

ТЕМЕ

JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
ЧАСОПИС ЗА ДРУШТВЕНЕ НАУКЕ

UDC 1+3

2
2024

ISSN 0353-7919

ТЕМЕ 2/2024

Published by
UNIVERSITY OF NIŠ

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Publication frequency – four issues per year
Circulation: 75
The journal is available via Index Copernicus,
"Central and Eastern European Online Library"
(CEEOL), EBSCO Information Services and
Serbian Citation Index
Referred to DOAJ, ERIH PLUS
Editorial office address: Univerzitetski trg 2,
18000 Niš, Serbia. Phone (+381 18) 257-095
Printed by ATLANTIS DOO, Niš, Serbia

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УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У НИШУ

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Часопис излази тромесечно
Тираж: 75 примерака
Часопис је доступан преко Index Copernicus,
„Онлајн библиотеке централне и источне Европе”
(CEEOL), EBSCO базе
и Српског цитатног индекса
Реферисан у DOAJ, ERIH PLUS
Адреса редакције: Универзитетски трг 2,
18000 Ниш. Тел. (018) 257-095
Штампа ATLANTIS DOO, Ниш



CIP - Каталогизација у публикацији
Народна библиотека Србије, Београд

3

ТЕМЕ : часопис за друштвене науке / главни и одговорни
уредник Сузана Ђукић. - Год. 13, бр. 1/2 (1990)- . - Ниш :
Универзитет у Нишу, 1990- (Ниш : Atlantis). - 24 cm

Тромесечно. -

Текст на срп. и енгл. језику. -

Је наставак: Марксистичке теме (Ниш) = ISSN 0351-1685. -

Друго издање на другом медијуму: Теме (Online) = ISSN 1820-7804

ISSN 0353-7919 = Теме (Ниш)

COBISS.SR-ID 559631

**Publication of the Teme journal is co-financed by
the Ministry of Science, Technological Development and Innovation
of the Republic of Serbia.**

ТЕМЕ

JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
ЧАСОПИС ЗА ДРУШТВЕНЕ НАУКЕ

ТЕМЕ, Vol. XLVIII, N° 2, April – June 2024, pp. 293–561

ТЕМЕ, г. XLVIII, бр. 2, април–јун 2024, стр. 293–561

UDC 1+3

ISSN 0353-7919

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THE MEDIA AS MACHINERY OF PERSUASION

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Abstract

The process of informing through the media, as well as direct face-to-face communication, is inevitably also a process of persuasion and imposing opinions. This act itself is natural, but experience tells us that rational logical argumentation does not bring an advantage in the exchange of opinions under a strong emotional charge. This phenomenon is not new, as even in ancient Greece the younger sophists failed Protagoras when they replaced the search for truth with the art of persuasion that will make weak claims stronger. Thus, oratory became eristic, the art of arguing with the aim of refuting someone else's opinion. Skilled polemicists do not look for the truth, but for arguments that support their point of view. The development of technology and media forms have perfected this process and have euphemistically renamed the lie itself as the 'post-truth', which is useful and thereby justified. Kant's observation about poetry as a creative imagination, and rhetoric as an insidious skill that turns people into 'machinery of persuasion' is used by the modern media for the creation of informative-entertaining content to achieve commercial and ideological goals. The all-powerful media machines abolish the objective perception of events and lead modern society into a decay that many civilizations have already experienced. *Deus ex machina* has become an omnipresent *Deus ex media* that solves nothing, but turns everything into a process of endless entertainment, a spectacle in which reason is enslaved by passions.

Key words: media manipulation, eristic process of persuasion, people as machinery of persuasion, endless commercial-ideological entertainment, media god of spectacle.

МЕДИЈИ КАО МАШИНЕ НАГОВАРАЊА

Апстракт

Процес информисања путем медија и у директној комуникацији лицем у лице је неминовно и процес убеђивања и наметања ставова. Сам тај чин је природан, али искуство нам говори да рационална логичка аргументација не доноси превагу у размени мишљења под јаким емоционалним набојем. Ова појава није нова јер су још у античкој Грчкој млађи софисти изневерили Протагору када су

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трагање за истином заменили вештином убеђивања која ће слабе тврдње учинити јачим. Тиме је беседништво постало еристика, вештина спорења са циљем да се побије туђе мишљење. Вешти полемичари не трагају за истином, већ за аргументима који подржавају њихова гледишта. Развој технологије и медијских форми усавршио је овај процес и, не марећи за логику и морал, и саму лаж еуфемистички преименовао у „постистину“, корисну и тиме оправдану. Кантово запажање о пеништву као стваралачкој имагинацији и беседништву као подмуклој вештини која људе претвара у „машине наговарања“ савремени медији користе за информативно-забавне садржаје ради постизања комерцијалних и идеолошких циљева. Свемоћне медијске машине укидају објективно сагледавање догађаја и воде савремено друштво у суноврат, какав су већ доживеле многе цивилизације. *Deus ex machina* је постао свеприсутни *Deus ex media* који ништа не решава, али све претвара у процес бескрајне забаве, спектакл у коме разум робује страстима.

Кључне речи: медијска манипулација, еристички процес убеђивања, људи као машине наговарања, бескрајна комерцијално-идеолошка забава, медијски бог спектакла.

INTRODUCTION

It is difficult to discern any philosophical and ethical foundation in contemporary media, except for the ideological pragmatism driven by the logic of unscrupulous capital. This equally applies to traditional media – press, radio and television, and the Internet: web portals and social networks. Despite the optimistic belief that the emergence of newspapers would contribute to a more objective informing of the wider strata of the citizenry, and encourage public opinion to critically reflect on events and take positions on matters of general interest, it soon became evident that the press was a tool in the hands of publishers. The one who ‘handles’ the information does so in their own interest and easily manipulates the readers, who then orally pass on the adopted views, firmly convinced that it is their own opinion. This is how media manipulation becomes possible, because the hypnotized do not know that they are in a state of altered consciousness, and passionately advocate ideas that they bought cheaply and gradually became ‘pulp fiction’ heroes of an ideologically coloured reality.

In this way, the process of exchanging information becomes a process of persuasion and imposing opinions, no different from that in direct face-to-face communication. In our age, it is merely a technologically perfected art of persuasion the younger sophists have applied, abandoning the pursuit of truth advocated by Protagoras, according to Plato the “teacher of virtues” and the “first sophist” (Plato, 2023, 328c). Instead, it became important to make weaker claims stronger, and rhetoric was transformed into eristic, the art of arguing with the aim of belittling and ridiculing other people’s views. That is completely opposite to free discussions on various topics, which Immanuel Kant considered ‘play of the mind’, i.e. a change of different ideas within the power of judgment, where all interlocutors are on the gain, as there are no winners and losers.

The famous philosopher emphasized that in doing so, thoughts arise that do not carry any practical interest, but serve to revive the soul, similar to when we admire works of art, in the process of aesthetic disinterested appreciation. That is quite different from rhetoric:

I must confess that a beautiful poem has always given me a pure enjoyment, whereas reading the best speech of a Roman popular speaker or a contemporary speaker in parliament or in the pulpit has always been mixed with the disagreeable feeling of disapproval of a deceitful art, which understands how to move people, like machines, to a judgment in important matters which must lose all weight for them in calm reflection.

(Kant, 1975 p. 210)

Contemporary mass media and social networks extensively employ this rhetorical skill, *eristic*¹, as a technique of argumentation with the aim of refuting others' opinions, regardless of the truthfulness of the arguments or even the information itself, euphemistically renaming lie as the 'post-truth'², justifying it as useful within the world of utilitarian functionality. The editorial team of the *Oxford Learner's Dictionary*³ declared 'post-truth' as the word of the year for 2016, providing an explanation of the broader meaning of the prefix 'post-', which no longer solely refers to the time after a certain situation or event (e.g., post-war), but in the term 'post-truth' it takes on the meaning of "belonging to a time in which a concept has become irrelevant." A year before the student uprising in France and around the world, Guy Debord (1967) hinted at this, analysing people's alienation from reality in the society of the spectacle: "In a world that really has been turned on its head, truth is a moment of falsehood" (Debord, 2006, p. 7).

Kant's critique of the misuse of rhetoric to persuade listeners to uncritically accept others' views, widely applied in contemporary public

¹ In the unfinished work *Eritische Dialektik*, Arthur Schopenhauer defines it as 'negative dialectic', the art of conducting an argument so that with the help of tricks in argumentation we gain an advantage and always be and remain right, regardless of the truth;

² Post-truth, the word of the year in 2016 according to the linguists working on the *Oxford Learner's Dictionary*, which, according to the data of this institution, was first used by Steve Tešić, an American writer of Serbian origin, in the magazine *Nation*, writing about the war Gulf War: "We, as free people, have freely decided that we want to live in some kind of post-truth world". That word has been used before, but in the sense of the subsequent discovery of the truth, while Tešić uses it in the sense of 'that the truth has become irrelevant', which justifies the lie. <https://www.blic.rs/kultura/vesti/stiv-tesic-prvi-je-upotrebio-rec-post-istina/rhkb2v5> Accessed on August 7, 2023;

³ Oxford Learner's Dictionary <https://languages.oup.com/word-of-the-year/2016/>;

relations and the media, is very close to the analysis of the public undertaken by Soren Kierkegaard in the essay "The Present Age" (1846). Berkeley Professor of Philosophy Hubert L. Dreyfus compares this essay to the state of publicly expressed opinion at the turn of the second and third millennium, imagining the response of the Danish philosopher to social media in the age of the Internet. Kierkegaard believed that his age was characterized by the nihilistic equalization of all status and value differences, because the public emerges as an all-knowing arbiter. He says that "[i]n order that everything should be reduced to the same level, it is first of all necessary to produce a phantom, its spirit a monstrous abstraction... and that phantom is the Public" (Dreyfus, 1998, pp. 96-97). But the real villain behind the Public, Kierkegaard claims, is the Press. It demoralizes people in the attempt to think critically, which threatens the ethical dimension of man and creates a society devoid of a sense of responsibility. Kierkegaard feared that "Europe will come to a standstill at the Press and remain at a standstill as a reminder that the human race has invented something which eventually overpowered it" and he adds: "Even if my life had no other significance, well, I am satisfied with having discovered the absolutely demoralizing existence of the daily press" (Dreyfus, 1998, p. 97).

That nihilism of the media, which we would today call relativism, according to Kierkegaard leads to the fact that "[a]t any moment reflection is capable of explaining everything quite differently and allowing one some way of escape..." (Dreyfus, 1998, p. 101). Kierkegaard expresses his indignation at the 'phantom of the public' after the affair with the newspaper *The Corsair*, ironically suggesting the motto for the Press: "Here men are demoralized in the shortest possible time on the largest possible scale, at the cheapest possible price" (Dreyfus, 1998, p. 101).

Based on these attitudes, we can assume that in the age of the Internet, Kierkegaard would be horrified by the fact that the power to disseminate opinions behind which no one stands has greatly increased for both the media and individuals, because the possibility of anonymity on social networks is far greater than it used to be in the age of the press. His belief that such a system 'makes Christianity impossible' would likely now lead to the view that instead of a democratic society, we have obtained a hi-tech synthesis of the worst features of newspapers and coffee-houses, in which, along with the press, Jürgen Habermas locates the beginnings of the public sphere in the mid-eighteenth century (1962), attributing to them a completely opposite, positive influence on the development of free thought and democracy. In short, what Kierkegaard said about the press would apply even more today to the Internet: "It is frightful that someone who is no one... can set any error into circulation with no thought of responsibility and with the aid of this dreadful disproportioned means of communication" (Dreyfus, 1998, p. 102).

The essential objection that Kierkegaard directs towards the public and the press is that their abstract reasoning about everything is completely detached from any action. The very reflection of countless ‘thinkers’ is not based on any practical activity, so it does not obligate them to anything. In the age of the Internet, freedom becomes even more irresponsible:

However, the problem is that fake news and hate speech are often spread and shared on social media. Regulating harmful speech in online spaces requires drawing the line between legitimate free speech and hate speech. Freedom of speech is protected by major international human rights treaties and by the constitutions of most countries around the world.

(Vučković, Lučić, 2023, p. 202)

Separation from political power gives the public the freedom of endless critical commentary, which makes action impossible. The ethical dimension does not exist, so there is no responsibility for the written word. Such communication by the media that have permeated our world has made freedom of speech itself banal. Communication channels are overloaded with images that dizzyingly change and repeat, words lose their meaning, and McLuhan’s *War and Peace in the Global Village* (1968) has media-transformed the petit bourgeois “generated by the increasing bureaucratization of the state” into a “new, technological peasantry” that in the “society of the spectacle” (Debord, 1967, p. 47) does not see danger but a substitute for lost meaning.

MEDIA PRODUCTION OF IMAGES IN A WORLD OF ISOLATED INDIVIDUALS

The revolutionary theses presented by Marshall McLuhan about “understanding media as extensions of man” (1964) and the primacy of media form over media content, expressed in the slogan “the medium is the message” (McLuhan, 1971, p. 41), as well as about the transformation of the planet into a ‘global village’ were realized in a paradoxical manner: we live in a world that recognizes nothing but the latest news – “screens are dynamic icons” (Manovich, 2015, p. 136), and the spectacle is the peak of the consumer ideology that dictates various information to us, presenting them as indisputable facts, often as axioms. The technology that is changing us is not neutral; since we have begun virtually travelling through the windows of monitors we have never felt at home anywhere, because we are constantly immersed in the media world. The mobile phone is like the rabbit hole through which Alice fell into Wonderland, except we are denied an exit, because we dream while awake, and the ‘carnivalization of the world’ (Bakhtin, 1965) is realized as a loss of free-

dom, because man has become a mere media pendant. The dilemma ‘to have or to be’ (Fromm, 1976) has been erased, the only thing that matters now is ‘looking good’ (Debord, 1967), because in a dominantly visual world only image is truly important. This is also confirmed by surveys of social network preferences among students in Niš:

The social media landscape has undergone changes recently, and these changes are a reflection of user interests that are more drawn to short video formats. When TikTok became one of the most popular platforms in 2016, the social media landscape underwent a change as a result of the ability to communicate a variety of content through extremely short video materials. TikTok is a network whose app is downloaded by a lot more users on a monthly basis compared to other networks like Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube, which have more users overall.

(Stamenković, Mitrović, 2023, p. 19)

Culture as the meaning of an insufficiently meaningful world is suppressed, it survives only if it is reshaped by the media:

Representations of media culture show who has power and who does not, who is allowed to use force and violence, and who is not. They dramatize and legitimize the power of the existing powers, and show the weaker ones that if they do not conform to the existing state, they are threatened with isolation or death.

(Kellner, 2004, p. 6)

A little more than half a century since Guy Debord published the prophetic work *The Society of the Spectacle* (1967), humanity is, paradoxically, in a dead end bounded by media images, and “the total reality of today’s social existence prevents people from experiencing reality directly” (Debord, 2006, p. 52). The production of images must not stop, because that would mean that even the mediated contact with reality is cut, and since it is impossible to preserve authorship in the abundance of scenes endlessly multiplied by new technology, the prediction of the French situationists is realized as an inevitability: “Plagiarism is necessary. Progress depends on it” (Debord, 2006, p. 53). People are becoming ever more alike, because how they should look, what they should like, eat and think, so that the individual also becomes a plagiarism, and cloning happens at the level of a programmed psyche that perceives diversity as undesirable or even dangerous.

Progress is only an illusion, as is the media reality that has abolished ontological questions about truth. Media spectacularization has led to the prevalence of a totalizing ‘optical mind’ both in individuals and globally at the level of humanity, strongly supporting the “end of great stories” anticipated in Lyotard’s work *The Postmodern Condition* (1979). An individual is isolated and lost in the abyss of media images (*Mise en*

abyeme)⁴, not understanding even the individual meaning of the scene in front of him, and especially not comprehending the entirety of the meaning of the kaleidoscope in which his complete existence is buried.

Fortunately, there are still philosophers, poets and other critical thinkers and creative creators who do not accept such a state of affairs and dare to ask questions. One of the questions is why big stories have been abolished, since by the constant work of the media – ‘machinery of persuasion’, we ourselves have been turned into machines and forced to accept to live one such ideological story about the victory of postmodernity:

Let’s take the phrase that ‘the end of great stories has come’. Strategy is crucial. Firstly, that end applies only to possible *alternative stories*. The dominant, ruling ones don’t even need to be told, the established structure squeezes them out by itself. [...] The prohibition of ‘great stories’ is therefore suspiciously close to the prohibition of thought itself.

(Močnik, 1999, p. 32)

The technological expansion of the media does not improve communication, but makes the individual isolated. The relationship between people is mediated by images that have materialized into a spectacle as the main product of our society. It is not just decor, but an inversion of life that we now perceive only as media fragments, “the very heart of the unreality of this society” (Debord, 2006, p. 6). Dialogue has given way to chatter, endless entertainment that equates life with leisure time, and all activity is scorned.

Although a vast number of media outlets in the world create an illusion of an anarchic freedom that is impossible to both monitor and control, within all of this we can discern a global media strategy that does not care about the truth, as it does not search for it, but rather for images that will sell well:

What is being published, however, is of a completely different nature: here, in fact, we are talking about visualized media messages that, in principle, lose their connection with the *logos* (meaning), as their narrative structure melts into an optical, i.e. digital code of contemporary media.

(Vuksanović, 2011, p. 18)

⁴ In Western art history ***mise en abyme*** is a formal technique of placing a copy of an image within itself, often in a way that suggests an infinitely recurring sequence. In film theory and literary theory, it refers to the technique of inserting a story within a story. The term is derived from heraldry literally means ‘placed into abyss’. It was first appropriated for modern criticism by the French author Andre Gide;

Taking into account that we have long been living in the ‘society of the spectacle’, it is not difficult to deduce that the media utilize everything that brings profit, not hesitating to monetize terrorist attacks worldwide, contributing with ideological propaganda to the instigation and prolongation of wars that they broadcast live, taking sides and rooting for their favourites, as they belong to the acclamation-proclaimed ‘free world’ and fit into a matrix identical to the genre formulas of the film and TV series industry. Since wars cannot last indefinitely, as after a certain time, the public becomes oversaturated and seeks new topics, in times of peace there are festival-type cultural events and even more popular sports, from the Olympic Games and world and continental championships to major tournaments in individual competitions like tennis or golf. Thanks to the media, expensive tickets, and betting under state protection, globalization has made football one of the most profitable sports:

The dialectic of the relationship between globalization, national identity, and xenophobia is dramatically illustrated in a public activity that encompasses all three elements: in football. That is because, thanks to global television, this universally popular sport has been turned into a capitalist industrial complex.

(Hobsbawm, 2008, p. 89)

Thus, the images ‘ate the truth’ in a media metareference to Thomas More’s famous sentence (1516) about ‘sheep that ate men’ during the development of the textile manufacturing in England. The perspective of rare seekers of truth seems like a split in the personality created by schizophrenia: is the truth one in the offline world and different in the media, or is it one and the same that is only reached by different paths? There is also the possibility that it exists in one of the worlds and does not exist in another, or perhaps it has been abolished in both, like the ‘great stories’ that postmodernity erased without regret. At best, everyone got crumbs of stories, and in line with that, crumbs of truth, valid only in a limited space and time, because in any other they are just lies, or rather post-truth. Moral values are treated similarly in our time, as a ballast of tradition that slows down progress, even though “the moral capital of the community is an essential resource for the maintenance of the social community against the forces of entropy” (Haidt, 2022, p. 359).

WHY IS THERE NO REBELLION OF REASON AGAINST THE MEDIA-OCCUPIED WORLD?

Establishing a diagnosis is the first step towards healing the individual and society, but in this case nothing is happening to change the world and free it from the shackles of ubiquitous media. On the contrary, they are multiplying and rapidly taking over more and more human func-

tions, and the vast majority no longer need to be persuaded to do something, as they eagerly await instructions. Instead of the command 'you must', which even at the subconscious level triggers resistance, the euphemism 'you can' is used, and everyone willingly accepts the 'freedom of choice' to log in and become one of the 'spiders' weaving the common internet web with everyone else. This would not be possible if human nature corresponded to Plato's vision of a rational being, but it seems that David Hume was closer to the truth when he concluded in 1739 that: "Reason is, and ought only to be the slave of the passions, and can never pretend to any other office than to serve and obey them" (Hume, 1983, p. 355).

The confirmation of Hume's stance, which may sound like the extravagance of a philosopher, arrived in the late twentieth century from the field of neurology. Neuroscientist Antonio Damasio, working with patients who suffered brain damage in the ventromedial prefrontal cortex (vmPFC) - the lower, middle part behind and above the nasal bone, noticed that their emotionality had almost completely disappeared. They did not feel anything when they were shown the most horrifying or the most joyful photos of people and events, even though they retained their moral reasoning and intelligence quotient. They knew what was good and bad, but when they had to make important decisions, either about their personal lives or the business they were involved in, they could not do it or made foolish choices. Therefore, they would quickly jeopardize both family life and employment, making their lives very difficult because they were dysfunctional. Damasio concluded "that intuitive feelings and bodily reactions are necessary for rational thinking and that one of the tasks of vmPFC is to integrate these intuitive feelings into one's conscious deliberations" (Damasio, according Haidt, 2022, p. 54), on which he wrote the book *Descartes' Error* (1994).

Perhaps these findings can help us better understand people's fascination with the media and their inability to break away from it and make more reasonable decisions. It seems that rationality separated from emotions does not exist, except in pathological cases that endanger the process of thinking, as well as the possibility of moral behaviour. For this second insight, credit goes to researchers in the field of moral psychology, whose research shows that morality is the foundation of human civilization, and its survival depends to the greatest extent on preserving the balance between the various capacities of a person: intellectual, emotional, volitional, intuitive and physical, but also spiritual and mental, which serve as a bridge between the rational and the passionate in every being. Friedrich Nietzsche had this in mind when he wrote about the necessity of uniting the "Apollonian and Dionysian in the culture of every nation, in the manner of Ancient Greece, so that culture is not merely a decorative but an integrative factor in society" (Nietzsche, 2001, pp. 51-52).

We owe psychology the confirmation of some more of our insights, both intuitive and intellectual. The founder of experimental psychology, Wilhelm Wundt, formulated the doctrine of the primacy of affectivity in the last decade of the nineteenth century. He discovered in laboratory conditions that affect acts as a quick flash of feeling that can be positive or negative. He established that this affective reaction serves the function of preparing to approach something or to avoid it. It is too short to be considered an emotion, but it is integrated with perception so that a person is able to know whether they like or dislike something even before they know what it is. Users of social media react in exactly this way when they like something that they did not even get to look at or read carefully.

Following in the footsteps of Wundt, the social psychologist Robert Zajonc experimented in 1980 by asking respondents to rank arbitrary content such as Japanese pictograms, geometric shapes, and invented words of a non-existent language. They did it guided by a slight flicker of the 'like – dislike' affect, and Zajonc discovered that if a certain image is shown multiple times, people actually start to like it. It was happening even when the time for displaying the picture was so short that it was impossible to memorize and recognize it, but the brain was unconsciously marking familiar things as good. The experimenter named this phenomenon 'the mere exposure effect' and it is the fundamental principle of advertising.

Investigating how we form impressions of others, what the experiment conducted at Princeton by Alex Todorov in 2005 showed is that people were capable of making judgments about the competence of politicians even when their pictures were shown for only one-tenth of a second, which was sufficient to assess who will actually win the elections. This means that media manipulation is not all-powerful; the critical intuition in humans it has evolved just as in other animal species and serves as a defence against danger (Zajonc, according to Haidt, 2022, pp. 82-83).

This knowledge gives us hope that rebellion and change is possible and that the virtual world does not necessarily have to suffocate and assimilate reality, people and truth in order to turn it all together into a commercial-entertainment simulacrum. A little more than a decade ago, Stephane Hessel, a ninety-three-year-old hero of the French Resistance, a diplomat and one of the drafters of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* of the United Nations (1948), wrote and published a short book of only three printing plates under the title *Indigne vous!* (2010). It brought France and a large part of Europe to its feet, as the author clearly formulated where the indifference to our own lives, which we leave to politicians, the media and everyone who serves them, is leading us:

We are no longer dealing with a small, select elite whose actions we clearly understand. The world is vast and we feel that everything in it is interdependent. Everything is interconnected like never before. But in that world, many things are unacceptable. In order to see it,

you have to look with your eyes wide open, you have to search. I tell the young: just look and you will find. The worst possible outlook is indifference that says, "I can't do anything about it; I'll just get by." Behaving like that deprives you of one of the essential qualities of being human. The quality that is indispensable: the ability to rebel and, as a result, to act against something.

(Hessel, 2011, p. 19)

The dilemma remains as to why there are so many bad politicians when the intuition of the voters is so powerful? Perhaps the reason for this is that the choice is limited to the least bad, and it is also possible that, under the influence of the media, our first intuitive impression is shaken by propaganda images and slogans. Hume is right when it comes to reason in the service of passion, but it seems that Kant's assessment of rhetoric and the press as 'machinery of persuasion' is also accurate.

Returning to the old philosophers, we cannot but agree with Plato, who argued in his work *The Republic* that it is better to be moral than to appear so. At the very beginning, Glaucon, Plato's brother, demands from Socrates that he prove that justice itself, and not its reputation, leads to happiness. To make it clearer what kind of difference it is, Glaucon mentions the mythical golden ring of Gyges, which makes the man who wears it invisible, and asks Socrates how such a man would behave: Socrates manages to respond by drawing an analogy between justice in a man and justice in a city, arguing that in such a society, there is harmony among all social classes, whereas in an unjust one, the powerful exploit the weak, and there reigns a ruthless self-interest-driven chaos. The listeners agree with this picture of the city, and Socrates assures them that the same applies to a happy person ruled by reason. Such a person genuinely cares about true goodness, not just the appearance of virtue. This explanation is logical for Plato, Socrates' disciple who believed in the perfection of reason, our original nature bestowed upon us by the gods (Plato, 1993, 360b-c, 443-445, and 447d-e).

It would be difficult for a great philosopher to imagine our age in which some people do not need Gyges' ring of invisibility to behave unjustly and immorally, and to unscrupulously record and post such recordings on social networks and other media: "Reason is not fit to rule; it is designed to seek justification, not truth. [...] Glaucon was right: people care much more about appearance and reputation than about reality" (Haidt, 2022, p. 100).

William James, one of the founders of American psychology, advocated for a functionalist approach to the mind: "My thinking is first and last and always in the service of my actions" (James, 1950/1890, p. 333). The meeting point of these various perspectives on the human mind, morality, and behavior is Plato's determination of man as a 'political animal' - *zoon politikon* (Greek ζῷον πολιτικόν. Connecting philosophical in-

sights and psychological research, we can say that people are ‘intuitive politicians’, not scientists. A ‘scientific animal’ does not exist. We put much more effort into appearing right than actually being right.

This has been confirmed by the research of Phil Tetlock, who is one of the leading scientists studying responsibility within the field of moral psychology. He noticed that when the examinees are required to solve a problem and make a decision, if they are told that they will have to justify it in front of an audience, they think systematically and self-critically. If not obligated to justify, they make decisions more quickly, intuitively, while making mistakes due to laziness and irresponsibility. Tetlock observes in experiments the same thing that Kant arrived at through reasoning: “The purpose of conscious reasoning is largely persuasion, rather than revelation. In doing so, we strive to persuade ourselves as well, because we want to believe in the things we are preparing to tell others” (Lerner & Tetlock, 2003, p. 433, according to Haidt, 2022, p. 103).

CONCLUSION

In the theatre of ancient Greece, impossible situations would be resolved by *Deus ex machina*. In the twenty-first century, that machine is the media, but we are not sure whether God is present in it. Some will justifiably say that the same applies to reality outside the media, but the media God of the spectacle constantly imposes himself, so that he is constantly visible, Dionysian in promiscuity and Apollonian in wisdom, just rightly so that viewers can bear it without feeling bored. What bothers some who approach the media critically and try not to succumb to the ‘machinery of persuasion’ and to not allow themselves to become one such machine is whether there is something more behind the images or if they are just soap bubbles, which the French cultural theorist Jean Baudrillard presents as “copies without an original” in the world of simulacra (2008, pp. 469-488).

Stanko Crnobrajica, a Serbian media theorist, television and film director, producer and screenwriter, uses the saying ‘The camera never lies’ to explain how viewers perceive media images: “The credibility of the ‘camera eye’ and its images are very often accepted as an indisputable truth, although the knowledge of semiotics dictates caution in interpretation or even a completely opposite understanding” (Crnobrajica, 2010, p. 31).

Users find it difficult to understand that the ‘objectivity’ of an image is just an illusion because visual media, as well as auditory, actively produce signs and are not ‘pure, immediate information’. Knowing about this does not deprive us of the danger that, in the world of perfected media managed by artificial intelligence or the financial-political oligarchy that abuses it like any other power, we may become ‘voluntary’ slaves of the new age. The great ideologies that wanted to liberate the world in or-

der to subjugate it have not disappeared yet; they have only managed to look better.

That is why one should keep in mind the testamentary words of Stefan Hessel, who, like Gandhi, advocated for peaceful rebellion:

It is high time that concern for morality, justice and sustainable balance prevails. We are threatened by great dangers that could bring an end to man's adventure on the planet, that could turn the Earth into a place where life is impossible. [...] Therefore, let's continue to call for a true and peaceful rebellion against the means of public information, which offer our youth only the perspective of mass consumption, contempt for the weak and culture, general amnesia and ruthless competition of all against all.

(Hessel, 2011, pp. 25-27)

In the end, we should remember the paradox that is also confirmed in this case: 'Less is more!' Less media intrusion into our limited time on the planet means more true life. Existence precedes essence, but without it, existence is only a rapid succession of images that induce constant anxiety, because they depict scenes that are separated from the viewer and merge into the independent movement of a life surrogate. This leads to indifference or addiction similar to that exhibited by experimental rats, pressing the button to initiate electrical stimulation of their brain's reward centres and ceasing to eat until they die of starvation. People immersed in the spectacle also receive a regular dose of dopamine, and forget to live.

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МЕДИЈИ КАО МАШИНЕ НАГОВАРАЊА

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Резиме

Савремени медији не задовољавају се преношењем информација, већ настоје да попут вештих беседника, наметну своје ставове читаоцима, слушаоцима и гледаоцима. Медији не представљају стварност, већ је креирају. При томе циљају емоције корисника, користећи еристичку методу убеђивања која слабије тврдње треба да учини јачим, независно од истине и чињеница. Развој технологије довео је до трансформације традиционалних и настанка нових медија чија је дигитална свеprisутност, без просторних и временских ограничења, довела до преваге пост-истине, како се еуфемистички назива корисна и самим тим оправдана лаж.

Кантово запажање да штампа његовог доба примењује еристику претварајући се у „машине наговарања“ људи у време интернета и друштвених мрежа још је израженија појава. Идеолошки и комерцијални интереси не маре за објективно сагледавање догађаја, већ приказују бескрајне низове покретних слика које омогућавају манипулацију наративом и намећу забаву и спектакл као приоритет. Постмодернистичка фрагментација стварности доприноси доживљају публике да је уроњена у симулакрум, у коме је најважније добро изгледати, јер у визуелној култури снимати себе и друге значи постојати.

Иако се не назире излаз из света умреженог екранима којим управља свеprisутни *Deus ex media*, он ипак постоји, у стваралачкој имагинацији и „игри духа“ корисника који од пасивних посматрача могу да се преобразе у креаторе медијских садржаја и нових форми. Критички приступ и вредновање медијске продукције може да пробуди етичку димензију човека и обнови здраво друштво, одговорно за сваку изговорену, написану и објављену реч али и фотографију и видео-запис.

Померање јавности из реалног у виртуелне светове интернета довело је до губитка осећаја да је и то јавни простор, а правним регулисањем дигиталног универзума, демократија не би била угрожена, већ сачувана од говора мржње и сваке друге злоупотребе ширења лажних вести и слика. Развој медијске писмености и медијског образовања подразумева инсистирање на чињеницама, а култура као смисао недовољно смисленог света, иако медијски преобликована, не значи предају онима који имају политичку и економску моћ, већ упозорење и подстицај на побуну.

Критички мислиоци и креативни ствараоци данашњице не пристају да буду изгубљени у амбису медијских слика, већ постављају питања и нуде алтернативне приче, од којих је најважнија она да забрана великих прича и идеала води ка постепеној забрани мишљења. Повратак логосу је повратак смислу и моралним вредностима заједнице које су суштинске за одупирање силама ентропије и нихилистичке релативизације људске слободе избора.

Упркос потврди неуронауке да је филозоф Дејвид Хјум био у праву када је тврдио да је „разум у служби страсти“, то не значи да треба одустати од рационалног размишљања и живота. Моралност је темељ наше цивилизације, а култура интегративни фактор сваког друштва, а не пука декорација. Научна открића о могућностима манипулације дају људима и моћно оружје за одбрану од виртуелног света који не мора да асимилира стварност ако на то не пристанемо.

Опасност од равнодушности према сопственом животу може бити превладана ако се не препустимо политичарима и медијима, већ искористимо никада

veћu meђuzavisnost људи у свету и преузмемо одговорност и моћ за доношење одлука о рату и миру, климатским променама и ресурсима енергије и хране за све на планети. Ако већ не постоји „научна животиња“, већ је човек *zoon politikon*, онда нема другог решења него да људи преузму контролу над друштвом и медијима, користећи их као средства за борбу против опасности које би могле да униште цивилизацију, а Земљу претворе у немогуће место за живот.

TURNING CANADIAN – PROCESSING IMMIGRANT IDENTITIES^a

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Abstract

The paper deals with the processes of integration in Canadian society as represented by three different contemporary ethnic authors – Sharon Bala (*The Boat People*), Tea Mutonji (*Shut up You're Pretty*) and Souvankham Thammavongsa (*How to Pronounce Knife*), all somewhat translating their transgenerational experiences as immigrants into their works. The negotiation of identities, in their respective works, happens at the margins of the Canadian society – the integral position of the immigrant individual whose marginalized status prescribes the performatives pertaining to class, race and gender. The commodification of this status underscores the shifting nature of *Canadianness* – as perceived by the margins and the center. The problematics of immigrant identity, its otherness and conditions of integration are represented in a highly ironic and postmodern manner, highlighting the issue of hypocritical enforcement of liberal policies in western societies.

Key words: identity, immigration, migrants, refugees, securitization, liberal policy, contemporary Canadian literature, postmodern criticism.

ПОСТАТИ КАНАЂАНИН/КА – У ПОТРАЗИ ЗА ИМИГРАНТСКИМ ИДЕНТИТЕТИМА

Апстракт

Рад испитује репрезентације искустава интеграције у канадско друштво и то на начин на који то три савремене ауторке са имигрантским коренима представљају у својим збиркама, Теа Мутонџи у *Ћути, лепа си* и Суванкам Тамавонгса у *Како се изговара нож*, и Шерон Бале у роману *Људи са бродова*, и то са посебним освртом на начин на који се трансгенерацијска искуства имиграната представљају у њиховим делима. У овим радовима се преиспитивање идентитета дешава на маргинама канадског друштва, што сугерише да је маргинали-

^a The article was presented at the *Language, Literature, Process 2023 Conference* at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia.

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зација неизоставно део имигрантског идентитета, како се кроз њу преписују перформативи који се односе на класу, расу и пол. Ова комодификација имиграната открива и оне стране слике канадског идентитета које указују на постојање недостижног центра, у односу на маргине. Ова дела суштински разоткривају лицемерје либералне политике западног друштва, и то на типично постмодеран начин – кроз иронију.

Кључне речи: идентитет, имиграција, мигранти, избеглице, безбедност, либерална политика, савремена канадска књижевност, постмодерна критика.

INTRODUCTION

Approaching identity as a process of negotiation with the cultural, political, social and historical contexts at the individual and collective levels, modes of *Canadianness* are explored in the contemporary, and rather recent, literary works problematizing the experience of integration in the Canadian society. Moreover, these representations are explored against the official immigration-related practices and narratives in Canada. Sharon Bala's novel, *The Boat People* (2018), describes the complexities of the refugee and migrant narratives, entrapped in bureaucratic loops scrutinizing every dimension of their personal history and evaluating their value to the Canadian society. Tea Mutonji's *Shut up You're Pretty* – a short story collection published in 2019, presents a transgenerational experience of women – Congo emigrants, in their poignantly unsuccessful attempts to navigate the margins in the process of integration in Canada. Finally, Souvankham Thammavongsa's short story collection, *How to Pronounce Knife* (2020), highlights the paralysis of immigrants in the process of integration in the Canadian society, and complements the narratives of the Japanese immigrant family in *The Boat People* by underscoring the disturbing repetition of historical injustices against immigrants – the Other that changes face and race depending on the historical context. Although Thammavongsa's short stories focus on the individual experience of isolation, marginality, loneliness and rejection, much like Mutonji's, they are implicitly mutually coextensive with the narratives encapsulated by the three works as all these have roots in the ethnic and racial displacement of characters.

CANADIANNES – FROM THE OUTSIDE

Canada is one of the rare countries that have remained opened for immigration despite the major global migration crises, offering residence to economic migrants, “professionals and skilled labourers who can make a real contribution to the Canadian economy,” as well family reunification and refuge for humanitarian reasons (Majhanovich, 2022, p. 107). In

fact, according to Irene Bloemraad and the Statistics Canada 2017, “[over] one in five residents (22%) of Canada was born in another country in 2016, with almost half from Asia (including the Middle East)” (Bloemraad, 2022, p. 155). The implications, however, of the different classification of immigrants in terms of their value to the Canadian economic and social progress also remind us of different procedures involved in their *integration*. In exploring Canadian multicultural policies on the case of Syrian refugee crisis, Majhanovich notices a pattern in the process of integration in the Canadian multicultural mosaic whereby the first refugee and immigrant groups “[sacrifice] a great deal and never really [fit] in” (Majhanovich 2022: 116), but their children integrate more easily and assume “Canadian identity” (Majhanovich, 2022, p. 116). The unfortunate use of the phrase invites the question of what the Canadian identity implies, but also questions the nature of the multicultural mosaic. There appears to exist a split between narratives of Canadianness as built on diversity and inclusion, and the actual inaccessibility to the membership to the group which normalizes what Canadianness is.

Securitization and the Narratives of Xenophobia

In “Immigrants to Canada: Welcomed Citizens or Security Threats?” (2021), Scoppio and Winter explore the immigration policies of contemporary Canada in the light of global changes in recent decades, defining securitization (p. 92) as screening for security threats, and a process that is “said to create distrust towards immigrants as it associates migrants with new threats of terrorism thus making stricter immigration standards a necessity” (p. 92). On the one hand, Canada’s history as a nation of immigrants is celebrated in the policy to *still* issue permanent resident visas, even if preceded by an arduous process of scrutiny. The Canadian Immigration and Refugee Protection Act 2001 ensures, in theory, measures against discrimination in the screening process for residence seekers. However, as Scoppio and Winter highlight, “in the past, some Canadian immigration policy was indeed racist, designed to favour the admission to Canada of immigrants of primarily European backgrounds, that is, whites” (2021, p. 91). Contrasted to the 2001 Protection Act, regarded as a convenient liberal narrative, the securitization of the screening process is largely understood as imperative in terms of terrorist crises management. Juxtaposed, the narratives of openness and liberality, and threats of terror on the other, have revived xenophobia and general distrust towards migrants (Scoppio & Winter, 2021, p. 92).

Interestingly, in *Identity Discourses and Canadian Foreign Policy in the War on Terror* (2023), McDonald discusses the general position of Canada’s foreign policy and the narrative of national identity, as remaining stable against the global influences (p. 233). The author observes Ca-

nadian foreign policy against the immediate neighbour – the USA, but also the international circumstances that invite swift actions and reactions, immigration included. McDonald notices a tendency of Canadian governments to “habitually rely on familiar and similar sounding identity narratives in making sense of Canada’s response to international crises and conflicts” (McDonald, 2023, p. 234), which brings to mind the disparity between the *unfavourable* tradition of discriminatory practices towards immigrants, the official policies and the narratives used to create basis for both. In other words, whereas actual practices change drastically towards securitization, the narrative of the open-door policy does not. On the one hand, the open and liberal policies serve to uphold the narrative of the multicultural society and national identity based on the idea of the Canadian cultural mosaic – inclusive and welcoming. On the other, the narratives produced by the global migration crises, and the perceived and real terrorist threats revitalize the suspicions towards migrants and immigrants, inviting historically backwards narratives back into the present, and serve to shape the public opinion on the restrictive measures employed in the screening process. Additionally, the latter are highly influenced by the neighbouring practices and policy – the USA, and they are not limited to the screening process, but extend to the very presence of immigrants and refugees – of specific ethnicity and race. It is these narratives that operate in the society as mechanisms of marginalization. After all, immigrant detention camps have been an unpopular, yet stable practice in the USA since the late 1800s, and Canada has had its own history of replication of this mode of screening and deportation. As McDonald formulates it, “foreign policies rely on stories about those involved, why certain actions are or are not necessary, and what is at stake in a sense-making process” (2023, p. 235). The official responses to international threats or crises either find their grounding in the persisting myths that make the idea of national identity, McDonald underscores (2023, p. 235) or rely on the “fluid myths that continue to shift over the years” (2023, p. 235). Therefore, the idea of national identity is a myth, as is the narrative of multiculturalism as both are discursive and fluid, but instrumentalized as necessary to forward specific interests. Hardly critical of the actual practices, in the Introduction to *International Affairs and Canadian Migration Policy* (2021), Samy et. al comment on the economy-motivated immigration policies, labour migration (Predojević Depić & Lukić 2021: 1246), and how they have been influenced by the security threats in recent decades. The Canadian history of immigration, these authors note, is “a history of nation-building, from colonial times to the present” (Samy et al., 2021, p. 1), “enshrined in the Canadian Constitution” (2021, p. 1), maintained by systematic efforts oriented towards immigrant integration into the society as a genuine reflection of the multicultural spirit. However, these authors also subtly note the “modest negative shift in attitudes

towards immigration and visible minorities in Canada” (Samy et al., 2021, p. 2) in recent polls and see factors such as the ageing population and low fertility as a possible motivation for the preservation of the open immigration policy. This is precisely in line with the discussion about the discursive nature of the open-door policy and immigration liberalism – it is highly motivated by pragmatic and economic reasons, yet veiled in an immigrant-nation narrative of inclusion and nation building. Whereas McDonald sees the changing opinions on immigration as a matter of international circumstances and governments’ choices of basis for reaction, Samy et al. note that in Canada immigration has been treated as a “domestic rather than foreign policy issue” (2021, p. 3). This would imply a high degree of independence of Canadian policy and practice, which only appears to be the case in the endorsement of the open-door policy to skilled white labourers whose *sui generis* markings do not invite prejudice. Assumed characteristics based on nationality and race in a skin different than white invite the countering narrative of securitization.

In *Imagined Communities* (2006), Benedict Anderson sees the problematics of the concept of nationalism as having basis in the fact that it is generally understood as a unique category acquired on the basis of geographical and temporal circumstances, and a socio-cultural construct (Anderson, 2006, p. 5) that accumulates historical, social, cultural, political, ideological and other meanings. Anderson’s definition that nation is “an imagined community” (Anderson, 2006, p. 6) and one distinguished only “by the style in which [it is] imagined” (2006, p. 6), appears coextensive with McDonald and Samy et al. in focusing on the interplay between the internal dialogue of the Canadian public on the nature of the narratives surrounding the matter of nation, identity and, therefore, position towards immigration. Anderson’s nation is “imagined as limited” (2006, p. 7) because it can only define its own creation against the boundaries of other nations – those surrounding it. This brings the idea and concept of multiculturalism into question in terms of what the word itself should denote – a multitude of cultures coexisting somehow harmoniously, for example. However, as Anderson says, “[No] nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind” (2006, p. 7), but we can assume that it does find necessity to re-evaluate and examine the connections to its neighbours more rigorously, as well as global communities. However, speaking of nations and communities, a definition by Taylor and Winquist, in *Encyclopedia of Postmodernism*, can be of use to explicate the ideal mechanism of multiculturalism, or its possible immanent failures. Taylor and Winquist’s definition of the concept of community as “[signifying] those elements that are held in common among people” (2001, p. 58) suggests a similar position as Andersons: in order for a group to become a communities, there has to be shared ground on the basis of, in contemporaneity, values and rights. However, more complexities arise in terms of whether

there are other elements that make us associate shared values with certain group members more readily than others. For example, in “Major Discourses of Cultural Identity,” Joseph Zajda reviews literature on identity, spanning from the earliest definitions of identity as encompassing cultural features, to the psychological definitions that focus on the individual experience of identity. Zajda’s working simplification of the multifaceted concept relies on the distinction between cultural and global identity – the former being defined by “a particular culture, language, religion, values, and location” (2022, p. 2), and the latter as “a defining dimension of the nation-building process” (2022, p. 3). Observed in this manner, cultural identity is shaped by local factors of initiation into culture, whereas national identity would represent a broader frame within which the individual internalizes the ethnic identity – the cosmological myths and collective history, the elements of culture considered relevant for belonging to the specific ethnicity. Granted, a postmodern interrogation into the nature of concepts such as nation, community, cultural and national identity would focus on *difference* as a marker for dissent, exclusion, non-conformity and rebellion. Taylor and Winquist’s observation that postmodernism explores “specifically how community does not mark commonality but difference, and in its most negative sense” (2001, p. 58) can be interpreted in the sense that community appears to be contingent on internal tension between the forces of majority and minority, normalizing and normative against the marginal and dissenting. This appears to be powerfully pronounced in terms of the community’s response to immigrants and refugees – individuals whose membership to the group is conditional even upon integration in terms of performatives demanded or assigned by society. As Zajda notices, “[one’s] language and culture affect resultant perception of national identity, and citizenship. A cultural perspective of identity refers to local identities, defined by a particular culture, language, religion, values and location” (2022, p. 5), and newcomers do not possess the qualities that allow the existing members to associate them with the consolidated image of *their* national identity as it is constructed historically, politically, culturally and transformed by narratives operating in society. If understood as a process, rather than a solidified product, both cultural, national and personal identity are products of negotiation, and a continuous one.

The unfavourable position of discussing Canadian issues from an external vantage point provides both advantages in terms of perceiving the contrasts that exist between the official narratives and subjective accounts, but also an unfortunate disadvantage of being blind to the nuances and actual realities of Canadian life. In “Reading and Teaching Canadian Literature in Slovenia” (2022), an article published in *The Construction of Canadian Identity from Abroad*, Jason Blake brilliantly words his own current external position: “The longer I am away from Canada, the more

textual my relationship to my home country becomes” (2022, p. 244), and that is the only relationship an external critic could have to Canadianness. Christopher Kirkey, in “Peering Northward to Construct Canadian Identity: Why Canada?” (2022), notes that efforts to explain Canada and Canadianness, “especially those undertaken outside its borders by expatriate scholars, focus primarily on issues of process [...] and the identification of iconic personalities, symbols, and practices—i.e., who and what constitutes Canadian identity” (2022, p. 359), but less on the realities of it. For a stranger-to-culture, it is only possible to extract generalized conclusions about the possible realities that coexist for different categories of people sharing in the multicultural experience. After all, multiculturalism implies a history of immigration and diversity, even if it nowadays conveniently remembers and discards its colonial past. In that sense, it might not be redundant to highlight that the process of integration, much like the regulation of immigration historically, has not provided equitable opportunities for all. This paper explores the gap between the grand narrative of Canadian multiculturalism and the reality as translated into literary works by the selected ethnic authors. The two collections and the novel are chosen based on the authors’ personal connections to the featured stories and the postmodern meta-character of their writing – reflecting a collective experience, veiled in fictionality, but not entirely fictitious.

FAILING ON THE ACCOUNT OF LIBERALISM

In “Canadian Liberalism and Gender Equality: Between Oppression and Emancipation” (2020), Elena Choquette critically addresses the perceived liberalism of the Canadian official policies regulating legal equality of gendered and marginalized groups maintaining their inability to identify the injustices and recognize the manner in which oppression is hypocritically perpetuated in practice (p. 16). The gap between the performance at the level of official politics and practice, this author argues, resides in the failure of liberal humanism to identify its own oppressive mechanism against vulnerable groups, which allows for the complex mechanisms of oppression and social injustice to become intertwined and culturally accepted since, at the level of official discourse, the narrative of liberalism denies the everyday realities of the marginalized. Choquette’s critical position is intersectional and identifies gender, race and class as the main markers for oppression (2020, p. 25), and these are the crucial factors in the process of identity building. It would be quite false and unconvincing to suggest, against even mere immigration statistics, that contemporary Canadian migration policies and practices are discriminatory or otherwise aimed at limiting opportunities for those looking for home in the vast Canadian landscapes. However, these three literary works achieve the purpose of literature in problematizing the grand issues of

contemporaneity at the level of the clash between grand and individual narratives as they expose the failure of multiculturalism in practice, or perhaps its limitations. Inspired, moreover, by the authors' direct and indirect experiences as belonging somewhere on the *migrant* spectrum, either in terms of their ethnicity, literal circumstances or as witnesses of their ethnic communities, these literary works explore how oppression and privilege work to shape the supposed mosaic pieces – that is, the individual identities of new members. With the same postmodern enthusiasm, the three works aim to discover the discrepancies between policy and practice, politics and everyday life, against the background of Canadian multiculturalism.

Sharon Bala's *The Boat People* (2018) explores Canadian multiculturalism integrating the stories of characters caught up in three different stages in the process of integration into the Canadian society. Highlighting the narrative of a detained refugee, Mahindan – separated from his young son upon their arrival in Canada on a suspicious cargo ship, the novel interpellates characters belonging to the second and third-generation Sri Lankan and Japanese Canadians – Priya and Grace. The suspected terrorist, Mahindan, is both literally and figuratively trapped at the immigration camp – torn between the homeland identity and history he managed to leave behind, and the emerging one he must create in order to be reunited with his son and continue his life in Canada.

I can trust Canada.

(Bala, 2018, p. 26)

Hanging by a thread and at the mercy of an adjudicator who observes him through the lens of his desperate acts back in Sri Lanka, Mahindan's experience of the screening process resembles death row as he observes inmates being deported or disappearing. He contemplates suicide witnessing his child growing and gradually becoming part of society that does not welcome people who manage to survive the conditions of civil war and existential ordeals that require desperate measures (Bala, 2018, p. 327). Unintentional and forced collaboration with terrorist fractions back home that saves his and his son's life, becomes the red flag in his immigration dossier, alongside the very fact that guilt is attributed to him by association – his national and ethnic identity. Curiously, his reluctant lawyer is assigned to the case also by association. Although second-generation Sri Lankan, a moderately successful lawyer who showcases Canadianness, Priya is unwillingly becomes the designated defender of the newly arrived Sri Lankans since her ethnicity presupposed knowledge of language and circumstances. In the same manner Mahindan desires to master the new language and become as Canadian as his understanding of what that would entail allows, Priya's sense of shame and rejection is triggered by the stereotypical assumptions that her Sri Lankan origins

somehow render her eligible for the position. After all, she managed to emulate Canadianness perfectly, even refusing to speak her mother tongue to the point of not being fluent in it anymore, and yet the association remains. As Zajda states, “[language] is intrinsically connected to personal, national, and ethnic identity” (2022, p. 5), and for this female character, it is essentially Canadian-English that defines her sense of belonging to the community. By being perceived as anyone other than purely Canadian because of the shade of her skin colour and assumed ethnic background, her sense of self becomes unstable. Internalized negative attitudes towards her ethnic origins – the *sui generis* nationality and values it entails considering the counter-narratives for securitization, force this young woman into an introspective journey. Priya’s Canadian identity appears to be formulated not *with*, but *against* her ethnic origin, much like Canadianness is often defined *against* neighbouring images of Americanness. Shame and anger at the association with the immigrants – women and children, as well as the suspected terrorists, open door for the exploration of her family’s journey to Canada and unexpected revelations and confessions about what measures they resorted to in order to get out of war’s way (Bala, 2018, p. 270, p. 315). Grace – a government employee, entirely removed from her family’s position as Japanese immigrants, gradually recognizes the intricacies of the cases presented to her, including Mahindan’s. Spurred into self-examination by her demented grandmother’s recollections of detention camps, discrimination, organized attacks on Asians, dispossession and rejection, as well as her mother’s, Kumi’s, insight into the nature of their own position as second-generation immigrants once, Grace becomes less convinced in the affirmative character of the rigorous and painstaking screening process. Her superior, the conservative Fred Blair, advises her to maintain strictness as “they have ulterior motives” (Bala, 2018, p. 321), but Grace finally understands that she too is *they*. Third-generation Japanese Canadian, she only starts to get into contact with her family history and the collective Japanese and Asian immigrants when she is in the position of power – the executive hand of the government, but not necessarily an independent one.

This is totally different! These people are... we’re fighting a war on terror. Yes, yes. War is always the excuse. Real war, fake war. Either will do.

(Bala, 2018, p. 325)

The fate of the Sri Lankan protagonist depends on the inward journeys of those interpellated in his process and their examination of the nature of values integrated as part of multiculturalism. However, Priya’s contact with Sri Lankans, far removed from her reality, sensitizes her to the experience of her own family and helps her face her internalized aversion towards the *difference* that her origins imply, whereas Grace’s final decision remains unrevealed. The novel ends before Mahindan’s screen-

ing process is over emphasizing a sense of loss coextensive with the distancing of second and third-generation immigrant characters from their respective roots, collective experiences, but also the acquired identity they refer to as Canadian.

Téa Mutonji's short story collection, *Shut up You're Pretty* (2019), emphasizes the vulnerability of immigrant women and the intersectional character of their marginalization. Through the introspective narrative of Loli, stories of these women's lives, as intertwined with her own, subtly reveal the mechanisms by which female identity is shaped to comply with oppression and exploitation. A Congo immigrant, Loli is instantly commodified and introduced to forms of prostitution and exploitation by her peer – a pattern she would willingly reproduce based on internalized inferiority as a black woman coming from a low-income immigrant family and no opportunity. The narrative of Loli, especially as childhood stories are related, tells about the disturbing nature of collectivism and spontaneous identification with groups whose characteristics relate to the circumstances of the immigrant girl. The factor of race is implicit in stories in as much as her lack of *beauty* is emphasized in the child's understanding that white women are the standard, and her becoming the victim of their abuse – emotional and physical, finds no alternative. Loli neither fully understands the abusive and oppressive nature of her relationships with the white women she becomes infatuated with or employed by in her career as a sex worker, nor does she notice alternatives to these relationships in her surroundings. On the contrary, in striving for integration, she becomes interpellated in sexual abuse when a new high school student is hazed and humiliated as initiation, by Loli's white clique (Mutonji, 2020, p. 55). Additionally, the factor of gender prominently illustrates the process of the commodification of the body as the ultimate result of Loli's inability to envision her place in the society as anything other than an object for sexual exploitation of men and women (Mutonji, 2020, p. 10, p. 127). These individuals, mostly white, are acutely aware of the factor of race, class and Loli's marginal position in society, although their racism is only occasionally overt:

“I just never pictured myself with a black girl, you know?”
I didn't know.

(Mutonji, 2020, p. 74)

In her 2004 study, *Performing Marginality: Humor, Gender, and Cultural Critique*, Joanne Gilbert notes that “[regardless] of their image, [...] marginalized people serve an essential societal function; without margins, the center cannot exist in daily discourse” (p. 4). Loli is not merely an object of exploitation, but her desperate subjection becomes the confirmation of power, in her private life – personal and romantic relationships, but more overtly in the professional sphere, as a sex worker.

Ultimately, Loli's depression and anxiety, undiagnosed yet debilitating, lead her to her mother's kitchen where she recognizes the similarities of their positions and afflictions – as immigrant women at a loss for something that would define their purpose and existence outside forms of servitude and exploitation.

How to Pronounce Knife by Souvankham Thammavongsa is a collection featuring seemingly unrelated stories about Asian immigrants, until the thread connecting them all – the collective experience of life as Lao immigrants in Canada, starts to appear. The author herself was born in a Lao refugee camp in Thailand, but soon moved to Canada. The manner in which the stories about refugees and immigrants are crafted strongly resonates with the previous authors' discernable need to revisit the collective experience of their ethnic or national group in an examination of their own Canadianness. Marginality is subtly, yet poignantly explored in "How to Pronounce Knife" where the child is forced into a mature conclusion that the reality of her future Canadian identity inevitably excludes her parents' culture and participation in her education and integration (Thammavongsa, 2020, p. 8). Moreover, set to protect them from the embarrassment of being unable to provide for her the same economic stability and subsequent appearance that erases *difference* at school, the girl also continuously fails to correct her father's English, and allows the parents the ignorance of bliss as she suffers a subtle split. The protagonist of "Paris," Red, finds association with her fellow Lao colleague a disturbing reminder of her position as social outcast in the chicken factory (Thammavongsa, 2020, p. 18, p. 20). Entrapped by the lack of her small town opportunities in which being a woman implies working a menial position at the plant or aspiring to be noticed either by the wives of the managers, or the managers themselves – as an object of desire, Red daydreams about rhinoplasty as a solution for a complete change of identity. This brief and subtle intersectional analysis of a vulnerable group of immigrant women in "Paris," supposedly well integrated, is veiled in an exploration of the concept of femininity and its impact on personal identity. In "Edge of the World," Thammavongsa explores conceptions of womanhood and the stereotypical concepts of motherhood, as well as its impact on personal identity and freedom. The heart-breaking choices of her refugee parents leave an imprint on the adult woman, still suffering abandonment and loss. In "Mani Padi," the positions of brother and sister are juxtaposed for the impact their immigrant background has on their professional opportunities. In the wider context of society, the failed boxer, Raymond, is merely an unemployed immigrant, but in the particular context of the story, he is reduced to a range of possibilities and inscriptions that cannot be expanded to fit the regular members' scope (Thammavongsa, 2020, p. 57, p. 58). His sister is a moderately successful beauty salon owner, supporting her entire family, including the socially and professionally disoriented brother

who she eventually employs (Thammavongsa, 2020, p. 59). Whereas Raymond's mani-pedi skills may not be extraordinary (Thammavongsa, 2020, p. 63), his appearance in the salon grants him an exotic role with the female clients. The male clients are more comfortable with his services, and his tips exceed the profit his sister makes on the whole. Ironically, Raymond's intrusion into the typical work of women allows him an earning that his sister is not granted since her providing such services is both expected and somehow implied. Much like the white boy from "Picking Worms" who takes the manager position effortlessly before the eyes of an experienced, yet disregarded, Lao woman, Raymond is still better positioned than his entrepreneur sister, even if his romantic interest – a white client, Miss Emily, reminds him of the class factor. Obviously, Thammavongsa toys with the stereotype of the Asian manicurist, yet she underscores the unequal treatment based on race, gender and class. In the clash between the patriarchal and liberal cultures, Asian and Canadian, women are restricted to the private sphere and emancipation is not fully possible even when the male counterpart is ineffective, which is the case with the female protagonist of "Mani Padi" whose entire existence is in the service of the males in her life. These women's identities are structured according to the social and cultural values of their homeland, before they even become part of the Canadian society. However, the said liberal society equally thrives on such inequalities and the systematic inequity as such dynamics provide the basis for exploitation.

CONCLUSION

The Boat People ultimately raises the question of the nature of multiculturalism in terms of distancing from the *original* identity as a process mandatory in integration, and of multicultural integration as involving a selective amnesia to historical and persisting injustices for the benefit of second and subsequent generations of immigrants, yet with certain limitations. The process of integration, as problematized by the selected works, uncovers a subtle process of erasing or removing the characteristics of identities – ethnic and national, acquired by association, as a prerequisite of social inclusion, or rather internalizing the side of the oppressor as a mechanism for creating more difference between *us* and *them*.

Priya's sense of shame and her unconscious efforts to erase any markings of difference appear as a response to the group, the community and the images that define its identity. In *Dispossession: The Performative in the Political* (2013), Butler and Athanasiou define dispossession as referring to "processes and ideologies by which persons are disowned and abjected by normative and normalizing powers that define cultural intelligibility and that regulate the distribution of vulnerability (Butler & Athanasiou, 2013, p. 2). Priya's initial sense of Canadianness is regulated by

the values society implicitly estimates as favourable, and it is only after she becomes aware and integrates the re-examined attitudes towards the markings of her ethnicity, and therefore the identity that can never be *white*, that she appropriates her ethnic roots. Priya's Canadian identity prior to becoming the immigrants' appointed lawyer was purportedly liberated from any markings of vulnerability in terms of wilful association to the ethnic group. The sense of shame is twofold – initially at belonging to non-white, marginalized, stereotyped ethnic group – incriminated by the existence of a rigorous process of screening and securitization, and ultimately at realizing the tremendous loss of personal and collective experience of her ethnic background out of fear of rejection. Grace's journey to awareness is conveniently undisclosed by the open end to underscore the intersectional nature of marginalization and identity building. This character only begins to understand the complexities of her position as third-generation Japanese Canadian – somewhat wedged between the culture and experience she cannot know, but also instrumentalized in the process of potentially repeating the same kind of (historical) injustice inflicted on her own family, and nation of origin.

In *Shut up You're Pretty*, the protagonist's entire narrative is one of exploration of roots and immigrant disorientation and dislocation. The protagonist never explores whether or how she expresses Canadianness for her identity is inevitably built in Canada. However, Loli only knows life on the margins of the Canadian society – the benefit of her race, gender and class. Much like the depression her mother suffers due to the existential necessity to bear the burden of imposed inferiority, Loli obediently turns her body over to those more powerful than her – white men and women. She becomes an object that needs no personal identity. On the contrary, a repository of introjects and a canvas for the society to inscribe value based on gender and race, in Loli's story, the implied narratives of liberality and multiculturalism reveal hypocrisy in rendering her coming to Canada a costly opportunity granted as confirmation of liberality. Education granted by Canada is an implied *gift* to the young immigrant although the process tells otherwise, and the fact that she is labelled as *pretty*, by her abusers, just confirms the mechanisms of commodification and objectification as instruments of marginalization, although one could cynically argue that similar performative is designated for white women belonging to lower-income class. It may not only be a matter of race. The more sinister counter-narratives, inferred from the stories, explain how liberal humanism allows the dynamics of the margins and the center on the basis of systemic and institutionalized inequity. Race and class might be the factor in the making of outcasts and underdogs, but gender, in the case of Mutonji's collection, makes for an incapacitating factor. As a female, Loli integrates social inscriptions of femininity and womanhood, which incidentally prevent her from finding points of identi-

fication with members of society of similar background in a positive sense. Joanne Gilbert argues that by “‘performing’ their marginality, social outcasts call attention to their subordinate status” (2004, p. xi), which calls for the renunciation of vulnerabilities, on the one hand – such as appropriating the social, cultural, physical or other markings of the dominant groups – if one desires any degree of integration. On the other, it implies accepting the subordinate status as permanent marking of the individual whose particular identity, based on *difference*, only exists on the margins, and therefore allowing for oppression, commodification and abuse.

Thammavongsa’s characters explore positions of vulnerability and difference in similar terms. In “How to Pronounce Knife” the immigrant Lao child understands very early on that her identities at home and school must be separate precisely due to the multiple vulnerabilities in terms of class, culture and language, even though her environment is diverse and *multicultural*. The amalgam of cultures at the school does not reward *difference*, but requires emulation of the demonstrated. Red from “Paris” desires a change of identity that would render her visible to the non-Laos and daydreams about rhinoplasty as a mode of erasing her racial and ethnic marks and transformation into the ideal-average. The couple from “Randy Travis” are entirely lost in their new Canadian community – for a sense of self and freedom that they, for different reasons, strive to emulate the behaviour of a country music singer. Whereas the only thing the woman loves about the country is the music, the man only loves her, and by extension, tries to become the Canadian she desires (Thammavongsa, 2020, p. 44, p. 54). Similarly to Loli from Mutonji’s collection, Raymond from “Mani Padi,” a retired boxer, becomes an exotic attraction to the women coming to his sister’s beauty parlour. However, his exoticism at being the only mani-padi man among innumerable women brings him some sort of local fame and tips, whereas the exotic beauty of Loli – her being a beautiful black woman with mental issues – only invites mental and physical abuse. The contrast between these speaks about the nature of inequity. Both immigrants and both continually facing limitations due to their visible difference, Raymond is the exotic underdog, whereas Loli remains an outcast. In “Picking Worms,” the farmer Lao woman earns a living for herself and her fourteen-year-old daughter by picking worms, and quite efficiently. However, a fourteen-year-old white Canadian boy who speaks English gets the manager position of the worm-picking team because of his language proficiency, despite his age and ineptness at the work at hand. The painful irony of the woman’s position testifies to the inequity and intersectional character of oppression and exploitation.

On the 40th anniversary of the Refugee Convention signing in Canada, Canadian Council for Refugees published reports on the treatment of

war refugees since early 1930s until 2009¹. It is commendable and disturbing to revisit the government responses since the years leading up to Second World War, and the narratives present in the public, similar to securitization narratives present in contemporaneity, resonate with the same spirit of xenophobia and racism stemming from the identification of *difference* in individuals, Jews and others. Sharon Bala’s inspiration for the character of Fred Blair in *The Boat People* reminds us about the historical injustices. More disturbingly, it reminds us of the presence of discriminatory disposition in the supposed multicultural Canada. In 1938, F. C. Blair, the director of the Immigration Branch said:

Ever since the war, efforts have been made by groups and individuals to get refugees into Canada but we have fought all along to protect ourselves against the admission of such stateless persons without passports, for the reason that coming out of the maelstrom of war, some of them are liable to go on the rocks and when they become public charges, we have to keep them for the balance of their lives.

(Canadian Council for Refugees Website)²

Similar narratives persist in contemporaneity pertaining to individuals of Middle-Eastern or other politically inadequate origins. On the other hand, by the 1970s, the liberal narrative of inclusion became prevalent with the government issuing the *Guideline for Determination of Eligibility for Refugee Status* (1970) and ensuring the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees Protocol (1967). By this time, Canada ensured programs for the integration of Hungarian and Tibetan refugees enabling the narrative of Canada being “a haven for the oppressed”³. Moreover, Harold Troper’s contemplation on the open-door narrative, with the phrasing that “the public imagination turned a select series of economically beneficial refugee resettlement programs into a massive and longstanding Canadian humanitarian resolve on behalf of refugees”⁴, supports McDonald’s thesis that both the liberal narrative and the securitization one coexist and are revisited and used by governments for the

¹ 40th Anniversary of Canada’s Signing of the Refugee Convention. Canadian Council for Refugees. 2009, <https://ccrweb.ca/sites/ccrweb.ca/files/static-files/canadarefugeeshistory5.htm>. Accessed 25 April 2023.

² 40th Anniversary of Canada’s Signing of the Refugee Convention. Canadian Council for Refugees. 2009, <https://ccrweb.ca/sites/ccrweb.ca/files/static-files/canadarefugeeshistory5.htm>. Accessed 25 April 2023.

³ Harold, Troper. 40th Anniversary of Canada’s Signing of the Refugee Convention. Canadian Council for Refugees. 2009, <https://ccrweb.ca/sites/ccrweb.ca/files/static-files/canadarefugeeshistory4.htm>. Accessed 25 April 2023.

⁴ Harold, Troper. 40th Anniversary of Canada’s Signing of the Refugee Convention. Canadian Council for Refugees. 2009, <https://ccrweb.ca/sites/ccrweb.ca/files/static-files/canadarefugeeshistory4.htm>. Accessed 25 April 2023.

promotion of Canadian foreign and domestic interests. It should be noted that these were in several thousand, but not in numbers that could realistically uphold the narrative. In late 1990s, Canada welcomed over five thousand Kosovar refugees, which is about the same number of Jewish refugees during Second World War⁵. In 2002, the already mentioned Refugee Protection Act came into force although the articles of the law providing these individuals the right to appeal the decision upon the screening process was still not implemented in 2009. Canada maintains the narrative of liberalism to the degree of it having impact in public based on official politics, whereas in reality the practice discredits this liberalism since its functioning is limited and hypocritical, guided by economic factors, as well as those Scoppio and Winter recognize as undoubtedly racist and discriminatory in the past (2021, p. 91), and persisting in the present.

