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Selected Papers from the Fifth International Conference
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EDITORS' FOREWORD

This volume sets forth a selection of papers presented at the *Fifth International Conference on English Language and Anglophone Literatures Today* (*ELALT 5*), which was held at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad on 9 March 2019. There are eighteen papers in this volume selected on the basis of a double-blind review process. They are divided into two thematic sections: *Topics in English Language and Linguistics* and *Topics in Anglophone Literatures*. Both sections provide valuable insights into a wide range of aspects of English studies and promote innovative ideas that inspire progress in the given field.

The first thematic section related to English language and lingistics involves fifteen papers covering topics that range from syntax, semantics and pragmatics to phonology including papers related to applied linguistics, translation and teaching methodology.

In her paper BEAST OF BURDEN: A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH AND CROATIAN IDIOMS CONTAINING THE LEXEMES *DONKEY* AND *MAGARAC*, Iva Grubišić Ćurić aims at establishing similarities and differences between the given idioms of the two languages while focusing on the degree of correspondence between the lexical and in-depth structure. The analysis shows that the majority of idioms from the analysed corpus exhibits differences between the lexical and in-depth structure. The author concludes that differences in the conceptualizations of the donkey in English and Croatian can be a consequence of differences in culture-specific experiences.

The goal of the paper SEMANTIC AND PRAGMATIC ASPECTS OF ENGLISH *ANY-* AND SLOVENE RANDOMNESS INDEFINITES written by Kristina Gregorčič is to describe characteristics of Slovene *bare* and *koli*-indefinites on the basis of examples from the Slovene reference corpus Gigafida 2.0. and to compare them to characteristics of English *any*-indefinites. This analysis leads to the conclusion that *koli*-indefinites are characterized by both polarity sensitivity and the free-choice semantics, so that they are parallel to the *any*-series, while *bare* indefinites highlight the speaker's ignorance, but they are unable to generate free-choice readings sharing, thus, only certain features of unstressed *any*-indefinites.

In the paper A CORPUS-BASED CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF EXPERIENCER VERBS IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN: SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STRUCTURE OF VP, Predrag Kovačević observes that a number of Serbian equivalents of English verbs with PP complements require oblique case-marked bare NP complements and concludes that the association between P-heads of these PP complements in English and their Serbian equivalents is not random.

On the basis of these results, the author gives a critique of Neeleman's (1997) analysis of PP complements relying on the idea about LF incorporation of the preposition into the verb.

Nina Ilić has made an interesting contribution to studies based on the interplay of semantics and syntax with her paper ARE PROTOTYPICAL SEMANTIC CONCEPTS ACQUIRED FIRST?, whose aim is to examine the production of three types of *se*-verbs at different stages of first language acquisition of Serbian. The initial hypothesis, confirmed by research results, is that true reflexive verbs are acquired before true reciprocal and anti-causative verbs and will therefore be produced more accurately, because they are syntactically and semantically less complex.

The only paper in this selection belonging to the field of phonology is PROPERTIES OF I-BOUNDARY LENGTHENING OF VOWELS IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN written by Bojana Jakovljević and Maja Marković, which shows that the degree of I-boundary lengthening of vowels is rather similar in English and Serbian, while there are differences in terms of the scope of lengthening in these two languages. The authors conclude that lengthening tends to be slightly more significant in Serbian, which means that low F0 prominence might be compensated for a larger scope of I-boundary lengthening.

The field of pragmatics is not neglected in this selection due to the contribution made by Milica Lukić and Sabina Halupka-Rešetar, SUPPORTIVE MOVES IN THE SPEECH ACT OF DIRECT COMPLAINT IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN: A CROSS-CULTURAL AND INTERLANGUAGE PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS. The authors compare supportive moves in the speech act of face-to-face complaints produced by English and Serbian native speakers in their respective mother tongues and explore how advanced Serbian L1 learners of English use supportive moves in complaints performed in English and whether they apply the pragmatic rules of their native language in doing so. It is concluded that the two cultures are similar with respect to the production of direct complaints and that a low level of pragmatic transfer is observable in the complaint production of the English learners' group.

This volume will satisfy needs of researchers interested in translation studies with the paper ANIMAL SOUNDS AS REPORTING VERBS IN TRANSLATIONS FROM ENGLISH INTO BCMS by Ema Pandrc and Randall A. Major, which discusses the use of animal-sound reporting verbs in English literary texts and the significance they are assigned in Serbian translations. The research based on a corpus of Dickens's novels *Oliver Twist*, *David Copperfield*, and *Great Expectations* has shown that the animal sense component is frequently assigned less

significance, which might be problematic since animal-sound reporting verbs often serve as the author's stylistic devices.

Kseniia Bogdanova's paper THE VARIETIES OF INTERTEXTUALITY IN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE ROLEPLAYING VIDEOGAMES involves the application of a variety of methods (description, comparison, qualitative and quantitative analysis, induction) in its examination of a corpus of narrative and user-interface elements of roleplaying videogames through which it shows that there are three main varieties of intertextuality in the given videogames: inserted texts containing correlation with real-world literature, specially coined idioms and names of missions (quests) referring to widely known cultural phenomena.

The thematic section related to English language and linguistics ends with a set of five papers belonging to the field of Methodology of English language teaching. First of them, INVESTIGATING TEXT-PROCESSING SKILLS OF EFL STUDENTS: A COMPARISON OF EXPLICIT AND INFERENTIAL COMPREHENSION ITEMS by Jagoda Topalov, aims at determining whether reading proficiency is a significant factor influencing English as a Foreign Language learners' performance on a reading test involving questions that target information which is explicitly or implicitly stated in the text. The research, which included 38 university students who are taking a course in English, indicates that the ability of the participants to identify factual information and to make inferences based on stated information depends on their reading proficiency, and, to a lesser extent, their overall foreign language proficiency, but not on the interaction between these two factors.

Milevica Bojović deals with an important issue of the relation between the undergraduate students' use of foreign language speaking strategies and their levels of foreign language anxiety in her paper ESP SPEAKING STRATEGIES AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE ANXIETY IN HIGHER EDUCATION CLASSROOM. One of the most interesting observations in the paper is the one that reveals that low-anxious participants use circumlocutions and synonyms when unable to think of a word in English more frequently than the medium- and high-anxious group of participants, while high-anxious ones pay attention when someone is speaking in English more often than the other two groups. Finally, medium-anxious students use gestures when they cannot think of an appropriate word in English more frequently than the other two groups of participants.

In the analysis of the treatment of PRONUNCIATION IN EFL TEXTBOOKS USED IN SERBIAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS, Aleksandar Živanović concludes that pronunciation does not receive much attention in EFL textbooks and there are no specific instructions related to pronunciation.

Consequently, he stresses the importance of the teacher's positive attitude towards the teaching of pronunciation.

There are two papers in this section dealing with university students' use of metadiscourse markers in their written assignments. The first one, INTERACTIVE METADISCOURSE MARKERS IN EFL MAJORS' SUMMARIES IN ENGLISH by Biljana Radić-Bojanić, represents a research study conducted with 59 English majors in their fifth year (MA level), who read a paper published in an academic journal and were asked to write a 250-word summary. Tijana Vesić Pavlović and Danijela Đorđević deal with THE USE OF METADISCOURSE MARKERS IN ESSAYS WRITTEN BY ESP UNIVERSITY STUDENTS on the basis of a corpus consisting of 100 essays related to topics in the field of mechanical engineering. On the basis of their research results, the authors of both papers give pedagogical recommendations for improving students' training in academic writing.

