means of teaching and practicing grammar and lexicon. That is why additional attention must be directed towards the appropriate representation of translation activities within the existing curricula.

Methodology

In order to be able to address the above-mentioned issues, the authors employed the analysis of errors based on the model proposed by House (1997, p. 45) who divides errors into covert and overt, whereby the overtly erroneous ones represent "either [...] a mismatch of denotative meanings of source and translation text elements or [...] a breach of the target language system." House (1997, p. 45) further identifies them as follows:

– the changes in denotative meaning caused by the translator are divided into: omission, additions, and substitutions "consisting either of wrong selections or wrong combinations of elements" (labeled in the paper as Category A)

– the errors made through the violation of the target language system, further divided into two categories; they cover the cases of ungrammaticality (clear violations of the TL grammar of any type) which include breach of the language system (prepositions, tenses, cases) as well as dubious acceptability or breaches of the norm usage (word-for-word translations). (labeled in the paper as Category B)

– for the purpose of the study, additional category (Category C) was introduced, to mark the combination of A and B.

The present study included 23 fourth year students, who volunteered to participate in the study, with previous 2-semester experience in translating various general types of texts. In producing their in-class translations, they were allowed to use external resources (personal notes, glossaries, dictionaries). It needs to be noted here that this was not the first time the students performed such tasks as texts with similar content were dealt with in their previous education. Their language competence is expected to be relatively high as their L2 competence at the end of their fourth year is expected to have reached the equivalent of level C (C2 being the highest, native or near-native level of competence) of the Council of Europe's (2010) Common European Framework of Reference, CEFR.

For the purposes of this study, the source text examples were taken from various press-related articles and the official EU website (www.ec.europa.eu). It was assumed that these would provide language realistic enough to facilitate the translation tasks. For practical reasons, the study presents one segment of the examples registered in target texts, and is elaborated on in the following section.

Results and Discussion

This section provides an overview of examples taken from the corpus and the three categories observed (labeled A, B and C, explained below), where target texts are given in the original form, without any interventions. Hence, Category A includes any kind of error that includes a change of denotative meaning (of any type). On the other hand, Category B focuses on ungrammaticality of any type, and finally, Category C represents a combination of Categories A and B.

Here are the examples as they were taken from 8 source text segments and their respective translations as identified in a total of 34 target text segments:

Source text: **Target text:**

1. aplicirati za članstvo u EU

(to apply for EU membership)

        1.1.**applicate** for EU membership (A)

        1.2. to apply for the **accession** (A),

        1.3. **submitting an application** for EU membership (A)

        1.4. **submitting** EU application **membership** (C)

Examples 1.1.-1.3. above all belong to Category A as they feature an omission, addition, or substitution consisting either of wrong selections or wrong combinations of elements. As evident from example 1.4. above, the target text segment features a combination of ungrammaticality and change of denotative meaning (wrong selection of elements and their positioning), thus resulting in a noun phrase far too complex keeping in mind the source text.

2. vlasti BiH

(BiH authorities)

        2.1.The Bosnian **government** (A)

        2.2. **Administration** of Bosnia and Herzegovina (A)

        2.3. **State power** of Bosnia and Herzegovina (A)

        2.4. Authorities **in** BiH (B)

It is clear from the target text examples above (2.1.-2.3.) that change of denotative meaning prevails in this group. These three segments are all cases of substitution including wrong selection of elements combined with the wrong combination of elements, whereas example 2.4. is a clear case of ungrammaticality (wrong use of the preposition).

3. usaglašavanje Ustava sa evropskim standardima ljudskih prava
(harmonizing the Constitution with the European human rights standards)

> 3.1. **coordination** of Constitution with European standards of human rights (C)
>
> 3.2. **to finish all the work** on the law for European human rights standard (A)
>
> 3.3. **synchronization** of the constitution with... (A)

As can be seen above, examples 3.2. and 3.3. again result in wrong selection and/or combination of elements, whilst example 3.1. combines ungrammaticality (lack of definite article) and both types of errors identified in the other two examples.

4. usvajanje zakona (o popisu i državnoj pomoći)
(adoption of the Laws on Population Census and State Aid)

> 4.1. (adoption of the law) **about the list** and state **help** (C)
>
> 4.2. **acquisition** of (the census law) and state **help** (A)
>
> 4.3. adopting law about census and governmental power (C)
>
> 4.4. **accepting** the law on census and state **assistance** (A)
>
> 4.5. adoption of the **register** and state aid (A)
>
> 4.6. **passing** the law on census and **country's help** (A)
>
> 4.7. adoption of law **aboutlisting** and **governmental help** (C)

Noteworthy here is the fact that no clear cases of ungrammaticality only were observed, even though three examples of the target text belong to category C, combining ungrammaticality with change of denotative meaning, and four examples clearly showing change of denotative meaning only (e.g. substitution in 4.2. the word acquisition instead of adoption etc.) Also worth highlighting here is that, even though the students had previous experience in translation of documents with similar topics, including the case of population census and state aid, they made many errors. This resulted in a wide variety of target text segments falling into categories A and C – wrong elements combined with wrong modification and use of articles and/or prepositions.

5. Vijeće ministara
(Council of Ministers)

> 5.1. **Ministry** Council (A)
>
> 5.2. **State** Council (A)
>
> 5.3. Council of **Ministry** (A)

All errors in these three target texts are clear-cut cases of change of denotative meaning as they are all cases of wrong selection –substitution with wrong elements.

6. Parlamentarna skupština Vijeća Europe
(the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe)

> 6.1. the **Parliament** of **European Council** (A)
>
> 6.2. the **European Parliament** (A)
>
> 6.3. the **European Council Parliament Assembly** (B)
>
> 6.4. the Assembly of the Council of the **European Union** (A)
>
> 6.5. the **Parliament** Assembly of the **Europe Council** (A)

Much like in Example 4 above, many errors were registered in students' translations regardless of their previous experience in translating texts on similar topics. As a result, a wide variety of target text segments fall into category A – substitution with wrong elements, and one example (6.3.) showing various types of ungrammaticality.

7. Prijedlog (će biti korektan i izbalansiran)
(the proposal will be fair and balanced)

> 7.1. the **suggestion** will be **correct** and balanced (A)
>
> 7.2. the **motion** will be ... (A)
>
> 7.3. the **preposition** to ... (A)
>
> 7.4. **solution** will be **correct** and balanced (C)
>
> 7.5. the proposition will be **concrete** (A)

The only target text segment featuring both ungrammaticality and change of denotative meaning here is 7.4 as it lacks an article and there is a wrong element included. All other target text segments are clear-cut cases of substitution with a wrong element (suggestion, motion, preposition, solution, proposition) where the word proposal was expected, and assumed to have been used by the students, particularly because they had dealt with such sentence structures in their previous translation tasks.

8. specijalni izaslanik
(special envoy)

> 8.1. special **delegate** (A)
>
> 8.2. special **deputy** (A)
>
> 8.3. special **ambassador** (A)

As can be seen above, examples 8.1.-8.3. all clearly show a change of denotative meaning, more specifically a wrong selection of an element (delegate, deputy, ambassador), instead of the word envoy. Since the word envoy is of relative specificity, the participants clearly lacked the knowledge of the lexeme and relied on the words they had available in their vocabulary repertoire.

In summary, these examples clearly illustrate the fact that a vast majority of errors fall into category A (25 out of 34 examples, i.e. 73.5%), which might be explained by the lack of specialized knowledge as well as the failure to consult adequate resources. Category A includes the changes in denotative meaning (omission, additions, and substitutions) and encompasses cases of wrong selection or wrong combination of elements. In addition, the study found 7 cases in category C (20.5%), which combines changes in denotative meaning and ungrammaticality, whilst there were few cases in category B – only 2, to be precise (5.8%), which was, in a way, expected, given that cases of ungrammaticality are not frequently made by students at this level. In fact, the small number of clear B cases indicates the relatively well-developed foreign language competence in line with the CEFR. Given the relatively small sample in this study, a larger scale analysis would be needed for generalization (in terms of participants as well as source language structures).

The results of the research are twofold. First of all, they point to the necessity of introducing the elements of Eurospeak in translation curricula of MLFs. In addition, they indicate the need for the fully fledged development of the state-level language resources (dictionaries and specialized glossaries) which might contribute to the regulation of various linguistic issues in the field of translation. The creation of such custom made resources in combination with the existing ones should find its place in translation activities as students need to acquire the skills for the efficient usage of such assets.

Concluding Remarks

A set of very important questions arises from the presented material: How the sufficient number of translators able to work with Eurospeak material will be provided? Which institutions will be in charge of education of such professionals? Which institutions will be in charge of additional training of such professionals? These are some of the important issues that all the stakeholders in the process of BiH's accession to the EU need to bear in mind when it comes to translation. Ultimately, it all boils down to the people with experience as well as the professionals employed with relevant institutions. That is why one of the practical and efficient solutions would be to match the academia and the

practitioners in the field of translation, so as to provide for a multidisciplinary approach to translation, particularly in the context of Eurospeak.

The presence of Eurospeak in official circles of BiH's international relations is expected to increase. As due to its complexity it places burden on prospective translators educated at MLFs, these faculties, as the only institutions that provide education for prospective translators, need to incorporate the elements of Eurospeak in their curricula. In that way, MLFs might start changing the traditional view of translation activities as a means of improving the students' general knowledge of a second language and turn these activities into the key to potential future career. In that way, these higher education institutions would be able to respond to a constant pressure for translation practice classes to be transformed into a translation-learning instrument.

In order to functionally structure translation practice classes, and in keeping with the current trends in the society (accession to the EU), curricula developers (higher education institutions) in BiH need to properly address the issue of all linguistic features this process requires. While striving to achieve this goal, these education institutions should never lose sight of all other stakeholders as only through close contacts and strengthened cooperation with practitioners and state bodies will they be able to equip their graduates with operational translation competences and skills needed in the professional world.

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EUROSPEAK KAO POTENCIJALNI IZVOR PROBLEMA ZA PREVODITELJE

Sažetak

Interes za prevođenjem i tematikom prevođenja u Bosni i Hercegovini (BiH) je u porastu paralelno sa naporima koje BiH ulaže u cilju pridruživanja Europskoj uniji (EU). U skorije je vrijeme postalo više no očigledno da tačan i precizan prijevod različitih dokumenata i upitnika ima vrlo važnu ulogu u ispunjavanju raznih vrsta uvjeta koji su postavljeni BiH na njenom putu u EU. Prirodni dio evoluiranja EU je i Eurospeak, ona vrsta engleskog jezika kojom se diplomate koriste u komuniciranju i odlučivanju u novoj EU, jezik vrlo poseban, i kojega se ponekad identificira kao 'Eurojargon', 'Eurobabble', itd.

Imajući u vidu da su fakulteti na kojima se studiraju moderni jezici u BiH jedine ustanove koje obrazuju perspektivne prevoditelje, one trebaju biti u mogućnosti baviti se raznim lingvističkim i ekstra-lingvistickim pitanjima kako bi svoje diplomirane studente pripremile za tržište jezične industrije i sve praktične detalje prevoditeljskih zadataka. U ovom se radu istražuju studentski prijevodi elemenata Eurospeak-a. Analiza grešaka daje osvrt na neslaganje u denotativnom značenju i kršenju sustava ciljnog jezika. Na taj se način pokušalo podići razinu svijesti studenata dodiplomskog studija o specifičnim osobinama Eurospeak-a i potencijalnim opasnostima koje vrebaju u procesu prevođenja.

Ključne riječi: Eurospeak, (pismeno) prevođenje, denotativno značenje, analiza grešaka

Literature

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SYMBOLS IN TENNESSEE WILLIAMS'S *THE GLASS MENAGERIE*

Abstract

The Glass Menagerie by Tennessee Williams is the first memory play: a unique type of a play that incorporates the playwright's biography into the main plot. Symbolism plays a crucial role in the creation of every memory play as the author hides true meanings in literary symbols. *The Glass Menagerie* is therefore rich in symbols which are instrumental to understanding the play.

This paper aims to present a systematic overview of the symbols that Williams uses in the play. Each symbol has been analyzed in the same chronological order that the author introduces them into his story. An analysis of the symbols will offer the reader better insight into the plot, the main themes, as well as a more comprehensive overview of character development and setting. Moreover, as the memory play is autobiographical in nature, the analysis will also provide better insight into the author's feelings and thoughts during a difficult time in his life: a time when he worked in a shoe warehouse to provide for his mother Edwina and sister Rose.

Key words :symbol, symbolism, play, memory play, autobiography, plot, characters, themes, setting

This paper focuses on the symbolism in Tennessee Williams's *The Glass Menagerie.* It will show how the symbols help the author create the setting, plot, main themes and each character's development, as he incorporates his own memories into the play. The symbols are analysed chronologically and may be compared and contrasted to others.

The play is the first memory play, which is a type of play invented by Tennessee Williams and later appropriated by Harold Pinter and Brian Friel as well as many other modernist dramatists. As the name suggests, a memory play is a play based on the writer's memory, so it is primarily autobiographical in nature. Tennessee Williams broadens the definition by claiming that the memory

play not only has personal elements but can also allow for "poetic freedom," enabling an author to change certain elements to highlight or downplay them. "Memory takes a lot of poetic license. It omits some details; others are exaggerated, according to the emotional value of the article it touches, for memory is seated predominantly in the heart" (Williams, 1999, p.3). Thus, *The Glass Menagerie* is a subjective description or adaptation of the author's own memories.

The Glass Menagerie is also specifically defined as a memory play by the main character, the narrator Tom, at the beginning of the play itself. He says, "The play is memory. Being a memory play, it is dimly lighted, it is sentimental, it is not realistic" (Williams, 1999, p.5). The exaggerations and sentimentality based on memories are expressed through symbols, and the symbolic meanings are obvious in all the elements of the play—especially in the plot, the main themes, the development of characters and in the setting.

In *Webster's Encyclopaedic Unabridged Dictionary* (1996), a symbol (Greek: *symbolon*-sign) is defined as "something used for or regarded as representing something else; a material object representing something, often something immaterial; emblem, token or sign" (p. 1926). Basically, it is something represented by something else. Moreover, Wheeler (2018) explains the literary or contextual symbol as "a unique or original symbol an author creates within the context of an individual work or an author's collected works" (para 162.) Symbols, and specifically literary symbols, give the author the freedom to enrich the text, add an extra layer to the plot and describe characters more precisely, giving the reader a more vivid insight into the characters' thoughts, feelings and actions.

Undoubtedly, Tennessee Williams broadens the meaning of the symbols in the play. He even considered his characters as symbols themselves. For example, Tom, the main character and the narrator of the play, stresses the symbolic value of character when he introduces Jim O'Connor, the gentleman caller: "But since I have a poet's weakness for symbols, I am using this character also as a symbol; he is the long delayed but always expected something we live for"(Williams, 1999, p.5). The character of Jim O'Connor symbolizes hope, an escape from misery and a new life for Amanda, Laura and Tom. The gentleman caller might also be seen as a symbol of the old South. A gentleman caller was usually a young man who was looking for his future wife by visiting young ladies in their homes under the strict supervision of her family. Tennessee Williams was familiar with this Southern custom. Here the gentleman caller, a symbol of hope for all the characters, begins to create the setting of the play and provides the reader with a quick understanding of Amanda as a Southern woman. Indeed, the symbolic gentleman caller is significant, so much so that the original title of the play was *The Gentleman Caller* (Murphy, 2014, p.54).

At the beginning of the play, Williams describes the Wingfields' small apartment. One of its main characteristics is the fire escape. It is the first symbol in the play and it represents the only way in and more importantly—the only way out. Fire exits are mainly used to escape from a burning building, so the fire exit in the play symbolically tells the audience that someone is in danger, in a life-threatening situation, and must escape to safety. Williams describes a fire exit as a "structure whose name is a touch of accidental poetic truth, for all of these huge buildings are always burning with the slow and implacable fire of human desperation" (Williams, 1999, p.3). Human desperation is the key phrase of his description. The three main characters in the play are desperate to escape from something: Amanda, along with her children, from the fatalistic situation in which she has found herself after being abandoned by her husband; Laura from the terrifying world outside of the tiny apartment, and Tom from the terrifying world inside the apartment. All three characters are symbolically "on fire" and need an escape in order to survive. Not being able to change their lives, all three will psychologically run or withdraw into their own imaginary worlds. Amanda will regress into her youth. Laura obsesses over glass figurines while Tom injects himself into the world of movies, poetry and literature. Although Tom is the only one who actually leaves the apartment at the end of the play, guilt and remorse will follow him wherever he goes.

The next symbol is the photo of Amanda's husband, Mr. Wingfield. He is also Tom's and Laura's father and is described as a "very handsome young man in a doughboy's First World Cap. He is gallantly smiling, ineluctably smiling as if to say 'I will be smiling forever'" (Williams, 1999, p.4). His photo symbolizes the theme of abandonment because he left his family without warning. He simply "fell in love with long distances" (Williams, 1999, p. 5) and left. Once he sent his family a postcard from Mazatlan saying "Hello and Goodbye" (Williams, 1999, p.5). He is a "selfish dreamer" (Williams, 1999, p.96) just like Tom will become. That is why his photo represents not only the abandonment theme but also the selfishness of the male characters of the play and their inability to cope with the difficulties of family life.

Another symbol that represents the abandonment theme is Mr. Wingfield's Victrola. Laura plays it when she feels lonely or alienated from the world. The Victrola belongs to her father so every time she needs a father figure she plays music on it. The Victrola is also a symbol of loss and sadness caused by the selfishness of the male characters. It stands for Laura's father, but as the play is autobiographical in nature, the Victrola doubles as a symbol for Tennessee Williams' father as well ("*The Absent Father in the Glass Menagerie*," 2018). The father figure Tennessee Williams had in his life made a strong impact on

the creation of his male characters. They are all like his father was: selfish, strict and mostly absent (Smith-Howard & Heintzelman, 2005, pp.376-377).

Amanda, Tom and Laura's mother, mentions Blue Mountain, the plantation in the South where she spent her childhood. It is her emotional, psychological sanctuary. Barnard (2007) comments on the interior design of the apartment, which Amanda has transformed "into her otherworld in several ways by decorating the interior with Blue Mountain memories; by appearing in her Blue Mountain dress and particularly by her evoking Blue Mountain charm with every word she speaks" (pp.30-31).

The name Blue Mountain functions as a symbol in two different respects. First, the colour blue is often affiliated with sadness, melancholy and exhaustion. Blue can also symbolize the general feeling of the characters in the play. Moreover, mountains may symbolize the obstacles before all the characters and their inability to overcome them. Second, the name of the plantation is from Tennessee William's book of poetry *In the Winter of Cities* written in 1946. *Blue Mountain Ballads* consist of four different poems: *Heavenly Grass, Lonesome Man, Cabin* and *Sugar in The Cane*. In *Heavenly Grass,* the poet longs for heaven and salvation; *Lonesome Man* describes loneliness; in *Cabin* the poet talks about how passion and desire may destroy everything, and finally in *Sugar in the Cane*, he speaks about sexuality and sexual desire. In this case, the Blue Mountain symbolizes sexuality and passion, being destroyed by the passion, the loneliness afterwards, and the need to find salvation and return to heaven. All of this has happened to Amanda. She was driven by (sexual) desire as a young girl so she married a "telephone man," not one of the wealthy southern planters. Her passion destroyed all of her future prospects. Then, after being abandoned by her husband, she was left alone to cope with all the difficulties of her family life. Being lonely and frightened, she retreats into her own inner world, her imagination, in order to find peace and, symbolically, heaven. H. Talat (2011) concludes that "The Blue Mountain symbolizes Amanda's escape" (p 42).