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⁵ 40th Anniversary of Canada's Signing of the Refugee Convention. Canadian Council for Refugees. 2009. <https://ccrweb.ca/sites/ccrweb.ca/files/static-files/canadarefugeeshistory6.htm>. Accessed 25 April 2023.

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ПОСТАТИ КАНАЂАНИН/КА – У ПОТРАЗИ ЗА ИМИГРАНТСКИМ ИДЕНТИТЕТИМА

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Резиме

Роман Људи са бродова пренспитује природу мултикултурализма у Канади, а посебно у процесу интеграције избеглица, односно имиграната, у коме се одрицање од националних, етничких и других димензија идентитета из прошлости подразумева. Ова жртва постаје преудслов за привид асимилације која је ипак недостижна. Роман, као и збирке Ћути, лепа си и Како се изговара нож, проблематизују идеју асимилације која намеће брисање идентитета порекла, а самим тим и дела личног идентитета, као услова за друштвено прихватање. Самим тим, ова дела савремене канадске књижевности суштински проблематизују стуб на коме се национални канадски идентитет базира – наратив о мултикултурализму и либералној политици. С једне стране, историја дискриминаторних пракси у погледу расе, етничитета и рода оживљава се периодично са порастом броја избеглица, имиграната или нелегалних миграната, а са друге, идеја мултикултуралности се пропагира као лепак који нацију уједињује. Ова дела показују места која канадски културни мозаик покушава да сакрије аверзивном либералном реториком и открива начине на које се канадска дискриминаторна историја понавља. Шта више, сва три дела суптилно указују на управо ту историју кроз представљање колективних (трансгенерацијских) искустава – имиграната афричког и азијског порекла до данас.

**PROSODIC CORRELATES OF
THE GRAMMATICALIZATION SCALE:
A CASE STUDY OF THE SERBIAN LEXICAL, MODAL,
AND AUXILIARY USES OF *HTETI* ('WANT')^a**

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Abstract

In Serbian dialects that allow the variation between infinitival and so-called 'da+present' complements (DPC) (e.g. those of Vojvodina), the verb *hteti* (Eng. to want) allows for three different kinds of complements, corresponding to its three different uses. In its lexical use, it takes an NP complement; the volitional modal version combines with DPC; and the future auxiliary takes the infinitival complement. Assuming different syntactic structures for all three types of complements, we hypothesize that they exhibit different prosodic features. The hypothesis was tested experimentally by analysing the preboundary lengthening and the behaviour of F0 as signals of different prosodic constituency reflected in the Prosodic Hierarchy (PH). It was predicted that higher units of PH will show higher degree of preboundary lengthening, as well as that the presence of phrase accents and boundary tones will mark the right edge of PhPs and IPs respectively. We recorded 10 students at the University of Novi Sad as they pronounced 10 sentences per each of the three uses of this verb. The data partially confirms our hypothesis, as the modal verb *hteti* (Eng. to want) followed by DPC lengthens more than the auxiliary and lexical verb *hteti* (Eng. to want), which are followed by an infinitival and NP complement respectively. In contrast, the F0 contour remains unaffected by these differences, and phrase accents are not identified in any of the uses of the verb *hteti* (Eng. to want).

Key words: grammaticalization, infinitive, da+present construction, Serbian, preboundary lengthening.

^a The article was presented at the *Language, Literature, Process 2023 Conference* at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia.

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**ПРОЗОДИЈСКИ КОРЕЛАТИ СКАЛЕ
ГРАМАТИКАЛИЗАЦИЈЕ: СТУДИЈА УПОТРЕБЕ
СРПСКОГ ГЛАГОЛА ХТЕТИ КАО ЛЕКСИЧКОГ,
МОДАЛНОГ И ПОМОЋНОГ ГЛАГОЛА**

Апстракт

У српским дијалектима у којима комплемент глагола хтети може бити реализован како као конструкција да+презент, тако и као инфинитив, што је случај у Војводини, овај глагол има три различите употребе, што се манифестује у употреби три различита комплемента. Лексички глагол хтети захтева комплемент реализован у виду именичке синтагме, модални глагол хтети, којим се исказује вољност/одсуство вољности субјекта, прати комплемент да+презент, док помоћни глагол хтети, којим се изражава будућност, захтева комплемент реализован као инфинитив. Узимајући у обзир да сваку од три употребе глагола хтети одликују различите синтаксичке структуре, наметнула се хипотеза да дате употребе имају различите прозодијске одлике. Хипотезу смо тестирали експериментално, тако што смо анализирали степен финалног дужења и кретање F0 као најбитније показатеље десне границе конституената прозодијске хијерархије. Ослањали смо се на ранију претпоставку да више конституенте прозодијске хијерархије одликује већи степен финалног дужења, као и да присуство фразних акцената указује на десну границу фонолошких фраза, док присуство граничних тонова сигнализира десну границу интонацијских фраза. У експерименту је учествовало десет студената Универзитета у Новом Саду, које смо снимили како изговарају по десет реченица за сваку од три употребе глагола хтети. Анализа снимака делимично је потврдила нашу хипотезу, будући да се модална употреба глагола хтети праћена конструкцијом да+презент дуже више како од помоћног глагола хтети кога прати инфинитив, тако и од лексичког глагола хтети кога прати именичка фраза. Такође, разлике у финалном дужењу нису утицале на контруру F0, а фразни акценти нису примећени ни у једној од анализираних употреба датог глагола.

Кључне речи: граматикализација, инфинитив, конструкција да+презент, српски језик, финално дужење.

INTRODUCTION AND HYPOTHESES

In Serbian, the verb *hteti* (Eng. to want) serves as a lexical verb (1a) with an NP complement, and as a modal verb expressing volition (1b), using a clausal complement, often in the ‘*da*+present construction’ (DPC).

- (1) a. Petar hoće bananu.
Peter wants banana
‘Peter wants a banana.’
b. Petar hoće da jede.
Peter wants da eat.pres
‘Peter wants to eat.’

The present tense clitic forms of *hteti* (Eng. to want) also serve as auxiliaries denoting future, but the full (non-clitic) form of the verb is not

permitted in this usage (2). While Standard Serbian and Northern dialects only utilize infinitival forms of the lexical verb for forming analytic future expressions (2a), Central and Southern Dialects (generally south of Belgrade) allow DPCs in these contexts as well (2b).

- (2) a. Petar (*ho)će jesti.
 Petar wants.(cl) eat.inf
 ‘Peter will eat.
 b. Petar (*ho)će da jede.
 Petar wants.(cl) da eat.pres
 ‘Peter will eat.’

Under negation, the full form of the verb *hteti* (Eng. want) is obligatorily reduced to a clitic (3a) and fused with the negative clitic forming a prosodic word while the use of the full form is ungrammatical (3b).

- (3) a. Petar neće bananu.
 Peter not.want banana
 ‘Peter does not want a banana.’
 b. *Petar ne hoće bananu.
 Peter not want banana
 ‘Peter does not want a banana.’

Consequently, the negative form of *hteti* (Eng. want) gives rise to three different meanings combining with three formally distinct types of complements (4).

- (4) a. Petar neće bananu. (lexical verb)
 Peter not.want banana
 ‘Peter does not want a banana.’
 b. Petar neće da jede. (volitional modal)
 Peter not.want da eat.pres
 ‘Peter does not want to eat.’
 c. Petar neće jesti. (future auxiliary)
 Peter not.want eat.inf
 ‘Peter will not eat.’

Grammaticalization and Reduction (Hypothesis 1)

The fact that the same verb is used as a lexical verb expressing desire, a modal verb with a volitional meaning, and a future auxiliary suggests a hallmark case of grammaticalization (Traugott, 1995; Bybee, 2003). In particular, Traugott (1995) and Bybee (2003) identify the process of *auxiliation* as a subspecies of grammaticalization whereby auxiliary verbs emerge from lexical verbs. This is a constrained diachronic process that tends to follow two partially overlapping paths. One form of this process starts out with verbs of motion (e.g. *to go* in English) where the meaning of physical change of location yields to a more abstract meaning of directedness to-

wards a goal, which is in turn abstracted even further towards the meaning of intention for a future outcome, and finally, the verb loses all of its lexical meaning and comes to denote simple future (e.g. the English future construction often referred to as *be going to*). The other avenue of this process begins with volitional verbs (e.g. *will* in English), where the meaning of desire is abstracted and then generalized to the meaning of intentionality, which again gives way to a simple future denotation. Importantly, in these processes, the lexical uses of these verbs can be retained so that the same verb is used as a future auxiliary and as a lexical verb, as is the case in English, for instance. The fact that English exhibits future auxiliaries derived through both of these broader processes with some semantic distinctions suggests that the lexical semantics might not be completely bleached in these cases.

We should also mention that the gradual replacement of infinitives by DPCs in Serbian (Ajđžanović & Dražić, 2016; Belić, 2005; Kovačević & Milićev, 2018; Kovačević, Milićev, & Paunović, 2018) seems to recapitulate, at least to some extent, the general pattern of the development of infinitives from purpose clauses despite the fact that infinitive is, of course, already present in the language (Ajđžanović et al., 2016; Belić, 2005; Kovačević & Milićev, 2018; Kovačević et al. 2018). According to Haspelmath (1989, p. 298), there is a broad cross-linguistic tendency for infinitives to develop from purpose clauses via another grammaticalization process. This grammaticalization path typically starts from prepositions which are used to express benefactive, allative or causal meanings.

It can be said that the gradual replacement of infinitives by DPCs in Serbian recapitulates the pattern identified by Haspelmath (1989), at least to some extent. In Standard Serbian, DPCs are much more frequent than infinitives in purpose clauses. Furthermore, all the other meanings on the scale proposed by Haspelmath (1989), except for the initial one, can be expressed with *da* complements; however, infinitives are never used in realis and realis-factive contexts, while there is still some variation between DPCs and infinitives in irrealis contexts. This pattern is, strictly speaking, not what is expected if the replacement of infinitives by DPCs follows the trajectory identified by Haspelmath (1989). The relative frequency of DPCs versus infinitives should fall monotonically, going from purpose clauses over irrealis and realis complements to realis-factive contexts.

An alternative diachronic pattern is proposed by Grković-Major (2004) who suggests that Serbian *da* complements originate from optative (irrealis) uses spreading towards purposive, on the one hand, and realis/indicative uses, on the other. This proposal still makes reference to the meanings/uses discussed by Haspelmath (1989), but the direction of diachronic development and the shapes of the proposed development trajectories are different. On Grković-Major's (2004) proposal, the use of *da-*

complements essentially starts from the middle of the scale identified by Haspelmath (1989) (irrealis uses), and then spreads in opposite directions towards purposive and realis uses forming a bifurcating trajectory as opposed to Haspelmath's (1989) simple linear one. We should point out here that Grković-Major's (2004) proposal about the diachronic development of *da*-complements is also not fully consistent with the synchronic relative frequencies of DPCs and infinitives in these environments. If the use of DPCs originates from irrealis contexts and spreads towards purpose clauses and realis complements, then one might expect the relative frequency of DPCs vs. infinitives to be the highest in irrealis contexts and to decrease proportionally in environments that represent subsequent stages on the development path. In reality, the complements of irrealis verbs are the only environment in which there is real variation between infinitives and DPCs out of all the options discussed by Haspelmath (1989) and Grković-Major (2004). Infinitives are very rare in purpose clauses, at least in Serbian, and *da*-complements are the only possible option in realis (non-factive) contexts.

Lamiroy and Drobnjaković (2009) discuss the relative frequencies of infinitives and DPCs also outside of the contexts that figure as focal points on Haspelmath's (1989) development pattern. For instance, in Serbian, the variation between infinitives and DPCs can be observed also with modal verbs, phasal verbs, verbs such as *pokušati* (Eng. to try) or, substandardly, with the future auxiliary form of *hteti* (Eng. to want). Lamiroy and Drobnjaković (2009) observe that the relative frequency of infinitive *vis a vis* DPC is positively correlated with the degree of grammaticalization of the matrix verb, i.e. the more grammaticalized the matrix verb, the more likely it is to combine with infinitives. One place where this tendency can be illustrated quite effectively is with the two uses of the verb *hteti* (Eng. to want) which is in the focus of the present study. Namely, the grammaticalized clitic form of this verb is used as a future auxiliary while the full form is used as a lexical verb taking an irrealis complement. Importantly, the future auxiliary form combines only with infinitives in the Standard variety and various Northern and Western varieties, while the full form allows both infinitives and DPCs. Again, Southern varieties of Serbian show very little to no variation and consistently use DPCs in all these contexts. Southern dialects of Serbian aside, the two uses of *hteti* clearly show that the more grammaticalized verb is more likely to combine with infinitives.

Regardless of the precise staging of the grammaticalization process, and taking into account both the properties of the matrix verb and the properties of the complement, it seems uncontroversial that the ranking of the three uses of *hteti* under investigation with respect to the degree of grammaticalization is as in (5).

(5) lexical > volitional modal > future auxiliary

The lexical form of this verb is clearly the least grammaticalized one, while the fact that the future auxiliary form is more grammaticalized than the volitional modal form is signalized not only by the more abstract future semantics but also by the reduced clitic form of the verb used as a future auxiliary, as opposed to the full form used as a volitional modal, as well as the choice of the complement where the future auxiliary combines with the infinitival form, while the volitional modal combines with a DPC (again, at least in the Standard variety).

Finally, since we are primarily interested in the phonological aspects of the grammaticalization process as it pertains to different uses of *hteti* in Serbian, we can hypothesize that the degree of grammaticalization should be positively correlated with phonological reduction. Haspelmath observes that the grammaticalization of items expressing tense or aspect is associated with both “phonological erosion and semantic generalization” (1998, p. 33). Phonological erosion can, in turn, be taken to mean qualitative reduction (centralization of the formants of both stressed and unstressed vowels), quantitative reduction (shortening and lower intensity), and finally a complete loss of phonemes. In that sense, we derive the hypothesis in (6).

- (6) Hypothesis1 (Grammaticalization → Phonological shortening):
 future *hteti* (*Eng.* to want) should show the highest degree of phonological reduction, followed by the volitional modal, while lexical *hteti* (*Eng.* to want) should be the least reduced.

Syntax-to-prosody Mapping and Preboundary Lengthening (Hypothesis2)

As far as the prosodic properties of the three uses of *hteti* (*Eng.* to want) are concerned, in addition to the impact of grammaticalization, one needs to consider synchronic factors having to do with the syntax-to-prosody mapping. The reason behind this is that the three instances of *hteti* under investigation exhibit different properties with respect to the syntactic size of the complements that they select for. First, lexical *hteti* takes an NP complement, and in this sense, it is clearly different from the other two uses which are associated with verbal complements. We have already pointed out that the volitional modal use of this verb combines both with infinitives and with DPCs, with a significant preference for DPCs in Serbian, while the future auxiliary form combines only with the infinitive in the standard variety. Following the study by Wurmbrand, Kovač, Lohninger, Pajančić and Todorović (2020), this discrepancy in the choice of the formal realization of the complement is a signal of the difference in syntactic size, where the finite construction, i.e. DPC, is associated with a larger constituent. We follow these authors in assuming a biclausal structure for the volitional modal use, and a monoclausal structure for the future tense use, as indicated in (7) (cf. Wurmbrand et al. 2020).

- (7) a. [VP want [NP]] – lexical
 b. [VP want [TP]] – modal volitional
 c. [TP want [VP]] – future

The biclausal character of the modal constructions is evidenced, among other things, by the possibility of having an independent subject in the embedded clause (8a) and the availability of independent temporal reference (8b).

- (8) a. Petar neće da Marija pobedi.
 Peter not.want da Marija win.pres
 ‘Peter does not want Maria to win.’
 b. Juče je Petar hteo da pobedi na sutrašnjem takmičenju.
 Yesterday aux Peter want da win.pres on tomorrow’s competition
 ‘Yesterday Peter wanted to win tomorrow’s competition.’

The properties illustrated in (8) for the volitional modal use are strictly absent from the future auxiliary use, which does not allow an independent subject with an embedded verb, and the tense form of the auxiliary is always present while the complement is non-finite (infinitival).

Because syntactic structure affects the prosodic properties of the utterance and the three structures in (7) are expected to have different effects on Prosodic Hierarchy (PH), we also expect that the differences in size of the three types of complements will affect the prosodic properties of *hteti* (Eng. to want). In order to make explicit the hypothesis regarding the effects of the differences in complement size on the phonological realizations of the three uses of this verb, we need to devote some attention to the notion of PH in linguistic theory.

The aim of PH is to develop a universal set of formal criteria for defining prosodic constituents. So far, many authors have proposed their versions of PH (Hayes, 1989; Nespor & Vogel, 2007; Selkirk, 1984, a.o.). However, their underlying properties are rather similar, i.e. after syntactic derivation, syntactic structures get their final Phonological Form (PF) which has a hierarchical arrangement.

Among the models of PH, one of the most influential ones was given by Selkirk (1984, 1986, 1996). According to her model, syllables are organized into feet, which primarily serve the purpose of identifying the metric strength of focus, while the prosodic phrasing essentially starts with higher hierarchically organized constituents, i.e. Prosodic Words (PWds) constitute Phonological Phrases (PPhs), PPhs constitute Intonational Phrases (IPs), and IPs constitute Utterances (Utts). The majority of prosodic constituents have clear phonological boundary cues, i.e. PWds are characterized by the presence of a single pitch accent and the process of cliticization (Selkirk, 1984: 30-31; 1986) and IPs have optional pauses and pitch reset as left boundary cues, while right boundary cues include boundary tones and preboundary lengthening (Selkirk, 2005, a.o.). Re-

garding PhPs, Selkirk (1986, 1996) primarily defines them in terms of syntax. According to ALIGN-XP constraint, the edges of PhPs coincide with the edges of XPs, while their phonological features, except for pre-boundary lengthening, are disputable. However, research by Beckman and Pierrehumbert (1986) showed that the right edges of PhPs can be marked by phrase accents. Despite their language-specific nature, low (L-) and high (H-) phrase accents were later adopted as default markers of the right PhP edge.

The most reliable distinguishing feature of prosodic constituents is the degree of preboundary lengthening, i.e. the lengthening of the final syllable rhyme in front of a prosodic boundary, which increases from PWds to PhPs and, finally, to IPs where it is the highest. The process of preboundary lengthening, which is based on temporal and spatial speech dynamics or the notion of π -gesture (Byrd & Saltzman, 2003), has proved to be a universal property of spoken languages (Turk & Shattuck Hufnagel, 2015, a.o.), and some authors go so far as to suggest that the degree of preboundary lengthening alone can distinguish between different domains of PH (Wightman, Shattuck-Hufnagel, Ostendorf, & Price, 1992).

Languages differ with respect to the scope of preboundary lengthening. Although this process typically affects final syllable rhyme, it can also affect non-final syllables, as in English (Turk & Shattuck-Hufnagel, 2007) or Serbian (Jakovljević, 2021, pp. 126-148, 182-209; Jakovljević & Marković, 2020). However, even in the languages where the scope of lengthening affects the rhyme of both final and pre-final syllable(s), the degree of lengthening of non-final syllables is rather low, while the lengthening of final syllable rhyme, which is by far the highest, is considered as informative enough.

Regarding the relation between complement size and boundary signals, including preboundary lengthening, we propose the hypothesis in (9).

- (9) Hypothesis2: If PhPs are read off of syntactic structure, the three different complements of *hteti* (Eng. to want) will show different (degrees of) boundary effects such that the volitional modal form taking a TP complement will be most likely to exhibit a prosodic boundary followed by the auxiliary taking a VP complement, followed by the lexical form taking an NP complement.

We conducted an experimental acoustic analysis to tease apart the two competing hypotheses (Hypothesis1 and Hypothesis2) and our data lend support to the latter. The final syllable rhyme of the modal verb *hteti* followed by DPC lengthens more than the auxiliary and lexical *hteti*, which are followed by the infinitival and NP complement respectively. We discuss the implications of these findings for the syntactic structure of the clausal complements following the volitional and auxiliary uses of *hteti*, i.e. infinitives and DPCs.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In the experimental analysis, we compiled a corpus which consisted of 3 sets of sentences containing negative forms of the three types of the verb *hteti* (*neće*), followed by the corresponding complements and preceded by NP subject (NP-Sb). Each set contained 10 sentences, resulting in the total number of 30 sentences realized as IPs, as illustrated in (10).

- (10) a. Bane neće domaćicu. (lexical verb)
 Bane not.want housewife
 ‘Bane does not want a housewife.’
 b. Bane neće da donosi. (volitional modal)
 Bane not.want da bring/deliver.pres
 Bane does not want to bring/deliver’
 c. Bane neće donositi. (future auxiliary)
 Bane not.want bringing/delivering.inf
 ‘Bane will not bring/deliver.’

All the sentences in the corpus were identical with respect to the number of PWds, and PWds with the same syntactic function in 3 sets of sentences were uniform with respect to the number of syllables, final syllable structure, i.e. all final syllables were open, as well as the accentual patterns. The same applies to the PWds we measured preboundary lengthening, i.e. NP-Sbs and negative forms of the three uses of the verb *hteti*.

The research participants were 10 students of the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad from different parts of Vojvodina. They were recorded in a quiet room reading 30 randomized sentences (44.1kHz sampling rate) given on separate PowerPoint slides. After recording, the measurements of preboundary lengthening were performed in Praat software (Boersma & Weenink, 2021, version 6.2.03). We measured the duration of final rhyme of the negative forms *hteti* (*neće*) and NP-Sbs, then calculated the degree of preboundary lengthening between them and examined its statistical significance. The statistical analysis was also performed on the articulation rate of the recorded sentences, which did not show significant differences according to One-Way ANOVA ($F(2,299)=0.522$, $p=0.858$). Finally, we examined the presence of phrase accents between the constituents which exhibited statistically significant lengthening, thus being PhP candidates (see the section Discussion).

Regarding the relation between the duration of final syllable rhyme and grammaticalization, based on our Hypothesis1, we predict the following: (Prediction 1) due to grammaticalization/reduction, the final syllable of *hteti* (*neće*) will be the shortest with the auxiliary form (reduction via grammaticalization), longer with the volitional modal form, and the longest with the lexical form (no reduction).

As for the complement size, based on our Hypothesis2, we predict the following: (Prediction 2) due to the varying sizes (syntactic complexi-

ty) of the complements, the final syllable of *neće* will be the shortest with the lexical form (NP complement), longer with the auxiliary (VP complement), and the longest with the volitional modal form (TP complement).

RESEARCH RESULTS

The results of our measurements show that with the lexical verb use, preboundary lengthening is significantly different when compared to preboundary lengthening with the modal and auxiliary *hteti*. While lexical verbs exhibit statistically significant shorter duration than NP-Sbs ($t(198)=-13.35$, $p<0.001$), modal ($t(198)=9.37$, $p<0.001$) and auxiliary verbs ($t(198)=4.13$, $p<0.001$) exhibit statistically significant longer duration. In other words, with lexical verbs, we observe a shortening of the final syllable rhyme relative to the duration of the rhyme of NP-Sb, whereas we observe the lengthening of the corresponding syllable rhyme with the modal and auxiliary verbs. The preboundary lengthening is greater with DPCs when compared with infinitives. Finally, One-Way ANOVA shows that the degrees of lengthening of the three uses of the verb *hteti* are statistically different ($F(2,299)=242.27$, $p<0.001$).

DISCUSSION

The analysis of preboundary lengthening suggests a different prosodic structure of IPs containing the three types of the verb *hteti* (*neće*). The statistically significant difference in preboundary lengthening between the modal volitional and auxiliary *hteti* suggests the presence of different degrees of prosodic independence of their complements. Although DPCs and infinitival complements fit into the formal description of PhPs, i.e. they are syntactically realized as XPs and prosodically placed between PWds and IPs, DPCs exhibit greater prosodic independence than infinitives. This is consistent with the fact that DPCs tend to resist, but do not completely block, clitic climbing which is obligatory with infinitives (Aljović, 2005, a.o.). In contrast, NP complements of the lexical verb *hteti* (*neće*) do not have the status of PhPs, as the lexical *hteti* exhibits a statistically significant shortening relative to NP-Sb, which results in the absence of a prosodic boundary between the lexical verb and NP complement.

Moreover, we did not find phrase accents in the IPs containing either lexical or grammaticalized negative forms of the verb *hteti* (*neće*), i.e. F0 contours illustrating the use of the lexical, volitional modal and auxiliary verb for the sentences in (10) are almost identical (Figures 1-3). Slight differences could only be observed in the realization of pitch accents, e.g. a slightly steeper F0 rise coinciding with NP-Sb followed by

the modal verb (Figure 2). However, these differences are not systematic, as they vary significantly across subjects.

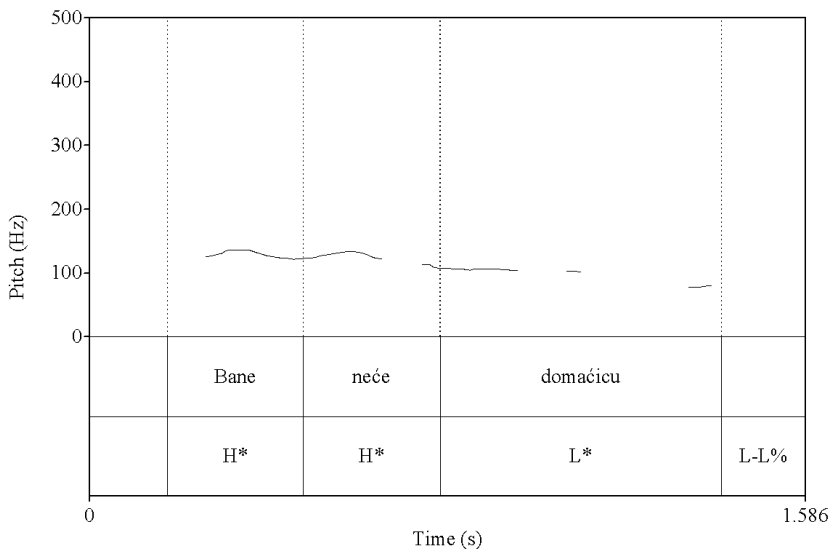


Figure 1. F0 illustrating the use of the lexical verb *hteti (neće)*

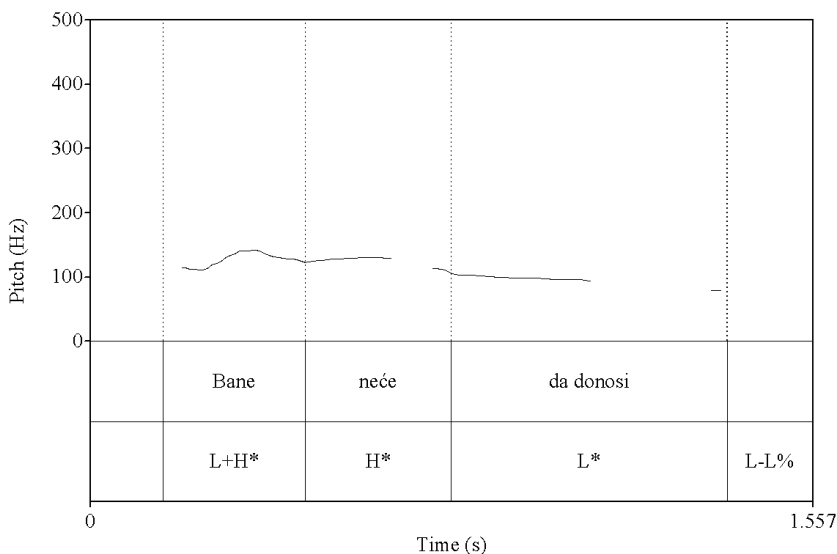


Figure 2. F0 illustrating the use of volitional modal verb *hteti (neće)*

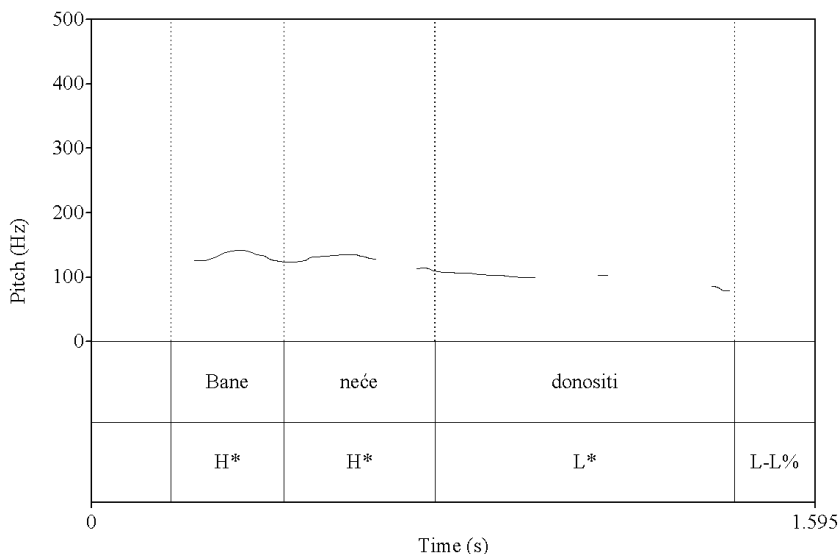


Figure 3. F0 illustrating the use of the auxiliary verb *hteti* (*neće*)

Our findings support the syntactic representations of the three uses of *hteti* ('want') as in (6). The significant point here is that our findings can be seen as a phonological/prosodic indication of the difference in the size of the complements of the future auxiliary and the volitional modal, speaking in favour of a biclausal analysis of (at least some) modal verbs as proposed by Wurmbrand et al. (2020), among others.

The strength of the prosodic boundary is a gradable (non-categorical) property, which might explain why some other properties at the syntax-phonology interface, such as the acceptability of clitic climbing out of DPCs, seem to show varying degrees of acceptability instead of clear-cut grammaticality distinctions (see Aljović, 2005; Ivanović, Kovačević, & Milićević 2023) for some quantitative data; Progovac, 1993). Thus, the degree of preboundary lengthening is the highest with modal and auxiliary *hteti*, followed by DPC and infinitival complement respectively, whereas lexical *hteti* followed by an NP complement exhibits shortening effects.

CONCLUSION

By focusing on the length of the final syllable rhyme of the Serbian verb *hteti* ('want') in its three uses (lexical, auxiliary and modal), we have shown that its phonetic realization is predicted by synchronic syntactic factors rather than by phonological reduction induced through grammaticalization. Specifically, we observed that the final syllable rhyme is the longest with the modal use of this verb and the shortest with the

lexical use, with the auxiliary use being the intermediate category. This ranking is expected based on synchronic syntactic factors, given that the final syllable tends to be lengthened at the right I-boundary, and larger syntactic constituents are more likely to function as IPs. The three uses of *hteti* take complements of different sizes, i.e. lexical *hteti* takes an NP complement, the auxiliary form takes a VP complement, and modal *hteti* takes a TP complement. Since a VP is larger than an NP, and a TP is larger than a VP, we correctly expect to observe an I-boundary before a TP rather than before a VP, and before a VP rather than before an NP. The alternative hypothesis from grammaticalization predicts a reduction (shortening) of the final syllable (as well as all other syllables) with more grammaticalized forms. From this perspective, we would expect, contrary to fact, the final syllable of *hteti* to be the longest with the lexical use followed by the modal use, and the shortest with the auxiliary version of this verb.

More broadly, this study showcases an interesting instance of the interplay between grammaticalization and synchronic syntactic factors at the level of phonology/phonetics, where the effects of grammaticalization are overridden by syntactic factors. What remains to be seen, and where future research is needed is the disentanglement of the competing effects of these two sets of factors on other phonological properties of the verb under investigation in its three different uses, pertaining particularly to the first/stressed syllable.

Acknowledgement. *The research was supported by the Science Fund of the Republic of Serbia, GRANT No 1589, Project title ClaCoLaSI.*

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ПРОЗОДИЈСКИ КОРЕЛАТИ СКАЛЕ ГРАМАТИКАЛИЗАЦИЈЕ: СТУДИЈА УПОТРЕБЕ СРПСКОГ ГЛАГОЛА *ХТЕТИ* КАО ЛЕКСИЧКОГ, МОДАЛНОГ И ПОМОЋНОГ ГЛАГОЛА

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Резиме

У српским дијалектима у којима комплемент глагола *хтети* може бити реализован како као конструкција да+презент, тако и као инфинитив, што је случај у Војводини, овај глагол има три различите употребе, што се манифестује у употреби три различита комплемента. Лексички глагол *хтети* захтева комплемент реализован у виду именичке синтагме, модални глагол *хтети*, којим се исказује вољност/одсуство вољности субјекта, прати комплемент да+презент, док помоћни глагол *хтети*, којим се изражава будућност, захтева комплемент реализован као инфинитив. Узимајући у обзир да сваку од три употребе глагола *хтети* одликују различите синтаксичке структуре, наметнула се хипотеза да дате употребе имају различите прозодијске одлике. Хипотезу смо тестирали експериментално, тако што смо анализирали степен финалног дужења и кретање F0 као најбитније показатеље десне границе конституената прозодијске хијерархије. Ослањали смо се на ранију претпоставку да више конституенте прозодијске хијерархије одликује већи степен финалног дужења, као и да присуство фразних акцената указује на десну границу фонолошких фраза, док присуство граничних тонова сигнализира десну границу интонацијских фраза. У експерименту је учествовало десет студената Универзитета у Новом Саду, које смо снимили како изговарају по десет реченица за сваку од три употребе глагола *хтети*. Анализа снимака делимично је потврдила нашу хипотезу, будући да се модална употреба глагола *хтети* праћена конструкцијом да+презент дуже више како од помоћног глагола *хтети* кога прати инфинитив, тако и од лексичког глагола *хтети* кога прати именичка фраза. Такође, разлике у финалном дужењу нису утицале на контруру F0, а фразни акценти нису примећени ни у једној од анализираних употреба датог глагола.

VERNACULAR COSMOPOLITANISM AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF COMMUNITY IN GIANNINA BRASCHI'S *UNITED STATES OF BANANA*^a

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Abstract

In the aftermath of 9/11, Giannina Braschi's *United States of Banana* (2011) envisions a world of crumbling empires, destabilized economies, and new alliances among its vulnerable subjects. While exploring the possibilities for resistance in the changing landscapes of political and economic power, Braschi focuses specifically on “the immigrant and the terrorist” (Perisic, 2019, p. 26), and examines kaleidoscopic transformations of community, which are effected by global circulations of people and capital. Formally reflected by Braschi's endless experimentation with genre, what she repeatedly calls foreign-speaking English, structure, plot, and character, such transformations involve “the cosmopolitanization of reality” (Beck, 2006, p. 18) and the formation of what Homi Bhabha has termed vernacular cosmopolitanism, which is born marginal, on the border and in between, as cosmopolitanism of the underprivileged. Relying on a rich body of interdisciplinary theory on migration and cosmopolitanism, this article analyses the narrative's conceptualization of vernacular cosmopolitanism as cosmopolitanism ‘from below’, and the ongoing transformations of community that open up a space for new forms of solidarity and cooperation across difference in a time characterized by both global opportunity and global threat.

Key words: community, Giannina Braschi, migration, United States of Banana, vernacular cosmopolitanism.

^a The article was presented at the *Language, Literature, Process 2023 Conference* at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia.

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ВЕРНАКУЛАРНИ КОСМОПОЛИТИЗАМ И ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЈА ЗАЈЕДНИЦЕ У ДЕЛУ *СЈЕДИЊЕНЕ БАНАНА ДРЖАВЕ* ЂАНИНЕ БРАСКИ

Апстракт

Експериментално дело *Сједињене Банана Државе* (2011) Ђанине Браски, написано десет година после 11. септембра, замишља свет обележен сломом империја, нестабилним привредама и новим савезништвима међу његовим рањивим субјектима. Док истражује могућности отпора у променљивим крајолицима политичке и економске моћи, Браски се посебно усредсређује на „имигранта и терористу“ (Perisic, 2019, стр. 26) и испитује календоскопске трансформације заједнице као последицу глобалних токова људи и капитала. Формално изражене кроз ауторкино непрекидно поигравање са жанром, језиком који Браски често назива туђинским енглеским, структуром, заплетом и књижевним ликом, такве трансформације подразумевају „космополитизацију стварности“ (Beck, 2006, стр. 18) и формирање онога што је Хоми Баба назвао вернакуларним космополитизмом, који настаје на маргини, на граници и у међупростору, као космополитизам непривилегованих. У оквирима богате интердисциплинарне теорије о миграцији и космополитизму, овај чланак анализира концепт вернакуларног космополитизма у *Сједињеним Банана Државама* као космополитизма „одоздо“, те неумитне трансформације заједнице које крче простор за нове видове солидарности и сарадње преко граница разлике у времену које једнако карактеришу могућности и претње на глобалном нивоу.

Кључне речи: Ђанина Браски, миграција, *Сједињене Банана Државе*, вернакуларни космополитизам, заједница.

INTRODUCTION

Tectonic shifts in cosmopolitan perspectives after the fall of the Berlin Wall, which inspired a wave of utopian internationalism, and the attacks of 9/11, which exposed those utopian sentiments as naïve, have sparked debates in the rapidly expanding body of interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary cosmopolitan theory as to the precise nature and aims of contemporary cosmopolitanism. Whether it is understood as an attitude, a disposition, a strategy of resistance, a series of projects, a conceptual framework, or a defining feature of our times, post-9/11 cosmopolitanism is experienced as politically and ethically engaged, and decidedly realistic (Luburić-Cvijanović & Krombholz, 2024). Thus defined, cosmopolitanism as a theoretical framework is vital for understanding transforming late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century communities, and highlighting the issues of distributive justice, responsibility, accountability, solidarity, and empathy. Therefore, the framework plays a crucial role in examining the political, social, economic, demographic, and cultural changes in the twenty-first century, exposing the many underlying problems of continually reinforced inequalities, and proposing solutions. As such, cosmopolitan theory is frequently used to explore contemporary

narratives of underprivileged migration, which articulate the experiences of some of the world's most precarious subjects, illegal migrants, refugees, victims of human trafficking, and asylum seekers. For this reason, the present article employs studies of the new cosmopolitanism and migration to read a radically experimental text that dissects the post-9/11 political, economic and social realities in the Americas and the world. The significance of the selected text and the specific aims of this analysis are outlined in the following chapter.

UNITED STATES OF BANANA: PROCESS AND TRANSFORMATION

Giannina Braschi's experimental fiction *United States of Banana* (2011) represents an example of "[p]rocess-oriented writing" that "invites us into the workshop to witness the experiment as it unfolds" (Bray et al., 2021, p. 13). This process is characterised by endless generic, linguistic and structural transformations and alternations, which mirror the transformations of the individual and the community in the text. At the same time, the characters of Braschi's highly political work engage in an endless dialogue, which points to another process and transformation, "the process of coming into relation through dialogue" (Perisic, 2019, p. 172). This phrase, as we shall see, equally applies to the underprivileged masses of the world that her characters represent and to the narrative's many disparate elements. Namely, the text is pervaded by a sense of deliberate randomness and capriciousness of composition, which combines prose, poetry, treatise, philosophical musings, colloquial dialogue, foreign-speaking English and Spanish, fictional and non-fictional characters. Braschi's experiment dispenses with plot, characterisation and spatiotemporal linearity, it plays with language, structure and form, defamiliarising the genre of the "novel", which is why I will refer to *United States of Banana* as a fiction or a text. Fragmented and scattered, the text aptly reflects a world of crumbling empires and shifting power relations in the aftermath of 9/11, which is signalled in the beginning by the death of the businessman, whose dismembered body intimates the fragmentation of both empire and Braschi's text. As such, Braschi's experimental fiction is ideally suited to the task of strongly political and playful but merciless dissection of the political, social and economic problems of the globalised world in the twenty-first century. Her narrative's compositional instability also suggests "the impossibility of identifying a clear and stable counterposition", which requires that "[n]ew modes of resistance" (Perisic, 2019, p. 157) are conceived. Precisely *what* these new modes of resistance might be remains unclear in the text – Braschi refers to them in general terms, as resistance or insurrection – but *who* should conceive of and exercise them is beyond doubt: the masses, the multitudes, the strangely re-

sistant cockroaches, as she variously refers to them in the text (Luburić-Cvijanović, Krombholc, & Vujin, 2023, p. 217).

By examining the implications of the intertwined transformations of text and community in *United States of Banana*, I wish to bring to light the significance of Braschi's discussion of the relations between Puerto Rico, Latin America and the Global South on one hand, and the United States, North America and the Global North on the other, a discussion which flushes out social, political, economic, and cultural inequalities that call for action 'from below'. This action, the text suggests, can only be successfully performed by vernacular cosmopolitans as representatives of one among several variants of cosmopolitanism, a concept that has itself undergone numerous transformations. In my examination, I will rely on recent studies on migration, especially Aleksandra Perisic's *Precarious Crossings* (2019), and contemporary cosmopolitanism, without outlining cosmopolitanism in detail as I have done so elsewhere. Instead of an in-depth analysis of cosmopolitanism, this article will focus only on the notion of contemporary cosmopolitanism as defined by Ulrich Beck (2006), Berthold Schoene (2010) and Philip Leonard (2014), and, more specifically, the notion of vernacular cosmopolitanism as defined by Homi Bhabha (2001 [1996]). Both are crucial for understanding the social, political and cultural implications of *United States of Banana*.

BRASCHI'S POLITICAL VISION

Put simply, if simple descriptions suffice, Braschi's politically radical literary experiment focuses on "[t]he era of global transition, the decline of US power, as well as the fundamental role of Atlantic migrations in redefining power relations" (Perisic, 2019, p. 152). In other words, Braschi explores connectivity, "the buzzword of our era" (Winterson, 2021, p. 112), against our acute awareness of both (unequal) global opportunity (for business, travel, cultural cross-pollination) and (relatively equal) global threat (of terrorist attacks, war, natural disasters, viruses) (Luburić-Cvijanović et al., 2023, p. 219). She particularly focuses on the link between "connectivity and subalternity" to discuss

the proximity and multicultural compression of peoples, which often clash with their actual segregation and the persistence of strictly policed rules of entitlement and exclusion.

(Schoene, 2010, p. 127)

In the text, this is (quite literally) debated in the context of the unequal political, social and economic relations between the United States and Puerto Rico, North America and Latin America, and more generally, the Global North and the Global South, which frees her cosmopolitanism from the dangers of dehistoricised and, therefore, unanchored positions.

This allows Braschi, a Puerto Rican herself, to simultaneously consider two contexts, both of which place her cosmopolitan interests “‘outside’ the cartographic circle of Europe” (Dharwadker, 2001, p. 3).¹ The first context is America, and the intention is to undermine American myths (rooted in stories of individualism, the self-made man, and the cultural and racial melting-pot) from the position of the underprivileged (concretely, immigrants and terrorists). The second context is contemporary cosmopolitan fiction’s staple setting: the world in its interconnected yet splintered totality. To consider the links between these contexts, the author focuses on two central, intertwined figures, the immigrant and the terrorist:

[T]he United States of Banana has created the immigrant and the terrorist as two figures that embody its paradoxes and contradictions. Within the logic of Empire, an immigrant is always a potential terrorist; among immigrants is where ‘terrorists’ are fashioned, when they are needed to justify the state of exception. Both are, ultimately, the consequence of Empire’s military and neoliberal invasions.

(Perisic, 2019, p. 161)

To clarify this, the fiction considers two related movements: invasion and immigration as counter-invasion and a consequence of invasion. The movements are examined within the context of the war on terror, which creates a world of terror and an atmosphere of terror in which “anyone is a possible suspect” (Perisic, 2019, p. 162). Well, not anyone but anyone from the Global South, especially the Middle East, and especially a Muslim, a contemporary embodiment of the barbaric enemy.

In his celebrated poem “Waiting for the Barbarians” (1904), Constantine Cavafy brilliantly captures the significance of the barbarian enemy for self-definition and confirmation of the self’s purpose – “And now, what will become of us without barbarians? / Those people were some sort of a solution.” (Cavafy, 2007, p. 15) – as does J.M. Coetzee in the novel *Waiting for the Barbarians* (1980), which was famously inspired by Cavafy’s poem. In a similar vein, Achille Mbembe explains the mechanisms behind the need for the enemy and for the identification or construction of the enemy:

In the context of the mimetic rivalry exacerbated by the ‘war on terror,’ having an enemy at one’s disposal (preferably in a spectacular fashion) has become an obligatory stage in the constitution of the subject and its entry into the symbolic order of our times.

(Mbembe, 2019, p. 48)²

¹ Vinay Dharwadker sees this as crucial for propelling cosmopolitan theory and practice in new directions. The quoted words do not relate to Braschi’s text, but are vital for understanding its contexts.

² Also mark the following elucidation: “Distinguishing between friends and enemies is one thing; identifying the enemy with accuracy is quite another. A disconcerting figure of

Here Mbembe is interested specifically in the war on terror, which provides a link to Braschi's text. Her characters – immigrants and terrorists, immigrants-cum-terrorists – are imprisoned in the dungeons of the Statue of Liberty in the heat of this war. They have migrated in search of a politically, economically and/or culturally better life and freedom, but have faced alienation and captivity in their stead. The immigrants' captivity in the text illustrates that

[i]ncluding in democracies, political struggle increasingly consists in a struggle to know who can develop the most repressive measures faced with the enemy threat.

(Mbembe, 2019, p. 31)

Braschi's lengthy examination also tries to determine how the enemy threat is identified, so "the qualification of the enemy" becomes crucial: "what type of enemy are we dealing with, against whom are we fighting and how?" (Mbembe, 2019, p. 25) In *United States of Banana*, from the point of view of the crumbling empire, the enemy is, of course, the immigrant, the potential terrorist, who for this reason becomes a prisoner of war (on terror). From the position of the immigrant and the terrorist, however, the enemies are US imperialism, capitalism and neoliberalism. To borrow Mbembe's words, these enemies openly advance among us and around us (Mbembe, 2019, p. 49) during the state of emergency, so Braschi's playful examination of the state of emergency and the state of exception grows inseparable from her penetrating critique of the post-9/11 perceptions and treatment of immigrants in and by the United States.

Segismundo, a central character in the fiction, "the model for illegal extraterrestrial aliens" (read: enemies) and an allegory of Puerto Rico, which has been declared by the United States of Banana "a state of exception, a state of emergence, an emergent state" (Braschi, 2011, pp. 164-165), as such represents a result of the combined *production* of exception, emergency and fictionalised enemy. Again, Mbembe's reflections provide a striking parallel with Braschi's discussion:

In such instances, power (which is not necessarily state power) continuously refers and appeals to the exception, emergency, and a

ubiquity, the enemy is henceforth more dangerous by being everywhere: without face, name, or place. If the enemy has a face, it is only a veiled face, the simulacrum of a face. And if the enemy has a name, this might be only a borrowed name, a false name whose primary function is dissimulation. Such an enemy advances, at times masked, at other times openly, among us, around us, and even within us, ready to emerge in the middle of the day or in the heart of night, each time his apparition threatening the annihilation of our way of life, our very existence." (Mbembe, 2019, p. 49) These words go to the very heart of Cavafy's, Coetzee's and Braschi's works even if they discuss different contexts.

fictionalized notion of the enemy. It also *labors to produce* these same exceptions, emergencies, and fictionalized enemies.

(Mbembe, 2019, p. 70; my emphasis)

Such fictionalised enemies are produced during the state of emergency and exception, which are likewise produced, to justify a relation of hatred “that authorizes the giving of a free rein to all sorts of otherwise forbidden desires” (Mbembe, 2019, p. 48). Braschi allegorises the giving of a free reign to otherwise forbidden desires in the following way: Americans are reptiles and employ Oliver the Exterminator to chase after cockroaches (Puerto Ricans and other Others), which literalises the idea that “the enemy is a prey” (Mbembe, 2019, p. 88), a pest to be eliminated. The “chase” unfolds on the micro level, on Liberty Island, and on the macro level, around the globe. It is on the micro level where the seeds of insurrection are sown, among the fictionalised and allegorised enemies as representatives of vernacular cosmopolitanism and the New Man.

*POSTCARDS FROM LIBERTY ISLAND:
VERNACULAR COSMOPOLITANISM AND THE NEW MAN*

The book-length debate among Braschi’s characters that makes up the fiction takes place on Liberty Island, where real and fictionalised “representatives of formerly colonized countries encounter each other to discuss alternatives to US domination, forming the Atlantic undercommons” (Perisic, 2019, p. 158). The island’s Statue of Liberty was historically associated with liberty as a revolutionary idea – it was meant to signify a fight against the status quo as a symbol of equality, freedom and democracy – but is now “a symbol of the establishment” (Braschi, 2011, p. 85), of democracy as advertised and practised by the United States. In Braschi’s outspoken text, Lady Liberty says: “When immigrants come looking for freedom, I suck their juice...” (Braschi, 2011, p. 82). In *United States of Banana*, immigrants become prisoners in the dungeons of Lady Liberty, and like the underdogs that they are made to be – “They wanted us to be stray dogs—not belonging—not forming part—not incorporating—not given a chance.” (Braschi, 2011, p. 223) – they sniff the smells of her vagina there and feed on leftovers like dogs. But these people, who have inalienable qualities but no inalienable rights, since rights are “full of privileges—and permissions—and escape doors that don’t allow everybody the same access” (Braschi, 2011, p. 57), start the process of transformation whose potential is signalled by the very place where they are.

Braschi’s characters, if characters they can be called, find themselves in the city as “the archetypal geopolitical unit of cosmopolitanism” (Dharwadker, 2001, p. 10). Specifically, they are in New York, “a place where the very concept of nation is a splintered internationalism, where

the national language is a babel” (Boxall, 2013, p. 136). The narrative’s splintered form reflects this, as does its foreign-speaking English, seasoned with the odd Spanish word that the voices of this polyphonic narrative speak. Such a language points to one among a myriad changes that characterise the experience of migration:

Habitual language use may slide or be jolted from one tongue to another, with all that such a change implies about the means of representation in words.

(White, 1995, p. 3)

Braschi demonstrates how it may slide or be jolted, so her foreign-speaking English, as untamable as her fiction, exemplifies “creative destruction of English from inside” (Perisic, 2019, p. 169) but also, I might add, its creative reconstruction. The language’s purpose is “to function as a terrorist threat to the language of Empire” (Perisic, 2019, p. 170), and to “convey the heterogeneous and splintered nature of the masses” (Luburić-Cvijanović et al., 2023, p. 214) that are locked up in the dungeons of Lady Liberty. This is a space of cultural cross-pollination, of “multilingualism and cultural heterogeneity that underlie cosmopolitan formations” (Dharwadker, 2001, p. 5), and the setting which gives birth to Braschi’s *New Man* as an embodiment of vernacular cosmopolitanism and a potential threat to the logic of empire.

Ceaseless global flows of people and capital have led to what Ulrich Beck calls banal cosmopolitanism and banal cosmopolitanisation of everyday life that testifies to our “anonymous coexistence and the overlapping of possible worlds and global dangers” (Beck, 2006, p. 10). It is the kind of cosmopolitanisation of reality that we find in food and fashion, for instance, which is associated with cultural consumption. Braschi’s immigrants participate in reality’s cosmopolitanisation, and are themselves being cosmopolitanised. In the process, they occupy “[t]he interstitial spaces – the in-between, hyphenated spaces made available by globalisation” (Boxall, 2013, p. 171), the spaces where vernacular cosmopolitanism is born as cosmopolitanism ‘from below’. If ceaseless flows of people and capital have created various kinds of cosmopolitanism, or cosmopolitanisms, they have also given birth to different types of cosmopolitans. In an informed classification that touches a raw nerve despite its apparent simplification, Alfredo González-Ruibal identifies

two kinds of cosmopolitans: the powerful and the disempowered, those who have chosen to live with others in different countries, and those who have been forced to do so (such as labor migrants and refugees).

(González-Ruibal, 2009, p. 117)

Vernacular cosmopolitanism, which is marginal and born “on the border, *in between*” (Bhabha, 2011, 48), is associated with the latter kind, the disempowered, whose common denominator is their position “below”, and whose heterogeneity is endlessly emphasised in and mimicked by Braschi’s text. In the text, this cosmopolitanism of the underprivileged develops as “a strategy of resistance” (Schoene, 2010, p. 5) in the dungeons of Lady Liberty, literally “below”. Light years away from “a comfortable cosmopolitanism that allows Western(ized) elites to keep their lifestyles and worldviews” (González-Ruibal, 2009, p. 118), vernacular cosmopolitanism is vital in resisting the conditions that have created and perpetuated inequalities. Its embodiment is Braschi’s New Man:

twenty-first-century man, a messenger of a mixed racial and cultural background, who has blue or hazelnut Chinese eyes, freckles and an afro, and speaks Spanglish with a Russian accent.

(Luburić-Cvijanović et al., 2023, p. 212)

S/he is “not a product of naïve internationalist perspectives or of mobility as a privilege” but is instead “brought about by the unequal global circulations of people, capital and culture”, which is reflected by the perpetual movement that underlies the text, and s/he “embodies the more realistic post-9/11 internationalism and cosmopolitanism” (Luburić-Cvijanović et al., 2023, p. 213). The New Man’s simultaneously split and plural identity, a product of migration and shifting power relations, translates into an endlessly reassembling form. The form’s fragmentation and restructuring, therefore, acts out the New Man’s, and the fiction’s, cosmopolitan nature.

The New Man’s identity provides evidence of “the construction of countless hybrid and miscegenated identities” in the last few decades, and in the fiction reflects:

the changing status both of the nation and of the global community, as we struggle to fashion a new idea of global relations and a new idea of democratic freedom.

(Boxall, 2013, p. 169)

More than ten years after the publication of *United States of Banana* we are still struggling, perhaps even more so in the aftermath of Covid-19 and in view of the current war between Russia and Ukraine. Despite the struggle, there *is* potential for positive transformation, and it lies in the New Man, whose identity crosses cultures, nations and ethnicities. Admittedly, the identity of the New Man is only postnational in going beyond national identifications, because the text shatters global culture’s myth of “the porosity of national borders” (Leonard, 2014, p. 3) and of a borderless world: national borders may be porous for cultural influences, viruses and, most importantly, capital, but they are far less po-

rous for people. At the same time, Braschi rewrites what Leonard calls “the prevailing *mythos*” of late twentieth-century “narratives of a connected humanity” (Leonard, 2014, p. 4) by exposing the underside of such connectivity.

Within this *mythos*, power is seen to be distributed across regions of the world, markets are no longer limited to national – or even international – economies, information is disseminated as a force for global democracy, and the social sphere has been refigured as a universal association.

(Leonard, 2014, p. 4)

Braschi’s text exposes all of this as a myth, a projection of a world that is not yet ours, for power is not distributed, and there is no global democracy, or justice, or solidarity. Yet. Among the rebellious immigrants and prisoners of war the potential for transformation is mobilised from the “shared conditions of contemporary immigrants” that “precipitate new linguistic and social modes of living” (Perisic, 2019, p. 155). In other words, from vernacular cosmopolitanism, ‘from below.’

Segismundo, the chief prisoner and Braschi’s allegorical representation of Puerto Rico’s slavish position, dreams of a world of Missizona, Nuyoricans, Chiletinos, and Canazuelans, a world without mental blocks (Braschi 134-135), and of a community that ‘thrives on recurrent reassemblage’ (Schoene 21), whose inevitable disorderliness is literalised as Braschi’s unruly text.

(Luburić-Cvijanović et al., 2023, p. 216)

Missizona, Nuyoricans, Chiletinos, and Canazuelans expose the many heterogeneous yet shared experiences of disempowerment while at the same time pointing towards and calling for vernacular cosmopolitanism, which is driven by openness to dialogue.

CONCLUDING REMARKS: “SENSES OPEN TO TRANSFORMATIONS”

The openness of Braschi’s text as an example of “writing that goes overboard and over borders—and that is on the edge of breaking—and finds a light—and beams” (Braschi, 2011, p. 236), a text characterised by change, with no beginning, middle or end, mirrors the openness of the cosmopolitan community: “we are open people” with “senses open to transformations” (Braschi, 2011, pp. 232-233). Openness to transformations, but also “openness to the needs of others” (González-Ruibal, 2009, p. 119) as a key feature of vernacular cosmopolitanism, is rooted in the real, material, lived conditions of the globalised world, which is why transformation into a world in which we include rather than exclude, in

which roads shake hands instead of crossing each other, and everyone is invited on equal turns as a citizen of the world (Braschi, 2011, pp. 286, 253, 279) cannot happen without insurrection; if it can happen at all, sceptics would say. Insurrection replaces

the regressive fantasy of freedom – to invent oneself, to fashion oneself – that is painfully at odds with the material conditions that determine real global relations.

(Boxall, 2013, p. 172)

This conditional relationship also works, and perhaps more frequently, in the other direction: global relations determine material conditions. This is where openness to the needs of others takes centre stage. Alfredo González-Ruibal believes that “[i]f there is any hierarchy in our responsibilities toward others, it should be dictated by the urgency of the situation” (González-Ruibal, 2009, p. 121). Indeed, it should, but González-Ruibal fails to note that what counts as urgency depends on the point of view: an epidemic in Africa may not seem urgent to the privileged in Europe or America, until it knocks on their doors. Similarly, local deforestation problems in the Amazon may appear strictly local, and therefore less urgent, until we feel their effects on the global scale.

To go back to the “regressive fantasy of freedom”, the concept may also apply to freedom of movement. While the privileged world takes freedom of movement for granted since mobility is a part of everyday reality – one travels for work or pleasure, to study abroad or participate in international conferences or sports events – to large populations of the world mobility is impossible or nightmarish, as the world of allegedly disintegrating national borders does not enable equal movement for all³. This is painfully exposed by both fictional and nonfictional migrant writing, which attempts to “capture the essence of what it is like to be a migrant [...] cut off from history and from a sense of place” (King et al., 1995, ix-x). For instance, like Braschi’s fictional *United States of Banana, Somewhere We Are Human* (2022), an anthology of fictional and non-fictional writing and art by undocumented immigrants, comprises diverse and deeply personal accounts of migration and life as an undocumented immigrant in the United States, shedding light on matters of politics, economy, class, race, gender and personal relations. In equally formally and generically scattered but different guises, both these works discuss the politically and economically precarious position of the (undocumented) immigrant for whom national borders are not porous, while at the

³ This is precisely what Braschi mockingly criticises when she has Gertrude and Basilio, decontextualised from *Hamlet* (1603) by William Shakespeare and *Life is a Dream* (1636) by Pedro Calderón de la Barca, and symbols of the North and the South respectively, promise all Latin Americans US passports.

same time calling for empathy, solidarity and justice. Braschi's text literalises the idea of freedom as a fantasy when she has L/liberty imprison the many fictional and fictionalised immigrants in the *United States of Banana*, establishing the text as one in which "freedom has become alien to itself, corrupted, unthinkable" (Boxall, 2013, p. 190). Unlike the novels by Jonathan Franzen, David Mitchell, Roberto Bolaño, and several other writers that Peter Boxall discusses as those which project the aforementioned vision of freedom, novels which show "the desire to build another world, in which freedom, sovereignty and democracy might *come back* into alignment" (Boxall, 2013, p. 190; my emphasis), *United States of Banana* asks the following question: when were they ever in alignment and for whom?

This is why a complete overhaul is necessary, and Braschi believes it can only be achieved through resistance. *United States of Banana* proves wrong Boxall's claim that the twenty-first-century novel finds that the global forces which bring different peoples and histories together "deprive such peoples of a common language with which to articulate a hybrid existence", so "the hyphenated identities in the twenty-first century tend to remain ungathered" (Boxall, 2013, pp. 173-174). In Braschi's text, hyphenated identities gather around a common purpose and find a common language in resistance: resistance to US imperialism. Resistance is powered by an alliance between "the Puerto Rican immigrant and the Middle Eastern war prisoner, so-called terrorist", who "meet in Lady Liberty's dungeon" (Perisic, 2019, p. 153), an alliance among the "wretched of the earth", to borrow Franz Fanon's famous phrase. However, some of the crucial issues that Braschi addresses, concerning the forms of resistance which are available in the state of emergency, as well as the question of how "politics, philosophy, and aesthetics" can "participate in this process conjointly" (Perisic, 2019, p. 154), remain open to debate. Nevertheless, the text is committed to the idea of resistance, which, it believes, has to be organised from below, by the New Man as a vernacular cosmopolitan.

The idea of resistance and the concept of politically and ethically engaged post-9/11 cosmopolitanism permeate every aspect of *United States of Banana*. Braschi's wish to imagine "the totality of the world, not simply by representing it but also by creating a world in its totality" (Perisic, 2019, p. 157) is decidedly cosmopolitan, as are her focus on underprivileged cosmopolitans, the world's "countless sub-worlds of powerless, disenfranchised daily living" (Schoene, 2010, p. 14), and a strong sense of communality and solidarity that saturates her kaleidoscopically shifting fragmented yet cohesive text. As such, the text undermines the common vision of globalisation "as an emergent . . . diffuse, technologically enabled, universally connected, politically decentralized and inclusive condition" (Leonard, 2014, p. 8), and shows just how far we are from

that version of reality, which remains inaccessible to most people on this planet. Today, authority continues “to gravitate towards the locations preferred by the market”, while globalisation continually fails to develop “mechanisms for consensual and participatory inclusion which extend to all populations and regions”; instead, globalisation has “delivered new systems for maintaining structural imbalances and the reassertion of sovereign authority” (Leonard, 2014, pp. 29, 28). This is why total transformation is needed, as *United States of Banana* suggests, calling for cosmopolitanism not only as “a way of articulating a concern for others without couching it in universalistic or paternalistic terms” (González-Ruibal, 2009, p. 119), but also as a strategy of *actively* challenging universalism and paternalism. The first step towards that kind of transformation is insurrection.

In the end, what transformations and processes does Braschi’s endlessly transforming “process-oriented” text discuss? The post-9/11 shifting power relations and economic balances from the point of view of those who are below, transformation as conscientious cosmopolitanisation of both individual and community, and the transformation of society whose potential is unlocked by resistance and rebellion from below. The dungeon of Lady Liberty welcomes new arrivals until “they become a whole population, the size of the state, living in the Empire’s underbelly” (Perisic, 2019, p. 163), and their heterogeneity and unruliness, literalised by the heterogeneous and unruly text, has the potential to take down the system and reimagine the US and the world.

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ВЕРНАКУЛАРНИ КОСМОПОЛИТИЗАМ И ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЈА ЗАЈЕДНИЦЕ У ДЕЛУ СЈЕДИЊЕНЕ БАНАНА ДРЖАВЕ ЂАНИНЕ БРАСКИ

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Резиме

Концепт вернакуларног космополитизма, преузет од Хомија Бабе, дефинише се као космополитизам који настаје на маргини, на граници и у међупростору. Као такав, подобан је за тумачење савременог космополитизма у делу *Сједињене Банана Државе* порториканске ауторке Ђанине Браски. У овом експерименталном делу, он се успоставља као космополитизам непривилегованих који настаје „одоздо“, у контексту миграција глобализованог света, односа између Северне Америке и Порторика, Северне Америке и Латинске Америке, те Глобалног севера и Глобалног југа, као и рата против тероризма, и игра кључну улогу у трансформацији заједнице. У разматрању његовог потенцијала у пружању отпора и остваривању нових видова солидарности и сарадње преко граница разлике, Браски се усредсређује на неке од најрањивијих светских субјеката, а посебно на имигранта као потенцијалног терористу, у свету обележеном политичком и економском нестабилношћу. Позивајући се на интердисциплинарну теорију о миграцији и савременом космополитизму у тумачењу космополитизма и трансформације заједнице у делу *Сједињене Банана Државе*, овај рад долази до следећих закључака.

Отвореност као једна од суштинских карактеристика ове фикције Ђанине Браски одражава отвореност космополитске заједнице и Новог човека. Као и *Сједињене Банана Државе*, дело посвећено разоткривању митова глобализова-

ног света обележеног застрашујућим неједнакостима, а написано на „туђинском енглеском“ и на порозним границама између романа, филозофског трактата, поезије и драме, космополитска заједница је у непрестаном процесу преображавања. Отвореност према трансформацији, као и отвореност према потребама других, кључне су одлике овог експерименталног текста и вернакуларног космополитизма који у њему настаје у тамницама Кипа слободе, где се заточени имигранти и/или (потенцијални) терористи удружују у отпору. За успех отпора неопходан је Нови човек, отеловљење вернакуларног космополитизма. Нови човек, чија културна, расна, етничка и свака друга хетерогеност отелотворује и хетерогеност самог овог текста, указује на неопходност отпора политичком и економском угњетавању, демонизовању и дискриминацији појединаца и заједница, и, конкретније, америчком империјализму, као и на потенцијал истинске космополитске солидарности, одговорности и правде као основа за настанак праведнијег, толерантнијег и слободнијег света.

DISTORTING REALITY IN ANCIENT INDIA: HYPERBOLE AND IMAGINATIVE TRANSREALISM ^a

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Abstract

Hyperbole may be the most visible variation of immoderacy in ancient Indian literature, not infrequently developing into adynata. The West, conditioned as it is by mimetism in art, finds this feature one of the major obstacles in its reception of that literature. However, a realistic approach, not just to ancient Indian literature, but its containing culture in general, takes us only to a miscomprehension of a different way to treat reality. Distortion of characters, of plot, of the external, supposedly real, world, as well as of other coordinates of poetry remains loyal, in fact, to a higher reality, a reality that is imaginative and transreal. The article starts from various examples in the Indian epics, mostly the *Mahābhārata*, not just because this is the largest literary work of India, but also because it is a work claiming to be all-encompassing. In order to illustrate the far-reaching potential of the imaginative, instead of realistic, imperative in ancient India, examples are also included from non-literary texts, technical and legal, in which absence of realism becomes, by western standards, especially worrying.

Key words: hyperbole, ancient Indian literature, realism, transrealism, imagination.

ИЗОБЛИЧАВАЊЕ СТВАРНОСТИ У ДРЕВНОЈ ИНДИЈИ: ХИПЕРБОЛА И ИМАГИНАТИВНИ ТРАНСРЕАЛИЗАМ

Апстракт

Неумереност староиндијске књижевности можда је и највидљивија у њеној хиперболичности, која неретко достиже размере адинатона. Западу, условљеном миметичношћу у уметности, та је особина и једна од главних препрека у рецепцији те књижевности. Реалистички приступ, међутим, не само тој књижевности, већ и индијској култури уопште, води нас једино неразумевању једног другачијег начина третирања стварности. Изобличавање ликова, радње, вањског, тобоже стварног,

^a The article was presented at the *Language, Literature, Process 2023 Conference* at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia.

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света те осталих координата приповедања, односно певања, заправо верно служи вишој стварности, која је имагинативна и трансреална. Чланак полази од разноврсних примера из индијске епике, првенствено „Махабхарате“, не само јер је реч о највећем делу индијске литературе, него и због њеног истицања властите свеобухватности. Да би се илустровала далекосежност имагинативног, а не реалистичког императива у старој Индији, укључени су и примери из некњижевних текстова, техничких и правних, у којима, по западним мерилима, изостанак реализма постаје особито забрињавајући.

Кључне речи: хипербола, староиндијска књижевност, реализам, трансреализам, имагинација.