Another contribution related to students at the university level is ELEMENTS OF POPULAR CULTURE IN TEACHING SENTENCE PATTERNS AND VERBAL CATEGORIES TO STUDENTS OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE by Olga Panić Kavgić and Aleksandar Kavgić, which proves, through representative examples and students' comments in a survey, that the use of elements of popular culture in teaching prescriptive and descriptive grammar at the undergraduate level helps students to understand and memorize grammar rules more easily as well as to apply them more efficiently.

HOW UNIVERSITY TEACHERS OF ENGLISH FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES AND THEIR STUDENTS EMPLOY DICTIONARIES IN TEACHING AND LEARNING is a question that Tatjana Glušac and Mira Milić answer in their paper. Their study, which included 21 ESP teachers and 705 students from the University of Novi Sad, reveals that students primarily use online bilingual dictionaries while teachers prefer monolingual dictionaries in the form of mobile phone applications. However, both students and teachers need training in dictionary use.

The second thematic section focused on Anglophone literatures contains three papers.

The first part of Sergej Macura's paper BIOGRAPHICAL AND SPATIOTEMPORAL PROTOTYPES: "HOMAGE TO SWITZERLAND" AS AN INTERSECTION OF HEMINGWAY'S LIFE AND EINSTEINIAN RELATIVITY deals with the biographical basis of the story and some possible intersecting points between the empirical author and his characters, while the second part discusses the tripartite construction of the text. Finally, the paper presents a new starting point in the reading of the given story.

In her paper KUREISHI'S LAUNDRETTES AND SUBURBS: PRIVATE AND PROFESSIONAL SPACES OF LONDON IN THATCHERISM, Tatjana Milosavljević writes about Kureishi's ambivalent attitude toward neoliberalism that, as she claims, stems from his intention to show that the neoliberal ideology is capable of granting its subjects libidinal pleasure at those places where the profit is made.

In her discussion on TELEVISION CULTURE AND PERCEPTION OF REALITY IN DON DELILLO'S *WHITE NOISE* AND MILAN OKLOPDŽIĆ'S *VIDEO*, Slađana Stamenković observes that both novels point out the potency of television programmes and mechanisms of their influence on the audience who absorb the broadcast without processing the emitted information.

The Editors
Novi Sad, December 2020

САДРЖАЈ
TABLE OF CONTENTS

TOPICS IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

TOPICS IN ANGLOPHONE LITERATURES

TOPICS IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE
AND LINGUISTICS

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BEAST OF BURDEN: A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH AND CROATIAN IDIOMS CONTAINING THE LEXEMES *DONKEY* AND *MAGARAC* [**]

The aim of this analysis was to establish the similarities and differences between English and Croatian idioms containing the lexemes ass/donkey and *magarac/magare/tovar*. The analysis of idioms according to Turk & Opašić (2008) points to the prevailing differences (50% of the sample) on both the lexical level and in-depth structure of the idioms in question. Instances of partial correspondence and total correspondence were also identified. Similarities may be explained by universal experience, or even their origin. Research (Hansen-Kokoruš 1996, Turk & Spicijarić Paškvan 2014) suggests that some Croatian idioms were influenced by the German language (e.g. *pasti s konja na magarca*), and some may be classified as national idioms (e.g. *pojeo vuk magare*).

Key words: idioms, donkey, English, Croatian, contrastive analysis

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper aims at providing a contrastive analysis of English and Croatian idioms containing the lexemes *donkey/ass*, i.e., *magarac/magare/tovar*. Fisiak (1981: 1) defines contrastive analysis as comparing two or more languages with the aim of determining similarities and differences between them. Contrastive studies may be theoretical or applied, whereby the first focus on the realisation of a universal category in the compared languages, and the latter are concerned with how a universal category, realised in a specific way in one language, is realised in the other language (ibid.). This paper is concerned with a specific type of comparison, namely contrastive idiom analysis, which differs from other cross-

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linguistic approaches, according to Dobrovol'skij (2000: 170), in the following: idioms of two languages are the objects of comparison; the aim is to establish similarities and differences between them; genetic relationships, typological similarities and geographic contacts of languages are not important; the results are intended to be used in bilingual lexicography.

Idioms are "complex expressions whose meaning cannot be derived from the meanings of its elements" (Weinreich 1969: 26). Nunberg–Sav & Wasow (1994: 492-493) list the following features of idioms: conventionality, flexibility, figuration, proverbiality, informality, affect. The object of this study corresponds to what Omazić (2015: 20) refers to as phraseological units and defines as "conventionalised multiword combinations that are holistically stored and automatically reproduced, and that may vary in frequency of occurrence, fixedness of form, and compositeness of meaning". It needs to be pointed out that the term idiom has been chosen, even though the corpus contains examples that would be classified as proverbs and sayings, according to some classifications (e.g. Omazić 2015)[1].

The aim of this analysis is to determine similarities and differences between English and Croatian idioms, or more precisely the degree of correspondence between the lexical and in-depth structure. Examples that exhibit complete correspondence on the lexical level and in-depth structure correspond to "functionally adequate equivalents, which are lexical items of both source and target language (L1 and L2) which can be used in the same situations" Dobrovol'skij (2000: 170). The other two groups include idioms exhibiting partial correspondence between lexical components and in-depth structure, as well as idioms exhibiting differences between the aforementioned structures.

The literary burden of the donkey has been discussed by a number of authors (e.g. Levanat Peričić, 2010; Leko, 2007; Vuković, 2013); therefore this paper also aims at contributing to the discussion about the donkey's idiomatic burden.

1.1 Overview of the lexemes magarac and donkey

The donkey, metaphorically described as the horse of the poor and the grey shadow of land workers by Vuković (2013), is referred to by a number of lexemes in the Croatian language, e.g.: *ćuše*, *magarac*, *mago*, *magare*, *tovar*, *osao*, *osal*, *osel*, *pule*, *sivac*, *sivonja*, *kenjac*, etc. (Kunac 2009, Matvejević 2006, Posavi–Ozimec–

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[1] There is a number of taxonomies of multiword units/phraseological units/phrasemes (Makkai 1972, Mel'čuk 2015, etc.).

Ernoić & Poljak 2003: 93). The lexeme *magarac* denotes the male donkey (jack), *magarica* the female (jenny, jennet), *magare* denotes both the male as well as a foal, and *pule* denotes only a young donkey (foal). The lexemes *mago*, *magarčić*, and *magarence* are all hypocoristic forms of the lexeme *magarac*. Even though dictionaries provide the lexeme *magarad* as the collective noun of *magarac*, Kunac (2009) indicates another form, *magarenje*, as the collective noun. Other lexemes that denote the donkey include *ćuža* (which could have been derived from the command *ćuš* [2] used to call a donkey) and *mušarelo* (both presumably used in the town Sinj and the region Cetinska krajina, and possibly in Herzegovina), *osao* (used in the town of Dubrovnik) and *osel* (used in the continental part of Croatia). A jenny is also referred to as *ugota* in Dalmatia, and *kela* in the Dalmatian town Šibenik[3]. Matvejević (2006: 175) remarks that "in the Mediterranean, people often made mistakes, more often than elsewhere, by referring to those unworthy the name as donkeys". Therefore, the meaning of the lexeme *magarac* 'donkey' expanded to mean a stupid person (*magarac* 'jackass'), a reprimand (*magarac jedan* 'that jackass'), and the augmentative *magarčina* is also used pejoratively. The verb *magarčiti*, derived from the noun *magarac*, has the following meanings: to do the donkey work, make a fool of somebody, and force somebody to do the donkey work. The transferred meanings of the lexemes *magarac*, *magare*, and *tovar* include ignorance (*glup kao magarac* > as stupid as a donkey), stubbornness (*tvrdoglav kao magarac* > stunt as an ass), a fool (*lako je jašiti onoga koji od sebe pravi magarca* > make yourself an ass and men will ride on you), hard work (*magareći posao* > donkey work), laziness (*lijen kao magarac* > as lazy as a donkey), etc.