Even the character names have a symbolism of their own. The name Amanda means "the one who deserves to be loved" ("Amanda," n. d.) but ironically, she is the character who is the least loved. She was abandoned by her husband, then abandoned by her son and ignored by her daughter. She was not loved just like Edwina Williams, Tennessee's mother upon whom Amanda's character was based, was not loved (Jacob, 2013, para.3). Her name is symbolic of what should be but does not come to pass.

Amanda introduces jonquils as a symbol into the play while describing her youth and the particular summer when she met her husband. She points out that "she had the craze for jonquils" (Williams, 1999, p. 54). Jonquils are a type

of narcissus. The Greek myth says that "Narcissus fell in love with his own reflection and subsequently drowned in the lake" (Cartwright, 2019), so the flowers symbolize vanity, and in this way, describe Amanda's character.

The jonquils, however, also symbolize illness. They come together in order to create the author's vision of love. For example, the summer when Amanda met her husband for the first time, she had malaria fever but she did not stay in bed. She went to parties and received jonquils from many different gentleman callers. Malaria fever and jonquils were used to describe the action of falling in love. Love is therefore symbolized by the delicate, fragile, beautiful flowers tempered by a threatening health condition that the flowers may cause. A similar thing happens to Laura. She had pleurosis the winter when she fell in love with Jim, who misunderstood her condition and called her Blue Rose. Thus, the combination of flowers and illness symbolizes love in Laura's case, too.

Indeed, the blue rose may be the most important symbol of all. It may be seen from different aspects. Again, the colour blue symbolizes melancholy and sadness, and a rose represents beauty and fragility. The blue rose is symbolic of a fragile, beautiful yet melancholic character – in this case Laura. Another important element of the blue rose is that it does not occur naturally, symbolizing Laura's unique personality. She is the character who created her own imaginary world as if she did not belong to the real world like blue roses.

The symbol of the blue rose might stand for Tennessee Williams's sister, Rose Williams, a very fragile young lady who was the most important woman in his life. J. Bak (2013) explains that "Rose was not only Williams' muse, now and forever; she was also his security blanket, his small craft harbour, his God so suddenly" (p.3). Laura was modelled after Rose Williams. This is evident when the play is compared alongside biographical data. For example, Rose Williams was sent by her mother Edwina to learn stenography, but she was not able to cope with the workload so she started skipping classes and quit just like Laura Wingfield does. Rose suffered from psychosomatic gastritis because of the pressure her mother and society around her placed on her to "fit in." Edwina tried to find a gentleman caller for Rose but with no success. Being unable to adapt in 1929, she was sent by her parents to a private sanatorium where doctors performed electrical shock treatment on her in order to cure her from schizophrenia and other mental issues. In 1944, Edwina and C.C. Williams approved a prefrontal lobotomy to be performed on Rose. She was crippled for life and spent the rest of her life in institutions. After the procedure, Rose was autistic and lived in her own world of illusion. Tennessee was devastated when he learned what had happened to his sister. It took him time to find the strength to visit her. He blamed himself for his sister's fate and was terrified by the possibility of having a genetic predisposition to mental illness.

Despite everything, after his first visit with Rose, he took care of her. He sent her to expensive mental institutions, visited her often and even took her on holidays. She outlived him by thirteen years and was buried beside him in the Calvary Cemetery in St. Louis (Smith-Howard & Heintzelman, 2005, p 379). "Blow out your candles, Laura" is carved on Rose Williams' gravestone, which strengthens the connection between Rose and Laura (Yarbrough, 2012). "Blow out your candles, Laura - and so good-bye" is the last sentence of the play (Williams, 1999, p.97). The words refer to the last time Tennessee Williams says goodbye to his sister Rose, who was lost forever in her world of illusions and madness. Laura, or Blue Rose, as she was called by Jim in *The Glass Menagerie* clearly symbolizes Tennessee Williams's sister Rose.

Symbolically, the name Laura means "the one with laureates", "the winner" ("Laura," 2019), implying that the character Laura manages to escape cruel reality and is victorious over her miserable life in her own way. When asked by her mother where she had been instead of going to school, Laura replied that she had been at the art museum or the Zoo. She also enjoyed going to the movies like her brother Tom. But her biggest joy was spending her afternoons in the jewel-box, a big glass house where tropical flowers grew. The big glass house also symbolizes the glass menagerie she possesses, that is, Laura's psychological need to retreat from the world into her own world. Talat (2011) points out that "Laura is too fragile to move out of her narrow self" (p.40). In this respect, she is very similar to Tom who goes to the movies or to magic shows to escape reality. Even the word "movies" sounds similar to the verb "move" and symbolizes the need for both Laura and Tom to flee, to change, to go far away.

Tom's need to flee from his situation but also his wish protect Laura and Amanda are symbolized by The Malvolo, the magic show Tom was impressed by. During the show, the magician was in a coffin and he managed to escape without removing any nails. The coffin symbolizes Tom's spiritual death, living in the small apartment in St. Louis, working in a shoe warehouse and providing for his mother and sister. The coffin also symbolizes being emotionally and intellectually dead without any future prospects. Tom symbolically wants to escape his "coffin", but he wishes to do so without hurting his mother and sister.

Tennessee Williams, whose real name is Thomas Lanier Williams III, is represented by Tom in the play. According to Smith-Howard and Heintzelman (2005), he felt the same during the period when he worked in a shoe warehouse, lived with his parents and was paid insufficiently (p. 6). The escape from the coffin is a symbol of Tennessee Williams's feeling of entrapment and his urges to run away like Tom's. M. Paller (2005) states that the colourful scarf Tom obtains at the Malvolo Show "represents freedom that Tom wishes for

himself-and for his sister" (p.44). Tom sees receiving the scarf as receiving a one-way ticket out of his problems, but he decides to give it to Laura. In addition to freedom, the scarf may also foreshadow Tom's abandonment of his family.

Not only does Tom retreat from reality into the world of shows, magicians, movies and literature but Laura Wingfield, also unable to cope with the world, creates her own imaginary world. She collects glass figurines—her own glass menagerie. In a conversation with Amanda, Tom describes his sister, "...in the eyes of others-strangers-she's terribly shy and lives in a world of her own and those things make her seen a little peculiar to people outside the house" (Williams, 1999, p. 47). He adds that "She lives in a world of her own-a world of glass ornaments, Mother" (Williams, 1999, p.48). Laura herself talks about her figurines as if they were alive. When introducing Jim O'Connor to her collection she takes her favourite figurine, a unicorn, and says, "This one is one of my oldest. It is nearly thirteen" (Williams, 1999, p.82) and then she adds that "He stays on a shelf with some horses that don't have horns and all of them seem to get along nicely together" (Williams, 1999, p. 83). Laura uses the personal pronoun "he" when referring to the glass figurine. She humanizes the glass figurines so they become her friends and companions. She also adds, speaking about her favourite unicorn figurine, "Hold him over the light, he loves the light! You see how the light shines through him?" (Williams, 1999, p. 83). The light symbolizes the beauty of Laura's personality as she is symbolized by the glass unicorn from the collection. Unicorns are mythological creatures. They belong to fairy tales and fantasy worlds just as, symbolically, Laura belongs to her own fairy tale world of fantasy.

However, after the horn was broken on her favourite unicorn figurine, Laura laments that "Now it is just like all the other horses" (Williams, 1999, p. 86) and she adds, "Maybe it's a blessing in disguise" (Williams, 1999, p. 86). She is aware that she might disguise herself and pretend to be like all the others but she chooses otherwise. She wants to be who she is no matter how different. In order to calm Jim after he accidentally broke her figurine, she concludes, "I'll just imagine he had an operation. The horn was removed to make him feel less-freakish" (Williams, 1999, p 86). Symbolically, she tells this to Jim who wanted to make her "less-freakish" and gives him the figurine as a souvenir. She does not want it any more as she does not want to change.

On a deeper symbolic level, the glass collection symbolizes the Wingfields. They can all be symbolically seen as fragile (emotionally, spiritually and mentally) individuals who live in their own protected worlds. Amanda, Tom and Laura have created their own inner worlds where they each feel safe. Thus, the play's title, *The Glass Menagerie*, refers to the whole family.

Finally, the storm that happens during the gentleman caller's visit to the Wingfield house is also symbolic. The storm starts while Jim and Laura are having a conversation. It symbolizes the storm of Laura's emotions: happiness, the hope of finding love and disappointment in the end. The storm exchanges light and darkness thereby foreshadowing the end of the play. Tom uses the money for the electricity bill to buy himself a one-way ticket, symbolically speaking, "to the light "and left his mother and sister symbolically and literally "in the dark." He saved himself but he sacrificed Amanda and Laura. In this way, all the male characters represent "selfish dreamers" (Williams, 1999, p.86) whose self-preservation is most important. Haunted by guilt, Tom is reminded of his mother and sister every time he sees glass:

Perhaps I am walking along a street at night, in some strange city, before I have found companions. I pass the lighted window of a show where perfume is sold. The window is filled with pieces of coloured glass, tiny transparent bottles in delicate colours, like bits of a shattered rainbow. Than all at once my sister touches my shoulder. I turn around and look into her eyes... (Williams, 1999, p.97).

Afterwards, he adds," I did not go to the Moon, I went much further- for time is the longest distance between places" (Williams, 1999, p.96). This quote stresses the power of time. It is a symbolic way of presenting the alienation of the character from his family.

The last sentence of the play is Tom's goodbye to Laura. He asks her to "blow your candles out" (Williams, 1999, p. 97). The candles in this sentence symbolize Laura's life and Tom's memories of her. At the end of the play, he wants to be at peace with himself. Blowing the candles out symbolizes forgiveness.

To conclude, *The Glass Menagerie* is the first memory play ever written. Understanding the symbols plays a crucial role in offering better insight into the themes, plot, settings and characters. All the symbols give an additional layer and create a plot incorporated within the main plot: Tennessee Williams' autobiographical story is the story of the Wingfields. *The Glass Menagerie* is a masterpiece and one of the main reasons is the author's brilliant use of symbolism in the play. This literary device makes the play one of the most famous plays of the twentieth century and it is no coincidence that it has had five hundred sixty-three performances just in the United States of America. It is an American classic and it is safe to assume that it will be read, watched and analysed for years to come.

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SIMBOLI U TENNESSEE WILLIAMSOVOJ *STAKLENOJ MENAŽERIJI*

Sažetak

Staklena menažerija je jedna od najpoznatijih drama Tennessee Williamsa. Premijerno je prikazana 1944. godine i od tada predstavlja američki klasik. Ova drama je ujedno i prva drama sjećanja—posebna vrsta drame koja ujedinjuje autorovu biografiju sa glavnom radnjom. Simboli imaju veliku važnost u stvaranju drame sjećanja jer u sebi sadržavaju skriveno značenje unutar očiglednog. *Staklena menažerija* je bogata simbolima koji su važni za dobro razumijevanje.

Glavna svrha ovog rada je predstaviti sistematski pregled simbola koje Tennessee Williams koristi u drami. Simboli su analizirani kronološkim redom da bi se poštovao autorov red uvođenja istih u dramu. Čitatelj će dobiti dobar uvid u radnju, glavne teme kao i razvoja likova te mjesta vršenja radnje. Nadalje, kako je riječ o autobiografskom tekstu analiza simbola će omogućiti bolji uvid u autorova osjećanja i misli tijekom jednog od najtežih perioda njegovog života: vremena kad je živio sa majkom Edwinom i sestrom Rose, skrbio za njih radeći u skladištu cipela i bio usamljenije i očajniji kao nikad prije.

Ključne riječi: simbol, simbolizam, drama, drama sjećanja, autobiografija, radnja, likovi, teme, mjesto radnje

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LIFTING THE VEIL – SHELLEY'S SOCIAL CONSCIENCE

Abstract

Shelley's political and social ideas form an integral part of his poetry, beliefs and lifestyle. This reformist vein is found also in his prose works, such as essays and plays. Despite coming from a wealthy aristocratic family, Shelley was always concerned with serious contemporary political issues and societal reform, never shying away from promulgating those beliefs in his works. They were often unpublished because of the unstable political situation in nineteenth century England, where repressive measures and censorship were particularly strong because of the fear that the effects of the French Revolution would spread and threaten the existing social order. True to Romantic fashion, Shelley was a rebel who never compromised on his ideas. He was not only interested in the abstract, ideal notions of beauty and virtue, but was very well informed of the burning issues of his day, sparing no effort in criticizing tyranny and injustice. Greatly inspired by such important figures such as the progressive philosopher William Godwin as well as his fellow poet Byron, Shelley espoused reformist notions about social change throughout his brief life, before he tragically perished in 1822. He went beyond having a specific political option or religion, advocating instead an idealistic concept of adopting universal virtues through education, development, but most importantly imagination, which would enable us to lift the veil of familiarity and realize the true potential and value of the world around us; this would improve society and usher a brighter future for mankind. This discussion will investigate Shelley's ideas in relevant works, specifically the prose work *An Address to the Irish People*, poems such as *Ozymandias*, *Ode to the West Wind*, *The Mask of Anarchy*, *England in 1819*, and the famous essay *A Defence of Poetry*, where the role of the prophet / poet is most clearly defined.

Key words: social reform, idealism, justice, tyranny, anarchy, poetry, freedom

Percy Bysshe Shelley seems to have not only lived, but also died according to the popular Romantic notion of a very bright flame that perishes quickly for that very reason. Shelley, similar to Byron, died as a young man of twenty nine at the peak of his creative powers. Indeed, "[his] sudden and tragic death when his maturing genius was just becoming apparent may, however, have helped catapult him from relative obscurity to the front ranks of English literature" (Barcus, 1975, p. 18). Despite his short life, Shelley used his time well and published a myriad of works in multiple genres which from the earliest stages of his creative output dealt prominently with societal reform. Reiman outlines four important reasons for such a deep interest, the first two deal with Shelley's early upbringing and education, but the latter two are more important because of the volatile period of the early nineteenth century:

> Third, [Shelley] observed the contrast between the social realities of England during the Napoleonic wars and the ideals of human virtue and social justice in the Bible, the Classical school texts, and eighteenth-century humanitarian writers. Finally, he noted a sharp discrepancy between England's traditional role as the defender of individual liberty and constitutional government (a role historically championed by the Whig party of his father and grandfather) and England's hostility toward those same ideals following the French Revolution. (1969, p. 16)

An Address to the Irish People (1812) is Shelley's early and lesser known, but important prose work, as it allows us to trace the progress of his ideas on societal reform. It represents a more serious foray into reformist activity than *The Necessity of Atheism* (1811), a collaborative effort with Hogg written during their student days at Oxford, which eventually got them expelled. In *An Address* Shelley clearly has higher goals than simply rebelling against the religious conventions of the day. It is an attempt to initiate far reaching reforms and improvement of the volatile political situation in Ireland by using sound arguments. He is aware and supportive of the several figures in the Irish struggle, like Finnerty and Emmet, even writing a poem dedicated to the latter. The Irish people under the leadership of O'Connell were fighting mainly for the repeal of the Union and Catholic Emancipation, an effort to remove various restrictions placed on that religion in the United Kingdom, which would mostly be realized by the Roman Catholic Relief Act in 1829. Shelley was 19 when he visited Dublin with *An Address* already in hand, specifically written in simplified language due to its intended purpose of reaching the masses, i.e. mainly Irish peasantry. He had the manuscript printed and distributed on the streets by other people, sometimes by himself as well. He also participated in the general

meeting of supporters for the Emancipation by making a speech which got mixed reception.

Shelley's primary purpose was actually not the Emancipation as a specific issue, but the adoption of the ideals of freedom, truth and justice. He hoped that the energetic atmosphere in Dublin at the time would serve as an inspiration and impetus for discussion and development of those ideas. Legislative and religious reforms would simply be a consequence of the true spiritual, inward reform of an individual. The key part in achieving this is in a peaceful resistance to the government's oppressive mechanisms, and this resistance was intended to be practiced through organized associations of people. The crucial flaw of these attempts was Shelley's mistaken belief that the Irish people would eventually substitute Catholicism for the aforementioned higher goals. He did not fully realize just how important that religion was for Irish identity, especially in its opposition to the Protestantism of their English oppressors. Shelley's mentor Godwin was aware of his activities, and was more realistic regarding these associations. He predicted that such groups would inevitably descend into sectarianism in the sense that the bickering opinions of each "club" would go nowhere, but far more dangerous was the real possibility of armed resistance, something which both men abhorred. Godwin wrote to Shelley that he was "preparing a scene of blood," (as cited in Rolleston, 1890) and for all his idealism and youthful stubbornness, Shelley eventually acquiesced and admitted the failure of his mission. The goal was simply set too high. For all his short-sightedness and a somewhat naive view of the situation, Shelley deserves appreciation for his good-natured attempts and especially for advocating a peaceful resistance. This really speaks well of him and of his advocacy of patience, peace and legality, whereas many older and supposedly wiser men would argue something very much different.

If we analyse Shelley's *An Address* in detail, we can see a very interesting blend of sincerity, simplicity and also subtlety of his attempts in trying to awaken the people and make them more appreciative of generalized and idealistic virtues rather than specific religious notions. He starts by going beyond religious barriers, identifying himself as an Englishman and non-Catholic, but also non Protestant, which does not mean that he will not consider members of these, or any other religion, as his brothers. Shelley makes his stance on the nature of the reform perfectly clear, as it is absolutely not a call to arms of any sort: "I know that there are some (...) who seeing the title of this piece, will take it up with a sort of hope that it may recommend violent measures, and thereby disgrace the cause of freedom" (Shelley, as cited in Rolleston, 1890). He appeals to their mentality and describes, somewhat stereotypically, the Irish passion and temper: "I know the warm feelings of an Irishman sometimes carries him beyond

the point of prudence," but then Shelley says: "I do not desire to root out, but to moderate this honourable warmth" (as cited in Rolleston, 1890). He discusses in detail the history of violence in Catholicism, referring to events such as the Inquisition, abuses of priestly power, St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, but he also recognizes the crimes of Protestantism, such as the medieval burning of witches. The purpose is to convince the readers that, just because Christianity has a violent history, it does not mean that they need be violent as well. Shelley assumes a friendly, sometimes even a paternal tone with the intended audience as he is in his enthusiasm not immune to flashes of youthful arrogance: "I seek your confidence, not that I may betray it, but that I may teach you to be happy, and wise, and good" (Shelley, as cited in Rolleston, 1890). Still, these moments are rare and he quickly gets to perhaps the most important part where he describes the flaws of a tyrannical government but also those of violent revolutions which substitute them. Shelley cautions against such sudden transference of power from the oppressors to the oppressed, with both sides being corrupted by power: "But I wish your views to embrace a wider scene, (…) to take great care (for it all rests with you) that whilst one tyranny is destroyed another more fierce and terrible does not spring up" (Shelley, as cited in Rolleston, 1890). He criticizes sectarianism and religious intolerance, but at the same time, as mentioned previously, naively advocates the formation of various associations by assuming they will possess an inherent willingness to work for the common goal while disregarding the differences.