INTRODUCTION

Immoderacy is certainly among the most conspicuous features of ancient Indian literature, and one of the most typical of its expressions is hyperbole. The hyperbolic register is not pronounced only quantitatively, but even qualitatively, with hyperboles growing with perfect ease so much out of all proportion that it is very frequently much more to the point to speak of adynata, instead of mere hyperboles. Adynaton is, in fact, hyperbole taken to such extremes that it completely baffles or even violates our most elementary realistic sensitivities. Common examples include phrases like *I've been waiting for you for a hundred years*, or *I've been looking for you a million times*. The West, obsessed as it has been all along with mimetic expectations from literature, finds this particular feature a major, even the most irritating obstacle in its reception of ancient Indian literature. However, seen in a much wider perspective, it is precisely from the experiences of non-western literatures, including Indian, that we should learn to understand and even appreciate to what extent the distortion of characters, plot, the outer, supposedly real, world and other narrative or poetic coordinates may very well remain loyal to reality. The catch here is that such reality is seen as surpassing what we regularly take to be real. I choose to call such an approach *imaginative transrealism*. Imaginative transrealism does not feel conditioned and blackmailed by the real as we normally understand it, but is instead inspired to go beyond such reality and the language serving it, in order to create a language and its concomitant world that will rather affirm an imaginative – not merely fanciful! – transformation of our perception and re-evaluation of the so-called real world itself. The literary procedure here is extremely playful, which is a dimension of paramount significance in Indian culture generally, since the very acts of God's creation, upholding and destruction of the worlds are seen just as many acts of His play (*līlā*).

In my elucidation of ancient Indian hyperbole, I am going to limit myself to Sanskrit literature. However massive and influential its production, this is far from total ancient Indian literature. Still, the impact of Sanskrit culture in general on all non-Sanskrit cultures in India, including

Tamil as the most powerful among them, was so great that the Sanskrit sample can safely be taken as the most representative for all classical India. Furthermore, although hyperbole is anything but absent even from *mahākāvya* – the epic forms clearly aiming at poetic excellence – I am sticking to the much more popular and relaxed *itihāsa* and *purāṇa* epic genres, for these are more than sufficient and exemplary for my present needs. The *purāṇa* is here represented by the *Bhāgavata*, which in terms of literature is the most ambitious of all *purāṇas*, while the *itihāsa* is represented by the *Mahābhārata*, not only because it is India’s – and the world’s – largest piece of literature, but also because of its own encouraging claim that “whatever [...] is contained in [the *Mahābhārata*] may be met with elsewhere; but whatever is not in it, is not to be found anywhere” (1.62.53), which itself turns out to be hyperbole.

INDIAN HYPERBOLE AT WORK

Hyperbole happens to be a rhetorical figure common to epic poetry in general, but in the East, it can with absolute ease reach staggering proportions and branch into a fascinating gamut of variations (which is here stated also to qualify Bowra’s classical study of heroic poetry, where we read that hyperbole “is a familiar feature of oriental poetry” only (1952, p. 501); hyperbole certainly is much more typical of oriental than occidental poetry, but should not be taken as a *differentia specifica* of the latter). The typical strategy in the Indian epics is amplifying numbers. Thus, the *Mahābhārata* is the most massive epic, about the most massive war there ever has been, which it expresses – among other means – by stating that the Kurukṣetra field saw hundreds of millions warriors gathered for the final battle (6.4.6). On the tenth day, the great hero Bhīṣma killed, by himself, 10,000 elephants and another 10,000 horses, along with their riders, plus 100,000 foot soldiers (6.110.32-35). Even these numbers can be topped, and so Droṇa’s human victims are counted by hundreds of thousands (7.8.30). To put such overstatements into a wider perspective, we can remember the familiar counterpart of Miloš Obilić, who, in South Slavic epic poetry (the poem *Car Lazar i carica Milica* (Srb. Emperor Lazar and Empress Milica)), after killing the sultan on the Kosovo field exterminates “only” another 12,000 Turks (Horo, 1987, p. 122).

Another conspicuous example of numerical hyperbole is offered in connection to the great kings of the past. The good king Rantideva used to lavish each of his priests with a golden bull, one hundred cows, eight hundred pieces of gold and everything necessary for the sacrifices, and he did so twice a month, over a period of one hundred years (7.67.8-9). We also learn that he had 200,000 cooks (7.67.1). Or, to take another life sphere in which those ancient rulers excelled, king Śaśabindu had one thousand wives – even the divine king Kṛṣṇa has traditionally been cred-

ited with no more than 16,108 – and each of the wives gave birth to one thousand sons – again, Kṛṣṇa fathered only eighty sons, with the eight fully legitimate wives from the above number – and each of the sons made ten million sacrifices (7.65.2-3), which anyone can easily calculate for themselves to offer a total of 10^{13} – ten trillion – sacrifices.

Such instances can be multiplied *ad nauseam*, which is surely not this article's point. Let me add just one more example, partly because, although itself belonging to the *Mahābhārata*, it refers to another war, the one sung in India's second largest epic poem, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and partly because I am going to come back to it later in the text. The building of the bridge that will take Rāma's army to the island of Laṅkā sees human soldiers joined by their monkey and bear allies: Suśeṇa comes with ten billion of his monkeys, Gaja and Gavaya with a billion each, Gavākṣa with six hundred billion, Gandhamādana with another billion, Panasa with 5.2 billion, while king Jāmbavān participates with a billion of his bears (3.283.2-8).

Whoever chooses to read such lists literally, like a historian, for instance, is doing nothing but forcing the wrong key into the keyhole. Such lists are parts of their respective texts, which again are parts of the culture that produced them. From the standpoint of the *Mahābhārata* and the whole of its culture, the war it describes is the ultimate war in the history of the world (which can freely be taken as another argument for the need of this poem to be the lengthiest work of world literature). This war is total – encompassing the whole world – and critical – it introduces the *kalī yuga* – the last, worst of the ages. The war's totality and the crisis the war stands for are also expressed by saying that there, on Kurukṣetra, foot soldiers slaughtered foot soldiers, horse riders slaughtered horse riders, and even horses and elephants slaughtered those of their kinds, which is subsequently only organically extended into all those incredible numbers, whose function, however, is not arithmetical, but imaginative. The numbers contained by texts like the *Mahābhārata* are not statistics, but rhetoric. They are poetic figures, but – let me make this perfectly clear – poetic figures with a very precise target: to violate the laws of logic, mathematics, positive mind and common sense, to the point that such violations in themselves signal the presence of something transcending any rationally acceptable words. Sometimes, it is the presence of the good old days that were actually so good the poet finds no better way out but only to *suggest* them, through obviously unrealistic numbers of gifts and sacrifices, because no *description* could possibly do justice to the golden age, when things were still *dharmic*, as the Indian would say, that is, each in its legitimate place as envisaged by the universal law. Śaśabindu's harem of one thousand wives should not be read as a lewdly overstated indicator of the king's sexual appetite and prowess – as such details have been read by puritanical minds – but rather as another expression of the goldenness of

the age, when the most righteous, *dharmic* of men saw to the sufficient propagation of *dharma*, the universal law, as expected from such rulers of men.

The presence of something defying human speech, and consequently triggering a hyperbole, can be of yet different kinds. I am here referring back to the building of the bridge to Laṅkā. It is, always, strongly advisable to carefully read what the text says itself, and then not pretend the text has not said it (just as one should avoid pretending the text has said something which in fact is only one's own interpretation of what the text has said, or has not). If one chooses to understand the enumerated builders as a meticulous, literal, list, and embarks on mathematically, realistically calculating how many monkeys and bears took part in building the bridge – but what is realistic about monkeys and bears building a bridge!? – how is one to incorporate into the calculation some of the addends I have so far deliberately omitted, such as Dadhimukha, who joined in with his “*large monkey army [my italics, of course]*” (*mahāsainyaṃ harīṇām*), or, especially, “many other monkey chiefs upon chiefs *without number*” (*anye ca bahavo hariyūthapayūthapāḥ asaṃkhyeyā*) (3.283.8)? How is one to calculate the number of soldiers in armies whose chiefs are themselves numberless?

These, and so many more, are ‘just’ different ways to stress – extremely poignantly, and unforgettably, especially for a traditional listener of the performing bard – how pious and generous those kings of yore were, how devoted and self-abnegating were the times when the entire world – including our fellow animals! – would join hands in building a bridge that would make possible the only thing that really matters: the triumph of God over non-God.

A final numerical, and within this kind different, example can be found in both *itihāsa* and *purāna*. Thus, their detailed descriptions of various lands and continents evidently do *not* have the intention to be scientific, but imaginative geography. Their ‘untruths’ can be exceptionally blatant, like stating that the innermost, ‘our’, continent (of the seven of them) is a hundred thousand *yojanas* across (*Śrīmad Bhāgavata Mahāpurāna*, 5.16.5), which is probably about 1,300,000 kilometres. Here we are not dealing with a ready-made world that is simply being described – and so brutally lied about – but with a world that is presently being created, in the exact moment we are listening to / reading the epic.

However, the bizarre expressivity of adynaton is far from relying on numbers only. Not even human beings are spared, in their most obvious, physical aspect, and even if the distortions go against everything we have so far heard about a given individual (so, when Rabelais does similar things he actually comes much closer to oriental than occidental traditions). To all appearances, and to our no little surprise, shortly before his death, the already mentioned Bhīṣma turns into something of a gigantic

superman. Enemies can shower him with countless arrows, and hit him, and pierce him, but to no avail (instances are spread throughout the sixth book, named after him, but I can particularly draw attention to chapter 120, introducing Bhīṣma's fall). When he finally dies, it is because his time has come anyway (long before the war he was given the boon to live as long as he himself determined), not because he has succumbed to the many fatal wounds. Bhīṣma's demise is one of the *Mahābhārata's* most moving episodes. While it is perfectly true that a hero's unrealistically prolonged dying, filled with elevated speeches even amidst agonizing pain, is one of general epic features, here we inevitably find some additional touches: it takes days for Bhīṣma to die, while he is lying on a bed of arrows sticking out of his back, singing praises to Kṛṣṇa, and passing moral and political teachings to the new king Yudhiṣṭhira that take up the better part of the epic's twelfth book, extending for roughly 4,400 couplets!

In the West, close to Rabelais' and the poetics of the Irish myth is what can be adequately termed caricatural hyperbole. The sky in the *Mahābhārata* repeatedly becomes invisible because of the many arrows shooting from one side to the other, which then reach the heroes in such numbers as to make them reel in the field looking like porcupines (Ghaṭotkaca, one of the greatest among them, was so studded with arrows that you could not distinguish either himself or his horses, car and banner; 7.176.55-56). King Mandhata was born of a father only – which is by no means the unique case of male parthenogenesis in Indian mythology – after the latter had drunk sacrificial butter, and was subsequently taken care of by Indra himself, the king of the gods, who did not even try to breast-feed him, but finger fed him instead (7.62.3-6). If the Greek myth has king Midas, whose touch turns anything into gold, then the Indian myth has to go one significant, imaginative step further. So king Śrījaya asks – and gets – in boon from the *brāhmaṇas* a son who, among his other virtues, will produce urine, excreta, secretions and perspiration made of gold (7.55.23). It is my feeling that the few colossal destructions of forest flora and fauna we find in the *Mahābhārata* are better appreciated as another hyperbolic – and, in this particular case, ominous – symptom of the fatefulness of the clash between good and evil and of the end of a world age, than as an abominably wanton, completely unexplainable ecological catastrophe at the hands of characters that we are expected to take as the good guys in the epic.

Anything can – and must – be subjected to imaginative transformation – and why not do it in a hyperbolic register? – once it enters the world of the imagination. The practice includes even paratextual parts such as the standard, hyper-realistic opening instructions as to how one is to listen to / read the forthcoming work, as well as the accompanying lists of all the incredible benefits resulting therefrom. Such examples of typically, but not exclusively, *purāṇic* hyperbole are not an aberration from

some presumed common sense, but variations on carefully composed didactic formulae, with a technical term of their own – *arthavāda* – their purpose being to stimulate the listener/reader towards the holy and avert them from the unholy, in a vivid, palpable, spectacular way, always befitting the aesthetic, imaginative and, more generally, cultural parameters of the literature in question.

Indeed, assessments like the one saying that, in India, “from the allusive cipher of the *Rg Veda* and the abrupt, broken narratives of the *Brāhmaṇas* [...] one passed to the ruthless redundancy of the *Purāṇas*, their incessant dilution, their indulgence in hypnotic and hypertrophic detail” (Calasso, 1996, p. 61) can be acceptable only if, somehow, we do not take *ruthless redundancy*, *dilution* and *hypnotic and hypertrophic detail* to necessarily connote something bad. The stated change – if there had been any such change in time, Vedic culture being from the start a product of the sophisticated elite, *purāṇic*, from the start rather catering to popular taste, with both these starts reaching into an unknown past – simply reflects a different sensitivity, one that finds in hyperbole a stylistic device most suitable to its expressive needs. Otherwise we are repeating one and the same pattern over and over again, of the western, itself basically provincial, standard elevated to the status of a universally binding criterion. We have seen such superimposition many times, even inside the West, with the ‘true’ West raging against a ‘false’ West. In the context of the present article, here are two relevant variations. The classical Latin world was quick to denounce the recent ‘Asian’ and, later ‘African’ style, versus the ‘balanced Attic’. Still later appeared the especially repulsive ‘Hispanic Aesthetic’ – Ireland again! – against which the Church Fathers reacted for being not only barbaric and ugly but, here too, also gigantic and measureless, ‘verbal witchcraft’, as St Jerome put it, that was practised the most assiduously by Irish monks (see, e.g., Eco, 2007, p. 111).

A DIFFERENT SENSITIVITY, A DIFFERENT POETICS

If the supposed ‘truly western’ West finally stopped viewing other traditions through the evaluative grid of its own tradition, it just might notice that the ancient Indian one has maintained a relationship to hyperbole quite at variance with the western. Classical treatises in poetics distinguish several types of what is in the West jointly known as hyperbole. Common exaggeration, called *atyukti* or *adhika*, is just the simplest variation. Some further distinguish between *adhika* and *ādhikya*. In the former, in its most typical manifestation, “a thing is said to exceed or surpass in size or grandeur its own basis or container”, while in the latter, which we may understand as superabundance, “a quality or attribute is quantitatively exaggerated out of all proportion” (Gerow, 1971, p. 102). Then there is the already mentioned *arthavāda*, a hyperbolic account inciting to a moral

line of action, but also, and for the present consideration even more important, to imaginative processing and, ultimately, transcending the so-called reality. Finally, *atiśayokti* is hyperbole functioning first of all as defamiliarization or poetic exaltation (Banerjee, 2002, p. 8). The understanding of hyperbole as offered here is not shared by all classical Indian poetics, but even this difference of opinions only further testifies to the significant engagement of tradition with this figure and the prominent status it has had in it. A Western author recently elaborated her understanding that it is even wrong to take *atiśayokti* to mean hyperbole, since she finds the most important feature about this figure to be not excess, exaggeration, implying a transcendence of reality, but intensification, “as it is typically concerned with amplifying the beauty of tangible objects, what may be effected by transcending or transforming the sensual domain, and not the other way round, as in the case of hyperbole” (Matyszkiewicz, 2022, p. 101). Matyszkiewicz’s position comes very close to Banerjee’s, and they seem to be conditioned by instances of *atiśayokti* as found in *kāvya*, refined Sanskrit literature (in the context of Matyszkiewicz’s article, this is actually quite obvious), where the figure is typically found in relation to the various parts of the female body and movements. My point, however, is that, outside *kāvya* – as shown in the examples presented here – *atiśayokti*, including all kinds of hyperbole and stylizations that can be connected to a stricter use of the term, has other typical functions, such as in fact are very much in line with transcending the sensual domain, by which I mean the whole world as we know it. Anyhow, the sometimes contrary polyphony surrounding *atiśayokti* only ulteriorly shows how encompassing and omnipresent a figure it is in Indian tradition. *Atiśayokti* not only attracted the attention of Bhāmaha, the very first extant Indian poetics (7th century), but, as a super figure materializing itself in various shapes and forms, it may even be said to present the very core of his treatise *Kāvyaḷamkāra* (*The Ornament of Literature*). In the first book-length study of the *Mahābhārata* as literature, R. K. Sharma (1964) divided the work’s figures of speech into eight main groups, one of which is hyperbole. Even more, *atiśayokti* is admitted as a separate category among only three kinds of poetic diction classical Indian poetics generally recommends (Banerjee, 2002, p. 4).

By now it should have become clearer why I have been motivated to recognize the presence of what I call transrealism within Indian hyperbole. It is my feeling that, outside its rigorously regulated appearances in high literature, Indian hyperbole always tends to be basically metaphysical, one way or another, even when it is funny, and probably especially when it is funny. It gives the allegedly real world twists that are so grotesque that they completely deconstruct the expectation parameters defined by our habit and belief in that world, thus kicking us out into a

mode of existence beyond physics, chemistry, geography, history, statistics – beyond everything all too human.

The Indian unwillingness to take the world for granted and the fascination with substituting an ‘objectivized’, unilateral and single way of addressing it by a plethora of imaginative takes on it goes even further and can embrace spheres that, in the West, even in pre-scientific days, were protected against such wild onslaughts of blatant inaccuracy. Some of the sexual positions as represented in Indian paintings and outer walls of Hindu temples have long and rightly so been regarded as simply physically impossible. And yet, they seem to be nothing but visualizations of what we find in the *Kāmasūtra*, the best-known and the most authoritative handbook in erotology (*sūtra* is a highly technical term, designating texts that the West would call scientific, scholarly). If despite their physical impossibility these positions were also included into a supposedly exact text, the reason must have been that the limitless possibilities of the playful and much more deeply insightful imagination were considered to have the upper hand over any kind of sexological precision. In such cases, we should not readily dismiss the possible presence of a more strictly didactic intention, too, such as relativization of all sexuality and its consequent overcoming (Vātsyāyana, the author of the *Kāmasūtra*, is traditionally believed to have spent a lifetime of celibacy). Much along the same lines, it has been calculated (by the psychoanalyst Sudhir Kakar) that were a husband to literally apply even the most authoritative legal text of ancient India, which is the *Manusmṛti*, and stay away from his wife on all the nights on which sex is to be avoided, there would be minus three days a month left (qtd. in Doniger, 2013, p. 263). The ancient Indian scholarly love of meticulously categorizing and classifying virtually everything, no matter how insignificant or even ludicrous the objects of these mental operations, has regularly been made fun of in the West. Again, my feeling is that these have simply been read in the wrong key. The Indian mind has never favoured or particularly valued an objective, intellectually neutral record of the outer world, however incredible, preposterous or even offensive this may seem to the western mind, and it has done so simply because it has never favoured or particularly valued that very world to begin with. (Of course, amidst the globalized world things have somewhat changed, but given the huge preponderance of basically traditional communities the overall picture remains the same.) Intellectually reconfiguring the world, seeing through it with the eye of imagination, taking it as only prime matter for the creations of the spirit – such an approach to the outside world, which is centrally active and incorporated into a larger hierarchy, has always been seen as the right way to perceive and use the world we are born into. This is so much so that it applies ‘even’ to the most important Vedic science: the science of the ritual. The great French authority in the Vedic studies claims that the complex structures as de-

scribed in ritual texts are sometimes “simply” imaginative exercises, not to be confused with actual practices (Renou, 1968, p. 30).

CONCLUSION

Atiśayokti is not quite Western hyperbole, but it does include it, only to go beyond it and encompass all kinds of distortions of the so-called real world. Transrealism is a possible way to term such width of scope. As already mentioned, besides mere exaggeration, it embraces twists on common sense and its expectations as familiar to the West through Rabelais (to take just the best-known example), as well as the bizarre, grotesque, caricatural, and virtually anything that abolishes reality as we know it, ushering us into worlds that are being created right before our ears/eyes by imagination – instead of a world passively received by our minds as ready-made – only to be themselves surpassed, in a metaphysical *tour de force*, by hinting at a reality beyond human powers and words. This makes *atiśayokti* essentially metaphysical. Indian hyperbole is a whole language, a language of ludic, holy mockery of everything we cherish as actual. It spares not an inch of our mind-set that may be thought to be inviolable only by our all too human considerations towards what has been taken as real by the same all too human subject.

This is actually the true purpose of art itself. At its greatest, it does not comply with the world as we take it to be, but breaks through it. One of the twentieth-century Westerners who were still most acutely aware of this fact was also one of the most neglected Westerners of the same century, the Hungarian Béla Hamvas. His most explicit text in this regard is the very short essay “Metapoesis”. “Metapoesis” turns out, in fact, to be Hamvas’ term for what I have been calling transrealism. Hamvas explains that a work worthy of being called artistic cannot be just a masterly achievement, but such a masterly achievement in which what is manifested is a surplus of being. Here he resorts to Nietzsche: such a work is not merely *Schöpfung*, creation, but *Überschöpfung*, supercreation, creation that transcends itself. In other words, it is not poesis, but metapoesis (Hamvaš, 1994, p. 152). He then recognizes that:

[A]rt assumes that man’s being has no object that would possess some corresponding complete value. Art is the activity creating a world of complete value corresponding to man’s essence. This is metapoesis. The metapoetic world is not real, but hyperreal.

(Hamvaš, 1994, p. 153)

Hamvas finishes his essay with the following words:

Metapoesis happens when man does not express himself, but creates what surpasses him: when man elevates himself above himself. This is

the only way to make his essence real. *And nature expects from man to be raised by means of man's art to himself in the vita nuova.*

(Hamvaš, 1994, p. 153; my italics)

In its many and various employments, this is precisely what Indian hyperbole achieves.

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ИЗОБЛИЧАВАЊЕ СТВАРНОСТИ У ДРЕВНОЈ ИНДИЈИ: ХИПЕРБОЛА И ИМАГИНАТИВНИ ТРАНСРЕАЛИЗАМ

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Резиме

Хипербола, која лако прелази у још неумеренији адинатон, присутна је у целокупној староиндијској литератури, али се у чланку пре свега посматрају њене специфичне варијације и функције у епици. Најочитија је бројчана хипербола, примерице у множини војске, али је поред квантитативне сасвим уобичајена и квалитативна хипербола, примерице у истицању неке физичке или духовне особине. Уместо иритираног одбацивања толиког огрешења о здрав разум и добар укус својственог западној рецепцији те књижевности, далеко је упутније и привидну фактографију третирати као стварну реторику, фигуру која на овај или начин избија слушатеља/читатеља из његовог уобичајеног дефинисања стварног, те га приводи слутњи која се у Индији одвајкада узима као чињеница: овај

је свет, са свом својом тобожњом стварношћу, обичан привид, тек у подлози којег налазимо истинску стварност. Отуд имагинативни трансреализам: снагом имагинације – типичне управо за уметност – продрети на другу страну стварности коју узимамо здраво за готово. У суштини је, дакле, функција индијске хиперболе метафизичка. То не значи да она мора увек ићи тако далеко. У примерима који се у чланку разматрају, узетим из „Махабхарате“, хипербола свакако кроз своја изобличавања има улогу да истакне и сву драматичност великог рата описаног у том епу: хипербола постаје симптом уласка у ново, мрачније доба, обележеног управо битком на Курукшетри. Западни израз хипербола заиста тек врло делимично покрива *atīśayokti*, главни кореспондирајући санскритски израз. Овај означава сваковрсно очуђавање и уопште свако карикирање или другачије деформисање стварности каква, верујемо тако, јесте. Кључна разлика у односу на Запад лежи у приступу свету, а онда и у сензибилитету кроз који се тај приступ артикулише, па тако и староиндијску поетику не треба посматрати као аберацију од претпостављеног јединог исправног естетског становишта, него као дотеран израз управо таквог другачијег приступа и сензибилитета. Поштеђени хиперболе нису у староиндијској литератури чак ни паратекстуални делови, па ни техничка, научна, правна дела – дакле управо она код којих Запад објективну егзактност и одсутност било какве субјективности сматра нечим неупитним. У класичној Индији, међутим, свет никада није већ створен, него се увек тек ствара у чину слушања/читања, а снагом боголике имагинације. Овде промовисаном изразу имагинативни трансреализам увелико одговара израз метапоезија мађарског аутора Беле Хамваша.

THE BIPARTITE RECIPROCAL MARKER IN SERBIAN AND ITALIAN: NOVEL AGREEMENT PATTERNS ^a


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Abstract

In this paper we discuss the emergence of novel agreement patterns of the bipartite reciprocal markers (BRM) *jedan drugi* (Serbian) and *l'un(o) l'altro* (Italian), both meaning 'each other'. In Serbian, the most conclusive evidence of an ongoing change comes from novel case agreement patterns, where the first element of the BRM no longer agrees in case with the antecedent. For Italian, the absence of agreement on the first part (*l'un*) is understood to be a result of grammaticalization, accompanied by other symptoms such as semantic weakening. The major problems for this view are gender agreeing plural BRMs, and the fact that agreeing BRMs in general do not seem to be 'less reciprocal'.

Key words: bipartite reciprocal marker, case, number and gender agreement, Serbian, Italian.

БИНАРНИ РЕЦИПРОЧНИ МАРКЕР У СРПСКОМ И ИТАЛИЈАНСКОМ: НОВИ МОРФОСИНТАКСИЧКИ ОБЛИЦИ

Апстракт

У овом раду бавимо се новим морфосинтаксичким облицима бинарног реципрочног маркера у српском и италијанском (*jedan drugi* и *l'un(o) l'altro*). Нови модели слагања у падежу у српском, где се први елемент не слаже са антецедентом, најјасније указују на процес граматикализације. У италијанском, одсуство слагања у роду на првом елементу сматра се резултатом граматикализације, коју прате и други симптоми попут семантичког слабљења. Присуство реципрочних маркера у множини у истим контекстима, као и чињеница да се предлозима, где се први елемент обавезно слаже у роду с антецедентом, не де-

^a The article was presented at the *Language, Literature, Process 2023 Conference* at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia.

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лују „мање реципрочно“ од граматикализованог облика представљају изазов за овакву анализу.

Кључне речи: реципрочни маркер, падеж, број, род, конгруенција, српски, италијански.

INTRODUCTION

In this paper we focus on the properties of the bipartite reciprocal markers – BRMs in Serbian and Italian (*jedan drugog* and *l'un l'altro* ‘each other/one another’). What these two languages have in common is that BRMs are an alternative or emphatic way of expressing reciprocity (the basic one being with the reflexive/reciprocal clitic *si* (Italian)/*se* (Serbian)). In both languages, BRMs seem to be in a process of change, as, on the one hand, there is an established set of morphosyntactic properties which most native speakers agree upon (standard forms and positions of the BRM, described to some extent in descriptive/reference grammars of standard Italian and Serbian), but new morphological and syntactic possibilities for the BRMs are also emerging, usually treated as non-standard, with varying degrees of acceptability among speakers. These changes are generally recorded in the spoken or informal language, usually of younger generations.

Reference grammars rarely give much attention to the description of BRMs, and Serbian and Italian are no exception. By carefully investigating the contexts usually overlooked in literature, we aim to arrive at an adequate description of a wide range of empirical facts that will set a more solid ground for subsequent analyses from any theoretical viewpoint.

BACKGROUND

In this section we lay out the basic assumptions about reciprocity in general, BRMs in Serbian and Italian (based on their standard descriptions), and grammaticalization as a potentially key process responsible for the emergence of innovative morphosyntactic patterns. Finally, we present how the data in this study was obtained.

BRMs and Reciprocity

We will keep to the notion that reciprocal constructions are grammatical means for the expression of symmetrical relations (cf. König & Kokutani, 2006). They involve at least two participants – A and B, and indicate that the semantic relation between A and B is the same as the relation between B and A.

(1) Peter and Mary love each other.

However, it has been long noted that *each other* can be used outside the strict symmetry or strong reciprocity contexts/situations, especially with sets involving more than two participants (cf. Dalrymple, Kanasawa, Kim, Mchombo and Peters, 1998, a. o.). In fact, BRMs can be used even for strong asymmetric relations (2).

- (2) The students followed **each other**. /The two crocodiles were lying on top of **each other**.

The terminology used for constructions with a BRM largely varies, depending on the type of analysis assumed. To remain theory neutral, we will simply refer to them as RM1 and RM2. RM1 matches the features of the antecedent phrase (typically, the subject, but also the object), while RM2 expresses the role of the complement of the verb or a preposition.

BRMs in the Serbian and Italian Standard Language – a Brief Overview

In Serbian, the BRM *jedan drugog* is often taken to be an alternative to the *se*-reciprocals. In Italian, however, the presence of the BRM largely depends on the reflexively/reciprocally marked predicate (SI-predicate). SI-predicates are unaccusative in general, requiring the use of the auxiliary BE (*essere*) rather than HAVE (*avere*). This makes *l'un l'altro* in the postverbal position an optional element.

- (3) Marko i Petar **se** poštuju /poštuju **jedan drugog**
 Marko and Petar SE respect respect one_{M.SG.NOM} other_{M.SG.ACC}
 'Marko and Petar respect each other'
- (4) a. Matteo e Marco *(si) sono baciati (**l'un l'altro**)
 Matteo and Marco SI AUX_{BE} kissed the one_{M.SG} the other_{M.SG}
- b. *Matteo e Marco hanno baciato (**l'un l'altro**)
 Matteo and Marco AUX_{HAVE} kissed the one_{M.SG} the other_{M.SG}
 'Matteo and Marco kissed each other'

In both languages, the BRM matches the gender features of the antecedent. In Serbian, the gender agreement is present both on RM1 and RM2, while in Italian, the singular BRM RM1 is typically invariable (masculine *l'un*), and it is RM2 that agrees with the antecedent. In addition to *l'un l'altro*, Italian also has a fully agreeing form, (*l'uno l'altro*), which is used with prepositions.

As for number features, both Serbian and Italian employ plural BRMs; in Italian, the plural form is standard only with prepositions. In Serbian, for antecedents of 3+ members, both singular and plural are allowed, and in the Italian standard, plural antecedents obligatorily take plural BRMs. For Serbian, it has been argued by LaTerza and Mitrović (2010) that the choice between a singular and plural BRM is governed by

semantic factors: plural BRMs are obligatory in strictly non-symmetric contexts. Italian plural BRM seems to behave the same way.

In Serbian, a rich case marking language, RM1 matches the case of the antecedent, while RM2 gets the case typically assigned by the verb (cf. Despić 2011, 87-88; LaTerza 2014, 123-124). In Italian, case is licensed structurally (no oblique cases).

Italian, a DP language, uses the definite article both on RM1 and RM2.

With prepositions, in both languages, the BRM splits: RM1 precedes the preposition, while RM2 follows it. In Serbian, RM2 bears the case typically assigned by the preposition (cf. Despić 2011, p. 87; LaTerza 2014, p. 121).

- (5) a. Matteo e Marco camminavano **l'uno** con **l'altro**
 Matteo and Marco Walk the one with the other
 'Matteo and Marco walk with each other'
- b. Petar i Marko Često šetaju **jedan** sa **drugim**
 Petar and Marko Often walk one_{NOM} with other_{INST}
 'Petar and Marko often walk with each other'

Finally, both Serbian and Italian have object oriented BRMs. Both Serbian and Italian BRMs can be used inside NPs. These are illustrated by Serbian examples in (6).

- (6) a. Preporučio ih_i Je **[jednu drugoj]**_i
 recommended them_{ACC} AUX one_{ACC} other_{DAT}
 'He recommended them to each other.' (Despić 2011, 87)
- b. Njihovo poštovanje **jedan** **drugog**
 their respect one_{M.SG.NOM} other_{M.SG.ACC}
 'Their respect of each other...' (Despić 2011, 87)

BRMs and Grammaticalization

Grammaticalization of BRMs. Cross-linguistically, the grammatical properties of constituent quantifiers in BRM are relatively unstable, which, in typological literature especially, is viewed as a reflex of grammaticalization (cf. Evans 2008, a.o.). Diachronic data from various languages indicates that BRMs start as autonomous units which then become grammaticalized as a new single unit. Grammaticalization is usually diagnosed by the changes in the semantic, phonological and morphosyntactic properties of RM1 and RM2. Semantic symptoms of grammaticalization include semantic weakening. For BRMs, semantic weakening is diagnosed by the loss of semantic compositionality (RM1 and RM2 have different semantic functions as BRM components than when used independently). The phonological correlate of grammaticalization is phono-

logical reduction. Whatever phonological make-up the individual elements of the BRM have, in the grammaticalized BRM, some of them disappear. Changes in the morphosyntactic properties, specifically loss of gender, number, and case agreement with the antecedent, are claimed to be “the most instructive evidence for the history of grammaticalization” (Kulikov, 2014, p. 126). Morphosyntactic tendencies observed in the grammaticalization process of BRMs in various IE languages can be summarized as follows: most changes affect RM1 first (‘reduced agreement’, with an invariable RM1 and an agreeing RM2). In fully grammaticalized forms, gender is fixed to masculine, and number to singular. The loss of case marking affects RM1, which becomes invariable. Haas (2007) argues that the development of BRM in languages such as English can better be captured if the semantic, phonological and morphosyntactic weakening is linked to the process of lexicalization, while grammaticalization should be understood as semantic, pragmatic, and syntactic context expansion.

The Serbian and Italian standard BRMs show different degrees of lexicalization. Phonological weakening is present in both languages (e.g., inability of RM1 of bearing contrastive focus stress); Italian *l’un l’altro* undergoes further reductions to the form *lullaltro*, where RM1 loses word stress.

In Serbian, the case, gender, and number agreement properties of the standard BRM do not exhibit symptoms of lexicalization. In Italian *l’un l’altro* RM1 is the invariable (masculine) form *l’un*, with RM2 showing gender agreement with the antecedent (reduced agreement).

- (7) Anna e Maria si sono ferite **l’un** **l’altra**
 Anna and Maria SI AUX hurt the one_M the other_F
 ‘Anna and Maria hurt each other’

The special status of *l’un l’altro* as a ‘set expression’ has been noted in reference grammars. An account of its grammaticalization is offered in Vezzosi (2010), where the author argues that *l’un l’altro* develops from the distributive (*l’*) *uno l’altro*, which were originally (in Old Italian), first used as two independent nominals. The reanalysis of the two nominals must have started from their uses in the postverbal position, with the plural antecedent in the subject topic position, triggering plural agreement on the verb. In the process of grammaticalization, “the two-quantifier construction [...] gradually loses its maximally distributive force, and during its fossilization in post-verbal position it acquires a non-maximally distributive but collective force, so as to encode weak as well as strong reciprocity” (Vezzosi, 2010, p. 366).

The empirical picture, however, reveals two issues with such descriptions of BRMs in Serbian and Italian. In non-standard Serbian, there exist forms of BRM that match the grammaticalization paths noted in other languages. In Italian, on the other hand, the grammaticalization path

suggested in literature is somewhat inconsistent in the light of the morphosyntactic properties of grammaticalized and non-grammaticalized BRMs.

Data Collection

The data we presented in the previous sections of the paper is primarily based on native speaker judgments, given that the spoken language corpora are insufficient or absent. In addition to the authors' native speaker judgments (for Serbian and Italian respectively), the Italian data also reflects the judgment of 12 other native speakers (ages 18 through 65), obtained via an acceptability judgment questionnaire, while the Serbian data includes the comprehension/production outputs of 15 native speakers (ages 22 through 23), and an acceptability judgment experiment (conducted by Milan Brkić, as a research course requirement).

SERBIAN 'JEDAN DRUGI'

Gender Agreement

The first innovation we note in the generalization that the BRM agrees in gender with the antecedent is with animate mixed gender antecedents. While the standard form employs neuter gender resolution (8a), in the novel form, RM2 has a masculine gender feature (8b), or both RM1 and RM2 are masculine (9).

- (8) a. Petar i Marija vole **jedno** **drugo**
 Peter and Mary love one_{NOM,N} other_{ACC,N}
- b. **jedno** **drugog**
one_{NOM,N} other_{ACC,M}
 'Peter and Mary love each other'
- (9) **Žena** i **muškarac** zaprosili **jedan** **drugog** u Diznilendu
 woman and man proposed-to one_{NOM,M} other_{ACC,M} in Disneyland
 'A woman and a man proposed to each other in Disneyland'
<https://shorturl.at/bjovB>

Also, the neuter marked BRM starts to be used outside resolution contexts. With both male antecedents, some speakers find neuter-neuter BRM acceptable¹, but for two female antecedents, neuter BRM is completely out.

- (10) a. *Petar* i *Marko* mrze **jedno** **drugo**
 Petar And Marc hate one_{NOM,N} other_{ACC,N}
 'Petar and Marko hate each other'

¹10 out of 15 speakers found this pattern fully acceptable;

- b. **Marija* i *Ana* mrze **jedno** **drugo**
 Maria and Anna hate one_{NOM.N} other_{ACC.N}
 ‘Maria and Anna hate each other’

Number Agreement

It has been noted in literature that the choice between a singular or plural is governed by a semantic difference. Specifically, LaTerza and Mitrović (2010) argue that singular BRMs are impossible/ungrammatical in weak reciprocity contexts, such as (11).

- (11) Članovi porodice su poštovali **jedan drugog** /**jedni druge** i
 members family AUX respected one_{SG} other_{SG} one_{PL} other_{PL} and
 odali su poštu ***jedan drugom** /**jedni drugima** na svojim
 paid AUX respect *one_{SG} other_{SG} one_{PL} other_{PL} at their
 sahranama
 funerals
 ‘The family members respected each other, and paid their respects at each others’ funerals.

While we agree with the judgment of the use of the singular BRM in (11), other weak reciprocity contexts actually do not disallow singular BRMs, as these authors report.

Plural BRMs are not freely available, though. With feminine plural antecedents, feminine plural BRMs are odd (as opposed to plural BRMs with masculine plural antecedents, which are fully acceptable in Serbian).²³

- (12) a. Novosadske mame preziru ??**jedne** **druge**
 Novi Sad Moms despise one_{F.PL.ACC} other_{F.PL.ACC}
 ‘Novi Sad moms despise each other’
- b. Novosadske tate preziru **jedni** **druge**
 Novi Sad Dads despise one_{M.PL.NOM} other_{M.PL.ACC}
 ‘Novi Sad dads despise each other’

² One might think that the syncretic morphology of the nominative and accusative in feminine plural forms is responsible for its decreased acceptability. However, the same contrast is found in Italian, so it is more likely that plural BRMs indeed prefer masculine antecedents;

³ An anonymous reviewer wonders what the acceptable version of (12a) would be, given that the Internet records at least two sentences with *jedne druge*. Our judgment is that the form is rather marked and that the singular form *jedna drugu* would be more felicitous here;

Case Marking

The descriptive generalization about case marking in Serbian is that the case of RM1 matches the case of the antecedent, and that the case of RM2 is the case normally associated with the position of the BRM. However, in informal/causal language, other patterns also emerge.

First, we present cases where RM1 does not match the nominative case of the subject antecedent. This takes place when the BRM is in the object position and with prepositions. Then, we move on to case mismatches between RM1 and the object antecedent.

Lack of nominative case on RM1 in the object position. In non-standard Serbian, both RM1 and RM2 can be marked with the same ‘object case’, as illustrated in the examples in (13) found on the Internet. Our informants also report that they often produce such forms in spontaneous speech.

- (13) a. *zašto mi kao narod ne poštujemo jednog drugog*
 why we as people not respect one_{ACC} other_{ACC}
 ‘why we as people/nations do not respect each other’
 (https://www.b92.net/info/komentari.php?nav_id=524829)
- b. *...gledao u Mihajla i Anu kako se jednom drugom*
 watched at Mihajlo and Ana as RFL one_{M.SG.DAT} other_{M.SG.DAT}
 smeju
 smile
 ‘...he watched Ana and Mihajlo as they smiled at each other’
<https://shorturl.at/ekFR2>

Loss of nominative case on RM1 with prepositions. Recall from one of the previous sections that prepositions in standard Serbian always split the BRM – RM1 gets the case of the antecedent (nominative, with subject antecedents), and RM2 gets the case normally assigned by the preposition. Examples like (14), however, are relatively frequent in non-standard/spoken language. In the novel pattern, the preposition does not split RM1 from RM2 – the whole BRM shows up in the complement position of the preposition and both elements are assigned the same ‘prepositional’ case.

- (14) *Petar i Marko uvek računaju na jednog drugog*
 Petar and Marko always count on one_{ACC} other_{ACC}
 ‘Petar and Marko always count on each other’

This is not the only case pattern for non-split BRMs with prepositions. Nominative RM1 is also allowed following the preposition.

- (15) *Petar i Marko uvek računaju na jedan drugog*
 Peter and Marc always count on one_{NOM} other_{ACC}
 ‘Petar and Marko always count on each other’

An identical state of affairs has been noted for Icelandic (Sigurðsson, Sigurðsson and Wood, 2022). They label the cases as (16) *innovative* reciprocals, and (15) *hybrid* reciprocals. As we descriptively treat both types as innovations, we will use the term *case-congruent* BRMs for (14).

A more fine-grained insight comes from an experimental study of the acceptability of innovative and hybrid reciprocals. The study involved 53 native speakers of Serbian, ages 20 through 51, who were asked to judge the acceptability of case-congruent and hybrid reciprocals in locational PPs (headed by prepositions *naspram*, meaning ‘facing’ and *pored*, meaning ‘next to’ assigning genitive case) with subject antecedents on a scale ranging from one to seven.

- (16) a. Luka i Milan sede *naspram/pored* **jedan** drugog
 Luka and Milan sit facing/behind/next to ONE_{NOM} OTHER_{GEN}
- b. **jednog** Drugog
ONE_{GEN} OTHER_{GEN}
 ‘Luka and Milan are sitting facing/next to each other’

The study revealed that hybrid and congruent reciprocals are acceptable (graded 5-7) for 23% to 41% of the participants. Also, a clear asymmetry emerged between the acceptability of these reciprocals with the preposition *naspram* (‘facing’) and *pored* (‘next to’), with *naspram* being more tolerant to novel BRM forms. The judgments are presented in Figures 1 through 4.

One key observation about hybrid reciprocals comes from Icelandic (Sigurðsson et al. 2021; Messick and Harðarson, 2023): the nominative case on RM1 does not case-agree with the subject. That fact that hybrid BRMs are possible with dative/quirky subjects indicates that the nominative case is marked as default, and not via agreement. So, the novel forms *both* have non-agreeing case on RM1. Now, which strategy – the default nominative or congruent oblique RM1 – is a stronger reflex of grammaticalization is a difficult question.

Luka i Milan sede naspram jedan drugog.

53 responses

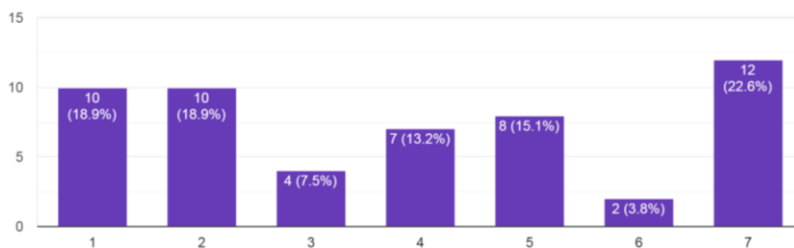


Figure 1. Acceptability judgments of the hybrid BRM with the preposition *naspram* ‘facing’

Luka i Milan sede naspram jednog drugog.

53 responses

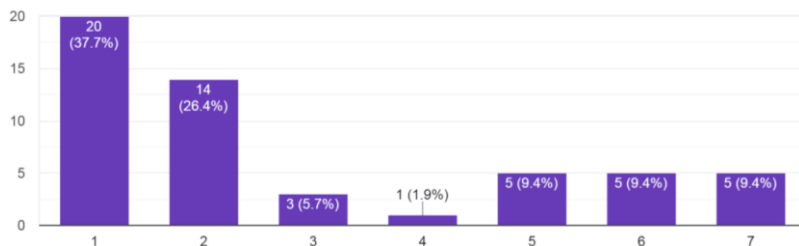


Figure 2. Acceptability judgments of the case-congruent BRM with the preposition *naspram* 'facing'

Luka i Milan sede pored jednog drugog.

53 responses

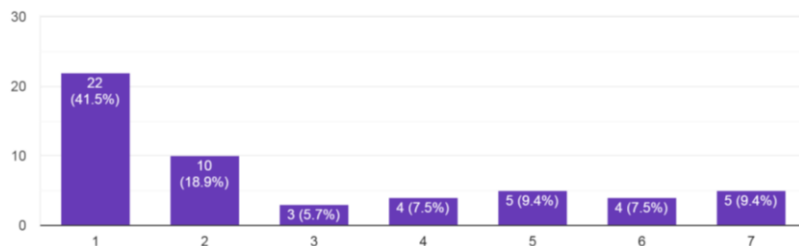


Figure 3. Acceptability judgments of the hybrid BRM with the preposition *pored* 'next to'

Luka i Milan sede pored jednog drugog.

53 responses

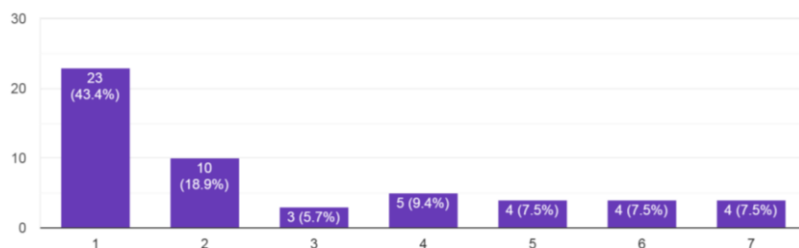


Figure 4. Acceptability judgments of the case-congruent BRM with the preposition *pored* 'next to'

Lack of nominative on the BRM with ditransitive verbs. Case-congruent BRMs are possible in ditransitive constructions. ACC-ACC theme BRMs (17) are generally judged as fully acceptable or more acceptable than DAT-DAT recipients of both masculine and feminine gender.

- (17) Petar i Marko su stalno **jednog drugog** preporučivali svim
 Peter and Marc AUX always one_{ACC} other_{ACC} recommended to-all

svojim nadređenima
 their superiors

‘Peter and Marc always recommended each other to all of their superiors’

BRMs with ‘double’ dative case are possible for some speakers, who also report that fronting the dative BRM to the preverbal position improves its acceptability. This only holds for feminine gender, though, as the masculine *jednom*_{DAT}-*drugom*_{DAT} is generally unacceptable.

- (18) Ana i Marija su **?jednoj drugoj** preporučile novu haljinu
 Anna and Maria AUX one_{DAT} other_{DAT} recommended new dress
 ‘Anna and Maria recommended a new dress to each other’

It is clear that case-congruent reciprocals occur in all syntactic environments in Serbian, with DAT-DAT BRMs being subject to most restrictions.

Loss of case agreement between RM1 and the object antecedent. Object oriented BRMs also allow both innovative and hybrid forms. First, we illustrate this for theme object antecedents and recipient BRMs in ditransitive constructions.

For masculine object antecedents, the hybrid NOM-DAT is better than the congruent DAT-DAT (19); with female object antecedents, the reverse holds (even though the congruent form itself is marginally acceptable, for almost all speakers consulted *jedna drugoj* is fully unacceptable).

- (19) Petar je predstavio *goste* **?(?)jednom drugom** */?jedan*
 Peter AUX introduced guests_{SF.PL.ACC} one_{M.SG.DAT} other_{M.SG.DAT} one_{SG.NOM}

drugom

other_{M.SG.DAT}

‘Peter introduced his (female) guests to each other’

- (20) Petar je predstavio *gošće* **??jednoj drugoj** */?*jedna*
 Peter AUX introduced guests_{SF.PL.ACC} one_{F.SG.DAT} other_{F.SG.DAT} one_{F.SG.NOM}

drugoj

other_{F.SG.DAT}

‘Peter introduced his (female) guests to each other’

The sharp contrast between the hybrid masculine and feminine suggests that the masculine nominative *jedan* is slowly paving its way to being default-invariable. Note also that the hybrid NOM-DAT is possible only in the singular form, as plural nominative *jedni* is fully ungrammati-

cal (21b). Plural congruent BRMs (*jednim drugima*) are also significantly less acceptable than the singular (*jednom drugom*).

- (21) a. Petar ih je predstavio **jedan** drugom/ **jednog** drugom
 Peter them.CL.ACC AUX introduced oneSG.NOM otherDAT oneSG.ACC otherDAT
- b. Petar ih je predstavio ***jedni** drugima/ **jedne** drugima
 Peter them.CL.ACC AUX introduced onePL.NOM otherDAT onePL.ACC otherDAT
 ‘Peter introduced them to each other’

Object oriented BRMs in PP complements can also have both hybrid (22a) and congruent forms (22b), which for masculine antecedents seems to be more acceptable than the BRM with an agreeing RM1 (*jednog_{ACC} na drugog_{ACC}*). Moreover, speakers use other strategies as well: non-agreeing nominative RM1 before the preposition (22c) or non-agreeing neuter, case-ambiguous (22d).

- (22) a. Petar ih je uputio **na jedan drugog**
 Peter themCL.ACC AUX directed at oneNOM otherTM.ACC
- b. **na jednog drugog**
 at oneACC otherTM.ACC
- c. **jedan** na **drugog**
 oneM.NOM at otherTM.ACC
- d. **jedno** na **drugog**
 oneN.NOM at otherTM.ACC
- ‘Petar directed them to each other’

Case patterns with NP-internal BRMs (complements and possessors). BRM complements of nouns can also be case-congruent.

- (23) Žene bi često trebale biti pomoć **jednoj drugoj**
 women AUX often should be help oneF.SG.DAT otherF.SG.DAT
 LIT. ‘Women should often be help to each other’

The use of BRMs as possessors has also spread among speakers. In addition to the default pattern with RM1 in the nominative, and RM2 in the genitive case (case structurally assigned by nominals), case congruent GEN-GEN forms are possible.

- (24) Potrošile su sve pare **jedne druge**
 spentF.PL aux all money oneF.SG.GEN otherF.SG.GEN
 ‘They spent all of each other’s money’

Summary

There is plenty empirical evidence that Serbian develops new forms of the BRM, which deviate from standard agreement patterns. With respect to case, BRMs with non-agreeing RM1 come as (i) case-congruent

(bearing the same case as RM2) and (ii) hybrid (with non-agreeing, default nominative), and are possible in virtually all syntactic contexts. The new forms exhibit sensitivity to certain number and gender features. Masculine singular is generally judged as more acceptable than feminine and plural, but the use of neuter BRMs for plural masculine antecedents is somewhat surprising.

ITALIAN BRM

In the opening sections, we presented the view that *l'un l'altro* has undergone some amount of grammaticalization (Vezzosi, 2010). We will now carefully investigate the contexts in which not only *l'un l'altro*, but other forms of BRM (*(l) uno l'altro*) occur. If *l'un l'altro* has been lexicalized and grammaticalized from the agreeing *(l) uno l'altro* – either through reanalysis of two independent distributors in structurally adjacent positions or via the loss of preposition – acquiring an obligatory article, invariable gender form of RM1, singular number and ‘less distributive’ semantics, which allowed (and restricted) its use in novel syntactic contexts (reciprocalized SI-predicates) – we expect to find asymmetries with agreeing BRM forms that would provide more details of its grammaticalization path.

Grammaticalized ‘l’un l’altro’ in Italian: Gender and Number Agreement

The reduced form of *l'un l'altro* has been taken as the first indicator that it has long entered the process of grammaticalization. However, the statement that *l'un altro* has reduced agreement is imprecise, as it only has reduced *gender* agreement. As expected, this agreement is different from other gender agreement patterns, since the feminine RM2 is used with mixed gender conjuncts, which is not a typical resolution scenario for gender agreement in Italian⁴. The question is obviously why feminine and not masculine is used, if masculine is taken to be default elsewhere.

- (25) Lorenzo e Anna si sono abbracciati **l'un** **l'altra**
 Lorenzo and Anna si AUX_{BE} hugged the one_{M.SG} the other_{F.SG}
 ‘Lorenzo and Anna hugged each other’

The second issue concerns BRM’s number agreement. The status of plural BRMs in general is suspiciously unclear in literature. According to the standard, in PPs, plural forms are obligatory with plural antecedents. Some authors, however, point out that plural BRMs are rare, both with and without a preposition (Vezzosi, 2010, p. 352, Fn. 14). If plural

⁴ Irrespective of the order of conjuncts. *Anna e Lorenzo* would also give *l'un l'altra*;

BRMs are ‘bad reciprocals’, why are they then grammatical in the position where we only find the reduced *l’un l’altro*, which is a *bona fide* grammaticalized reciprocal? Sentences such as (26) might not be frequent in spontaneous speech, but they are acceptable and judged as grammatical.

- (26) I bambini si Sono abbracciati/baciati **gli uni gli altri**
 the children si AUX_{BE} hugged/kissed the ones the others
 ‘The children hugged/kissed each other’

However, not all plural antecedents can equally allow *gli uni gli altri*, as neither morphological nor semantic plurality of the antecedent is a sufficient condition for a plural BRM. Of the various ways plurality in Italian can be expressed on the antecedent, only plural DPs freely allow a plural BRM. The presence of the morphological singular (Sg & Sg; Sg, Sg & Sg), or the numeral *due* (‘two’) with plural nominals/pronouns strongly excludes the use of the plural BRM. Collective plural DPs also dislike plural BRMs, but interestingly singular BRMs are also not perfectly acceptable.

- (27) I poveri si Supportano ?*l’un l’altro* /??**gli uni gli altri**
 the POOF_{M.PL} SI Support the one the other the ones the others
 ‘The poor support each other’

So, the plural BRM is eligible only with larger (3+) non-collective pluralities. The fact that the plural BRM does not operate on the plurality denotation – as plural predicates or pronominal anaphors do – indicates that BRM number agreement is, unsurprisingly, indeed special.

Larger pluralities have been known to allow weaker reciprocity. But, with respect to reciprocity strength, plural BRMs are equally ambiguous as singular BRMs (the strongest asymmetry contexts as (11) aside). Plural BRMs do not require super weak reciprocity. In a group hug context, which is minimally asymmetric, (28a) is perfectly acceptable, as is (28b), where the only asymmetry is in the body part involved (arm or leg), as each boy is kicking and is being kicked by the other two, simultaneously.

- (28) a. I ragazzi si sono abbracciati **gli uni gli altri**
 the boys SI AUX_{BE} hugged the ones_{M.PL} the other_{M.PL}
- b. I tre ragazzi si sono presi a calci e pugni **gli uni**
 the three boys SI AUX_{BE} taken to kicks and fists the ones_{M.PL}
- gli altri**
 the other_{M.PL}
 ‘The boys kicked each other with arms and legs’

Finally, there is an antecedent type which actually *requires* a plural BRM: conjoined plural DPs.

- (29) Gli Italiani e I Tedeschi si supportano **gli uni**
 the Italian_{M.PL} and The German_{M.PL} SI support the one_{M.PL}

gli altri
 the other_{M.PL}

‘The Italian (men) and German (men) support each other’

If the precondition for the use of the singular BRM with SI-monotransitives is loss of gender agreement on RM1, it is certainly puzzling why agreeing plural BRMs are possible there as well. Also, if *l’un* has collective, and not distributive force, it should fare much better with collective plural DPs.

Agreeing ‘l’uno l’altro’ in PPs

With prepositions, RM1 *must* agree with the antecedent, i.e., no reduced gender agreement (on RM2 only) is possible. This requirement holds irrespective of the PP’s syntactic status, complement (30), or adjunct, given earlier as (5a).

- (30) Marta e Marco Hanno votato **l’una** per **l’altro**
 Marta and Marco AUX_{HAVE} voted the one_{F.SG} for the other_{F.M.SG}
 ‘Marta and Marco voted for each other’

Unlike fully agreeing BRMs with SI-predicates (plural BRMs), the agreeing BRMs with Ps have no problem with mixed gender conjuncts. Even resolution successfully applies with 3 conjunct antecedents: the agreeing BRM simply ignores the gender features of the ‘middle’ conjunct.

- (31) a. *Marco, Anna e Nino* Hanno votato **l’uno** per **l’altro**
 Marco Anna and Nino AUX_{HAVE} voted the one_M for the other
 ‘Marco, Anna and Nino voted for each other’
- b. *Marco, Nino e Anna* **l’uno** per **l’altra**
 Marco Nino and Anna the one_M for the other
- c. *Maria, Marco e Anna,* **l’una** per **l’altra**
 Maria Marco and Anna the one_F for the other_F

Plural BRMs with Ps are also acceptable, as much as with SI-predicates (grammatical but not often produced).⁵

- (32) I bambini hanno contato **gli uni** su **gli altri**
 the children_{M.PL} AUX_{HAVE} counted the one_{M.PL} on the other_{M.PL}
 ‘The children counted on each other’

⁵ Plural mixed gender conjuncts also fare better with mixed gender plural BRMs – *gli uni le altre* with Ps is much better than with SI-predicates;

This indicates that the syntactic environment does not affect the use of fully agreeing plural BRMs. The asymmetry is present only in singular BRMs. And the question is why the singular RM1 must *not* gender agree with the antecedent outside PP contexts.

BRMs in Ditransitive Constructions

With ditransitive verbs, BRM is possible as the recipient argument (but not theme), and it can come (i) as a PP (headed by the preposition *a*), with a fully agreeing *l'uno a l'altro* (36), and (ii) as a reduced, DP-like, *l'un altro* with a SI-ditransitive verb (34). This alternation is not possible with regular nominals.

- (33) *Marta e Maria* hanno dato un regalo **l'una al l'altra**
 Marta and Maria AUX_{BE} given a present the one_F to the other_F
 'Marta and Maria gave a present to each other'
- (34) *Marta e Maria* si Sono date un regalo **l'un l'altra**
 Marta and Maria SI AUX_{BE} given a present the one the other_F
 'Marta and Maria gave each other a present'

The available literature suggests that *l'un l'altro* with SI-ditransitives emerged via the loss of the preposition and became a 'set expression' (cf. Vezzosi, 2010 and references there). And in that sense, it appears that the DP-like *l'un l'altro* with a SI-ditransitive is much alike *l'un l'altro* with SI-monotransitives. As the clitic *si* is often analyzed as an argument pronominal, the BRM is consequently assumed to be an intensifying or disambiguating adjunct.

This view is not without issues. If *l'un l'altro* is a disambiguator, it should be redundant in 'inherently' reflexive uses of the clitic *si*, such as grooming predicates. A predicate as 'wash' (*lavarsi*) should in principle rarely ever take *l'un l'altro* without contrastive focus (to eliminate the primary reflexive reading), contrary to fact. And, if *l'un l'altro* is an intensifier, then it should not 'intensify' strongly reciprocal predicates such as 'hit' or 'attack' (*colpirsi*, *attaccarsi*) – again, contrary to fact. SI-ditransitives open additional questions as they only have a reciprocal reading (never reflexive).

Finally, we remark that SI-ditransitives disallow plural BRMs if the antecedent DP has a 3+ numeral, unlike unergative ditransitives, and unlike SI-monotransitives. If we are to draw parallels between the two types of SI-predicates as licensors of the innovative *l'un l'altro*, this contrast should not be neglected.

The Distribution of Plural and Singular BRMs

In Tables 1 and 2 we give the distribution of *l'un l'altro* and *gli uni gli altri*, based on the antecedent type and the syntactic context. What

emerges rather clearly is that *l'un l'altro* is sensitive only to two antecedent types (collective plural and coordinated plurals). Unlike *gli uni gli altri*. As we have pointed out, plural BRM is not excluded from all SI-predicate contexts, and its acceptability is influenced by the antecedent type.

Table 1. *Antecedent type and l'un l'altro*

L'UN L'ALTRO	SI-monotransitive	SI-ditransitive
(*Det) PL	Ok	ok
(Det) 2 PL	Ok	ok
(Det) 3+ PL	Ok	ok
Collective PL	??	??
SG & SG	Ok	ok
SG, SG & SG	Ok	ok
PL & PL	??	*

Table 2. *Antecedent type and gli uni gli altri*

GLI UNI GLI ALTRI					
	SI-monotrans.	SI-ditrans.	HAVE-ditrans.	PP-compl.	Object antec. – PP compl.
(*Det) PL	(?)	?	ok	?	?
(Det) 2 PL	*	*	*	*	*
(Det) 3+ PL	?	??	ok	?	?
<i>Loro due</i>	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Loro tre</i>	??	??	?	?	?
Collective PL	??	??	?	ok	??
SG & SG	*	*	*	*	*
SG, SG & SG	*	*	*	*	*
PL & PL	ok	?	ok	ok	?

The strong ungrammaticality judgment of the plural BRM with the numeral 2 could be understood as a ban on plural BRMs in strong symmetric relations. But why multiple coordinated singulars semantically yielding 3+ participants equally exclude the plural BRM is a puzzle at this point.

Summary

In addition to the much-discussed reduced form *l'un l'altro*, Italian employs other forms of the BRM to express reciprocal relations. With SI-predicates, alongside the reduced *l'un l'altro*, plural BRMs are possible as well, their acceptability is affected by the type of plural antecedent only in SI-ditransitives. The reduced/grammaticalized *l'un l'altro* in SI-monotransitives and SI-ditransitives share gender agreement properties (e.g., resolution works the same way). But number marking in SI-predicates is obviously not fixed to the singular BRM.

CONCLUSION

The novel patterns in Serbian, unrecorded in literature so far, most evident in case agreement, suggest that the changes in many respects follow a typical scenario of grammaticalization. Case congruent and hybrid ‘default nominative’ BRMs indicate some amount of lexicalization (accompanied by syntactic context expansion). Some speakers generally gravitate to either case congruent or hybrid BRMs, while some use them interchangeably, so it is difficult to pinpoint if case congruent BRMs develop from hybrid ones. The emergence of non-agreeing masculine and neuter RM1 is also a novelty. As for number agreement, both singular and plural BRMs are used, their preference only roughly corresponding to the strength/weakness of reciprocity.

In Italian, *l’un l’altro* indeed shows symptoms of grammaticalization. The path of grammaticalization, however, is relatively unclear. The contexts licensing *l’un l’altro* do not completely dismiss non-reduced, agreeing forms (plural BRMs). Nor are plural BRMs ‘bad reciprocals’ – they are only sensitive to how the participant group in the antecedent is expressed. Syntactically, *l’un l’altro* is still a puzzle. It has its own agreement pattern, different from other constituents that enter agreement relations. Its status as an intensifying/disambiguating adjunct is also suspicious.

Grammaticalization of BRMs cannot be fully understood without solid insights into how number, gender, and case agreement/markings work independently of BRMs. Such insights might certainly be suggestive of the question of what actually motivates grammaticalization in the first place.

Acknowledgement. *The research was supported by the Science Fund of the Republic of Serbia, GRANT No 1589, Project title ClaCoLaSI.*

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БИНАРНИ РЕЦИПРОЧНИ МАРКЕР У СРПСКОМ И ИТАЛИЈАНСКОМ: НОВИ МОРФОСИНТАКСИЧКИ ОБЛИЦИ

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Резиме

У овом раду бавимо се варијацијом у морфосинтаксичким облицима бинарног реципрочног маркера (БРМ) у српском и италијанском језику (један другог и *l’un l’altro*), под претпоставком да нови модели слагања у роду, броју и падежу одражавају процес граматикализације. У српском, промене се најјасније виде у начину обележавања падежа, у ком се први елемент (PM1) више не слаже с антецедентом. Постоје два типа оваквих БРМ: (а) PM1 има исти падеж као PM2 (који PM2 добија у односу на то који падеж глагол или предлог додељују комплементу) и (б) PM1 се појављује у номинативу, који се не слаже са падежом антецедента. Промена је уочљива и у положају, јер БРМ постаје могућ као комплемент предлога (за разлику од стандардног облика где предлог обавезно раздваја PM1 и PM2) и комплемент недевербалних именица, где изражава присвојност. Неслагање с антецедентом примећује се и код обележја рода: мушки род се генерализује код координисаних антецедената мешовитог мушког и женског рода, а средњи род се јавља на PM1 код координисаних антецедента мушког рода. Што се броја тиче, делује да БРМ у јединици преузима улогу БРМ у множини, будући да постаје прихватљив у контекстима где би множина требало да буде боља (контексти са несиметричним односима, тзв. слаба реципрочност), и генерално је независан од фактора рода који утичу на прихватљивост БРМ у множини. Ове промене су у великој мери у складу са смером промене који се уочава у граматикализацији БРМ у другим језицима.

Италијански, с друге стране, већ има препознат граматикализовани облик БРМ, *l'un l'altro*, који има редуковану морфологију рода (РМ1 је у непроменљивом мушком роду једине, и само РМ2 се слаже у роду са антецедентом), појављује се у врло одређеном контексту, искључиво са рефлексивним/реципрочним предикатом са клитиком *si* (*si*-предикат), и углавном у једини. Испитивањем управо ових карактеристика код других, неграматикализованих облика БРМ, највише облика у множини (*gli uni gli altri*) као и неграматикализованог (*l'uno l'altro*), покушавамо да утврдимо до које мере емпиријски подаци подржавају предложени смер граматикализације. Долазимо до закључка да начин изражавања плуралности антецедента утиче на прихватљивост БРМ у множини, који је генерално ипак доста прихватљив у контекстима који дозвољавају граматикализованни облик. Такође истичемо одређене нејасноће у анализи да граматикализованни облик у једини има статус адјункта, чија је функција да појача реципрочно значење, или да га одвоји од рефлексивног значења у случају двосмислености *si*-предиката.

SLAVE NARRATIVES AND SPECULATIVE FICTION IN COLSON WHITEHEAD'S *THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD*^a

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Abstract

The paper explores the links between a contemporary novel *The Underground Railroad* (2016) by Colson Whitehead and the literary genre of slave narratives, and argues that this popular and critically acclaimed novel bases its narrative structure on the adaptation of slave narrative tropes and the use of speculative realism. The theoretical framework first considers some of the basic tenets of slave narratives as a genre and then places Whitehead's work within a broader context of African American writing, focusing on the relationship between realism and fantasy in slave narratives and Whitehead's novel. Furthermore, Whitehead's narrative is also considered in light of Ramón Saldivar's terms "speculative fiction" or "historical fantasy" (2011, p. 585) which denote a combination of genres blending fantasy and history in order to come up with a contemporary, fluid and multi-faceted narrative way to tell the artistic truth. The central part of the paper offers a reading of Whitehead's novel based on the argument that it represents a creative contemporary adaptation of the slave narrative literary genre as well as an example of postrace speculative fiction which problematizes and highlights the issue of race and the legacy of slavery in contemporary American society.

Key words: slave narrative, Colson Whitehead, race, African American studies, speculative fiction.

УТИЦАЈ РОБОВСКИХ НАРАТИВА И СПЕКУЛАТИВНЕ ФИКЦИЈЕ НА РОМАН *ПОДЗЕМНА ЖЕЛЕЗНИЦА* КОЛСОНА ВАЈТХЕДА

Апстракт

Рад истражује повезаност између савременог романа „Подземна железница“ (2016.) Колсона Вајтхеда и књижевног жанра робовских наратива (eng. slave narratives). Главни аргумент је да је Вајтхед засновао наративну структуру свог

^a The article was presented at the *Language, Literature, Process 2023 Conference* at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia.

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популарног и вишеструко награђиваног романа на адаптацији тропа из робовских наратива и употреби спекулативног реализма. Теоријски оквир најпре разматра неке од основних карактеристика жанра робовских наратива, а потом смешта Вајтхедово дело у шири контекст афроамеричке књижевности посебно се фокусирајући на однос између реализма и фантастике у робовским наративима и роману „Подземна железница“. Овај роман се такође разматра и у светлу појмова „спекулативна фикција“ и „историјска фантастика“ које је формулисао Рамон Салдивар (2011, стр. 585), а којима се означава комбиновање жанрова и спој фантастике и историјске фикције како би се дошло до савременог вишезначног начина за исказивање уметничке истине. Главни део рада нуди читање Вајтхедовог романа које се заснива на аргументацији да је ово дело креативна савремена адаптација жанра робовских наратива, као и пример пост-расне фикције која проблематизује и истиче питање расе и наслеђе робовласништва у савременом америчком друштву.