In everyday Croatian, a negative connotation is pervasive in the idiomatic use of the lexeme *magarac*. Students used to be sent to the dunce's seat (Cro. *magareća klupa* 'lit. donkey seat') as a punishment for unwanted behaviour, and the creased messy notebook pages are called *magareće uši* 'lit. donkey ears'[4]. There is also an idiom describing those who drop out of school, *pojeo mu magarac libre* 'lit. a donkey ate his books'. When finishing counting in a game of hide-and-seek, in Croatian, the

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[2] Kunac (2009: 60) explains that, among other commands, *ćuš* was used predominantly by the inhabitants of the coastal area, and *de* by the inhabitants of the Hinterland region.

[3] The lexemes listed in this section are dialectally marked synonyms, which are not found in idioms. The Croatian idioms in the corpus of this analysis contain the lexemes *magarac*, *magare*, and *tovar*.

[4] It is worth noting that the German lexeme *Eselsohren* exhibits equivalent meanings to *magareće uši*, both mean literally donkey's ears, as well as creased pages.

seeker calls out *tko se nije skrio, magarac je bio* (those who did not hide are asses), also when children run somewhere they may say *tko zadnji, magarac* 'lit. the last one to arrive is an ass'. The period of growing up or puberty is referred to as *magareće godine* 'lit. donkey years'. Whooping cough is referred to as *magareći kašalj* in Croatian, and there is also a saying that translates literally as 'illness arrives on a horse, and leaves on a donkey' (Cro. *bolest dolazi na konju, a odlazi na magarcu*). Two Croatian verbs (*namagarčiti* and *nasamariti*) bearing the meaning 'to deceive' can be traced to the lexemes *magarac* 'donkey' and *samar* 'pack saddle' or *samariti* 'to fit the donkey with a pack saddle'.

The use of the lexeme donkey in English can be traced back to the late 18th century, and its origin is lost (Cresswell, 2010: 134). The lexeme ass is "from an Old English word related to easel and goes back to the Latin asinus" (ibid. 23). Other lexemes in Britain referring to a donkey include cuddy, moke, and neddy (Bough 2011: 12). The transferred meaning of the lexeme ass is 'obstinate fool', which is reflected in idioms.

2. CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

English and Croatian idioms were extracted from monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, both online and printed editions, as well as the lists provided in Kunac (2009) and Vuković (2013).[5] The idioms were analysed on the basis of correspondences between their lexical and in-depth structure[6] (Turk & Opašić 2008). Apart from consulting dictionaries to establish the meaning of idioms, the determination of correspondences also partially relied on the author's intuition. The idioms were divided into three categories as follows (Turk & Opašić 2008): (1) idioms exhibiting compatibility of lexical components and in-depth structure; (2) idioms exhibiting partial compatibility of lexical components and in-depth structure; (3) idioms with different lexical components and in-depth structures. Gläser (1984) adopts the categories of complete, partial and zero equivalence when contrasting English and German idioms, whereby only idioms that cannot be translated by an idiom in the target language are considered zero equivalent. The classification followed in this paper is different, since idioms for which no corresponding idiom (by

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[5] The dictionaries and online sources are listed in the reference list.

[6] "(…) an image (Cro. *semantički talog*) remains in the in-depth structure, which simultaneously helps in forming the phraseological meaning and signals the phraseological meaning, i.e., helps decipher it." (Fink-Arsovski 2002: 7)

denotational meaning) could be found, as well as those whose meaning could not be determined, were not taken into account in this analysis.

3. ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH AND CROATIAN IDIOMS CONTAINING THE LEXEMES *ASS*/*DONKEY* AND *MAGARE*/*MAGARAC*/*TOVAR*

A total of 54 idioms were included in the analysis. The frequency of use of idioms or their obsoleteness were neither investigated, nor taken into account for the purpose of this analysis. Idioms were classified into three groups, as presented in the following sections.

3.1 Complete correspondence

15 idioms exhibit correspondence in both their lexical components and in-depth structure, and they may be regarded as functionally adequate equivalents (Dobrovol'skij 2000) or completely equivalent (Gläser 1994). This group of idioms is provided in Table 1 below.

Table 1. English and Croatian idioms exhibiting complete correspondence.

English idiom	Croatian idiom
an ass is beautiful to an ass, so is a pig to pig	*magarac je magarcu najljepši, a svinja svinji*
an ass is but an ass, though laden with gold	*i tovar koji nosi vreću zlata je tovar*
an ass must be tied where the master will have him	*veži magarca gdje gospodar kaže*
ass in a lion's skin	*magarac u lavljoj koži*
donkey-work	*magareći posao*
dumb as a donkey	*glup kao magarac/magare/tovar*
if all men say thou art an ass, then bray	*ako svi kažu da si magare, onda je vrijeme da zareveš*
lazy as a donkey	*lijen kao magarac/tovar*
make an ass out of somebody	*napraviti/praviti magarca od koga*
make yourself an ass and men will ride on you	*lako je jašiti onoga koji od sebe pravi magarca*
many asses have only two legs	*mnogo je magaraca na dvije noge*
stunt as an ass	*tvrdoglav kao magarac*
the braying of an ass does not reach heaven	*magareći glas do neba ne dopire*
tired as a donkey	*umoran kao magare*
to plough with an ox and an ass	*orati s volom i magarcem*

3.2. Partial correspondence

12 idioms exhibit partial correspondence, i.e., specific differences in their lexical structure and some differences between their in-depth structures. The meaning incompetence is reflected in the English idiom to have as much idea of it as a donkey has of Sunday. The same denotational meaning (incompetence) is contained in the Croatian idiom *razumjeti se u što kao magarac/magare/tovar u kantar/petrusimul/mužiku*, which may contain the lexemes *kantar* (steelyard balance), *petrusimul* (parsley), or *mužika* (music). Some idioms exhibit the same in-depth structure, whereby the English idiom contains the lexeme horse, and the Croatian idiom contains the lexeme *magarac/tovar* (donkey): flog a dead horse > *mlatiti/šamarati mrtvog magarca* both mean waste efforts on a lost cause; you can lead a horse to water, but you can't make him drink > *tovara moreš dognati do lokve, ma ne i natirati da pije*, both mean that one can give somebody an opportunity, but cannot force the person to take it. The idioms who goes a beast to Rome, a beast returns > *magarac u Rim, magarac iz Rima* also share the in-depth structure, whereby the Croatian idiom contains the lexeme *magarac* (donkey), and the English contains the lexeme beast. The difference between the idioms you can't make a runnin' horse outer a jackass > *od magarca ne stvori konja* (lit. 'you cannot make a horse out of an ass') lies in the type of horse (running horse > *trkaći konj*). All idioms in this category are provided in Table 2 below and the Croatian idioms are accompanied by their literal translations into English.

Table 2. English and Croatian idioms exhibiting partial correspondence.