An Address is in many places academic and formal, but despite his intention to keep the language plain, his poetic nature sometimes breaks through and the tone turns grand and somewhat melodramatic: "Oh! Ireland, thou emerald of the ocean, (…) thou art the isle on whose green shores I have desired to see the standard of liberty erected, a flag of fire, a beacon at which the world shall light the torch of Freedom!" (Shelley, as cited in Rolleston, 1890). Again, the true purpose of the work is revealed when Shelley employs the notion of eternal, universal virtues: "Virtue and wisdom always so far as they went produced liberty or happiness long before any of the religions now in the world have ever heard of" (Shelley, as cited in Rolleston, 1890). The true value of a peaceful, gradual and legalistic revolution is that its proponents will not sully their hands with blood and crimes of the tyrants; therefore, they will likely escape power corruption and resorting to the same brutal methods in dealing with subsequent problems, as was the method of their predecessors. Indeed, if civility is present in protests and demonstrations, as well as calling on the changing of the laws peacefully, the general populace will not be inclined to view the protesters as savages who deserve to be dispersed with brute force and thrown into jail or worse, which would happen if they behaved violently: "If you can descend to

use the same weapons as your enemy, you put yourself on a level with him on this score. But appeal to the sacred principles of virtue and justice, then how is he awed into nothing?" (Shelley, as cited in Rolleston, 1890). This descent is exactly what happened during the French Revolution in which the Jacobin "liberators," led by Robespierre, proved to be even worse during the Reign of Terror, something which Shelley evidently recognizes: "The French Revolution, although undertaken with the best intentions, ended ill for the people; because violence was employed" (Shelley, as cited in Rolleston, 1890). He acknowledges the difficulties of a large number of people behaving properly in these situations, hence the importance of an individual's inward reform, which would prevent him from becoming a part of the mob: "You know what is meant by a mob, it is an assembly of people who without foresight or thought, collect themselves to disapprove of by force any measure which they dislike" (Shelley, as cited in Rolleston, 1890). So many revolutions in the past have failed, either immediately or subsequently, mainly because of this lack of foresight. The key is not providing to the current regime the justification to crush the process of change: "Be warm in your cause, yet rational, and charitable, and tolerant - never let the oppressor grind you into justifying his conduct by imitating his meanness" (Shelley, as cited in Rolleston, 1890). Again, this foresight must come through the betterment of each individual, both through education and open-mindedness: "Think, read and talk; let your own condition and that of your wives and children, fill your mind" (Shelley, as cited in Rolleston, 1890). Near the end of *An Address* Shelley finally declares the true goal: "the Catholic cause is subordinate, and its success preparatory to this great cause, which adheres to no sect but society, to no cause but that of universal happiness, to no party but the people" (Shelley, as cited in Rolleston, 1890). He concludes with this poetically inspired passage: "Adieu, my friends! May every Sun that shines on your green Island see the annihilation of an abuse, and the birth of an Embryon of melioration!" and also with Lafayette's quote about freedom: "For a nation to love Liberty it is sufficient that she knows it, to be free it is sufficient that she wills it" (Shelley, as cited in Rolleston, 1890). We can reiterate that, despite the idealistic, theoretical and sometimes overtly poetic tone of the proposed changes and the ways to achieve them, the value and legacy of *An Address* remains in promoting a peaceful resistance to oppression.

Ozymandias (1818), arguably Shelley's most well-known poem, is a sonnet about the greatest Egyptian pharaoh, Ramses II, famous for his military conquests, expansion of the empire, the longest rule in Egypt's history, and numerous statues and temples built during his reign. The interest in Egyptian history and culture surged in Europe in the beginning of the nineteenth century, primarily because of Napoleon's expedition to Egypt. *Ozymandias* is concerned

with the paradox of the eternal nature of human vision, and how fragile it is when faced with the ravages of time. The ancient Egyptians were obsessed with preserving their cultural, militaristic and political legacies, hence the proliferation of monuments of all kinds, especially funerary ones:

> Ancient Egyptian culture was a civilization obsessed with death and personal survival, an obsession indicated by its foremost occupation—the construction of inscribed funerary monuments— pyramids, tombs, obelisks, stelae, and sarcophagi. It was a culture obsessed with time, and its fascination with the afterlife influenced all its earthly work and effort. These themes are prominent in 'Ozymandias.' It is simultaneously a poem concerned with poetic effort and the anxiety of whether that effort will be remembered. (Bloom, 2001, p. 19)

The poem begins with a speaker meeting a mysterious traveller from "an antique land," (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 109) who relates the sight of a ruined stone statue of Ozymandias, with "trunkless legs" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 109) in one place, and the crumbled face of the statue nearby, partly covered in sand. On the pedestal is an inscription: "My name is Ozymandias, king of kings; / Look on my works, ye Mighty, and despair!" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 110). This is paraphrased from Greek historian Siculus's account of the inscription on one of pharaoh's statues: "King of Kings am I, Osymandias. If anyone would know how great I am and where I lie, let him surpass one of my works" (Oldfather, 44). The poem aptly ends with a description of the desolation and barrenness of the sandy environment where the broken statue lies.

We can interpret this poem through its structure, if we consider the poem as an Italian sonnet which typically consists of an octave, which presents a situation, and a sestet, which provides a comment or a resolution of that situation. The octave therefore establishes the faraway exotic land of antique Egypt, giving the poem an ancient, mythical atmosphere. One of the most recognizable symbols of the ancient Egypt's might were the pharaohs, who were considered to be demi-gods by their subjects. Hubris of these pharaohs was evident in the magnificent monumental tombs, i.e. pyramids they had built, along with numerous statues and paintings of themselves. Ozymandias' statue is supposed to immortalize his royal features and noble bearing, but the statue is in ruins. The traveler describes the pharaoh's features: "a shattered visage lies, whose frown / And wrinkled lip, and sneer of cold command," (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 109) which can portray him as an emotionless, calculating tyrant who treated his people as objects wholly subservient to his will: "The hand that mocked them and the heart that fed" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 110). The sestet offers us a comment or a resolution, i.e. Ozymandias' words on the pedestal, his final will and desire what his legacy should be: that all of his works and wealth

should testify to the greatness of his person. His true legacy is described in the final lines of the poem: "Round the decay / of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare / The lone and level sands stretch far away" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 110). The metaphor is clear: the pharaoh wanted to live forever through his fame and wealth, which are represented in physical things, but time and history will inevitably turn them to dust, or sand in this case. This is what has been happening since the beginning of human civilization and what will happen to all power corrupt tyrants who, in their arrogance, posit themselves above humanity. The pharaoh's boastful statement is therefore deeply ironic, since nothing remains of his kingdom but broken remains and the oblivion of the desert. The poem suggests that this type of desired immortality will always be doomed, and that the real immortality is in the eternal virtues, not earthly rulers. The pharaoh could have had a much more enduring legacy if he was an upright king, for he would live longer in the memories of succeeding generations. Instead, his legacy is a warning against all those who fail to leave a true legacy on mankind.

Ode to the West Wind (1819) is Shelley's visionary poem about a poet's role in inciting change. It is divided into five cantos, with each canto having five stanzas, which are in *terza rima*. The destructive / creative forces of nature and the changing of seasons from autumn and winter to spring are symbolically meant to portend the political and social change. Autumn and winter are usually associated with decay and deterioration of the energies of the preceding seasons, which means the crumbling of the old order, while spring is supposed to bring at least an inspiration for the creation of a new order. The first three cantos represent the ideal forms or virtues that will not only herald but achieve the change as well. The last two cantos represent the quintessential role of the prophet / poet, through which those ideal forms must be articulated in order to provide an effective inspiration for the rest of the people.

In the first canto the speaker directly addresses the west wind by using an apostrophe; the wind blows away the dead leaves which could symbolize the old ineffectual way of thinking, or the oppressed people as well: "Yellow, and black, and pale, and hectic red, / Pestilence-stricken multitudes" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 298). Here Shelley quite possibly had in mind the Peterloo Massacre, which will be discussed later. But a tragedy like this will not be in vain as the seeds for a better future are there: "The winged seeds, where they lie cold and low, / Each like a corpse within its grave, until / Thine azure sister of the Spring shall blow" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 298).

The second canto moves the west wind from leaves to clouds, meaning that the wind of change will be effective not only locally, or in a single troubled country, but in a universal sense. By comparing clouds to leaves, the speaker

refers to the oppressed all over the world: "Loose clouds like earth's decaying leaves are shed" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 299). The poem here seems to assume even an apocalyptic tone: "Angels of rain and lightning" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 299) and "Black rain and fire and hail will burst" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 299). The wind of change in itself is not enough; if the wind is not used, or channelled properly, it, like a true unpredictable force of nature, could bring devastation. The west wind, or the universal, eternal ideals or virtues, must have a lyre, or an Aeolian harp (a common motif in romantic poetry) in order to be truly utilized.

The cryptic third canto could ironically refer in some places to the old, established order which will be shaken by the wind: "Thou who didst waken from its summer dreams / The blue Mediterranean, where he lay / Lulled by the coil of his crystalline streams" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 299). But the old, seemingly perfect and functional order (as governments would have people believe) is an illusion. The speaker mentions that he "saw in sleep old palaces and towers" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 299) which are "All overgrown with azure moss, and flowers / So sweet, the sense faints picturing them" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 300). This shows the delusion of the old order in thinking that it is relevant and good. It is in fact old, ineffectual, torpid, impotent, overgrown with moss and dust, near death and ready to collapse or: "Cleave themselves into chasms" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 300). But far below the ocean, or deep within the ivory towers, those of authority will know "Thy voice and suddenly grow gray with fear, / And tremble and despoil themselves: oh hear!" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 300). The time is nigh for a change.

In the fourth canto the speaker wishes to be the harp of the wind, he wishes to assume the role of the prophet / poet to herald the new times, so the importance is shifted from the wind or the change itself, to the vessel, or the harp. The speaker truly yearns for this, evidenced by the repetition of phrase: "If I were," although he knows he is only human and sometimes feels inadequate to fill this heavy role. This may signify Shelley's own depression because the beginning of the change in Europe did not come, the people were not yet open to the possibilities that awaited them and they have not lifted the veil of familiarity. For a moment, he even questions the possibility for it because there were still many tragedies happening every day: "I fall upon the thorns of life! I bleed!" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 300). Even the firm optimism and energy appears to falter: "A heavy weight of hours has chain'd and bow'd / One too like thee – tameless, and swift, and proud" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 300).

In the last canto, during these darkest moments, the speaker calls upon the wind to grant him much needed energy and vitality to persevere: "Be thou, Spirit fierce / My spirit! Be thou me, impetuous one!" (Reiman & Fraistat,

2001, p. 300). The speaker still manages to summon hope, even when he describes his previous efforts as futile: "Drive my dead thoughts over the universe / Like wither'd leaves, to quicken a new birth" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 300). This sudden renewal of energy could be the one spark of inspiration that will help to bring about the much desired change: "Scatter, as from unextinguish'd hearth / Ashes and sparks, my words among mankind!" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 301). Shelley at the end of the poem firmly grasps his role as the prophet / poet, and finally embraces the previously shaken optimism: "Be through my lips to unawaken'd earth / The trumpet of a prophecy! O Wind,/ If Winter comes, can Spring be far behind?" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 301).

The Mask of Anarchy (1819) is Shelley's most famous political poem, and the one that has exerted its greatest legacy by inspiring such champions of non-violent resistance like Mahatma Gandhi. This long visionary poem, unpublished during his lifetime, was written as a direct address to the infamy of English government's authoritarianism in Manchester. The poem is not only a biting indictment against tyranny, but a rallying point for future social action regarding reforms. The event in question took place in St. Peter's Field in Manchester on August 19th 1819 where the military's violent handling of peaceful protests organized by the disenfranchised classes, whose woes were further compounded by the famine, high food prices and the financial exhaustion caused by the Napoleonic Wars, caused outrage. The local magistrates urged the military to disperse the crowd, and after they charged with sabres, 15 people were killed with several hundred injured. Peterloo became the ironic moniker for the event, which actually only made things worse, as the government further increased its grip on civil rights, evidenced by the introduction of the infamous Six Acts. Especially oppressive of these were the Seizure of Arms Act, which enabled authorities to search private properties without a warrant, and the Seditious Meeting Prevention Act, which severely restricted the people's freedom to gather in public places.

Shelley was living in Italy when the news of the massacre reached him, so the poem begins with an inspiration that gripped the speaker: "And with great power it led me / to walk in the visions of Poesy" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 316). He embarks on a journey and encounters various apocalyptic figures, such as Murder who wears the mask of Lord Castlereagh, a reference to the British statesman who was known for his repressive domestic activities. Next comes Fraud, who is Lord Eldon, the lawyer and an important member of the repressive government of Lord Liverpool, wearing an ermine cloak and having false tears i.e. sentiment. There is a reference to another member of the government in the guise of Hypocrisy, actually portraying Lord Sidmouth, who passed the infamous Six Acts. The speaker also criticizes other people in

positions of power like lawyers, bishops and spies, all taking part: "And many more Destructions played / In this ghastly Maskrade" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 317). The last and the worst is Anarchy, which represents authority and wears a kingly crown and a shiny sceptre: "On his brow this mark I saw- / I AM GOD, AND KING, AND LAW" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 317) which should represent a supposedly sacrosanct law for the people. This ominous figure is followed by mighty troops who worship it like a deity and will shy from nothing in order to enforce its whims, like they did in Peterloo: "And a mighty troop around, / With their trampling shook the ground, / Waving each a bloody sword, / For the service of their Lord" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 317). The companionship cuts a desolate path through England and arrives in London to continue their destructive work.

The only figure to resist them is fading Hope, a product of a helpless Time: "He how idiot like he stands, / Fumbling with his palsied hands" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 319). To the rescue at the last moment comes a bright armoured shape with a dazzling plume, which represents Imagination. The spectral shape fades away, but its benevolent effect on the people is powerful: "As waves arise when loud winds call, / Thoughts sprung where'er that step did fall" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 319). Imagination lifts the veil of familiarity from people's eyes, making them aware of what they need to do. The benevolence of the apparition also has an adequate impact on Anarchy: "And Anarchy, the ghastly birth, / Lay dead earth upon the earth; / The horse of Death tameless as wind, / Fled" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 320). The Earth itself, possibly signifying the ideals of Justice, Truth and Peace, feels the blood of its people on her, and, roused by Imagination, stirs from sleep to awaken her previously passive fold:

> Rise like Lions after slumber
> In unvanquishable number -
> Shake your chains to earth like dew
> Which in sleep had fallen on you -
> Ye are many - they are few. (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 320

People simply need to recognize their own worth, and with the right state of mind and action they will be unstoppable. In all of this, the wisdom in achieving this change, particularly in learning from past mistakes, is crucial. As Shelley expressed before, innumerable revolutions and rebellions in history failed, either initially or consequently, because they were tainted by violence, which only further propagated the vicious circle of tyranny: "Blood for blood - and wrong for wrong - / Do not thus when ye are strong" (Reiman & Fraistat,

2001, p. 321). Then the ideal virtues of Freedom, Justice, Wisdom, Peace and Love are described, as well as the proper ways to manifest them. Again, the proper ways must be realized by a successful appropriation of these virtues through a developed mind, where Imagination plays a key role: "Science, Poetry and Thought / Are thy lamps" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 323) combined with "Spirit, Patience, Gentleness, / All that can adorn and bless" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 323).

With all of this in mind, the people are ready to realize the reforms though peaceful protests: "Let a great Assembly be / Of the fearless and the free" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 323). People will mobilize from every corner of the land, with all classes participating, even some people from the higher ones, "Where some few feel such compassion" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 324). This grand Assembly must answer the inevitable violent response with calm and determination, because these weapons will be more powerful than mere steel, and the cycle will be broken: "Stand ye calm and resolute, / Like a forest close and mute, / With folded arms and looks which are / Weapons of unvanquished war" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 325). Slaughter of innocents will dishonour the soldiers: "Then they will return with shame / To the place from which they came, / And the blood thus shed will speak / In hot blushes on their cheek" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 325). The ignominy of massacres like Peterloo will echo throughout the land, shattering the legitimacy of the tyranny and sounding its death knell: "And these words shall then become / Like Oppression's thundered doom" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 326). The poem ends with a refrain of the rallying stanza, truly paving the way for a better, civilized future:

> Rise like Lions after slumber
> In unvanquishable number -
> Shake your chains to earth like dew
> Which in sleep had fallen on you -
> Ye are many - they are few. (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 326)

England in 1819 is a political sonnet written as another response to the Peterloo Massacre. In the beginning, the poem describes the ineffectual king George III, who is "An old, mad, blind, despised, and dying king" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 326) and widens the criticism of the uselessness of the aristocracy and politicians: "Princes, the dregs of their dull race" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 326). They are insensitive to the opinions of people: "Who flow / through public scorn" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 326) but also to their needs as well: "Rulers who neither see, nor feel, nor know" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001,

p. 326). They use the majority of the resources for themselves and desperately cling to the system which enables them to live in luxury at the expense of others: "But leech like to their fainting country cling / Till they drop, blind in blood, without a blow" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 326). The direct reference to the Peterloo Massacre is in the lines: "A people starved and stabbed in the untilled field" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 326) where the army which turns on its own people is "as a two-edged sword to all who wield" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 326). The criticism moves to the corrupt and tyrannical legislation: "Golden and sanguine laws which tempt and slay" Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 327) and to the inability of religion to provide a positive change in society: "Religion, Christless, Godless, a book sealed" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 327). The Parliament responds to the situation by enforcing even more restrictive laws: "A Senate – Time's worst statue unrepealed" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 327). The situation looks grim indeed, but the concluding couplet of the sonnet again brings forth that optimism, where hope will rise from the graves made by the authority itself, which is not aware of its self-destructiveness: "Are graves from which a glorious Phantom may / Burst to illumine our tempestuous day" (Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 327). The word like "burst" seems incongruous with Shelley's ideas of a slow, gradual change. These final lines are open to multiple interpretations, but from an optimistic perspective this could mean that the people will finally have had enough and that the change could come quicker than it normally would, because the dire circumstances will speed up the process from the individual's inward to societal outward reform.

A Defence of Poetry (1821) is Shelley's unfinished essay which was only published in 1840; it is a reaction to Peacock's deliberately exaggerated essay on the futility of poetry compared with the power of sciences. Shelley's views are here eloquently and passionately represented, namely the concept of a crucial role of poetry in everyday life, as poetry itself is elevated to divine proportions. The philosophical background echoes Plato and Kant and the important ideas are frequently repeated. The essay opens with the distinction between reason and imagination, and that poetry is the expression of the latter. He gives a metaphor of a man being an Aeolian harp, where the internal and external stimuli produce sounds and melodies. But rather than the harp simply being a passive recipient of the stimuli, there is an inward principle which can produce harmony in the melody, and that is imagination itself. Shelley argues that poets are those who have a very developed sense of this inherent principle. From harmony comes beauty, which is the relation between the causes, i.e. the ideal forms and the pleasure derived from expressing the harmony of those forms. This ability to bring into being such a harmonious melody will inspire other people, or as Shelley says: "[It] gathers a sort of reduplication from the community"

(as cited in Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 512). The necessity of the metaphorical language of poetry is in the frequently mentioned phrase: lifting the veil of familiarity. By trying to understand this kind of language, readers will be prompted to look for the relation between things that they previously thought were non-existent; these "new" relations will lead to a new understanding.