Кључне речи: робовски наратив, Колсон Вајтхед, раса, Афроамеричке студије, спекулативна фикција.

INTRODUCTION

Critically acclaimed and widely popular, Colson Whitehead's novels are notoriously difficult to categorize in terms of genre, and have been posing a challenge for critics who described them as black urban fiction, detective fiction, noir, thrillers, magical realism, post-soul literature, etc. (Selzer, 2008, p. 393). What is more, in many of his interviews and articles, Whitehead himself has refused to adhere to any labels or place his fiction within a single genre framework, claiming he "was only wearing realist/detective/horror drag" (2013) in his books. This paper considers the constitutive elements and tropes of his Pulitzer-Prize-winning 2016 novel *The Underground Railroad*, and addresses its links to the slave narrative genre and speculative fiction. This peculiar blend of realism and fantasy is, I argue, what makes Whitehead's novel unique in its attempts at telling the artistic truth, and the main reason why his narrative is so powerful and contemporary, yet linked to the African American historical heritage. His adaptation, not only of slave narratives, but of slave stories and experiences, combined with elements of fantasy, somewhat resembles Tarantino's efforts in the movie domain to rectify history in a way (e.g., *Django Unchained*, 2012) by giving their protagonists near super powers and incorporating fantastic elements to empower their heroes, and give them the ending they deserve.

The Underground Railroad follows the story of Cora, a stray slave child, abandoned by her mother Mabel, allegedly the only slave to have escaped the Randall plantation and successfully evaded the much-feared slave catcher Ridgeway (towards the end of the novel, we learn that Mabel had actually died after a snake bite on her way back to the plantation). Ridgeway is the main antagonist, and the story follows a fated and fateful struggle between Cora and him. Cora runs off with another slave, Caesar,

and is forced to kill a white boy in pursuit of them during the escape. They are helped by a conscientious individual originally from the North, and we learn that not only is there a branch of the underground railroad in Georgia, where nobody expects it, but that the railroad is real: there are tunnels and tracks built by black slaves branching underground across different parts of the country. Cora and Caesar first go to South Carolina, the state with seemingly more liberal policies directed towards the emancipation process of former slaves. As the pursuit led by Ridgeway closes in on them, we also learn that the state of South Carolina conducts terrifying experiments over African Americans, such as forced sterilization and deliberate spreading of syphilis among the black population to study the course of the disease. Caesar is arrested and killed by an angry mob, and Cora manages to get away and ends up in North Carolina in the home of Martin, a former underground railroad conductor, and Ethel, his religious zealot of a wife interested in missionary work for its own sake, but heavily burdened by racial prejudice. North Carolina, we learn, has introduced a zero-tolerance policy towards African Americans and is implementing a sort of a Final Solution, which effectively means that all black people are ordered to leave the state and those caught lingering on, as well as those helping them are publicly executed. Cora hides in the attic like Harriet Jacobs¹ for a while, but is captured again by Ridgeway and taken to Tennessee, where she is saved by a group of armed African American freedmen. She spends some time on a self-sustainable utopian-like progressive farm of liberated African Americans in Indiana, falls in love with freeborn Royal, and has a brief respite from pursuit. Everything comes abruptly to an end as Ridgeway and his sidekick little Homer, an Uncle-Tom-like figure, destroy the farm and take Cora to show them the tunnel of the underground railroad which Ridgeway wants to dismantle. Cora takes him there and nearly kills him in a fall down the shaft, then uses the railroad to escape to California, leaving Ridgeway to die and achieving her freedom in the West along with many other American settlers.

Cora's journey to freedom, at least at a glance, resembles the stories of some of the famous protagonists of slave narratives; however, there are some significant differences that set Whitehead's narrative apart from both the slave narrative genre and the neo-slave narrative. The next section of the paper first considers some of the basic tropes of (neo-)slave narratives.

¹ The famous author of *Incidents in a Life of a Slave Girl* (1861), one of the best-known slave narratives.

THE LEGACY OF SLAVE NARRATIVES

(Neo-)Slave Narratives

In their seminal study of slave narratives, Charles T. Davis and Henry Louis Gates Jr. (1985, p. xii) define slave narratives as “The written and dictated testimonies of the enslavement of black human beings published before 1865.” A more recent study (Warren, 2014, pp. 184-6) defines a slave narrative as “primarily the tale of remarkable individuals (...) making their way north against all odds,” and as “a tale of the rise of the individual.” They were particularly important as a means of giving voice to former slaves, a way for “the slave to *write* himself into the human community through the action of first-person narration” (Davis and Gates, 1985, p. xiii). In the face of white racist propaganda, the popularity of slave’s accounts was not only important for the abolitionist movement but also as the ultimate proof that African Americans were perfectly capable of writing, which in Western tradition was considered “the visible sign of reason” (Davis and Gates, 1985, p. xxiii). As they often sprung from speeches and retold experiences of former slaves, “the trope of orality” is particularly important for slave narratives and much of African American writing (Davis and Gates, 1985, p. xvi). Providing their accounts of slavery also effectively meant regaining the power of self-definition which is a major step in the process of de-victimization, and challenging and deconstructing negative stereotypes (Collins, 2002, pp. 97-121).

Slave narratives are one of the key genres of American literature, and along with captivity narratives, they represent a major phase in the development of American 19th-century sentimental literature (Warren, 2014, p. 186). As Toni Morrison (1993, p. 66) demonstrated, American literary imagination often used Africanism to articulate “the forbidden in American culture.” Slave narratives were instrumental for almost all major American writers to understand and acknowledge the importance of slavery for the American experience and the American tragedy (Warren, 2014, p. 186). It is no wonder then that:

Consciously or unconsciously, all of [the major black writers] reveal in their writing a debt to the narratives, a debt that stands in marked contrast to the relatively smaller obligations they owe the more recognized arbiters of fiction or autobiography.

(Davis and Gates, 1985, p. xx)

When it comes to the major characteristics and tropes of the slave narrative genre, the first one the critics emphasize is that they represent a combination of genres: whether they are described as representing an archetypal story of a hero completing his/her journey to freedom or an analogy to Western movies, or a type of a mystery story. The original genre, therefore, allowed for some lenience in combining different modes;

however, when it comes to the structure of a slave narrative, very little variation was allowed in the 19th century narratives. As the primary intention of slave narratives was to represent the harsh reality of slavery, and to raise awareness in readers of its dangers and the need to immediately abolish it, it had to be chronological and to firmly follow the established conventions. James Olney (1985, pp. 152-3) provides a long list of observed conventions based on a number of analyzed 19th-century slave narratives, including the fact that they needed to be introduced and authenticated by white people who also determined the form of the narrative.

Starting from the 1960s, slave narratives have also been the inspiration for many novels which are classified as neo-slave narratives, i.e., “contemporary novels that assume the form, adopt the conventions, and take on the first-person voice of the antebellum slave narrative,” (Rushdy, 1999, p. 3). Whitehead himself acknowledges the importance of Frederick Douglass and Harriet Jacobs, and their well-known slave narratives for his own work at the end of his novel. Some critics count Whitehead's *The Underground Railroad* among metafictional neo-slave narratives with satirical overtones (see, for example, Maus, 2021, p. 124). Salván (2020, p. 15) argues that a major aspect of Whitehead's novel is the fact that he reveals and narrates what was often hidden in slave narratives, either for the sake of protecting those who helped runaway slaves or because the original narratives were censored and retold from white men's perspective, or because relating certain gruesome details of escape was deemed offensive for the readers.

The first link between slave narratives and Whitehead's novel is the hybridity of form that he uses. In her discussion of Whitehead's work, Stephanie Li (2019, p. 1) points out that Whitehead's books are mostly described as hybrid forms, notoriously difficult to define in terms of genre as the writer's main goal is to subvert and/or discard the rules, limitations and predictability imposed by a particular genre. *The Underground Railroad* can be seen as Whitehead's take on the slave narrative and on the fiction dealing with slavery. In one of his articles that deals with writing in general, Whitehead (2009) mocks neo-slave narratives which he terms “the Southern Novel of Black Misery”:

Slip on your sepia-tinted goggles and investigate the legacy of slavery that still reverberates to this day, the legacy of Reconstruction that still reverberates to this day, and crackers. Invent nutty transliterations of what you think slaves talked like. But hurry up — the hounds are a-gittin' closer!

He criticizes the predictable pattern, conventions, common themes and literary devices used, the sentimentality, playing with people's emotions and expectations, and cultural appropriation by white authors. Therefore, it is understandable that his own take on the antebellum period in American history cannot be easily defined or placed within a certain

category. He plays with various possibilities, and especially the notion of neo-slave narratives. His ironic article reveals his peculiar attitude and a deep mistrust towards any type of predictive writing, whether in form or in function. Sometimes described as “New Eclecticism”, Whitehead’s art can be said to cross the boundaries of genre, media, and culture (Selzer, 2008, p. 393).

Slave Narratives and Fictionality

The most striking aspect of a slave narrative is the relationship between truth and fiction: on one hand, writers had to adhere to the demands of realism and give truthful accounts, and on the other hand, 19th-century slave narratives shared some traits with sentimental writing, especially its proneness to melodrama (Davis and Gates 1985, p. xv). Critics often point out this conundrum at the very heart of the slave narrative: it was one’s memory and one’s account, subjective by definition, but it had to be formulaic and predictable so as to counter and prevent any accusations of lying. Ironically, the artist had to forgo his/her artistic license and give “a clearglass, neutral memory that is neither creative nor faulty” in order “to give a picture of slavery *as it is*” (Olney 1985, p. 150). This is the difference between autobiography (another very popular genre among African American writers) and slave narratives: in a slave narrative, the writer/narrator must not artistically shape his memory in order to maintain the trustworthiness of his narrative. Colson Whitehead does exactly the opposite: he artistically intervenes directly in the narrative, deliberately introducing fictional elements and breaking the conventions of the genre in terms of form, structure, and rules. Whitehead is not the first writer to introduce fantastic elements into his version of the slave narrative. As discussed by Sarah Wood (2007, p. 85-6), in her 1979 hybrid novel *Kindred*, Octavia Butler also used fantasy to transpose contemporary meanings and discussions of slavery onto the “reconstructed reality” of slavery, thus broadening the scope of its meanings and interpretations.

Whitehead’s blend of history and fantasy is sometimes called “speculative satire” (Dischinger, 2017, p. 88), and discussed as a contemporary aesthetic strategy for dealing with the relationship between fiction and historical realities and facts. So far, the most elaborate and in-depth treatment of this subject is Stanford professor Saldívar’s work (2011, 2013), which introduces the notions of speculative posttrace fiction and historical fantasy, the terms he uses to describe the literary style of contemporary minority writers and their ways of dealing with the issue of race in the 21st century. According to Saldívar (2011, p. 585), speculative posttrace fiction, the term that can be applied to Whitehead’s narrative, constantly oscillates between history and fantasy and “Its province in the aesthetic is a hybrid amalgam of realism, magical realism, metafiction, and genre fictions such as science fiction, graphic narrative, and fantasy

proper". This blend of genres constitutes a contemporary mode that reconciles a wish for social justice and realism: the readers are given justice while the fantastic mode does not take away from the horrors of slavery, but rather makes the story more poignant and powerful. The wish for "retributive (and ahistorical) justice" is something that fuels not only literature but also popular culture, especially movies, e.g., the already mentioned Tarantino's *Django Unchained* from 2012, and the means of achieving it also involve mixing truth and fiction (Dischinger, 2017, p. 93). Some of the traits and tropes of historical fantasy/postrace fiction that Saldívar (2013, pp. 4-5) proposes are its "critical dialogue with the aesthetics of postmodernism", mixing of genres, speculative realism, and exploring "the thematics of race in twenty-first-century America."

By employing historical fantasy and postrace fiction, Colson Whitehead escapes the trap of the sentimentalism of 19th-century slave narratives and neo-slave narratives which often contain the 'justice porn' trope. Whitehead also plays with the notion of authenticity and authentication of slave narratives. By introducing the fantastic dimension into his novel, Whitehead effectively mocks this mistrust of slave narratives and deliberately refuses to play the game of realism and factualness or fact-checking in which, typically, it is the white audiences/critics who have the last word as judges of veracity. As already mentioned, original slave narratives had to respect certain limitations and norms regarding the form and content, imposed by white authority, so Whitehead's strategy is another way of ascertaining and confirming the authentic black voice.

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD AND SLAVE NARRATIVES

Truth vs. Fantasy

Almost from the earliest pages of his novel, Whitehead introduces the theme of oscillation between truth and fantasy in a narrative. When describing Cora's grandmother Ajarry and her forced journey to America, the narrator tells us that she imagined other members of her family separated from her at a slave auction meeting better fates than her own. Ajarry did not know that they had all died from the plague while being transported to the West Indies, and comforted herself by fantasizing of her family working for kind white masters up north, the maximum extent of good luck allowed to a North American slave. Whitehead allows his character to imagine a different reality, just like Cora imagines that her mother is free somewhere in America, not knowing that she had died in a swamp during her escape attempt. After Cora is forced to resort to violence in order to defend her meagre lot of land, the plantation folk spawn various malicious and fantastic reports about her and her alleged monstrous sexuality: she is accused of fornicating with wild animals on the full moon.

The purpose of these reports is twofold: in the novel, they are meant to alienate Cora further from her plantation peers; on a functional level, they follow the theme of possible realities that, although unreal, have a direct and important influence on (Cora's) reality.

This notion is further developed when Cora has the first encounter with the underground railroad and its staff. Lumbly, one of the conductors, informs Cora and Caesar that the train will take them to a different state and that:

Each one a state of possibility, with its own customs and way of doing things. Moving through them, you'll see the breadth of the country before you reach your final stop.

(Whitehead, 2021, p. 82)

When taken literally, the pun "a state of possibility" refers to different states of the U.S.A. and their different laws and treatment of African Americans. As the novel progresses, we, as well as our protagonist Cora, become aware of the irony of this statement, as 'different laws and customs' are all informed and fueled by racism, so each 'state of possibility' boils down to only one possibility for people of color. Its metaphorical potential is also very interesting as it corresponds to the main intention of the narrative: to represent different possibilities, different worlds that could have happened and could have been. Unlike slave narratives and their insistence on realism and a lack of any kind of embellishment or masking the truth, Whitehead refuses to conform to the demands of realism and clearly positions his narrative as one possible way of telling the artistic truth. He deliberately rejects the neo-slave narrative mode and its sentimentality or Morrison's notion of rememory and recreating trauma, and opts for a style that would incorporate a mixture of realism and fantasy while firmly grounded in the history of slavery and its accounts. Whitehead (Selzer 2008, p. 395) himself claims that "Tweaked reality is a tool," and in his writing; this tweaked reality, or rather, realities, become the tools for exploring and exposing the racism of the American (antebellum) society.

The first state of possibility that Cora and Caesar visit is South Carolina, where they are informed there is "a much more enlightened attitude towards colored advancement than the rest of the south" (Whitehead, 2021, pp. 108-9). And, indeed, at first Cora and Caesar do great: they are given new names, new jobs, new clothes, allowed to move freely, work and go to school. However, as the narrative progresses, we learn that former slaves are still slaves in the eyes of the law, only in South Carolina they are owned by the state. The state requires Cora and other African American women to undergo a mandatory gynecological exam, whereas the entire African American population is subjected either to controlled sterilization or left with untreated syphilis so that the progression of the

disease in the human population can be followed. As Cora is informed: "Blood research is the frontier" (Whitehead, 2021, p. 120), and medical experiments done on humans of African American origin will advance medical science further so that it can be of use to the white population. Ironically, African Americans whom racial prejudice and the U.S. laws have rendered sub-human are deemed as humans when needed for medical experiments (the episode with Stevens who steals cadavers for medical purposes and specifically targets African Americans as their relatives will not be able to complain or sue him also underscores this point). But the true irony lies in the fact that Whitehead modeled this episode, this 'state of possibility' with all its anachronistic (Cora sees a skyscraper when she first arrives in South Carolina) and fantastic (educated and free African Americans in the middle of antebellum South) elements on the infamous Tuskegee syphilis study² conducted in the period between 1932 and 1972 in Alabama by the U.S. Public Health Service. Whitehead uses speculative realism not only to tell Cora's narrative but also to pass judgement on the 20th-century American society and its perilous prejudices inherited from the times of slavery, and to further problematize the issue of the legacy and the long-term effects of slavery and racism.

Whitehead returns to the theme of truth and its variations by (literally) placing Cora in a museum. During her stay in South Carolina, Cora gets a job in the Museum of Natural Wonders where she is called 'a type,' a human doll who is supposed to be an extra in various historical scenery displays in order to make them more vivid and interesting for the visitors. Some of the rooms with displays include "The Scene from Darkest Africa", "Life on the Slave Ship" and "Typical Day on the Plantation". Cora notices that although the scenes are meant to represent history realistically, there are many false details; in other words, the narrative that pertains to truth and realism is based on falsehood and unrealistic, even fantastic details. This becomes particularly important if the fact that the main purpose of museums is to educate and form knowledge is taken into account. The novel thus problematizes the 'official' knowledge transmitted through education and culture. Furthermore, Whitehead's speculative realism also mirrors the ways of creating 'official' narratives, somewhere between truth and fiction. As Cora realizes:

² Almost 400 poor and illiterate African American men were subjected to this medical experiment under false pretenses. Their syphilis was left untreated even after the antibiotic became available and they were not informed of their medical condition (Yudell 2005, p. 1865). As a result, most of the original participants of the study died and many of their family members became infected. The case remains a notorious and shameful chapter of U.S. medical history.

But nobody wanted to speak on the true disposition of the world. And no one wanted to hear it. Certainly not the white monsters on the other side of the exhibit at that very moment, pushing their greasy snouts against the window, sneering and hooting. *Truth was a changing display in a shop window, manipulated by hands when you weren't looking, alluring and ever out of reach.*

(Whitehead, 2021, pp. 138-9, emphasis added)

The truth remains elusive and, in a limbo-state between realism and fantasy just like the museum display. What is more, Whitehead uses this metaphor to showcase the African American perspective of truth, i.e., reality constantly being manipulated, changed and determined by white people. In line with Saldívar's previously mentioned definition of postrace fantasy fiction, the conventions of the genre are used to examine the realities of race in both 19th-century and contemporary American societies.

The most important comment and judgement on the American society comes from Lander, a free-born African American, a preacher on a farm in Indiana and, possibly, Whitehead's homage to William DuBois and his rhetoric (another character, Mingo, is clearly modeled on Booker T. Washington's conciliatory approach):

Valentine farm is a delusion. Who told you the negro deserved a place of refuge? Who told you that you had that right? Every minute of your life's suffering has argued otherwise. By every fact of history, it can't exist. This place must be a delusion, too. Yet here we are. And America, too, is a delusion, the grandest one of all. The white race believes—believes with all its heart—that it is their right to take the land. To kill Indians. Make war. Enslave their brothers. This nation shouldn't exist, if there is any justice in the world, for its foundations are murder, theft, and cruelty. Yet here we are.

(Whitehead, 2021, pp. 340-1)

This speech questions the relationship between realism (truth) and possibility. What makes something (anything) real? The likelihood of it or the existence of it? What if something is real and exists against all odds? However unreal a utopian, self-sustainable farm of African American free-folk with its own school and library may seem, it is less unrealistic than a democratic society based on enslavement, genocide and colonialism. Whitehead employs speculative realism not only as a narrative strategy but also as a mode of thinking about the realities of the society in which he lives, and makes his character a spokesman not only for an individual but also for an entire oppressed group of people. Thus, through incorporating slave narrative tropes and the legacy of famous African

American intellectuals, Whitehead's novel offers a contemporary comment on the American past and its present as well.

Another instance where this can be observed is the use of the Declaration of Independence as a recurring motif. This document is first mentioned when the plantation owner Randall is looking for a slave kid Michael, famous for his ability to recite the Declaration, a wonder among slaves, and learns that the child died in the meantime. The absurdity of a situation in which a slave child recites the Declaration which affirms equality of all men is taken even further because the plantation owner needs the boy to entertain and impress his guests, and becomes very disappointed by the fact that his slave is dead and unable to do his bidding. As her journey through America progresses, Cora realizes how questionable the realities of the Declaration of Independence, the corner stone of American democracy, are:

The way poor Michael reciting the Declaration of Independence was an echo of something that existed elsewhere. Now that she had run away and seen a bit of the country, Cora wasn't sure the document described anything real at all. America was a ghost in the darkness, like her.

(Whitehead, 2021, p. 216)

The next time Cora hears the Declaration, she hardly recognizes it: African American children on the free farm in Indiana are having their first lessons in history and democracy, and are reciting the Declaration. Unlike the dead slave child, whose reciting sounded parrot-like and empty of meaning, the confident voices of newly-liberated children sound like music to Cora. The shifting of meaning and even the reality, the realness of Jefferson's famous document in the novel corresponds to the historical arbitrariness of its interpretation. The phrase "all men are created equal" has shifted its meaning throughout history to signify and include more and more groups of people, and Whitehead highlights this fact through his protagonist's perspective that also changes. A speculative mode of writing, thus, becomes a necessary tool to explore and problematize contemporary realities and constant changes in the circumstances of minority groups.

Movement

Another literary means Whitehead uses to play on the notions of (un)certainly and reality/fiction is the metaphor and the literal meaning of movement. As already mentioned, slave narratives had a clearly-defined structure, with a clearly-delineated chronological order of events, their authors always striving to live up to the expectations of the audience. In his novel, Whitehead breaks these conventions: his narrative chronological order is jumbled and we learn about different characters and their

fates as we piece the narrative puzzle together. Cora's journey is like an adventure story, even a picaresque, in some aspects similar to Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Like Huckleberry, Cora travels through the South and exposes the racism and hypocrisy of the country based on the enslavement of human beings, and just like Huckleberry, she is often disgusted with what she sees and refuses to report the details to the readers. Another trait that slave narratives share with a lot of African American literature is "the pattern of movement and the obstacles encountered ... so basic to Afro-American experience", as noticed by Ralph Ellison (qtd. in Davis and Gates, 1985, p. xx). This notion of movement is in slave narratives metaphorically represented as "a movement from absolute injustice (represented by the slave system) to absolute justice represented by the tenets of American liberalism" (Warren, 2014, p. 184).

Colson Whitehead modifies and adapts the trope of movement and obstacle in his novel in order to complement his artistic efforts of telling a story. First of all, as Cora travels on the underground railroad through the dark tunnels, the novel also leads us through the maze of racism, false promises and troubles that seem to await African Americans wherever they appear in America. After she escapes from South Carolina, Cora finds herself in North Carolina where "the negro race did not exist except at the ends of ropes" (Whitehead, 2021, p. 187). The state authorities have decided to ban African Americans from North Carolina altogether and those who were unable to move are publicly executed every week during the mass celebration called the Friday Festival, whereas their rotting bodies are hanged along the road ironically called "The Freedom Trail". Although this seems like another speculative, unrealistic imagining of America's past, Whitehead based these chapters on true events in the early history of Oregon³, again blurring the line between reality and fiction. Cora spends her time in North Carolina hidden in the attic, where she is scarcely able to move and only has a small opening through which she can observe public hangings that happen every week. Her physical inability to move corresponds with the metaphorical situation in which she finds herself unable to move from the racist state(s), but this also underscores North Carolina's inability to move away from the racist and white supremacist attitudes that inform its law-making system and, ultimately render its population barbaric.

Throughout the novel, movement signifies freedom, an opportunity to escape slavery and a chance for a new beginning. Whitehead's underground railroad is given almost magical powers so that nothing can hap-

³ Before joining the Union in 1859, Oregon was envisaged as a whites-only utopia and after joining the Union, the state of Oregon was the only one to introduce the laws which specifically prohibited certain races from legally living, working, or owning property within its borders (Strochlic 2021).

pen to the protagonists while they are on the move. Ridgeway makes a fatal mistake when he tries to move Cora through Tennessee while keeping her chained, and, sure enough, she is saved. In the end, Cora finds her freedom constantly moving, she literally drives the wagon herself, leaving Ridgeway immovable and pushing westwards towards freedom. Just like in *Huckleberry Finn*, who wants to move westwards, to the Territory, freedom lies in the West and in constant movement. For Cora, California offers a place of hope, where she goes to find her freedom along with the multitude of American settlers of different origins who have decided to try their luck in the West. From what she has seen on her journey across America, it is clear that this retelling of a slave narrative will not end in absolute justice – there have been too many victims along the way. This is another very deliberate and purposeful intervention and modification of slave narrative tropes by the author of the novel. However, what prevails and remains a constant symbol of freedom is the underground railroad itself. With its elusiveness, constant changes, movements, new tracks, old tracks abandoned and reinstated, Whitehead's underground railroad, built by generations of enslaved black people, represents their own escape from slavery which had to be achieved through their own efforts, despite all the attempts to keep them in a subservient position.

CONCLUSION

One of the greatest merits of Whitehead's literary strategy in *The Underground Railroad* is his adaptation of slave and neo-slave narratives to speculative postrace fiction. This decision is particularly relevant when considered in light of the fact that a contemporary way of representing truth in literature and culture is often multifaceted, fluid, and sometimes even contradictory in order to include various perspectives. Just like in Whitehead's novel, in contemporary culture, 'self-evident truths' are often questioned, analyzed, complemented, modified, etc. Whitehead incorporates the slave's perspective, but makes his slave protagonist almost super-hero like and turns her story of suffering into a story of empowerment. Furthermore, he gives an interpretation of past and contemporary phenomena by working them into a fantastic setting for his novel, unreal, but grounded in reality. This fluctuation between fictionality and truthfulness is more than a narrative strategy. Firstly, it mirrors the insecurity of the position of a runaway slave – neither enslaved, nor free, her fate constantly prone to change and dependent on external factors. Secondly, it represents a reworking and a sort of distancing from the original genre of slave narratives which were conventionally directed towards white audiences and sanctioned by white arbiters of truthfulness. Whitehead's narrative decidedly and purposefully resists such authentication and gives power and significance to its protagonist. And finally, the uncertainty of

speculative postrace fiction mirrors the uncertainty of contemporary reality, which proves it to be a proper mode for contemporary storytelling that is not only about the narrative but also about questioning one's own reality, beliefs and attitudes.

Acknowledgement. Prepared as a part of the project *Scientific Findings in English Linguistics and Anglo-American Literature and Culture and Teaching Applications*, conducted at the University of Niš – Faculty of Philosophy (No. 336/1-6-01).

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УТИЦАЈ РОБОВСКИХ НАРАТИВА И СПЕКУЛАТИВНЕ ФИКЦИЈЕ НА РОМАН *ПОДЗЕМНА ЖЕЛЕЗНИЦА* КОЛСОНА ВАЈТХЕДА

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Резиме

Рад истражује повезаност савременог романа „Подземна железница“ (2016.) Колсона Вајтхеда и књижевног жанра робовских наратива (slave narratives). Главни аргумент је да је Вајтхед засновао наративну структуру свог популарног и вишеструко награђиваног романа на адаптацији тропа из робовских наратива и употреби спекулативног реализма. Теоријски оквир најпре разматра неке од основних карактеристика жанра робовских наратива попут формулаичности, ригидне форме која је морала да задовољи захтеве белачке публике и потребу да се инсистира на истини и реализму. То је значило да су афроамерички аутори и ауторке стално морали да доказују најпре своју писменост, која је због расистичких ставова била оспоравана, а затим и веродостојност својих сведочења, најчешће уз помоћ белаца који су гарантовали за истинитост њихових прича. Вајтхед у свом роману намерно крши ова правила и конвенције и од своје јунакиње прави готово супер-хероину која превазилази све препреке и којој се неупитно верује. Овај роман се такође разматра и у светлу појмова „спекулативна фикција“ и „историјска фантастика“ које је формулисао Рамон Салдивар (2011, стр. 585) а којима се означава комбиновање жанрова и спој фантастике и историјске фикције како би се дошло до савременог вишезначног начина за исказивање уметничке истине. Наш аргумент је да је овакав наративни поступак ауторова свесна побуна против једнозначног читања према унапред прописаним (белачким) правилима и начин да се Афроамериканцима и њиховом наслеђу да приоритет у наративу. Главни део рада нуди читање Вајтхедовог романа које се заснива на аргументу да је ово дело креативна савремена адаптација жанра робовских наратива као и пример пост-расне фикције која проблематизује и истиче питање расе и наслеђе робовласништва у савременом америчком друштву. Кроз роман који садржи и фиктивне и реалистичне елементе засноване на стварним догађајима из америчке прошлости, Колсон Вајтхед преиспитује америчку историју, америчко друштво и неке од његових основних премиса из угла потлачене мањине која успева да се избори за равноправни положај упркос свим препрекама, па подземна железница остаје симбол те непрестане жеље и борбе за слободу.



Review article <https://doi.org/10.22190/TEME231003023V>
Received: October 3, 2023 UDC 364-787-056.26/.36-053.2(497.11 Ниш)
Revised: March 9, 2024
Accepted: April 10, 2024

THE PROCESS OF MULTI-SECTOR COOPERATION IN PROVIDING SUPPORT TO FAMILIES OF CHILDREN WITH DISABILITIES IN THE CITY OF NIŠ^a

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Abstract

The paper will present the results of research that dealt with the perception of inter-sectorial cooperation at the local level in relation to providing support for children with developmental difficulties and/or disabilities (CDD) and their families. The research considers two groups of participants: (1) the parents of CDD in the quantitative part, and (2) representatives from the relevant organizations in the qualitative part. The key findings of the research indicate differences in the perception of the success and importance of inter-sectorial cooperation for the subject meter. While the representatives of the institutions perceive inter-sectorial cooperation as successful, the parents recognize it as unfavourable. Some relevant institutions were perceived by parents as insignificant, or they rated the cooperation with some of them as very low. Even the institutions do not clearly recognize the mutual importance of this cooperation. This may indicate either a lack of cooperation, an overlap of responsibilities, or the insufficient visibility of certain institutions in the community. Normative forms of cooperation, except in one example (cooperation between preschool facilities, the Centre for social work and Center for Developmental Counseling), are almost absent.

Key words: multi-sector cooperation, children with developmental difficulties and/or disabilities, decision makers, City of Niš.

^a The article was presented at the *Language, Literature, Process 2023 Conference* at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia.

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ПРОЦЕС МЕЋУСЕКТОРСКЕ САРАДЊЕ У ПРУЖАЊУ ПОДРШКЕ ПОРОДИЦАМА ДЕЦЕ СА ТЕШКОЋАМА У РАЗВОЈУ И/ИЛИ ИНВАЛИДИТЕТОМ У ГРАДУ НИШУ

Апстракт

У овом раду ће бити представљени резултати истраживања које се бавило перцепцијом међусекторске сарадње на локалном нивоу (пример Града Ниша) у погледу подршке деци са тешкоћама у развоју и/или инвалидитетом и њиховим породицама. Истраживањем су обухваћене две групе учесника: (1) у квантитативном делу, родитељи поменуте деце, и (2) у квалитативном делу, представници релевантних институција. Кључни налази истраживања указују на разлике у перцепцији испитаника о успешности и значају међусекторске сарадње у области која је испитивана. Док представници институција међусекторску сарадњу доживљавају као успешну, родитељи је препознају као недовољну. Неке релевантне институције родитељи су перципирали као безначајне, док су сарадњу са некима оценили веома ниско. Такође, неке од институција не препознају јасно важност своје улоге у пружању подршке овој популацији. Овакав резултат може указивати на: недостатак сарадње, преклапање одговорности више установа или на недовољну видљивост одређених институција у заједници. Резултати показују да нормативни облици сарадње, осим у једном примеру (постојање протокола о сарадњи између Развојног саветовалишта, Центра за социјални рад и предшколске установе) готово да изостају.

Кључне речи: мултисекторска сарадња, деца са тешкоћама у развоју и/или сметњама у развоју, доносиоци одлука, Град Ниш.

INTRODUCTION

Families of children with developmental difficulties and/or disabilities (CDD), like all other families, have developmental tasks that they fulfil throughout the life cycle (Žegarac et al., 2014). But these families have certain unique characteristics that inevitably call for support. These families differs in following terms: (1) they experience discrimination based on disabilities; (2) they are more likely to encounter socioeconomic challenges (such as poverty and inadequate financial support for additional medical expenses); (3) they must navigate complex relationships with community institutions and services; and (4) they encounter challenges related to the availability and the adaptedness of social, health, and educational services (Žegarac et al., 2014; NOOIS, 2017). Whether a family receives required assistance depends on a number of factors. In Serbia, mandated support is generally recognized as good considering the legal context; however, not all children have equal access to it, particularly when it comes to the social protection and school systems (NOOIS, 2017; Korać, 2018). The degree of support depends on the cooperation of these families and significant institutions in the local community. Many authors recognize a partnership between institutions and families as crucial (Canavan et al., 2006; Munro, 2011; Gillen et al., 2013; Marković, Stanisavljević Petrović, 2021).

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The theoretical ground for this paper is the ecosystemic approach. The author who created the ecological-systems theory is Urie Bronfenbrenner. (1977). The fundamental tenet of this theory is that comprehending an individual's development requires a knowledge of the mutual impact between the individual and the many systems surrounding him. More specifically, he observes how a person develops in connection to the environment in which they exist, or the environment in which they interact with their surroundings. As seen in the context of the topic of this study, the outcomes and quality of care for children with disabilities are highly dependent on the complex influences of the systems that surround the child. Other authors have often used this theoretical basis to explain the interdependence and interrelationship of systems, all with the aim of clarifying the complexity of the context in which the child's needs should be met and his development encouraged (Schweiger, O'Brien, 2005; Anderson, Mohr, 2003). According to this theory, the cooperation of all significant actors from the child's environment contributes to the adequate support of the child's development. Some of the important actors are the child's family, as well as many sectors in the community such as: health, education, social protection, and NGOs.

Literature offers various definitions of multi-sector cooperation, and one of the most comprehensive points out that it represents the connection or sharing of information, resources, activities, and capabilities by organizations from two or more sectors with the aim of jointly achieving results that would be unachievable by a single organization or sector (Bryson, Crosby, and Stone, 2006). The need for multi-sector cooperation arises for a number of reasons. One of those reasons, according to the authors, is that we live in a world of 'joint power', which means that today there are multiple places in which diverse groups are connected and share responsibility for how that area will be managed (Crosby & Bryson, 2005; Bryson et al., 2006). The next reason that sticks out is the necessity to limit unilateral decision-making and involve as many stakeholders as possible in the process of determining a community's priorities. Pluralism enables better participation, and excludes the monopoly of one sector in the decision-making process and the creation of local policies (Bozeman, 2002; Perišić, 2016).

When it comes to multi-sector cooperation, the authors highlight another important aspect, which is the adherence to the institutional framework. Namely, the institutional environment represents the normative, legal, and regulatory elements that organizations must adhere to if they want to achieve the necessary legitimacy for certain products of cooperation (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Products of cooperation can be protocols on joint action, proposals of public policies or the establishment of new citizen's services. The institutional environment is especially im-

portant for partnerships focused on public policy or solving public problems, because it includes broad systems of relationships in areas of public competence that can directly influence collaborative purposes, structure, and outcomes (Scott & Meier, 1991). More precisely, if a proposal is defined by different organizations, usually only one has the authority to adopt the proposal and prepare the institutional framework for its implementation (most often the one from the public sector).

Regardless of the fact that the importance of multi-sector cooperation in providing support to families of CDD is recognized, research shows that this cooperation is non-existent or fragile, i.e., not at a satisfactory level (Irimija, Chiriacescu & Vasic, 2019, Chiari et al., 2023). The shortcomings of this type of cooperation are recognized at the local level in the following forms: underutilized local potential, underdeveloped instruments of multi-sector cooperation, insufficient connection and cooperation of experts from diverse institutions, and overlapping jurisdictions (Irimija et al., 2019; Chiari et al., 2023).

LOCAL CONTEXT – THE CITY OF NIŠ

In the City of Niš, as well as in a considerable number of other local self-government units, there are numerous challenges in providing daily services in the community. The problems are inadequate planning and a lack of financial resources, and the absence of licensed service providers. In addition, the City of Niš belongs to the first group of local self-government units in terms of the level of development. Therefore, it is not entitled to dedicated transfers from the state budget for social protection services. The Social Protection Law established dedicated transfers in social protection as a mechanism for providing financial support from the national level to local self-government entities for the provision of social protection services (The Social Protection Law, 2011, section 207). Local self-government units with less development than the national average can benefit from dedicated transfers (Regulation on dedicated transfers in social protection, 2016).

The city budget allocates slightly more than 1% of its budget to service expenses. Insufficient financial resources have a significant impact on service development, which is exacerbated by the unsystematised monitoring of the needs for this type of service, and then the absence of a database on the size and specifics of the population of CDD. During the previous initiative carried out by the ‘Nauči me’ Organization (2022), a survey was conducted which showed that 160 students in 15 elementary schools (out of a total of 36) have developmental difficulties or some form of disabilities, and only 45 of them use one of the social protection system services that should be available to all of them (the service of a personal assistant).

In addition to the fact that the planning of the service should be based on precisely determined data, from the previous advocacy cycle of the 'Nauči me' Organization, we realized that inter-institutional cooperation is critically important, which would contribute to the networking of existing resources in the City of Niš and a more comprehensive response to the needs of these children and their families. In this regard, we carried out research that aimed to determine the characteristics of multi-sector cooperation from the point of view of parents and the representatives of relevant institutions so to offer answers to the following research questions:

1. What is the perception of the parents of CDD regarding cooperation with competent institutions in the City of Niš?
2. What is the perception of the representatives of competent institutions about mutual cooperation, as well as cooperation with parents of CDD?
3. Are there any obstacles/constraints in the process of this cooperation?

METHODS

The research was conducted in two phases during December 2022 and January 2023. In the first phase, a quantitative survey was conducted in which data was collected from the parents of CDD regarding their experiences with various institutions at the local level. In the quantitative part of the research, data was collected through a Google questionnaire. The questionnaire consists of 37 questions related to the child's characteristics, available support and experiences, and the assessment of cooperation with institutions. All data is shown as an aggregate. The method of data collection and presentation ensured the anonymity of children and their parents. The data from the Google questionnaires was transferred to the Microsoft Excel program, and was further processed. The sample included 60 parents in the quantitative part of the research. All parents were asked questions related to the existence of cooperation experiences and satisfaction with cooperation with various actors at the local level. A Likert-type scale ranging from 1 to 5 was used, where 1 indicated the lowest and 5 indicated the highest level of cooperation.

In the second, qualitative phase of the research, interviews were conducted with key actors at the local level in the area of the support and protection of this population. Six interviews were conducted, with a representative of: Mara Center for the Provision of Social Protection Services (CPSP), Bubanj Special School with a Student Dormitory (SS), Sveti Sava Center for Social Work (CFSW), Center for Developmental Counseling (CFDC), Center for Marriage Counseling (CFMC), and Dan Center for Family and Parents' Association (PA).

For participation in the qualitative part of the research, oral consent was obtained from the participants based on sufficient information about the research objective, the method of data collection, and the presentation of results. In addition, the consent of the managers of the institutions where the participants are employed was obtained. As Brown and Clarke (2006) suggested, with consent, the conversation was recorded and transcribed, after which the data was processed through thematic analysis by authors who independently analysed the transcribed material. As Craswell (2014) proposed, collecting and processing all data implied anonymity, confidentiality, and privacy protection, which was ensured through the encryption of the names of the participants and the removal of all content by which a person could be identified in the data.

RESULTS

Quantitative Part of the Research

The analysis of the age distribution of participants i.e., children and young people whose parents participated in the research, shows the following according to the Republic Institute of Statistics' age categories (2021): 25 of them are in the 5-9 age category, 21 of them are in the 10-14 age category, 10 of them are in the 15-19 age category, 3 of them are in the 20-24 age category, and 1 is in the 1-4 age category. Regarding the type of disability, more than half of the children (n 33) reported autism, almost a quarter encounter multiple difficulties (n 12), while other difficulties occur in a few cases (e.g., disharmonious development, cerebral palsy, paraplegia, 'crying cat' syndrome, Smith-Magenius syndrome). The diversity of the characteristics of children in relation to age and types of disabilities can also indicate the diversity of their needs.

When it comes to the paediatrician's support during the diagnostic process and the period after that, 28.3% of the parents rated this support as 1, the same percentage rated it as 3, while 20% of the parents gave the highest rating to this support.

For the Development Counseling Center, slightly more than half of the parents (53.3%) cooperated with this service; 35.3% of the parents rated this support as 2; 17.6% as 3; 8.8% rated it as 4; and 35.3% of the parents gave it the highest rating.

The majority of the parents (86.7%) cooperated with the CFSW. In almost half of the cases, the reason for cooperation was the realization of the right to attendance allowance; in a more limited number (n 7 and n 6), it was about obtaining certificates for obtaining benefits such as discounts on utilities or vehicle registration, and financial assistance. Advisory work occurs merely in one specified case. Half of the parents who cooperated with the CFSW rated that cooperation with a grade of 3.

Considering all parents, 95% have experience in cooperation with the Interdepartmental Commission, and they evaluate this cooperation with grades 3 (31%), 4 (25,9%), and 5 (29,3%).

Regarding cooperation with the Administration for Children, Social and Primary Health Care (ACSPH), the largest number of parents (48.3%) are not sure which institution it is, while 31.7% of parents have experience with cooperating with this institution, mostly due to rights to child allowance, or benefits like discounts on utilities, vehicle registration, and free parking. The majority of parents who had the experience of cooperation with ACSPH (56.5%) rate this cooperation with 3.

The largest number of parents could not evaluate cooperation with CFMC because they were not informed about the existence of this institution.

Regarding education, more than half of the children (65%) attend a regular, not special, school. In the majority of cases (85%), parents had the opportunity to choose the school for their child. There is almost complete consensus that the school their child attends is indeed the best option. Concerning regular schools, the parents recognize the significance of inclusion, with an emphasis on the importance of peer relationships. For children attending special schools, the importance of smaller class sizes, greater focus on individual children, and the specific expertise of the staff is acknowledged. A considerable number of parents (43.3%) rate their collaboration with the educational institution with a grade of 4.

Just over half of the children (53.3%) are entitled to the services of a personal assistant. Parents' collaboration with the personal assistant, and the collaboration between the school and the personal assistant, are rated with the highest grade.

Regarding the coordination with the Department of Social Activities of the City of Niš, a 38.3% of the parents rate it with a grade of 3, while only three parents gave it the highest rating.

Parents were also asked to provide one example of good practice collaboration with the aforementioned institutions, where 50% of them singled out the school, around 10% of the parents highlighted a positive experience with the Interdepartmental Commission, while other institutions (CFDC, CFSW, and CPSP) are sporadically mentioned; 10% of the parents state that there is no example of good practice collaboration:

A positive example regarding the school is that the child has been warmly accepted by both the teacher and the other students. They haven't been singled out as individuals with developmental difficulties and have been seamlessly integrated into all school activities.

(Parent 5)

Parents pointed out inadequate collaboration with almost all of the mentioned institutions. Some examples include: (1) impoliteness, (2) delays and failure to meet deadlines for issuing documents, (3) a general

disinterest in deeper assessments of individual profiles, and (4) the notion that all collaboration is superficial and burdensome for them.

Qualitative Part of the Research

In the qualitative part of the research, key actors were asked to identify significant actors at the local level in supporting CDD and their families. All participants in the study recognized the CFSW as a significant actor in supporting children and families. Following that, 70% of the participants mentioned educational institutions (elementary schools, special schools, kindergartens), the local government, specifically the City of Niš, and specific services (e.g., the Department of Social Activities), as well as parent associations. Healthcare institutions and the CPSP were recognized as significant actors by 50% of the participants. The Development Counseling Center, Interdepartmental Commission, National Employment Service, Pension and Disability Insurance Fund, and private service providers of various services were each mentioned once.

Furthermore, participants were asked questions related to their perception of the collaboration among their representative institutions, as well as the characteristics of that collaboration. The representative of the CFSW recognizes that this centre has the most intensive collaboration with the CPSP. This collaboration involves assessing needs, recognizing rights, and making decisions regarding the use of day-care and respite care. The collaboration is evaluated as good. They also pointed out that both institutions operate within the same context of limited resources (for example, an inadequate number of employees). This collaboration is also emphasized as significant by the representative of the CPSP, who described it as “phenomenal” and “problem-free”. In addition to the collaboration with the CFSW, the CPSP also considered the successful collaboration with the Department of Social Activities of the City of Niš.

The representative of the SS also perceived the CFSW as the institution with which they collaborate the most, and they assess this collaboration as ‘mostly good’. The specificity of this collaboration lies in the fact that the school facilitates the realization of rights and services in the field of social protection, especially for students who are placed in the student dormitory affiliated with this school. As an examples of ‘excellent collaboration’, special school representative singled out the CPSP and the Institute for Mental Health. There is also collaboration with regular and other special schools. Bubanj Special School has become a resource centre for other educational institutions that educate CDD students, and the development of standards that will regulate this school’s function and responsibilities as a resource centre is in the works. This has the potential to be a significant opportunity for inter-sectoral collaboration, and collaboration in the process of providing support to families of CDD in the City of Niš.

The representative of the CFMC mentions that they collaborate “with everyone”, but the specificity of this collaboration is that it is initiated “unilaterally”. Due to a lack of staff, the CFMC does not have the ability to initiate collaboration with others or to organize preventive activities. However, they state that they respond to all collaboration requests they receive. The CFMC, which is affiliated with CFSW, currently has one staff member employed. All of this affects the frequency of families contacting the CFMC. Even if its services are free and no referral to the Centre for social work or other institutions is required, as the representative of this institution says, people are insufficiently informed about the existence and role of the CFMC. For the few who are informed, the location of the CFMC constitutes an obstacle to the arrival and use of services that can constitute a significant source of support in taking care of themselves, the child, and other family members. Namely, the office of the CFMC is within the CFSW and, as stated by the participant in the research, people do not require the stigma that can be borne by those who employ the services of the centre. If they do overcome all the mentioned obstacles, they come to the family or individuals mainly because of dysfunctional patterns in family functioning. Namely, as the representative of the CFMC states, due to facing a child’s illness or condition, families do not command adequate support, which can often lead to the mutual blaming of spouses, different mechanisms of acceptance of such a condition, and ultimately divorce.

As a significant aspect of collaboration, the representative of the CFDC mentions that, since 2018, there has been a protocol for mutual collaboration in Niš between the health centre, the CFSW and the ‘Pčelica’ preschool institution. Most often, families of children with developmental difficulties use services from all three institutions.

The representative of the PA discussed their experience, as well as the individual experiences of parents, with other institutions and organizations. They collaborate with all stakeholders. However, as they said, they are obliged to collaborate with some of them, while they are willing to collaborate with others. The key challenges identified relate to: (1) collaboration with the local government in terms of the untimely allocation of funds and the creation of support services that do not align with the needs and perceptions of children and families, and (2) the CFSW in terms of long wait times to exercise rights. Collaboration with educational and healthcare institutions depends on how sensitive each individual institution is to the needs of children and families, so there are examples of both good and bad practice collaboration.

On the other hand, the PA assessed collaboration with the Interdepartmental Commission, personal assistants, and agencies providing these services as ‘good’. They also emphasized that there is ‘good’ collabora-

tion with the private sector, where various treatments (psychological, special education, and speech therapy) are provided.

There are misaligned assessments of collaboration with local authorities and their responsiveness to the needs of the CDD and their families. According to the PA, unresponsiveness is evident in the untimely allocation of resources and the creation of support services that do not consider the needs and perspectives of children and families. All of these factors contribute to inadequate and insufficient support. As for institutional representatives, they assess the engagement of local authorities as successful or state that the local government “somewhat” understands this population.

DISCUSSION

The Center for Social Work is the most commonly recognized significant actor at the local level in supporting the CDD and their families. Additionally, almost 90% of the parents participating in the quantitative research stated that they cooperated with the CFSW. On a scale of 1 to 5, half of the parents rate their satisfaction with cooperation as a 3. A large part of the cooperation with the CFSW is related to exercising rights (assistance and care benefits, obtaining documents), while the use of counselling-therapeutic and social-educational services is negligible. One of the challenges in this cooperation is, in fact, the long wait for exercising rights. Additionally, a very small number of parents (just over 10%) are informed about the existence of the CFMC in Niš, which functions within the CFSW. Participants in the qualitative research did not recognize this institution as a significant actor in supporting families caring for the CDD. This situation is not surprising considering that, despite its existence for several decades, it lacks sufficient staff (currently only one professional worker), operates on a single shift, has premises within the CFSW, and has insufficient or non-existent promotion of its services. In this context, it is crucial to raise awareness of the CFSW counselling-therapeutic and social-educational services. It appears that promoting the services offered by the CFMC, enhancing its professional capacity, and implementing multiple shifts are of particular importance.

The results of the analysis of the work of healthcare institutions in terms of their support and cooperation, specifically in case of the CFDC, are arbitrary. Namely, this data can only be explored within the context of the information gathered from the single interview with the institution's representative. She specifically mentioned that in Serbia, early intervention and more comprehensive parental support through the education of doctors, other professionals, and educational and social protection institutions started in 2017. More intensive activities following this model have been carried out in Niš in the last 6 years. Since the majority of children in this sample are older than 5 years, it means that they did not have the

opportunity for this kind of support. It is significant to highlight that poor or non-existent cooperation might increase the likelihood that the this family will not receive early support — support that should guide all other forms of work with the family (Birkin et al., 2008; Grant & Isakson, 2013; McManus et al., 2020; Yingling & Bell, 2020).

Besides the representative from the CFDC, no one else mentioned the existence of collaboration protocols among institutions. This does not necessarily imply that such protocols do not exist, but rather that not everyone is aware of them or recognizes them as significant documents. Additionally, it means that protocols are only normatively defined. The absence of collaboration among institutions can lead to a lack of awareness of the responsibilities of other key stakeholders and, consequently, a failure to guide parents to where they can receive support, or even cases of misdirecting them to the wrong institution. This results in what is often referred to as ‘wandering of parents within the system’ and a growing sense that they cannot find support within any of the supporting systems (healthcare, education, social welfare, etc.).

Establishing clear collaboration protocols, re-establishing those already in place, conducting joint meetings, and involving stakeholders from different systems in discussions on common topics are significant mechanisms for improving this situation. All of this aligns with findings from other studies that emphasize that collaboration should not be taken for granted and it must operate within a specific normative framework. Otherwise, it leads to the risks described in previous research: overlapping jurisdictions, underutilization of existing resources, failure to develop new services, and so on (DiMaggio et al., 1983; Irimija et al., 2019; Chiari et al., 2022).

According to research, there are several obstacles preventing people from accessing support, including the complexity of the system and its fragmented approach to support across services, the limited capacity and availability of services, regional differences in service provision, and delays in assessment and the diagnostic processes. (Chadwick et al., 2002; Crane et al., 2016; Ridding & Williams, 2019; Sapiets et al., 2021).

Our research results show that there is a different assessment of the success of inter-sectoral collaboration. While representatives of institutions perceive this collaboration as successful, parents of children recognize it as less supportive. Parents express the highest level of satisfaction in relation to collaboration with schools and personal child assistants. On the other hand, parents show the lowest level of satisfaction in relation to collaboration with the Department of Social Activities. Regarding collaboration among institutions, there are no examples of bad practice collaboration mentioned; instead, this collaboration is described as “good”, “mostly good”, or “excellent”. However, although this collaboration is described in positive terms, the participants do not provide specific ex-

amples to confirm it. Such findings also align with those of other authors, emphasizing that it is beneficial when collaboration processes follow a 'bottom-up' approach because the needs of a specific group are more accurately identified at lower levels. However, it is crucial that key decision-makers understand these identified needs and work together to establish the infrastructure to meet them (Bryson et al., 2006, Cullen, M. A., & Lindsay, G. A. (2019).

In regard to collaboration with the local government, different stakeholders assess this collaboration differently. At times, it is viewed as successful, but there are also observations that the local government is not sufficiently responsive to the needs of children or that they display some insensitivity towards this population. This result is in line with some other studies' conclusions (Tissot, 2011). The participation of those for whom the services are intended, along with all other interested parties, in the decision-making process is one of the most significant mechanisms to ensure that services are designed to meet the expressed needs. It is the responsibility of decision-makers to facilitate this participation, as well as to develop mechanisms for public advocacy by parents and other stakeholders, ensuring that this process proceeds as effectively as possible.

It is important to note that more than half of the parents reported receiving none, or insufficient support from extended family or the community in caring for the child. The absence of support from the informal sector, as well as the adequate level of support provided to the family by public institutions, should be signs of the possibility that the family's resources for child care will be worn out. Some services, such as various treatments (defectological, speech therapy, psychiatric, physical, etc.) and some free activities (sports, cultural, educational, entertainment, etc.), are also provided in the private sector. However, many parents fail to provide these facilities to their children for financial reasons, being overloaded with taking care of other needs in the family, a lack of resources at the local level, or a lack of information.

CONCLUSION

Despite the recognized importance of multisectoral cooperation, this research also highlights a significant gap between its importance and practical application.

The research highlights the opportunities and challenges that come with working across sectors to support families in Niš that have children with developmental disabilities. The analysis of the local setting of Niš highlights several obstacles, including insufficient planning, budgetary limitations, and the lack of allocated transfers for social protection services. It also highlights the crucial role that institutional frameworks play in creating successful partnerships. These obstacles highlight how urgent-

ly the public, non-profit, and informal sectors need to collaborate closely. Although multi-sector cooperation is acknowledged as important, the research indicates that local collaboration in Niš is either non-existent or weak, characterized by untapped potential, underdeveloped mechanisms, inadequate specialized connectivity, and jurisdictional overlaps. Divergent attitudes on cooperation success are revealed by the qualitative insights, with institutional officials expressing greater optimism than parents. While collaborative methods that work well in the school system provide helpful direction, resolving issues that have been identified is essential to building a strong and effective support network for this vulnerable population.

LIMITATION OF RESEARCH AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Aside from the small sample size, which is not representative, this study has another limitation. This research lacked the perspective of formal power holders or decision-makers in this area, because their representatives declined to participate in the study. It would be important to include their perspective in future research. There were contradicting statements in the qualitative portion of the research. This constraint could be overcome through involving more representatives from these institutions in future studies. This would make way for a more objective look at the research questions.

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ПРОЦЕС МЕЋУСЕКТОРСКЕ САРАДЊЕ У ПРУЖАЊУ ПОДРШКЕ ПОРОДИЦАМА ДЕЦЕ СА ТЕШКОЊАМА У РАЗВОЈУ И/ИЛИ ИНВАЛИДИТЕТОМ У ГРАДУ НИШУ

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Резиме

Истраживање се бави анализом подршке породицама деце са тешкоћама у развоју и/или инвалидитетом на локалном нивоу, с посебним освртом на пример Града Ниша. Породице које се суочавају с оваквим изазовима често се суочавају с предрасудама, финансијским потешкоћама и недостатком сарадње с локалним институцијама. Иако је Република Србија препознала важност потребне подршке овој популацији, немају сва деца једнак приступ истој, посебно када је у питању подршка из домена социјалне заштите, здравства и образовања.

У циљу решавања ових проблема, наглашава се идеја међусекторске сарадње, која подразумева да установе из различитих система сарађују како би се постигао циљ свеукупне подршке овим породицама. Ово истраживање указује да је међусекторска сарадња у Нишу или непостојећа или недовољно развијена. Тачније, истраживање указује да често изостаје институционална повезаност, а самим тим и потенцијал пружене подршке.

Студија спроведена у Нишу открива проблеме као што су недовољно планирање развоја услуга које би пратиле потребе циљне групе, финансијска ограничења за потребне видове подршке, као и недостатак лиценцираних пружалаца услуга у заједници.

У квантитативном делу истраживања, родитељи деце са тешкоћама у развоју и/или инвалидитетом препознали су пре свега Центар за социјални рад као значајног актера у подршци, али су изразили различите нивое задовољства овом подршком. Сарадња са Управом за друштвене делатности, која је задужена за доношење политика о креирању локалних услуга за ову популацију, добила је најниже оцене задовољства.

Фаза квалитативног истраживања подразумевала је интервјуе с кључним актерима у локалним институцијама. Док представници ових институција сарадњу са родитељима ове деце перципирају као успешну, родитељи су изразили нижи ниво задовољства.

Рад сугерише да су јасни протоколи о сарадњи, потом заједнички састанци и укључивање заинтересованих страна из различитих система кључни за ефикаснију подршку намењену овим породицама. Уноточ препознавању значаја вишесекторске сарадње, постоји значајан јаз између њеног значаја и практичне примене у Граду Нишу.

METAPHOR FEATURES AND THE INFLUENCE OF INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES ON THE COMPREHENSION OF NON-LITERARY METAPHORS ^a

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Abstract

Given that the use and comprehension of figurative language is one of the most intriguing abilities of the mind, this study extends the line of research related to the process of understanding figurative language to individual differences. The starting assumption is that individual differences affect our ability to understand figurative language, focusing on fluid and crystallized intelligence. These types of intelligence were measured in relation to the ability to understand metaphors, and their influence was investigated indirectly, through tests that reliably examine both types of intelligence. The research investigates non-literary metaphors in the Serbian language, normed according to the following dimensions: metaphoricity, aptness, and familiarity. This study seeks to show whether and to what extent fluid and/or crystallized intelligence influence the process of understanding non-literary metaphors normed according to different features. Through selected verbal and non-verbal tests, Raven's progressive matrices (Raven, 1938), semantic similarities test (Stamenković, Ichien, & Holyoak, 2019a), as well as a non-literary metaphor comprehension test, it is determined in which way fluid and crystallized intelligence play roles in the process of metaphor comprehension, as well as which possible cognitive mechanism allows us to process metaphors. The results show that the comprehension of non-literary metaphors mostly relies on crystallized intelligence, while fluid intelligence seems to be employed in individual cases, only with some groups of metaphors.

Key words: metaphor comprehension process, fluid intelligence, crystallized intelligence, metaphoricity, aptness, familiarity.

^a The article was presented at the *Language, Literature, Process 2023 Conference* at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia.

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ОСОБИНЕ МЕТАФОРА И УТИЦАЈ ИНДИВИДУАЛНИХ РАЗЛИКА НА РАЗУМЕВАЊЕ НЕКЊИЖЕВНИХ МЕТАФОРА

Апстракт

С обзиром на то да је употреба и разумевање фигуративног језика једна од најзанимљивијих способности ума, ово истраживање наставља наше испитивање односа између процеса разумевања фигуративног језика и интелигенције. Полазна претпоставка је да индивидуалне разлике утичу на нашу способност да разумемо фигуративан језик, а у раду се фокусирамо на флуидну и кристализовану интелигенцију. Ове врсте интелигенције мерене су у односу на способност разумевања метафора, а њихов утицај истраживан је посредно, преко тестова који поуздано испитују једну и другу врсту интелигенције. У истраживању се користе некњижевне метафоре на српском језику, нормиране према следећим димензијама: метафоричност, погодност извора да опише циљ и степен познатости. Ово истраживање настоји да покаже да ли и у коликој мери флуидна и/или кристализована интелигенција утичу на процес разумевања метафора нормираних према различитим особинама. Кроз одабране вербалне и невербалне тестове, Рејвенове прогресивне матрице (Raven, 1938), тест семантичких сличности (Stamenković, Ichién, & Holyoak, 2019a), као и тест разумевања некњижевних метафора утврђује се на који начин флуидна и кристализована интелигенција играју улоге у процесу разумевања метафоре, а тиме се одређује и могући когнитивни механизам који нам омогућава да метафору разумемо. Добијени резултати потврђују да се некњижевне метафоре углавном разумеју уз ослањање на кристализовану интелигенцију, док се флуидна интелигенција користи у изолованим случајевима.

Кључне речи: процес разумевања метафоре, флуидна интелигенција, кристализована интелигенција, метафоричност, погодност извора да опише циљ, степен познатости.

INTRODUCTION

Metaphor is a prominent phenomenon that pervades language, science, literature and everyday life, and in the broadest sense, it can be defined as a stylistic figure that equates two unrelated things by highlighting their similarities. However, despite the general agreement that metaphor is a salient phenomenon consisting of common cognitive, linguistic and psycholinguistic processes, and despite a considerable body of research dealing with it, not much is still known about how people understand this linguistic phenomenon from a psychological point of view.

Therefore, this study tries to continue unravelling the relationship between the understanding of figurative language and intelligence. The basic assumption is that individual differences affect our ability to understand figurative language, and intelligence is not viewed as a general ability, but deconstructed into two components in accordance with the theory of fluid and crystallized intelligence (Cattell, 1963, 1967, 1971; Horn & Cattell, 1966, 1967, 1982). The influence of intelligence types was inves-

tigated indirectly, through tests that reliably examine both types of intelligence. The research examines non-literary metaphors, in the Serbian language, normed according to the following dimensions: metaphoricity, aptness, and familiarity. This study aims to show whether and to what extent individual differences in fluid and/or crystallized intelligence influence the understanding of non-literary metaphors normed according to different features.

It also tries to answer the question of which cognitive mechanisms underlie metaphor comprehension in relation to the three main theoretical viewpoints of psycholinguistics: the one that claims that metaphor is based on analogical reasoning, the second one that states that the basic mechanism is categorization or conceptual combination, or the third viewpoint that represents conceptual metaphor (Kertész, Rákosi, & Csátár, 2012; Holyoak & Stamenković, 2018). Supporters of analogical reasoning claim that the source and target domains represent complex propositional structures, and that systematically developed connections between those two structures are found through mapping (Gentner & Bowdle, 2008). Gentner et al. (Gentner, Bowdle, Wolff, & Boronat, 2001) question whether metaphors create meaning or merely reflect structural parallels. On the other hand, advocates of the categorization view (Glucksberg & Haught, 2006a, 2006b) believe that metaphor is understood as a category statement based on conceptual combination. In the third approach, close to the first one, and related to the school of cognitive linguists, metaphor is considered a separate conceptual mechanism and an indispensable part of human perception and cognition (Lakoff, 1990; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff & Turner, 1989).

Additionally, we aimed to expand the empirical investigation of metaphor to languages other than English since research on metaphors outside the Anglophone world has been infrequent (e.g., Aisenman, 1999; Bambini, Canal, Resta, & Grimaldi, 2019; Boot & Pecher, 2010; Cacciari & Glucksberg, 1995; Milenković, Stamenković & Figar, 2016; Stamenković, Milenković, Ichien, & Holyoak 2023; Utsumi, 2007). The present study consisted of metaphors in the Serbian language, presented to Serbian speakers.

Metaphor Features

Metaphor features terminology exhibits a certain inconsistency because different authors classify them using different terms. Thibodeau et al. (Thibodeau, Sikos & Durgin, 2017) consider the following important properties of metaphors: (a) surprisingness – whether metaphors occur naturally or suddenly; (b) comprehensibility – the ease of understanding the given statement; (c) familiarity – some expressions differ in how conventionally they express a given idea; (d) metaphoricity – even metaphorical expressions differ in whether they are closer to figurative or literal

meaning; (e) aptness – the extent to which metaphors express important characteristics of the target domain. In addition to these features, authors mention meaningfulness (e.g., Chiappe, Kennedy, & Smykowski, 2003b; Gernsbacher, Keysar, Robertson, & Werner, 2001), truthfulness, or validity (e.g., Camac & Glucksberg, 1984; Wolff & Gentner, 2000), inversion (e.g., Chiappe et al., 2003b; Glucksberg, McGlone, & Manfredi, 1997), mental imagery (e.g., Gibbs & O'Brien 1990; Gibbs, Gould, & Andric, 2006), systematicity, asymmetry and abstraction (Saeed, 2009).

Among all these features, aptness and conventionality are the most prominent ones in research. Aptness can be defined as the extent to which the figurative meaning of the source domain expresses an important characteristic of the target domain (Blasko & Connine, 1993; Chiappe & Kennedy, 1999; Chiappe et al., 2003b; Gerrig & Healy, 1983; Glucksberg & McGlone, 1999). In order for a metaphor to be characterized by high aptness, two conditions must be met: a) the source domain should have a prominent feature that is attributed; and b) the prominent feature of the source domain must be relevant to the target domain. In a series of experiments, Gagné (2002) showed that the comprehension of comparison-based word combinations is influenced by factors like aptness, expectedness, and prominence. Higher aptness and prominence aided the understanding of combined concepts, while high expectedness only facilitated comprehension when complemented by high prominence.

Conventionality refers to the frequency of encounter with a certain metaphor, i.e., when we encounter a metaphor for the first time, it is considered new; however, upon repeated encounters, the metaphor becomes familiar, and in some cases, it takes on a new, literal meaning (Kittay, 1987; Utsumi, 2007). This metaphor feature actually represents the strength of the relationship between the source domain and its figurative meaning (Bowdle & Gentner, 2005; Gentner & Wolff, 1997; Wolff & Gentner, 2000; see also Giora, 1997). In other words, the more the term is used in a metaphorical sense, the more conventional it becomes.

Also, it is important to note that the term 'conventionality' in this usage refers only to the relation between the source domain and its metaphorical distinctiveness. Namely, conventionality describes how often a given source domain expresses a certain figurative meaning, as well as how quickly that source domain can retrieve the given figurative meaning in a metaphor (Bowdle & Gentner, 2005). In addition to this, there is another use of the term conventionality related to the familiarity of the source-domain pair, i.e., a dimension that describes the frequency of a metaphorical expression. In other words, conventionality refers to a feature that is manifested at the word level, while familiarity is present at the sentence level (Thibodeau et al., 2017). Given that this research focuses on non-literary metaphorical sentences, familiarity is relevant to the understanding of metaphors at this semantic level.

However, one of the main research concerns is how metaphor features are dealt with methodologically. One of the most widely used methods is to collect subjective ratings of features such as familiarity, aptness or metaphoricity (e.g., Cardillo, Watson, & Chatterjee, 2017; Cardillo, Schmidt, Kranjec & Chatterjee, 2010; Katz, Paivio, Marschark & Clark, 1988; Roncero & de Almeida, 2015; Stamenković, Ichien & Holyoak, 2020). In recent research, it has emerged that manipulating these features in experiments is not as simple as subjectively evaluating statements. Also, given that conventionality and aptness are highly correlated, researchers have looked for other ways to examine the influence of these features on the metaphor comprehension process (Thibodeau & Durgin, 2011).

Since subjective ratings of metaphorical sentences can be reliable in the sense that respondents agree that some metaphors are more familiar than others, or that they are characterized by a greater aptness, this type of research carries great theoretical potential if the measurement of features is performed in the correct way. The problem with subjective ratings is what these ratings actually reflect because respondents may mistakenly identify processing fluency with the dimension they are supposed to rate (Alter & Oppenheimer, 2009; Kahneman, 2011; Jacoby & Whitehouse, 1989; Jacoby, Allan, Collins, & Larwill, 1988). Thus, respondents tend to replace a more difficult question (e.g., to what extent the source domain expresses important features of the target domain in the sentence) with an easier question (e.g., how easy it was to understand this metaphor). In other words, there is a possibility that subjective ratings of metaphor dimensions actually represent an indirect and unintentional measure of processing fluency, and not the dimensions themselves (Thibodeau & Durgin, 2011), which could also explain why there is a high degree of correlation between aptness and familiarity in research (Jones & Estes, 2006; Thibodeau & Durgin, 2011), even though these two features are considered quite different.