English idiom	Croatian idiom
an ass is known by his ears	*magarca krase dva uha* (lit. 'the donkey is adorned by two ears')
as stubborn as a mule	*tvrdoglav kao magarac/mazga* (lit. 'as stubborn as a donkey/hinny')
better an ass that carries you than a horse that throws you	*bolje imati svoga tovara nego tuđeg konja* (lit. 'better have one's own donkey than the horse of another')
better strive with an ill ass than carry the wood one's self	*bolje i magarca moljakati nego sam nositi* (lit. 'better ask the donkey than carry [the load] oneself')
flog a dead horse	*mlatiti/šamarati mrtvog magarca* (lit. 'flog a dead donkey')

I hear the asses bray; we shall have some rain today	*kiše magare, kiša će* (lit. 'the donkey is sneezing, there will be rain')
they don't put horse's feet on donkeys	*nije za magarca konjsko sedlo* (lit. 'the horse's saddle is not for a donkey')
they earn it like horses and spend it like asses	*radim kao konj, a plaćaju me kao magarca* (lit. 'I work like a horse and get paid like an ass')
to have as much idea of it as a donkey has of Sunday	*razumjeti se u što kao magarac/magare/tovar u kantar/petrusimul/mužiku* (lit. 'to have as much idea of it as a donkey has of a steelyard balance/parsley/music')
who goes a beast to Rome, a beast returns	*magarac u Rim, magarac iz Rima* (lit. 'a donkey [goes] to Rome, a donkey [returns] from Rome')
you can lead a horse to water, but you can't make him drink	*tovara moreš dognati do lokve, ma ne i natirati da pije* (lit. you can lead a donkey to a puddle, but you can't make him drink')
you can't make a runnin' horse outer a jackass	*od magarca ne stvori konja* (lit. 'you can't make a horse out of a donkey')

3.3 English and Croatian idioms with different lexical components and in-depth structures

The majority of the analysed idioms (50%) exhibit differences between lexical constituents and their in-depth structure. Due to spatial restrictions, only a few shall be mentioned in this paragraph, but all idioms in this group are provided in Table 3 and a literal translation of Croatian idioms into English is also provided therein. The idiom fast as a donkey's gallop is an ironic way of saying that somebody or something is slow, whereby the Croatian idiom *brz kao puž* (lit. 'as fast as a snail') contains the lexeme puž 'snail', and in the English idiom it is the donkey's gallop that allows for the conceptualisation of slowness. A dexterous thief may be said to be willing to *steal the cross off an ass's back* in English, and if someone is prone to thievery, he is compared to a magpie in Croatian – *kradljiv kao svraka* (lit. 'as thievish as a magpie'). The English idiom the straw that broke the donkey's (also camel's) back denotes a seemingly minor event that causes a huge reaction, whereby the Croatian idiom *kap koja je prelila čašu* (lit. 'the drop that made the glass overflow') contains no zoonym and is based on the accumulation of

water. The idioms honey is not for the ass's mouth < *magarac ne razumije riječi, samo štap* (lit. 'a donkey does not understand words, but a [beating with a] stick') differ in both their lexical and in-depth structure, but both denote the futility of reasoning with a foolish person. Talking for a long time is reflected in the idioms talk the hind leg off a donkey < *pričati Markove konake* (lit. 'to talk Marko's stays'). If somebody criticizes another person for the fault they have themselves, then the pot is calling the kettle black, whereby the Croatian idiom contains two zoonyms – *rugao se zec magarcu da ima velike uši* (lit. 'the hare mocked the donkey for his large ears').[7]

It must be pointed out that equivalents are provided for specific idioms, which are completely compatible with another idiom of the same denotative meaning (strawberries to a donkey > *biserje pred svinje* > pearls before swine; if the mountain will not come to Muhammad, then Muhammad must go to the mountain > *ako tovar neće k tebi, tebi je poći k njemu* > *ako neće Muhamed brdu hoće brdo Muhamedu*).

Table 3. English and Croatian idioms with different lexical components and in-depth structures.

English idiom	Croatian idiom
a little goes a long way	*mali štap tjera velikog magarca* (lit. 'a little stick pushes a big donkey forward')
a long face	*oborio uši kao mrgodno magare* (lit. 'he lowered his ears like a grim donkey')
angry as an ass with a squib in his breech	*bijesan/ljut kao ris/zmija/pas* (lit. 'angry/mad as a lynx/snake/dog')
as old as Methuselah	*stariji od Isusova magarca* (lit. 'older than Jesus's donkey')
as strong as an ox	*iščupao bi magarcu/konju/volu rep* (lit. 'he could pull the tail of a donkey/horse/ox out')
back the wrong horse	*uzjašio si na krivog magarca* (lit. 'you mounted the wrong donkey')

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[7] There is another idiom in the Croatian language with the same meaning – *rugala se sova sjenici* (lit. 'the owl mocked the tit').

better be the head of an ass than the tail of a horse	*bolje prvi u selu nego drugi u gradu* (lit. 'better [be] the first in the village than the second in the city')
fast as a donkey's gallop	*brz kao puž* (lit. 'as fast as a snail')
go downhill	*pošlo magare nizastranu* (lit. 'the donkey went downhill')
have your cake and eat it	*vuk sit a magare cijelo* (lit. 'the wolf is fed and the donkey intact')
he that is born a fool is never cured	*tko se puletom rodi magaretom krepa* (lit. 'he who was born a foal dies an ass')
he'd steal the cross off an ass's back	*kradljiv kao svraka* (lit. 'as thievish as a magpie')
honey is not for the ass's mouth	*magarac ne razumije riječi, samo štap* (lit. 'a donkey does not understand words, but a [beating with a] stick')
if the mountain will not come to Muhammad, then Muhammad must go to the mountain	*ako tovar neće k tebi, tebi je poći k njemu* (lit. 'if the donkey will not come to you, then you must go to the donkey')
make a mountain out of a molehill	*napraviti od komarca magarca* (lit. 'to make a donkey out of a mosquito')
not be able to carry a tune in a bucket	*pjeva tko kao da mu je magarac prdnuo u uho* (lit. 'he sings like a donkey farted in his ear')
out of the frying pan into the fire	*(pasti) s konja/vola na magarca* (lit. 'to fall from a horse onto a donkey')
speak of the devil	*ja o vuku a magare na vrata* (lit. 'speak of the wolf, and the donkey arrives')
strawberries to a donkey	*biserje pred svinje* (pearls before swine)
talk the hind leg off a donkey	*pričati Markove konake* (lit. 'to talk Marko's stays')
the pot calling the kettle black	*rugao se zec magarcu da ima velike uši* (lit. 'the hare mocked the donkey for his large ears')

the straw that broke the donkey's back	*kap koja je prelila čašu* (lit. 'the drop that made the glass overflow')
to beat somebody black and blue	*izlemati kao magare* (lit. 'to beat somebody like a donkey')
to do someone an ill turn	*učiniti kome magareću/medvjeđu uslugu* (lit. 'do somedoby a bear/donkey favour')
to have a feeling in one's bones	*slutiti što kao magare kišu* (lit. 'to foresee something like the donkey foresees rain')
two heads are better than one	*više znaju čovjek i magarac nego sâm čovjek* (lit. 'a man and donkey know more together than a man alone')
until the ass ascends the ladder	*kad na vrbi rodi grožđe* (lit. 'when grapes grow on a willow')

4. DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

As far as correspondences of lexical components and in-depth structure are concerned, the majority of idioms from the analysed corpus falls within the category of differences between the lexical and in-depth structure (50%), partial correspondence was identified in 22.22% of idioms, whereas 27.77% of idioms exhibit total correspondence. Idioms that exhibit total correspondence include the following: make an ass of someone (Cro. *napraviti magarca od koga*), donkey work (Cro. *magareći posao*), as stupid as a donkey (Cro. *glup kao magarac*), etc. These similarities, i.e., complete correspondences, may in some cases be attributed to the fact that a number of such idioms are of Latin or biblical provenance,[8] e.g., to plough with an ox and an ass may be of biblical origin (Deuteronomy 22:10), and the idiom an ass is beautiful to an ass is of Latin origin (*asinus asino pulcherrimus*). Correspondences may also probably be explained by the donkey's features (e.g. behaviour) and its historical role of a beast of burden.