Shelley's idealism states that there is some sort of universal, indestructible and inherently good order of things, and we might express some sense of it through imagination. He argues that poets not only express this order, but they can also serve as founders of civility and laws which support them. This connects to the role of the prophet (legislator) / poet Shelley wrote so much about, and it stems from the ability to simultaneously consider present and future: "For he not only beholds the present as it is, and discovers those laws according to which present things ought to be ordered but beholds the future in the present and his thoughts are the germs of the flower and the fruit of latest time" (Shelley, as cited in Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 513). Poetry is more apt to convey this order than other forms of art, since poetry expressed through language has a direct relation to imagination and thoughts, while with painting or sculpture, for example, the relation is more indirect: "The former [poetry] is as a mirror which reflects, the latter as a cloud which enfeebles, the light of which both are mediums of communication" (Shelley, as cited in Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 513). The main value of poetry is, once again, the enlargement of the ability to fathom a myriad of combinations of thoughts, thus enriching our perception and understanding of the world around us: "Poetry lifts the veil from the hidden beauty of the world, and makes familiar objects be as if they were not familiar" (Shelley, as cited in Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 517). Imaginative powers of a poet allow him to be much more emphatic, so that the concern for the fellow man springs from there, not from any condescending attitude or false pity, or as Shelley puts it: "A man, to be greatly good, must imagine intensely and comprehensively; he must put himself in the place of another and of many others; the pains and pleasures of his species must become his own" (as cited in Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 517). This intense sense of empathy is what drove so many poets to be active in social in political reform. Shelley does not fail to tackle the pervading influence of science and technology on everyday life which enabled people to establish their dominance over the external world. Without imagination, however, or without the ability to use these advances into nobler purposes, people have lost much of their inner worth, or as Shelley says: "man, having enslaved the elements, remains himself a slave" (as cited in Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 530). This was especially true in the years following Shelley's death, during the full swing of the Industrial Revolution, where all those dazzling technological innovations did much to increase material gain of some and

little to actually advance the quality of life of common people. Instead we had mass poverty and child labour, among other things, or as Shelley states: "Poetry, and the principle of Self (of which money is the visible incarnation) are the God and Mammon of the world" (as cited in Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 531).

The ability of a poet to create is not to be understood lightly, as Shelley discusses the difficulties of composing poetry, arguing that the moment a poet starts to create, the inspiration already starts to wane, and that the end result is a pale approximation or a shadow (here he echoes Plato) of the imagined project. Shelley thinks of poetry as "an interpretation of a diviner nature through our own" (Shelley, as cited in Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 532) but these inspirational moments are rare and fleeting, and the poet must labour to connect them into a whole the best way he can. Shelley cannot resist his Romantic urges and starts to idealize the role of a poet by saying that a poet is able to capture the shades of eternal beauty that appears all too brief in this world, so that he can, in a sense, make it immortal: "Poetry redeems from decay the visitations of the divinity in man" (Shelley, as cited in Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 532). Some parts of the essay are very similar to Kant's ideas of the impossibility to perceive the true state of things, we can only perceive them through our human nature: "All things exist as they are perceived" (Shelley, as cited in Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 533) but poetry is able to provide us with glimpses of the underlying perfect order and harmony of the world, and once again the veil of familiarity is mentioned. Heraldic and inspirational role of poetry in the betterment of man is emphasized near the end of the essay: "The most unfailing herald, companion and follower of the awakening of a great people to work a beneficial change in opinion or institution is poetry" (Shelley, as cited in Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 535). Perhaps the most famous passage of all of Shelley's prose works regarding not only the relevance, but the essential importance of poetry in the vital matters of society reflects his deeply held beliefs and optimism that poetry can truly be a great benevolent force for the development of human life, instead of being merely an ornament or simply a part of the arts:

> Poets are hierophants of an unapprehended inspiration, the mirror of the gigantic shadows which futurity casts upon the present, the words which express what they understand not; the trumpets which sing to battle, and feel not what they inspire; the influence which is moved not, but moves. Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world. (Shelley, as cited in Reiman & Fraistat, 2001, p. 53

Shelley throughout his life tried to live according to the high ideals he postulated in his poetry and prose, and he verily embodied many of the characteristics of a true poet; but if we had to isolate the most important one, that would be empathy for the fellow man. In many of his best poems, essays and dramas,

Shelley always kept the blade of his criticism sharp and relevant and tirelessly worked to bring closer that elusive universal beauty and harmony to his readers in the efforts to propel the positive change. The success and value of his work is suitably described in the term *inspiration*, as many influential social reform fighters were influenced by Shelley, most importantly Gandhi. It is therefore, a remarkable testament to the man of such short life that the legacy of his work is twofold: it is not only artistic, felt in the Romantic traits of description of beauty, nature and vivid imagery, but also in the social component, and as the recent times show, truly one of the best ways of advancing humanity is non-violent resistance championed by Shelley and others like him.

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OTKRIVANJE VELA – SHELLEYEVA DRUŠTVENA SAVIJEST

Sažetak

Shelleyjeve političke i društvene ideje čine okosnicu njegovog pjesničkog stvaralaštva, ideala i stila života. Njegov društveni aktivizam se također može pronaći i u njegovim proznim djelima, poput eseja i drama. Iako je porijeklom iz plemenite obitelji, Shelley se uvijek zanimao za goruće društvene problem svog vremena, posebno klasnih problema. On se nikad nije susprezao jasnog i strastvenog izražavanja stavova u svojim djelima. Neka od njih su ostala neobjavljena zbog nestabilne političke situacije u Engleskoj i Europi početkom devetnaestog stoljeća; tada su represivne mjere poput censure bile dosta izražene zbog straha da će se posljedice Francuske revolucije proširiti i na Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo. U skladu s idealima Romantizma, Shelley je bio umjetnički buntovnik koji nikad nije ublažavao svoje ideje. On nije bio samo zainteresiran za apstraktne idealne predožbe pojmova poput slobode, ljepote i pravde, nego je bio izrazito dobro upućen u aktualna društvena i politička zbivanja, te nije oklijevao izraziti svoje stavove i u javnim nastupima. Uvelike inspiriran važnim društvenim reformatorima poput Williama Godwina, ali i slavnim suvremenim pjesnicima poput Byrona, Shelley je nastavio izražavati reformističke stavove do kraja svog kratkog života, kada je tragično nastradao u brodolomu 1822. godine u 29. godini života. Shelley se nije svrstavao u specifične političke stranke niti programe, a posebno ne u određene religijske strukture. Umjesto toga, on se zalagao za idealistički concept usvajanja univerzalnih vrijednosti kroz obrazovanje, samo-razvoj, maštu, kreativnost, što su aspekti koji bi nam omogućili da skinemo veo upoznatosti sa stvari koje uzimamo zdravo za gotovo, te shvaćanja prave vrijednosti svijeta oko nas. Ovo bi uzrokovalo snažni društveni napredak te omogućilo svjetliju budućnost za čovječanstvo. Shelleyjevi stavovi ove vrste su najbolje izraženi u proznom djelu *Obraćanje irskom narodu*, pjesmama *Ozymandias* i *Maska anarhije* te poznatom eseju *Obrana poezije*.

Ključne riječi: društvena reforma, idealizam, pravda, tiranija, anarhija, poezija, sloboda

Branko Marijanović

HOWARDS END AND *NORTH AND SOUTH* – THE DANGERS OF A TOO FAST TRANSITION

Abstract

The motto of *Howards End* is "just connect" but connecting radically different eras, people and worldviews entails numerous dangers and unpredictable complications. Both *Howards End* and *North and South* deal with transitions of society on the macro level and of individual personalities on the micro level. The characters from the novels have to face new challenges and to either create a fuller understanding of both themselves and the society they live in, or be destroyed by them. The secluded and sheltered lives in a familiar environment the characters from the novels are used to are endangered and examined due to numerous changes around them. Their ways of life, sources of income, scales of morality, everyday environment are radically altered forcing the characters to adapt to the new conditions. Some characters, like Margaret Schlegel from *Howards End* or Margaret Hale from *North and South* seamlessly adapt to the new circumstances, while others, like Mr Hale or Leonard Bast, are destroyed by the changes they are forced to undergo. Mr Hale and his wife unwillingly accept their new life but cannot handle it, while Leonard Bast consciously desires radical changes in his life but is not properly equipped to deal with them. These characters simply do not fit into the new environment and lose the battle due to plain evolutionary inaptitude in Darwinian terms. Both Forster and Gaskell succeed in detecting the main problems of both individual people and societies in transition and seem to warn against the premature and radical changes on both the macro and micro level.

Key words: E. M. Forster, Elisabeth Gaskell, Charles Darwin, Margaret Mead, Howards End, Northand South, transition, environment, evolution

Some characters from Forster's *Howards End* and Gaskell's *North and South* exhibit conspicuous difficulties in adjusting to the fast-changing world around them. Most of their issues stem from an unconscious belief in the infinite progress of civilization and humanity which has its roots in Hegel's philosophy and numerous misinterpretations of Darwin's theory of evolution. The "problematic" characters from these novels seem to interpret both their personalities and the world around them according to their personal or social misconceptions of progress and personal development. This unfounded progressivist tendency causes them to abuse and underappreciate their present lives for the sake of the more developed selves in an imaginary future. By neglecting what the anthropologist Margaret Mead calls "cultural continuity," they make their own lives miserable and unfulfilled due to the unbridgeable discrepancy between their present selves and their progressivist expectations.

These "high expectations" arise from numerous sources throughout the nineteenth century. For illustrative purposes in the discussion at hand, the birth of unfounded progressivism will be examined on the basis of Hegel's view of history, Goethe's *Faustus*, and various misinterpretations of Darwin's theory of evolution.

Hegel perceives history as the development of the world spirit from lower stages of existence to its higher versions on the chronological plane, implying that each subsequent phase is more perfect than the previous one(s). This "evolution" is perfect but never static (Brinton, 1953, p. 157) because it follows universal dialectic laws which govern all spheres of life. By following the dialectic triad of thesis, antithesis and synthesis, the world spirit ascends to more perfect degrees of existence (Simonić, 2002, p. 703). "This strange but lively procedure had been applied by earlier thinkers to the activities of the mind. Hegel's originality lay in applying it to the concrete realities of life" (Bronowski & Mazlish, 1975, p. 482). However, Hegel's pedantically created logical system contained in itself quite a few flaws which were revealed in hundreds of volumes written in the manner of antitheses to Hegel's ingenious synthesis.

A few decades after Hegel published his views on history, Goethe's *Faustus* enthusiastically presaged a bright future in which human endeavor, personal genius and scientific advancements would transform the earth into a kind of new paradise. He solemnly proclaimed that those who worked on advancement would eventually possess utter freedom and wisdom. Faustus enthusiastically exclaims:

This is the highest wisdom that I own,
The best that mankind ever knew:
Freedom and life are earned by those alone

Who conquer them each day anew.

Surrounded by such danger, each one thrives,

Childhood, manhood, and age lead active lives.

At such a throng I would fain stare,

With free men on free ground their freedom share.

Then, to the moment I might say:

Abide, you are so fair!

The traces of my earthly day

No aeons can impair

As I presage a happiness so high! (Goethe, 1832/1990, p. 469)

Goethe's optimistic thoughts, Carlyle's "hero-worship," Hegel's views of the historical development and the incredible technological advances of the day irrevocably lead to an unfounded belief in the continuous and unstoppable betterment of mankind. After the publication of *The Origin of Species*, a single theory seemed to provide a theoretical frame for all these mutually unrelated threads of thought. When applied in the intended field, the theory of evolution has proved to be unsurpassably efficient at explaining the development of species from the lower and simpler stages to the more complex ones, but, when applied to social sciences, it gave birth to both fruitful and ingenious insights about the nature of people and societies and to the twisted and horrendous theories and phenomena like racial supremacy, eugenics, social Darwinism, colonialism, etc.

While Darwin never created a philosophy based on his theory of evolution (Raeper and Smith, 2002, p. 257), people like Herbert Spencer, August Comte and dozens of others (mis)used his teachings by applying the theory of evolution to the development of societies, races, classes and other fields of social sciences, none of which was ever advocated by Darwin himself. Spencer "did most to popularize the term 'evolution' in its modern context" (Bowler, 1989, p. 9) and his doctrine of the "'survival of the fittest' seemed to offer scientific authentication of later racist theory" (Beer, 1998, p. 103). Similar to Hegel, Spencer "advocated a system of cosmic progress, which included a theory of the inevitable evolution of life toward higher forms" and thanks to these two thinkers "people still imagine that evolution is an essentially progressive process" (Bowler, 1989, p. 9). This line of thinking was further solidified by the "invention" of social Darwinism and Comte's positivism leading to the almost unchecked belief in the infinite progress of humanity and civilization which marked the whole nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, roughly up to the First World War. "The most dangerous aspect of these

evolutionist doctrines is that they combined the inheritance concept with the insistence on personal achievement and individual character which had been so important for the self-respect of the nineteenth-century middle class" (Arendt, 1975, p. 180).

This detrimental misconception irrevocably influences some of the characters from *Howards End* and *North and South*, Leonard Bast above all. *Howards End* deals with the destinies of two families, the aristocrat-like Schlegels who exhibit a deep sense of respect and knowledge about people, art and culture in general, and the Wilcoxes, who are business-oriented and obsessed with sports, physicality and money-making. Bast is a character who belongs nowhere because he despises his current life environment and desires what seems unattainable at that point of time. He is obsessed with improving his personality, manners and education, and this obsession eventually ruins both his life and the lives of some people around him. The root of the problem lies in the progressivist image of his future self, due to which he completely ignores, disregards and devalues his present life. As various thinkers, ranging from Epictetus to Coelho, have pointed out, in order to lead a relatively happy and fulfilled life one must live in the present and enjoy the present in order to hope for a better future (Coelho, 1988, p. 79). However, Bast does the opposite and thereby creates a whole range of incongruities in his life.

There are irreconcilable discrepancies among various aspects of his personal and business life and most of them seem to be of his own creation because his living environment and the actual circumstances he lives in can never allow for the creation of his envisioned and improved self. A seemingly inconsequential incident provides a very good insight into the nature of his predilection. Namely, he is deeply troubled by the loss of his umbrella during an opera performance. The grammar describing his loss proves the awkwardness of his situation. Interestingly, he has not lost "an" umbrella but "the" umbrella. His life conditions are so poor that he is not likely to easily replace the symbols of a relatively high social status at the time, a cylinder and an umbrella. However, this does not imply that what stands between him and his desires is plain poverty. Forster repeatedly stresses, more or less directly, that the shabby cylinder and umbrella are the only things which connect him to the class of people he aspires to belong to. Bast's educational and financial inadequacy for the world he aspires to are perfectly matched. Forster reveals the problem quite conspicuously:

> Oh, to acquire culture! Oh, to pronounce foreign names correctly! Oh, to be well-informed, discoursing at ease on every subject that a lady started!... His brain might be full of names, he might even have heard of Monet and Debussy; the trouble was that he could not string them together into one sentence, he could not make them 'tell', he could not quite forget about his stolen umbrella.

> Yes, the umbrella was the real trouble. Behind Monet and Debussy the umbrella persisted, with the steady beat of a drum. (Forster, 1910/2012, 39-40)

The excerpt proves that he is out of his depth in almost all areas of his life. In evolutionary terms, he wants to "skip phases" and live on the scale which is a few levels above his current position. He has lived in one environment nine-tenths of his life, and is ill-equipped to master the one in which he grew up, yet he is obsessed with the accomplishments of people who have spent their entire lives in completely different "habitats." He wants to speak easily about art, literature and music like the Schlegel family but neglects the fact that they have spent their entire lives doing almost nothing else but enjoying and discussing cultural activities. When the Schlegels judge a person they straightforwardly ask, "Do they care about Literature and Art? That is most important when you come to think of it. Literature and art. Most important" (Forster, 1910/2012, p. 7). They live art, they breathe art, and throughout their entire lives they have talked almost exclusively about culture-related issues, and Leonard Bast would discuss such matters on the same footing with them just because he has read a few books and watched a few opera performances.

His behavior is detrimental and bound to fail for two reasons. Firstly, he wrongly assumes that he would lead a happier and more fulfilled life if he managed to talk about cultural issues intelligently and in a learned way. Secondly, this way of thinking implies that there is a design both in life and in nature and that more complex structures are necessarily better than the simple structures or forms or organisms and hence more likely to ensure one's happiness. He is so obsessed with what he perceives to be progress that he completely disregards evolutionary warnings that

> New characters appear more or less at random and are whittled down by a merciless struggle for existence to leave only those with survival value. This is evolution by trial and error, not by design. It produces species adapted to the environment, but there is no drive to perfection and no trend leading to humans as the goal of creation. (Bowler, 1989, p. 80)

He forgets that "an organism's ability to survive and reproduce depends not simply on its physical characteristics, but on how well adapted those characteristics are to the environment the organism inhabits, which in turn depends on the precise nature of the environmental demands, or *selection pressures*, an organism faces" (Buller, 2005, p. 28). In real-life terms, Bast is not even adapted to the environment he has spent his whole life in and aspires to more complex and more complicated ones, which, it must be added, do not hold any reliable promises to make his life more fulfilled and happier. In his particular

case, such "advanced and refined environments" would make him suffer more deeply. Even if he magically managed to acquire the eloquence and knowledge he desires, the abilities would just make him experience the *Weltschmerz* more deeply and render him more capable of expressing his newly-acquired misery in an elegant and eloquent way.

To Bast, culture is not a means of coping with one's environment but an end in itself. The origins of this attitude are easily traceable to his devoted perusing of Ruskin and the likes of him:

> For Leonard, Ruskin embodies a world all the more desirable because hardly attainable: a world of the educated, leisured and wealthy; because it is alien, it has the quality of dream. His own existence is 'grey waters'; above and beyond lies 'the universe' in all its glory. Lacking wealth and leisure, Leonard sees education as the key to unlock the delights of paradise; and the key to education is Culture. Forster gives emphasis to the error of Leonard's ideas by the ironic use of religious metaphor. Leonard repeats his favourite bits of Ruskin like a religious incantation, listening to the sound of the words 'with reverence.' (Edwards, 2002, pp. 51-2)

Instead of being an evolutionary tool for finding and understanding one's place in the world, Bast treats culture as a savior capable of providing happiness, coherence and a sense of belonging. Forster ingeniously and quite sympathetically presents the discrepancy between Bast's actual life and circumstances, and the world he dreams of. Mike Edwards (2002) sums up the inherent dangers and inappropriateness of Ruskin's lofty prose for Bast's present life conditions on the example of his flat:

> The flat expresses Leonard. His mind and life, like his flat, are gloomy regions, illuminated only vicariously by the rays of Ruskin's prose, or acquaintance with the Schlegels. But the rays of Ruskin bring danger with them: they may confuse and mislead, ultimately making practical living harder; Ruskin will never pay the rent. There is an implication in the novel that someone like Leonard may be destroyed psychologically by Ruskin as the Schlegel world destroys him physically. There is no suggestion in the novel of anything good about Leonard's situation: Jacky is not good for him, but neither, in the end, is Ruskin. (p. 54)

Bast seems to take both evolutionary and educational short-cuts which are, as Forster aptly puts it, "peculiarly attractive to a half-baked mind" which has no idea of "a heritage that may expand gradually" and fervently desires "to come to Culture suddenly, much as the Revivalist hopes to come to Jesus" (Forster, 1910/2012, p. 51). Due to his unchecked delusions concerning progress, Bast fails to see the "culture of the Schlegels" and the "business-like life philosophy"

of the Wilcoxes as successful evolutionary adaptations to their respective sets of circumstances. Instead, he perceives them as a kind of Holy Grail which, once found, will inevitably bring happiness and enlightenment to his life.