Regarding the influence of aptness and conventionality on metaphor comprehension, some studies have shown that conventional metaphors are understood faster on average than novel metaphors (Blank, 1988; Bowdle & Gentner, 2005; Gentner & Wolff, 1997), and that more apt metaphors are also processed faster (Chiappe et al., 2003a; Gagné, 2002) and more easily (Chiappe et al., 2003a; Gagné, 2002; Kusumi, 1987; Sternberg & Nigro, 1983; Tourangeau & Rips, 1991; Tourangeau & Sternberg, 1981) than those characterized by lower aptness. However, the problem with these studies is that they do not delineate conventionality and aptness, but confuse them (see Bowdle & Gentner, 2005, pp. 204–205; Jones & Estes, 2005, p. 118), and neither of these clarifies whether the metaphor comprehension process is determined by aptness or conventionality.

Although in theory conventionality and aptness are two independent features (Chiappe et al., 2003a), Jones and Estes (2006, p. 19) note that in different studies these two features have been found to have a very similar influence on metaphor comprehension because in previous research these characteristics were seen as almost equal. The authors (Jones & Estes, 2006) consider that the demarcation of these two features is crucial for determining the mechanism underlying metaphor comprehension, i.e., the career of metaphor (according to which new metaphorical mappings can produce new word meanings that function as general categories) (Bowdle & Gentner, 1999, 2005; Gentner & Bowdle, 2001; Gentner & Wolff, 1997; Wolff & Gentner, 2000) or categorization that they identified as dominant in their experiments.

Individual Differences in Metaphor Comprehension

Individual differences are very important in explaining differences in people's behaviour and personality, and some aspects of these differences concern memory, intelligence, abilities, interests, feelings, or various physical factors. Also, the importance of individual differences seems even greater if we bear in mind that people differ in the frequency with which they use metaphors, and, therefore, also in the frequency of the experience of metaphorical thinking.

The initial theory of general intelligence was extended by Raymond Cattell (Cattell, 1963, 1967, 1971), and later by John Horn (Horn & Cattell, 1966, 1967, 1982), who pointed out that there are two components of general intelligence: crystallized intelligence, which depends on previously acquired information and skills, and fluid intelligence, which includes new information. Fluid intelligence is a product of the influence of biological factors on intellectual development, while crystallized intelligence reflects the influence of experience, education, and culture on an individual; therefore, the first is biologically determined, and the second culturally. Fluid intelligence is measured through tasks such as inductive reasoning, semantic relations, and associative memory. On the other hand, crystallized intelligence is determined by tasks such as verbal comprehension, formal reasoning, and conceptual fluidity.

Interestingly, a relatively small number of studies dealt with individual differences in cognitive factors (Stamenković et al., 2019a, 2020, 2023), which were found to influence metaphor comprehension both in the analogical reasoning view (Trick & Katz, 1986; Nippold & Sullivan, 1987) and in the categorization view (Kazmerski, Blasko, & Dessalegn, 2003; Chiappe & Chiappe, 2007). Metaphor comprehension is thought to be related to both types of intelligence – fluid intelligence is closely related to analogical reasoning (Holyoak, 2012), while verbal crystallized intelligence affects conceptual combination that depends on lexical semantics. In Stamenković et al. (2019a), the pattern of individual differences

showed that crystallized intelligence has an impact on understanding a wide range of different metaphors, while individual differences in fluid intelligence mainly affect cognitively more complex metaphors, such as literary metaphors. Namely, both fluid and crystallized intelligence were in a reliable and independent correlation with the understanding of literary metaphors (though not in all cases), while in the case of non-literary metaphors such a correlation existed for crystallized intelligence, but not for fluid intelligence (at least it was not significant) (Stamenković et al., 2019a).

Metaphor Features AND Norming Studies

Since metaphor research methodology exhibits a certain degree of inconsistency, involving various techniques, instruments, and stimuli, this requires compiling norming studies that would motivate more reliable and controlled research. The pioneering norming study by Katz et al. (1988) included 464 metaphors and 10 scales divided into comprehensibility, metaphoricity, imagery, and other factors such as familiarity, semantic relatedness, and alternative interpretations. The study found that individuals reacted differently to the same metaphors, indicating clear individual differences among participants. However, there was a significant correlation among the ten dimensions, and both literary and non-literary metaphors showed similar patterns in descriptive and relational statistics.

Another large-scale norming study was conducted by Cardillo et al. (2010, 2017) who aimed to provide sufficient material for studying metaphors in neuroscience. They normed pairs of metaphorical and literal sentences in both nominal and predicate forms, focusing on various aspects such as familiarity, naturalness, imageability, figurativeness, and comprehensibility. Through the participation of 160 individuals, the study aimed to minimize inhibiting factors and facilitate the exploration of the relationship between specific metaphor features and their comprehension in the human brain.

In a more recent metaphor norming study, Roncero and de Almeida (2015) examined participants' generation of associated properties for 84 pairs of source and target domains, including both metaphors and similes. The researchers analysed the frequency, saliency, and connotativeness scores of these properties and investigated whether the type of expression influenced interpretations. The study found that metaphors elicited more salient properties compared to similes, but the connotativeness levels for metaphors were similar to the salient properties of similes. Based on these results, the authors concluded that there were no significant differences between metaphors and similes in terms of measures such as aptness, conventionality, familiarity, and interpretive diversity.

Finally, Stamenković, Milenković & Dinčić (2019b) conducted a study to create pre-tested materials for psycholinguistic research. They developed a normed metaphor corpus in Serbian, including 55 non-literary and 55 literary metaphors. The study assessed the metaphors along dimensions such as metaphoricity, quality, aptness, familiarity, comprehensibility, source-target similarity, and number of interpretations. The literary metaphors were sourced from renowned Serbian poets, while the non-literary metaphors were selected from a list of highly apt metaphors (Katz et al., 1988). The analysis compared literary and non-literary metaphors, examined dimension correlations, and rated the metaphors. The study resulted in a normed corpus, reliable scales for each dimension, and significant correlations among the dimensions. Non-literary metaphors had lower metaphoricity but were rated as more apt, familiar, comprehensible, and with clearer source-target similarity. Literary metaphors were influenced by their poetic origins, while some participants rated non-literary metaphors as having higher quality due to their perceived aptness. Surprisingly, there were no significant differences in the average number of interpretations between non-literary and literary metaphors. Similar to Katz et al. (1988), this study found consistent ratings for each dimension and significant correlations among many dimensions. This norming study has been extended towards testing the differences in features in original and translated metaphors (Milenković, Tasić & Stamenković, working paper). The materials from this norming study have been utilized in various empirical procedures (e.g., Milenković 2021; Stamenković et al. 2023; Ichien, Stamenković & Holyoak, working paper).

METHOD

Participants

A total of 94 participants took part in this study, which included 76 females and 18 males. The mean age of the participants was 23.2. The participants were students at the Faculty of Philosophy and Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, University of Niš, represented various levels of study and participated for course credit. The study was approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš.

Instrument, Materials, and Procedure

The questionnaire used in the study consisted of three tests – Raven's progressive matrices (RPM), semantic similarities test (SST), and non-literary metaphor comprehension test, which had three variations depending on which of the three metaphor features it examined. All tasks were administered to participants individually using Google Forms. None

of the tasks involved any time pressure. The entire questionnaire session lasted approximately 50 minutes. The questionnaire was composed of the following three tests:

1. A short version of Raven's progressive matrices (Arthur, Tubre, Paul, & Sanchez-Ku, 1999) was used to assess fluid intelligence.

2. The Serbian version of the SST was used to assess crystallized verbal intelligence, as well as to predict non-literary metaphor comprehension. The SST, developed by Stamenković et al. (2019a), is designed to measure the ability to recognize similarities between concepts presented as word pairs, with varying degrees of abstraction. In the SST, participants are presented with word pairs and asked to identify similarities between the two concepts.

3. The non-literary metaphor comprehension test had three variations depending on whether it examined metaphoricity, aptness or familiarity. This test differed from questionnaire to questionnaire in terms of the metaphors to be interpreted in that part, i.e., in the third part, each questionnaire contained metaphors that, according to the norming study (Stamenković et al., 2019b), were rated as the best and the worst and on one of the three dimensions, thus amounting to three variations. Participants were asked to write open interpretations of 30 non-literary nominal metaphors (15 best-rated and 15 worst-rated) in the Serbian language, of the form A is B, where nouns mostly had premodification. All the non-literary metaphors used in the present study are provided in Appendix A, and next to each one it is indicated in which questionnaires it was used, since certain metaphors were repeated throughout the three questionnaires due to similar norm values in relation to different features. Questionnaire A1 contained nonliterary metaphors normed according to metaphoricity (15 best-rated and 15 worst-rated), Questionnaire A2 according to aptness (15 best-rated and 15 worst-rated), and Questionnaire A3 according to familiarity (also 15 best-rated and 15 worst-rated). Participants were presented with metaphors in a random order, one at a time. To assess comprehension, an open-ended question was used, prompting participants to type their interpretation of each metaphorical statement.

RESULTS

Metaphor Task Rating and Coding

Two independent raters, both linguists and native speakers of Serbian, scored the responses to the non-literary metaphor comprehension task. A 4-point scale was used, with scores of 0, 1, 2, or 3. A score of 3 (completely plausible) was given if the paraphrase described the metaphorical meaning at a level of abstraction beyond the source domain (i.e., a paraphrase that did not simply repeat the metaphorical formulation and

showed full understanding of the metaphor). A score of 2 (mostly plausible) was given if the paraphrase described the metaphorical meaning, but held explicit links to the source domain, focusing mostly on one domain. A score of 1 (partly plausible) was given if the paraphrase was strongly linked to the source domain and remained relatively simple, or if it ascribed physical features to the target. A score of 0 (implausible) was given if the paraphrase restated the metaphor using simpler terms with no further insights (i.e., was literal in nature), if it was a complete misinterpretation or nonsensical, or if no response was entered. Examples of item scoring are provided in Appendix B. Cohen's κ was calculated to determine the agreement between the two raters' judgments of the quality of the metaphor interpretations. The agreement between the raters' judgments was deemed satisfactory, with a κ value of .84, $p < .001$. In cases of disagreement, a discussion was held, and in most instances, the higher of the two scores was assigned.

Individual Differences in Metaphor Comprehension

Table 1 summarizes the descriptive statistics and intercorrelations among the three measures we obtained (RPM, SST, and non-literary metaphor comprehension) for all three item sets.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics for each measure for each group

	RPM	SST	High Metaphoricity	Low Metaphoricity
Mean	6.80	29.10	27.97	26.30
N	30	30	30	30
SD	2.52	3.32	6.90	8.37
	RPM	SST	High Aptness	Low Aptness
Mean	8.07	31.00	31.57	27.27
N	30	30	30	30
SD	2.66	2.99	6.25	5.52
	RPM	SST	High Familiarity	Low Familiarity
Mean	7.18	28.29	25.68	26.91
N	34	34	34	34
SD	3.21	4.20	5.10	6.95

We investigated how individual variations in fluid and crystallized verbal intelligence affected metaphor comprehension scores. This analysis was conducted separately for low and high subsets within the metaphoricity, aptness, and familiarity sets. Figure 1 displays the relationship between our measures of individual differences and the metaphor comprehension scores for each subset. We performed correlation and regression analyses to examine the interconnections among the RPM, SST, and the average score on the metaphor comprehension tests. Table 2 presents both the raw correlations between each predictor variable and the meta-

phor comprehension scores, as well as the partial correlations obtained from the regression analysis. The regression analyses revealed that SST scores predicted a certain degree of variance in comprehension accuracy of metaphors normed according to all the three features, most significantly in metaphors characterized by metaphoricity, with partial correlations ranging from .56 (SST for metaphors low in metaphoricity, $p < .01$) to .69 (SST for metaphors high in metaphoricity, $p < .001$). A weaker raw correlation was evident between SST scores and comprehension of metaphors low in aptness (.41, $p < .05$) and familiarity (.35, $p < .05$). In contrast, RPM scores correlated only with the comprehension of metaphors of any degree of metaphoricity (with a weak raw correlation ranging from .36 to .38, $p < .05$, and partial .42, $p < .05$), metaphors low in aptness, with a raw correlation of .37 ($p < .05$), and no correlation between RPM scores and familiarity of any degree. This pattern suggests that while both measures have an impact on metaphor comprehension to a certain extent (with the exception of fluid intelligence on processing familiar metaphors), for non-literary metaphors SST (crystallized intelligence) is more important than RPM (fluid intelligence). However, it should be emphasized that several correlations were not significant, primarily due to the limited number of participants, as well as the simplicity, and in some instances, the triviality of the selected metaphors, which seems to be an issue we can relate to non-literary metaphors. A greater sample size, the analysis of cognitively more complex metaphors, or their observation within a contextual framework would likely result in more notable correlations.

Table 2 Correlations and partial correlations of individual-difference measures with metaphor comprehension scores for each item subset

Group		RPM		SST	
		Raw	Partial	Raw	Partial
Metaphoricity	High Metaphoricity	.38 *	.42 *	.67 ***	.69 ***
	Low Metaphoricity	.36 *	.37	.56 **	.56 **
Aptness	High Aptness	.35	.28	.34	.27
	Low Aptness	.37 *	.28	.41 *	.33
Familiarity	High Familiarity	.17	.11	.21	.16
	Low Familiarity	.24	.14	.35 *	.30

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

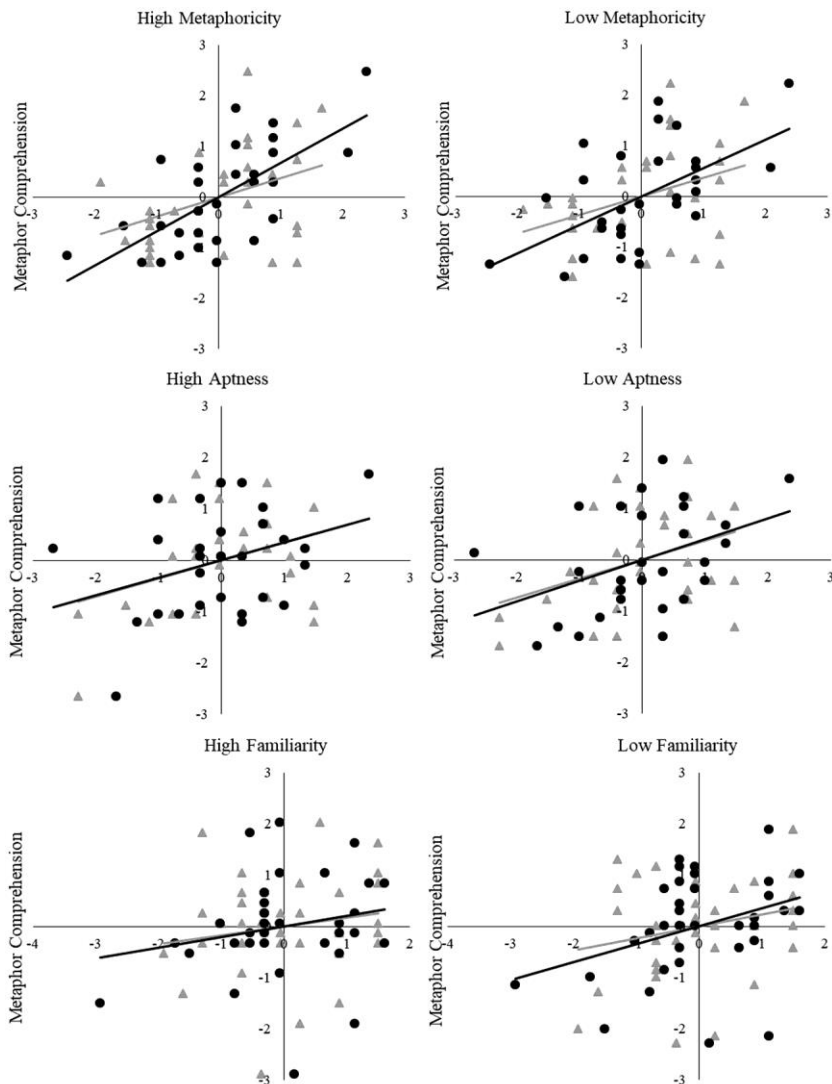


Figure 1. Individual differences in fluid intelligence (standardized RPM scores) and crystallized verbal intelligence (standardized SST scores) plotted against standardized metaphor comprehension scores (\blacktriangle RPM \bullet SST)

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study examined the relationship between fluid and crystallized intelligence and the comprehension of figurative language. The findings gave significant insights into how individual differences between

the two types of intelligence and the features of non-literary metaphors impact their comprehension. The results confirm the initial hypothesis that individual differences in both fluid and crystallized intelligence influence the understanding of non-literary metaphors normed on various features/dimensions.

Firstly, we observed statistically significant raw correlations between the understanding of metaphors and RPM and/or SST scores in relation to the dimension of metaphoricity, but both high and low metaphorical statements provided similar results. There were slight deviations in the partial correlation measurements, but they still confirmed that both types of intelligence can influence the understanding of these metaphors, with crystallized intelligence showing a stronger statistically significant correlation. In the case of less apt metaphors, there was an influence from both fluid intelligence and crystallized intelligence. When it comes to the understanding of metaphors based on familiarity, the only correlation observed between the variables was an isolated case of crystallized intelligence influencing less familiar metaphors.

Secondly, high metaphoricity influences reliance on both types of intelligence in understanding non-literary metaphors, with crystallized intelligence showing a statistically significant correlation. However, since metaphors both high and low in metaphoricity correlate with both types of intelligence, this raises the question of whether this factor is crucial in terms of differentiation, i.e., separation. As for other features, it is evident that low aptness and low familiarity influence the use of crystallized intelligence in understanding metaphors, and that low aptness, as well as both degrees of metaphoricity, are the only ones that influence the activation of fluid intelligence when understanding non-literary metaphors. What is interesting is that low aptness affects the use of fluid intelligence, which confirms that in these cases we also resort to analogical reasoning in addition to categorization. However, it is important to note that the partial correlation analyses did not show statistically significant results in comprehending metaphors of any degree of aptness or familiarity. Given the strong correlation between RPM scores and measures of analogical reasoning (Snow, Kyllonen, & Marshalek, 1984), and the relatively weak relationship between RPM scores and simple metaphor comprehension, it can be concluded that this study does not support the hypothesis that complex analogical reasoning is necessary for the comprehension of such metaphors (Holyoak & Stamenković, 2018). The fact that RPM scores did not predict comprehension success, even for unfamiliar metaphors that were more difficult, indicates that difficulty alone is not sufficient to activate fluid intelligence to understand metaphors, which refutes the hypothesis that analogical reasoning is necessary to understand novel metaphors (Bowdle & Gentner, 2005). In other words, a stronger connection with analogical reasoning depended on the source-target distance rather

than the familiarity feature, as it did not correlate with RPM scores in any case. However, it is possible that metaphors are still understood through some analogical mechanism that is not as demanding as assumed in current models of analogical reasoning. Overall, measures of fluid and crystallized intelligence both made separable contributions to predicting non-literary metaphor comprehension, with considerably higher contribution of crystallized verbal intelligence.

The findings in the present study partially align with previous research on metaphor comprehension in Serbian involving literary metaphors that varied in rated aptness and familiarity, specifically highlighting the role of crystallized intelligence in understanding metaphors (Stamenković et al., 2023). Whereas in both studies comprehension scores were higher for metaphors that were high rather than low in aptness, in the present study, comprehension scores were higher for metaphors low in familiarity, unlike in the previous study. In both studies, a measure of crystallized intelligence was a significant predictor of comprehension, especially for those metaphors that were either relatively unfamiliar or more apt. In addition, both studies identified the connection between individual differences and fluid intelligence only for metaphors that were low in aptness. However, it should be highlighted that the raw correlations observed in Stamenković et al. (2023) were substantially more significant than in the present study, which did not reveal any partial correlations between the variables, which points at differences between literary and non-literary metaphors.

Finally, although the correlations observed were statistically significant in several instances, it is important to interpret these findings cautiously, as further research is needed to establish more reliable conclusions. Additionally, it should be acknowledged that a larger sample size could potentially yield different results, particularly in terms of the number of participants who completed the questionnaires. Furthermore, it would be highly advantageous to explore other types of metaphor, particularly those that are more cognitively complex, or to observe them within a contextual framework larger than a sentence, especially given the importance of metaphorical framing (e.g., Figar, 2023), or in different languages and cultures. This broader scope would enhance our understanding of metaphor. Considering the limited number of studies on metaphor comprehension in children (e.g., Nippold & Sullivan, 1987) and other age groups (e.g., Newsome & Glucksberg, 2002), future research could include different age groups or individuals with varying cognitive development to gain a more comprehensive understanding of metaphor comprehension. Additionally, when it comes to utilizing tests of individual differences, incorporating other tests measuring factors such as personality, maturity, decision-making, working memory, or emotional reactions would make a significant contribution to the field.

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ОСОБИНЕ МЕТАФОРА И УТИЦАЈ ИНДИВИДУАЛНИХ РАЗЛИКА НА РАЗУМЕВАЊЕ НЕКЊИЖЕВНИХ МЕТАФОРА

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Резиме

Полазећи од једног од најдоминантнијих појмова у когнитивним наукама, метафоре, ово истраживање испитује како индивидуалне разлике у флуидној и кристализованој интелигенцији утичу на разумевање метафора на српском језику нормираних према особинама метафоричности, погодности извора да опише циљ и степена познатости. Тачније, у њему се испитује веза између флуидне и кристализоване интелигенције с једне стране и разумевања некњижевних метафора с друге. У складу са тим, истраживање упоређује резултате успешности на тестовима интелигенције са резултатима успешности на тестовима разумевања некњижевних метафора према три димензије. Три упитника састојала су се из три различита теста – Рејвенових прогресивних матрица, теста семантичких сличности и теста отворених интерпретација метафора. Прва два теста мерила су флуидну и кристализовану интелигенцију, а последњи способност да се разуме и интерпретира некњижевна метафора. Испитаници су били студенти свих година и нивоа студија чији је матерњи језик српски или који га говоре на нивоу матерњег. Главни фокус током анализе биле су корелације и парцијалне корелације између одабраних варијабли. Након анализе корелација између тестова интелигенције и тестова разумевања метафора дат је детаљан опис резултата како би се показао њихов значај, извели закључци и довели у везу са циљевима истраживања, теоријским оквиром и претходним истраживањима. Квантитативна анализа резултата показује да су вредности корелација између тестова индивидуалних разлика и тестова разумевања метафора у неколико случаја значајне. Наиме, добијени резултати потврђују да се некњижевне метафоре углавном разумеју уз ослањање на кристализовану интелигенцију, док се флуидна интелигенција користи у изолованим случајевима, као и да утицај индивидуалних разлика зависи од особина метафора према којима су нормиране.

Appendix A. Non-literary Metaphor List

1.	Алкохолизам је паразит.	(A3)
2.	Амнезија је гумица за брисање памћења.	(A1)
3.	Брак је легура.	(A1, A2, A3)
4.	Време је талас.	(A1)
5.	Гени су план изградње.	(A1)
6.	Гума је ципела аутомобила.	(A1, A2, A3)
7.	Дете је сушђер.	(A1, A2, A3)
8.	Детињство је јутро живота.	(A1, A2, A3)
9.	Диктатори су давитељи слободе.	(A1, A2)
10.	Дим је визиткарта ватре.	(A2, A3)
11.	Звезде су путокази.	(A1, A3)
12.	Идеја је искра открића.	(A2)
13.	Идеја је храна ума.	(A2, A3)
14.	Изум је дете изумитеља.	(A1, A2)
15.	Инфлација је болест привреде.	(A1)
16.	Истина је лавиринт.	(A1)
17.	Историја је огледало.	(A1, A3)
18.	Кишобран је покретни кров.	(A1, A3)
19.	Корупција је коров привреде.	(A1)
20.	Лептир је крилата дуга.	(A2, A3)
21.	Љубав је гориво брака.	(A1)
22.	Месец је Земљина сијалица.	(A2)
23.	Мисао је мајка науке.	(A3)
24.	Млади људи су небрушени дијаманти.	(A1, A2, A3)
25.	Мозак је кухиња мисли.	(A2, A3)
26.	Музеј је књига из историје.	(A2)
27.	Нова идеја је сунце.	(A1)
28.	Научно истраживање је планинарење.	(A1, A2, A3)
29.	Обмана је заседа.	(A1, A2)
30.	Образовање је фењер.	(A1, A2)
31.	Одрастање је сахрана младости.	(A2)
32.	Осмех је амбасадор.	(A2, A3)
33.	Породица је стена сигурности.	(A3)
34.	Поштовање је драги камен.	(A2)
35.	Привреда је корен државе.	(A1, A2)
36.	Пријатељи су зраци сунца.	(A1)
37.	Прича је ниска перли.	(A2, A3)
38.	Просјаци су пантљичаре друштва.	(A2, A3)
39.	Прошлост је рупа без дна.	(A1, A2, A3)
40.	Развод је земљотрес у породици.	(A3)
41.	Самоћа је пустиња.	(A1, A2, A3)
42.	Саветник је водич кроз живот.	(A1, A2, A3)
43.	Савест је трн у оку ума.	(A1)
44.	Сенка је парче ноћи.	(A3)
45.	Сиромаштво је мајка криминала.	(A2, A3)
46.	Слобода је истина.	(A2, A3)
47.	Снови су филмови ума.	(A1, A2, A3)
48.	Стари наставници су енциклопедије.	(A3)
49.	Трач је куга.	(A1)
50.	Угаљ је храна пећи.	(A1, A3)
51.	Хумор је мелем.	(A2, A3)

Appendix B. Metaphor Task: Examples of Scoring



Item: Дете је сунђер./A child is a sponge.	
0 points	<i>Дете је као сунђер./A child is like a sponge.</i>
1 point	<i>Дете упија./A child absorbs.</i>
2 points	<i>Дете прикупља разне информације, на подсећа на сунђер./ A child collects various information, so it resembles a sponge.</i>
3 points	<i>Дете упија знање и информације као сунђер воду./ A child absorbs knowledge and information the way sponge absorbs water..</i>
Item: Гума је ципела аутомобила./A tire is a car's shoe.	
0 points	<i>Гуме су за кола као ноге за човека./ Tires are to a car as legs are to a man.</i>
1 point	<i>Гума се креће по земљи./ A tire moves on the ground.</i>
2 points	<i>Гума пружа спољашњу заштиту за несметано кретање и спречава клизање./ A tire provides external protection for smooth movement and prevents slipping.</i>
3 points	<i>Гуме су неопходне за кретање аутомобила, као ципеле људима за ход./ Tires are necessary for cars to move, as shoes are for people to walk.</i>
Item: Истина је лавиринт./The truth is a labyrinth.	
0 points	<i>Лавиринт је стаза за оне који лутају./ A labyrinth is a path for those who wander.</i>
1 point	<i>До истине се може доћи на различите начине./ The truth can be reached in different ways.</i>
2 points	<i>Треба пронаћи пут до истине./ You have to find the way to the truth.</i>
3 points	<i>Теško је доћи до истине, као што је теško наћи излаз из лавиринта./ It is difficult to reach the truth, just as it is difficult to find a way out of a labyrinth.</i>

THE LIBERATING TRANSFORMATION OF FEMALE CHARACTERS IN SHAKESPEARE'S AND DRŽIĆ'S COMEDIES ^a

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Abstract

During the time of Queen Elizabeth I, the prevailing belief was that women were intellectually, physically, and morally inferior to men. While some female characters in Shakespeare's plays conform to the stereotypical image of the era, many others challenge these stereotypes. Influenced by the Renaissance and the portrayal of the queen as a powerful and dominant ruler, Shakespeare depicted women in his plays as intelligent, brave, noble, and not significantly different from men. Independent young women such as Rosalind from *As You Like It*, or Beatrice from *Much Ado About Nothing* present a dramatic contrast to characters like Hermia from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* or Hero from *Much Ado About Nothing*. Though not independent in the modern sense of the word, they certainly are independent when compared to the typical women of Shakespeare's time. This paper will examine how Marin Držić created female characters and whether the Renaissance spirit in Dubrovnik, which changed the lives of all social classes in many ways, also influenced the transformation of female characters in his works. In certain segments of the texts (e.g., *Tirena*, *Skup*, *Dundo Maroje*), a conservative, patriarchal criticism of society, especially aimed at the youth and women, is evident. They are depicted as idle, unintelligent, and obsessed with fashion. However, in Držić's comedies, when it comes to conditionally *liberated* female characters, one can encounter fairies, courtesans, women from Kotor, and maidservants. Some of them undergo transformations of identity, which will be explored in terms of motivation and function. In the end, an attempt will be made to conclude the extent to which the cultural spirit of an era could (or could not) influence the *liberation* of female characters in the works of these two authors.

Key words: Shakespeare, Držić, female characters, transformation, identity.

^a The article was presented at the *Language, Literature, Process 2023 Conference* at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia.

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ОСЛОБАЂАЈУЋА ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЈА ЖЕНСКИХ ЛИКОВА У ШЕКСПИРОВИМ И ДРЖИЋЕВИМ КОМЕДИЈАМА

Апстракт

У доба краљице Елизабете II важило је уверење да су жене интелектуално, физички и морално инфериорније од мушкараца. Један број женских ликова Шекспирових драма уклапа се у стереотипну слику времена, али неретки су и они женски ликови који те стереотипе руше. Под утицајем ренесансе, али и слике краљице, моћне и доминантне владарке, Шекспир у својим комадима слика жене као интелигентне, храбре, племените и не много различите од мушкараца. Независне младе жене попут Розалинде из драме „Како вам драго“, или Беатриче из драме *Много буке ни око чега* представљају драматичан контраст у односу на Хермију из драме *Сан летње ноћи* или Херу из драме *Много буке ни око чега*. Оне нису независне у модерном смислу речи, али засигурно јесу у поређењу са типичним женама Шекспировог доба. У раду ћемо испитивати и на који начин је Марин Држић креирао женске ликове, те да ли је ренесансни дух у Дубровнику, који је на много начина изменио живот свих друштвених слојева, утицао и на трансформацију женских ликова код овог аутора. У неким сегментима текстова (нпр. *Тирена*, *Скуп*, *Дундо Мароје*) приметна је конзервативна, патријархална критика друштва, посебно усмерена на омладину и жене. Оне се квалификују као нерадне, неинтелигентне и залуђене модом. Међутим, у Држићевим комедијама, када је о условно „ослобођеним“ женским ликовима реч, јављају се виле, куртизане, Которанке и слушкиње. Код неких од њих долази до својеврсних трансформација идентитета, чијом ћемо се мотивисаношћу и функцијом бавити. На крају ћемо покушати да изведемо закључке о томе у којој мери културни дух једне епохе (ни)је могао утицати на ослобађање женских ликова ових двају писаца.

Кључне речи: Шекспир, Држић, женски ликови, трансформација, идентитет.

INTRODUCTION

Shakespeare's comedies *Much Ado About Nothing*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *As You Like It* present a diverse array of female characters representing various personalities, attitudes, and perspectives on the world. While some of these characters conform to conventional norms and reflect the gender stereotypes of Elizabethan times, others challenge these norms, portraying strong, independent, and intelligent women who question the expectations of a patriarchal society. These characters highlight Shakespeare's awareness of behavioural and character differences among women, challenging the prevailing views of his time. In this sense, Shakespeare's comedies can be seen as reflecting societal changes in attitudes towards women during the Renaissance.

In Držić's comedies, a conservative, patriarchal critique of society is evident, portraying women as unintelligent. For instance, in Negromanov's Prologue of *Dundo Maroje*, it is stated: "And women from those parts – just like ours, who are said to have slightly lighter minds than

men, obsessed with fashion and lazy..." (Držić, 1962, p. 191). Moreover, most of these judgments are expressed by women themselves. However, certain characters undergo a transformation in the manifestation of their identity. For example, in *Tripče de Utoľče (Mande)*, a character from Kotor defies social norms and decides to fight for her right to free love, providing a stark contrast to other female characters in the comedies. In *Grižula (Plakir)*, to her potential mother-in-law's dismay, Gruba embarks on a journey to the mountains to search for her fiancé. Similarly, in *Dundo Maroje*, Pera, disguised as a young man, travels to Rome, albeit with an escort, to retrieve her chosen one. Likewise, viewed as a female character, considering her character, Venera in *Venera i Adon* publicly declares her love and fights for it.

When comparing these characters to Shakespeare's heroines, one can observe similar motifs of transformation and liberation among female characters defying patriarchal society. This suggests that the two authors employed similar approaches and motifs in creating characters in their comedies, all aimed at challenging the conventions of their times. The transformation of female characters in Shakespeare's and Držić's comedies is an important theme that has attracted the attention of numerous researchers. Throughout history, as well as literary history, there have been examples of brave and strong female characters who challenge authorities because they believe that "there are certain unwritten laws and principles that a moral person sticks to and fights for" (Milošević, 2010, p. 598). This paper will emphasize perspectives centred on subverting traditional gender roles and expectations, as well as the importance of women in creating a better and more just society.

The female characters in Shakespeare's plays have drawn significant critical attention since their creation. Various aspects of their personalities, such as glamour, fame, and intelligence, have been analysed. His heroines changed as society evolved, reflecting the contradictory ideas that society grappled with. The ideal to which the women of that period were expected to aspire involved being obedient, passive, and modest, never forgetting their subservience to men. In addition to these, an important aspect of Shakespeare's comedies includes certain heroines whom Shakespeare endowed with much more independence and freedom than strict social norms allowed. Emancipated and valued for their autonomy, independence, and intellect, they represented everything that women of that period were not allowed or were supposed to be.

Shakespeare wrote during a time when women were considered physically and intellectually inferior to men. According to Newman, men marked the centres of power, while women were merely instruments through which this power was realized in a political or social context (Newman, 1991, p. 23). Despite a woman – Queen Elizabeth I, being on the throne, Elizabethan society remained largely patriarchal. All other

women, except Queen Elizabeth I, had no legal rights to exist or act independently from the men to whom they belonged. Before marriage, women were seen as their fathers' property, and after marriage, they passed into the hands of their husbands. The romantic love that modern society knows, based on mutual attraction, was almost absent in Renaissance England. Marriage was predominantly viewed as a business arrangement between two families. William Shakespeare's Renaissance society did not traditionally value women's freedom. The only two socially acceptable positions for women were marriage or life in a convent. There were no other social or economic factors that supported unmarried women, either physically or emotionally. Women were prohibited from engaging in any domain outside the home. They had no right to higher education, no right to vote, and were mostly focused on performing tasks and adopting values that made them good daughters or wives. Many believe that the power of men was so unattainable precisely because it was conditioned by the lack of education for women (Kemp, 2010, p. 29).

In the context of Dubrovnik, the position of women did not differ significantly from that in Shakespeare's England. During the 13th and 14th centuries, women's lives, especially those of the higher classes, were controlled by parents, brothers, or tutors. Marriages were often arranged¹, sometimes when the prospective spouses were still children, and exorbitant dowries posed problems, leading many girls to enter convents. Husbands had the right to physically 'correct' their wives' behaviour, even to the point of expulsion from the home. Divorce was nearly impossible, leading some men to engage in affairs with servant girls². Aggressive individuals physically assaulted women (through beatings, kidnappings, rape), servants and other female citizens alike – on the streets and even inside homes (Dinić-Knežević, 1974, p. 139). However, the Dubrovnik of that time differed from many European cities in one aspect – all women were equal under the law³. Women who enjoyed more freedom and could resist arranged marriages, move about more freely, and were somewhat equal to their husbands were commoners (Janeković, 1994, p. 94).

The lives of ordinary women, whether citizens or commoners, did not change much with the arrival of the Renaissance in Dubrovnik, even

¹ There were also restrictions on marriages between citizens of Dubrovnik and members of other Dalmatian communities; thus, at one point, the municipality of Dubrovnik prohibited marriages between its citizens and people from Kotor (Janeković, 1994, p. 73);

² Regarding female labor service – maids and servants – and their position, refer to (Janeković 1994, pp. 122-123);

³ "But what particularly impresses in medieval Dubrovnik and places it among the most advanced cities of that time in Europe is the equality of all women under the law. All women, regardless of their social class, were subject to punishment according to the crime they committed, so that in prison, noblewomen could be found just like maidservants" (Dinić-Knežević 1974, p. 34);

though “out of all Croatian lands, Dubrovnik was the most open to Western influences in the 16th century during the Renaissance’s flourishing, and was the most prepared to accept early modern conceptions of women” (Fališevac, 2003, p. 119). Nikola Gučetić and his wife Mara Gundulić wrote at that time about the morals, intellect, spirituality, and beauty of women (in comparison to men) (Fališevac, 2003, p. 119-120). In this period, some women, apart from being characters and sources of inspiration for writers, also became active participants in public life. There are testimonies about the female authors, the sisters Bunić, and the first ‘female’ myth revolved around Cvijeta Zuzorić⁴ (Fališevac, 2003, p. 120). However, we cannot escape the impression left by the fact that the poetic writings of these female authors have not been preserved. It seems that regardless of everything, they have remained part of the ‘mythical narrative’.

Therefore, Marin Držić is also a bearer of such a tradition concerning the position of women in Renaissance Dubrovnik. Taking everything into consideration, for example, the portrayal of active women in his comedies and the crafting of Držić’s female characters become clearer.

SHAKESPEARE’S AND DRŽIĆ’S HEROINES

The transformation of female characters in Shakespeare’s comedies is a central theme explored in contemporary feminist criticism. Shakespeare’s comedies have frequently been the subject of debates concerning the role and status of women in society, and many theorists have focused their analyses on the changes that occur with female characters throughout the plots. Of particular interest is the study of how women were portrayed in English literature during the Elizabethan era. A review of the criticism leads to the conclusion that the female character in English Renaissance literature, including Shakespeare’s comedies, is presented as the ‘other’ in relation to the male character, ensuring that women are never equated with the main character. Shakespeare’s heroines, such as Hero and Beatrice from *Much Ado About Nothing*, Hermia and Helena from *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, and Rosalind from *As You Like It* undergo a process of transformation reflected in their shift from traditional roles of obedience and subservience to roles that can be described as characterising independence and autonomy.

The female characters in Shakespeare’s comedies are initially presented in patriarchally shaped and subordinate roles to the male characters. However, as the plot develops, these women break free from these traditional roles and become independent individuals who make decisions

⁴ About the position of women in Renaissance Dubrovnik and the role of Cvijeta Zuzorić, refer to (Petaković, 2011);

about their own lives and destinies. For example, in the play, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Hermia, the beautiful and initially obedient daughter of Egeus, defies her father's demands for her marriage, despite it being considered inappropriate for women at that time. In the first act, she decides to confront her father and run away with the man she loves. Unlike Hippolyta, the submissive and passive queen of the Amazons, Hermia dares to make decisions for herself and refuses to accept established authority (Dreher, 1986, p. 98). Her resistance to this authority is met with strong opposition from a patriarchal society. Shortly after Theseus announces that he has won Hippolyta, Egeus approaches him and complains that his daughter refuses to marry Demetrius (1.1.22). Angry about her decision, he pleads with Theseus to order her to comply with patriarchal norms or to order her death. In this, he portrays Hermia in the same way women of that period were typically portrayed and perceived – as objects to be traded. The independence and human qualities that Hermia seemingly possesses are taken away from her by Egeus when he says, "She is mine, and all my right of her I do estate unto Demetrius" (1.1.97-98)⁵.

In contrast to Hermia, who bravely defies her father, Helena epitomizes the obedient and submissive woman, fully willing to prioritize a man's happiness over her own. Through an act of self-sacrifice, she informs Demetrius that Hermia has fled with Lysander, even though she is aware that this knowledge will affect her happiness. Loyal to the man she loves, Helena tries to please him by following him, even though she knows he pursues another woman. An ideal, submissive woman, she remains content even as her independence is taken away.

In the play *Much Ado About Nothing*, Hero is portrayed as the ideal Renaissance woman – beautiful, loyal, quiet in the presence of men, and completely under the control of her father, Leonato. When Leonato suspects that Don Pedro might seek Hero's hand in marriage, he orders her to accept his proposal despite the obvious age difference (2.1.61-63). Hero obeys his will, as well as the will of everyone else in her surroundings. Thus, Don Pedro easily courts and wins her on behalf of Claudio. Despite being influenced by Beatrice, a free-spirited and independent woman, Hero does not initially show signs of wanting to take any voluntary action. However, after being falsely accused and publicly shamed despite her innocence, during the repeated wedding ceremony, she declares: "One Hero died defiled, but I do live, / And surely as I live, I am a maid." She takes a clear stand for herself and rejects the previous accusations. This action restores her honour and reputation, contributing to the exploration and shifting of gender roles and expectations.

⁵ All references and quotes from Shakespeare's plays are from Taylor et al. (Eds.). (2011). *The New Oxford Shakespeare: Modern Critical Edition*;

Unlike Hero, Beatrice resists the will and commands of men in her surroundings. She refuses to marry, and instead chooses to embrace her independence and individuality, opting to select her suitor or reject those who do not suit her preferences. Beatrice is never punished for her sharpness; instead, Shakespeare finds her an ideal partner in a man who possesses a similar wit and intellect (Gay, 1994, p. 144). However, this strong woman is aware of the limitations imposed on her as a woman. When Hero is accused, Beatrice realizes that she cannot be the one to seek revenge; she must persuade Benedick to do it on her behalf. Despite being constrained by her actions, Shakespeare grants her character sufficient verbal wit, portraying her as a woman who skilfully manipulates words to achieve her goals. Even at the very end, just before marrying Benedick, she agrees to the match only after emphasizing that they marry because she wants to, not because he wants to.

In the play, *As You Like It*, Rosalind is aware of and accepts the limitations placed upon her as a woman. However, unlike Beatrice, she does not rely on men to carry out her plan. Instead, she assumes the identity of a man, which initially liberates her from the constraints she previously faced at court and positions her as the leading character in the play, dictating the terms of the relationships she develops with others. Nevertheless, the dramatic irony that Rosalind successfully attains all her desires is not solely because she is characteristically strong and independent; rather, it is because she has taken on a male identity, a facet that should not be overlooked. These transformations are significant not only in Shakespeare's comedies but also represent a part of the broader social context in which the prevailing understanding of gender roles began to change.

In her study *Elizabethan Women and the Poetry of Courtship*, Iлона Bell examines the roles that women play in Shakespeare's comedies, particularly in the context of courtship. She argues that the female characters in Shakespeare's comedies transform from objects of courtship into subjects who actively participate in the process of love. According to her assertion, Hermia, Beatrice, and Rosalind are female characters who fight for their independence and freedom to choose their partners (Bell, 1998, p. 10-11). In her analysis, Bell primarily focuses on the character of Hermia, asserting that she represents Shakespeare's feminist heroine who refuses to be subordinate to men. She also points out that Beatrice and Rosalind are strong and independent women who take an active role in the process of love, rather than being passive and waiting for someone to court them. Bell concludes that these characters were revolutionary in Shakespeare's time, as they fought for their independence and freedom in a strictly patriarchal society. She also emphasizes that these characters remain relevant today, as they continue to fight for women's rights in the modern world.

The transformation of female characters in Shakespeare's comedies is also addressed by the critic Coppélia Kahn. In her study *Man's Estate: Masculine Identity in Shakespeare*, she argues that the female characters in Shakespeare's comedies challenge traditional roles and expectations of patriarchal society. Instead of adhering to gender-conditioned roles and being passive objects of male desire, they become active agents in shaping their destinies. Kahn emphasizes that female characters are often portrayed as manipulators who use their intelligence and charm to achieve their goals. Kahn particularly highlights the character of Rosalind from the play *As You Like It* as an example of the transformation of a female character. Rosalind, who starts as a distressed and vulnerable young woman, disguises herself as a man to escape into the forest and avoid an arranged marriage. In this role, she becomes more aggressive and self-assured, and her male appearance allows her to move more freely through the world. Kahn interprets this transformation as a way to highlight the societal barriers that prevent women from being independent and free. According to Kahn, characters like Rosalind are not merely decorative objects or passive victims. By subverting their gender roles, they offer a vision of a more just society that provides equal opportunities for all. Kahn also points out that these female characters, when disguised as men, often start behaving in a 'masculine' way and take on a dominant role in their interactions with other characters. This indicates that gender roles are not based on nature or biology, but are socially constructed. Kahn concludes that Shakespeare, in his comedies, plays with the idea that women could have power and freedom to move through the world, but only if they take on male roles or otherwise challenge societal constraints. However, she also observes that these transformations, while perhaps liberating for women within the context of the drama, actually demonstrate how strong and limiting social conventions can be in real life (Kahn, 1981, p. 160-170).

In Dubrovnik, during Marin Držić's era, the social position of women was highly unfavourable, and it did not undergo the Renaissance changes that were taking place on a broader scale. Specifically, girls were allowed to appear in public only on major church holidays and in the company of older relatives (see Rešetar, 1958, p. 353; Pavlović 1958, p. 217). This fact is also mentioned by Pera, Maro's fiancée, in *Dundo Maroje*, when she responds to Dživo's question of how she knows that the Church of Our Lady is large: "Why wouldn't I know, Dživo? Wasn't I at the Mass in the Church of Our Lady every Christmas with my Aunt?" (Držić, 1962, p. 215). It's interesting to note that their attendance of theatre was also restricted. Only married women accompanied by their husbands could attend performances, while young girls sat in separate areas behind wooden grates called "balaturi" (Pavlović, 1958, pp. 216-217).

The Renaissance period brought about a series of changes in the perception of the world and humanity's place within it. Consequently, there were certain shifts in the construction of the image of women in art, influenced by philosophy. However, throughout this entire period, deeply rooted in preceding traditions, women were mostly treated ambivalently, if not always negatively (see Banić-Pajnić, 2004, p. 69-89). The tradition underlying such a view of women presupposes their moral, intellectual, and physical inferiority. Even in cases where certain texts may have commendable intentions, there is often an implication of inferiority:

A striking example of the pronounced ambivalence of Renaissance attitudes toward women is, paradoxical as it may sound, the Renaissance praises of women. Most often, these praises were directed at the traditionally prescribed virtues of women or the traditional roles attributed to them in society (as homemakers, wives, and mothers). These praises, in fact, merely reinforced their inferiority and justified their subordinate role in society.

(Banić-Pajnić, 2004, p. 78)

While some women in Renaissance Dubrovnik, such as Mara Gučetić or Cvijeta Zuzorić, enjoyed a different social position, the majority were uneducated and confined to their homes until marriage. Those unable to marry due to dowries or other reasons often found themselves in convents (see Fališevac, 2003, p. 121). Therefore, it is not surprising that Pera, Maro's fiancée, took the bold step of dressing as a man and embarking on a journey to Rome to retrieve her fiancé. However, her daring action is likely motivated not by faithful love, but by fear (compare Švelec, 1968, p. 223). Hence, as much as her move might appear to be an expression of transformative emancipatory action, even considered scandalous by Maroje (Držić, 1962, p. 313), it is driven by what Dživo says: "And if we were to return to the City, not having achieved what we came for due to misfortune, there would certainly be nuns to accept you," to which she responds: "Even the nuns would not accept those walking in this way" (Držić, 1962, p. 21).

However revolutionary Držić's portrayal of Pera's activity may be, she is subject to circumstances and remains passive throughout the entire play⁶. In the text *Grižula*, Gruba, enchanted by a fairy for her chosen one,

⁶ Women cross-dressing in literary texts is not a novelty; instances can be found even in oral epics and the writings of Držić's contemporaries. The reasons were more or less the same: pursuing professions not available to women, joining the army, dueling, embarking on distant journeys, as well as engaging in prostitution, and lesbianism. During the author's time, cross-dressing was even legally sanctioned (see Čale Feldman, 2001, p. 161). Pera committed three offenses (theft, traveling, cross-dressing), but she remains passive until the end of the play, unlike other heroines, perhaps, with similar inclinations (for more on the transvestism of this character and in general, see Čale Feldman, 2001);

embarks on a quest. Nonetheless, she exhibits more activity than Pera, and Držić permits it due to her '*Vlahinjica*' status, though she still faces condemnation, this time from Dragić's mother Vukosava. Similar to many older characters in Držić's works, she critiques the behaviour of the younger generation. More severe condemnation comes, for instance, from Stojna, Miljenko's mother, and Tirena (Držić, 1962, p. 90), countered by Radat, who deems it typical of the young, but also notes inappropriate behaviour in some older women (Držić, 1962, p. 91-92)⁷.

Držić allows certain female characters to transform their roles in his other dramatic works as well. In *Tripče de Utolče (Mande)*, the main protagonist, Mande, stands out as the only one among Držić's female characters to openly discuss erotic desire. She deceives her elderly and alcoholic husband, adopts a disguise as a man to move freely outside her home, and fulfils her desires with younger men (see Fališevac 2013, p. 189)⁸. Mande is evidently in an arranged marriage, yet she takes matters into her own hands. Despite having other suitors, the focus of the text shifts towards two women who outsmart the men or, in other words, assert control over them, subordinating them in a certain way. This dynamic expresses a *Boccaccian triumph of women over men*: Kata over Lone, Džove over Krisa, Mande over Tripče (Držić, 2017a, p. 20).

In a sense, the courtesan Laura in *Dundo Maroje* also undergoes a transformation in her social role. The initial change takes place after her move from Dubrovnik to Rome, evident in her name change, and further solidifies in the resolution when, after finding her father and getting married, she transforms into a respectable woman. It is noteworthy that the role of the courtesan undergoes a certain transformation in Držić's work. Despite her materialistic tendencies, she chooses Maro, a young and handsome man, and one could argue that she loves him. This raises the question of whether this love would have developed if the author had allowed him to become impoverished, prompting consideration of whether Laura is a stereotypical courtesan or a subversive character (see Gjurgjan, 2011).

Another woman who selects and contends for her chosen one is Venera in the text *Venera i Adon*. However, she is also a *servant*, albeit to a *shepherd from above* (Adon). With the aid of her charms and her son Cupid, she manages to win over the man/god of her life.

In addition to the examined female characters, elderly women also have a role in the plays, despite their undesirable position in reality. Alongside physical punishment for transgressions, as mentioned in the

⁷ The relationship between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law, as well as their conflicts, is also discussed by Satir in the Prologue of *Skup* (pp. 137-138), as well as by Dobre in *Skup* (p. 160);

⁸ One cannot be certain to what extent D. Fališevac's viewpoint can be supported, suggesting that this text can also be read as an early example of feminine/female writing (Fališevac, 2013, p. 192);

texts (see, for example, Omakala in *Grižul*" (Držić 2017b, p. 16-17), other aspects of their bodily existence were under threat:

They were exploited by noblemen and noble sons, often with the knowledge of the masters, because it was practical for them for more than one reason. And when they gave birth, if they were not banished, they could leave their children outside the doors of Klarisa to be accepted into the orphanage, which many Dubrovnik citizens bequeathed in their wills, reconciling themselves with the world, for a certain sum of ducats. And if they were banished – which was not uncommon – they could increase the number of “wicked” women in Duičin’s stairs, in Podmirje, or a similar place.

(Švelec 1968, p. 73)

However, Držić provides these women with a form of satisfaction by granting them the opportunity to articulate their sufferings and participate in the affairs of their masters. Dunja Fališevac generalizes the attitude towards women’s speech in this author’s works. Despite not often being the initiators of the dramatic action and occasionally being portrayed in a stereotypical, even faceless manner, “they find their voice, have their text, express their opinions, their views on life (which often differ from male views)” (Fališevac, 2013: p. 193-194). Considering their, in most cases, mutual solidarity and support, it leads to the conclusion that “Držić perceives women as emotionally more potent and positive beings than men” (*ibid.*).

Despite the general portrayal of women’s lives in Renaissance Dubrovnik and the criticisms directed at them in Držić’s plays by both men and women themselves, with defenders on both sides, it can be inferred that certain women attain a degree of freedom in the realms of speech⁹ and action. The question arises as to whether Držić genuinely permitted liberation for women in themselves. One might argue that he did not, and that he navigates between affirmation and patriarchal criticism, aligning with the ambivalences of Renaissance Dubrovnik, or the era itself. In Držić’s works, women remain the ‘other’ in relation to the world of men, to which he belongs. However, the distinction lies in their diversity, as his heroines are not always noblewomen. Sometimes, they are not even women from Dubrovnik, but rather *Vlahinjice*, *Kotorans*¹⁰, *Jeđupke*, prostitutes, elderly women, courtesans (Laura is even a woman from Korčula), fairies, goddesses, unmarried women – in other words, undefined

⁹ The entire tirade about the relationship of men towards women, as well as a kind of female superiority, and the lament for the ‘golden age’ of the Amazons, is expressed by the Vlahinjica Miona in *Grižula* (28). She even declares that she wouldn't marry even if they offered her all the wealth in the world;

¹⁰ Držić sets the entire plot of *Ugo Tripčet* in Kotor, perhaps “to avoid offending the conservative Dubrovnik environment” (Fališevac, 2013: p. 188);

women. Does this imply that a certain form of freedom is only accessible to those who are different, the 'other', and who, regardless of the size of their role, still belong to the periphery of real life?

CONCLUSION

The transformation of female characters in Shakespeare's and Držić's comedies can be viewed as liberating, as these plays portray women who defy societal conventions and expectations. These characters are often depicted as independent, intelligent, witty, and capable of adapting to various situations. They are willing to exert a certain degree of control over their lives, even if it involves disguising themselves and cross-dressing as men.

However, despite the apparent liberating elements in the creation of these female characters, it cannot be asserted that their authors played an emancipatory role. For instance, in Shakespeare, there is an uncritical acceptance of patriarchal values, and in Držić, occasional portrayals of women as sexual objects can be observed. Therefore, the representation of female characters in these dramas, while undergoing a certain transformation, needs to be critically examined. It is also crucial to note that the liberating transformation of female characters in comedies can be controversial. As some critics affirm, these characters are still constrained by societal norms and ultimately revert to traditional female roles.

Nevertheless, characters created in this manner represented a step forward in the ongoing struggle for women's rights and freedom. This type of freedom should not necessarily be perceived solely as Shakespeare's and Držić's feminist aspirations, but rather as an attempt to depict comedic situations by questioning and disrupting established societal standards. As claimed by Albert Rabil Ml. in his introduction to the translation of Agrippa's work *Declamation on the Nobility and Preeminence of the Female Sex*:

Humanism was a movement led by men who embraced the valuation of women from ancient texts and who mostly shared misogynistic perceptions of their culture. However, humanism also opened the door to critiquing the misogynistic tradition.

(Banić-Pajnić, 2004, p. 87)¹¹

It is evident from all that has been discussed that the same assertion can be made for the Renaissance period:

¹¹ Rabil, A. Ml., Introduction. In. Agrippa, H. C. (1996). *Declamation on the Nobility and Preeminence of the Female Sex*, (p. xviii), Chicago and London (quotation taken from Banić-Pajnić, E.).

The individual of the Renaissance emancipated the feminine within himself, yet this emancipation was merely declarative. Nonetheless, the process of genuine women's emancipation began then.

(Banić-Pajnić, 2004, p. 87)

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ОСЛОБАЂАЈУЋА ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЈА ЖЕНСКИХ ЛИКОВА У ШЕКСПИРОВИМ И ДРЖИЋЕВИМ КОМЕДИЈАМА

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Резиме

У доба краљице Елизабете II важило је уверење да су жене интелектуално, физички и морално инфериорније од мушкараца. Док се један број женских ликова Шекспирових драма уклапа у стереотипну слику времена и у потпуности осликава родне улоге тог периода, неретки су и они женски ликови који руше стереотипе о жени као субмисивном, крхком бићу, без права на сопствени идентитет. Под утицајем ренесансе која је између осталог означила и трансформацију жена и односа према њима, али и слике краљице, моћне и доминантне владарке, Шекспир неретко у својим комадима слика жене као интелигентне, храбре, племените и као жене које се по својим ставовима, али и по правима које захтевају ни по чему не разликују од мушкараца. Независне младе жене попут Розалинде из драме „Како вам драго” или Беатриче из драме *Много буке ни око чега* представљају драматичан контраст у односу на Хермију из драме *Сан летње ноћи* или Херу из драме *Много буке ни око чега*. Оне се не уклапају у слику идеалне жене тог времена.

Такође, оне нису независне у модерном смислу речи, али када их поредимо са типичним женама Шекспировог доба, оне то засигурно јесу.

У комедијама Марина Држића у у неким сегментима текстова (нпр. *Тирена*, *Скуп*, *Дундо Мароје*) приметна је конзервативна, патријархална критика друштва, односно величање патријархалног реда и морала, и осуђивање новотарија, посебно усмерено на омладину, нарочито жене. Оне се квалификују као нерадне, неинтелигентне и залуђене модом. Међутим, креирајући и другачије ликове, Држић балансира између афирмације и патријархалне критике управо у духу амбиваленција ренесансног Дубровника, односно времена. Ипак, чини се да код Држића жена остаје другост у односу на свет мушкараца, којем он сам припада, с тим што се она умножава, јер његове јунакиње нису властелинке, понекад ни Дубровчанке, већ Влахињице, Которанке, Јеђупке, подводице, годишнице, куртизане (Лаура је уза све још и Корчуланка), виле, богиње, неудате – дакле, недефинисане жене.

Женски ликови у Шекспировим и Држићевим комедијама на својеврстан начин јесу трансформисани – често су самостални, интелигентни, духовити и способни да се прилагоде различитим ситуацијама. Жене су спремне у одређеној мери да преузму контролу над својим животима, упркос друштвеним конвенцијама, чак и ако то подразумева маскирање и прерушавање у мушкараце. Но, упркос евидентним ослобађајућим елементима у креирању женских ликова, не може се рећи да су њихови аутори имали еманципаторску улогу. Очито је да су ови ликови и даље ограничени друштвеним нормама и да се на крају враћају традиционалним женским улогама.

Ипак овако креирани ликови представљали су искорак у борби за женска права и слободу, која се не мора и не може нужно посматрати као феминистичка тежња Шекспира и Држића, већ пре као покушај преиспитивања и нарушавања устаљених друштвених стандарда, јер „човјек ренесансе еманципирао је женско у себи, но та је еманципација била само декларативна” (Банић-Пајнић, 2004, р. 87).

SERBIAN LITERARY MODERNA ‘CAUGHT’ IN THE PROCESS OF COMMUNICATION^a

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Abstract

Beginning with today’s widely accepted thesis about literature as an act of communication, the paper presents a part of the results of a wider study of that process in a diachronic overview of recent Serbian literature. The base of the research is the question of the historicity of literature, including the problematization of the concept of development as the key determinant of a group of authors dealing with literary-historical processuality, and simultaneously rejecting the final consequence of the poststructuralist demand for the deconstruction of history. In so posited a frame, the study incorporates the communication between Serbian literary Moderna and a wider social and cultural context in which texts come into being, and which themselves constitute the mentioned context, and a dialogue with the present moment in which criteria of the value and meaning of literary texts shift. Through the examination of that period, it problematizes the question of the time frames of literary-historical stages, their internal dynamics, and their correlation with other literary periods/directions/movements. We rely on interdisciplinary studies that shed light on the literary process in contact with other arts for the argumentation of some literary attributes of Serbian Moderna, as well as for the explication of some of its under-researched characteristics. For that purpose, one segment of the paper is devoted to the relationship between the poetic texts of Moderna and visual arts (sculpture and painting) and music. The methodological foundation of the paper consists of the examination of literature from the perspective of phenomenological studies, which arrived at their reinterpretation with the development of cognitive studies, at the centre of which is literature as an act of communication.

Key words: process, communication, literary history, Serbian Moderna, interdisciplinarity.

^a The article was presented at the *Language, Literature, Process 2023 Conference* at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia.

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СРПСКА КЊИЖЕВНА МОДЕРНА „УХВАЋЕНА” У ПРОЦЕСУ КОМУНИКАЦИЈЕ

Апстракт

Полазећи од данас општеприхваћене тезе о књижевности као комуникационом чину, рад ће представити део резултата обимнијег проучавања тог процеса у дијакроничком прегледу новије српске књижевности. Основу истраживања чиниће питање историчности књижевног текста, укључујући проблематизацију појма развоја као кључне одреднице групе аутора која се бави књижевноисторијском процесуалношћу, уз истовремено неприхватање крајње консеквенце постструктуралистичког захтева о деконструкцији историје. У тако постављен оквир уклопићемо комуникацију српске књижевне модерне са ширим друштвеним контекстом у коме дела настају, истовремено и сама чинећи поменути контекст, али и дијалог са савременим тренутком у коме долази до померања критеријума вредности и значења књижевног текста. Кроз истраживање тог периода проблематизоваће се питање временских оквира књижевноисторијских етапа, њихове унутрашње динамике и повезаности са осталим књижевним периодима/ правцима/ покретима. У аргументацији неких особености књижевности српске модерне, као и у експлицирању неких њених до сада недовољно истражених карактеристика послужиће нам интердисциплинарна истраживања која расветљавају књижевни процес у додиру са другим уметностима. У ту сврху, један сегмент посветићемо вези поетских текстова модерне са ликовним уметностима (вајарством и сликарством) и музиком. Методолошку основу рада представља посматрање књижевности из угла феноменолошких истраживања, која своју реинтерпретацију доживљавају развојем когнитивних студија, а у чијем се центру налази књижевност као комуникацијски чин.

Кључне речи: процес, комуникација, историја књижевности, српска модерна, интердисциплинарност.

LITERARY HISTORY: REALITY OR ANACHRONISM

The question of literary history, which was resolved multiple times, was revived yet again at the turn of the twenty-first century. On one side, there are nominalists, who claim, following medieval scholastic teachings, that every work is valuable in itself, and, thus, they exclude an interdependent chaining into diachronic sequences, completely denying the idea of literary development. They avoid any general definitions and abstractions, and advocate an analytical, individual approach to literary texts. On the path of that reflection, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the following considerations can be identified: the observations of B. Croce, who, advocating the unique charms of individual works, eliminates any kind of classifications and generalizations¹; W. P. Ker who

¹ “Every true work of art has violated some established kind and upset the ideas of the critics, who have thus been obliged to broaden the kinds, until finally even the broadened kind has proved too narrow, owing to the appearance of new works of art,

claims “that we do not need literary history, as its objects are always present, are ‘eternal,’ and thus have no proper history at all” (as cited in Wellek and Warren, 1949, p. 265); T. Eliot’s claim that “the whole of the literature of Europe from Homer and within it the whole of the literature of his own country has a simultaneous existence and composes a simultaneous order” (1919, p. 55); and above everyone else, the widely cited A. Schopenhauer, with the thought that “art is everywhere at its goal” (1909, p. 239). Negating the contextualization of literary works, literature as an act of communication, and thus its processuality/development, the aforementioned authors simultaneously negate the existence of literary history. It is sometimes seen as ‘the necessary evil’, and is reduced to a sequence of texts or authors that consecutively appear in time, but without any additional interdependence and causality – there is no category of qualitative change in such an understanding; individual works and their authors are just concretizations/realizations of the same essence. One of the most famous examples that disintegrates the idea of the processuality/development/historicity of literary texts is R. M. Meyer’s *Die Deutsche Litteratur des Neunzente Jahrhunderts* (1910), where the whole century is divided into decades filled with sequences of literary works. In such a constructed system, periodization is understood as something that is imposed on literature from the outside, in the form of a mould that is filled with specific subject matter to enable a particular historical orientation within an enormous literary material. Therefore, it is a “wilful act of the historian” (Meyer, 1910, as cited in Škreb, 1964, p. 98).

Soon afterwards, a harsh criticism of Meyer’s system emerged, and a whole range of scholars who proved the historicity of literary texts appeared, consequently seeing literary history as immanent in its nature. Accordingly, three influential names should be mentioned: W. Pinder, at the beginning of the twentieth century; R. Wellek, who presented his theory in the middle of the twentieth century; and Z. Lešić, who examined the question of historicity at the end of the previous century. The first of these thinkers begins with saving historicity:

History should be viewed not only as a simultaneity or succession (Neben und Nacheinander) of human acts and experiences, not only as something whose parts could be interpreted psychologically but is meaningless and chaotic on the whole (if we want to be consistent), but as an occurrence that surpasses human will and that is what precisely makes it representable (anschaulich).

(Pinder, as cited in Škreb, 1964, p. 98, 99)

naturally followed by new scandals, new upsettings and—new broadenings” (Croce, 1920, p. 37);

In Wellek, perspectivism is the key term for understanding the historicity of literature:

We must rather adopt a view for which the term ‘Perspectivism’ seems suitable. We must be able to refer a work of art to the values of its own time and of all the periods subsequent to its own. A work of art is both ‘eternal’ (i.e., preserves a certain identity) and ‘historical’ (i.e., passes through a process of traceable development).

(Wellek et al., 1949, p. 35)

Z. Lešić explains that a literary work is historical in two ways: first and foremost because it arises in a historical world, and so it carries traces of the entire world in its structure; subsequently, it is historical because we find it at a very specific place within a single timeline:

To be condemned to temporality means to have one’s place in a particular temporal sequence, which in the historical world is not only a succession in time but also an ‘**developmental sequence**,’ because everything that occurs in it does not just come **one after the other** but also **from one another**. That is why we can say that a literary work is not only a ‘product of history’ [...], but it is also a ‘producing part of history’.

(Lešić, 1986, pp. 51, 52)

Historiography experienced a substantial crisis in poststructuralist studies that peaked with the theory of deconstruction, establishing the thesis of the “endless postponement of establishing meaning”² and the impossibility of any kind of semantic stability – everything is turned into a narrative to which historiographic metafiction also belongs. The discourse of history transforms itself into a complex mechanism fundamentally incapable of reaching the truth, and is endlessly burdened with the idea of the ‘real’ that is always ideologically presented (R. Barthes particularly deals with that in “The Discourse of History” (1989)). Indirectly, such a situation opens up the possibility of the predominance of arbitrariness over theoretical considerations of literary history; it loses its national character within specific entities and loses the quality of *literariness* by pouring over into cultural studies under the currently dominant and topical European projects. N. Nikolić very prudently examines the possibility of misusing the final consequences of deconstructionism for the creation of a “desirable meaning of literary past”, where there is no place for the proclaimed methodology of representing multiple historical stories (Nikolić, 2015, p. 12). Standing between these rather simplistically depicted opposites, we state that literary history’s right to exist should not be abol-

² That could be recognized in Derrida’s famous sentence “Il n’y a pas de hors-texte” (1976, p. 207).

ished due to the impossibility of the absolute objectification of the past, but that it should be observed through its dialectical nature. Returning therefore to H. R. Jauss (1982)³ and W. Iser (1978, pp. 49, 50), we fully support their view of this issue which M. P. Markowski summarizes in the following way:

History is not a series of events that exist objectively, nor is literature a sum of texts that exist outside of history. It is about the historicity of texts, and, thus, it is not only that they exist in some specific historical period but they are also actualized by readers from other epochs with the help of different reader conventions and in different cultural contexts.

(Markowski, 2009, p. 110)

That subsequently leads to the question of the universality of aesthetic value that a literary work obtains by undergoing a specific evaluation of the so-called aesthetic objects in a spatio-temporal sequence, where an aesthetic object represents the immaterial equivalent of the material part in the recipient's consciousness, originating in the meeting of incentives which proceed from the work itself and an actual/alive aesthetic tradition that belongs to the collective (Mukarzovski, 1971, pp. 118, 119). This thesis explains very well the emergence of the *literary-historical story* through the openness for multiple interpretations unified by hierarchization: there will always be something that will come out of its frame together with an evaluation of the existing material from a certain standpoint, from which the historical narrative is shaped:

However, the awareness of that procedure enables those values, and the standpoint itself, to be externalised and offered for acceptance, refusal, and most frequently for different changes; shortly, the completeness necessary for the story to have meaning is not to be closure.