The second group exhibits certain differences, be they on the level of lexical components, or the in-depth structure. For example, the idiom as much idea of something as a donkey has of Sunday does not entirely correspond on the lexical level to the Croatian *razumjeti se u što kao magarac u kantar/petrusimul/muziku*. The underlying meaning is the same (lack of competence in a specific matter), yet the

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[8] Jelaska (2014) provides an overview of animal idioms of biblical provenance.

elements of the idioms differ (Sunday vs. steelyard balance/parsley/music). The largest number of idioms exhibit differences on both levels; however, they share the same denotational meaning. Such results may be attributed to differences in culture-specific experiences.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This analysis of idioms shows certain differences in the conceptualizations of the donkey in English and Croatian, which can be attributed to the differences in culture-specific experiences (e.g. the donkey may have played a more or less important role as a domestic animal in different areas). The proverbial stubbornness and stupidity of the donkey are reflected in idioms in both languages.

The comparison with the horse, another member of the Equidae family, is what caused the donkey the most injustices, which is also reflected in some idioms in this analysis[9]. Bough (2011: 17) explains that "to be mounted on the horse confers power and authority on the rider; to ride a lowly donkey implies penury, lack of status, even stupidity". Examples of idioms reflecting such notions of the horse as a prestigious animal and the donkey as a being of inferior status include: *pasti s konja na magarca* 'lit. to fall from a horse onto a donkey'[10], *nije za magarca konjsko sedlo* 'lit. a horse's saddle is not intended for a donkey', *bolje imati svoga tovara nego tuđega konja* 'lit. it is better to have one's own donkey than another person's horse'. Comparable English examples include: better be the head of an ass than the tail of a horse, better an ass that carries you than a horse that throws you, they earn it like horses and spend it like asses, etc.

A proverb says that a donkey's bray does not reach heaven, it is also possible that "the donkey did not bray loud enough, or that people have turned a deaf ear" (Vincek–Ernoić & Ozimec, 2002: 59). A number of statues have been erected to honour this noble animal in Croatia and Herzegovina, "which is the best indicator the donkey is slowly disappearing, because rarely does one get a monument in their lifetime" (Kunac, 2009: 7). Official numbers support this claim as well. In 1937, there

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[9] A contrastive analysis of horse and donkey idioms in Russian, Croatian and German is provided in Hansen-Kokoruš (1996).

[10] Turk and Spicijarić Paškvan 2014 note that this idiom might have emerged under the influence of the German language (*vom Pferd auf den Esel kommen*) and note that German could have been the intermediary language (from Latin *canterio vectum post mulum conscendere*).

were 40,000 donkeys in Croatia (Ivanković–Caput–Mioč & Pavić, 2000: 100), whereas in 2018, there were 3,683 registered donkeys, according to the Annual Report for Equidae Breeding issued by the Croatian Ministry of Agriculture. This paper will hopefully be a humble contribution to the growing number of tributes to this noble animal in various scientific disciplines, and it shall be concluded with the hope that donkeys in Croatia will not be reduced exclusively to motifs of souvenirs.

Iva Grubišić Ćurić

TOVARNA ŽIVOTINJA: KONTRASTIVNA ANALIZA ENGLESKIH I HRVATSKIH FRAZEMA SA SASTAVNICAMA *DONKEY* I *MAGARAC*

Rezime

Cilj je ovoga rada ustanoviti sličnosti i razlike između engleskih i hrvatskih frazema sa sastavnicom *ass/donkey* te magarac/magare/tovar. U tu je svrhu na temelju rječničke građe te popisu u Vuković (2013) i Kunac (2009) izrađen korpus od 54 frazema. Analiza prema Turk & Opašić (2008) pokazuje da među analiziranim frazemima prevladavaju razlike, odnosno slučajevi u kojima izostaju podudarnosti u smislu leksičkih sastavnica i pozadinske slike (50 %). Djelomičnu podudarnost pokazuje 22,22 % uzorka, a potpuna podudarnost identificirana je u 27,77 % frazema. Istraživanja ukazuju na različite mogućnosti pri tumačenju podudarnosti, pri čemu se podudarnosti identificirane u ovome radu vjerojatno mogu pripisati ljudskom iskustvu i uporabi magaraca tijekom povijesti te porijeklu frazema, a razlike je moguće istumačiti različitim, odnosno specifičnim, iskustvima govornika pojedinog jezika.

Ključne riječi: frazemi, magarac, engleski, hrvatski, kontrastivna analiza

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SEMANTIC AND PRAGMATIC ASPECTS OF ENGLISH *ANY-* AND SLOVENE RANDOMNESS INDEFINITES[**]

The present paper discusses semantic and pragmatic features of English *any*-indefinites, and Slovene *bare* and *koli*-indefinites. In the Slovene linguistic literature, both *bare* and *koli*-indefinites have been known as randomness pronouns. However, examples from the Slovene reference corpus Gigafida 2.0 show that these indefinites are not always interchangeable, as their mutual name might suggest. *Koli*-indefinites strongly resemble *any*-indefinites, which are negative polarity items: they seek downward entailing environments in which they can but need not be stressed, depending on whether their inherent *even*-operator is highlighted or not. What is more, both *any-* and *koli*-indefinites necessarily acquire stress and generate free-choice inferences in non-downward entailing modal contexts. Slovene *bare* indefinites, on the other hand, share only certain features of unstressed *any*-indefinites: they behave like existential quantifiers and express the speaker's ignorance or indifference. Unlike the *any*-series, the *bare* series can be used in the scope of non-adversative predicates and cannot trigger negative bias in questions. This might suggest that Slovene *bare* indefinites do not contain an *even*-operator. What is more, they are unable to generate free-choice readings, which are typical of *any-* and *koli*-indefinites.

Key words: negative polarity, freedom of choice, downward entailment, *even*-operators, indefinite pronouns, English, Slovene

1. INTRODUCTION

Slovene indefinite pronouns have received relatively little attention so far. With the exception of n-indefinites, described within the minimalist framework in

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Ilc (2019), they have recently not been studied in a manner that would do justice to the spectrum of their semantic and pragmatic features. The goal of the present paper is to remedy this state of affairs by describing characteristics of Slovene *bare* and *koli*-indefinites, and by comparing them to characteristics of English *any*-indefinites.

Following the line of linguistic inquiries initiated by Fauconnier (1975), the present analysis of English and Slovene indefinites focuses primarily on these items' semantic and pragmatic aspects. The features of *any*-indefinites – as outlined by Kadmon & Landman (1993), Horn (2005) and Israel (2011), among others – are compared with the characteristics of *bare* and *koli*-indefinites, which I have determined by analysing examples from the Slovene reference corpus Gigafida 2.0.

It transpires that – similarly to *any*-indefinites – *bare* and *koli*-indefinites cannot appear freely in all types of contexts. *Koli*-indefinites display both polarity sensitivity and the free-choice semantics, which makes them parallel to the *any*-series. *Bare* indefinites highlight the speaker's ignorance, but do not express the freedom of choice.

The paper is organized as follows: section 2 outlines the ideas of downward entailment and scalarity, both closely related to the treatment of polarity-sensitive and free-choice items; sections 3 and 4 present the relevant data on English *any*- and Slovene *bare/koli*-indefinites, respectively; section 5 closes the paper.

2. DOWNWARD ENTAILING CONTEXTS AND SCALARITY

Since Ladusaw's seminal work on the semantics of polarity items (1980), it has been widely accepted that negative polarity items (NPIs) are sensitive to the monotonicity of truth-conditional operators: they can appear in the scope of downward entailing (DE) operators, while their use in the scope of non-entailing or upward entailing operators yields ungrammaticality. DE operators are functions that reverse entailment relationships between sets and subsets (1). Negation is DE, as it inverts the direction of entailment between *apple* and its superset denominator *fruit* (2). Other prototypical operators of this kind are English n-words, *few*, *at most*, *hardly*, and *every/all* (in their restriction).