The dismal failure of Leonard Bast's personal quest for knowledge and culture is inadvertently but aptly summarized by Hermann Hesse. Hesse's *Siddhartha* points out that real "knowledge has no worse enemy than the wish to know, than learning" (1999, p. 18) and the more one consciously and artificially strives to attain it the easier it evades attainment. *Siddhartha* claims that only [factual] knowledge can be communicated and learnt but wisdom never, and continues, as if having Leonard Bast's obsession with words and eloquence in mind:

> But I cannot love words. That is why teachings mean nothing to me, they have no hardness, no softness, no colors, no edges, no smell, no taste, they have nothing but words. Perhaps that is what keeps you from finding peace, perhaps it is the many words. (Hesse, 1999, p. 127)

This excerpt epitomizes the utter futility of Bast's endeavors and reveals how far he really is from his ideals. While *Siddhartha* openly discards eloquence and factual knowledge as inherently inadequate for the acquisition of happiness and inner satisfaction, Bast is obsessed with them. His existential self is irrevocably settled in one dimension while his aspirations seem to belong to another—the incongruity which eternally bars him from achieving success.

Another literary (and philosophical) instance revealing the unsoundness of Bast's reasoning, behavior and prioritization is Nietzsche's ingenious test of one's current satisfaction with life. Nietzsche asks,

> What, if some day or night a demon were to steal after you into your loneliest loneliness and say to you: 'This life as you now live it and have lived it, you will have to live once more and innumerable times more; and there will be nothing new in it, but every pain and every joy and every thought and sigh and everything unutterably small or great in your life will have to return to you, an in the same succession and sequence - even this spider and this moonlight between the trees, and even this moment and I myself. The eternal hourglass of existence is turned upside down again and again, and you with it, speck of dust!' Would you not throw yourself down and gnash your teeth and curse the demon who spoke thus? Or have you once experienced a tremendous moment when you would have answered him: ~You are a god and never have I heard anything more divine. (Nietzsche, 1974, p. 273)

It is not difficult to imagine the amount of fear and disgust in Leonard Bast if he were to face such a test of his life circumstances. The only comfortable

vision of his life is always placed in the future and the possibility of the eternal recurrence of his present life would very probably be one of the most frightening visions of hell he is capable of imagining. He certainly possesses enough strength and willingness to suffer through it for one life time, but being forced to endure it for eternity would crush him.

Quite unlike him, Margaret Schlegel is firmly situated in the present. She has lived and breathed "culture" all her life. After the marriage, she does not put her life and habits on "stand-by" while experiencing the process of transition and getting accustomed to her husband's reasoning and way of life. That transition becomes her life and that is why it is successful. She enjoys and fully appreciates her new circumstances because "no individual can arrive even at the threshold of his potentialities without a culture in which he participates" (Benedict, 1959, p. 253). She sees potential in that change and gradually embraces it but does not depreciate the value and necessity of her previous competences.

Forster's insistence on what Margaret Mead calls "cultural continuity" is plainly visible in the episode of the novel directly following the death of Mrs Wilcox. Namely, Mrs Wilcox leaves her estate Howards End to Margaret Schlegel, who is neither a long-term acquaintance nor a blood-relative. Interestingly, Mrs Wilcox does not even want her house to undergo the "shock" of a radical change. She does not want the owner, even if it is her children, to be someone unable of appreciating it. She does not want Howards End to be perceived as a piece of property or a mere business asset. Forster explicitly points out that to the members of the Wilcox family "Howards End was a house: they could not know *that to her it had been a spirit, for which she sought a spiritual heir*" (Forster, 1910/2012, p. 102, emphasis mine). Mrs Wilcox "seemed to belong not to the young people and their motor, but to the house, and to the tree that overshadowed it." She possessed the wisdom "to which we give the clumsy name of aristocracy" (Forster, 1910/2012, p. 21). Due to her exquisite bond with the house, Mrs Wilcox feels that the only person who can ensure some kind of continuity is Margaret Schlegel because in her she finds a unique aristocrat-like appreciation of the past and the cautious but constant respect towards the future.

The psychologist, Jordan B. Peterson (2018), points out that only individuals with such a disposition can successfully bridge two different environments or two different eras without ruining the structure of their lives. He claims that radical revolutions are inherently dangerous on both the social and personal scale and that one should have stable footing in the tradition, in the known and familiar while investigating the possibilities of adventure or growth (p. 63). He seems to concur with Forster because Margaret Schlegel and Leonard Bast seem to epitomize the positive and the negative examples of this precept. The Schlegels possess a refined taste for art and culture. They respect the tradition

and their livelihood is based on the traditional aristocratic sources of income. However, their refined manners and the embeddedness into the cultural and emotional side of life makes them incompetent in the fast-changing business world around them which values physicality, money, business abilities, courage and every-day risk taking. The Wilcoxes seem to thrive in such an environment but when emotional and deeply personal issues come to the fore, they prove to be utterly incompetent because they completely lack the depth, education, sensibility and care exhibited by the people like the Schlegels. These two families seem to represent two sides of the coin, which are destined never to see each other properly.

However, in her microcosm, Margaret turns out to be capable of connecting two eras, two social strata, and two ways of life. She openly admits the deficiencies of her own kind, the people like the Schlegels, and their dependence on the people like the Wilcoxes. She completely discards the possibility of the supposed spiritual superiority of the Schlegels over the Wilcoxes Helen hints at because she is clever enough to see and fair enough to admit that

> If Wilcoxes hadn't worked and died in England for thousands of years, you and I couldn't sit here without having our throats cut. There would be no trains, no ships to carry us literary people about in, no fields even. Just savagery. No—perhaps not even that. Without their spirit life might never have moved out of protoplasm. More and more do I refuse to draw my income and sneer at those who guarantee it. (Forster, 1910/2012, p. 182)

Margaret is perfectly aware of their qualities as a family but she is the only one conscious of their deficiencies and undeserved privileges. Her brother and sister cannot fathom the underlying dependence of their way of life on the bustling industry of the time they know nothing of. "Making that connection between material circumstances and the labour which produces them eventually makes Margaret a heroine. She rescues her sister from her impetuousness, and Mr Wilcox from his inhuman obtuseness about human relations" (Robbins, 2003, p. 203). She is the only character in the novel who can ensure continuity and stability in the two families because she seems to possess the best of both "worlds." Through her character, Forster convincingly presents both radical idealism and every-day practicality as well as the necessity of their co-existence both on the personal level and on the level of the society. As the writer of an unsigned review of Forster's novel points out, "It is almost with surprise that we realize that the author, who can show such very unusual insight into the rarefied atmosphere of the idealist's inner life, can at the same time appreciate all that goes to the making of the more conventional types" (as cited in Gardner, 1973, p. 147).

Indeed, the novel contains quite a few memorable characters most of whom belong to the upper or lower echelons of the middle class. Forster may not know first-hand the everyday predilections of people from the lower classes (and he does not even pretend to possess such knowledge), but what he does possess in great measure is an acute awareness of how slow and painful the process of change and development is both on the societal and on the personal level. His characters who live their lives fully under the given set of circumstances prove to be the only ones capable of development while the ones who consciously attempt to change either themselves or others bring about nothing but misery.

Very similar issues are dealt with in Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South*. The novel presents a radical change of environment when a preacher's family, the Hales, is forced to move from their pastoral home in the south of England to the industrial north. They settle in the town called Milton where they meet a cotton-mill owner Thornton, with whom Margaret falls in love, and a simple worker who becomes her best friend.

Once again, a Margaret (Margaret Hale) is someone who both willingly and unwillingly initiates the necessary changes in everyday life and in the views of people and society. Both her day-to-day routine and life philosophy are forced to adapt to the new circumstances. She and Thornton successfully deal with the challenge but her parents prove not to be sufficiently strong and/or willing to change their personalities and interests to fit the new environment.

Gaskell speaks almost openly about the evolutionary potential or (in)aptitude of her protagonists. In her opinion the world is a tough place to live in (Gaskell, 1854-5/2012, p. 364) even without radical changes taking place all around. The older generation of the Hale family find it hard to cope with the fast-changing world but the young ones, Frederick and Margaret, successfully deal with it. Mr Hale finds something dazzling "in the energy which conquered immense difficulties with ease; the power of the machinery of Milton, the power of the men of Milton, impressed him with a sense of grandeur" (Gaskell, 1854-5/2012, p. 80). The raw power and resilience of the inhabitants of Milton fill him with admiration because they see the world as an evolutionary battlefield which they intend to conquer.

The world of commerce, industry and business is depicted in purely evolutionary terms, and Thornton may be perceived as the best representative of such an attitude. He is fully aware of the fact that while some prosper, others "must go down into ruin, and be no more seen among the ranks of the happy and prosperous. He spoke as if this consequence were so entirely logical, that neither employers nor employed had any right to complain if it became their fate" (Gaskell, 1854-5/2012, p. 183). Margaret and her father are stunned by his passion and readiness to fight as long as it is required of him. His comparison

of North and South makes Margaret aware of the deficiencies of her former social circles in the South. Thornton proudly and self-consciously exclaims that he would "rather be a man toiling, suffering-nay, failing and successless" in Milton "than lead a dull prosperous life in the old worn grooves" of the aristocratic society down in the South. He stresses that aristocracy may well be "clogged with honey and unable to rise and fly" (Gaskell, 1854-5/2012, p. 95).

However, Thornton's previously unquestioned "survival of the fittest attitude" is directly confronted by Margaret's actions because she feels and proves that both Thornton and the society have to go beyond it. She accepts the fact that the world of Milton functions in that way, she openly admires the positive aspects of it but, nevertheless, is on constant lookout for ways to amend it and make it more humane and consequently more efficient. Initially, Thornton cannot comprehend the paradox of such reasoning but gradually sees the truth of it. She makes him realize that there is always a choice and that the evolutionary inept can be "trampled on" or "gently lifted aside out of the roadway of the conqueror, whom they have no power to accompany on his march" (Gaskell, 1854-5/2012, p. 80).

The conflict and bond between Margaret and Thornton are extremely important because they are what Margaret Mead calls "the meeting points of two networks" (2012, p. 152) and therefore essential for the "constructive borrowing" between the two groups of people or two classes to take place. Thanks to her openness and humanism, Margaret Hale lives Forster's motto from *Howards End* and literally connects three different groups of people forcing them to take human interest in each other and consequently improving both herself and others. She accepts the values of the people of Milton and admires them, however, she forces Thornton to see the benefits of classical knowledge and humanism even when applied to the field of industry and business. Perhaps the most important bond she originates is between Thornton and his worker Nicholas Higgins, because it eventually improves the health, well-being and working conditions of thousands. Without her mediation Thornton would never become personally acquainted with Higgins, would never hear his workers' side of the story and would never take a human interest in them. Gaskell vividly depicts how this newly formed and previously highly unlikely friendship improves both personal and business life of John Thornton:

> He was but like many others – men, women, and children – alive to distant, and dead to near things. He sought to possess the influence of a name in foreign countries and faraway seas – to become the head of a firm that should be known for generations; and it had taken him long silent years to come even to a glimmering of what he might be now, today, here in his own town, his own factory, among his own people. He and they had led parallel lives – very close, but never

touching – till the accident (or so it seemed) of his acquaintance with Higgins. (1854-5/2012, p. 510)

Just like Margaret Schlegel, Margaret Hale "connects" because she acutely feels that all the three networks in question: the timid aristocracy, the resilient entrepreneurs and the oppressed workers have come to a point when they do not need new things, new inventions and novel theories but a simple and humane form of constructive borrowing. Consequently, it turns out that the solutions to both personal and class problems do not need "more progress," more discoveries or more inventions but a mediator willing and capable of connecting both people and ideas in novel ways. As Margaret Mead points out, the best solutions are already there, just in another "network."

> The whole process of cultural evolution depends on borrowing of this kind as much as it does on the identifiable innovations. Furthermore, at present, our survival depends, perhaps in equal measure, on the success with which models from one type of culture can be borrowed and reworked in other cultures and the success achieved through innovation. Both borrowing and innovation are necessary aspects of the task of working out forms of global integration in which men, now able to destroy themselves, can protect themselves against destruction. (1854-5/2012, p. 189)

This procedure has proved fruitful in all areas of human life for thousands of years. Whenever writers, scientists or artists find themselves stuck they look around more carefully or reach back to the knowledge and experience bestowed upon them by previous generations and adapt and reshape it according to their respective needs. All three Margarets, Margaret Schlegel, Margaret Hale and the anthropologist Margaret Mead seem to possess the necessary wisdom to realize that progress and improvement do not always mean going forward and marching into the unknown but, more often than not, looking more intently around, borrowing, reworking, reshaping and adapting the existing means and solutions to one's own purposes. Such solutions tend to be more humane, better tested, more durable and more convenient than reckless, idealistic plunges into the unknown performed by the likes of Leonard Bast.

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HOWARDS END I *NORTH AND SOUTH* – OPASNOSTI PREBRZE TRANZICIJE

Sažetak

Iako je glavni moto djela *Howards End* „samo povezuj", spajanje različitih era, ljudi ili svjetonazora povlači za sobom brojne opasnosti i nepredvidive poteškoće. Djela *Howards End* i *Sjever i jug* bave se tranzicijom društva na makro razini i transformacijama individualnih osobnosti na mikro razini. Likovi iz navedenih romana suočavaju se s novim izazovima i prisiljeni su ili dublje razumjeti sebe i društvo dok savladavaju te prepreke ili dopustiti da ih ta tranzicija uništi. Dotadašnji izolirani i zaštićeni život u poznatom okolišu se dovodi u pitanje i preispituje zbog brojnih promjena u društvu. Način na koji ljudi provode svoje živote, njihovi izvori prihoda, moralne ljestvice po kojima se ravnaju i svakodnevne životne navike se radikalno mijenjaju i zahtijevaju od likova prilagodbu novim uvjetima života. Neki likovi, poput Margaret Schlegel iz djela *Howards End* ili Margaret Hale iz romana *Sjever i jug* se uspijevaju adaptirati novim uvjetima života bez većih poteškoća dok se likovi poput gospodina Hale-a ili Leonarda Bast-a slamaju pod teretom promjena. Gospodin Hale i njegova supruga nevoljko prihvaćaju novi način života ali se nisu sposobni nositi s tim izazovom dok Leonard Bast svjesno planira i priželjkuje radikalne promjene u svojemu životu ali ga praktična implementacija tih promjena u njegovome životu potpuno slama. Ovi likovi se jednostavno ne mogu nositi sa novonastalom situacijom i promjenjenim životnim okolišem i gube bitku zbog darvinovske evolutivne neprilagođenosti. I Forster i Gaskell uspješno detektiraju glavne probleme društava u tranziciji i upozoravaju na opasnost preuranjenih i previše radikalnih promjena kako na društvenoj tako i na osobnoj razini.

Ključne riječi: E. M. Forster, Elisabeth Gaskell, Charles Darwin, Margaret Mead, Howards End, North and South, tranzicija, okoliš, evolucija

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TRANSCENDING THE BINARY: VIEWS, VOICES, PEOPLE, AND PLACES IN/OF JEFFREY EUGENIDES'S *MIDDLESEX*

Abstract

This paper explores the views, voices, people, and places in/of Jeffrey Eugenides's 2002 novel *Middlesex*, which transcends traditional binary thinking and paradigms in many ways. It focuses on the views, voice(s), and spatiality of the narrator and protagonist who was born as a girl and named Calliope Stephanides and, at present, has socially been identified as an adult man Cal, who is, in fact, a hermaphrodite. The book is both a *Bildungsnovel* about a hermaphrodite and a family saga, told from the inside and the outside. The story about Calliope's evolution into Cal is, at the same time, the odyssey of his or her or *their*—either the singular or nonbinary *their*—Greek grandparents' emigration from what is now Turkey to the United States. It traces the lives of three generations of the Stephanides family. Like the genes, their storylines interact with one another to produce one body of *Middlesex*. As this suggests, *Middlesex*'s genes, metaphorically speaking, are both American and Greek. The novel explores the human body as well as the body of humankind, including the anatomy of Detroit's decline (as well as the social history of the U.S.), in order to articulate the past, identify the present, and move toward the future. It also explores the aesthetics of normality which, as *Middlesex* elaborates, can never be a single story. The paper analyzes these and similar issues in order to shed light on how Jeffrey Eugenides's *Middlesex* transcends multiple traditional binaries.

Key words: Middlesex, Jeffrey Eugenides, hermaphrodite, the aesthetics of normality, transcending the binary

Jeffrey Eugenides is one of the most recognized contemporary American writers whose books have shed new light on many important issues of contemporary human experience and on the features of the literary aesthetics of a new -ism, whatever its name might be. His second novel, *Middlesex* (2002), which can be seen as "a place designed for a new type of human being, who would inhabit a new world" (Eugenides, 2002, p. 529), won the 2003 Pulitzer Prize for Fiction. Eugenides's literary and visionary perceptions of the "New Man" represent, among other things, a utopian[14] (yet possible) concept that involves the idea of re-creation, or, re-understanding of a brave, new human being in a new, brave world, being both a "hybrid" in a "hybrid" narrative of a narrator/protagonist whose identity is thus "hybrid". As Debra Shostak, for example, argues in her article, "'Theory Uncompromised by Practicality': Hybridity in Jeffrey Eugenides' *Middlesex*," Eugenides "implicitly overdetermines the metaphor of hybridity to refer at once to the body, to cultural identity, and to narrative structure" (2008, p. 384). The ethos of the novel is, metaphorically speaking, a "subterranean realm" (Eugenides, 2002, p. 329). It is an expression of the unembellished reality of "a new type of human being" whose voice arises from the "underground," from the place where she or he or they, either the singular or nonbinary *they*, "wrote down what they couldn't say, where they gave voices to their most shameful longings and knowledge" (Eugenides, 2002, p. 329). Her or his or their longings are, in many ways, "a desire for recognition" and "it is only through the experience of recognition that any of us becomes constituted as socially viable beings"[15] (Butler, 2004, p. 2). The subterranean

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[14] In relation to the theoretical ideas of culture during the 1990s and, especially, to Homi K. Bhabha's ideas about cultural hybridity (2004), Francisco Collado Rodriguez says that *Middlesex* "demands the opening of a borderland or 'third space' where mixed races and intersex identities can coexist" (2006, p. 73). He adds that it is a process which requires "a new type of ethical responsibility, one that openly advocates for a hybrid space of tolerance for individuals and communities" (2006, p. 83). However, Debra Shostak argues that "no matter how generous and optimistic Eugenides is, it demonstrates the virtual impossibility of such a 'third space' except as a utopian fantasy" (2008, pp. 386-387).

[15] In *Undoing Gender*, Butler discusses the Hegelian notion of desire in its connection with recognition, and adds: "That view has its allure and its truth, but it also misses a couple of important points. The terms by which we are recognized as humans are socially articulated and changeable. [...] The human is understood differently depending on its race, the legibility of that race, its morphology, the recognizability of that morphology, its sex, the perceptual verifiability of that sex, its ethnicity, the categorical understanding of that ethnicity. Certain humans are recognized as less than human, and that form of qualified recognition does not lead to a viable life. Certain humans are not recognized as humans at all, and that leads to yet another order of unlivable life. If part of what desire wants is to gain recognition, then gender, insofar as it is animated by desire, will want recognition as well. But if the schemes of recognition that are available to us are those that 'undo' the person by conferring recognition, or 'undo' the person by withholding recognition, then

realm of Eugenides's novel also includes the "overground" perspective of reality, so as to shape the "cross-terranean" reality by replacing the binary and linear concepts with the simultaneous and juxtaposed spaces. The concept of reality in/of *Middlesex* microcosmically represents the whole of humanity in a keen observation of a real world, simultaneously invoking the past, the mythical, and antic momentum. *Middlesex* illustrates something that might be called the free "evolution" of the body of contemporary consciousness since the "architecture" of the novel is "an attempt to rediscover the pure origins" (Eugenides, 2002, p. 273). The latter is, in *Middlesex*, an explanation of the architecture of an undesirable house, symbolically called "Middlesex," which a Greek-American family, the Stephanides (Milton Stephanides, to be more precise), also undesirable in the "aristocratic" society of Grosse Pointe in declining Detroit, MI, wanted, and then bought. Middlesex is the name of the street the Stephanides lived on, so the narrator refers to the house by its street address. In that manner, within *Middlesex*, the novel, in Middlesex, the house, among other places, spaces, and locations, a new (yet old)type of human being(re)discovers one's own middlesex. The gender of all these entities—the novel, the house, and the man—is therefore middlesex. As Shostak points out, the novel "introduces concerns about biological essentialism, historical causality, and social transgressiveness under the complementary trope of genetics" (2008, p. 384).