(Nikolić, 2015, p. 194)

Such reflections on the dialectical nature of the historical process are in complete accordance with the cognitivist understanding of literature as an act of communication, where the realization of the literary work is produced exclusively in the interaction between the text and reader who activates their own cognitive frames in the moments of reception⁴. In this

³ "A literary work is not an object that stands by itself and that offers the same view to each reader in each period" (Jauss, 1982, p. 21);

⁴ Wolfgang Iser, Hans Robert Jauss, Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan, David Herman, Wrener Wolf, Ansgar Nünning, Marie-Laure Ryan and many others have written about it. „As the reader uses the various perspectives offered him by the text in order to relate the patterns and the 'schematised views' to one another, he sets the work in motion, and

way, recent studies have re-connected the interpretation of texts with the context in which they reveal their nature and existence: it can be an interaction with a particular time, space, social context, and other arts. The possibilities are limitless.

*SERBIAN MODERNA:
A STAGE IN THE LITERARY-HISTORICAL PROCESS*

Bearing all of the aforementioned in mind, we will refer to the question of the specificity of the Serbian Moderna literary period, and problematize the status of temporal borders, internal dynamics and interconnections of different cultural environments (Serbian and Western European literary centres at the beginning of the twentieth century). Right here, the question is whether it is a period, or perhaps it is more precise to say *epoch*, *direction*, or *school*. Even though the mentioned dilemma at this moment seems like a superfluous examination of less important questions, what partly creates difficulties during the shaping of a literary historical overview is terminological non-uniformity. That is why this study relies on M. Solar who, in *Theory of Literature*, gives the necessary explanations of specific terms that are sometimes synonymously used (Solar, 2005, pp. 142-146). Flaker's concept of *stylistic formation* can be added to the given list which emphasizes that stylistic characteristics of literary works are crucial for defining broader temporal periods (Flaker, 2011, p. 108)⁵.

After reviewing complex terminological issues, the paper considers Moderna as **the period** in which twentieth-century literature begins. It was equated with modernism for a long time, which in turn led to a general confusion in the overview of poetic paradigms. Having been taken over from German linguistic practice (more specifically from Hermann Bahr and his *Die Moderne* manifesto from 1890) which used it to mark a reaction to the positivistic currents within Realism, the term took root in Serbia as an umbrella term for literary developments leading up to the First World War. Following what was occurring in Europe, domestic literature was, precisely through Serbian Moderna, the harbinger of internationalization and the inclusion of smaller cultural environments in dialogue with bigger environments, primarily French and English. The back-

this very process results ultimately in the awakening of responses within himself. Thus, reading causes the literary work to unfold its inherently dynamic character." (Iser 1972, p.280)

⁵ J. Delić (2019, p. 237) i J. Vježbicki (2003, pp. 100-109) argued about about the use of this term.

bone of the shift, which was already present in Europe throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, consisted of the absolutization of the aesthetic and the emphasis on the artist's social role.

In Serbian literature, as in the literature of Middle and Eastern Europe, Moderna arrived late and mostly in a syncretic form, merging different elements of late nineteenth-century literary tendencies. In some historical overviews, the period of Moderna is defined as modernism, symbolism, and neo-romanticism. The first term is not the best solution for labelling this period in Eastern European literature, especially in Serbian literature. First of all, it is not suitable because an objection could be raised that it does not contain a specific historical dimension, and then because it carries a very narrow meaning in Serbian literary theory which strictly separates this period from the literary directions at the beginning of the twentieth century. However, that is not the only problem; here, the names of cultural and social periods intersect with strictly literary concepts, which at the same time correlate but also differ from each other. In relation to this, M. Epstein's thoughts are important when he makes a distinction between socio-historical and cultural paradigms. His interpretation enables a more distant viewpoint from which certain phenomena that help establish a better orientation in a complex network of intercrossed concepts can be mapped. Thus, he singles out four great epochs in the history of humankind: ANTIQUITY – MEDIEVAL PERIOD – NEW, MODERN ERA, MODERNITY (from the Renaissance to modernism⁶) – POSTMODERNITY, or the POSTMODERN ERA (Epstein, 2010, pp. 20-22). As literature is not and cannot be viewed in isolation from social assumptions, it is important to notice that the literature of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and even Serbian literature so unpopularity, imprecisely and incorrectly defined, fit into the last two mentioned epochs. Therefore, the aim here is to make a difference between the Modern Age (Modernity) and Moderna, which is just another stage within the wider process of modernism. For some, the Modern Age begins with the Renaissance; for others, it begins with the discovery of the American continent; according to some, the starting point of the Modern Age can be found in the distortion of form brought about by Mannerism and the Baroque, and yet, for some scholars like M. Weber whom J. Habermas (1983, pp. 8-10) relies on, and M. Šuvaković (2005, p. 380), who will also be followed in this paper, the beginning of the Modern Age is the Age of Enlightenment in the eighteenth century. It arose at the moment when

⁶ Within modernism, Epstein mentions **certain** stages as examples of a "more detailed partition": symbolism, futurism, surrealism, existentialism (2010, p. 22). M. Šuvaković, in relation to that, notices that modernism is a "macro-form or a megaculture of the organization and development of culture and literature from the end of the eighteenth century to the end of the 1960s" (Šuvaković, 2005, p. 380).

the Christian totalizing worldview broke down. With the Modern Age (Modernity), a division of different areas of human endeavours appeared, and the personality that we recognize as the figure of the artist appeared for the first time, and acted in a specific, wholly autonomous discipline⁷.

To make things clearer, it is useful to go back to the epochs singled out by Epstein, with a special focus on the field of art in them: in antiquity, art represented a part of the human world and its relationship with the universe, nature and god; during the Middle Ages, it was a form of communication with the *other*, due to which humans exist in the first place. In the Modern Age (modernity), art was something in itself, and the artist became a separate subject capable of realizing it. He did that in different ways: by relying on inspiration/talent in Romanticism, and through social engagement in Realism. In the age of the modernist shift, the artist created by giving in to free play, which C. Baudelaire, in the middle of the nineteenth century, explains by following the phrase *l'art pour l'art*⁸. The germ from which the “adventure of the twentieth century“ arises can be identified precisely in the autonomy of literature. The aesthetic theory which found its inspiration in Poe’s reflections against the “heresy of didacticism,” made in the name of beauty which is “the sole legitimate province of the poem” (Poe, 1907, p. 23), realized its full potential with French Parnassians and symbolists, especially T. Gautier and his followers (G. de Nerval, T. de Banville, C. Baudelaire).

This information is also important for Serbian literature because Serbian writers at the beginning of the twentieth century were focused predominantly on French literature and Paris, where new literary ideas came from. Our authors, especially poets, followed the twentieth-century idea of art *whose function is to be without function*. Such a position of art was enabled by a bourgeois, capitalistic society that could provide individuals with economic security and leisure (i.e., P. Cézanne, C. Baudelaire, and C. Monet)⁹. Because of this, artists could create art that was not conditioned by the production process and the social division of labour. Artists were becoming craftsmen, and specialists in their craft (Šuva-ković, 2009).

⁷ “The project of modernity formulated in the 18th century by the philosophers of the Enlightenment consisted in their efforts to develop objective science, universal morality and law, and autonomous art according to their inner logic” (Habermas, 1983, p. 9);

⁸ It was used for the first time by B. Constant in the *Journal* (11 February 1804): “L’art pour l’art, et sans but; tout but dénature l’art.” (https://www.larousse.fr/encyclopedie/divers/L_art_pour_lart/186076);

⁹ From there comes the stream of literary bohemia, which will be accepted in Serbia under completely different circumstances by the so-called “subcultural current” in literature (S. Pandurović and Dis belonged to it);

During the reign of Miloš Obrenović in the middle of the nineteenth century, Serbia discarded the feudal and accepted the capitalist social order, joining the Industrial Revolution that was just emerging in Europe. The May Coup of 1903, which overthrew the absolutism of the Obrenović dynasty and signalled the beginning of an era of parliamentary democracy, contributed to the modernization and progression of society. All this points to the fact that the socio-economic conditions in Serbia affected the modernization of literature. Similarly to the aforementioned French painters and authors, the main representatives of Serbian symbolism, J. Dučić and M. Rakić, could follow the idea of Kantian "disinterested interest" in art. Verses from one of Dučić's *ars poetica* poems, *Poetry* or *My Poetry*, are perhaps a great example: "Be too beautiful to please everyone, / Too haughty to live for others" (2011, p. 661).

Europeanization and modernization were indicated in Serbian literature even before that, in the *Serbian Review* magazine established by Lj. Nedić in 1895, in which he sharply criticizes the utilitarian theory of S. Marković. In his study *From Recent Serbian Lyric Poetry* (1893), the same critic praises V. Ilić's artistry in his poetry. Consequently, the year 1892 can be marked as the beginning of Moderna, where the aforementioned poet created poetry which was completely aligned with French Parnassianism and symbolism. He was the harbinger of Serbian symbolism, which, besides obvious connections to France, is not its copy. Serbian symbolism is essentially Parnasso-symbolism. Jovan Delić thinks that symbolism would be an adequate term for this period of Serbian literature if prose was excluded from the process¹⁰. The French influence is evident in many aspects of poetic production:

Hence the iambic hendecasyllable and symmetrical trochaic dodecasyllable, which is often mistermmed as 'alexandrine.' Probably, this is where Rakić's and Dis' envelope quintain comes from, as an echo of different kinds of rondo. Remarkable *terza rima* poems were composed then (by Šantić and Dis). Šantić's poems are, perhaps, inspired by German poetry. This is when the sonnet form blossomed (Šantić, Dučić, Bojić).

(Delić, 2019, p. 238)

The mentioned characteristics that emphasize formal perfection can be perfectly argued by the connections between the literature of that period and the fine arts¹¹. All this came as an imperative from the French

¹⁰ M. Pavlović describes this period as "the golden age of our poetry" (1992, p. 210), and D. Vitošević supplements it with the statement that symbolism is the backbone of that golden poetic period (1975);

¹¹ The theoretical framework of this part of the study primarily consists of segments of cognitive narratology and interdisciplinary methodological models that enable an

literary and theoretical practice of the Parnassians, who frequently expressed their views of poetry through sculptural metaphors. Thus, C. Baudelaire, a great admirer of T. Gautier – the central figure of Parnassianism, in a collection of essays titled *Slikarski saloni*, notes various observations about sculpture where his considerations about literature can be found:

Our sculptors are more skilful, and that excessive preoccupation with craft completely consumes our sculptors of today as well as painters. / As lyric poetry ennobles everything, even passion, the real sculpture brings ceremoniousness into everything, even movement. It gives all that is human something eternal that proceeds even from the hardness of the material used.

(1979, p. 61) / (1979, p. 368)

T. Gautier, in his Parnassian *ars poetica* poem *Art*, insists on the formal beauty of a poem that must be difficult to achieve:

Just as a sculptor should contrast marble and bronze with soft clay, and a painter should contrast baked enamel with watercolour, so a poet should achieve harmonious beauty with clear and clean lines in the strict form of difficult lyric genres.

(Živković, 1992, p. 570)

Because of this attitude towards works of art and their creators, in which the illusion of genius is lost, he, viewing the poet above all as a craftsman, would make a request: “Scrape, sculpt, chisel!”¹² The Parnassians were turned towards the ideal of formal perfection that they saw in harmoniously made sculptures, and they frequently sang of their enthusiasm for works of art, which were completely devoid of passion¹³. That is why their poetry is distant and cold like the marble of the statues they

interpretation of the relationship between the written word and other types of mediation in conveying content. The inspiration came from literary studies that reactualized the dialogic nature of texts explained by the concepts of intertextuality, intermediality, transfictionality, and transmediality. Special attention is paid to specific phenomena that can be further illuminated by this approach and help to better understand some aspects of Serbian Moderna in the process of communication with other arts;

¹² „Sculpte, lime, cisèle!”

(https://www.bonjourpoesie.fr/lesgrandsclassiques/Poemes/th%C3%A9ophile_gautier/lart/);

¹³ Following the path of the Parnassians’ connection with the visual arts, the information about the emergence of photography in the middle of the nineteenth century in France, as well as about the struggle for its artistic status, might be interesting: “The struggle for the recognition of its artistic status lasted from (and during) the beginning of the twentieth century, when photography was finally recognized as an artistic discipline” (Lazić, 2017, p. 1074). The same author notes that the French photographer Eugene Atget called his photographs of Paris taken at the turn of the century “documents for artists” (2017, p. 1075);

admire. That would be one of the key objections to Parnassians, and so Dučić, in his symbolist manifesto, characterizing V. Ilić as a “teacher of form” and a “pure Parnassian”, would conclude that new poetry “should incorporate the thought and sensibility of modern poetry into a perfect form, which will especially mark his individuality” (Dučić, 2018, p. 182). The thematization of sculpture is present in both French and Serbian poetry of this direction (e.g., *Thibault, Niobe, Corinthian Hetaira* of V. Ilić, *Yearning, Midnight* of J. Dučić). All the characteristics of Parnassianism are present in them: beauty of expression, precision, clarity of imagery, clarity of description, regularity of verse; turning towards antiquity, sculptures of Venus, Mars, Niobe, Laocoon, Oedipus etc.; and writing about impersonal beauty. It should be added that the legacy of the Parnassian cultivation of form is inherited even by those poets who do not thematize sculpture explicitly, hence the already mentioned isometric, but also strict poetic forms (such as the sonnet or *terza rima*) and firmly established stanzas (i.e., quatrain, tercet, envelope quintain).

In addition to the relation with sculpture, pictoriality in the works of Serbian Moderna can be traced to the tendency of some authors towards decoration, ornamentation, towards what is called “decorative symbolism”, which is linked to the poetics of secession. As Alexander Flaker rightly observes:

In the old motifs, elements primarily decorative in the visual sense are sought, suitable for building a harmonious enclosed structure (frequent sonnets!) which seem to want to oppose the restless modernity.

(Flaker, 2011, p. 152)

The visuality of literary secession proceeds directly from the source – secessionist painting, which was characterized by asymmetry, curved lines and stylized ornamentation, and which was initiated by the Munich, Vienna and Berlin art circles¹⁴.

Examples of such poetry can be found among the verses of the *Poems of Dubrovnik* cycle (within the collection *Imperial Sonnets*) by Jovan Dučić, a cycle turned towards the Renaissance and Baroque Dubrovnik, where the poet proves to be an excellent painter of the atmosphere and characters of old Dubrovnik. These poems, as Kašanin observes:

¹⁴ There are also those literary scholars, such as Miloš Đorđević, who express skepticism about transferring the characteristics of secessionist painting into literature. “If [that] seems to be the case, it is mostly related to the lyric poetry of that period (1895-1910), to some poems by a certain author [...]. That lyricism is characterized by the idealization of beauty, traditional life within the spheres of life, with a slightly ironic and symbolic note” (Živković, 1992, p. 751);

in respect to their matter, they are no less to look at than to listen to – in our lyric poetry, there are no more vivid pictures or more attractive portraits than in them. By atmosphere, scenes, faces, anecdotes, the *Poems of Dubrovnik* are what the gallant festivities of the French and Italian painters of the eighteenth century were, which Dučić undoubtedly saw and was inspired by: Dubrovnik Wine, that is Lancret, Dubrovnik Carnival, Longi, the Senator of Dubrovnik, Vato. The virtue of those Dučić's poems, solitary in our modern literature, is not only in the witty narration and lively visuality but also in the discreet sensibility.

(Kašanin, 2001, p. 1231)¹⁵

Similarly, interpreting the *Poems of Dubrovnik*, Branko Letić often uses expressions from the field of painting: image, canvas, drawing, and detail. Dučić's verses reflecting this were criticized by Matoš and parodied by Vinaver, and recently Jovan Zivlak wrote about their low aesthetic potential:

The most frequently interpreted and accepted *Poems of Dubrovnik*, apart from few humorous verses and evocation of Dubrovnik's ambience, its destinies and occasions, with contessas, ladies, carnivals and epitaphs, apart from lightness and one-dimensional loveliness, fail to reach the power of exciting poetry.

(Zivlak, 1998, p. 317)

Not entirely sharing the quoted critical judgment, our attention, from all the aforementioned reviews of this cycle, is drawn to the mention of noble titles, a focus on the past and decorative loveliness¹⁶. After this kind of transmedial insight, the following conclusion emerges: considering our poets at the beginning of the twentieth century, it seems that the question is not only the influence of French Parnassianism and symbolism but also the achievements of literary secession – this slightly modifies the idea of Serbian Moderna poetry.

The transition from Parnassian to symbolist poetics has often been interpreted in domestic criticism as a shift in emphasis from the visual to the acoustic. Although we cannot completely agree with such a strict division, the fact is that Serbian modernist poets in the symbolist stages of

¹⁵ Following the quoted observations about the connection between the *Poems of Dubrovnik* and representations of Italian painters, and in order to illustrate the intermediality of Dučić's Parnassian poetry, we refer to Caravaggio's painting *The Cardsharps* and to the work of the Dutch artist Gerrit van Honthorst (see his painting *The Concert*), who lived in Italy for a while and relied on Caravaggio's poetics;

¹⁶ The transvisualization that leads to the poetics of secession is also clearly visible in Ilić's oeuvre, e. g. in the song *Babakaj* based on the painting of the same name by Đorđe Krstić, a Serbian representative of secessionist art;

their production directed special attention toward some musical components, both thematically and formally, which signalled the dynamics of literary changes that were taking place then. However, as shown by Mina Đurić¹⁷ in her study, in the case of Serbian verse, those changes began to take place already with Vojislav Ilić at the end of the nineteenth century. In several places, the author points to a movement from syllabic-tonal to tonal versification, which is a distant anticipation of the transition to free verse (Đurić, 2021, p. 111).

Apart from the formal level, the reliance of modernist writers on the auditory is noticeable on the level of theme, motif and the style of poetic texts. In this instance, we only list a few titles that imply a musical, but also a wider, auditory component: *Akordi (Chords)*, *Tišina (Silence)*, *Slušanje (Listening)*, *Dubrovački Requiem (Dubrovnik Requiem)*, *Šum (Noise)*, *Refren (Refrain)*, *Sonata (Sonata)*, *Rapsodija (Rhapsody)* (J. Dučić), *Serenada (Serenade)* (Alegro, Adagio, Menuet Iugubre), *Kineski madrigal (Chinese Madrigal)* (M. Rakić), *Violina (Violin)*, *Predgrađe tišine (Suburbs of Silence)*, and *Zvona na jutrenje (Dawn Bell)* (Vladislav Petković Dis).

Of all the listed poets of Serbian symbolism, Dučić was the only one who poetically and thoughtfully used words from the auditory/musical register in order to get closer to European literary trends, whether they came from France, Austria or Germany. This is evidenced by the most frequent use of synesthesia: no poet in Serbian symbolism resorted to synesthesia more than him; his poetry is dominated by the 'colour hearing'¹⁸.

Indeed, the predominant poetics of Moderna is symbolism, but the strand which nurtured "traditional Serbian patriotism, social and moral utilitarianism, and political and social activism" should be added to the poetic practice at the beginning of the twentieth century, and so J. Deretić rightfully states that the literature of that period moved between Europeanism and folk spirit, individualism and nationalism, and pessimism

¹⁷ The transition from transvisualization to transmusicalization, which brings about the dynamics of literary streams, but also the announcement of certain poetic changes, is perfectly traced by this author by dealing with the relation between the poetic and the musical in V. Ilić, the concept of Šantić's musicality, Dučić's musical epistemology and transmusicalization of cadence in his works, Rakić as the Beethoven of Serbian modernist literature, and the musicality of Dis' and Bojić's poetry (Đurić, 2022).

¹⁸ In some works of criticism, this is further specified by the term chromaesthesia (sound colouring; sound in color). It is probably not without significance that among the Serbian Symbolists, the poetry of Jovan Dučić attracted the most attention from composers. "As accepted in literary criticism, his verses are unvaried in terms of meter, mostly hendecasyllables and dodecasyllables, but with a very musical effect. Those two characteristics – the uniformity of meter and musicality – are certainly the most significant moments that influenced the composers" (Blagojević-Milin, 1985, p. 665).

and activist optimism (Deretić, 1996, p. 357). Serbian poetry was also authoritatively corrected by J. Skerlić, who erased everything that could possibly undermine the poetics of virtue and health from the literary scene and transplant “the disease of tired races” into “our young and fresh race, into our aerial South, where there is so much sunlight and cheerfulness” (1977, p. 444).

For the prose of this period, written by Borisav Stanković, Petar Kočić, Svetozar Ćorović, Veljko Milićević, Milutin Uskoković, Isidora Sekulić, Veljko Petović, Jelena Dimitrijević, internal focalization is the key element, bringing with it many other characteristics: focusing attention on the internal world of characters, lessening the communicativeness of characters and their complex nature; changing the role of the narrator who does not represent the central consciousness of the narrative, subjectivization of time and space, expansion of all types of virtual narrative; weakening of plot, subjectivization and poetization of expression; and a pessimistic view of the world in connection with the identity crises of protagonists:

Prose is becoming urbanized – the ‘Belgrade novel’ appears [...]. Hybridisation of the short story and the essay form ensues (*Traveling Companions* by I. Sekulić); an expressionistic experience of nature dominates (I. Ćipiko, P. Kocić).

(Delić, 2019, p. 238)

The most dominant stream of Moderna’s prose goes in the direction of impressionism expressed in the best way by Skerlić’s phrase ‘lyrical realists’. However, a naturalistic tendency must be added to it, which was predominantly present through the incorporation of city themes, motifs of the social evil (vice) and liberation of the erotic component in literature¹⁹. Both of these branches appear in European literature as a sign of the disintegration of realism. In that regard, the comparison between B. Stanković’s *Impure Blood* and both E. Zola and Strindberg’s *Miss Julie* is significant. The disintegration of realist structures “leads to the formation of characters of the outcast, outclassed people, vagabonds, actors, prostitutes, ‘former’ and ‘God’s’ people” (Flaker, 2011, p. 62).

In this overview of Moderna, the only question that remains to be resolved is that of the periodization framework, bearing in mind that the boundaries between certain literary periods are always fluid by nature. Most often, the beginning of the century²⁰ was taken as the starting year of this period, especially because it coincided with the formation of the

¹⁹ Here, it should be added that the relationship between naturalism and artistry could be mentioned, where different understandings of that bipolarity exist (from J. Renard, over J. Skerlić to D. Živković);

²⁰ J. Skerlić, B. Popović, V. Gligorić, and D. Vitošević make the same claim.

most influential literary journal of the time, the *Serbian Literary Herald*. This is not without grounds when one takes into account the strong influence of that time's criticism on the general direction of literature. Despite the journal's influence, the starting year must be tied to a somewhat earlier period written about by D. Prohaska (1921), Z. Gavrilović (1960), and recently D. Živković (2004) and J. Delić (2019):

The period between 1880 and 1900 should be marked as a transitional period at the turn of the centuries, whereas the last decade would rather belong to modernist literature of the twentieth century than to the final stage of the nineteenth century. [...] Naturalism, impressionism, and symbolism originate in Serbian literature already at the end of the nineteenth century.

(Živković, 1994, p. 180)

The year 1914 and the beginning of the First World War, almost without exemptions, is established as the boundary year of the end of Moderna. Nevertheless, D. Vitošević's reason for leaving the 'door open' until 1918 and naming the war period the *epilogue of Serbian Moderna* is quite justified. Then:

on foreign soil, not a few, and by no means only patriotic songs originated. Dučić writes there his *Imperial Sonnets*; Dis *Unfinished Poems*; and Bojić *Songs of Pain and Pride*. All of that naturally proceeds from the previous period. [...] There is a real chasm between these books and, perhaps, post-war verses of Dušan Vasiljev or Miloš Crnjanski, although they are not separated by even one or two years.

(Vitošević, 1975, p. 24)

This concludes the story of the literature of Serbian Moderna from the perspective of the contemporary reader, which certainly does not mean that this is the end of the story. It will continue in the future, including different 'aesthetic objects', caused by the changed circumstances of reading and understanding. The development of literature represents an endless process in the constant opening of new models of communication, but also in the discovery of different ways to shed light on old models from new perspectives. Therein lies the charm of all repeated and new readings of literary texts of every, and in this case especially Serbian literature at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Acknowledgement. This study was supported by the Ministry of Science, Technological Development and Innovation of the Republic of Serbia (Contract No. 451-03-66/2024-03).

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СРПСКА КЊИЖЕВНА МОДЕРНА „УХВАЋЕНА” У ПРОЦЕСУ КОМУНИКАЦИЈЕ

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Резиме

Посматрајући књижевност из угла когнитивних наука као комуникациони чин, у раду смо се осврнули на два важна процеса која из њега проистичу: књижевноисторијски преглед дијалектичке природе и интердисциплинарно укрштање. Први крак истраживања резултира схватањем историје књижевности као динамичног процеса који стално мора бити ревалоризован новим читањим, а други крак обезбеђује теоријску апаратуру из актуелних научних студија за боље разумевање литературе.

Са тих методолошких позиција тумачена је прва фаза у прегледу српске књижевности 20. века, а то је модерна. У њој смо издвојили одлике парнасизма, сим-

болизма, импресионизма, уз скретање пажње и на елементе сецесије, као и традиционалну линију преузету из претходних књижевних периода. Интердисциплинарни приступ показао је везу парнасo-симболистичке поезије са вајарством проистеклу из снажних француских утицаја, елементе сецесионистичке поетике у српској књижевној модерни; компаративним увидима експлицирали смо на који начин различите књижевне средине стварају у дослуху са другим уметностима. Такође смо указали и на окренутост књижевности српске модерне према музици, посебно у случају симболизма.

Без обзира на велики утицај европских, а пре свега француске уметности на српску књижевну модерну, у раду смо показали и њену специфичност/оригиналност која је последица и особене друштвено-историјске ситуације у Србији непосредно пред Први светски рат. Увек провокативно питање јесте и одређивање оквира књижевног периода, па смо, у настојању да и на то одговоримо, уз одговарајућу аргументацију, као почетак српске модерне навели последњу деценију 19. века, а као крај почетну годину Великог рата, са епилогом који означава година његовог завршетка. Без обзира на то што модернизација књижевности стиже у српску средину готово пола века након појаве у културним центрима Европе, она показује важан помак ка укључивању дотада периферних средина у магистралне токове уметности.

CONFLICTING MUSIC AND DIALOGUE IN POPULAR TV SHOW SCENES THROUGH THE LENS OF MULTILEVEL GROUNDED SEMANTICS ^a

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Abstract

This paper aims at discussing the process of multimodal meaning construction called *multilevel grounding*, according to which meaning emerges hierarchically, through six recursive levels of constraint: *formal*, *cross-modal*, *affective*, *conceptual*, *culturally rich*, and *individual*. Given that this theory has found application in the cognitive science of meaning generation in music, language, and visual art, this study aims to investigate more thoroughly the nature of meaning construction when linguistic and musical data are cointegrated. To that end, we analyse 5 TV show scenes in which the dialogue and the tones heard in the background seem to be sending out contradictory signals on one/some of the six grounding levels this theory presupposes. By doing so, this study attempts to come one step closer to learning in what way language and music, even when they appear to communicate a conflicting message, still work together to create novel meaning. The results of the present study indicate that such linguo-musical mismatches occur on each of the five levels of interpretation, with the sixth level being excluded from the analysis on purpose due to its inherently subjective nature. The same phenomenon has been observed in each of the five analysed scenes, and we believe that its use was both intentional and necessary on the part of the shows' creators to communicate the intended message in its entirety to the keenest of viewers. Namely, we argue that it is exactly these contrasts on each level of constraint that are responsible for the complex understanding of the scenes in question by introducing entirely new elements into the narrative, such as plot twists, which further leads to often humorous, but always non-composite, interpretations.

Key words: meaning construction, multilevel grounding, music, language, conflict.

^a The article was presented at the *Language, Literature, Process 2023 Conference* at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia.

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МУЗИКА И ДИЈАЛОГ СУКОБЉЕНИ У СЦЕНАМА ИЗ ПОПУЛАРНИХ ТВ СЕРИЈА КРОЗ ПРИЗМУ СЕМАНТИКЕ ВИШЕСЛОЈНОГ УТЕМЕЉЕЊА

Апстракт

Овај рад се бави процесом конструисања мултимодалног значења под називом *вишеслојно утемељење*, на основу кога значење настаје хијерархијски, кроз шест рекурзивних нивоа интерпретације, названих *формални*, *кросмодални*, *афективни*, *појмовни*, *културолошки* и *индивидуални*. Имајући у виду да је ова теорија нашла примену у делу когнитивне науке који се бави стварањем значења у музици, језику и визуелној уметности, ово истраживање има за циљ да дубље истражи природу изградње значења приликом комбиновања језичких и музичких информација. У том смислу, анализирамо 5 сцена из ТВ серија у којима дијалози и позадински тонови наизглед шаљу контрадикторне сигнале на једном или више нивоа утемељења које ова теорија претпоставља. На тај начин, овај рад настоји да приђе корак ближе разумевању начина на који језик и музика, чак и када се чини да шаљу контрадикторну поруку, и даље делују заједно како би створили темељ за ново, креативније тумачење. Резултати до којих смо дошли сугеришу да таква језичко-музичка неслагања постоје на сваком од пет нивоа интерпретације, при чему је шести ниво намерно изостављен из анализе због своје суштински субјективне природе. Овај смо феномен препознали у свакој од пет анализираних сцена и верујемо да су га аутори серија употребили као нужне како би се најпажљивијим гледаоцима у потпуности пренела намеравана порука. Дакле, у овом раду тврдимо да управо ти контрасти, присутни на сваком нивоу утемељења, пружају мотивацију за сложено разумевање ових сцена тако што у оквиру комплексног наратива најављују потпуно нове елементе попут неочекиваног развоја догађаја. Ово даље води до често духовитог, а свакако некомпозитног, тумачења сцене.

Кључне речи: изградња значења, вишеслојно утемељење, музика, језик, конфликт.

INTRODUCTION

Following decades of linguistic underdeterminacy present in semantic/pragmatic thought that recognised the value of context, background knowledge, and other extralinguistic factors, suggesting that linguistic information alone is not enough to determine the meaning of what is being said, we seem to have relatively recently witnessed a leap toward influential theories dealing with more than literal denotations of words. In particular, with Lakoff's (2006) idea that metaphor comprises a huge portion of everyday language and Johnson's (2005) claim that many human concepts are based on preconceptual 'image schemas', interest suddenly grew in attempting to analyse contextual aspects of meaning construction. More modern semantic theories are thus concerned with phenomena not necessarily bound to language alone but related to general cognitive processes and ultimately manifest in visual and auditory domains as well as language. George Lakoff's (2006) conceptual metaphor theory and Fau-

connier and Turner's (2002) theory of conceptual blending have thus proposed that concepts exist outside of language as well, and that, to analyse them, scholars need to resort to cross-field parallelisms between linguistic and non-linguistic information. For instance, the latter paradigm can be used to explain how novel meaning emerges from the conceptual integration of distinct textual and musical structures (Antović & Tasić, 2011).

While these theories analyse purely conceptual language phenomena, or phenomena delineated by narrow linguistic context, well enough, they still remain somewhat vague in that they fail to take into account the indisputable influence a broader situational context or background knowledge may have on the interpretation process. To that end, Coulson and Oakley (2005) propose the notion of a grounding box that appears to capture such more contextually-laden aspects of meaning. These authors argue for the importance of interlocutors' shared background knowledge and assumptions about the world – a one-dimensional grounding box – that help them make sense of all kinds of referential statements. Antović (2016) goes one step further by refining the grounding notion so that it encompasses different layers of meaning making, instead of representing a monolithic construct. The theory of multilevel grounding or multilevel-grounded semantics thus proposes a meaning construction model whose grounding box involves six hierarchical and partially recursive levels of interpretation: *formal*, *cross-modal*, *affective*, *conceptual*, *culturally rich*, and *individual*.

This framework arose as a way to analyse musical meaning in a systematic way, capturing the possible unconscious mechanisms that lead from the simple perception of musical structures (the first stage of multilevel grounding) toward the most complex, metaphorical interpretation of a piece enriched with the listener's personal experience (the final grounding stage). To illustrate, Antović et al. (2016), spotted a curious verbal description of a musical piece given by one of the participants. This person stated that a 20-second excerpt from Grieg's piece *In the Hall of the Mountain King* reminded them of "a fat lion from a cartoon, walking furtively, on its tiptoes" (Antović, 2021a, p.149). In an attempt to explain how such metaphorical interpretation does not simply come out of nowhere, Antović (2022) lays out the six-stage process of meaning making, highlighting the blends that appear on all levels of grounding and ultimately motivate such a highly personalized interpretation. On the first level of meaning generation, the author argues, the insightful participant unconsciously picks up the formal aspects of the musical piece they have been exposed to: in this case, the legato and staccato segments with slow crescendo motivating the overall perceptual tension. The second level is where the participant draws parallels between the formally observed structures and their own bodily experience, resulting in the staccato tones creating a PATH image schema in the mind of the listener, that are ulti-

mately going to be perceived as ‘steps’. Level three, or the affective tier, attaches to the previous interpretation a comic sensation based on the idea that the steps so perceived seem heavy yet purposefully chopped up and quieted down. On the fourth level, basic entities performing the action are born, such as humans or animals sneaking so as not to get noticed. The higher, fifth level of grounding calls for the listener's cultural knowledge, now creating a specified and contextually appropriate blend: the funny entity traversing the path on its tiptoes must be a fat lion often seen in cartoons, its robust posture juxtaposed against its attempt to go unnoticed. Lastly, on the personal grounding tier, the same participant might have had a recollection of something similar happening in real life – a large animal trying to scurry its way out of trouble. The final level of grounding is the one most susceptible to personal experience, which is why the same composition could, in the mind of another listener, trigger a slightly different interpretation – for example, a fan of Steve Cutts’ *Man* might, upon hearing the same piece, imagine a human rather than an animal scurrying their way out of the mess they always seem to leave behind. (The latter interpretation involves a more sombre overall sensation when the sixth-level association of the musical piece to the famous short film calls for a less funny and positive interpretation on the third, affective level, which explains the partial recursiveness of the proposed grounding process.)

So far, multilevel grounding has provided proposals as to how to uncover the relevant meaning-making operations in the domains of music, visual art, and language (Antović, 2016, 2021a, 2021b). However, it has done so in one-dimensional input channels alone, without analysing data that incites more than one sensory organ at the same time. A broader question this paper thus poses is: *What happens when overlapping linguistic and auditory stimuli appear to be sending out contradictory signals to the meaning-making apparatus inside our minds? In other words: How is it that we interpret incongruous data coming from the domain of language and sound – do we arrive at meaning by completely rejecting one stimulus or do the two conflicting stimuli work together to generate novel (and often unexpected) layers of meaning?*

The present paper advocates for the second option, drawing on the insights provided by the theories of multilevel grounding and conceptual blending.

More precisely, this paper provides multilevel-grounding analyses of five scenes taken from popular TV shows featuring deadpan humour (*Westworld*, *Stranger Things*, *Breaking Bad*, *Killing Eve*, and *Wednesday*). The analyses through six layers of grounding are meant to pinpoint the exact levels on which the music-language incongruities happen and ultimately provide an explanation of how these two communication modes appear to misalign with one another in order to introduce novel meanings. Following the first, *introduction* section that covers the theo-

retical framework against which the analyses are carried out, section two outlines the *methodology* used, while section three (*analysis*) presents the detailed analyses of five TV show excerpts featuring ‘mismatches’ in dialogue and background music. Section four or the *conclusion* part revisits these insights and outlines some ideas for further research.

Theoretical Framework

The question of how the human conceptual system interprets different kinds of data by ascribing meaning to them has been one of the most basic topics in cognitive science. More recent theories of meaning that arose from the school of cognitive semantics treat language as part of a conceptual system operating at an unconscious level, not functionally separated from other cognitive domains like memory, perception, attention, etc. Cognitive phenomena exhibited by language such as conceptual metaphor can thus also be found in visual and auditory perception (for evolutionary similarities between language and music with respect to recursion, group membership, and the expansion of connotations, see Antović, 2009). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) base their well-known metaphor proposal on the notion of cross-domain mappings that connect the source domain (a more ‘familiar’, concrete, and embodied conceptual packet from which one draws the metaphor) to the target domain (a more abstract domain to which one applies the metaphor). This explains why we often refer to arguments using war terminology (e.g. *His criticisms were right on target*), why heaven occupies the upmost position in *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* icon or Michelangelo’s *Last Judgment* fresco, or why even instrumental sections of high-pitched songs like *Walking on Sunshine* by Katrina and the Waves, arguably, sound happy. The proper interpretation of two metaphors in question, ARGUMENT is WAR and UP is GOOD, DOWN is BAD, is made possible due to the process of embodiment and Mark Johnson’s (1987) image-schemas, abstract cognitive constructions arising from our embodied experience that help us make sense of the world around us. ‘On target’ thus relies on the image schema known as CENTRE/PERIPHERY and the metaphor rooted in our biology that presupposes that central parts are usually more important than peripheral ones. Therefore, the metaphorical sentence from above roughly translates to: *His criticisms were accurate and relevant*. The other two examples coming from the domain of visual and auditory perception instantiate the image schema known as VERTICALITY which, once again, makes use of our embodied experiences to convey the meaning that things positioned high on a vertical scale are essentially better than the lower ones.

An important extension to the conceptual metaphor theory in cognitive science, focusing more on ‘emergent’, ‘online’ aspects of meaning generation, is known as the theory of conceptual blending (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002). To explain the essence of this approach, one may start

with an example sentence: *If Bill Clinton had been French, there would not have been the Monica Lewinsky affair* (Antović, 2021a) – a paraphrase of Coulson and Oakley’s (2005): *In France, the Lewinsky affair wouldn’t have hurt Clinton*. The idea of Clinton being French blends two mental spaces (that of an American president and his counterpart in France), mapping certain characteristics of each one onto the other (say, their political careers and susceptibility to affairs) that ultimately results in a hypothetical scenario in which such an affair would not have been dangerous to presidency. The ability to understand this counterfactual sentence stems from the interlocutors’ shared knowledge about the American president, his personal life, and the political system in France – all the things that would go into Coulson and Oakley’s (2005) grounding box. Similarly, a recent meme that has been circulating on social media since the premiere of Christopher Nolan’s *Oppenheimer* shows a scene featuring the characters of Robert Oppenheimer and Albert Einstein, while the caption reads: *this must be like The Avengers for people who know multiplication tables*. To get the joke, one cannot simply map the domain of ‘people who know multiplication tables’ onto ‘regular population that attends blockbuster premieres’ and the domain of ‘*The Avengers*’ onto the domain of ‘*Oppenheimer*’. Instead, there are certain layers of meaning at play here that cannot be accounted for only in terms of cross-domain mappings that conceptual metaphor theory proposes. The fact that the joke is meant to ‘offend’ people who know multiplication tables by implying that they are individuals obsessed with mathematics who get excited about scientists instead of superheroes and also imply that the people who know multiplication tables make up a minority means that there is much more going on here than the conceptual metaphor framework would be able to explain. The theory of conceptual blending, on the other hand, would call upon the notion of mental spaces for the analysis – small cognitive packets constructed during discourse that help interlocutors organise information in order to make sense of it. This theory would thus recognise two input spaces in the meme: the mental space of people who know multiplication tables (smart people who look up to scientists and probably do not visit cinemas as much as Marvel fans do) and the mental space of regular individuals (who are not as familiar with basic mathematical operations and rarely miss an event in the Marvel Cinematic Universe). The humorous effect of the meme is achieved by selectively projecting the relevant elements of the two input spaces together into a blended space so as to generate novel meaning.

A useful addition to the theory of mental spaces and conceptual blending comes from Coulson and Oakley (2005). In examining the relationship between literal and figurative meanings, these authors borrow Langacker’s (2002) notion of *ground* that includes the speech event, participants, and context and arrive at the conclusion that it should be ex-

panded as to specify participants and roles, forum, and context surrounding the utterance. Antović (2021a) introduces ‘multilevel’ grounding, claiming that the grounding box should not constitute a single, monolithic square in the conceptual blending diagram. Rather, it should be understood as a multilayered construct, composed of six partially recursive and hierarchical grounding levels: formal, cross-modal, affective, conceptual, culturally rich, and personal. On the first, *formal* or *perceptual* level, the human conceptual system parses stimuli into logical (linguistic, musical, or visual) chunks that further get schematized on the second, *cross-modal* level by undergoing processes motivated by Johnson’s image schemas. On the third, *affective* level, the previous interpretation gets assigned emotional valence that results from the combined formal and cross-modal experience. On the fourth, *conceptual* tier, very basic narratives are constructed, while on levels five and six, *culturally rich* and *individual*, these concepts are coloured with cultural knowledge and personal experience. What is important for the analysis is that higher grounding tiers always build upon the interpretation coming from the lower ones.

To illustrate further, let us outline an example: a participant’s interpretation of Wagner’s sword motif in *Rheingold* as “the descent of gods from Olympus” (Antović, 2021a, p.152). A multilevel-grounding analysis of the piece suggests the participant’s perception of tension arguably stemming from the formal characteristics of the composition on level one: a clean C major triad laid against a broken chord that ultimately disappoints the listeners’ expectancies. Further blended with the loudness and abruptness of ascending pitches, a sense of movement emerges, which, in combination with the prevalent forte dynamics, gives rise to the FORCE schema on the second, cross-modal layer. The so perceived loud ‘clash of forces’ with alternating tension and relaxation results in ‘drama’ on the affective level. This level-three blend then integrates with additional elements inferred from the musical construct, such as the loud baritone voice and the blazing brass section, to evoke battle imagery on level four, further specifying the army so imagined as victorious due to the ‘conventionally majestic’ C major. On level five, the participant checks the constructed military narrative against their cultural knowledge of Greek mythology, finally arriving at the ‘ancient Greek divinities descending from Olympus’. Such an understanding can further be coloured with one’s own associations to god(s), battles, or ancient Greece, allowing for a variety of possible interpretations on the final grounding level.

Returning to the *Oppenheimer* example from above, our meaning-making apparatus would first ‘grammatically’ parse the linguistic and visual stimuli in the meme into clusters around heads of phrases (in language) and constitutive elements of figures/objects (in vision), schematize them, and attach emotion to the words and components of the image. Only on level four would the caption start to assume a more tractable, per-

haps conceptual meaning, but it would still be very basic. In other words, our meaning-making apparatus, upon attaching higher importance to certain words and phrases on level three (possibly the ones that would turn out to be more referential, fuller in the sense of having lexical rather than grammatical meaning, and more stressed in pronunciation, such as ‘Avengers’ and ‘multiplication tables’), would now begin to motivate a simple narrative on level four. The fourth-tier analysis would first link the word ‘this’ to the image it probably refers to and linger over the two referential words in question and the simile-introducing word ‘like’, evoking the very basic meanings of the things or entities being compared. And, while everyone might arrive at a conclusion that the image depicts two people standing (and possibly conversing) by the lake (still level four), some people might find it difficult to get the joke as their (proper) interpretation of the meme would likely end there. This highlights the importance of shared cultural knowledge made evident no earlier than on level five. Recognising the character of Einstein might also come naturally to most people, but what about the Oppenheimer character? As Cillian Murphy’s face is not clearly visible in the picture, some might struggle with identifying both the actor and the character he portrays. Again, for those who have not even heard of the film, it would be impossible to allocate the image to the ‘*Oppenheimer* movie’ mental space upon seeing the way the two characters are dressed: this would require shared background knowledge existing only on level five or the cultural tier. The same goes for language – to some, the word ‘Avengers’ might not evoke the superheroes from the Marvel Cinematic Universe at all. Thus, it may not build an ‘MCU event premiere’ mental space, as proposed above, such that most folks following this genre never miss. Returning to the image, those who have seen the movie or are familiar with the lives of the two scientists in question might consider the joke even more on point after realizing the analogy between the tension that exists between Marvel protagonists and antagonists on the one hand and Einstein and Oppenheimer on the other. Finally, on the personal level, that conflict might further resemble a recent argument with a co-worker or a disagreement with a friend or partner that we ourselves had. On the individual level, some people might also get offended for knowing multiplication tables and the fact that the meme is meant to portray them as ‘geeks’, while others may feel embarrassed for potentially *not* knowing anything about more advanced calculus.

Multilevel-grounded semantics has so far proven useful in several studies. It has been considered as a methodological alternative alongside conceptual integration in humour studies of short stories published in Italo Calvino’s *Cosmicomics* collection (Marković, 2022a). The two allegorical stories the paper analyses (*All at One Point* and *How Much Shall We Bet*), set in a pre-Big Bang era, call for the immersion of the reader into the storyworld lacking the time and space as we now know them. The

author extends the idea that this immersion can be seen as the process of constructing macroblends, suggesting that such blends are formed through a series of successive mappings delineated by different levels of constraint. A comic interpretation thus comes as a result of blends occurring on different grounding levels: e.g., the allegory of all beings stuck in an enclosed space before the Universe was created with too much time on their hands when time did not even exist disappoints expectancies and leads to a humorous effect on the formal and cross-modal grounding level by implying a simultaneous existence of space and time and their negation. Unlike the original Italian and English version, the Serbian translation of Calvino's short story also mocks the readers' attempt to completely immerse into the storyworld on the culturally rich grounding level when the narrator, lamenting over the narrowness of their living situation, uses the vocabulary that implicitly references hell and devil (or paradise and God) in a world that still lacks both. Apart from applying the multilevel-grounding framework to humour analysis in longer narrative texts, the same author (Marković, 2022b), analyses how the meaning of 'the grotesque' varied throughout the poetic discourses of Pre-Romanticism and Romanticism. She suggests the multilevel-grounding model be applied in future studies dealing with the elements brought into grotesque connection. Finally, the pending study by Havlíčková Kysová (2024) adopts the same methodological framework as the present paper as a possible analytical approach to operatic production. Other authors, including Bonifazi (2024) and Patrick et al. (2023), have also implied the potential applicability of the multilevel-grounding model in their work.

METHODS

Aim and Hypothesis

Given all the layers of meaning the theory of multilevel grounding can expose, it has proposed some potential novelties in the semantics of music, visual art, the language of poetry, stock phrases, grammatical constructions, and idioms (Antović, 2016, 2021a, 2021b). The present paper is meant to take this one step further and consider in greater detail what happens during the process of interpreting *conflicting* musical and linguistic information. This study thus poses the following research question: *During the meaning-making process, when our conceptual system is presented with incongruous data coming from the domain of music and language, do we completely reject the interpretation of one of the stimuli or do the two stimuli still combine to form novel layers of meaning?* The hypothesis of this paper is that the *inputs that appear to be contradictory on some grounding levels still work together to generate novel and often humorous or unexpected meanings.*

Sample

In order to pinpoint the exact spots where meaning incongruities happen, this study carries out a multilevel-grounding analysis on a sample of five scenes taken from popular TV shows in which the characters' dialogue and the background music seem to be sending out contradictory signals on one or some of the grounding levels this theory presupposes – *Westworld* (season 02, episode 07, at 13:51 until 14:38), *Stranger Things* (season 01, episode 03, at 39:03 until 41:43 and at 45:11 until 45:58) *Breaking Bad* (season 04, episode 13, at 41:20 until 44:13), *Killing Eve* (season 03, episode 02, at 27:19 until 29:29), and *Wednesday* (season 01, episode 01, at 27:24 until 29 min).

ANALYSIS

For each scene, qualitative analysis is carried out so that it highlights the mismatches that exist between music and dialogue, marking the exact grounding levels on which these incongruities occur.

The **first scene** is taken from Netflix's *Stranger Things*, a popular TV show that combines the '80s nostalgia with elements of science-fiction. The Christmas lights scene in question features the character of Joyce (Winona Ryder) and displays her attempt to communicate with her missing son, Will, stuck in the parallel world called *The Upside Down*. Due to the atypical nature of the interaction going on in this scene, it does not represent a proper dialogue – while Joyce carries the message across using words, Will, who is not *truly present*, communicates by turning the lamps and Christmas lights around the house on and off. Music-wise, this scene features an instrumental piece called *One Blink for Yes* by Kyle Dixon and Michael Stain.

Our analysis of the scene starts on level one of the presupposed grounding box: perceptually, the cognitive system first recognises instances of language, on the one hand, and background music, on the other. In terms of language, there is no true, fluent speech – the words coming from Joyce's mouth can only be characterised as hesitant speech with fillers like 'um', breaks, and stutter. Because of that, formally, Joyce's speech does not have a final point and lacks a climax (though, if we take into consideration the visual component, there *is* a linguistic climax once the word 'RUN' - her son's warning from 'the other side' - is spelled out one letter at a time using Christmas lights, at the very end of the scene). On this level, the cognitive system still parses the linguistic elements that will be necessary for further interpretation – separating, for instance, 'the lightbulb spelling used by Will' from the rest of the context, or Joyce's character from the visual background. On the second, cross-modal tier, we immediately infer the BLOCKAGE image schema, and possibly CON-

TAINMENT that stem from constant breaks and hesitation noticeable in Joyce's speech that seem to prevent her from proceeding, both speech and movement-wise. On the other hand, the tones heard in the background formally appear pulsating (level one), and the music reaches a peak towards the end of the scene (level two). Cross-modally, this creates the PATH image schema, with a discernible beginning and end. On the affective level, language-wise, we might observe phrases that, purely aurally, suggest optimism, at times emerging from the generally sombre words, which once again accounts for the *partial* recursiveness of grounding levels in that the BLOCKAGE schema from level two does not necessarily affect the optimistic tone emerging on level three. When it comes to music, the pulsating tones played in a minor scale, together with the path schema that creates a feeling of anticipation, give rise to a sense of sinister foreboding so that the entire composition sounds rather eerie. On the fourth, conceptual level, the interrupted language and the BLOCKAGE schema together with a need for hope that stems from Joyce's (at times) optimistic tone, create the feeling of an object/person stuck somewhere. On the culturally rich level, this kind of scenario gets refined in that *Stranger Things* fans might imagine Will being lost in a fictional world or Joyce equally trapped in the real world. Even higher along the grounding plane, an individual might further think of a concept of being stuck and imagine a scenario where they faced an unpleasant situation they could not solve or escape from, some kind of a personal predicament. Returning to music, the sinister minor-scale tones that resemble an object traversing a path pave the way for a simple scenario on the conceptual level: we might imagine a person cautiously walking or travelling from point A to point B. On a higher, cultural level, this might be understood as Joyce apprehensively walking down the imaginary road that leads to her son. Finally, from a personal angle, this analysis might further evoke a particular instance of travelling or moving along a path with a sense of unease. What can be deduced from the parallel analyses of linguistic and musical data in the scene is that they differ on all five levels of grounding (the individual level being excluded from the comparison on purpose due to the lack of objectivity such interpretations would entail). The perceived mismatches between music and language throughout the scene might serve as a foreshadowing of the unexpected end, highlighting the fact that, at this point, Joyce is nowhere near finding her son. This way, the PATH image schema we recognise in music 'clashes' with the BLOCKAGE schema in language, but does not completely override it. Instead, the two schemas work together to communicate the idea that Joyce still has a long way to go (and many obstacles to pass) to reunite with Will.

The **second scene** this paper analyses is taken from an AMC show called *Breaking Bad*. The show is an absurd depiction of a gradual transition of a high school chemistry teacher, Walt (Bryan Cranston), diag-

nosed with terminal lung cancer, into a meth producer and dealer. Many scenes throughout the show rely on dark humour that often arises from unexpected situations and absurdity. The scene in question happens when Walt and his partner, Jesse (Aaron Paul), manage to get rid of their boss and are finally free to gain more independence and conduct their business the way they want. The dialogue in the scene is scarce, with only Walt taking his turn in speaking, i.e. conveying information to Jesse in an attempt to organise their business. In terms of music, this scene includes an instrumental piece called *Freestyle* by Taalbi Brothers.

Looking at language alone, we can see that it is used minimally, as it consists of only three short lines (*Gus is dead./We've got work to do./Vamonos.*), though we might still say it formally reaches a peak at Walt's final utterance because this line is perceptually different from the other two: it comes after a longer break, its tone/affect is different, and finally, unlike the first two utterances, it is in Spanish. The three short lines Walt utters are separated with breaks. The second of the two is longer and additionally introduces the linguistic peak – Walt's final utterance (*Vamonos*). More importantly, the tension seems highest at the beginning of the scene, with Walt's disclosure of crucial information regarding the death of their boss, and slowly relaxes towards the end, again, with the 'Vamonos' line, which suggests that the partners have suddenly obtained more freedom in business. With regard to music used in this scene, we notice its incongruence with language even on the first, perceptual level of grounding: unlike the language, the music is repetitive and continuous – we can hear the upbeat guitar tune that reaches a peak towards the end of the scene, matching the peak we witness in language. Cross-modally, the lines prior to the linguistic peak are monotonous and static and do not instantiate a clear image schema. On the third, affective level, the two blends combine with the serious and determined tone of what is being said. The music, however, is fast-paced with interrupted LINKS on the cross-modal level and played in a major key, which, on the affective level, further gives rise to a rather careless and optimistic scenario. Also enhancing this interpretation one finds the fast tempo of the tune, which motivates excitement. Conceptually, Walt's lines create an image of a person performing a difficult task, his three short utterances evoking concepts such as unpleasantness and difficulty, but also determination and resourcefulness. When it comes to music, the previous-level blend now evokes an exotic and lively scene rather than a critical situation, and we might imagine a person running or moving vigorously on the conceptual grounding level. Only on the culturally-rich level, however, do we understand that Walt's words in fact refer to the death of their boss – upon ensuring their boss is dead, Walt and Jesse are now ready to burn down their meth lab. Musically, on the same level, the vigorous movement might further become a Spanish flamenco dance evoked by a fast-paced tune re-

sembling a rhythmic stamping (zapateado) that, once again, does not have much in common with the severity of Walt and Jesse's previous (and future) actions. Instead, such deliberate discrepancies that emerge on all five levels of grounding only add to the absurdity of the main characters' situation. Similarly to the *Stranger Things* scene from above, the (lively) music that does not give out the same feeling as the words uttered serves to highlight all the ridiculous actions Walt and Jesse have taken to get to this point and to anticipate the same chain of events re-occurring in the future.

The **third scene** we analyse comes from a BBC America show called *Killing Eve*, a dark comedy that revolves around childish Villanelle (Jodie Comer), a hired assassin, constantly chased by MI5 agent Eve Polastri. The show features a lot of witty scenes that make use of gallows humour and an unexpected turn of events. In the scene in question, the impatient Villanelle embarks on an assassination mission with Felix, an utterly inexperienced newbie. The language used in the scene consists of a series of short lines rich in irony. Musically, the scene includes a piece called *Danger by Unloved*.

A possible linguistic analysis starts on level one where we formally perceive numerous short lines that seem to reach a peak at the end of the scene, with Villanelle's final punchline: *Management sucks*. The prosodic units seem evenly distributed until the longest pause leading to Villanelle's remark – *What happened to the plan?* – where the tension suddenly appears to rise, decreasing only after the final punchline at the very end of the scene. The level one music analysis, on the other hand, reveals dissonance with a quite ominous undertone and the final few notes lacking, which directly contradicts the linguistic peak at the end of the scene. On the second, cross-modal grounding level, we notice a slow, linear movement toward the said punchline in language. In music, we can identify the CYCLE image schema that originates from a whirlpool-like movement of tones, which is once again incongruous with the linearity of Villanelle's intonation. On level three, a touch of seriousness is given to the previous linguistic analysis, stemming from Villanelle's deep voice and the fact that her intonation appears even throughout most of the scene. This further gives rise to the idea that she is making an arrangement to eliminate a target on level four. The fourth interpretation level thus evokes an image of assassination, together with the roles the two interlocutors play in it: either a hitman or the victim, or – in the case of Felix – both. The third, affective tier in music placates the interpretation by adding to it a more lively vibe (despite the lyrics), in the sense that the rhythm here grows strong and energetic prior to the line where tension suddenly rises, resulting in a sense of mockery. On the conceptual tier, this might resemble an effortful, staggering movement in circles that further evokes some kind of a psychedelic pastiche on the fifth, culturally rich level of grounding. The same, cultural tier concludes the linguistic narrative in the sense that two

professional assassins, Villanelle and Felix, fail to perform an execution neatly, drawing the viewers' attention to what is so typical of this show and most of the characters in it: nothing ever gets accomplished the way it is supposed to, which is part of the 'cultural' knowledge of *Killing Eve* fans. In a way, keen viewers become conditioned to always expect the unexpected. Again, in the eye of a careful observer, the differences that are visible on all five levels of grounding introduce the twist at the end of the scene – the fact that Villanelle, irritated with Felix's lack of subtlety in eliminating their target, finally takes matters into her own hands and kills both of them – the absurdity of the scene being on a par with many similar situations occurring in the show. Put differently, the mismatches between language and music present in this scene appear to be deliberate, serving the purpose of foreshadowing, announcing or introducing ahead of time the slaughter at the end of the scene together with the punchline – Villanelle's witty final remark.

The **fourth scene** we analyse comes from Netflix's *Wednesday*, a teenage adaptation of *The Addams Family* that follows the adjustment of Wednesday Addams (Jenna Ortega) to the new school. The show combines the original movie's eccentricity and quirkiness with the technological advancements of the 21st century, all the while being full of a morbid sense of humour and dark twists. Much like in the *Stranger Things* scene, the communication going on here is unconventional as it occurs between Wednesday using words and Thing who 'speaks' using gestures. As for the soundtrack used in the scene, it is a traditional Mexican song called *La Llorona*, performed by a female artist called Chavela Vargas.

In terms of the perceptual analysis of language structure in the scene, on the first level, we perceive longer chunks of text that contain lexically rich sentences. Musically, the first level of our analysis includes uninterrupted tones with volume strongly decreased at one point (staying low throughout most of Wednesday's speech). Cross-modally, Wednesday's lines are unvarying/linear and do not instantiate a clear image schema. On the other hand, in the musical piece played in the background, we are able to notice the VERTICALITY schema, since the tones accompanied by the performer's voice constantly fluctuate. Affectively, the lengthy monotonous monologue combines with a serious tone of what is being uttered, stemming from Wednesday's flatness of intonation. On the further, conceptual level, this generates a quite schematic context of a person being scorned or threatened. The interpretation coming from the lower two levels in music, however, combines with the romantic and mournful affect on the third level of grounding, which further gives rise to the basic concepts of courting or mourning on the conceptual tier. Finally, on the cultural level, the narrative expands to feature Wednesday's attempt to negotiate with Thing, sent by her parents to spy on her. When the analysis moves on to the culturally rich level in music, we can imag-

ine either a Spanish romance (upon hearing a fado) or an unlucky scenario of someone mourning as a result of unrequited love. As before, the discrepancies between music and language that sustain up until the fifth level of grounding seem deliberate and their aim is to introduce the final plot twist of the scene: Thing ultimately ‘pledging [its] undying loyalty’ to Wednesday instead of continuing to spy on her for her parents.

The **fifth scene** this paper examines is taken from an HBO show called *Westworld*, a science fiction franchise dealing with moral and ethical issues surrounding the running of an android-populated amusement park. The show abounds in unsettling scenes of newcomers (regular people) doing all kinds of horrible things to hosts (androids), but also features a lot of philosophical scenes, mainly the ones with Ford (Anthony Hopkins) – the park’s founder – dealing with God and man playing God, artificial intelligence, consciousness, free will, etc. This scene tackles the issue of the true nature of the park, revealing the horrors that happen in it. The dialogue in the scene alternates between Ford and Bernard (one of the founders who turns out to be a host – one of the androids inhabiting the park). In terms of the background music played at the end of the scene, it is an adaptation of the *Westworld* theme song.

When it comes to language, on the first, perceptual level, we can notice interrupted sentences characterised by hesitation. The unchanging tone leads up to the final section that seems different from the rest of the dialogue. Thus, on the second, cross-modal level, we perceive monotonous lines that, on the affective level, get enriched with a sombre sentiment, while the more dynamic utterances from the final part of the speech (level two) result in a lighter, more positive affect on level three towards the end of the scene. In terms of music, on the formal level, we can identify uninterrupted legato tones during most of the scene that ultimately lead to staccato tones towards the end. This gives rise to the LINK schema (during the legato section), clashing with interrupted speech and turn-taking in language, and the lack of it (staccato), as well as the PATH and VERTICALITY image schemas on the cross-modal tier, which again misaligns with the linearity of the dialogue on the second level (Antović, 2018). On level three, the interpretation is coloured with a more lively sentiment that arises from tones played in a major chord at the end of the scene. On the fourth level of grounding, the linguistic analysis might reveal a basic narrative such as speaking of death, destruction, and creation. At the same time, the previous-level blend in music further gives rise to the image of a river flow (for the PATH schema) or hopping (for the VERTICALITY schema). Finally, on the fifth, cultural level, the conversation anticipates the talk about the true nature of the park and evokes the religious implications that are present throughout the show. With regard to music, the previous images might evoke an even more elaborate scene of dancing on the final level of grounding. The perceived differences between language and background music,

once again, serve to introduce the subsequent revelation of the amusement park's true nature, highlighting and even mocking the illusion its residents seem to have been under all this time.

CONCLUSION

The present paper hopes to have taken a small step in extending the multilevel grounding approach to the analysis of multimodal data that combine different sensory information at the same time. More precisely, we have advocated in favour of a multilevel grounded semantics approach to revealing different layers of meaning that may sometimes remain uncovered by less contextually-driven approaches. The theory of multilevel grounding, thus, may help in the process of dissecting not only one-dimensional inputs such as linguistic, visual, or auditory information (Antović, 2016, 2021a, 2021b), but also combinations of stimuli coming from different modes. In particular, by taking a complex sample such as a TV show scene, this paper has aimed to reveal what happens when two stimuli appear to be sending conflicting signals to the meaning-making system of the viewer. Multilevel grounding analyses of five scenes taken from popular shows featuring deadpan humour and absurdity (1) reveal how this approach seems suitable for explaining the process of meaning construction on each mode separately, (2) pinpoint the exact contextual layers where incongruities between linguistic and auditory stimuli happen, and finally (3) account for the novel and often unexpected meanings that arise this way, such as plot twists that lead to often humorous yet always non-composite interpretations. However small this novel meaning might be, the observed mismatches between language and music typically serve well to explain its motivation. Put differently, while some instances of meaning might be deduced from language or music alone, it is always the combination of the two – more importantly, the deliberate conflict between the two – that adds this new layer to the standard interpretation (e.g., the sudden anticipation of an unpleasant event in the *Stranger Things* scene, falling out of 'business partners' and the unexpected death of one of them in *Killing Eve*, foreshadowing of equally bizarre future actions of Walt and Jesse in *Breaking Bad*, the slow announcement of Thing suddenly, though unwillingly, taking Wednesday's side in *Wednesday*, and the shocking revelation of the true nature of the amusement park that follows in *Westworld*). Finally, the multilevel grounding framework seems to better account for such musico-linguistic mismatches than other theories dealing with the phenomenon of (disappointed) expectancy in that it disassembles each (incongruent) stimulus into its constituent parts – starting from its more easily observable formal characteristics to the grounded personal associations they motivate – and compares it with the same properties of the other stimulus dissected in the same way. This ul-

timately makes the comparison of incongruous stimuli more systematic and detailed, possibly leading to a more reliable overall analysis.

Future research in this field might include similar studies that would feature a larger sample or different kinds of samples containing contrasting language and music, and might take into account data coming from the domain of vision as well. Potential studies might also rely on different participants' analyses of such stimuli that would engage their senses in distinctive ways so as to see how this might affect the comprehension process.

Acknowledgements. Anja Tošić is supported by the Ministry of Science, Technological Development and Innovations of the Republic of Serbia (Contract No. 451-03-47/2023-01/ 200165), and the Branch in Niš of the Serbian Academy of Sciences (No. O 36/24). Mihailo Antović is supported by the Science Fund of the Republic of Serbia (Grant No. 7715934, Structuring Concept Generation with the Help of Metaphor, Analogy and Schematicity – SCHEMAS) and the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš - internal project "Scientific Publications in Teaching English Linguistics and Anglo-American Literature and Culture" (No. 300/1-14-1-01).

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МУЗИКА И ДИЈАЛОГ СУКОБЉЕНИ У СЦЕНАМА ИЗ ПОПУЛАРНИХ ТВ СЕРИЈА КРОЗ ПРИЗМУ СЕМАНТИКЕ ВИШЕСЛОЈНОГ УТЕМЕЉЕЊА

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Резиме

Након вишедеценијског развоја формализма у семантици који је настао на основу учења Ноама Чомског, нешто новије семантичке теорије донеле су доста промена у погледу језичких феномена који ће се током даљих година изучавати. Највећи скок у том смеру направила је теорија појмовне метафоре Џорџа Лејкофа и Марка Џонсона, препознајући исти феномен како у језику, тако и у музици и визуелној уметности, што даље указује на постојање метафоре на вишем, појмовном нивоу, односно нивоу мисли. Сличну идеју видимо и код Фоконијеа и Гарнера у теорији појмовног сажимања којом се објашњава стварање новог значења на основу пресликавања одређених елемената између два или више ментална простора. С тим у вези, аутори Шона Кулсон и Тод Оукли предлажу појам кутије утемељења којим би се обухватило комплетно позадинско знање које саговорници треба да поседују како би таква врста пресликавања, и на крају споразумевања, били могући.

Теоријом вишеслојног утемељења, Антовић усавршава овај појам и, полазећи од тога да она не треба бити једнодимензионална, даље дели кутију утемељења на шест хијерархијских и делимично рекурзивних нивоа: формални ниво на коме се језички, музички или визуелни елементи деле на целине на основу заједничких карактеристика, кросмодални ниво где долази до јављања преконцептуалне схеме попут Џонсонових сликовних схема путање, вертикалности, центра/периферије, афективни ниво који у претходну интерпретацију уноси емоционалну вредност, појмовни ниво који је одговоран за формирање простих наратива, културолошки ниво на коме се наратив обогаћује позадинским и контекстуалним знањем, и, на крају, индивидуални ниво на коме се, на основу свих претходних нивоа, формира лични доживљај.

Како је теорија вишеслојног утемељења нашла примену у анализи развоја значења како у језику (поезији, идиомима и фиксним фразама), тако и у музици и визуелној уметности појединачно, у овом раду она служи као методолошки оквир за испитивање начина на који се долази до разумевања музичко-језичког наратива у пет сцена из ТВ серија у којима се дијалог и позадинска музика сукобљавају на једном или више нивоа утемељења које ова теорија претпоставља. Појединачном анализом језичких и музичких података из серија Западни свет, Чудније ствари, Чиста хемија, Убити Ив и Среда, овај рад открива на којим тачно нивоима долази до неподударања између језика и музике, сугеришући да управо овакве разлике и доводе до духовитог или изненађујућег ефекта на крају сваке од датих сцена.

CONTEXT-INDUCED GRAMMATICALIZATION OF THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE *IN STATU NASCENDI*^a

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Abstract

Based on the mandatory use of indefinite-determiner-like elements in Serbian, a language with no categories of definite and indefinite article, the paper proposes the hypothesis that the language universal grammaticalization of the cardinal number *one* into an indefinite article is triggered by specific types of contexts, rather than simply by the speakers' intention to disambiguate between the definite or indefinite reading of the 'bare' noun phrase. Given the results of a pragmatic felicitousness test of 35 Serbian native speakers' intuition, we demonstrate that the exhaustiveness of the nominal description directly influences the obligatoriness of the use of the 'determiner'—the less informative the description is, the more compulsory the use of the indefinite determiner becomes. We argue that this actually represents the *spiritus movens* in the grammaticalization of indefinite articles in the languages with this category, via the subsequent process of gradual context-induced reinterpretation.

Key words: grammaticalization, indefinite article, Serbian language, mandatory determiners, context-induced reinterpretation.