(1)   An expression δ is DE iff

$$\forall x \, \forall y \, [x \subseteq y \rightarrow [\delta'(y) \, \{\rightarrow/\subseteq\} \, \delta'(x) \,]]^1 \quad \text{(Ladusaw, 1980: 112)}$$

(2)   a. apple ⊆ fruit

b. John does not like apples. ↛ John does not like fruit.

c. John does not like fruit. → John does not like apples.

NPIs such as *any* appear not only in DE contexts, but also in complements of adversative predicates, in the scope of *glad*, in antecedents of conditionals and in questions, which cannot be described as DE if the definition in (1) is applied rigorously. Several accounts have tried to make these cases comply with Ladusaw's theory. Among the more influential ones has been Kadmon & Landman's account (1993), in which antecedents of conditionals and adversative predicates such as *sorry* are said to be DE if the speaker's perspective remains constant. Example (3) illustrates this kind of reasoning. *Glad*, on the other hand, is DE if its "settle-for-less" meaning is taken into consideration (ibid.), as illustrated in (4).

(3)   a. I am sorry he made a mistake.

b. I wanted him not to make a mistake.

c. It is his making a mistake, and nothing else, that bothers me.

d. I am sorry he made a mistake. → I am sorry he made a spelling mistake.

(4)   a. I wanted first-row tickets.

b. Only last-row tickets were available.

c. I was prepared to settle for less just to be able to attend the event.

d. I was glad I got last-row tickets. → I would be glad if I got first-row tickets.

The numerous attempts to adjust Ladusaw's theory to examples such as (3a) and (4a) have been made because the notion of monotonicity seems most in

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[1] The meaning of the symbols used in the paper:

→   'entails'

↛   'does not entail'

⊆   'is a subset of'

*   'the structure is ungrammatical/unacceptable'

*(…)   'eliding the bracketed words makes the structure ungrammatical/unacceptable'

\#   'the meaning of the structure does not correspond to the intended meaning'

tune with the common observation that the majority of NPIs straightforwardly denote scalar endpoints (e.g. *sleep a wink*, where *a wink* is the minimal unit of sleep). If an expression denotes the minimal amount of a given property, it does not entail any other, larger amounts (5), unless it appears in a DE environment, where the entailment relationships are reversed: the absence of the minimal amount necessarily entails the absence of larger amounts (6).

(5) *I slept a wink last night. ↛ I slept (a lot) last night.
(6) I did not sleep a wink last night. → I did not sleep (a lot) last night.

The idea about NPIs' scalar character, which goes back to Fauconnier (1975), is further developed in Israel (2011), where polarity items are described as doubly scalar expressions with a maximal/minimal quantitative value (q-value) and a maximal/minimal informative value (i-value). The q-value depends on the literal meaning of a polarity item. The phrase *a wink* in the idiom *sleep a wink* has the minimal q-value, as it denotes the minimal amount of sleep. The i-value depends on the polarity item's logical interaction with other, alternative expressions: the more alternatives a polarity items entails, the higher its i-value. When used in a DE context, the NPI *sleep a wink* has the maximal i-value, as it logically entails all the alternatives that denote non-minimal amounts of sleep (6).

3. *ANY*-INDEFINITES

Pursuing Fauconnier's ideas (1975), Israel provides a scalar analysis of *any*-indefinites (2011). He claims that *any* (together with its derivatives) has a low q-value, since it "profiles an indefinite instance within an ordered set of alternatives" (ibid.: 177). This indefinite instance, known as the "phantom referent", is characterised by "the minimal effort, the absolute carelessness, it imposes on the selection of a referent from a set of possible alternatives" (ibid.: 179). In other words, *any*-indefinites have minimal q-values because they denote the least "exceptional" members of a given set. From the informative point of view, however, they are used to entail all the more specific, exceptional members of the same class and to produce highly informative statements (ibid.: 188). To accomplish these indefinites' rhetorical purpose, the speakers have to use them in DE contexts (7).

(7) I did not see any students.   the set of students: {Mary, John, Ann}
     → I did not see Mary.

→ I did not see John.

→ I did not see Ann.

Israel presents *any*-indefinites as more or less typical NPIs which, however, do not have the same distributional and semantic features as minimizers such as *sleep a wink* (2001: 163–201). Most notably, *any*-indefinites obligatorily acquire strong stress and generate free-choice (FC) readings in certain non-DE modal contexts. They are then used to signal that all the alternatives from a set are equally acceptable (8).

(8) You can take ANY[2] book.

the set of books: {Mansfield Park, Emma, Persuasion}

→ You can take Mansfield Park, you can take Emma, you can take Persuasion.

Any-indefinites can attract strong stress in DE environments as well. While unstressed *any*-indefinites can be used in a relatively large set of DE environments, their stressed counterparts display a more restricted distribution (9). Krifka suggests that stressed *any*-indefinites contain an *even*-operator that highlights that the less prototypical members of a class are to be taken into consideration (1994: 203).[3] The presence of an *even*-operator is presumably responsible for the stressed *any*-indefinites' distributional restrictions and for the negative bias that these indefinites trigger in interrogative sentences such as (10).[4]

(9) Fewer than three children got {any presents/*ANY presents (whatsoEVer)}.
(Krifka, 1994: 197)

(10) Which of these people has fixed any/ANY of your cars? (Heim, 1984: 106)

any: a plain information-seeking question

ANY: a question conveying negative bias

According to Israel (2011), *any*-indefinites allow such diversity of use because of the type of scalar construal they create. Since they denote the most

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[2] Capitalization marks strong stress.

[3] Kadmon & Landman call this property of stressed *any*-indefinites "widening" (1993).

[4] *Even*-operators have been considered responsible for bias in questions at least since Heim (1984).

undistinguished entities of a set and do not indicate along which dimension the commonness of the entities is to be evaluated, they only trigger "weakly scalar construals" (ibid.: 181). This means that, while the entity denoted by an *any*-indefinite has the minimal q-value, its alternatives remain unordered with respect to one another. The only ordering that takes place is that between the *any*-indefinite and the set of its non-minimal alternatives (11). In the case of the "ordinary" scalar construal, however, all the entities are ordered, so that every one of them has a well-defined position on the pragmatic scale. Unlike the weakly scalar construal, which is usually triggered by function words, the ordinary scalar construal is triggered by content words and phrases, such as *sleep a wink/little/lot.* Since these phrases indicate the amount of time devoted to one's sleep more explicitly, they can be ordered with respect to one another (12).

(11) **Weakly scalar construal**

{Mansfield Park, Emma, Persuasion}

any book

(12) **Ordinary scalar construal**

sleep a lot

sleep a little

sleep a wink
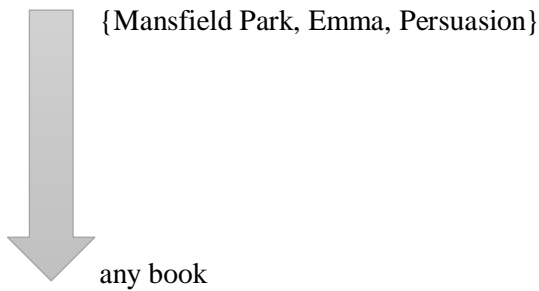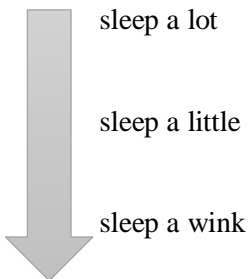
According to Israel, unstressed *any*-indefinites are licensed because they background their (latent) high i-values; as a result, their scalar character is not the focus of attention anymore (2011: 177). Unstressed *any*-indefinites can therefore be used in more contexts than their stressed counterparts. Stressed *any*-indefinites are

either strict NPIs with their high i-values fully expressed, or they are items signalling the freedom of choice. In the latter case, they are generic (Kadmon & Landman, 1993; Israel, 2011) and thus acceptable only if the surrounding non-DE contexts do not force them to denote specific entities (Israel, 2011: 186).