Middlesex thus challenges conceptual and binary categories. The narrator, who is also the protagonist of the novel, was born a girl and named Calliope Stephanides and, in the present, has socially been identified as an adult man Cal, who is, in fact, a Greek-American hermaphrodite. Eugenides thus employs an "I" which is both male and female. While writing about his/her/their own life, Cal states that despite his/her/their, now "andragonized brain, there's an innate feminine circularity in the story" (Eugenides, 2002, p. 20) he/she/they has to tell. The "third gender" creates the third space of *Middlesex* in the light of the following thought: "Many cultures on earth operated not with two genders but with three. And the third was always special, exalted, endowed with mystical gifts" (Eugenides, 2002, p. 495). Hence, one of the *gifts* of *Middlesex* is to challenge the traditional definition of gender, including "the gender" of experience, break down the rigid binary oppositions, and experiment with the non-binary in many ways. These and similar issues are explored in the rest of the article in order to provide an in-depth analysis on how Jeffrey Eugenides's *Middlesex* transcends traditional binary paradigms in many ways.

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recognition becomes a site of power by which the human is differentially produced. This means that to the extent that desire is implicated in social norms, it is bound up with the question of power and with the problem of who qualifies as the recognizably human and who does not" (2004, p. 2).

By re-examining history, *Middlesex* re-discovers "the pure origins" of its text and context, and then of its history and memory, body and mind, spoken and unspoken, longings and knowledge, yet not in the construct of a binary opposition as there is no opposition without its "other." In other words, neither side of an opposition can exist without its other. In recognizing that binary oppositions are equally important parts of one body, *Middlesex* re-creates history and its genre. Accordingly, in the light of contemporary intentions, aiming at a "new sincerity" (Kelly, 2014)*,* openness, veracity, freedom, faith, trust, and dialogue, Eugenides's novel tends to focus on how both the mind and the body perceive history. In this manner, mostly within the first-person narrative mode of *Middlesex*, the second-person narrative voice says: "You get older, you puff on the stairs, you enter the body of your father. From there it's only a quick jump to your grandparents, and then before you know it you're time-traveling. In this life we grow backwards" (Eugenides, 2002, p. 425). *Middlesex* thus transcends a postmodern endeavor to examine the question of what history itself might be and, foremost, poses a "new"question that is: "What's the reason for studying history? To understand the present or to avoid it?" (Eugenides, 2002, p. 80). The question tends to focus on the life of the present. The answer remains free and open to the ever-new possibility of what comes next. It also surpasses the postmodern notion of reality and the concept of simulacrum by recognizing them as the constructs of experience without experience and, therefore, of life that evades real life. History in *Middlesex*, and that of its middlesex narrator/ protagonist, is encoded in the genes of the body of both the present and the future. It can repeat itself, but it can also produce some changes, including mutations, in the process of evolution. The "American Dream" has "mutated" as well. It has changed, or, become re-understood over the course of history of *Middlesex* and become more universal and transnational for embracing the human condition across the borders of nation-states[16] that has always been in the "genes" of the U.S. simply because it is and has always been a nation of immigrants. Its "new" ethos is the leitmotif of the novel presented in the idea of utopian hope and dystopian despair that is rooted in the words written on the Detroit city flag: "*Speramus meliora; resurget cineribus.* We hope for better things, it will rise from the ashes" (Eugenides, 2002, p. 80). Correspondingly, *Middlesex* does rise from the ashes of Cal(liope)'s past, whose female variant of the name evokes the muse of epic poetry. At one point, the narrator of the novel says that Calliope's duty was to live out a mythical life in the actual world while his, Cal's, is to tell about it now: the story about a hermaphrodite that is, in a sense, a modern epic of creation that "grows backwards."

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[16]   In Steven Vertovec's definition, transnationalism "broadly refers to multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states" (2009, p. 1).

I was born twice: first, as a baby girl, on a remarkably smogless Detroit day in January of 1960; and then again, as a teenage boy, in an emergency room near Petoskey, Michigan, in August of 1974.

[...] My birth certificate lists my name as Calliope Helen Stephanides. My most recent driver's license (from the Federal Republic of Germany) records my first name simply as Cal. [...] Like Tiresias, I was first one thing and then the other. I've been ridiculed by classmates, guinea-pigged by doctors, palpated by specialists, and researched by the March of Dimes. A redheaded girl from Grosse Pointe fell in love with me, not knowing what I was. (Her brother liked me, too.) An army tank led me into urban battle once; a swimming pool turned me into myth; I've left my body in order to occupy others – and all this happened before I turned sixteen.

But now, at the age of forty-one, I feel another birth coming on. After decades of neglect, I find myself thinking about departed great-aunts and -uncles, long-lost grandfathers, unknown fifth cousins, or, in the case of an inbred family like mine, all those things in one. And before it's too late I want to get it down for good: this roller-coaster ride of a single gene through time. Sing now, o Muse, of the recessive mutation on my fifth chromosome! Sing how it bloomed two and a half centuries ago on the slopes of Mount Olympus, while the goats bleated and the olives dropped. Sing how it passed down through nine generations, gathering invisibly within the polluted pool of the Stephanides family. And sing how Providence, in the guise of massacre, sent the gene flying again; how it blew like a seed across the sea to America, where it drifted through our industrial rains until it fell to earth in the fertile soil of my mother's own midwestern womb. (Eugenides, 2002, pp. 3-4)

The narrator ends his "prologue" or "invocation" in a comic-epic manner. He says, "[s]orry if I get a little Homeric at times. That's genetic, too" (Eugenides, 2002, p. 4). Eugenides traces Cal's genes through his family genealogy "to locate a genetic explanation for Cal's position in such a way as to draw not just an analogy but also a logical connection between the discourses of ethnic and gendered identities" (Shostak, 2008, p. 386).

Middlesex's genes are both American and Greek. Its "conflation of meanings under the sign of hybridity allows [its] two narrative components—the immigrant family epic and the hermaphrodite's coming-of-age memoir—to attempt to bring into alignment the discourses of gender and ethnic identity" (Shostak, 2008, p. 387). *Middlesex* is both a *Bildungsnovel* about a Greek-American hermaphrodite and a transnational family saga, told from the inside and the outside. The story about Calliope's evolution into Cal is, at the same time, the odyssey of his/her/their "grandparents' emigration from what is now Turkey to America" (Bedell, 2002). It traces the lives of three generations of the Stephanides family, originally coming from Bithynios, a tiny village above

Bursa in Asia Minor. Like the genes, their storylines interact with one another to produce one body of *Middlesex*, a newtype of novel which could be seen as a "genetic" novel. It is, in a way, a "new" book of genesis. Eugenides's mythical and, at the same time, contemporary tale spiritually, yet realistically explores the human body as well as the body of humankind, including the anatomy of Detroit's decline, in order to articulate the past, identify the present, and move toward the future. In this way, *Middlesex* becomes the story about all of us, about our creation, existence, and humanity. It re-examines human nature backwards to grow forward.

Middlesex also explores the aesthetics of normality, pointing out that "[n]ormality wasn't normal. It couldn't be. If normality were normal, everybody could leave it alone. They could sit back and let normality manifest itself" (Eugenides, 2002, p. 446). Taken all together, *Middlesex* possesses "an awkward, extravagant beauty" in its "inadvertent harmony" (Eugenides, 2002, p. 218). Its essence goes beyond the postmodern notion of life without essence by re-discovering the real beneath the surface. The essence of normality in/of *Middlesex* is, for example, in re-discovering that "hermaphrodites are people like everybody else" (Eugenides, 2002, p. 106). In this context, Eugenides's inspiration for the creation of *Middlesex* emerges from his dissatisfaction after reading the 1980 *Herculine Barbin, Being the Recently Discovered Memoirs of a Nineteenth-Century French Hermaphrodite* with an introduction by Michel Foucault[17] (Oprah & Eugenides, 2007). The memoir frustrated Eugenides's readerly expectations with its melodramatic prose and the inability or unwillingness to give an insight into the anatomy and emotions of intersex people. In Shostak's book, the questions raised by the hermaphrodite's narrative in *Middlesex* "center on embodiment, on the place of the body in constituting

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[17] In his Introductory note, Foucault, for example, says that the memoir is "a document drawn from that strange history of our 'true sex,'" and adds: "It is not unique, but it is rare enough. It is the journal or rather the memoirs that were left by one of those individuals whom medicine and the law in the nineteenth century relentlessly questioned about their genuine sexual identity.

Brought up as a poor and deserving girl in a milieu that was almost exclusively feminine and strongly religious, Herculine Barbin, who was called Alexina by her familiars, as finally recognized as being 'truly' a young man. Obliged to make a legal change of sex after judicial proceedings and a modification of his civil status, he was incapable of adapting himself to a new identity and ultimately committed suicide. I would be tempted to call the story banal were it not for two or three things that give it a particular intensity.

The date, first of all. The years from around 1860 and 1870 were precisely one of those periods when investigations of sexual identity were carried out with the most intensity, in an attempt not only to establish the true sex of hermaphrodites but also to identify, classify, and characterize the different types of perversions. In short, these investigations dealt with the problem of sexual anomalies in the individual and the race" (1980, pp. XI-XII)

the subject. The hermaphrodite not only challenges the simple equation of sex and gender but also disrupts the notions of sex and the sexualized body" (2008, p. 387). As Anne Fausto-Sterling emphasizes, sex "is not a pure physical category" (2000, p. 4). The notion of sex and gender, or, to use Rosi Braidotti's words, "[t]he body, or the embodiment, of the subject is to be understood as neither biological nor a sociological category but rather as a point of overlapping between the physical, the symbolic, and the sociological" (1994, p. 4). Additionally, Eugenides was inspired by the figure of Tiresias in Greek mythology who lived as both a male and a female and had the power to tell the future. Eugenides, however, did not want to write about a myth. He wanted to create a story that would trace the transmigrations of a genetic mutation down through the bloodline of a single family to the final inheritor of the gene, encompassing all kinds of transformations such as national, racial, intellectual, and sexual.

Middlesex is written in the form of a transformative memoir. It switches between first-person, second-person, and third-person points of view several times. At times, it also employs the first-person plural point of view, and it switches or blends genders. Its language is transformative. The novel not only combines a personal diary of Cal's body and soul, a national memoir, and a social chronicle of Detroit, but it also combines English, Greek, and, sometimes, German, and then the different and alternative discourses in their groundbreaking possibilities of the binary blends. In a new auto-referential performance on intimacy between the author, the text, and the reader, the narrator explains the language, space, and motion of his story:

> Emotions, in my experience, aren't covered by single words. I don't believe in "sadness," "joy," or "regret." Maybe the best proof that the language is patriarchal is that it oversimplifies feelings. I'd like to have at my disposal complicated hybrid *-emotions, Germanic traincar constructions like, say, "the happiness that attends disaster." Or "the disappointment of sleeping with one's fantasy." I'd like to show how "intimations of mortality brought on by aging family members" connects with "the hatred of mirrors that begins in middle age." I'd like to have a word for "the sadness inspired by failing restaurants" as well as for "the excitement of getting a room with a minibar." I've never had the right words to describe my life, and now that I've entered my story, I need them more than ever. I can't just sit back and watch from a distance anymore. From here on in, everything I'll tell you is colored by the subjective experience of being part of events. Here's where my story splits, divides, undergoes meiosis. Already the world feels heavier, now I'm a part of it. I'm talking about bandages and sopped cotton, the smell of mildew in movie theaters, and of all the lousy cats and their stinking litter boxes, of rain on city streets when the dust comes up and the old Italian men take their folding chairs inside. Up until now it hasn't been my world. Not my America. (Eugenides, 2002, p. 217)

To paraphrase the narrator's words about his/her/their own gender, *Middlesex* does not fit into any theory. Eugenides himself explains, "[s]ince I was writing about the transmission of a genetic mutation, it seemed to me sensible and also incumbent on me to reiterate the transition in terms of the literary form. I hope the book quietly and not fist-poundingly moves from a more epic narration towards a more psychological novel" (Bedell, 2002). The novel blends myth and reality, facts and fiction, science and imagination, as well as intersexuality and immigration, and then personal and social, seamlessly juxtaposing both the American and Greek past and present. Its space is multidimensional, simultaneously articulating a personal story and a national history, and it represents America in all its variety. However, *Middlesex* prompts national self-criticism, focusing on Detroit in its transformation from an industrial incarnation of the "American Dream" to "the so-called ghetto [that] would become the entire city itself" (Eugenides, 2002, p. 142). Like his literary predecessors, but from the standpoint of contemporary aesthetics, Eugenides notices that human nature has changed. Virginia Woolf, for example, in her famous essay, "Mr. Bennet and Mrs. Brown," written in 1924, remarks that "on or about December 1910, human character changed" (p. 2). In *Middlesex,* Eugenides observes a moment of a mutation in human nature, which has caused a new transfiguration of self into a non-self, a machine. That moment is a

> [h]istorical fact: people stopped being human in 1913. That was the year Henry Ford put his cars on rollers and made his workers adopt the speed of the assembly line. At first, workers rebelled. They quit in droves, unable to accustom their bodies to the new place of the age. Since then, however, the adaptation has been passed down: we've all inherited it to some degree, so that we plug right into joystick and remotes, to repetitive motions of hundred kinds. (Eugenides, 2002, p. 95)

Furthermore, *Middlesex* re-recognizes the oneness of the entire human species and, at the same time, it preserves the unity in diversity. *Middlesex*'s transcendental consciousness rises above the religious doctrines, political ideologies, and any other kind of dogmatic thinking/way of living. Eugenides's novel, to use Toni Morrison's term from her 1987 novel *Beloved*, involves "rememory."[18] It means that *Middlesex* remembers memory. Here it happens in a transformative form of the modern epic, subtly depicting the gene which has been

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[18] As Ashraf H. A. Rushdy elaborates: "Morrison's 'rememory' is a nice addition to the vocabularies of both psychology and narratology—psychology because anamnesis becomes accessible to rediscovery as well as discovery, narratology because the word suggests the process by which narrative worlds are increations as much as re-creations, as much remimesis as mimesis" (1990, p. 303).

passed down through three generations of the Stephanides family, and within a context of rememory, "the concept of mental recollection, both anamnesis and construction, that is never only personal but always interpersonal" (Rushdy, 1990, p. 304). Through Cal's personal and family history and the historical ontology, *Middlesex* narrativizes the unpresentable stream of time, and then the stream of one's own and other people's consciousness.

The narrator says his story begins in 1922, when "there were concerns about the flow of oil," and it ends in 1975, when "dwindling oil supplies again had people worried" (Eugenides, 2002, p. 498). In 1922, Cal's grandparents on the paternal side emigrated from Greece and immigrated to the U.S. They wanted to create a new life in America, this time as a husband and a wife, and to erase their previous life of a brother and a sister in their homeland. However, Cal's story develops in his quest for self-discovery, biding the time of two hundred and fifty years to trace the mutated gene that had lain buried in his family bloodline and started the chain of events that led to him and his self-reflection, not in America or Greece, but in Germany—in Berlin[19], to be more precise. Paradoxically, Cal pursues his own (American) dream of happiness far away from the U.S. Since he has been trying to forget his body by keeping it in motion, he has been an employee of the U.S. State Department for most of his adult life. The life of a traveler was perfect for him because he had never been in one place long enough to form a solid attachment to anyone. In Berlin, however, he stops moving. There, he finds his first and, at the same time, possibly the last stop[20] in his pursuit of happiness and the recognition of his selfhood, all of which is embodied in his love with Julie Kikuchi, a Japanese-American girl with a boyish body. She is a photographer whose perception of beauty is "different." As she perceives it, beauty is always freakish. She does not mind that Cal has a different anatomy from other men (or women?). As she obviously sees his body as beautiful, she helps him to assimilate his own body. In this way, by accepting his own body, Cal re-creates himself backwards in the act of writing. Thus, he recaps that

> Sourmelina Zizmo (née Papadiamandopoulos) wasn't only my first cousin twice removed. She was also my grandmother. My father was his own mother's (and father's) nephew. In addition to being my grandparents, Desdemona and Lefty were my great-aunt and -uncle. My parents would be my second cousins once removed and Chapter Eleven would be my third cousin as well as my brother. [...] In honor of Miss Barrie, my eight-grade Latin teacher, I'd like to call attention to

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[19] "Within the deterministic constraints of the discourse of the body, Cal exists in an ambiguous space of estrangement and fluidity, which Eugenides makes rather pat by placing him in Berlin, the 'once divided city'" (Shostak, 2008, p. 410).

[20] Symbolically, "The Last Stop" is also the title of the last chapter of the novel.

the quotation [...]: ex ovo Omnia. [...] I hear her ask. "Infants? Can any of you translate this little snippet and give its provenance?

I raise my hand.

"Calliope, our muse, will start us off."

"It's from Ovid. Metamorphoses. The story of creation."

"Stunning. And can you render it into English for us?"

"Everything comes out of an egg."

"Did you hear that, infants? This classroom, your bright faces, even dear old Cicero on my desk – they all came out of an egg." (Eugenides, 2002, p. 198)

The novel is structured as Cal(liope)'s personal memoir. It also refers to the plurality of history, meaning that history is not a single story. The personal (hi)story of *Middlesex* is thus a tapestry of the neglected, silenced, and/or hidden human (hi)stories woven together to better understand the human condition, including both individual and collective memory, all of which makes it a deeply human book. One of the important themes of the novel concerns the dichotomy of predestination and *free will*. Unlike both the Old and New Testament's allusions to God as Predestinator, a human plays God throughout the history of *Middlesex*. It means that a human has eliminated God, and everyone has been predestined according to the needs of society. In contrast to this, a new type of human being in a brave new world of *Middlesex* conveys a sense of disillusionment based on a deep insight into human nature and expresses *free will*. In brief, Cal's parents, Tessie and Milton Stephanides, wanted their second child to be a daughter because they already had a son, symbolically named Chapter Eleven[21]. Hence, they followed certain theories of conception in a formulaic way in order to predestine and predetermine the sex of a child. Even though they were convinced that their experiment was successful when the baby was born, they got an intersex child. Their family doctor did not notice the real sex of the child and declared it female. Thus, Calliope was born and raised as a girl. In her teenage years, Calliope, however, discovered that she was not a girl like other girls. The truth was discovered by an emergency physician when Callie was fourteen and accidentally got injured by a tractor. In shock, her parents took her to the Sexual Disorders and Gender Identity Clinic in New York. While waiting in the Reading Room of the New York Public Library for her parents to come back from an appointment with her doctor, she, "still officially Calliope" (Eugenides, 2002, p. 429), decides to look herself upin the Webster's dictionary. Following the trail of definitions related to her identity on the dictionary's pages "gilded like the Bible's" (Eugenides, 2002, p.