ГРАМАТИКАЛИЗАЦИЈА НЕОДРЕЂЕНОГ ЧЛАНА ИНДУКОВАНА КОНТЕКСТОМ *IN STATU NASCENDI*

Апстракт

На основу обавезне употребе језичких израза који наликују неодређеним детерминаторима у српском, језику који нема категорије одређеног и неодређеног члана, рад предлаже хипотезу да језички универзална грамаатикализација кардиналног броја *један* у неодређени члан бива покренута специфичним типовима контекста, пре него пуком намером говорника да раздвозначе између одређеног и неодређеног читања „голе” именичке синтагме. На основу резултата спроведеног теста прагматичке подесности на интуицији 35 изворних говорника

^a The article was presented at the *Language, Literature, Process 2023 Conference* at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia.

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српског, показујемо да исцрпност номиналног описа директно утиче на обавезност употребе „детерминатора” – што је опис мање информативан, то је већа обавезност употребе неодређеног детерминатора. Заговарамо идеју да ово, у ствари, представља покретачку силу за граматикализацију неодређеног члана у језицима са овом категоријом, посредством каснијег процеса постепене реинтерпретације индуковане контекстом.

Кључне речи: граматикализација, неодређени члан, српски језик, обавезни детерминатори, реинтерпретација индукована контекстом.

INTRODUCTION

Although Serbian, like most languages, displays a regular set of indefinite pronoun items (derived from the interrogative/relative pronouns by prefixing with *ne-*), when introducing new, epistemically proximal animate¹ nominal referents with an **impoverished** description to the discourse out-of-the-blue, its speakers are forced to use the number *jedan*, meaning ‘one,’ with its non-cardinal, indefinite interpretation, or else the nominal phrase would receive unambiguous definite interpretation:

- (1) Ukus umami je otkrio {#(jedan)/(?neki)} japanski naučnik.
 Njegovo ime je...
 flavor umami AUX discovered one some Japanese scientist
 his name is
 “The umami flavor was discovered by {a / (?some)} Japanese scientist. His name is...”

In (1), the noun phrase (NP) *japanski naučnik* (*Eng.* Japanese scientist) is not part of interlocutors’ discourse-model and its referent is epistemically proximal to the speaker, indicated by the fact that the locutor is about to reveal his name in the following sentence. Even though Serbian (as the case is with most Slavic languages except for the intensively ‘balkanized’ Macedonian and Bulgarian), does not have the categories of indefinite and definite article, its speakers are obligated to use the indefinite-determiner-like element *jedan*/‘one’, or else the NP would not be pragmatically felicitous (marked with the # symbol and the appropriate bracketing). On the other side, the regular indefinite pronoun *neki*/‘some’ in this context is somewhat inappropriate, as it would implicate epistemic distance from the locutor, which is contrary to the remainder of the discourse, where more information is to be supplied about the nominal referent. As already noted, the only available interpretation of the NP without

¹ We thank the anonymous reviewer for the remark that the observed phenomenon is limited to animate referents (*cf.* Petar je kupio #jedna kola. ‘Peter bought a car’). This asymmetry suggests that animacy also plays an important role in the analysed processes, an issue that should certainly be addressed in future research.

the ‘determiner’ would be definite, i.e., that its referent is familiar to the co-locutor.

Now let’s observe what happens in case the NP does not have an impoverished description—as we have labelled it—meaning, consisting only of a relational adjective² modifying a noun,³ but an enriched one, such as *japanski naučnik sa Tokijskog kraljevskog univerziteta* ‘(a) Japanese scientist from the Tokyo Imperial University’:

- (2) Ukus umami je otkrio japanski naučnik sa
Tokijskog kraljevskog univerziteta.
flavour umami AUX discovered Japanese scientist from
Tokyo Imperial University
“The umami flavour was discovered by a Japanese scientist from Tokyo
Imperial University.”

Immediately the NP in such context becomes pragmatically well-formed, although lacking any indefinite-determiner-like element, unlike the situation in (1). Of course, this does not mean that the speaker could not utilize *jedan* ‘one’ for introducing the discourse-new NP. But, contrary to (1), in (2) he/she is not obliged to do so, which is to be expected from an article-less language.

The presented asymmetry leads us to the working hypothesis to be verified in the paper, that the less informative the animate nominal description is in Serbian, the more compulsory the use of the indefinite determiner becomes. We will argue that this actually represents the *spiritus movens* in the grammaticalization of indefinite articles in the languages with this category, via the subsequent process of gradual context-induced reinterpretation (Heine, Claudi & Hünemeyer, 1991), a concept to be explained in the following chapter.

The structure of the paper is as follows. First, we will briefly present Heine’s (1997) five-stages grammaticalization model and the mentioned context-induced reinterpretation approach, as well as the relevant previous research on article-like use of the cardinal number *one* in Slavic languages. Afterwards, we will elucidate our hypothesis and demonstrate

² We are employing a relational adjective intentionally, because this adjective class cannot mark the distinction between the Serbian definite and indefinite adjectival aspect. In case a descriptive adjective was used, the indefinite adjective form could unambiguously trigger indefinite reading, a scenario we are trying to avoid.

³ It goes without saying that the use of an indefinite marker is necessary for obtaining an indefinite reading of a ‘bare’ noun:

i. Ukus umami je otkrio {#(jedan)/(?neki)} naučnik. Njegovo ime je
Kikunae Ikeda.
flavor umami AUX discovered one some scientist his name is
Kikunae Ikeda

“The umami flavor was discovered by {a / (?some)} scientist. His name is Kikunae Ikeda.”

the methodology of our survey, followed by a chapter dedicated to discussion of the results and our final remarks.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

There is an extensive body of research on the issue of grammaticalization of the cardinal number *one* into an indefinite article both in languages with this category, as well as in article-less ones, which happens to be the vast majority of Slavic languages. Limited with space, we will present only a portion of the relevant literature, but will direct the readers to further exploration of the surveys referenced in the presented studies. It is important to notice that the crucial difference between the approach taken in our paper and in previous literature is the **obligatoriness** in speech. All earlier studies concentrate on the problem **can** the cardinal number *one* be utilized as a grammatical marker in certain context(s), whereas we focus on the question – in which contexts **must** speakers use *one* to get the appropriate indefinite reading or else the NP receives an unambiguous definite interpretation?⁴ This distinction is not a trivial one, as it brings serious theoretical consequences, leading to the assumption that what we are witnessing in Serbian *in statu nascendi* is actually a grammaticalization path taken in all languages with the category of indefinite article (see *Hypothesis and methodology* and *Discussion* sections for an elaboration on this).

Theoretical Background

Moravcsik (1969) estimates that the numeral item ‘one’ is an optional indefiniteness marker crosslinguistically, assuming that certain traits of the indefinite article can be reduced to and interpreted as properties of the cardinal it originates from. She also points out the prosodic changes that it usually undergoes, resulting in cliticization of the novel indefinite determiner in certain languages (*cf.* Belaj & Matovac’s (2015) account on this situation in Croatian below).

In his monograph “Cognitive Foundations of Grammar,” Heine (1997) proposes the following five-stage model, which can be employed both as a synchronic implicational scale (in the sense that an indefinite article for each stage also has (or may have) the properties of all preceding stages, but never vice versa) and as a diachronic evolution apparatus aiming at describing the grammaticalization processes involving the item *one* and its cross-linguistic counterparts (Heine, 1997, pp. 72–75):

⁴ For instance, Heine (1997, p. 69) points out that even in cases when a language has a grammaticalized indefinite article, it is not necessarily used in all NPs with indefinite reference.

(3) numeral > presentative marker > specific marker > nonspecific marker > generalized article

At **stage 1**, the item *one* can only function as a **numeral**. This is the situation, for instance, in Swahili, in which the cardinal number *moja* ‘one’ is used exclusively for this purpose, and never as a presentative or a specific marker (see the explanation in the following two paragraphs). In the latter case, the indefinite specific-denoting NP is left ‘bare,’ without this or any other kind of marker.

At **stage 2**, the item *one* functions as a **presentative marker**, which introduces new referents presumed to be unknown to the collocutor and taken up as definite and relevant in subsequent discourse, as witnessed, for instance, in the Gurage language Sodd-Goggot of Ethiopia (Hetron, 1977, p. 56, as cited in Heine (1997)). At an early stage of grammaticalization, the use of *one* as a presentative marker article could be limited strictly to the beginning of a narrative discourse. A perfect example is the Uto-Aztecian Western Tarahumara language, in which the NP referents are accompanied with the presentative article only at the beginning of a tale, but all other specific NPs remain unmarked⁵.

The next, **stage 3** pertains to situations in which the cardinal number *one* is regularly used for all (or vast majority of) singular indefinite **specific** nominal referents of countable nouns, irrespective of their role in subsequent discourse (the label *specific* could be defined as discourse-participants familiar to the speaker but presumed to be unfamiliar to the hearer). Givón (1981, p. 36) demonstrates that in Street Hebrew, the item *exad* ‘one, a’ is used in indefinite specific contexts, but not in situations in which solely membership to a certain type wants to be highlighted:

- (4) ba hena (#exad) ish etmol, lo (#exad) isha!
 came here a man yesterday not a woman
 “A man came here yesterday, not a woman!”

At **stage 4**, indefinite articles function as **nonspecific markers**, determining NPs “whose referential identity neither the hearer nor the speaker knows or cares to know” (Heine, 1997, p. 73). This level of grammaticalization is present in modern English, German, Dutch, most Romance languages, Punjabi and Chinese, to name a few.

Finally, at **stage 5**, the **generalized article** occurs both with singular and plural nouns, and with count and mass nouns, as well. Exceptions from this could be situations in which the nominal referent is already definite, then with proper nouns, or with predicate nouns “defining members

⁵ Đurić (2023) presents an elaborate contrastive diachronic corpus analysis of *one* used as a presentative marker at the beginning of Serbian and (Serbian translations of) Russian folk tales.

of an ethnic, professional, or some other class ('He is Swiss')" (*ibid.*). This final stage of indefinite article grammaticalization is present, for instance, in modern Spanish and Portuguese.

The author underlines that the presented stages should not be comprehended as discrete entities, and that the development from stage 1 to stage 5 is continuous, involving different kinds of overlaps. As had been proposed in his Overlap Model (Heine, 1993), grammaticalization always involves intermediate stages, in which the linguistic expression "can be interpreted alternatively with reference to the earlier and the later structure" (Heine, 1997, p. 74).

In a similar manner, Heine et al. (1991) argue that grammaticalization based on metaphorical and/or metonymical transfer from one cognitive domain to another only appears to be realized in discreet steps, but is actually gradual and continuous in its nature. This is illustrated with the full development of the Ewe lexeme *megbé*/'back'—which can denote a body part (OBJECT), a locative content used as an adverb or a postposition (SPACE), a temporal content (TIME), and finally, a mental, cognitive trait (QUALITY)—by presenting various examples in which this lexical item can refer simultaneously to more than one of the categories OBJECT, SPACE, TIME and QUALITY. To account for this and similar phenomena, the authors introduce the notion of "context-induced reinterpretation," which consists of the following three stages:

Stage I: In addition to its focal or core sense *A*, a given linguistic form *F* acquires an additional sense *B* when occurring in a specific context *C*. This can result in semantic ambiguity since either of the senses *A* or *B* may be implied in context *C*. Which of the two senses is implied usually is, but need not be, dependent on the relevant communication situation. It is equally possible that the speaker means *A* and the hearer interprets him or her as implying *B* or that the hearer understands *B* whereas the speaker intends to convey *A*.

Stage II: The existence of sense *B* now makes it possible for the relevant form to be used in new contexts that are compatible with *B* but rule out sense *A*.

Stage III: *B* is conventionalized; it may be said to form a secondary focus characterized by properties containing elements not present in *A* [...] with the effect that *F* now has two 'polysemes,' *A* and *B*, which may develop eventually into 'homophones.'

(Heine et al., 1991, pp. 71–72)

As will be presented in the *Hypothesis and methodology* section of the paper, we will argue that the grammaticalization of the numeral into a presentative marker and subsequently into a specific marker is triggered once a given linguistic form *F*₁, a bare noun or a nominal phrase with an impoverished description, can only receive a definite interpretation in a specific context *C*—in our case, when the nominal referent is familiar to

the speaker, but unfamiliar to the hearer. As a consequence, the locutor is forced to employ some sort of an indefinite determiner-like element, resulting in the mentioned *Stage I*, in which a given linguistic form F_2 (the item *jedan*/'one'), in addition to its focal or core sense *A* (numeral), acquires a sense *B* (presentative marker/specific marker) when occurring in the context *C*.

Grammaticalization of the Indefinite Article in Slavic languages

In their study “The Changing Languages of Europe”, Heine & Kuteva (2006) provide a thorough examination of the definiteness and indefiniteness grammaticalization status of the nominal phrase in all European languages, including Slavic ones. They report that, unlike Ukrainian and Belarussian, Russian⁶ and Colloquial Polish have already reached the presentative marker stage, that Czech, Colloquial Serbian and Colloquial Croatian are somewhere between stages 2 and 3 (presentative marker and specific marker), while Bulgarian, Eastern Macedonian and Upper Sorbian have completely reached stage 3. It is important to notice that the authors consider language contact as a major contribution for the given data:

[T]hose eastern European languages which are geographically close to western European languages (e.g. Sorbian) as well as to both west European languages and the south European language Greek (i.e. Albanian, Bulgarian, Macedonian) are also languages with a clearly developing indefinite article, which may well represent a stage 2 or a stage 3 situation.

(Heine & Kuteva, 2006, p. 131)

Hwaszcz and Kędzierska (2018) also present an updated informative cross-linguistic state of the art overview of grammaticalization of the indefinite and definite article in all Slavic languages (we kindly direct the readers to the papers presented therein), but with special focus on the situation in Polish. Based on 53 native speakers' judgments, and the corpus analysis of 20,000 sentences containing the item *jeden*/'one', the authors conclude that this numeral has already reached the specific marker stage in Polish, “with some occasional uses leaning towards the non-specific marker stage” (Hwaszcz & Kędzierska, 2018, p. 93). Following Heine & Kuteva (2006), Hwaszcz and Kędzierska also explain the attested grammaticalization in Polish as enhanced by language contact with languages such as English and German, which both have the categories of indefinite and definite article.

⁶ The authors emphasize that in Russian, this is limited to headlines of scientific articles and—sometimes—to presentative contexts.

A paper to address almost the same topic we are dealing with is “On the article–like use of the indefinite determiners *jedan* and *neki* in Croatian and other Slavic languages” by Belaj and Matovac (2015). The theoretical approach that the authors employed is functional–typological, with minor elements of the Cognitive Grammar framework. The crucial criteria for contrasting the level of grammaticalization of the indefinite determiners in different Slavic languages is Heine’s (1997) five-stage model, presented in detail in the previous section of this paper. Firstly, Belaj and Matovac examine the article–like usages of *jedan* ‘one’ in Bulgarian, Macedonian and Upper Sorbian, given the fact that those three languages have reached the highest degree of grammaticalization. In the following section, they turn to the situation in Croatian. Based on their native speakers’ intuition, the authors demonstrate that in this language *jedan* ‘one’ can be used as a numeral, an adjective,⁷ or an indefinite determiner with article–like use. In addition, they state that this item “can be used to determine any nominal within a sentence, even ones used in predicative constructions”⁸ (Belaj & Matovac, 2015, p. 9). When it comes to the distinction between *jedan* functioning as a numeral or an adjective and as an indefinite determiner, the authors claim that in the latter case, the analysed element is not stressed, therefore “[...] it behaves as a proclitic, forming a single accentual unit with the following word” (*ibid.*). They find this to be a common trait with the indefinite article–like use of the pronominal item *neki* ‘some’. Curiously enough, the authors recognize the fact that *jedan* and *neki* “used as indefinite articles will be stressed when followed by enclitics that are always unstressed” (*ibid.*, p. 10).

Leaving the unlikely possibility that there might be fundamental prosodic differences between the situations in Croatian and Serbian,⁹ it

⁷ This is illustrated by the following example, which more seems to be a pronominal, than an adjective use (the English translation is quoted as provided in the paper):

(i) Jedni majstori su tek otišli, a drugi već dolaze.

“No sooner had one workmen gone than the others arrived.” (Belaj & Matovac, 2015, p. 9)

⁸ This statement is exemplified with the next sentence, which looks more like a non-referential than a genuine referential use:

(ii) Ti si jedna velika budala.

“You are a (lit. one) big fool.” (*ibidem*)

⁹ As pointed out by the authors themselves, Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian and Montenegrin are based on the same, Štokavian dialect, so they do not differ significantly in the indefinite determiner use of *jedan* and *neki*, followed by the remark that it is beyond the scope of their paper to identify the differences between them. Interestingly, they cite Friedman’s (2000, p. 196) claim that *jedan* is more grammaticalized in Serbian than in Croatian, which is explained as a result of the more intensive language contact Serbian has with the languages of the Balkan Sprachbund, especially Bulgarian. If this is correct (and we believe it is), one would expect more progressed cliticization to be found in Serbian, which is contrary to the assumption made above that the potential prosodic differences are such

seems that in the presented paper, sentence intonation based on information structure has been mistaken for word stress. Namely, the analysed elements in the numeral and in the so-called adjective use allow topicalization or focalization, and can bear a contrastive intonation, as well. All of these might be intonationally released separately from the rest of the NP. On the other side, when functioning as an indefinite determiner, *jedan* and *neki*¹⁰ are always part of the same, topical or focal, partition together with the remainder of the nominal phrase, or in some examples, they are simply backgrounded. We assume that these latter cases give the misleading impression that the analysed elements are proclitics¹¹.

In their concluding remarks, Belaj and Matovac (2015) point out that the analysed grammaticalization process still does not offer enough evidence for the claim that modern Slavic languages display the category of indefinite articles. Nevertheless, they state that their data proves that the situation presented by Heine and Kuteva (2006) needs to be reconsidered, “particularly the claims stating that the Croatian ‘one’ still has not fully reached the specific indefinite marker stage of grammaticalization” (*ibid.*, p. 16).

We finish with the brief literature overview and the description of the theoretical background of our research. In the following chapter we turn to our hypothesis and the methodology applied for its verification.

HYPOTHESIS AND METHODOLOGY

At the beginning of the chapter dedicated to previous research, we have already touched upon the fundamental difference that separates our approach to grammaticalization of indefiniteness from the one(s) present in linguistic literature. To our knowledge, all papers investigating this process are mostly concerned with the question **can** the numeral *one* be utilized in a certain language as a presentative marker, a specific marker, a non-specific marker or a generalized article, and applying the diagnostics to determine which stage of the grammaticalization path proposed by

that cliticization is only present in Croatian. In addition, we would expect for this process to be already finished in Bulgarian and Macedonian, which certainly is not the case.

¹⁰ The authors suggest that the distinction between the use of *jedan* and *neki* is based on specificity, stating that *neki* refers to non-specific referents only, while *jedan* can refer both to specific and non-specific referents. Once more, we leave the possibility that there might be serious differences between Croatian and Serbian, because in Serbian, *neki* can be used for specific referents, as well, but only when they are epistemically distant from the locutor, as shown in (1) and (2).

¹¹ This also leads us to the conclusion that there are actually no unsystematic differences between the examples in which *jedan* and *neki* precede enclitics and stressed elements, as suggested by the authors.

Heine (1997) has been reached in a given language. In our paper, we attempt to shed light on the following issue: in which contexts **must** the speaker use an indefinite determiner-like element in order to get the appropriate indefinite reading, or else the nominal phrase receives an unambiguous definite interpretation?

The difference in the approach is not trivial by any chance. Both indefinite and definite article are very often observed as superfluous, redundant categories. Some half a century ago Beckmann (1972) assessed that the article was a redundant morpheme—there are more languages in the world lacking articles, but yet there is no difficulty in determining the nominal referents when communicating in Chinese, Russian or Serbian¹². Moreover, the article is “discarded as unnecessary and wasteful in newspaper headlines and telegrams,” even in the cases when “the grammar of the language would require its use” (Beckmann, 1972, pp. 165–166). Heine (1997) also demonstrates that the indefinite article is not necessarily utilized in all NPs even in situations when this category has been fully grammaticalized in a given language. Considering all this, one must question herself/himself: how come articles even emerge in world languages and why would they, given their superfluous nature?

In addition, it is interesting to reassess the language contact explanation proposed in previous papers (Heine & Kuteva, 2006; Belaj & Matovac, 2015; Hwaszcz & Kędzierska, 2018, a. o.). That language contact (substrates, adstrates, and/or superstrates) can enhance grammatical change does not seem controversial at all, but this approach is incapable of answering to the questions: What could have triggered the grammaticalization of the indefinite article in Greek, English or German in the first place? What has happened in isolated languages in which this process has propelled spontaneously?

In order to offer an explanation for these issues, we hypothesize that certain types of contexts are responsible for initiating the grammaticalization process. Consider the following example, a typical beginning of a narrative discourse, in this case, of a tale, which is often estimated to be the very first step to the grammaticalization of *one* into a presentative marker:

- (5) Nekada davno, živela #(jedna) kraljica.
 at one time long ago lived one queen
 “Once upon a time, there lived a queen.”

In case the narrator introduces a ‘bear’ noun to the discourse (*kraljica* – *Eng.* queen), the nominal phrase is pragmatically infelicitous, unlike the situation when accompanied with the indefinite determiner-like

¹² We leave aside the fact that cross-linguistically there are various modes for marking the referential status of the NP other than the definite and the indefinite article: word order, information structure, case marking etc.

element *jedna*/'one'. Nevertheless, the presence of the same item is not obligatory when the nominal description is comprehensive, thus providing the hearer with more elaborate instructions for identifying the referent:

- (6) Nekada davno, živila (jedna) lepa, ali ohola kraljicakoj je
 at one time long ago lived one beautiful but haughty queen who AUX
 mučila svoje podanike.
 tortured her vassals
 "Once upon a time, there lived a beautiful, but haughty queen that tortured
 her vassals."

The hypothesis that emerges out of these examples is pretty straightforward: the less informative the animate nominal description is, the more compulsory the use of the indefinite determiner becomes, and vice versa, the more elaborate/informative the description is, the less mandatory its use becomes.

Given the fact that in (5) and (6) we are dealing with a beginning of a folk tale, the discourse model shared by the interlocutors is empty, implicating that the introduced NPs should be interpreted as indefinite. Nevertheless, if we take into consideration all examples other than typical beginnings of a narrative discourse, the referential status of elaborate NPs modified by prenominal adjectives and postnominal relative clauses and/or preposition phrases is not unambiguously indefinite. On the contrary, they are usually ambiguous between indefinite and definite interpretation, whereby the latter reading is possible for discourse-old referents that are cognitively distant, located at the very end of Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski's (1993) Givenness Hierarchy, labelled by the authors as *type identifiable*:

- (7) **in focus** (*it*) > **activated** (*that; this; this N*) > **familiar** (*that N*) > **uniquely identifiable** (*the N*) > **referential** (indefinite *this N*) > **type identifiable** (*a N*) (Gundel et al., 1993, p. 275)

The authors assume that there are six cognitive statuses relevant to the form of referring expressions in natural language discourse, from nominal expressions *in focus*, which are easily cognitively accessible and usually marked with a personal pronoun (*it*), to the *type identifiable*, which are least accessible, meaning, that the addressee is only able to access a representation of the type of object described by the expression, and consequently they are marked with an indefinite determiner (*a N*). What we are suggesting is that in article-less languages not all nominal expressions of the latter type (*type identifiable*) are subject to the same level of mandatory indefiniteness marking during the process of grammaticalization – it is initiated with 'bare' nouns, and then it gradually extends to nouns modified by a prenominal adjective, and/or postnominal preposition phrase / relative clause.

As already explained, we argue that the grammaticalization process is induced once a given linguistic form F_1 , a nominal phrase with an impoverished description, can only receive a definite interpretation in a specific context C , i.e. when the nominal referent is known to the speaker, but not to the hearer. Consequently, the speaker is forced to use some indefinite determiner-like item, resulting in Heine et al.'s (1991) *Stage I* of context-induced reinterpretation, in which a given linguistic form F_2 (the item *jedan*/'one'), in addition to its focal or core sense A (numeral), acquires a sense B (presentative/specific marker) when occurring in the context C . Once initiated in contexts containing 'bare' nouns, the non-cardinal use gets reinterpreted progressively in all other, more elaborate nominal descriptions.

In order to verify the postulated hypothesis, we performed an online pragmatic felicitousness test on 35 native speakers of the Serbian language. There were 12 male participants (34.28%) and 23 female participants (65.71%). The age of the participants ranged from 19 to 53 years, with an average age of 27.24 years. The majority of them, more precisely 27 (77.14%), had linguistic education or were studying a philological discipline at the time of conducting the experiment, while the rest (22.86%) were individuals without any formal education in linguistics. 16 individuals (45.71%) were native speakers of the Prizren-Timok dialect, 11 subjects (31.43%) were from the Kosovo-Resava dialect area, 4 individuals (11.43%) were speakers of the Smederevo-Vršac dialect, and the same number of participants came from the Šumadija-Vojvodina dialect area.

The subjects were supposed to rate how well-formed do the target sentences appear to them on a Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5, imagining that the referents of the critical NPs, underlined in the text, had not been mentioned before. The stimuli were divided in 3 groups consisting of 6 target examples: (1) 'bare' nouns; (2) nouns modified by a prenominal adjective; and (3) nouns modified by a prenominal adjective and a post-nominal preposition phrase or a relative clause. In 7(a-c), the corresponding examples are presented for each of the three levels of the independent variable:

- (7.a) Naučnik je otkrio ukus umami.
“(A) Scientist discovered the umami taste.”
- (7.b) Japanski naučnik je otkrio ukus umami.
“(A) Japanese scientist discovered the umami taste.”
- (7.c) Japanski naučnik sa Tokijskog kraljevskog univerziteta je otkrio ukus umami.
“(A) Japanese scientist from the Tokyo Royal University discovered the umami taste.”

The critical sentences were randomized and accompanied with 24 distractors. In the following chapter, we bring the discussion of the results and our concluding remarks.

RESULTS DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

After obtaining the results of the performed research, the raw data immediately suggested that our initial intuition was correct. The arithmetical means for the estimation grades were 1.37, 2.94, and 4.77, for the 3 levels of our independent variable ('bare' noun; adjective + noun; adjective + noun + preposition phrase / relative clause), respectively. These results unequivocally demonstrated a clear increase in the acceptability of nominal phrases in indefinite contexts (but without the employment of indefinite pronouns or the indefinite determiner use of the cardinal number *jedan*/'one') when the corresponding description is enriched with prenominal modifiers. Moreover, these nominal phrases become fully acceptable in the presence of both prenominal and postnominal modification/relative clauses. We then conducted Spearman's correlation test, and received an unambiguous confirmation of the hypothesis, with the fairly high coefficient $r_s = 0.94631$. All things being equal, the more elaborate the animate-denoting nominal description, the more acceptable it is when introduced into the discourse out-of-the-blue unaccompanied by any type of indefinite-like determiner.

Our experiment design involved evaluating the pragmatical well-formedness of sentences with various NPs lacking indefinite determiners. This means that our subjects were **not** exposed to examples **with** the item *jedan*, so future research should try to establish what is the ratio between the acceptability of the two groups of sentences (with and without the indefinite determiner). One could assume that the difference between the 3 stimuli pairs ('bare' noun vs. *jedan* + 'bare' noun; adjective + noun vs. *jedan* + adjective + noun; adjective + noun + preposition phrase / relative clause vs. *jedan* + adjective + noun + preposition phrase / relative clause) is going to monotonically increase.

Finally, the novel insights demonstrated in this paper provoke for at least one more potential working hypothesis to emerge, and that is the assumption that the grammaticalization of the cardinal number *one* into an indefinite article is possibly universal, crosslinguistically triggered by specific types of contexts (low informative nominal descriptions), rather than simply by the speakers' intention to disambiguate between the definite/indefinite reading of the NP. There are hints that similar processes could be identified also within the area of grammaticalization of definiteness (s. Stanković 2023), leading to the conclusion that our, somewhat improved, context-induced reinterpretation analysis might be a powerful grammaticalization explanatory model.

Acknowledgement. The research was supported by the Science Fund of the Republic of Serbia, GRANT No 1589, Project title ClaCoLaSI.

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ГРАМАТИКАЛИЗАЦИЈА НЕОДРЕЂЕНОГ ЧЛАНА ИНДУКОВАНА КОНТЕКСТОМ *IN STATU NASCENDI*

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Резиме

Рад је истраживао проблем постоје ли специфични контексти у којима се дешава граматиализација кардиналног броја „један“ у неодређени члан у српском језику. Досадашња истраживања ове појаве испитивала су може ли се или не број употребити са некардиналном интерпретацијом у одређеном језику, покушавајући да утврде који степен граматиализације је достигнут на петостепеној скали коју је предложио Heine (1997): 1) број; 2) презентативни маркер; 3) маркер специфичности; 4) маркер неспецифичности; 5) генерални члан. Тако, Белај и Матовац (2015) показују да се у хрватском број „један“ може употребити као маркер специфичности, али чак и као део неспецифичне именичке синтагме. Још један од фактора који се разматра у литератури су и језички контакти, за које је недвосмислено

показано да могу да убрзају овај процес, у смислу да језици са неодређеним чланом могу утицати на билингвалне говорнике језика без ове категорије да почну употребљавати број у поменутих окружењима. У нашем раду фокусирали смо се на питање у којим контекстима су говорници српског приморани да употребе ову јединицу како би се добила жељена неодређена (индефините) интерпретација номиналне синтагме, јер би у супротном она имала недвосмислено одређено (дефините) читање. Хипотеза коју смо испитивали гласила је: што је номинални опис у српском језику штурји/сиромашнији, то је већа вероватноћа да ће говорници бити принуђени да употребе број са некардиналном интерпретацијом да маркирају њену неодређеност (што значи да ће одговарајући примери бити оцењени ниско), и обрнуто – са порастом номиналног описа, опадаће потреба да се обележи неодређеност референта укупног језичког израза (те ће адекватне реченице добити сразмерно више оцене). Сprovedено је онлајн истраживање прагматичке подесности, у коме је 35 изворних говорника српског језика оцењивало прихватљивост циљних примера у датом контексту на скали Ликертовог типа од 1 до 5. Критични примери били су подељени у три групе од по шест стимулуса: 1) „гола“ именица; 2) именица модификована придевом; 3) именица модификована придевом и релативном клаузом или предлошком синтагмом – што је укупно чинило 18 циљних примера, рандомизованих заједно са још 24 дистрактора. Сprovedен је Спирманов тест корелације и добијен коефицијент $r_s = 0.94631$, чиме је недвосмислено потврђена постављена хипотеза. Коначно, добијени резултати сагледани су и у ширем контексту универзалних граматикализацијских процеса, при чему се као логична наметнула и следећа радна хипотеза коју би требало испитати, а то је идеја да су управо одређени типови контекста (сиромашни номинални описи који бивају недвосмислено интерпретирани као одређени) одговорни за покретање граматикализације броја у неодређени члан.

THE TRAUMATIC PROCESS OF ADAPTING TO LIFE IN 1950s AMERICA - SYLVIA PLATH'S *THE BELL JAR*^a

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Abstract

Sylvia Plath's only novel, *The Bell Jar* (1963), gives us an insight into the life of a young woman, Esther Greenwood, and the process of her adapting to life in 1950s America. As it is a rather traumatic process due to her (in)ability to accept and conform to the rules of a male-dominated society, the aim of this paper is to analyse this novel within the framework of trauma studies. The novel follows Esther Greenwood's descent into depression and her attempts to make choices about her future, while showing that she finds the task rather traumatic because her desires are mutually exclusive and not in accordance with what the consumerist American society deems acceptable. Bessel A. van der Kolk et al. state that what makes something traumatic is "the subjective assessment by victims of how threatened and helpless they feel" (2007). Before the analysis of the novel, the theoretical framework is provided in terms of defining trauma, relying on the research conducted by Sigmund Freud, Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub in *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis and History* (1992), and other similar studies connected to the analysis of trauma and, in particular, trauma in Sylvia Plath's oeuvre. The historical background of the novel is also examined, in order to provide a clearer picture of the period the novel is set in. Hopefully, this small scale research offers another way of perceiving the traumatic experience of being a woman in a domineering, patriarchal society.

Key words: 1950s America, depression, patriarchal system, Sylvia Plath, Trauma studies.

^a The article was presented at the *Language, Literature, Process 2023 Conference* at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia.

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ТРАУМАТИЧНИ ПРОЦЕС ПРИЛАГОЂАВАЊА НА ЖИВОТ У АМЕРИЦИ ПЕДЕСЕТИХ ГОДИНА – ПОД СТАКЛЕНИМ ЗВОНОМ СИЛВИЈЕ ПЛАТ

Апстракт

Једини роман Силвије Плат, *Под стакленим звоном* (1963), даје нам увид у живот младе жене, Естер Гринвуд, и процес њеног прилагођавања животу у Америци 1950-их. Како је то прилично трауматичан процес због њене (не)способности да прихвати и прилагоди се правилима друштва у којем доминирају мушкарци, циљ овог рада је да се овај роман анализира у оквиру студија трауме. Роман прати Естер Гринвуд и њене покушаје да направи изборе о својој будућности док све више постаје депресивна, а истовремено показује да она сматра да је задатак прилично трауматичан јер се њене жеље међусобно искључују и нису у складу са оним што конзументистичко америчко друштво сматра прихватљивим. Бесел А. ван дер Колк и др. наводе да је оно што чини нешто трауматичним „субјективна процена жртава колико се осећају угрожено и беспомоћно“ (2007). Пре анализе романа, дат је теоријски оквир у смислу дефинисања трауме, ослањајући се на истраживања Сигмунда Фројда, Шошане Фелман и Дори Лауб у *Сведочанство: кризе сведочења у књижевности, психоанализи и историји* (1992) и другим сличним студијама у вези са анализом трауме и, посебно, трауме у опусу Силвије Плат. Такође се испитује историјска позадина романа, како би се пружила јаснија слика периода у коме се радња романа одвија. Надамо се да ово истраживање нуди још један начин сагледавања трауматичног искуства жене у доминантном, патријархалном друштву.

Кључне речи: Америка 50-их, депресија, патријархални систем, Силвија Плат, студије трауме.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to provide an analysis of Sylvia Plath's only novel, *The Bell Jar*, published in 1963, and use the framework of trauma studies as a theoretical basis upon which the analysis is done. The main character of the novel, Esther Greenwood, is the central point of analysis in this paper; to be more precise, the point of this paper is to analyse the reasons her process of adapting to life in 1950s America is deemed traumatic. The main stances of trauma studies are provided in the introductory part of the paper, followed by an overview of America in the 1950s, in the aftermath of the Second World War, with an emphasis on the lives of women at that time, as well as the omnipresent consumerist and patriarchal values. Afterwards, a close analysis of some of the scenes from the novel is provided in order to show how the process of adapting to life in such a societal climate is rather traumatic for Esther. In the concluding remarks, the most important points about the traumatic process Esther goes through are emphasized. However, it should be stressed that even though *The Bell Jar* is considered to be a semi-autobiographical novel, as it relies heavily on Sylvia Plath's life and her experiences, this

paper chooses to focus on the contents of the novel, without making parallels with Sylvia Plath's own experiences. To do so, this paper uses Roland Barthes' approach stated in his essay *The Death of the Author* (originally published in 1977). In this essay, Barthes disagrees with the practices of analysing a text within the biographical context of the author's life, insisting on removing the author from the "writing", so that it can no longer bear any other function but that of the symbol itself (p. 142). Therefore, this paper analyses the novel as a story of a symbolic young woman maturing and attempting to adapt to life in 1950s America. The historical background is provided as it is important for the understanding of the novel, which is set in America in the 1950s as we know it.

TRAUMA STUDIES

The 20th century marks the rise in the interest in the field of trauma studies, and in particular trauma studies within the realms of literature and art. Cathy Caruth, in her *Unclaimed Experience* (1996), brings forth some rather interesting claims regarding trauma and trauma studies in general, relying heavily on Sigmund Freud and his studies. Sigmund Freud's *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (an essay originally published in 1920) in particular draws attention to something he terms "traumatic neurosis", a condition which occurs after a person goes through a life-threatening accident or some severe mechanical shock (Freud, 2003, p. 50). Caruth proceeds with this outline by further adding that this trauma which occurs stems from a Greek word for "wound", and that the trauma Freud has in mind is rather a wound inflicted upon the mind, not upon the body (Caruth, 1996, p. 4). Throughout her whole study, she expands on Freud's theories and claims that trauma is something not easily assimilated into consciousness, but rather something which happens unexpectedly, something which imposes itself again repeatedly in the survivor's nightmares and repetitive actions (Ibid.). According to Caruth, trauma causes problems in a person's everyday life by overtaking their dreams and actions. Some of Caruth's claims have since been disproved or improved, but the premise stays the same. Trauma is something which renders a person unable to lead a normal life, and it can vary from an event not deemed traumatic to other people to atrocities such as wars. The period of the 1990s was a time of turmoil and a perfect period for the rise of trauma studies.

Trauma studies hugely impact the analysis of literature as well. Kali Tal, in her *Worlds of Hurt: Reading the Literatures of Trauma* (1996), focuses on writing about the personal narratives of the Holocaust victims, the Vietnam war, and women and children who were raped. She emphasizes that trauma is something which happens outside the boundaries of "normal" experience, and this traumatic event cannot be represented accurately; however, textual representations are there in order to mediate the experience

without the traumatic impact (p. 15). Literature often does that, by presenting an event which is rather traumatic, but which we would not know about in a different way. Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub elaborate on the importance of works of art, specifically literary works, as *testimonies*, which bear the fragments of a memory which is not yet settled into understanding or remembrance, or of acts which we would not be able to understand, as they exist outside our frame of reference (1992, p. 5). They also mention Sigmund Freud when they say that Freud's attempt in psychoanalysis is to "bring evidence materialized by the unconscious testimony into the realm of cognition", which in turn, leads Felman and Laub to claim that testimony as they put it is to be understood "not as a mode of statement, but rather as a mode of access to [that] truth" (Felman & Laub, 1992, p. 15). Essentially, if we consider literature as a testimony of the characters, then trauma studies can analyse events of literary (and human) history through the characters' point of view.

Finally, there is an inherent inability to determine what kind of an event can be deemed traumatic. Bassel van der Kolk et al. emphasize that the critical element which deems an event traumatic is "the subjective assessment by victims of how threatened and helpless they feel" (2007, p. 6). Even though some events can be assessed objectively as not traumatic enough, unlike those upon which there is a general agreement (the Holocaust, wars, racism, rape), if the person who goes through that event feels as if their whole life revolves around it and as if they cannot avoid reliving that event in their mind, it is traumatic for them. Also, if their inability to live a life deemed normal by the standards of the society they are a part of is making their everyday functioning difficult, we can talk about a traumatic event. Further on in this paper, in the part of the analysis of the novel, the reasons why Esther's process of adapting to life in 1950s America is traumatic are evident. Before that, the historical overview of that period is provided.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE BELL JAR

The historical context is given from the very beginning of the novel, when the narrator, Esther Greenwood, describes the period as a sultry summer when: "[...] they electrocuted the Rosenbergs, and I didn't know what I was doing in New York" (Plath, 2013, p. 1). Ethel and Julius Rosenberg are a couple charged with siding with the Soviet Union and betraying the United States by selling its atomic secrets (Gill, 2008, p. 24). The overall atmosphere ruling the United States at the time was rather oppressive, with the omnipresent threat of the Soviet Union and the looming presence of the Cold War followed by the general mistrust of the United States in its own people. At the same time, it was a period of prosperity, when even women were encouraged to pursue a more independent

future and personal opportunities (albeit with certain restrictions, which are discussed throughout this paper). However, apart from the Soviet Union, the threat to the United States also came from China, as well as from the consequences of the war North Korea waged on South Korea in the 1950s. There was an overall threat of the communist forces, which could possibly infiltrate political, cultural, and educational establishments. Apart from these ideological shifts, there were cultural shifts as well, such as the changing face of American architecture and family life, particularly the rising birth rates, and the flight from the cities to the suburbs (Gill, 2008, p. 25/26). The role of the “instigator of morality” in children and men, and “guardians of national virtue” fell upon women who were pressured into staying home and not seeking employment outside of their housewife role (Gill, 2008, p. 27). It is evident that these cultural shifts were rather favourable for the rise of patriarchal pressure, as men were supposed to provide for their families, to be the ones to protect them, and thus those who had the power to make all the important decisions regarding their families. Women were there to support them, feed them, and keep them happy. Outside of family life, men were also the ones occupying prominent positions, as their insistence on higher education was not denied, unlike women's.

In the famous “Kitchen Debate” between Soviet First Secretary Nikita Khrushchev and U.S. Vice President Richard Nixon at the opening of the American National Exhibition at Sokolniki Park in Moscow, it is apparent what kind of attitude the United States held towards the women of the time. Standing in front of a built-in panel-controlled washing machine, Nixon disregarded Khrushchev's comment that the Soviet Union had the same thing, by saying that the machine in question was the newest model, as the United States were interested in making life easier for their women. When Khrushchev replied that in the Soviet Union they did not have “the capitalist attitude toward women”, Nixon said: “I think that this attitude toward women is universal. What we want to do is make easier the life of our housewives” (Hamilton & Phillips, 2014, p. 47). This debate showcases that one of the instances of the United States' defence against the communist threat was mapping the role of women in modern society (Hamilton & Phillips, 2014, p. 11). Not only were women controlled by their husbands, should they marry, but the society they live in had some predetermined notions and expectations regarding them. Betty Friedan's book *The Feminine Mystique* (originally published in 1963), delves deeply into the society of 1950s America, as she herself lived in that time. She reiterates the accepted expectations of women of the time by stating that the suburban housewife is “the dream image of the young American women and the envy [...] of women all over the world” (Friedan, 1979, p. 13). The American housewife's life is made easier by making available all the modern appliances, and here consumerism comes into

play, as it is supposed to distract women from the problematic aspects of their lives. She can get all the appliances imaginable to help with her house chores, and her only purpose is to be healthy, beautiful, and to take care of her husband and her children. It is unacceptable to talk about her problems, or her dissatisfaction about her life, because there is nothing to be dissatisfied with. She also has the opportunity to educate herself; however, there was an omnipresent opinion at the time that those women who are educated are naturally made unhappy in their role as housewives (Friedan, 1979, p 18). Adrienne Rich, an American poetess of the period, writes of her own inability to accept life in 1950s America as it was:

Because I was also determined to have a “full” woman’s life, I plunged in my early twenties into marriage and had three children before I was thirty. There was nothing overt in the environment to warn me: these were the ‘50s, and in reaction to the earlier wave of feminism, middle-class women were making careers of domestic perfection, working to send their husbands through professional schools, then retiring to raise large families. People were moving out to the suburbs, technology was going to be the answer to everything, even sex; the family was in its glory. Life was extremely private; women were isolated from each other by the loyalties of marriage. I have a sense that women didn’t talk to each other much in the fifties – not about their secret emptiness, their frustrations.

(Rich, 1972, p. 22)

Obviously, there are some conflicting emotions within women about their way of life in 1950s America. However, despite education, it is rather difficult for women to admit that there is something wrong with the way they live. Nevertheless, that does not mean they are not aware of the shortcomings of their society. Some manage to accept the life that they are forced to have, living privately, keeping to themselves, and not voicing any of their inner struggles. When exposed to a certain culture, your experience is shaped. Identity is also created and forged amidst cultural currents. And sometimes the cultural effects upon a person can be detrimental. In the case of women in 1950s America, a sudden change in the post-war world shaped their experience. However, in the case of Esther Greenwood, we can see what happens when a woman is aware that there is something inherently wrong with the society she lives in, and how, due to her inability to accept said society, the whole process of living in such times is rather traumatic for her.

ESTHER GREENWOOD IN THE BELL JAR'S 1950S AMERICA

There have been numerous attempts in academic articles to explain Esther Greenwood's behaviour in the novel by emphasizing that she is suffering from a mental illness, or rather, that she is depressed, and that this is the reason she acts the way she does. However, Marjorie Perloff attempts to explain that the focus in the novel is not only on the mental illness "per se", but that it is rather on the "relationship of Esther's private psychosis to her larger social situation" (Perloff, 1972, p. 511). Esther finds herself in a dilemma which rather seems to have a great deal with being a woman in a society "whose guidelines for women she can neither accept nor reject" (Ibid.). From the very beginning of the novel, it is brought to the reader's attention that Esther has not even an inkling of an idea about what she wants to do with her life. She comes to New York, on a summer internship program at a prominent women's magazine. What is supposed to be a place which encourages women's creative aspirations, becomes a place of reinforcing patriarchal ideas of what these women are supposed to be. It seems that this course is actually programmed to mould young women into perfect, marriage materials. Betty Friedan's book *The Feminine Mystique*, delves deeply into the society of 1950s America, as the author herself lived in that time. As an educated woman who is also a wife and a mother, she states in the book that she feels that her abilities and education meant taking her away from home. She also mentions that the magazines of the time promoted the image of an ideal woman, "young and frivolous, almost childlike"; she is supposed to be feminine and passive, whose only pursuit in life is the pursuit of a man, all the while taking care of the most important notion about her – not her thoughts and ideas, but her body (Friedan, 1979, p. 31). Esther finds herself in a similar situation, where she is presented with various images of femininity. However, those images are so distorted by the various aspects through which they are perceived that "contradiction and neurosis can be said to be built into the structures of her society" (Smith, 2008, p. 35). In her essay *Seeing Through the Bell Jar: Distorted Female Identity in Cold War America*, Rosi Smith presents three women Esther meets during her time in New York, and each of them is evocative of options Esther has when it comes to choosing what type of a woman she can become. The first one is Betsy, "the personification of domestic femininity"; Doreen, "sexually adventurous and iconoclastic; and finally, Jay Cee, Esther's editor, a woman formed by early feminism, career-minded (Smith, 2008, p. 41). However, faced with all those different types of womanhood, Esther is unable to fully accept any of them, as "each has influenced her and none seems a coherent mirror of her own identity" (Smith, 2008, p. 42). These types of womanhood are filtered through patriarchal standards, and some of them are acceptable in society, whereas other are frowned upon.

In modern times, it is difficult to comprehend how Esther allows herself to be controlled by a domineering patriarchal society, let alone how she feels traumatized as a result. Therefore, this novel is a perfect example of a testimony, which Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub stress the importance of (as is stated in the introductory part of this paper) in order to understand a certain period or event by reading stories which bear the fragments of a memory not yet settled into understanding or remembrance, due to the fact that they are outside of our frame of reference (1992, p. 5). Furthermore, there are various perceptions about what events can be deemed traumatic. In his essay *Trauma in Cultural Perspective*, Marten W. deVries points out that the belief that an individual can control their own destiny has emerged only in recent generations (deVries, 2007, p. 399). Therefore, if there is an inherent inability to control one's life, or societal circumstances do not allow it, the process of adapting can be rather traumatic. Culture may be viewed as a "protective and supportive system of values, lifestyles, and knowledge", the disruption of which can have a detrimental effect on its members (deVries, 2007, p. 400). Culture is especially important during social and cultural changes, followed by drastic changes in people's expectations and communal values. In case of individuals who manage to strongly identify with the cultural values, they succeed in benefiting from the traumatic impact of the change; however, when individuals are unable to successfully integrate themselves, it can lead to a negative impact on their health and psychopathology (Ibid.). This is precisely what happens to Esther in the novel. As van der Kolk says, "one core function of human societies" is to provide their members with "traditions, institutions, and value systems" which in turn can protect the members of society against "becoming overwhelmed by stressful experiences" (Van der Kolk et al, 2007, p. 25). However, the changing and unpredictable face of the American society forces Esther to go through a process of adapting to a lifestyle she cannot accept as a given, as there is not only one option, but multiple, usually mutually exclusive in the society which places great importance on a certain type of woman. Her inability to choose a path to acceptance and the resulting overwhelming sense of stress is evident in one of the most striking paragraphs from the novel, where she visually presents her inability to choose through a metaphor of a fig tree:

I saw my life branching out before me like the green fig tree in the story. From the tip of every branch, like a fat purple fig, a wonderful future beckoned and winked. One fig was a husband and a happy home and children, and another fig was a famous poet and another fig was a brilliant professor, and another fig was Ee Gee, the amazing editor, and another fig was Europe and Africa and South America, and another fig was Constantin and Socrates and Attila and a pack of other lovers with queer names and offbeat professions, and another fig was an Olympic lady crew champion, and beyond and above these figs were many more figs I couldn't

quite make out. I saw myself sitting in the crotch of this fig tree, starving to death, just because I couldn't make up my mind which of the figs I would choose. I wanted each and every one of them, but choosing one meant losing all the rest, and, as I sat there, unable to decide, the figs began to wrinkle and go black, and, one by one, they plopped to the ground at my feet.

(Plath, 2013, p. 73)

Inevitably, she does not know how to deal with the choices, or rather, the lack of choices. Friedan states that despite the choices women were given on the surface in 1950s America, the only road to fulfilment actually offered to American women was to help them adjust to their role as housewives. Still, despite the apparent acceptance of the societal expectation, and despite adjusting to the role women are given, they had to ignore the “dissatisfied voice stirring within her”, because that would be less painful (Friedan, 1979, p. 21). For Esther, the whole root of the problem lies in the fact that she cannot ignore and she cannot accept the options available to her, as she cannot reconcile with the fact that for that period, they are mutually exclusive. Her own mother is not helpful, as she is a rather practical woman, a widow, who encourages Esther to learn shorthand after college in order to be able to support herself, as she herself had to go through a process of taking care of her family on her own after her husband's death. She had no choice, but Esther, on the other hand, seems to have a choice. Yet, the choices are bleak, as she can either become a feminist, the career woman, but alone in the end, or the gentle wife, a mother, loved and supported by her husband (Friedan, 1979, p. 93/94). She even states at one point that she “hated the idea of serving men in any way” (Plath, p. 72). This statement makes it obvious that Esther is aware of the patriarchal influence in her society, and of the fact that one way or another, she has to accept a path in life which will inevitably lead her to a subordinate position to a man. So in the end, there is not much choice left. The fig passage is reminiscent of what Friedan states in her book – the women in the 1950s were no longer like their mothers or their aunts, because they finally got the right to choose (Friedan, 1979, p. 93). However, the choice would still leave them with something lacking.

Upon her return from New York, there is an apparent change in Esther's behaviour as she is spiralling further into depression. She cannot write, she cannot read, or do all those things she used to find pleasure in. She seems to be disintegrating, and there are crucial changes in a part of her identity due to the inability to assimilate into the regular world. The society demands change, which is rather traumatic for her, and she cannot comply with it without some permanent damage to her very core. She is also aware of the fact that her behaviour and inability to choose are something which is not standard for the women of the period, and she explains her indecisiveness by saying that if wanting two mutually exclusive

things at the same time is neurotic, then she is “neurotic as hell” (Plath, 2013, p. 90). In his *The Trauma Question* (2008), Roger Luckhurst claims that trauma is a “piercing or breach of a border that puts inside and outside into a strange communication”; trauma “violently opens passage-ways” between those systems which were once discrete, and it makes “unforeseen connections that distress or confound” (2008, p. 3). Not only does Esther go through emotional turmoil due to her trauma, but it also affects her in terms of the physical aspects of her being. Her body follows her mind, and both of them are affected by the trauma, which Luckhurst explains by claiming that one of the aspects of trauma is its transmissibility – it leaks between mental and physical systems (Ibid.)

So many things in Esther’s life, in her process of building her own identity, have been traumatic. First of all, her relationships with men. There is a missing father figure, as she lost her father when she was nine years old, which was a rather traumatic event for her. Her encounters with men once she becomes a young woman are not pleasant. She either meets hypocrites or abusers, such as Marco, who attempts to rape her. Buddy Willard, who she is supposed to get married to, does not encourage her aspirations to become a poet. He always tells her that she will feel differently when she gives birth, using the rhetoric of the patriarchal society in 1950s America. Both of them happen to witness a woman giving birth when they visit Buddy Willard’s friend, Will, who is a medical student assisting with the delivery. Esther is rather traumatized by the sight of the woman on the table, comparing it to an “awful torture table”, drugged so that she could forget all about the pain after the delivery (Plath, 2013, p. 61). In Esther’s commentary about the woman, she states that the drug must have been an invention of a man so that the woman could forget about the pain, go home, have another child, and all the while in some secret part of her that “doorless and windowless corridor of pain was waiting to open up and shut her in again” (Plath, 2013, p. 62). She is appalled by the lack of agency on the part of the woman, and even more shocked by the fact that doctors control the way the most important day of that woman’s life is going to develop. Throughout her thoughts in the novel, it is obvious that Esther thinks of marriage and motherhood as a way to trap women. She also compares getting married to being brainwashed, saying that after you get married you go about “as a slave in some private, totalitarian state” (Plath, 2013, p. 81). Her attitude to marriage is also obvious when she lists all of the advantages of being married, and then mentions security. However, her inner self rebels and she states that the last thing she wants is infinite security and “[...] to be a place an arrow shoots off from. I wanted change, and excitement, and to shoot of in all directions myself.” (Plath, 2013, p.79). This is evocative of something which Kali Tal mentions, which can be regarded as a discrepancy between the national and the personal myth. Basically, a national (or collective) myth is

“propagated in textbooks, official histories, popular culture” and it “belongs to no one individual, though individuals borrow from it and buy into it in varying degrees” (Tal, 1996, p. 115). Essentially, those are myths which shape an individual’s understanding of nations, characters, and identity. On the other hand, there are personal myths, which are “the particular set of explanations and expectations generated by an individual to account for his or her circumstances and actions” (Ibid., p. 116). When there is a discrepancy between a personal and the national myth, or a failure to find the same values in the national myth which a person has established in their personal one, it may lead to a traumatic experience of trying to find ways to live a life with that discrepancy. And Esther, who tries to live by her own personal myth, finds the pressure of the people around her overwhelming, and as a result becomes unable to vocalize her inner split and the trauma it causes her. The fact that she internalizes the “state-sanctioned ideal of domestic femininity”, and the fact that she subjects herself to the patriarchal ideologies of society while being unable to accept them in her core render her unable to connect to the active process of participating in such a society (Smith, 2008, p. 36).

Her trauma throughout the novel and her depressive episodes are also evident in some seemingly unimportant scenes. She cannot recognize herself in the mirror, cannot sleep for twenty-one days. She finally notices the effect that her attempts to become a member of society have on her. This can be connected to Cathy Caruth’s claim stated at the beginning of this paper – trauma is not easily assimilated into consciousness, but rather something which happens unexpectedly and which returns to haunt a person on a daily basis. All of the demands the society has imposed upon Esther which continuously exist in her unconsciousness and her own alienation from them, lead her to feeling as if there is a separate self being locked within her, something completely separate and distinct from what she appears to be in society (Bonds, 1990, p. 52). This division within herself is connected to dissociation, due to her inability to compartmentalize her experience, as she cannot integrate the elements of her trauma into an “integrated sense of self” (Van der kolk et al., 2007, p. 306). The fact that she becomes assimilated into society’s expectations, and performs in accordance with them, but fails to present her own identity, leads to the further “fracturing of identity” (Smith, 2008, p. 44). Thus begins her quest for self-annihilation, through her suicide attempts. Learning to live in a society which offers her unattainable versions of herself that are mutually exclusive is traumatic, and death in this case is something which is simple, unpolluted, “incorruptible by fantasy and expectation” (Smith, 2008, p. 52). The first attempt is marked by her trying to cut her wrists, but stopping, realizing that what she wants to kill is “somewhere else, deeper, more secret and a whole lot harder to get at” (Plath, 2013, p. 142). Her last attempt is when she drinks sleeping pills and crawls into a hole in

the ground of her basement. However, she is saved, and upon waking up and realizing that she cannot see, as she is bandaged, a voice informs her that she should not worry about being blind, for she will surely “marry a nice blind man someday” (Plath, 2013, p. 165). Once again, there is a complete disregard for the woman’s feelings, as she is still valuable in the sense of being able to fulfil her duty, that is, to become a wife.

Her institutionalization shows her conflicting emotions towards psychiatrists. Van der Kolk says that “when dealing with traumatized individuals”, it is necessary that “professionals and policy makers need, on the one hand, to respect the national desire to take action to overcome post-traumatic helplessness”, and on the other hand to help people “find ways of communicating about the dangers of recreating their traumas in new social contexts” (Van der kolk et al., 2007, p. 34). However, Esther does not encounter psychiatrists who are ready to help her gain agency in dealing with her own trauma. Doctor Gordon, a man, does not listen to her plight, but assigns shock treatments which only further traumatize her. Upon being sent to another institution after her last suicide attempt, she meets a female psychiatrist, Doctor Nolan, whom she trusts at first, but who administers electro-shock treatments as well, without warning her, and she feels betrayed yet again. Rosi Smith points out that subjects in a society are aware of the self-evident priorities, and even though they are restricting, they participate willingly in that restriction by acting out their designated roles (2008, p. 41). However, Esther fails to choose the role prescribed for her, and thus she has to suffer the consequences, that is, go through shock treatments. She feels betrayed by Doctor Nolan, and seems more shocked by her “bare-faced treachery” than by the shock treatments (Plath, 2013, p. 203). Later on, she insists on doing something about herself, which is going to make her less dependent on men. She goes to a gynaecologist to get fitted for a diaphragm, and afterwards, she feels like she is her own woman, like she is buying her freedom (Plath, 2008, p. 213).

For many people, the novel ends on a positive note. She enters a room where doctors are having a board meeting to decide her future. She steps into the room as if guided by a “magical thread” and faces turn towards her (Plath, 2013, p. 234). However, prior to this sentence, Esther says something rather disturbing. She says that there should be a “ritual for being born twice –patched, retreaded and approved for the road” (Plath, 2013, p. 233). So far, her attempts to adapt to the life in her society have been futile, resulting in the intervention. Now that she has gone through therapy – shock treatments, there is a possibility that she is moulded into a person who would be acceptable in her society, or “approved”. This is not something which can be deemed too optimistic, because in this scene she is under extreme scrutiny and will continue to be so in order to prevent any possible deviations in the future. She succumbs to the pressure of the society and decides to be normal, or rather, others decide for her.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the character of Esther Greenwood does go through a lot of trauma in order to adapt to the societal expectations placed on women in 1950s America. The patriarchal constrictions of women, and the inability to choose something which is deemed acceptable as it is in complete contrast to what is needed all exacerbate Esther's fragile mental state. Her whole existence, from her childhood when she lost her father, to her adulthood, when she starts losing herself, has been marked with traumatic processes of accepting, adapting, and possibly, overcoming. Still, even though she accepts to undergo the healing process under the supervision of an institution, it is difficult to say that it was the best decision for her. Despite the rise of opportunities for women in the 1950s, the opportunities themselves are overshadowed by a general consensus (albeit unwritten) that, after all, women are best fitted for one role, the role of a housewife. This once again underlines the main point of the "Kitchen Debate" and Vice President Nixon's comment that the advances in technology are meant to make life easier for American housewives, and when Esther, unable to accept this unwritten rule of being encouraged to pursue opportunities, but expected to eventually fulfil her insinuated predetermined role, goes through a traumatic process and descends into depression in order to try to find her place in a society not fitted to cater to women who are willing to question, and possibly break the rules imposed upon them.

Acknowledgement. This study was supported by the Ministry of Science, Technological Development and Innovations of the Republic of Serbia (Contract No. 451-03-47/2023-01/ 200165).

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ТРАУМАТИЧНИ ПРОЦЕС ПРИЛАГОЂАВАЊА НА ЖИВОТ У АМЕРИЦИ ПЕДЕСЕТИХ ГОДИНА – ПОД СТАКЛЕНИМ ЗВОНОМ СИЛВИЈЕ ПЛАТ

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Резиме

Овај рад као основу за анализу узима роман Под стакленим звоном Силвије Плат, објављен 1963. године. Тачније, анализира се главни лик романа, Естер Гринвуд, млада девојка која живи у Америци 1950-их. Будући да живи у патријархалном друштву обележеном присуством Хладног рата и претњом комунизма из Совјетског Савеза, њено сналажење у друштву је праћено трауматичним искуствима због немогућности да се прилагоди очекивањима друштва. Стога овај рад као основу за анализу узима студије трауме, како би описао искуства Естер Гринвуд и објаснио због чега су њена искуства трауматична и због чега на крају доводе до њене депресивности и покушаја самоубиства.

Цео рад се заснива на студијама о трауми, у животу а и у књижевности, почев од студија Сигмунда Фројда, до студија аутора заслужних за уврштавање студија траума у академски дискурс, попут Кети Керут, Шошане Фелман и Дори Лауба. Ставови изнети у њиховим студијама се користе као основа за анализу живота Естер Гринвуд, њене немогућности да прихвати ставове друштва које у суштини не дозвољава претерану слободу женама, њеног трауматичног односа с мушкарцима као и институцијама које је касније узму под своје и покушавају да је излече. Овај рад покушава да покаже како је трауматично уколико је неко свестан ограничавајућих услова друштва у коме живи а истовремено неспособан да нађе начин да ради нешто што би им било истински потребно. Истовремено, разлози за то се налазе у претерано патријархалном друштву у коме је конзумеризам узет као основа за задовољавајући живот.

NAZISM, NATO AND WEST-EUROPEAN INTEGRATION – CORRELATION

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Abstract

After the Second World War, too many high-ranked Nazi-German officials were saved from deserved punishment and incorporated into post-war German society, and even into the process of West-European integration. That process was at first military, as NATO was founded *before* the European Coal and Steel Community. So, political issues were predominant. The reasons for such an approach were primarily connected with the ideological struggle between two main blocks, led by USA and USSR, but political and economic ties between two just ended war enemies, namely the Anglo-American leading circles and Nazis, had also been deeper than expected.

Key words: Nazism, European integration, Nuremberg trials, NATO, Humiliarism.

НАЦИЗАМ, НАТО И ЗАПАДНОЕВРОПСКЕ ИНТЕГРАЦИЈЕ – КОРЕЛАЦИЈА

Апстракт

После Другог светског рата, превише високих званичника нацистичке Немачке је поштеђено заслужене казне и инкрпорирано у послератно немачко друштво и чак у процес Западноевропске интеграције. Тај процес је био најпре војни јер је НАТО основан *пре* Европске заједнице за угаљ и челик. Дакле, политичка питања су доминирала. Разлози таквом приступу повезани су са идеолошком борбом два главна блока, предвођеним САД и СССР, али политичке и економске везе између доскорашњих непријатеља из тек окончаног рата, водећих англо-америчких кругова и нациста, биле су дубље него што би се могло очекивати.

Кључне речи: нацизам, европске интеграције, Нирнбершки процес, НАТО, хумилијаризам.

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INTRODUCTION

The name Europe has certain ambiguities – in the ancient Greek language, *Eu* meant something good, but at the same time, Europe was kidnapped by Zeus himself. A united Europe has been one of the most noble political ideas of all times, and at the same time, the European Economic Union has been created by the countries utterly defeated in the Second World War – namely, the completely destroyed Germany, the devastated Italy, the humiliated France, and the run-over Benelux.

What had been a driving force behind the fast moving European Coal and Steel Community? The only uniting force, both credible and crediting, of the so-called West was, at that time, the United States of America, or more directly, the American Committee for United Europe (ACUE), led by prominent names from the ‘intelligence community’ (Aldrich, 1997) from both sides of the Atlantic:

1. William Joseph Donovan, called Wild Bill, the son of Irish emigrants, and the first President of ACUE (during the Second World War he was the head of the Office of Strategic Services, the US intelligence agency);
2. Allen Welsh Dulles, one of ‘Colonel’ House’s¹ assistances during the Versailles Peace Process after the First World War, and to-be chief of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA);
3. Walter Bedell Smith, the first director of the then newly founded CIA; and
4. Tom Wardell Braden, who fought against Germans on the side of the British at the beginning of the Second World War, and then he became a prominent member of OSS, and who would say, years later, that he had been glad CIA was immoral².

After the Great War, Europe had already become an ‘old lady,’ with an almost equal number of military and civilian victims³. Ruined by the revolutionary forces led by the ‘successful’ communist leadership, the Old Continent was set up to accept cruel and dangerous dictators on such a large, never-before-seen scale. New mass media, like radio, was used

¹ “Colonel House” was a nickname of Edward Mandell House (1858-1938) who had been a counselor of US President Woodrow Wilson. His role in Versailles Peace Conference was prominent and he helped outlining so called the Fourteen Points. Before Great War, under a pen-name, he wrote a book Philip Drew: Administrator, A Story of Tomorrow 1920-1935 in which he describes a good-tempered dictator who put reforms in motion.

² Reference on CIA involvement in bribing the leaders of big workers unions like AFL-CIO etc. The Saturday Evening Post, May 20th, 1967.

³ Approximately total of 20 million deaths, 10 million military and 10 million civilians. (Source: REPERES, project funded with the support of the European Commission, author Nadege Mougel, CVCE, 2011.)

and abused in order to reach a large audience. It is interesting that the first man who used the phone as a means for political campaign was American President William McKinley. However, the first politician that abused radio waves was Adolf Hitler himself. He did it in a very fanatic way, like he did everything else.

Apart from pretending to be an exclusive German movement, Nazism was, in fact, an international product. Without money coming from the so called Dawes Plan, Germany would have never recovered from the devastating outcome of the First World War. Without hidden political support from abroad, Germany would have never been able to rebuild its military industry⁴. The ‘excuse’ for such an approach after the Great War was communism. The ‘excuse’ for saving so many of Hitler’s officers and high officials from deserved punishment at the Nuremberg trials following the Second World War was that same communism.

That ideology was created in Europe. Books on that matter were written in Brussels and London, not in pre-Lenin Russia. Fascism and Nazism were also created in Europe. The towns of Milano and Munich were the epicentres of that process.

EUROPEAN VALUES

So, what are the real ‘European Values’ that post-war Europe was attempting to espouse? Were those values liberalism and *laissez-faire* capitalism? They could be. But let us consider for a moment the names that marked the most important political and economic processes in Europe after the Second World War. The so called ‘Founding Fathers’⁵ of the to-be European Economic Union were Robert Schuman (1886-1963) and Jean Monnet (1888-1979).

Who were those new, brave men?

Schuman was born in Luxembourg. He grew up as a devout Catholic, and an even more devout anti-communist. His PhD in law was obtained in Strasbourg. His role during the First World War was unknown. As MP before the Second World War, he mostly kept silent. A devoted bachelor, he never got married. All of a sudden, he became a kind of Sub-Secretary for Refugees in Paten’s Nazi-collaborating Government. His official biography talks of his suffering under Nazism in occupied France.

⁴ The ‘key’ to the cooperation among the US, British and German companies were triangles: I. G. Farben – Union Banking Corporation (one of directors was Prescott Bush, grandfather of US President George H.W. Bush) – Bank for International Settlements etc. That led to the creation of corporations like the Ethyl Gasoline Corporation, German Steel Trust, DAPAG (*Deutsche-Amerikanische Petroleum A.G.*), AEG (German General Electric), Hamburg-America Line etc.;

⁵ Even this expression refers to ‘American roots of European integration’;

He allegedly escaped from prison and joined the Resistance (Roth, 2008). After the war, he became no more and no less than the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Schuman firmly supported the loans France took out from the newly established World Bank, whose first President was Eugene Meyer, a once celebrated journalist. The first speech against the (European) Communists in the French Parliament was given by Robert Schuman, who had kept calm during many years. On the 12th of July 1952, he wrote to Mr. Adenauer, the Chancellor of the post-war German Republic. Later, the main ideas from that letter were called Schuman's Plan. Adenauer firmly stated that the ideas in the letter were not predominantly economic, but mostly political.