Alternatively, if we adapt Krifka's theory, an *any*-indefinite can be seen as an item containing a latent *even*-operator. If the indefinite is stressed, the *even*-operator is foregrounded and it restricts the distribution of the indefinite. If the *any*-indefinite is unstressed, its *even*-operator remains in the background, which accounts for the indefinite's distributional flexibility. In what follows, I will show that Slovene *koli*-indefinites behave similarly to English *any*-indefinites, while Slovene *bare* indefinites do not.

4. SLOVENE *BARE* AND *KOLI*-INDEFINITES

With the exception of n-indefinites, described within the minimalist framework in Ilc (2019), the last attempt at describing Slovene indefinites was made by Toporišič (2000). The latter identifies two series of pro-words expressing the speaker's ignorance or indifference (cf. the table below). He terms them randomness pronouns (ibid.: 311), probably because their referent is unspecified, which creates the impression that it can be chosen at random. Toporišič notes that randomness pronouns appear in conditional, optative, interrogative and exclamatory clauses or sentences (ibid.: 312), but he does not try to explain why. He also seems to neglect the fact that the two series of pro-words, while sharing certain similarities, show many differences as well. In the present paper, the two types of indefinites are termed *bare* and *koli*-indefinites, based on their morphological features. *Bare* indefinites have been derived from interrogative pro-words by conversion, while *koli*-indefinites have been formed from reflexive pro-words by the suffixation of *-koli*.

In the following paragraphs, I will highlight certain semantic and pragmatic characteristics of the *bare* and the *koli*-series. All Slovene examples of use in this section are taken from the reference corpus Gigafida 2.0.[5]

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[5] With the exception of omitting certain parts of the text that are irrelevant to the discussion in this paper, no changes have been made to the original corpus sentences.

Table 1: Slovene *bare* and *koli*-indefinites with their English equivalents

	BARE INDEFINITES	*KOLI-* INDEFINITES	ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS[6]
NOMINAL	*kdo*	*kdorkoli*	anyone
	kàj	*karkoli*	anything
ADJECTIVAL	*kàk(šen)*	*kakršenkoli*	any (specifying)
	kateri	*katerikoli*	of any kind
	čigàv	*čigarkoli*	anyone's
ADVERBIAL	*kje*	*kjerkoli*	anywhere
	kàm	*kamorkoli*	to anywhere
	kdàj	*kadarkoli*	anytime
	kako	*kakorkoli*	in any manner
	koliko/kàj	*kolikorkoli*	of any quantity

Both *bare* and *koli*-indefinites are acceptable in DE contexts (13–14). They are incompatible with episodic sentences, which suggests that they do not introduce referents in the actual world (15). This is probably why these indefinites usually cannot occur in sentence-final positions (16) which, in Slovene, are normally taken by focal items, i.e. semantically "heavy" expressions responsible for expanding the interlocutors' common ground. Since *bare* and *koli*-indefinites present the existence of an entity merely as possible, they can hardly be seen as semantically substantial items appropriate for being placed in focus. The improved acceptability of examples with post-modified sentence-final indefinites seems logical, as post-modifiers bring additional semantic material, making the sentence-final phrase "heavier" (16).

(13) Hiša je   bila, ne da bi *kdorkoli kaj*   vprašal,
house be.3SG be-PCP not that would anyone-NOM anything-ACC ask-PCP

prodana.

sell-PCP

The house was sold, without anyone asking me anything.

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[6] Even though *bare* and *koli*-indefinites do not correspond to *any*-indefinites completely, I will use *any*-indefinites as their translational approximations in interlinear glosses.

(14) a. Dvomim,   da bi   *kdo*   *kaj*   vedel.
    doubt-1SG   that would anyone-NOM anything-ACC   know-PCP
    I doubt that anyone knows anything.

   b. Dvomim, da bi   *kdorkoli*   od vas privolil   v vožnjo z
    doubt-1SG that would anyone-NOM from you consent-PCP in ride   with
    letalom.
    airplane
    I doubt that any of you would consent to a ride on an airplane.

(15) a. #Včeraj   je   *kdo*   zaradi   spolne usmerjenosti
    yesterday be.3SG anyone-NOM   because.of   sexual   orientation
    izgubil   zaposlitev.[7]
    lose-PCP   job
    Yesterday someone might have lost their job because of their sexual orientation.

   b. *Včeraj   je   *kdorkoli*   naredil *karkoli*   narobe.
    yesterday   be.3SG anyone-NOM   do-PCP   anything-ACC   wrong

(16) a. Dvomim, da bi   *kdo*   o   njej vedel *kaj*
    doubt-1SG that would anyone-NOM about her know-PCP anything-ACC
    *(lepega).
    nice
    I doubt that anyone knows anything nice about her.

   b. Če *kdorkoli*   naredi   *karkoli*   *(prepovedanega),
    if anyone-NOM do-3SG.PRS anything-ACC   forbidden
    zasluži   kazen.
    deserve-3SG.PRS   punishment
    If anyone does anything illegal, they deserve punishment.

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[7] Example (15a) is acceptable, but the presence of the *bare* indefinite forces the reading on which the sentence is not episodic and factive, but conjectural.

In the above examples, the meaning of the italicized pro-words is roughly the same. The indefinites have the quantificational force of existential quantifiers, which is further illustrated by tests (i–iv) (cf. Giannakidou, 1998: 65–68).

(i) <u>The pro-words can be used as predicate nominals:</u>
Jama ni   *kakšna/kakršnakoli*   lepotica.
cave not.be.3SG.PRS   any-NOM/any-NOM   beauty
The cave is no beauty.

(ii) <u>They cannot constitute fragment answers:</u>
A: Je   koga   srečala   pamet?
    be.3SG anyone-ACC meet-PCP wisdom
    Did anyone come to their senses?
B: **Koga/*Kogarkoli*.
     anyone-ACC/anyone-ACC

(iii) <u>They cannot be modified by *skoraj* 'almost':</u>
*Dvomim, da bi   skoraj *kdo/kdorkoli*   kaj
 doubt-1SG that would almost anyone-NOM/anyone-NOM   anything-ACC
 vedel.
 know-PCP

(iv) <u>They can bind variables outside of their syntactic scope:</u>
Če bi   *kdo$_i$*   *karkoli$_j$*   vedel, *ga$_i$* prosimo,   da *to$_j$*
if would anyone-NOM anything-ACC know-PCP   him ask-1PL.PRS that this
sporoči.
report-3SG.PRS
Should anyone know anything, we kindly ask them to report it.

In certain contexts, the *bare* and the *koli*-series – although equally acceptable – trigger different interpretations. The request in (17b) sounds friendlier than the one in (17a). The *koli*-indefinite in (17b) seems semantically closer to the pronoun *anything* in (18b), while the *bare* indefinite in (17a) resembles the pronoun *something* in (18a). The greater generosity expressed by the *koli*-indefinite might be attributed to the widening effect (cf. footnote 3): the *koli*-indefinite makes the domain of interpretation larger by highlighting that even the less prototypical entities are taken into consideration. The *bare* series seems incapable of such widening: if the *koli*-indefinite is left out in (19), where the domain of people is

being gradually widened (*kdo* 'anyone' < *kdorkoli* 'anyone at all' < *celo sam igralec* 'even the actor'), the sentence becomes odd. In English, the widening function is typical of "supplementary *any*" (Horn, 2005: 187). This is shown in (20), where the second, stressed and post-modified, *any* widens the domain of beverages.