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[21]   Chapter 11 is a chapter of the U.S. Bankruptcy Code, which permits reorganization under the bankruptcy laws of the U.S.

430), she reaches the entry for "hermaphrodite" and its synonym "monster" as the final discovery of her identity. It

> was a book that contained the collected knowledge of the past while giving evidence of present social conditions. [...] The synonym was official, authoritative; it was the verdict that the culture gave on a person like her. Monster. That was what she was. That was what dr. Luce and his colleagues had been saying. (Eugenides, 2002, p. 431)

Having learnt about her natural gender while facing the possibility of sex reassignment surgery, Callie decides to run away from her family and doctors. She assumes a male cultural identity as Cal yet chooses not to change the gender identity of intersex. Since Cal has always liked girls, meaning that he equally liked girls when he "*was* a girl" (Eugenides, 2002, p. 513), and his sexual anatomy is typically male or masculine in appearance with untypical male or female genitals, both his choices are natural. That is who he is. That is the inadvertent harmony of his new normalitythe society has yet to accept together with "other"normalities.

Middlesex is thus a new book of knowledge of humanity and its metamorphoses. It investigates the relations between the mind and the body and traces the transformations of humanity. Correspondingly, *Middlesex* is, metaphorically speaking, the "gender" of humanity. It means that *Middlesex* represents the combined identities of humanity, elaborating that "[s]ex is biological. Gender is cultural" (Eugenides 2002, p. 489). *Middlesex* collects knowledge about humanity in all its complexity, pointing out that all typical men and women have the same sex hormones, just in different proportions; and there is a third gender of intersex people. The novel not only chronicles an illuminating and transcendent story about a hermaphrodite but depicts other traces of "the third gender". There are, for example, lesbians, such as Cal's grandmother/cousin Sourmelina, and then the other people he meets on his modern epic journey in a quest for identity and self-definition. Some of them are Carmen, a pre-operation male-to-female transsexual, and Zora, a hermaphrodite opposite to Cal. Zora's sexual anatomy is typically female or feminine in appearance with male genitals. She is the first person like him he has ever seen, the first hermaphrodite he has ever met. Cal thinks of "Zora Khyber as an early pioneer, a sort of John Baptist crying in the wilderness" and "that wilderness was America, even the globe itself" (Eugenides, 2002, p. 448) back in 1974, when he meets her in San Francisco, America's first gay city and "the homosexual *Hauptstadt*" (Eugenides, 2002, p. 469).

To sum up, *Middlesex* is a deeply moving portrait of a human. Since genetics function as "the point of contact between the novel of immigration and

the novel of intersexuality" (Shostak, 2008, p. 389), the issues of nationality, ethnicity, class, gender, and sex, among others, intertwine in *Middlesex*. It provides a more human vision of the world, transcending binary thinking. The novel's *third space* goes beyond historical perspectives of freedom and introduces a *new* freedom, which is much freer. *Middlesex* challenges the fixity of the space of the human body and the spatiality of a human being, and then reads them anew. A new reading examines the question about the meaning of being human, but it does not offer a final answer simply because the notion of normality can never be a single story.

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PREVAZILAŽENJE BINARNOGA: GLEDIŠTA, GLASOVI, LJUDI I MJESTA U ROMANU *MIDDLESEX* JEFFREYA EUGENIDESA

Sažetak

Ovim radom se nastoje istražiti romaneskni pogledi, glasovi, ljudi i mjesta *Middlesexa*, romana Jeffreya Eugenidesa, objavljenog 2002. godine, a kojima se višestruko i mnogostrano prevazilaze i nadilaze tradicionalne binarne paradigme i isto takvo mišljenje. U centru pažnje rada se nalaze pogledi, glas(ovi) i prostor(nost) naratora/naratorice i protagoniste/protagonistkinje, rođenog/rođene kao djevojčica i imenovanog/imenovane kao Calliope Stephanides, koji/koja se u sadašnjosti društveno identificira kao odrasli muškarac Cal, a koji je, zapravo, hermafrodit. Knjiga je i *Bildungsroman* i porodična saga, koja je ispričana i iz vanjske i iz unutrašnje perspektive. Priča o evoluciji Calliope u Cala je, istovremeno, odiseja emigracije njegovih ili njenih ili *njihovih* – što označava ili jedninu ili nebinarnost – grčkih bake i djeda, iz današnje Turske u SAD. Njom se prate i istražuju životi tri generacije porodice Stephanides. Njihove linije priča, poput gena, međusobno djeluju jedna na drugu da bi stvorile jedno tijelo *Middlesexa*. Kako se time naznačava, geni *Middlesexa*, metaforički rečeno, jesu i američki i grčki. Roman istražuje kako ljudsko tijelo, tako i tijelo ljudskog roda, uključujući i anatomiju propasti Detroita (kao i društvenu historiju SAD), kako bi artikulirao prošlost, identificirao sadašnjost i usmjerio se na budućnost. Također, roman istražuje estetiku normalnosti, koja, kako to *Middlesex* elaborira, nikada ne može biti isključivo jedna jedina priča. U radu se analizira sve navedeno, kao i drugi srodni elementi romana, kako bi se ukazalo na koje sve načine *Middlesex* Jeffreya Eugenidesa prevazilazi višestruke tradicionalne binarnosti.

Ključne riječi: Middlesex, Jeffrey Eugenides, hermafrodit, estetika normalnosti, prevazilaženje binarnoga

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GENDERED SUPERPOWER: THE REPRESEN-TATION OF GENDER AND SEXUALITY IN SU-PERHERO MOVIES

Abstract

Comic books and movie narratives are abundant in figures of heroic masculinity; however, the representation of heroic femininity remains questionable. On the one side, heroic femininity can be understood as empowerment, while on the other it may provide further objectification. A difficult character to interpret, the contemporary action heroine may be used for reinterpretation of the women's role, nevertheless, the danger of sexism remains. Traditional gender-role stereotyping provides very little space for reaffirmation of gender binaries; still, the recent heroines of super hero movies are capable of attracting female consumers in a typically male-dominated industry. The cinematic adaptation of the eponymous comic, *Wonder Woman* (2017), originally created as an alternative to heroic masculinity of comic books, reopens the questions of hyper-sexualisation and inherent objectification of the female body. Crucial to this paper is that the presentation of super heroines is undergoing a drastic shift which provides an opportunity for de-subordination of women in comic books and movies. Although femininity is still not celebrated in comic culture, heroines such as *The Avengers'* (2012) Black Widow and the aforementioned Wonder Woman to an extent defy the patriarchal values privileging men over women; their primary role is not to advance the male narrative nor are they catalysts for male-driven action. This paper will address the complexity of the representation of masculinity and femininity in superhero movies, as well as the overall role of sexuality in the comic book genre.

Key Words: Gender, Sexuality, Empowerment, Objectification, Superhero Movie

The previous decade has witnessed a profound change in superhero comics when considering the representation of female characters, particularly in connection with race and sexuality. With the increase in female characters came a rise as well in female authorship, while sexuality was given a more prominent role. More than a decade ago the last film productions with superheroines in the lead roles, *Catwoman* (2004) and *Elektra* (2005) proved to be very unsuccessful both with the audience and the critics. The subgenre of female superhero movies was heavily influenced by these failures, resulting in a long hiatus broken by *Wonder Woman* in 2017. The third most successful film of the DC Comics franchise, only lagging behind *The Dark Knight* (2008) and *The Dark Knight Rises* (2012), ("Box Office Mojo") *Wonder Woman* is simultaneously the embodiment of a male fantasy and the feminist agenda.

Popular culture has provided an answer to the crisis of heroism – the absence of real heroes has been compensated by the creation of fictional ones. On the margins, far away from the established aesthetics forms within the high cultures, a new brand of hero has been coined, projecting the desires, wants and repressed emotions of their target readership. New generations required new idols; hence, the 1930s saw the rise of the *superhero*.[22] From the onset of comics in 1938, during the Golden Age in the fifties, including various rehabilitations and new creations in the post-war DC and Marvel comics (Silver Age – from the mid-fifties to the early seventies) until the self-reflective phase in Alan Moore and David Gibbons' *Watchmen* and Frank Miller's *The Dark Knight Returns*, the character of the superhero seemed believable. First there was Superman (Übermensch, even if not human at all), Batman (without any particular supreme physical or psychic ability, but righteous and supremely wealthy), Wonder Woman (emancipation of women required heroines), followed by the heroes of the Marvel universe: Captain America, Spider-Man, Iron Man, the Hulk, Fantastic Four and many others. Postmodern superhero sagas are reaching new dimensions on screen, as demonstrated by the Hollywood franchise perpetually re-presenting the Übermensch dream.

Yet there exists some bias regarding comics deemed suitable for analysis: Hillary Chute calls nonfiction comics, dealing with memoir, history, and journalism, "the strongest genre in the field" (Chute, 2006, p. 452); when citing examples of good fictional comics, she lists such figures as Charles Burns, Daniel Clowes, and Chris Ware, who come from the auteur branch of comics (Chute, 2006, p. 459). Popular mainstream comics, represented by the two publishing behemoths DC and Marvel, seen as the homes of superheroes and spandex, tend to be conveniently disavowed in this movement for legitimacy. Douglas Wolk critiques this prevalent essentialist divide between "serious" auteur

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[22]   The term superhero is inherently pleonastic, any hero is already *super*.

comics worthy of study and lowly popular mainstream comics, since it returns comics criticism "back to the genre-versus-medium problem again" (Wolk, 2007, p. 68). Here, Wolk is referring to the tendency of classifying comics as a genre, a critical move that constricts the range of comics to a totalizing and limiting paraliterary subcategory, as opposed to viewing comics as a medium, which accommodates the diversity of comics works as they exist and allows room for the multivalent possibilities of works created as comics. Neil Gaiman is one of the comics creators who helps to blur this biased binary. Gaiman's graphic novel series *The Sandman*, created under the Vertigo imprint of DC Comics, was the only mainstream comic given critical attention in the special issue of *Modern Fiction Studies*. It is one of the graphic novel series that we intend to examine in this paper.

It's a Bird...It's a Plane...It's a Comic Book

Originating from the English *strip* or German *Streifen*, literally meaning trail or belt, the word also denominates a sequence of images resembling a long belt. These images tell a story and demonstrate a certain action. Hence, a comic strip represents a single row of panels belonging together in a narrative sequence (Kukkonen, 2016, p. 169). A comic strip, a sequence of narratively connected graphic images, represents a unique melange of image and text, of literary and artistic expression. It is a hybrid form, not excluding cinematic and dramatic elements.

The comic strip in the onset existed exclusively as additional entertainment for newspaper readers (a strip of several images connected in a narrative). Nowadays, it is rarely in a form of daily newspaper strip; it has evolved into comics and graphic novel. Almost simultaneously, the comic strip's evolution from periodicals and its independence can be recognised in the American (*comics*), French-Belgian (*bande dessinée*) and Italian (*fumetti*) tradition. However, only the union of hero stories and comic books can be distinguished as the defining factor for the creation of the new genre. The first superhero, Superman, appearing in the pages of *Action Comics,* was so successful that the term "superhero" was coined to describe an array of vigilantes following suit. Early comic books feature villains and superheroes of equal strength in the epic battle of good against evil in an attempt to mimic World War II conflicts and increase patriotic sentiment.[23]

Ignored or discriminated by traditional critics for a long time, the comics developed a reputation of entertainment and leisure time, while its readers

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[23]   After the war, the popularity of the genre deteriorated significantly, as was visible in the decreased number of comic books published. This changed after the genre was revised.

have been distinguished as infantile escapists from harsh realities (Macdonald, 1957). However, in the consumer society of the late capitalism, popular culture, due to its vitality and creative potential, becomes an active process of dissemination of meaning and pleasure as well as a possible threat to the current social order. On the other hand, popular pleasures are being submitted to a wide range of disciplinary and repressive measures or strategies of apprehension which transform the aforementioned pleasures into socially acceptable and disciplined practices (Fisk, 2001).

Perhaps the most distinguished example of convergence culture (Jenkins, 2006), comics are heavily invested in transmedia storytelling (exporting stories into other media[24]). Comic book movie adaptation has today developed into its own genre, comic book movie. The beginning of the millennium saw the rebirth of this genre, ignited by the post-9/11 sentiments and enabled by the advances in computer animation and 3D modelling. Computer generated animation presents an appropriate element for the hybridity of the genre and narrative.

The primary focus of superhero comic book movie is on the protagonist, as indicated in the eponymous title; however, we need to first distinguish characteristics which set the superhero(ine) apart from the more typical protagonist. The Superhero(ine) is more than a sum of his or her abilities. According to Peter Coogan (2013), the superhero must obey three conventions of the genre. First, (s)he is on a heroic mission to fight evil and save the innocent without being selfish. Second, the superhero(ine) is in possession of particular superpowers that separate them from ordinary people. Finally, the duality of the identity of the superhero(ine) is presented through the existence of a codename (Batman) and alter-ego (Bruce Wayne) (2013, p.4-9). Jennings, on the other hand, focuses on the "hyper-physical body" of the superhero functioning as a symbol of strength, courage and selflessness (2013, p. 59). Their superbodies set them apart from the ordinary people while connoting images of "balance justice, goodness, strength, power, and perfection" (Jennings 2013, p. 61).

The superhuman women and men represent the embodiment of hegemonic social standards and have the power to influence the (young) readers' perceptions of gender. In a tight costume, revealing a voluptuous body, the hyper-sexualised superheroine reproduces social constructions of desirability and power. The appropriateness of hegemonic femininity and masculinity is emphasised in superhero comic books (and, consequently, in comic book movies): male superheroes are strong and muscular, while the female, although strong,

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[24] One of the most notable examples being Superman whose comic book life begun in 1938, and who, within two years of its existence, saw film series, a radio show and a range of toys emerge.

appear lean and feminine. The superheroine is often portrayed in tight, revealing clothing in order to accentuate her femininity, attract the (male) gaze and avoid masculinisation. For the superheroine, although they offer a much more physically capable picture of a woman in comparison to the female victim, they are also presented as hypersexualised in order to balance their masculine traits of physical capabilities. Furthermore, the two-dimensional representation of both male and female characters relies on the notion that women are helpless without men.

The two-dimensional representation of the characters in contemporary film production often relies on the exploration of female characters' sexuality. Providing a framework for understanding the consequences of being female in a culture keen on objectifying women, objectification theory can be applied when analysing the media that encourages women to objectify themselves and define their value solely on physical appearance. Whenever a woman's body, body parts or bodily functions are separated from her person, reduced to the status of instrument or equated with her, in public or private interactions, she is exposed to sexual objectification (Frederickson and Roberts, 1997). In superhero movies, sexual objectification of the body, both of the superheroine and of the victim, is central to their identities.

The Superhero Secretary

The superhero narrative is mostly a patriarchal one; when women are included, they tend to be embodying victims in need of rescuing. With their physical appearance in the primary focus, the hypersexualised female characters' crucial roles are fortification of gender roles and providing motivation for the superhero's actions. Fragile, docile and sexually appealing young woman (Mary Jane to Spider-Man, the epitome of the damsel-in-distress who constantly needs saving) is one of the most important archetypes in comic book culture, meant to support hegemonic masculinity. Even though she is the embodiment of female empowerment (Finn, 2013, p. 7), Wonder Woman is still a result of a very narrow gender script.

Not all fictional superheroes are men. Wonder Woman, created in 1941 by Harvard psychologist, William Moulten Marston (Hanley, 2014, p. x), was not the world's first superheroine, but is the only one that has been written continuously since her creation.[25] Preceding Wonder Woman by almost two years, Fantomah first appeared in *Jungle Comics* in 1940 (Bartlett, 2012, p. 120). "The most remarkable woman ever known," Fantomah was a striking

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[25] Wonder woman has been written continuously since the first comic book came out. Only two other superheroes, Superman and Batman, have shared her fate (Hanley, 2014, p. 91).

blond protector of the forest, who, when angered, transformed into a frightening skull-faced monster who would assassinate opponents. Even Fantomah was preceded by the Woman in Red, the first female crime fighter, however, the Woman in Red possessed no superpowers or exceptional equipment, hence, cannot be considered a superheroine.[26]

In a star-spangled skirt and a red top, Wonder Woman is the embodiment of a heterosexual feminine icon. With long dark hair and a voluptuous body, the princess's origin story began in *All Star Comics #8* in December 1941 with an American war pilot landing onto Paradise Island where the mythical Amazons resided, far away from the aggressive world of men. Sculpted out of clay by Queen Hippolyte and given life by the gods, the baby daughter was named Diana. Rescued by Diana, Steve is taken to the Amazons' hospital, however, since men were not allowed on the island he had to be returned to America. It was then decided that a warrior would have to follow him, as "America, the last citadel of democracy and of equal rights for women" was in danger (Hanley, 2014, p. 14). Upon leaving the island, Princess Diana of Paradise Island became Wonder Woman, chose an outfit that distinguished her as a friend of America and adopted the alternative identity of Diana Prince.

Originally, Wonder Woman's own creation through an independent act by her mother, who made her from clay without any involvement from a man, echoes continuing feminist concerns about the importance of women's freedom to make choices about their reproductive rights. Never needing a man to rescue her, Wonder Woman invokes the postfeminist notion of "having it all". However, her lack of concern for women's rights in the early versions of the comic, as Finn claims, prevents her from being a feminist superhero while her sisters' and her fair skin reinforces racism by omitting minority characters (2013, p. 15).

Where Wonder Woman stood as a representative of girl-power in comic books, the movie allows only heterosexual and patriarchal readings, as she is made the daughter of Zeus. No longer born and created by a woman, brave and righteous Hippolyte, Wonder Woman is deprived of a key feminist trait, the issue of ownership over the female body. The cultural changes that were introduced by Marston and which provided the opportunity to radically challenge patriarchal assumptions were withheld from the viewers when Wonder Woman was made compliant to a tyrannical Greek God. Even though this paper provides examples of other, more or less successful superheroines who attempt

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[26]   Unlike Batman who, even though he possesses no superpowers, unless we consider supreme tactical abilities and martial arts skills super powers, owns exceptional equipment granting him that status. Batman is also one of the few superheroes granted the privilege to age and suffer serious injuries.

to question gender roles and patriarchy, Wonder Woman initially rejects patri-archal norms only to restore them in the movie.

Establishing an alternative identity as Steve's nurse and secretary, Diana Prince would turn into Wonder Woman whenever danger arose. However, whenever she was wrapped in chains by a man, she would become impotent which is a vulnerability that references bondage. Ranging from feminist to female stereotypes, the interpretations of Wonder Woman focus specifically on the interplay of bondage and emancipation. Marston argued that showing the character breaking free of chains was intended as an inspiration for women; however, others saw it as perversion (Frank, 1944). Dressed in the pornographic style of the 1940s and tied down, Wonder Woman was seen as an assertion of male dominance not only in the superhero universe, but in the entire medium of comics.

More recently, several comics have attempted to offer a celebration of female power and appeal to readers of that gender. Within the superhero genre, the new Ms. Marvel is the embodiment of multiplicity of meanings, since Kamala Khan is the first Pakistani-American superhero of the Marvel Universe. The sixteen-year-old Muslim superheroine written by Wilson as a symbol of the complexity of identities in today's America has a profound potential of becoming a powerful feminist text, particularly if considering the universality of the teen experience. Created in 2013 and with her own title since February 2014, the new Ms. Marvel portrays racial, ethnic and cultural diversity. In Issue# 12 Ms. Marvel visits her family in Kardachi, Pakistan, and realises her heroism is needed there. Without a costume ready, she has to improvise in a blue dress, red leggings and a scarf which could represent both a niqab and a hijab.