The name of the father of Mr. Jean-Monnet was Homer Gabriel. They came from a region that predominantly produced a very good cognac. Young Monnet did not take part in the Great War due to poor health. But, like the Serbian Prime Minister's son at that time, he was involved in war-trade. The famous, but sometimes notorious Canadian Hudson Bay Company was one of his partners, as it had been in his young days. Between 1919 and 1923, Monnet became an associate of Eric Drummond, the first secretary of the newly founded League of Nations, a kind of pre-OUN (Monnet, 1978).

Mr. Monnet took care of business all his life. He got in contact with Mr. Elisha Walker, one of the leaders of Blair and Company, a US financial company. At the time of Hitler's occupation of most of Europe, Mr. Monnet escaped to London, then left England for the USA with the help of Mr. Churchill. Mr. Churchill would formulate a speech on the 19th of September 1946, in which he put emphasis on so called United States of Europe. The speech was delivered at the University of Zurich. Earlier, at the meeting of the French Committee of National Liberation in Algeria, on the 5th of August 1943, Mr. Monnet had said that there would be no peace in Europe unless the national states gave up national sovereignty. Europe, he said, had to be a federation⁶.

It was exactly what was proposed during the Great War by the husband of the famous Virginia Wolf, with the help of G. H. Shaw, also a famous Irish writer – you will give up your sovereignty, and we will give you our peace.

This idea is quite similar to what today's globalists preach.

On the other hand, who were the most important men who built the main pillars of the Euro-Atlantic integration?

⁶ In accordance with ideas of Pan-European Union, based on the manifesto *PanEuropa* (1923) written by Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi. Prominent lobbyist for those political inclinations was Otto von Habsburg (1912-2011);

NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) was created on the 4th of April 1949. Mr. Harry Truman, the President of United States at the time, called it, “My baby” (Rajović, 1975).

But, too many former Nazi generals and officials took part in that process of creating the Euro-Atlantic partnership. Like before the Second World War, the old partners continued their cooperation. That cooperation has, in fact, never stopped. Even during the worst war of all times, German high officials and Americans were in touch and continued some of their business. To that end, the most operative were the Dulles Brothers (Kinzer, 2013). After World War II, one brother became the Foreign Secretary, and the other was appointed the second chief of the newly established CIA (Central Information Agency).

The following names were very influential in creating NATO:

1. Reinhard Gehlen (1902-1979), Hitler’s former general – after the Second World War, he became the first President of the newly founded German *Bundesnachrichtendienst* (BND, i.e. Federal Intelligence Service);
2. Adolf Heusinger (1897-1982), Hitler’s former general – after the Second World War, he became the first general inspector of the newly founded *Bundeswehr*;
3. Herman Foertsch (1895-1961), Hitler’s former general – after the Second World War, he became a prominent member of BND and the co-author of Himmeroder Memorandum, a document on the rearmament of Germany;
4. Hans Speidel (1897-1984), Hitler’s former general – after the Second World War, he became NATO COMLANDCENT (Commander Allied Land Forces Central Europe); and
5. Heinz Gunter Guderian (1914-2004), son of Hitler’s general of the same name and former German Headquarter officer – after the Second World War, he became an inspector of the newly established *Bundeswehr* and NATO.

The list would be too long to name all of them, but even at a glance, it is obvious that most of them fought at the Eastern Front. Of course, it would be very inconvenient during the so called Cold War to praise those Nazi officers who fought against the British and Americans. It was clear that those veterans that bore many iron crosses on their chests would be very useful in the ideological or real fight against the ‘Soviet threat’. That is why it was not a surprise to see so many Nazi ancestors and supporters roaring in Maastricht in December 1991. At that time, they gave their open support to the ‘new states’ on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. According to the Arbitration Commission of the Peace Conference on Yugoslavia (so-called Badinter Commission), those new borders should have followed the administrative borders of the former republics.

lics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It was a purely political decision, not an expert one (Kreća, 1993).

The most interesting ‘detail’, ironically so, is the fact that Mr. Robert Badenter’s father died in a gas chamber in Sobibor, the concentration camp of those same Nazis that supported the ‘new states’ during the Second World War, namely Croatia, Slovenia and later Bosnia and Herzegovina. In a way, Mr. Badenter, a Columbia University student, and his bosses awarded the same ideological circles that followed Nazi ideas and gave their *Waffen-SS* divisions to Hitler in the period between 1941 and 1945.

So, Europe was, on the one hand, created on the progressive ideas of *LIBERTE, EGALITE, FRATERNITE, ou la mort* (Eng. equality, liberty and brotherhood or death, a part which is mostly ‘forgotten’). On the other hand, Europe was created on one very black stone (not to be confused with the company of a similar name, Black Rock). That corner-stone is Nazi legacy. If Europe does not recognize its own worst enemies, it will dissolve all values it fought for, really or allegedly.

On the 9th of May, Victory Day, Mr. Robert Schuman personally proposed the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the ‘granny’ of the European Economic Community and today’s European Union. In the famous Declaration, it was said that the cooperation of European nations demands the elimination of long disputes between Germany and France.

One year later, on the 18th of April 1951, the first six signatures were put on the Treaty on ECSC. It came to force on the 23rd of July 1952, and the first nation-members were: Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxemburg. The whole process went on under the watchful eyes of the USA, of course. Belgian MFA Paul-Henri Spaak, who helped found the Benelux Customs Union, noted that the abovementioned nations created the Roman Empire without firing a bullet⁷. At the same time, the main counsellors of the post-war German leader Conrad Adenauer were:

1. Hans Globke (1898-1973), formerly Hitler’s important ‘state lawyer’ who persecuted Jews – after the Second World War, he became a ‘grey eminence’ in German Chancellor Conrad Adenauer’s Government; and
2. Hermann Josef Abs (1901-1994), Hitler’s leading banker and the master-mind of the Nazi-robbery of Europe – after the Second World War, he became the President of the newly established Deutsche Bank and the main ‘overseer’ of the so called

⁷ See more: Konrad Adenauer, *Memoirs 1945-1953*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1966;

Marshall Plan (1948, officially: European Recovery Plan, meaning more than today's 170 billion US dollars) in post-war Germany (about 11% of the whole sum); he even supervised 24 German companies.

How does one understand that state of mind? How does one understand that connection between the so called liberals and fanatics like fascists and Nazis?

Contrary to fascism, which was focused on a totalitarian state, Nazism was more about nation and race. The future *fuhrer* Adolf Hitler expressed his political views in his book, which a smart editor called *Mein Kampf* (Eng. *My Struggle*), and with the help of his early associates like Rudolph Hess. Contrary to Machiavelli, who offered his ruler the means for the liberation of Italy, no matter how cruel they might be, the German Nazi leader expressed his 'system,' i.e. a kind of 'manual' for grabbing power in a devastated and disappointed post-war Germany. After stabilizing power within the country, Nazis, according to that 'school of opinions' would turn their main efforts towards foreign issues.

In his monstrous, but rather consistent system, it is possible to figure out what the main characteristics of the Nazi approach are, i.e. what they are against:

1. Bourgeois system identified with "citizens";
2. Communists and leftist parties;
3. The parliamentary system;
4. Internationalism;
5. Democracy;
6. Pacifism; and
7. Jews, who were marked as the 'race' responsible for all of the abovementioned 'evils' (numbers 1 through 6)⁸.

The fight against the bourgeois system had been more a declaration than reality, of course. The very name National Socialism (abbreviation - Nazism, in German *Nationalsozialismus*) was handy to allegedly connect far-right nationalism with the labour movement. Knowing very well the German workers massively supported social-democracy and communist parties⁹, Adolf Hitler tried to attract those powerful ranks in all possible ways, including beating his opponents. The cult of force and youth was the main visible characteristic of the Nazi movement.

⁸ On the other hand, Hitler considered *Aryans* the Prometheus of Mankind. The German Nazi-leader accepted Arthur de Gobineau's racial categories and was strongly influenced by Houston Stewart Chamberlain;

⁹ During the federal election in 1932, more than 13 million German voters supported leftist parties, which marks the same result achieved by the Nazi Party. Thus, Germany was a deeply divided society;

Democracy was a danger in itself, as it came out of the brutal end of the German Empire after the Great War. Millions of German soldiers believed in the myth of the ‘stab in the back’ i.e. the betrayal of their military leaders. Internationalism was treated like the fraud of proletarians. According to Hitler, it aimed to neglect national interests for the sake of communist institutions as COMINTERNA (Communist international movement), and wanted to break the unification of the German people that belong to the ‘higher race’: “From weak internationalist I have become a fanatic anti-Semite” (Hitler, 2010, p. 65)¹⁰.

Contrary to such an approach, the very idea of European unity has been made to embrace internationalism. It aimed at embracing different nations like Germans, Romans, Slavs, etc. But the rulers of that process have never hidden their racist side. Deeply rooted colonialism had been, in a way, preparation for the new totalitarian ideologies and real systems that appeared after the Great War. The first concentration camps came from wars in South Africa at the beginning of the 20th century. The first discreet societies that promoted Anglo-American cooperation with the community of English speaking nations appeared also at the beginning of the 20th century¹¹.

Was it by chance? Germany, with its late unification, under *Deutschland uber alles (Deutschlandlied)* song, lagged behind its colonial rivals like France and the UK. The music follows the hymn “Got erhalte Franz den Kaiser”, written in 1797 by the Austrian composer Joseph Haydn for the occasion of the birthday of Francis II, the mighty ruler of the Holy Roman Empire and, later, of Austria. In 1841, the German poet August Hoffmann von Fallersleben wrote the lyrics of “Das Lied der Deutschen.” Every real European ought to bear in mind the fact that one of the greatest Pan European lobbyists of all times, Otto von Habsburg, was buried by his own wish with the aforementioned song of his royal relatives.

It is not by chance that the European song utilises the poem “Ode to Joy”.

‘Values’ have always been at the centre of dispute over different parts of Europe. Bare political and economic interests were often hidden behind that magic word. After the Second World War, Winston Churchill

¹⁰ Hitler, A. (2010). *Mein Kampf*, Beograd: Beoknjiga, 2010, p. 65;

¹¹ The UK Pilgrims Society (1902) and its sister society the Pilgrims of the United States (1903) played an important role in cementing good and synchronized relations between the two countries. Prominent members: the Queen Elisabeth II, Nelson W. Aldrich, Nicholas M. Butler, Lord Carrington, Charles G. Dawes (Nobel Prize winner, creator of so called Dawes Plan after the First World War), Allen Dulles, J.F. Dulles, Alexander Haig, William Averell Harriman, Joseph Kennedy, Henry Luce, John Pierpont Morgan Sr., Henry Kissinger, George C. Marshall (Nobel Prize winner, creator of so called Marshal Plan after the Second World War), John D. Rockefeller, David Rockefeller, Jacob Schiff etc.;

promoted a story about the “Iron Curtain” in his speech called “The Sinews of Peace,” delivered at Westminster College in Fulton on the 5th of March 1946. By doing so, he was preparing the ground for the division of Europe, which he had already personally negotiated with Stalin two years earlier¹².

More than 50 years later, in another context, another high official said:

First, Welfare in USA in 21st century depends mostly, like it had been in 20th century on what is going on Europe. That is to say Euro-Atlantic community is indivisible and security ties over the Atlantic are unbreakable. Second, USA is well aware of the fact Europe is being defined again and again and we greet that fact. Europe is not a static phenomenon. It develops in its institutions, in measures of its integration as well as in its identity. Third, we recognize the role of Federal Republic of Germany as epicenter of this process – enlargement and expansion, spreading and deepening, and we greet that role. (...) On both sides of Atlantic there are opinions that this Pact is a kind of relict of Cold War thus it should get retired, with paying tributes possibly. In my opinion the best answer to that is a question paraphrase which made Voltaire celebrated, if NATO didn't exist should we invented it by all means? The answer is firmly yes.

(Talbot, Yalta Conference, February 1945, Crimea, USSR)

In this, at the time famous speech, Nelson Talbott, nicknamed Strobe due to his middle name Strobridge, announced the ‘new doctrine,’ i.e. NATO had to get ready to intervene out of its borders. In other words, from a defensive alliance, NATO aimed to morph into an offensive pact. OUN would be welcome if it got along with NATO’s proclaimed goals. Conversely, if such was not the case, it would be worse for OUN. Mr. Talbott was a US Foreign Secretary Deputy at the time. By declaring the new role for Germans, the USA also declared itself. It was a well-known fact the almost all leaders in post-war Germany were more or less approved by important American circles¹³. Such is the destiny of any occupied country.

What followed NATO since its creation on the 4th of April 1949 was just an illusion of allied forces. Fifty years later, it ‘celebrated’ its birthday by bombing the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, mostly Serbia. That was exactly what Mr. Talbott was searching for then in front of the German Society for Foreign Policy. All three war-mongers – Clinton, the President of the United States, Wesley Clark,¹⁴ the NATO Commander-

¹² Yalta Conference on February 1945, at Crimea, USSR;

¹³ For example, *Atlantik-Brücke*, founded in 1952, was a private lobby organization aiming at deepening cooperation between Germany, Europe and America at all levels. It promoted young German leaders at the time like Helmut Kohl, Helmut Schmidt, Angela Merkel, Wolfgang Ischinger etc.;

¹⁴ Real Wesley Clark’s last name was Kane. His mother’s last name was Goldman;

in-Chief, and Nelson Talbot were Rhodes Scholars¹⁵. So three good friends from their younger days united to become ‘Knights of Jedi’ and ‘fight against evil’ – not everywhere in the world, of course, just where interests lead them. The Star Wars movie became their reality.

Germans were supposed to show their gratitude. At the Nuremberg trials, the main *wehrowirtschaftsfurere* (economic leaders) from Hitler’s ‘hell cartel’ I.G. Farben were punished very lightly, or even freed (Jeffreys, 2008). The war in Korea marched on, and the Cold War was in sight. As Globke mentioned, Otto Ambros (1901-1990) became Conrad Adenauer’s counsellor. He was a chemist, and was involved in slavery and mass murder. He even invented the gas used in Nazi concentration camps, which was released in 1951. Later, he was an important official in American chemical companies like WR Grace, Dow Chemical, one of the three biggest firms of the kind in the world, and even the US Army Chemical Corps. A great role in liberating high-ranking Nazi officers and officials was played by a Scotch-Irish named John McCloy (1895-1989), War Minister Assistant during the Second World War, and World Bank President after the war. He became a trustee for occupied Germany, a post reserved only for trustworthy men. On the 31st of January 1951, the US High Commissioner for Germany, John McCloy, announced his final decision as concerned executive clemency for 89 German war criminals held in Landsberg. Mr. McCloy affirmed five death sentences out of the suggested fifteen, mainly for the members of *SS-Einsatz* troops. These pardons, coupled with good conduct, allowed for the very quick release of 32 prisoners. Among them was the notorious industrialist Alfred Krupp, accused of slave labour and the robbing of Nazi-occupied territories. That pardon came out only several months after the outbreak of the Korean War, which went along with the American proposition of immediate German rearmament¹⁶. That was not anything strange. Old pre-war partners, as we could see, merely planned to do the same work after the war, i.e. trade, mostly in arms.

Were those the ‘values’ that Europe was and still is attempting to espouse?

As Mr. Olli Ran, the former European Commission member in charge of EU- Enlargement, once said: “values make a border of Europe” (*Politika*, January 22nd 2005).

¹⁵ Rhodes scholarship (f. 1902) is one of the oldest and most appreciated international fellowship awards in the Western world. Each year 32 young students are selected from the United States to study at Oxford University, UK. The scholarship was founded by Cecil John Rhodes (1853-1902) diamond magnate, De Beers Company owner;

¹⁶ See more: American Policy and the Reconstruction of West Germany, 1945-1955. Edited by Jeffry M. Diefendorf, Axel Frohn and Hermann-Jossef Rupiart, Cambridge University Press, 1994;

‘LIBERAL NAZIS’

Probably in order to support European values, Mr. Monnet became the first President of the High Authority of ECSC. In 1956, Mr. Schuman became the first President of the European Movement. That same year, Mr. Monnet was elected the President of the Action Committee for United States of Europe. On the 2nd of April 1976, at the European Council meeting in Luxemburg, Mr. Monnet became an honorary citizen of Europe. All European students have been taught to know those noble names by heart. Very few, if any, would remember Lorenz Knorr (1921-2018), who left the German Social-Democrats in protest of their NATO policy affirmation. Mr. Knorr, along with Karl Graf von Westphalen and Renate Riemeck, founded DFU (German Peace Union). In 1961, Mr. Knorr sharply attacked what he saw as ‘cadre continuation’ from *Wehrmacht* to *Bundeswehr*. He called those generals, some of them mentioned in this article, mass murderers. He allegedly insulted generals Speidel, Heusinger, Foertsch etc. The famous philosopher Bertrand Russell took Mr. Knorr’s side. The court in Solingen came to a ‘Solomon decision,’ and the fine was a couple of hundreds of *deutsche marks*. Mr. Knorr made a documentary movie about Hitler’s generals’ guilt for war crimes, and sued generals Speidel and Heusinger at the Court of Law. But a public prosecutor in the town of Cologne dismissed all the charges in 1971.

Historian Vladimir K. Volkov (1930-2005), director of Institute of Slavic Studies in Moscow, wrote a book called *Operation Teutonic Sword*¹⁷. He underlined the role of, at that time, captain and military attaché assistant Hans Speidel in the assassination of Yugoslav King Alexander Karađorđević and the French Foreign Minister Louis Barthou.

Meanwhile, a very important and very capable former general of Hitler, general Erich von Manstein (1907-1973), remained outside of the scope of modern European researchers’ attention.

His real last name was Lewinski, which is obviously of Slavic origin, i.e. Polish or Kashubian, from the region of Pomerania. As an adopted son of a military family, he directed his career towards the Army. He was not a prominent Nazi-leader, but was a great admirer of the *fuhrer*. Otto Ohlendorf, leader of *Einsatzgruppe D* in SSSR, i.e. today’s Ukraine, was a mass-murderer. He testified at the Nuremberg trials that general Manstein knew very well what went on in the occupied territories. But some British military writers helped the general avoid his deserved punishment. The most important among them was Basil Henry Hart, nicknamed Liddell for the memory of his mother’s birth place in Scotland.

¹⁷ East Berlin daily *Neues Deutschland* published in May 23rd, 1957, published first article on assassination and Speidel’s role in this murder. NATO circles dismissed the arguments as ‘fake’;

High ranked military staff in the UK used to call him the ‘captain who taught generals.’ At the beginning of the Cold War, Mr. B. H. Hart Liddell was very useful in making the myth of the ‘Clean *Wehrmacht*’. He emphasized the notion that most of the persecuted German generals were not aware of the mass murders and *Shoah* (Nobel Prize winner Elie Wiesel called it the Holocaust). So, the generals were just doing their duty. Of course it was not true, but this was very instrumental in allowing Western Germany to join the Atlantic Community, i.e. NATO. One should explain to the so called Western audience why Germans became close partners with the Allies whom they had recently been fighting with all possible means.

The British audience was also not aware of the fact that many prominent British citizens supported Germany before the Second World War. They had even founded the Society of British-German Friendship in 1935. Those circles claimed that the Nazis were maybe nasty boys, but were good for business.

The Prince of Wales, later King Edward VIII was a prominent member and one of the founders of the Society. Other important members were Frank Cyril Tiarks, one of the directors of the Bank of England, and several tens of members of both Houses of Parliament. Also, strong companies like Price-Waterhouse, Unilever, Midland Bank, and Lazard Freres were also in that group of Nazi sympathizers.

So, it was not that strange that many important Nazi generals suddenly became ‘devoted Europeans’ and an important part of the NATO machinery. Erich von Manstein was one of the main government counselors in the process of rearming Western Germany. When he died, a state funeral was organized for the *generalfeldmarschal*, and many Germans came to say goodbye to their favourite myth.

Last but not least, we come to the most notable name in the motor and car industry –Ferdinand Porsche (1875-1951), an extraordinary engineer. In 1902, as a young soldier, he was the driver of Franz Ferdinand, the Austro-Hungarian Archduke, whose assassination in the Bosnian town of Sarajevo triggered the Great War in 1914. Porsche was born in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but after the First World War, he opted for a Czech citizenship. When Hitler came to power, he gave Mr. Porsche a contract to produce the *Folkswagen* (the People’s car, called ironically a *kafer*). The advertisement claimed that every German should have a car but, in reality, that ‘lucky chain’ was used and abused for future war financing. In 1934, Porsche took a German citizenship, as Hitler found Czechs to be a ‘lower race.’ He helped the military industry produce mighty arms and tanks like Tiger I, Elephant, the V1 rockets that were used in the bombing of London, etc. For his ‘achievements,’ he was promoted to *SS-Oberfuhrer* (colonel).

After the war, he was persecuted for using slave labour, mainly in the form of prisoners of war from the USSR. But, French Renault was in

need of such a brilliant engineer. He might have accepted, but one of the prominent heroes of the French Resistance was against such a ‘pact with the enemy’. His name was Pierre-Andre Lefaucheu, the first Renault president after the Second World War.

Nevertheless, the Porsche Company later hired Franz Six (1909-1975), a war criminal, Nazi propagandist and SS spy, leader of the *Einsatzgruppe B* in the USSR. He had earlier been convicted to 20 years in prison at the Nuremberg trials, pardoned to 10 years, and freed in 1952, after only 4 years. Then he became the executive marketing director in Porsche. Not surprisingly, the company also hired Joachim Peiper (1915-1976), *Waffen-SS* officer and war-criminal, called the ‘Killer from Malmedy.’

Obviously, there were ‘desirable Nazis,’ very ready to switch from being devoted racists and Greater Germany admirers to being ‘European integration followers and confirmed liberals.’

CONCLUSION

What were the main reasons for the incorporation of so many Nazis into the corner-stones of European integration and business communities after the Second World War? The following might serve as a few answers:

1. The confrontation of two mighty military and political blocks led by the USA and the USSR was underway;
2. The Cold War had been already started immediately after the Second World War;
3. The real Korean War was about to start;
4. Former business partners before World War II continued their cooperation after the war. The Trading with the Enemies Act of 1917 (US) and 1939 (UK) has been ‘forgotten’;
5. The Marshal Plan was ‘booked’ only for democracies, but the arbiter capable of defining what democracy at the time really was, when so many antidemocratic forces were pardoned, was unknown;
6. In order to pursue a kind of ‘Arranged World Society,’ powerful circles, some of them mentioned in this article, use and abuse all they think is necessary to achieve their goals. It is not Jesuitism, it is much worse; and
7. By forgiving Nazi murderers and their commanders, the victims are ‘killed twice,’ and the humiliation of mankind *is* the main goal of *humiliarism*¹⁸.

¹⁸ See more: Ilić, V. *PROMETEYA – Media Nazification of Serbian People*, Konras Foundation, Kragujevac, 2020;

As Richard J. Aldrich, PhD from Cambridge and Warwick University, put it:

After 1945, a variety of Western organizations, not just intelligence agencies, drew up programmes of covert operations designed both to undermine Communist influence in Europe and ensure a welcome for the Marshall Plan.

(Aldrich, 1997)

Declassified US Government documents, retrieved by Joshua Paul from Georgetown University in Washington, show that the USA shaped ‘European agenda.’ The documents even mention that Belgian Baron Rene Boel, president of the Belgian-American Association, received money through a special account for the purpose of supporting the European Youth Campaign, a branch of the European Movement whose leader was Joseph Hieronim Retinger. Retinger, who was born in Poland, suggested a ‘European flag,’ along with Arsene Heitz and Paul Levy, inspired by the Book of Revelation. Later, he was instrumental in forming the secretive Bilderberg Group¹⁹.

By a strange coincidence, the Council of Europe proclaimed the Flag of Europe in 1955, on the very day Adolf Hitler had published his *Mein Kampf* (December 8th). By chance or not, it was the 30th ‘anniversary’ of Hitler’s notorious book, published in 1925.

At the end of this article, there might be more questions than answers, of which one seems to be the most important. Could it be possible to be a ‘good European’ and, at the same time, a Nazi-follower and sympathizer?

The answer might also be clear: Europe yes, Nazism no!

One thing is for sure: there is a deep correlation between pardoning Nazis after the Second World War and the process of European integration. This could be called the ‘black cornerstone’ of Western Europe, and it is yet to be eradicated.

Totalitarian and (neo)liberal states, as well as some Western circles and individuals, as we could see, went hand in hand. Some politicians, like Robert Cooper, top-ranking but notorious counsellor of the former UK Prime Minister Anthony Blair, even proposed some kind of new liberal imperialism, or ‘altruism through colonialism’:

The challenge to the postmodern world is to get used to the idea of double standards. Among ourselves, we operate on the bases of laws and open cooperative security. But when dealing with more old-fashioned kinds of states outside the postmodern continent of

¹⁹ The Telegraph, an article on “Federal Europe”, a. Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, from Bruxelles, September 19th, 2000.

Europe, we need to revert to the rougher methods of an earlier era – force, preemptive attack, deception, whatever is necessary to deal with those who still live in the nineteenth century world of every state to itself. Among ourselves, we keep the law but when we are operating in the jungle, we must use the laws of the jungle.

(Milašinović, 2004, p. 99)

In Hitler's monstrous world, the law of the jungle was the only law. What connects racists, colonialists, NATO and the so called European integration? The answer could be described by just one word – humiliarism. But that is a word that (still) does not exist in the English language – it is a neologism yet to come.

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НАЦИЗАМ, НАТО И ЗАПАДНОЕВРОПСКЕ ИНТЕГРАЦИЈЕ – КОРЕЛАЦИЈА

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Резиме

По завршетку највећег војног сукоба свих времена, нацисти, водећи узрочници Другог светског рата, бивају по завршетку ратних дејстава и победе савезника инкорпорирани у изградњу и обнову послератне Западне Европе. У име „европског јединства“ и „Западних вредности,“ опроштено је некима од истакнутих ратних злочинаца, иако се знало да такви злочини не застаревају. Поред декларативне „борбе против комунизма,“ а СССР је изашао из рата са великим угледом у свету као носилац победе над нацизмом, постојали су и дискретни, скривенији токови координације у којима је велику улогу одиграо Амерички комитет за уједињену Европу. У том, пре свега политичком телу, водећу улогу су имали одређени кругови тзв. обавештајне заједнице са обе стране Атлантика. Знајући да ће бескрупулозни и у рату прекаљени поједини Хитлерови генерали и високи функционери бити веома добродошли у идеолошкој, политичкој, економској, „културној“ борби против СССР, укључујући и војну претњу, „оци-оснивачи“ најпре НАТО-а, а потом и Европске заједнице за угаљ и челик (дакле основних стубова евро-атлантских интеграција) одлучују да опросте дојучерашњим заклетим непријатељима то што су у рату били с друге стране и додељују им чак и високе чинове у оквиру новоснованог Атлантског пакта. Такви „пожељни Хитлерови генерали“ били су, између осталих: Шпајдел, Манштајн, Гудеријан и Ферч. Предратни пословни партнери са обе стране Атлантика, уз исто идеолошко објашњене „борбе против комунизма“, настављају да обављају посао започет пре Другог светског рата, онај исти посао који је знатно допринео успону Хитлерове војне и сваке друге индустрије, те га припремио за најстрашнији рат у историји.

Примери таквих „пожељних Хитлерових индустријалаца“ били су Алфрид Круп и Фердинанд Порше. На суђењу у Нирнбергу, благо су кажњени или пуштени након свега пар година тамнице захваљујући Џону Меклоју, другом председнику Светске банке, а потом америчком поверенику за окупирану Немачку. Поменути Хитлерови генерали и високи представници таквих фирми били су највећи донатори Хитлерове нацистичке партије, а међу њима је и И. Г. Фарбен, који је користио робовски рад ратних заробљеника из бројних концентрационих логора широм Трећег Рајха и окупиране Европе. Такав приступ, да се „злочин исплати“ и да је „пакт са ђаволом“ оправдан у име „вишег циља“ инкорпориран је у саме темеље европских и атлантских интеграција и представља „црни камен темељац“ Европе чак и данас. Следбенике тих кругова многи научни кругови називају „дубоком државом“ иако она није ни држава, нити је дубока. Заправо, идеолошки настављачи нацизма су хумилијаристи (од латинског humiliare, што значи понизити) јер је један од њихових главних циљева, осим контроле над Европом и највећим делом света, и унижење човека.

MAKING WITTGENSTEIN AN EXPRESSIVIST: A CONTEMPORARY INTERPRETATION OF LATER WITTGENSTEIN AND SOME OF ITS CONSEQUENCES ^a

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Abstract

The paper argues in favour of a novel interpretation of Wittgenstein's rule-following considerations by making its consequences explicit. The aforementioned novel interpretation offers us a new way of understanding Wittgenstein as an expressivist, and as claiming that a particular form of rationality is central to philosophy. The expressivist interpretation of later Wittgenstein's rule-following considerations provides us with tools to, in a way, unite all of the most plausible parts of the strongest disparate contemporary interpretations of the said primary text: the newest and, it seems, the currently most fashionable resolute reading and the realism/antirealism debate stemming from Kripke's famous Kripkenstein reading. The expressivist reading, thus, offers a way of explaining the therapeutic aspect of Wittgenstein, maintaining the continuity between earlier and later Wittgenstein, while also explaining what was so wrong about the project of *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*.

Key words: Wittgenstein, rules, expressivism, meaning, pragmatism.

ЧИЊЕЊЕ ВИТГЕНШТАЈНА ЕКСПРЕСИВИСТОМ: САВРЕМЕНА ИНТЕРПРЕТАЦИЈА ПОЗНОГ ВИТГЕНШТАЈНА И НЕКЕ ЊЕНЕ ПОСЛЕДИЦЕ

Апстракт

Рад аргументује у прилог нове интерпретације Витгенштајнове расправе о слеђењу правила чинећи њене последице експлицитним. Наведена нова интерпретација нуди нов начин за разумевање Витгенштајна као експресивисте и као да тврди да је један нарочит облик рационалности централан за филозофију. Експресивистичка интерпретација расправе о слеђењу правила позног Витгенштајна даје нам алате да, на својствен начин, ујединимо све најплаузибилније делове најјачих сукобљених савремених интерпретација наведеног примарног

^a The article was presented at the *Language, Literature, Process 2023 Conference* at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia.

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текста: најновије и, чини се тренутно најактуелнијег резолутног читања и расправе између реализма и антиреализма која произлази из Крипкеовог познатог Крипкештајн читања. Експресивистичко читање, стога, нуди начин да објаснимо терапеутски аспект Витгенштајна, који одржава континуитет између раног и позног Витгенштајна, те да такође објаснимо шта је то било тако погрешно у пројекту *Логичко-филозофског Трактата*.

Кључне речи: Витгенштајн, правила, експресивизам, значење, прагматизам.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to extract the consequences of a novel interpretation of Wittgenstein's rule-following considerations, and in that way argue in its favour. It will be claimed that such an interpretation offers us a way of understanding Wittgenstein more complete than any other currently on offer. This will be proved to be so by showing that the mentioned interpretation offers a strikingly holistic understanding of the various different or disparate strands of Wittgenstein's thinking – whereas other more common interpretations tend to favour and make central one or the other of such strands. Here, however, I will approach the issue from the side of Kripke's Kripkenstein – mainly because I believe it provides a correct view of the problem that Wittgenstein presents us with – and from there move on to discuss the so called resolute reading. The extremes my reading aims to reconcile are the said resolute reading on one side, and the positions grouped around the realism/antirealism debate introduced as various responses to Kripke's understanding of the problem Wittgenstein's discussion presents on the other (Kripke, 1982).

It will be argued that the said novel interpretation provides us with a way of understanding the later Wittgenstein as an expressivist – a characterization that fits surprisingly well with the author's opus, as we will see.

THE PROBLEM: NORMATIVITY OF MEANING

Kripke is first among the philosophers of the analytic tradition to realize that one of the central themes of Wittgenstein's *Philosophical Investigations* is the problem of normativity of meaning, contained in his discussions on rule-following: the so called rule-following considerations. Kripke reports on his findings in the now famed *Wittgenstein on Rules and Private Language: An Elementary Exposition* (1982), which proves an opening of a fruitful discussion that still has not reached a conclusion. Due to difficulty in explaining the normativity of meaning that Kripke interprets rule-following considerations as demonstrating, some philosophers like Anandi Hattiangadi are ready to question whether meaning is factually normative (Hattiangadi, 2007).

Kripke claims that the most important sections of *Philosophical Investigations* aim at showing that there is no fact to the matter regarding the meaning of a person's utterance (Kripke, 1982, p. 13). Put otherwise, they aim at showing that there is nothing in the world that could fulfil the role of a truth-maker for a semantic sentence. This is so because such facts are, as J. L. Mackie would put it, "objective and intrinsically prescriptive" – and there are no such facts in the world (Mackie, 1990, p. 37)¹.

The key for Kripke is in the following paragraph: "no course of action could be determined by a rule, because every course of action can be brought into accord with the rule" (Wittgenstein, 2009, §201). Whatever we are told the meaning of an expression is, we can go on to use the expression in one of the infinitely many ways – whatever the meaning of an expression is, it cannot be what determines the proper use because it allows many different interpretations in regards to how it determines the use of the expression – and every expression can be used in a multitude of very different ways. In other words, whatever the meaning of an expression is, there is no way to uniquely and non-trivially determine the proper use of the expression from it. The meaning of an expression should be that which determines all instances of the proper use of an expression, but there seems to be no way to determine such normative relation between a particular meaning and a particular expression. Whatever the meaning is, it is finite – there is a particular moment in time in which we do grasp the meaning of an expression – whereas the many different uses of an expression are basically infinite: "The rule, once stamped with a particular meaning, traces the lines along which it is to be followed through the whole of space" (*ibid.* §219).

Wittgenstein throughout the book offers many examples to prove the use of an expression is subdetermined by its meaning. Kripke ingeniously generalizes them all in a single example, the famous *quaddition* example (Kripke, 1982, pp. 7-11). Quaddition is a function defined via the mathematical function of addition. The quaddition symbol is quus ("⊕"), with the following meaning:

$$\begin{aligned}\oplus &= x + y, \text{ if } x, y < 57 \\ &= 5 \text{ otherwise}\end{aligned}$$

If such a function is plausible, how can we tell the difference between addition and quaddition on ordinary cases? If a child never added a number bigger than 57, what would be the right answer to the question of what the sum of 57 and 68 is? Is it 5 or, rather, is it 125? Is the child using 'plus' to mean addition or quaddition? Given the evidence, we simply cannot tell what the right answer is. There is no fact to the matter whether

¹ Hence Mackie's error theory in metaethics.

the child in using 'plus' before having been faced with the most current question meant addition or quaddition: whether it be entities, all the previous instances of use, dispositions, etc.

The example threads on the fact of the finitude of the proposed meaning: whatever it is, it is supposed to be something finite determining an infinite number of future instances of use. Even if we evoke all the previous examples of use or even dispositions, there is no way to uniquely determine the next case – there are many different coherent hypotheses available. Dispositions only tell us how to subject will act, now how a subject should act, given the circumstances. The contrast between finite and infinite is supposed to demonstrate that the demand for normative relation between meaning and use cannot be fulfilled: meaning cannot be normative in a required manner since whatever it is, it always allows for radically different, equally plausible interpretations.

This is the part of Wittgenstein I am convinced Kripke managed to get right. However, Kripke goes on to argue that Wittgenstein offers a skeptical solution to such a skeptical problem. I think he is in the wrong with regards to the solution, and in calling the problem 'skeptical' but will not here explicitly argue against Kripke's claims, especially about the skepticism part. Rather, I will call upon the already mentioned novel interpretation of rule-following considerations which shows exactly why Kripke cannot be right, and what really is Wittgenstein's solution of the presented problem.

Regardless of Kripke's views on Wittgenstein, the rule-following considerations seem to leave us with two options to solve to problem of normativity of meaning. Either meaning is to be postulated as a sort of a platonic entity, existing in its own special realm, given that nothing in the world can be 'objective and intrinsically normative.' Or, there are no objective normative meanings really – the claim that our utterances actually mean something is nothing but a seeming – as are the necessary connections of natural laws, and we seem to communicate by a sheer chance. Neither option is really plausible. The first is not because it makes the epistemic access to meanings impossible, requiring of us some further cognitive or epistemic capacities over the ordinary ones. The second is not because we all are pretty much sure that what we say makes all the world of difference: if I was to say to someone that it is raining outside, the person hearing that utterance would surely prepare an umbrella when she was ready to leave. That would not be the case if I said that the new Christopher Nolan movie was not worth watching. The utterances mean something, and we use them exactly because of their meanings in order to communicate something particular to our fellow humans. Therefore, we cannot just accept the skeptical problem of the rule-following considerations and leave things as is. Wittgenstein was well aware of that.

THE SOLUTION

The key to understanding Wittgenstein's solution is in appreciating that 'meaning' functions differently from the best part of our language. Already in *The Blue and Brown Books* Wittgenstein realizes that the conception of meaning central to the *Tractatus* will not suffice

'Meaning' is one of the words of which one may say that they have odd jobs in our language. It is these words which cause most philosophical troubles. Imagine some institution: most of its members have certain regular functions, functions which can easily be described, say, in the statutes of the institution. There are, on the other hand, some members who are employed for odd jobs, which nevertheless may be extremely important. —What causes most trouble in philosophy is that we are tempted to describe the use of important 'odd-job' words as though they were words with regular functions.

(Wittgenstein, 1969, p. 44)

These positive remarks are to be contrasted to the negative remarks of the rule-following considerations, since they are first and foremost aimed at the conception of meaning that is according to certain interpretations central to the *Tractatus*. The said conception of meaning is known as the *pictorial theory of meaning* which claims that meaningful sentences are only those that picture states of affairs and their functions. This theory is a version of *semantic representationalism* which is the broader target of the later Wittgenstein's negative remarks. Semantic representationalism claims that all the meaningful expressions are in the job of representing reality. The central question of rule-following considerations thus becomes: "What does 'meaning' represent?" Alternatively, the central question becomes: "What does 'meaning' stand for?" As we have seen, given its inherent normative nature, whatever 'meaning' of a particular expression stands for, it cannot be what determines how that expression is to be correctly used. Therefore, we can conclude that at least in the case of semantic sentences semantic representationalism cannot be true. This is why Wittgenstein claims that 'meaning' has to be doing a different job than most other words of our language, why its role cannot be that of representing reality. However, only claiming that meaning is doing a peculiar job is not in itself enough to help us actually understand it. In other words, it does not suffice in giving us a positive account of meaning.

In *Investigations* Wittgenstein makes two types of claims regarding meaning. First, in many different places, he claims that meaning is nothing but the explanation of meaning a competent speaker can offer: "...Isn't my knowledge, my concept of a game, completely expressed in the explanations that I could give?" (Wittgenstein, 2009, §75).

One of the examples of explanation is practical:

I'll teach him to use the words by means of examples and by exercises. And when I do this, I do not communicate less to him than I know myself...

...I do it, he does it after me; and I influence him by expressions of agreement, rejection, expectation, encouragement. I let him go his way, or hold him back; and so on.

(*ibid.* §208)

The learning happens in practice. The pupil needs teacher's affirming behaviour in order to 'keep going in the right way'. It amounts to a sort of learning by example. Wittgenstein is here implying that whatever meaning is it has to be completely public, in order for it to be learnable. So, whatever I can explain to someone as meaning of the expression, if he can understand it and 'go on in the same way' to use the said expression, than he has learned all there is to learn about the meaning of the expression, and nothing mysterious is left: "Once I have exhausted the justifications, I have reached bedrock, and my spade is turned. Then I am inclined to say: 'This is simply what I do'" (*ibid.* §217).

This ties in perfectly with the other typical explanation of meaning to be found in the *Investigations*, the one focused on use, rather than explanation. Some examples of such paragraphs are as following:

... the meaning of a word is its use in the language.

(*ibid.* §43)

One cannot guess how a word functions. One has to look at its application and learn from that.

(*ibid.* §340)

So, what Wittgenstein urges us to do in order to understand the meanings of our expressions is to look at the ways we use our words, and from that extract the explanation of their meaning. Many philosophers like Kripke seem to oversimplify this side of *Investigations* in claiming that Wittgenstein there proclaims his antirealist, assertability theory of meaning or even that he just does away with any sort of explanation and basically claims that 'anything goes' if a particular local linguistic community allows it, since there is nothing more to meaning than that.

In his "Realistička i antirealistička interpretacija Vitgenštajnovе rasprave o sleđenju pravila" (Jandrić, 2021) Andrej Jandrić demonstrates all the faults of the Dummettian distinction between realist and antirealist theories of meaning. By the same token, he offers the novel reading of Wittgenstein's solution to the problems of rule-following considerations. We have already seen that in *Investigations* Wittgenstein characterizes the meaning of an expression as that which is given in explanation of its

meaning, and which can be found in its use. However, as Jandrić shows, already in *The Blue and Brown Books* Wittgenstein offers us way of understanding what are the later remarks supposed to mean:

Let us introduce two antithetical terms in order to avoid certain elementary confusions: To the question “How do you know that so-and-so is the case?”, we sometimes answer by giving ‘criteria’ and sometimes by giving ‘symptoms’. If medical science calls angina an inflammation caused by a particular bacillus, and we ask in a particular case “why do you say this man has got angina?” then the answer “I have found the bacillus so-and-so in his blood” gives us the criterion, or what we may call the defining criterion of angina. If on the other hand the answer was, “His throat is inflamed”, this might give us a symptom of angina. I call “symptom” a phenomenon of which experience has taught us that it coincided, in some way or other, with the phenomenon which is our defining criterion. Then to say “A man has angina if this bacillus is found in him” is a tautology or it is a loose way of stating the definition of “angina”. But to say, “A man has angina whenever he has an inflamed throat” is to make a hypothesis.

(Wittgenstein, 1969, pp. 24-25)

The distinction between the criteria and symptoms provides us a way of claiming that meaning is objective and normative, and not something bound to whatever goes within a given linguistic community. We can use an expression in many a way – but not every single use is central to the meaning of the expression. The criteria tell us when we should necessarily use an expression – they determine its meaning. The symptoms are contingent empirical occurrences concurrent with various utterances of the expression. The criteria are what we cite when we aim to teach someone to use an expression and they are necessary. Symptoms, thus, are not parts of the meaning of a sentence, only criteria are.

Therefore, a competent speaker is the one who is capable of explaining the meaning, that is, who can discern the criteria of an expression from its symptoms and cite them in order to in that way teach someone the meaning of the expression. Those who can use the expression, but cannot discern the criteria from the symptoms, thus, cannot be labelled competent speakers, since they cannot recognise the difference between proper or right use and use *simpliciter*. The use of an expression needs to be norm governed by its meaning, and meaning is provided by the criteria of an expression, filtered from all of its previous uses.

THE EXPRESSIVISM

The normative nature of meaning thus comes from the normative nature or rulishness of the ways in which human subjects act in using or uttering the expressions. Everything we needed to know about meaning was already there – in our use, it is just that we need to appreciate the rulishness of such practice when philosophically inspecting the nature of meaning. Thus, our semantics are to be derived from our pragmatics – the theory of use of expressions. The function of ‘meaning’ is to talk about certain aspects of our practices, and not about the world – there is no such entity as meaning, only norm governed practices of using the expressions. In that sense we can talk about Wittgenstein’s solution to the problem of rule-following considerations as a sort of *via media*: neither meanings are a sort of platonic ‘objective and intrinsically prescriptive’ entities nor are we in the wrong when we claim that there are meanings (Jandrić, 2022, pp. 22-27). There are meanings and they are both objective and prescriptive, but they are not entities of any sort. Meaning is both use and what is explained by a competent speaker: if we claimed that meaning is use than there would be no way to discern between proper use and any use of the word.

The criteria that competent speaker cites when attempting to teach someone are supposed to make explicit the rules implicit in the practices of using the expressions, or, put another way, the criteria represent our putting in the words of our practical mastery of using a particular expression. The claims about meaning are, thus, *expressive* – they make explicit what was implicit in practice (*ibid.*, 25). Also, they are metalinguistic in a sense that they are about language itself, about its use to be more specific. Semantic sentences do not represent the reality, but make our practices of claiming explicit to ourselves.

The practices of using expressions come before our thinking about meanings. Thus, Wittgenstein is claiming the irreducibility of meaning – we cannot get meaning from something that is devoid of it, something we could argue is in some way more fundamental than meaning. This is why “If we say, ‘Every word in the language signifies something’, we have so far said nothing whatever; unless we explain exactly what distinction we wish to make” (Wittgenstein, 2009, §13). Talking about objects of reference but not talking about rules that govern the use of the expression gets us nowhere. Hence, “One cannot guess how a word functions. One has to look at its application and learn from that” (*ibid.* §340). Asserting a semantic sentence then proceeds to help us assert the rule that was always already implicit in the said use.

Therefore, the ability to use expressions or vocabularies with expressive meaning is dependent of ability to use expression or vocabularies with ordinary descriptive meaning. If I cannot even use an expression, then I cannot talk about its meaning. Thus, I first need to be able to describe to world around me, and that is all that is required of me in order to

be able to talk about meanings of my utterances. In other words, having the ability or knowing how to talk about the world around me is all the ability or knowledge I need in order to be able to talk about or know about the meanings of my utterances. There is no further ability or knowledge required in order to talk about or know about meanings of the utterances. Thus, there is a pragmatic dependence relation between the practices of using ordinary empirical descriptive vocabulary and using the expressive semantic vocabulary (Brandom, 2014, p. 39). The knowledge of meanings of our utterances turns out to be trivial: by being able to use our words, we already know all there is to know about their meanings (Jandrić, 2022, p. 26).

There is another side to this pragmatic dependence relation that can be summarized by claiming that the semantic vocabulary is a *pragmatic metavocabulary* for our ordinary empirical descriptive vocabulary. A pragmatic vocabulary is a vocabulary in which we specify the practices necessary for using a particular vocabulary. This is a way of explicating the claim that semantics are to be conducted in terms of pragmatics. Thus, the role of semantic sentences is to codify the rules implicit in our everyday use of expressions. Put another way, the role of semantic sentences is to transform *knowing how* into *knowing that* (*ibid.* 25). One part of Wittgenstein's *Investigations* is focused on showing that we cannot even begin to comprehend expressions that are not in any way being used (Wittgenstein, 2009, §§310-421). Thus, the representationalist semantic paradigm turns out to be a "quasi-Platonic idea that we are capable of a direct and unmediated intuition of laws or principles that are then applied in behaviour" (Redding, 2007, p. 73).

We can, therefore, see in which way Wittgenstein influenced the current pragmatist debate between Brandom's (Robert B. Brandom) inferential, Price's (Huw Price) subject naturalist and Blackburn's (Simon Blackburn) rolling pragmatism. Their debate, among other more minor issues, centres on the question about which pragmatic metavocabulary should we use in our analysis of meaning. Wittgenstein, I claim, is the progenitor of the metalinguistic pragmatist or expressivist tradition. Many claim that Richard Rorty deserves such a title, but I believe that in claiming that Wittgenstein actually deserves it, we manage to explain why Rorty was so fascinated by the work of the later Wittgenstein, and why and how exactly did he understand the Austrian philosopher. Furthermore, as we have already seen, this helps us understand the relation between pragmatism, broadly understood on one side and expressivism on the other.

THE CONSEQUENCES

The expressivist reading of Wittgenstein's rule-following considerations offers a novel way of reconciling what were previously thought to be conflicting interpretative strands in understanding the late work of the Austrian philosopher. I want to claim that the most striking parts of the resolute reading of Wittgenstein can be shown to be in agreement with the here presented expressivist reading. There, I want to claim lays the main strength of the expressivist reading: it offers us a way of providing a unified understanding of what until now seemed disparate strands in Wittgenstein's thinking. Also, this reading is in some degree of agreement with dispositional readings of Wittgenstein's positive answers to the problems of rule-following considerations present in the work of aforementioned Simon Blackburn and Huw Price (Blackburn, 2010). It agrees with the expressivist reading in the sense that it also claims that later Wittgenstein is a *functional pluralist*.

The thesis of functional pluralism claims that different parts of language can play various different roles, like representing, describing, expressing the rules of use or expressing attitudes, etc. Put differently, there is no single model for determining the meaning of an expression, and that is exactly why Wittgenstein introduces the notion of *family resemblances* (Wittgenstein, 2009, §67). He also claims that

Our language can be regarded as an ancient city: a maze of little streets and squares, of old and new houses, of houses with extensions from various periods, and all this surrounded by a multitude of new suburbs with straight and regular streets and uniform houses.

(*ibid.* §18)

But, "We don't notice the enormous variety of all the everyday language-games, because the clothing of our language makes them all alike" (*ibid.* §335). The plurality of function lies beneath the surface area, on which everything linguistic seems alike, and because of what we seem to err when we attempt to explain the meanings. We tend to assume that because everything linguistic seems like its job is to represent or describe, semantic sentences have to be doing the same job. But in reality, there are many functions an expression can perform, as we have seen.

The resolute readers' main focus is on *Tractatus*, for example Cora Diamond's "Throwing Away the Ladder: How to Read the *Tractatus*" (Diamond, 1988). The term 'resolute reading' is supposed to refer to a way of reading the penultimate section of the book, stating:

My propositions are elucidatory in this way: he who understands me finally recognizes them as nonsensical, when he has climbed out through them, on them, over them. (He must so to speak throw away the ladder, after he has climbed up on it.)

(Wittgenstein, 2001, 6.54)

A resolute reading of the given section maintains that the sentences comprising the body of the book must be recognized as *simply nonsensical*, without any content whatsoever (Bronzo, 2012, p. 47). In other words, the resolute reading does not admit of the standard view that claims the existence of two kinds of nonsense in *Tractatus*. In any case, they agree with aforementioned authors in embracing the non-theoretical aspect of Wittgenstein. However, they disagree regarding Wittgenstein's metaphilosophy. The resoluteness of resolute reading lies in the claim that Wittgenstein resolves the questions, not by answering them, but by showing them to be senseless, and hence not worth stating. The central claim of the resolute readers is the claim of continuity between earlier and later Wittgenstein. For both early and later Wittgenstein, according to resolute readers, philosophy is something to be *practiced*, not something to be *learned* – it is a sort of therapy we conduct in order to live and act differently (Contant, 2019; Diamond, 1988). As Wittgenstein himself puts it: “To show the fly the way out of the fly-bottle” (Wittgenstein, 2009, §309). It seems as though Kripke would not agree with these claims, given the skepticism he ascribes to Wittgenstein.

The non-resolute readers of Wittgenstein attempt to capture this aspect of his philosophy by claiming that he subscribes to *philosophical quietism* (Blackburn, 2019, p. 125). The thesis of philosophical quietism claims that there should not be any theorizing in philosophy, any postulation of entities in order to explain the phenomena. Wittgenstein is very often quite clear about this:

All *explanation* must disappear, and description alone must take its place. And this description gets its light, that is to say, its purpose from the philosophical problems. These are, of course, not empirical problems; but they are solved through an insight into the workings of our language, and that in such a way that these workings are recognized despite an urge to misunderstand them. The problems are solved, not by coming up with new discoveries, but by assembling what we have long been familiar with. Philosophy is a struggle against the bewitchment of our understanding by the resources of our language.

(Wittgenstein, 2009, §109)

Also talking about philosophy, he claims: “It leaves everything as it is”

(*ibid.* §124).

Therefore, only describing what is already there is allowed when doing philosophy. Wittgenstein here assumes that explanation implies postulating entities that would explain the given facts, whilst description should leave everything as is, only put the given facts in their proper places.

This, however, can seem to be in conflict with the expressivist reading here offered. If there is a positive answer to the question of meaning in Wittgenstein, then how could we claim that he was a philosophical quietist? I want to claim that asserting that Wittgenstein was a philosophical quietist is an oversimplification, and that the expressivist reading offers us a way to understand his position in a much clearer light.

This is the sense in which Conant's claim about there being some *Socratic aspects* of Wittgenstein's thought is on the right track, or rather, a sense in which it offers us a platform on which the expressivist reading can expand on, by further explicating the nature of such Socratic aspects (Conant, 2019). The Socratic aspects are the metaphilosophical claims about philosophy being a practice to be conducted, not a theory to be learned. The origins of this view are to be found in Stanley Cavell's 'therapeutic reading' of the later Wittgenstein. Its goal is the betterment of our lives, the changing of the ways in which we act and 'be' in the world. It is philosophy in the sense of in which philosophers of the Hellenistic period understood it (and perhaps even Spinoza): the activity of *curing the suffering of the soul* in teaching us about ourselves, and not something to be learned by reading certain books (Conant, 2019, p. 244). It is a sense of philosophy that cannot be understood as merely professional, or as Rorty would put it, tied to a *fach* and formal institutions – it is philosophy understood as entwined to one's life and its contingencies – a philosophy understood as a *way of life* (*ibid.*, 245). And it is Socratic in the sense that knowing ourselves is the highest (and only) form of this ethical, practical knowledge. In the words of Epicurus:

Empty are the words of that philosopher who offers no therapy for human suffering. For just as there is no use in medical expertise if it does not provide therapy for bodily diseases, so too there is no use in philosophy if it does not expel the suffering of the soul.

(Epicurus; quoted in Porphyry, 1987, p. 155, quoted in Conant, 2019, p. 245)

Socrates, as Cicero puts it, "calls philosophy down from the heavens and sets it in the cities of men" asking the questions about life and morality (Cicero, 1927, *Tusculan Disputations* V, IV, 10, quoted in Conant, 2019, p. 248). Wittgenstein, according to Conant, aims to do the same, and not talk about semantic, intensional or intentional entities, but about ourselves and our practices. My expressivist reading helps us further elaborate the Socratic aspects of Wittgenstein, by providing ways to understand what exactly does this knowledge of ourselves amount to, in the case of meaning at the very least.

The expressivist reading claims that the semantic sentences talk about our practices of use that come before we can even talk about the meaning. Thus, semantic sentences do not talk about any sort of new enti-

ty – they do not *explain* by postulating. Semantic sentences talk about our practices – they *describe* what was already there, and by doing that they make explicit the rules always already implicit in our practices. We thus achieve a sort of *semantic self-knowledge* or *semantic self-consciousness*. By putting the rules of our conduct into words, we can then proceed to be critical of, and change the way we act, since only then can we offer reasons for and against the practical rules we follow in acting in the world. The goal of philosophy in this sense can then be claimed to be a special kind of rationality – the Socratic expressive rationality.

This still allows us to label Wittgenstein a philosophical quietist, in one sense. That sense here being the one in which Wittgenstein overcomes the modernistic representational conception of rationality or knowledge, or rather returns back to a Socratic expressive conception of rationality. Wittgenstein is a quietist in a sense in which he doesn't postulate a special kind of objects in order to explain phenomena that science has trouble explaining, such as meaning, mathematical and logical objects, intentionality, etc. Rather, he turns to us and our practices, and finds there as implicit everything he needs in order to make it explicit, or, as he says, to describe it in order to achieve a 'perspicuous representation.' The criteria the expressivist reading argues about is one example of such a description, of implicit becoming explicit, of us achieving self-consciousness, of Socratic expressive rationality. This is why Wittgenstein claims that his books should be dismissed after we've read them: they cannot help us themselves in any way.

Thus, I think it would be more adequate to label Wittgenstein a metaphysical rather than philosophical quietist, since he does offer a particular way of understanding and solving philosophical problems, and does not merely dismiss them. Hence, labelling Wittgenstein a philosophical quietist is an oversimplification: he does not offer a particular theory, but a whole new (or rather, old) understanding of philosophy and its problems. The expressivist reading with the help of Conant's resolute reading approach to the Socratic aspects of Wittgenstein help us demonstrate this. Wittgenstein is not an anti-philosopher, nor is his aim to end all philosophy once and for all (Conant, 2019, p. 249)². He rather seems to wish to take it back to its Socratic glory days, and its focus back onto ourselves. "To show the fly the way out of the fly-bottle" tells of the self-conducted activity of the fly, or rather, of the philosopher (Wittgenstein, 2009, §309).

I will have to end my discussion here. I hope to have offered, at least a sketch of a novel reading of the later Wittgenstein and some of its consequences. I can here only promise to return to the subject and work out its consequences in more detail and with careful attention to all of its peculiarities.

² This is where Rorty's understanding of Wittgenstein goes horribly wrong.

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ЧИЊЕЊЕ ВИТГЕНШТАЈНА ЕКСПРЕСИВИСТОМ: САВРЕМЕНА ИНТЕРПРЕТАЦИЈА ПОЗНОГ ВИТГЕНШТАЈНА И НЕКЕ ЊЕНЕ ПОСЛЕДИЦЕ

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Резиме

Рад аргументује у прилог нове, експресивистичке интерпретације позног Витгенштајна. Тврди се да оваква интерпретација омогућује да објединимо интерпретативне увиде о овом аутору који су се до сада сматрали опречним, тј. чије се наглашавање до сада сматрало истовремено неодрживим. Један од ових интерпретативних увида представља Крипкеово читање негативних поенти расправе о слеђењу правила, које тврди да расправа о слеђењу правила намерава да покаже проблем нормативности значења при сваком тврђењу неке семантичке реченице или реченице о значењу. Други од ових интерпретативних увида је увид такозваних „резолутних“ интерпретатора Витгенштајна, који тврди да је Витгенштајнова филозофија, и позна и ранија, терапеутска, „сократовска“ и радикално антитеоријска. Другим речима, резолутни интерпретатори Витгенштајна читају као филозофа посвећеног животу појединца и самоспознаји, наспрот највећег броја историјских филозофа који теже да открију делове стварности постављајући теорије и хипотетишући о доступном сведочанству. Експресивистичка интерпретација помоћу позивања на Витгенштајнову дистинкцију између појмова критеријума и симптома обједињује увиде оба ова читања тако што тврди да је Витгенштајнов одговор на проблем слеђења правила, тј. проблем нормативности значења управо у томе што оно представља један облик знања и рационалности радикално различит од оног присутног у природним и другим наукама. Знање значења захтева један облик самоспознаје, знања о сопственим праксама употребе речи, о којима заправо говоре наше тврдње значења. Стога, о значењу не треба да говоримо у семантичком метавакабулару који претпоставља да се значења исцрпљују у терминима релација референције и истине, већ у прагматичком метавакабулару који о значењу говори у терминима говорећих субјеката и њиховим праксама употребе вокабулара. Тврди се да стога Витгенштајн у једном значајном смислу јесте антитеоријски филозоф: он, како то сам каже, не допушта објашњења у смислу постулатије ентитета – што би представљало метод анализе значења у семантичком метавакабулару; већ искључиво описе или дескрипције онога већ доступног – што представљала управо метод анализе значења у прагматичком метавакабулару. Кроз текст се у прилог експресивистичког читања цитира значајна примарна текстуална евиденција из различитих Витгенштајнових дела. Коначно, тврди се да оваква експресивистичка интерпретација помаже да ближе одредимо тврђење једног од резолутних интерпретатора Витгенштајна, Џејмса Конанта, о постојању сократовског аспекта у Витгенштајновој филозофији. Наведени сократовски аспект експресивистичко читање интерпретира управо као тврђење о стављају сопствених имплицитних практичних способности или знања како употребе термина у експлицитан облик тврђења или знања да, које тиме постаје подложно критичкој евалуацији и потенцијалној промени. Утолико можемо да тврдимо да Витгенштајн, као и сам Сократ, сматра да је поента филозофије управо у томе да освестимо и променимо своје начине поступања, услед њиховог првобитног јасног разумевања.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR AUTHORS ON PAPER PREPARATION

Formatting. Papers should be sent as *Microsoft Office Word* files (version 2000, 2003, 2007), font *Times New Roman*, font size 12. Page setup margins should be 2.5 cm (top, bottom) and 2.5 cm (left, right), paper size A4 (210 mm x 297 mm). Paragraphs should be formatted with line spacing 1.5, and justified (Format, Paragraph, Indents and Spacing, Alignment, Justified). Do not break words at the end of the line.

Paper length. Research papers should not exceed 37.000 characters (spaces included), and reviews should not be longer than 8.000 characters (spaces included).

Language, alphabet. The languages of publication in the TEME is English (font *Times New Roman*). Contributions be rejected if the language is not at the appropriate level of correctness and style. If the authors wish to increase the visibility of their papers, they are supposed to submit Serbian version of the article as well (as Supplementary file - Word format, using the Cyrillic alphabet).

PAPER

The author should remove from the text of the paper all the details that could identify him/her as the author. Authors must enter all the necessary data during the electronic submission of the paper.

PAPER STRUCTURE

- **Paper title in English**
- **Abstract in English** 100 to 250 words, followed by 5 key words.
- The title and the abstract of the paper should be directly linked to the paper content, with no information that would identify the author(s) of the paper.
- **Paper title in Serbian**
- **Abstract in Serbian**, followed by 5 key words.
- The paper should follow the **IMRAD** structure (Introduction, Methods, Results and Discussion), when it presents an empirical study
- **Paper body** should not contain more than three levels of subdivision into *sections* and *sub-sections*. Level one sections should be introduced by headings printed in *Italic* and in **CAPITAL LETTERS**, formatted as centred. Level two sections should be introduced by headings in *Italic*, with the initial capital letter, formatted as centred. Level-one and level-two headings should be separated from the previous text by one line. Level three sections should be introduced by a heading printed in *Italic*, but placed as a regular paragraph, separated by a full-stop from the text that follows.

Each paragraph should have the first line indented (1 cm).

In-text citations: Whenever referring to a source (monograph, article, statistical source), the author should cite the source in the text, using the

author-date system (Surname, year of publication, pages referred to, all in brackets) – Please, refer to the table at the end of these *Instructions*.

- When referring to several works by the same author, provide all the years of publication chronologically after the author's name. If there are several works by the same author published the same year, provide further specification using letters (a, b,...) after the year of publication: "...confirming this hypothesis (Wuthnow, 1987a, p. 32)...".

- When referring to several works by different authors, provide the authors' names in brackets following the alphabetical order, separating authors by semi-colon: "... several studies were central to this question (Jakšić, 1993; Iannaccone, 1994; Stark and Finke, 2000)."

Direct quotations can be included in the text if not longer than 20 words. Longer quotations should be given as separate paragraphs, spaced-out from the previous and following text, and with the following formatting: Format, Paragraph, Indents and Spacing, Left 1 cm, Right 1 cm, Line spacing – Single; for instance:

To explain how “culture through language affects the way we think and communicate with others of different background” (Gumperz, 2001, p. 35), Gumperz states:

“Conversational inference is partly a matter of a priori extra-textual knowledge, stereotypes and attitudes, but it is also to a large extent constructed through talk” (Gumperz, 2001, p.37).”

It is crucial that the in-text citations and references should match the literature listed at the end of the paper. All in-text citations and references must be listed in the References, and the References must not contain sources not referred to or cited in the text. The bibliography listed at the end of the paper should contain author names and source titles in original languages and alphabets, without translation.

Tables, graphs, and figures. Tables, graphs and figures should be numbered (sequentially), with captions explaining their content. Captions should precede tables, but follow graphs and figures. Graphs and figures must be clearly visible in the text, so they should be provided in 300dpi resolution. Graphs and figures must be single objects (no Drawing elements added). Where necessary, mathematical formulas should be added to the text using Microsoft Equation Editor.

Appendices. should be marked by *letters* (sequentially), e.g. Appendix A, Appendix B etc., and should contain a title describing the content of the appendix. When there is only one appendix, no letters are necessary in its title (only "Appendix").

➤ **Literature (References).** A complete list of references should be provided as a separate section at the end of the paper. The references should be listed in accordance with the **APA Style**. The references should be listed alphabetically, by the authors' last (family) names. For publication titles in Serbian, the English translation should also be

provided in brackets. The works by the same author should be listed chronologically (from the most to the least recent ones). Wherever possible, provide the DOI number, too, in addition to other reference data.

➤ **Summary in Serbian.** Please provide a summary at the end of the paper, after the References section. The summary should not be longer than 1/10 of the paper (i.e. 2,000 to 3,700 characters). The summary should be formatted as *Italic*, with single line spacing.

EXAMPLES OF SOURCE QUOTING AND REFERENCING:

Journal papers and articles – 1 author

In-text citation:

(Manouselis, 2008), i.e. (Manouselis, 2008, p. 55)

In ‘References’:

Manouselis, N. (2008). Deploying and evaluating multiattribute product recommendation in e-markets. *International Journal of Management & Decision Making*, 9, 43-61. doi:10.1504/IJMDM.2008.016041

Journal papers and articles – 2 to 6 authors

In-text citation:

First reference: (Uxó, Paúl, & Febrero, 2011)

Subsequent references: (Uxó et al., 2011)

In ‘References’:

Uxó, J., Paúl, J., & Febrero, E. (2011). Current account imbalances in the monetary union and the great recession: Causes and policies. *Panoeconomicus*, 58(5), 571-592.

Journal papers and articles – more than 6 authors

In-text citation:

(Cummings et al., 2010, p. 833)

In ‘References’:

Cummings, E., Schermerhorn, A., Merrilees, C., Goetze-Morey, M., Shirlow, P., & Cairns, E. (2010). Political violence and child adjustment in Northern Ireland: Testing pathways in a social-ecological model including single-and two-parent families. *Developmental Psychology*, 46, 827-841. doi: 10.1037/a0019668

Book – 1 author

In-text citation:

(Heschl, 2001, p. 33)

In ‘References’:

Heschl, A. (2001). *The intelligent genome: On the origin of the human mind by mutation and selection*. New York, NY: Springer-Verlag.

Book – edited volume

In-text citation:

(Lenzenweger & Hooley, 2002)

In ‘References’:

Lenzenweger, M. F., & Hooley, J. M. (Eds.). (2002). *Principles of experimental psychopathology: Essays in honor of Brendan A. Maher*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Paper or chapter in an edited volume**In-text citation:**

(Cvitković, 2007)

In ‘References’:

Cvitkovic, I. (2007). Katolicizam [Catholicism]. U A. Mimica i M. Bogdanović (Prir.), *Sociološki rečnik [Dictionary of Sociology]* (str. 226-227). Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike.

Encyclopaedia entry**In-text citation:**

(Lindgren, 2001)

In ‘References’:

Lindgren, H. C. (2001). Stereotyping. In *The Corsini encyclopedia of psychology and behavioral science* (Vol. 4, pp. 1617-1618). New York, NY: Wiley.

Papers in Conference Proceedings**In-text citation:**

(Bubanj, 2010)

In ‘References’:

Bubanj, S., Milenković, S., Stanković, R., Bubanj, R., Atanasković, A., Živanović, P. et al. (2010). Correlation of explosive strength and frontal postural status. In: Stanković, R. (Ed.): *XIV International Scientific Congress FIS Communications 2010 in Sport, Physical Education and Recreation* (191-196). Niš: University of Niš, Faculty of Sport and Physical Education.

PhD Dissertations, MA Theses**In-text citation:**

(Gibson, 2007)

In ‘References’:

Gibson, L. S. (2007). *Considering critical thinking and History 12: One teacher’s story* (Master’s thesis). Retrieved from <https://circle.ubc.ca/>

Institutions as authors**In-text citation:**

(Републички завод за статистику, 2011)

In ‘References’:

Републички завод за статистику. *Месечни статистички билтен*. Бр. 11 (2011).

Laws**In-text citation:**

(Закон о основама система васпитања и образовања, 2004, чл. 5, ст. 2, тач. 3.)

In ‘References’:

Закон о основама система васпитања и образовања, Службени гласник РС. Бр. 62 (2004)

Legal and other documents

In-text citation:

(Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276, 1971)

In ‘References’:

Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276, (1970), ICJ Reports (1971) 12, at 14

Please refer to:

Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association, 6th Edition, 2009;

<http://www.library.cornell.edu/resrch/citmanage/apa>

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- Positive or negative reviews are not sent to the authors, whether their paper has been rejected or accepted for publication.

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