Image 1. Ms. Marvel without her superhero costume (Wilson, 2016).

The costume, together with the superpower, represents the "substance" of being a superhero (Dudenhoeffer, 2017, p. 4). In order to assume a distinctive identity, the superhero(ine) should adopt a codename (Ms. Marvel) and a costume representing his/her mission and cultural origin, announcing belonging in the superhero community. The previous Ms. Marvel, Carol Denver, adopts the codename Captain Marvel which enables Kamala Khan to embrace the alterego of Mws. Marvel. However, the predecessor's black leotard costume is replaced by a more modest attire consisting of a purple burkini (in respect of her religious beliefs and cultural upbringing), red pants, red scarf and a golden bracelet (representing her Pakistani heritage). Kamala Khan does not change her hair nor skin colour, even though she initially, in a typically adolescent fashion, plans to, to alter her appearance in accordance with the Western ideals of beauty.

Save the Cheerleader, Save the World!

The marginality of female characters in major roles in superhero movies appears rather persistent despite the growing demand for strong and versatile female portrayals from the audiences: one only needs to surf around the web and social media blogging sites such as Tumblr to come across posts demanding stand-alone feature movies for female comic book characters such as Ms. Marvel and Black Widow (for example, whereismyblackwidowmovie.tumblr. com). Still, it appears that, even though the narratives are more diverse in regard to race and ethnicity, gender and sexuality remain underrepresented (Stabile, 2009). As Stabile recognises, the main premise of the superhero comics is that someone is in danger and needs to be saved, the one in danger is female or feminised, while the saviour is masculine (2009, p. 87). Weak and vulnerable, women, even when superheroes, still need to be protected from malevolent male characters. Primarily used as a narrative propeller, the violence against women, through torture, rape or death, demonstrates the binary dichotomy of the interplay between gender roles and power.

The first season of the TV series *Heroes* (2006-2010) was promoted under the tag line "Save the Cheerleader, Save the World". This line is a reference to the fate of one of the leading superheroes of the series, Claire Bennett, whose superpower is immortality and the ability to heal herself, but who has no ability of self-defence. Surrounded by a number of protectors, the cheerleader's survival is the driving force behind the narrative; however, it depends entirely on male defenders. In one of the most violent scenes on TV, the villainous superhero Sylar opens Claire Bennett's skull and consumes her brain while the teenager can only passively observe the cannibalistic act. Consuming the

opponents' brains enables Sylar to acquire their superpower but is also a narrative device propelling the patriarchal narrative.

Rape, torture and death motivate superheroes, while disempowerment (and disembodiment) of female characters, even superheroines, is a device used to shock the audience. Apart from shock, it can provide motivation for the superheroine's revenge and be used as the driving force of a *superman's* rage (Stuller, 2010). The most persistent of all superhero comic book tropes, women's disempowerment is an illustration of the gendered role of power. The female passivity and vulnerability are also used as the reason and justification for the protector's acts of violence. Many efforts to depict women as superheroes, or simply heroes, have failed due to the patriarchal narrative of gendered protection and the need to recycle sexist stereotypes in order not to offend the profit-driven world of television (Stabile, 2009, p. 88).

Gail Simone, who has written, among many other comic titles, *Birds of Prey* and *Wonder Woman*, coined the phrase "Women in Refrigerators" in 1999 (Simone, 1999). The phrase is derived from a memorable event in *Green Lantern* #54 from 1994, in which Major Force kills and dismembers Alexandra de Witt and assembles her remains in the refrigerator. Her boyfriend, the Green Lantern, comes home to find her body parts there, which motivates his revenge. However, de Witt's death ultimately proves to be insignificant and pointless, as the Green Lantern rings run out of power and his promise to kill Major Force is unaccomplished. In 1999, Simone developed an eponymous website (https://www.lby3.com/wir/) which chronicles the fate of superheroines in the form of rape, disempowerment, dismemberment, death and other violent actions used as plot devices. The site, a quantitative research into gender and representation in comics, lists over a hundred female comic book characters who suffered a violent fate in order to propel a male character's narrative, and the list is continually being revised.

Not a Damsel in Distress

The main female character in *The Dark Knight Rises* (2012), Catwoman comes from an underprivileged background and sympathises with those coming from similar circumstances, as seen, for example, in a scene where she defends a young boy who stole an apple from a group of grown men. An antipode to Bruce Wayne, whose wealth ensures his superhero status, she is living in a crammed apartment in a less than wealthy part of town and targets the affluent citizens. Catwoman's physical appearance, long reddish brown hair and a slim physique, is a representation of the Western ideal of beauty. As Grogan claims, slender body types are idealised (2007, p. 9), a claim which seems to be

reinforced by Catwoman's costume accentuating her slender figure, it is black, tight and close-fitting. Her behaviour when first introduced to Bruce Wayne echoes a similar principle, one of the ideal feminine behaviour (Walter, 2010).

Impersonating a maid at Bruce Wayne's mansion in order to break into his safe, Catwoman speaks very quietly avoiding eye contact, while her body posture indicates weakness and insecurity. During a party she is discovered by Bruce Wayne in one of his private chambers, where she pretends she stumbled by accident. However, Batman laments that the pearl necklace she is wearing unmistakably resembles his late mother's pearls which were in his "uncrackable" safe. Commenting that she was not told it was uncrackable, her entire demeanour changes, she no longer appears weak or insecure, but seems more relaxed and confident.

The main role of Catwoman is to provide a romantic interest for Batman. Even though it might initially seem that she has her own agenda, one separate from Batman's, the only way to achieve her goals is with his assistance; hence, her future relies on aligning with a man. Catwoman's narrative follows a traditional pattern of romance narratives, even though she was capable of providing for herself in the past (more or less successfully, since the underlying message is that she is trouble because there was no male guidance) she still needs a man to save her.

A more complex character than might seem on the surface, Catwoman's representation when it comes to her visual appearance and narrative background illustrate the traditional patriarchal image of femininity and the ideal of beauty. *The Dark Knight Rises* does attempt to address the complexity of the female/feminine identity dichotomy in superhero movies; Catwoman is more complex than a typical one-dimensional hero/villain. Not a typical damsel in distress, Catwoman does not passively wait to be rescued; however, her development is limited by patriarchal ideology.

One of the criteria that can be used for determining the patriarchal influence on popular culture is the *Bechdel test.* In *Dykes to Watch Out For* (1985) by Alison Bechdel, two female characters are thinking about going to the cinema, and one of them says that she only goes to see movies that satisfy three requirements: to have at least two women in it, who talk to each other, about something besides a man; hence, the last movie she saw was *Alien* (Bechdel, 1985). Originally intended as a striking punch line about gender roles in Hollywood film production, the *Bechdel test* has provided inspiration for a debate on the role of women in popular culture.

The Dark Knight Rises (2012), as well as the vast majority of superhero movies, does very poorly in terms of the *Bechdel* test. Even though Catwoman does exchange a few lines with her unnamed roommate, it is too short to be

considered a conversation. The only other more prominent female character, Miranda Tate, never interacts with Catwoman, even though they share several scenes. Unlike *The Dark Knight Rises* (2012), *Wonder Woman* (2017) satisfies the three requirements, however, it needs to be stressed that the success refers to the Themyscira period of the movie, where Diana's life is abundant in female relationships. Once she leaves the mythical world, there is only one female character in her life, Etta Candy. Used as a comic relief in the narrative, Etta does not communicate with Wonder Woman, nor go on adventures with male characters, which only Wonder Woman is worthy of doing.

Marvel Universe's Black Widow, similar to Catwoman, is dressed in black tight leather, in a costume appealing to "men's sexual domination fantasies" (O'Reilly, 2005, p. 274). Superheroines are highly sexualised and portrayed stereotypically in an attempt to attract (and keep) the male gaze. Although she is given agency, an armoured Black Widow maintains a very visually feminine appeal. In *The Avengers* and *Captain America* series, this superheroine attempts to explore what it means to be a woman and an action hero, however, she succeeds mostly at being a seductive female in a male-dominated society.

A former KGB spy, Natasha Romanoff, is cast mainly as a helper, however, she does show agency at times. For example, in *Captain America: The Winter Soldier* (2014), when necessary Natasha takes initiative and leadership position, while Captain America, Steve, accepts her orders. While helping Captain America on his mission to destroy enemy organisation Hydra and on the run from their former employers, Natasha demonstrates her ability to quickly adapt to the surroundings. Instead of the direct conflict Steve would prefer, the Black Widow helps Captain America integrate into the crowd at the shopping mall. Although she represents a strong, capable woman, Black Widow's role is that of a helper to the male protagonist and "eye-candy" to the male gaze, indicating gender stereotyping.

Depictions of Female Sexuality in Neil Gaiman's *The Sandman*

In this section, we examine depictions of female sexuality in one of Neil Gaiman's major works: the iconic graphic novel series *The Sandman*. We draw on Edward Said's Orientalism in order to examine how Gaiman navigates the problematic issues of representation of female sexuality in his graphic novel series. *The Sandman* was instrumental in revolutionizing the quality of writing in mainstream comics. Douglas Wolk is critical of the *nostalgie de la boue* amongst both the auteur comics and the mainstream comics: the tendency of otherwise excellent contemporary comics creators to have "picked up their

visual vocabulary from the crap and hackwork of the past [resulting in being] unhealthily attached to it in a sentimental, self-loathing way, as a curdled by-product of the attachment they felt to it as children" (Wolk, 2007, pp. 68-69). According to Wolk, amongst mainstream comics, *nostalgie de la boue* manifests itself through "forgotten Golden Age characters being trotted out again and integrated into the tapestry of continuity" as well as "retroactive continuity" (Wolk, 2007, p. 69). What Wolk forgets is that the writers of the British Invasion of the 1980s often began their comics career by being given by the comics publishing houses old and obscure comics characters, so that these creators may be accused of participating in the *nostalgie de la boue*, and then revamping and re-imagining the characters and the series into something greater than the original material. As an example, Gaiman revived and completely transformed the character of the Sandman, a superhero from a 1970s comic by Joe Simon and Jack Kirby (Allen, 2004, p. 228), into the series that Delany calls "far and above the most inventive and most human comic of the decade" (Delany, 1999, p. 364). The series received accolades from Norman Mailer, Stephen King, and Clive Barker, and won the top awards in comics: of the Eisner awards, Gaiman won Best Writer in 1991, 1992, 1993, and 1994, *The Sandman* won Best Continuing Series in 1991, 1992, and 1993, Best Reprint Graphic Album in 1991, and Best New Graphic Album in 1993; and of the Harveys, Gaiman won Best Writer in 1990 and 1991, with *The Sandman* winning Best Continuing Series in 1992 (Bender, 1999, pp. 260-61). Possibly the most notable of the awards *The Sandman* has won is the 1991 World Fantasy Awards for Best Short Story for issue #19 "A Midsummer Night's Dream," thus becoming the first monthly comic to win a literary award (Bender, 1999, p. 260).

Edward Said demonstrates that the myth of Oriental sexuality, particularly the figure of the lustful Oriental seductress, is an integral aspect of Orientalism and the language justifying empire. Said discusses the images of Oriental sexuality: they include not only the litany of clichés such as "harems, princesses, princes, slaves, veils, dancing girls and boys," but also represent "the freedom of licentious sex" outside Western societal norms (Said, 1979, p. 190). The Oriental sexual appetite is "an undifferentiated sexual drive," but is paradoxically also passive, and must be "ravished and won by the Orientalist hero" — in short, it is a "sexuality [that] must never be taken seriously" (Said, 1979, p. 311). Said identifies Gustave Flaubert's mistress Kuchuk Hanem, "a famous Egyptian dancer and courtesan," as the woman who embodied for the writer the sexual stereotypes that he himself would also perpetrate: to Flaubert, she was "Less a woman than a display of impressive but verbally inexpressive femininity," existing as an "occasion and an opportunity for Flaubert's musings" (Said, 1979, p. 186-187).

The ancient Egyptian goddess Bast is associated with "female fertility, sexuality, and the protection of pregnant women and infants," while her lioness aspect, Sekhmet, is conversely associated with "war, pestilence, and illness" (De Jong, 2002, p. 123). Although Bast is the goddess of sexuality, she does not need to embody the Oriental sexual stereotype: in *The Sandman*, her sexuality has agency, empowered by the position of respect that the Egyptian gods are afforded in Gaiman's reworked graphic novel. It would seem that Gaiman's Bast is somewhat tamed, for in Gaiman's comic series she appears without her fiercer aspect Sekhmet, the negative and warlike persona, whose presence is completely elided. In *Season of Mists*, Bast is incarnated as a cat-headed and bare-breasted woman who, after arriving alongside Anubis, appears to mutely endure the Norse god Thor's crude advancements: "D'you want to play with my hammer? Eh, Miss Pussy-Head? It's called Mjollnir. If I rub it, it gets bigger. S'true" (Gaiman, 1992, p. 145). Her companion Bes appears to be protecting her; etymologically, 'Bes' is derived from "to guard," and "protect" (Malaise, 2002, p. 29). In the following issue, however, Bast reveals herself to be independent and strong-minded. She easily fends Thor off with her claws and reveals herself to be the true diplomat from the Egyptian delegation who will be negotiating with Dream for the possession of Hell. When Bast arranges for a private appointment with Dream, the overtone of her language is suggestive: "We must talk in private. You have something that we want. Very badly. And we have something you desire" (Gaiman, 1992, p. 152). Her dialogue is placed over a panel depicting two demons from a separate delegation in a passionate embrace. Bast offers information about Dream's prodigal brother, Destruction; she does so in a coy and flirtatious manner: "I have something you want," she says in a panel that portrays three quarters of her body in profile (Gaiman, 1992, p. 161). Bast is partially bluffing, something Dream only discovers in a different story arc after Hell has been given to the angels to run. Dream meets her in a dream, recreating her city Bubastis for their rendezvous. Throughout their palaver, Bast is coquettish and witty, speaking in what Gaiman calls "a kind of poetic formality" (Bender, 1999, p. 172):

> Let me see, I suppose it is possible that today you thought to yourself: 'Why, it has been two years since last I saw Lady Bast, and too long before that. It has been far too long since we sat beneath the summer moon together and talked of pleasant fripperies, of that and of this, and left others to speak sensible things of import and consequence. I shall rectify this on a moment.' And suiting the thought to the deed, you sought me out. (Gaiman, 1993, p. 142)

Bast sprawls sensually, threatening Dream with the suggestion of becoming lovers, although she makes it clear she is teasing and admits she does not know

the exact location of Destruction. Given the tragic end of all of Dream's love affairs, recurring through *The Sandman*, Bast is wise not to get involved with him. Although Bast is in decline for lack of worshipers, she remains within her temple and is never without dignity: she can still answer the rare prayer and summon power to attend Dream's wake (Gaiman, 1993, p. 145; Gaiman, 1996, p. 35).

In *The Sandman*, it is also problematic that Gaiman places other female Middle Eastern deities in the sex industry. The Dancing Woman, a.k.a. the goddess Ishtar/Astarte/Belili, works as a stripper — a truly "exotic dancer" — and was once the lover of Destruction. A war goddess whose origins include Mesopotamia and Egypt, Ishtar appears as "a beautiful seductive woman," depicted in Egyptian art as naked, armed, and either on horseback or in chariot — an unusually aggressive figure, given that "Egyptian goddesses were not usually shown naked, and Egyptian women never rode horses" (Pinch, 2002, p. 108). During her appearance, Ishtar is mature and caring, looking after a sick scatterbrained stripper who goes by the stage name "Tiffany." After Dream and Delirium meet her at her workplace, Ishtar dances her "swan dance" that ends up destroying the strip club. Gaiman chooses to portray Ishtar in this manner because the strip club experience "struck [him] as a shadow of genuine sensuality; a sort of falling away from something much deeper and more mysterious" (Bender, 1999, p. 171). The ambiguous dynamics of power and exploitation are exposed: Nancy, one of the other strippers, has an M.A. in women's studies — a seeming paradox, but the stripping is convenient for her, and she intends to write a memoir about her work, and go on Donahue and Oprah. Nancy relates what she remembers from her professors about the goddess Ishtar and temple prostitution: "One of our professors, she said that sacred prostitution is something that only evolves in matriarchies — men are so terrified of female sexuality that they have to repress it, or regulate it — which is where we come in" (Gaiman, 1993, p. 118). Earlier, Ishtar remarks that the men come to strip clubs to see body parts, pretty faces, and nice hair in that order, "But they don't come to see us dance. And they don't want to see me dancing for real" (Gaiman, 1993, p. 113). Ishtar's kamikaze last dance is the combination and apotheosis of her divine aspects of sexuality and violence in a moment of empowerment in the midst of exploitation. She dances "for real," and the sublime moment of ineffable revelation, as in "Façade," must end in destruction. Ishtar's tragic and triumphant moment ultimately affirms the existence of the epic absolutes despite the degradation of the present.

Conclusion

In comic books and movies heroes often get new suits, origin stories are retold, the space-time continuum alters, and sometimes a new hero takes up a mantle in place of someone else. Comic book industry is first and foremost an industry, and editors, writers, and artists are constantly coming up with new and sometimes controversial material to increase sales. TV series and movies serve as cultural revelations, reflecting the society that produces them. The success of Sandman, Ms. Marvel, and Wonder Woman indicate a wider and more diverse readership. The last decade has seen comic book industry geared towards women and minorities as new audiences, and have changed some twenty titles to reflect a more diverse cast of characters. Nevertheless, the primary role of superheroines in film is that of a fantasy for the (male) audience.

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RODNO ODREĐENE SUPERMOĆI: PREDSTAVLJANJE RODA I SEKSUALNOSTI U FILMOVIMA O SUPERJUNACIMA

Sažetak

Stripovi i njihove filmske adaptacije obiluju likovima herojske muževnosti; međutim, predstavljanje herojske ženstvenosti ostaje upitno. S jedne strane, može se shvatiti kao osnaživanje, dok s druge predstavlja dodatnu objektifikaciju. Kompliciran lik za interpretaciju, savremena akciona junakinja može se koristiti za reinterpretaciju uloge žene, međutim, opasnost od seksizma ostaje. Tradicionalno stereotipiziranje po rodnim ulogama ostavlja malo prostora za reafirmaciju rodnih binarnosti; ipak, skorašnje junakinje filmova o superherojima sposobne su za privlačenje konzumentica u industriji kojom tipično dominiraju muškarci. Filmska adaptacija istoimenog stripa, *Čudesna žena* (2017), prvobitno stvorena kao alternativa herojskoj muževnosti stripova, ponovo otvara pitanja o hiper-seksualnosti i priroðenoj objektifikaciji ženskog tijela. Ključno za ovaj rad je da predstavljanje superjunakinja prolazi kroz korjenite promjene koje omogućavaju de-subordinaciju žena u stripovima i filmovima. Mada se ženstvenost još uvijek ne slavi u strip kulturi, junakinje kao što su Crna udovica *Osvetnika* (2012) i već spomenuta Čudesna žena donekle prkose patrijarhalnim vrijednostima koji privilegiraju muškarce naspram žena; njihova osnovna uloga nije poticanje pripovijesti o muškarcima niti su katalist radnje koju pokreću muškarci. Ovaj rad će se baviti kompleksnošću predstavljanja muževnosti i ženstvenosti u filmovima o superjunacima, kao i ulogom seksualnosti u stripu kao žanru.

Ključne riječi: rod, seksualnost, osnaživanje, objektifikacija, filmovi o superjunacima