(17) a. Če imate   *kakšne* pomisleke,   začnite   pri svojem
       if   have-2PL.PRS   any-ACC   second.thoughts start-2PL.IMP by   your-REFL
       agentu.
       agent
       If you have second thoughts, consult your agent first.

      b. Če imate   *kakršnekoli* pomisleke,   se   obrnite   na
       if   have-2PL.PRS   any-ACC   second.thoughts REFL turn-2PL.IMP on
       prodajalca.
       salesman
       If you have any second thoughts at all, contact your salesman.

(18) a. Is there something I can do for you?
      b. Is there anything I can do for you?   (Kadmon & Landman, 1993: 367)

(19) Film ne   priznava   nobene zunanjosti, zaradi   katere
      film not acknowledge-3SG.PRS   no   exterior   because.of   which
      bi   lahko *kdo,*   *(kdorkoli), celo sam igralec,*
      would   easily anyone-NOM anyone-NOM   even alone actor
      podvomil, da gre   zares.
      doubt-PCP   that go-3SG.PRS for.real
      The film acknowledges no exterior that would allow anyone, anyone at all, even the actor himself, to doubt whether the events are real.

(20) If he drinks anything, anything {at all/whatsoever}, please let me know at once.

                                             (Horn, 2005: 187, ft. 7)

Dissimilarities between *bare* and *koli*-indefinites are detectable in questions as well. The *bare* series can only trigger bias when pre-modified by *sploh* 'even'. The *koli*-series can trigger bias on its own, by acquiring stress. Questions (21a) and (22a) are not biased, whereas questions (21b) and (22b) show bias towards negative

answers. Since *bare* indefinites need an overt *even*-operator to create biased questions, their combinations with *sploh* are very common. The corpus Gigafida 2.0 contains 3,078 examples of the phrase *sploh kaj* and 1,563 examples of the phrase *sploh kdo*. *Koli*-indefinites are bias-triggers on their own: it is therefore possible to assume that they have an inherent *even*-operator that is highlighted by stress. In the light of this hypothesis, using an overt *even*-operator in combination with *koli*-indefinites seems redundant. This explains why the Gigafida corpus contains only 93 examples of the phrase *sploh karkoli* and only 26 examples of the phrase *sploh kdorkoli*.

(21) a. Ali *kdo*   dela   analize?
         Q   anyone-NOM make-3SG.PRS   analyses
         Does anyone do the analyses?
     b. Ali *sploh kdo* dela analize?
         Does anyone at all do the analyses?

(22) a. Ali *kdorkoli*   ve,   kaj je   prestajala?
         Q   anyone-NOM   know-3SG.PRS what be.3SG   go.through-PCP
         Does anyone know what she was going through?
     b. Ali *KDORKOLI* ve, kaj je prestajala?
         Does anyone at all know what she was going through?

While *koli*-indefinites cannot occur in complements of non-adversative predicates (23), *bare* indefinites can (24a). However, when a *bare* indefinite is coupled with an overt *even*-operator such as *sploh*, its use in the complement of the non-adversative predicate becomes unacceptable (24b). This seems compatible with the hypothesis that *koli*-indefinites have an inherent *even*-operator, as *any* – which has been shown to contain a latent *even*-operator (cf. section 3) – also avoids non-adversative predicates (25).

(23) *Prepričan je,   da je   *kogarkoli* podkupil.
        convinced be.3SG.PRS that be.3SG anyone-ACC bribe-PCP

(24) a. Prepričan   je,   da je   *koga*   podkupil.
        convinced   be.3SG.PRS that be.3SG anyone-ACC bribe-PCP
        He is convinced that he bribed someone.
     b. *Prepričan je, da je *sploh koga* podkupil.

(25) *I'm sure I said anything.   (Kadmon & Landman, 1993: 380)

Bare indefinites also seem to have the exclusive ability to occur in epistemic modal contexts, where they produce the following modal variation inference: "more than one (but not necessarily all) alternatives in the relevant domain qualify as a possible option" (Aloni & Port, 2015: 119). The *bare* indefinite in (26) introduces alternatives, but does not insist that all of them be taken into consideration; the continuation in brackets is therefore completely acceptable. The *koli*-indefinite, be it stressed or unstressed, is unacceptable in epistemic modal contexts (27).

(26) Zagotovo bom   *kaj*   spremenila, verjetno balkon.

definitely be.1SG.FUT anything-ACC   change-PCP   probably balcony

(Zagotovo ne kuhinje.)

definitely not kitchen

I will definitely change something, probably the balcony. (But definitely

not the kitchen.)

(27) *Zagotovo bom *karkoli* spremenila.

Under deontic modals, *bare* indefinites again trigger the modal variation inference, whereas *koli*-indefinites trigger the FC inference: "all alternatives in the relevant domain qualify as a possible option" (ibid.: 119). In (28), where the *koli*-indefinite is obligatorily stressed, the interlocutor is allowed to take any dessert they like. By contrast, the *bare* indefinite in (29) implies that an – but not *just any* – idea can be copied. In other words, the *bare* indefinite does not induce the widening typical of *koli*- and *any*-indefinites (cf. (19) and footnote 3).

(28) Za sladico lahko vzameš   *KARKOLI*   želiš.

for dessert easily take-2SG.PRS anything-ACC   wish-2SG.PRS

You may take anything you want for dessert.

(29) Od vsakega bi   lahko *kaj*   vzela   in   sestavila

from each   would easily anything-ACC take-PCP and create-PCP

fantastičen meni.

fantastic   menu

I could take something from each, creating a fantastic menu.

Since the stressed *koli*-series triggers the FC inference that is typical of the stressed *any*-indefinites (cf. section 3), *koli*-indefinites are expected to have the same features as *any*-indefinites in non-DE contexts. This prediction is borne out. Stressed *koli*-indefinites display the characteristics of universal quantifiers (i–iv).

(i) <u>When used as predicate nominals, the pro-words have the indiscriminative meaning in affirmative and the anti-indiscriminative meaning in negative sentences (cf. Horn, 2005):</u>

Dekle ni *KDORKOLI*, temveč brazilska supermanekenka.
girl not.be.3SG.PRS anyone-NOM but Brazilian supermodel
The girl is not just anyone, she is a Brazilian supermodel.

(ii) <u>They can constitute fragment answers:</u>

A: Kdo lahko jamči za to?
who easily vouch-3SG.PRS for this
Who can vouch for this?
B: *KDORKOLI*.
anyone-NOM
Anyone.

(iii) <u>They can be modified by *skoraj* 'almost':</u>

Po operaciji lahko jem skoraj *KARKOLI*.
after surgery easily eat-1SG.PRS almost anything-ACC
After the surgery, I can eat almost anything.

(iv) <u>They cannot bind variables outside of their syntactic scope:</u>

Vstopnine ni, pride lahko *KDORKOLI$_i$*.
entrance.fee not.be.3SG.PRS come-3SG.PRS easily anyone-NOM
*Reci mu$_i$, naj s seboj prinese veliko dobre
tell-2SG.IMP him IMP.PTC with him-REFL bring-3SG.PRS much good
volje.
mood
There is no entrance fee, anyone$_i$ can come. *Tell them$_i$ to come in high spirits.

5. CONCLUSION

Even though Toporišič (2000) unites *bare* and *koli*-indefinites under the term randomness pronouns, examples from the Slovene corpus Gigafida 2.0 show

that the two series of pronouns have significantly different characteristics. The *koli*-series seems to share a great deal of similarities with the English *any*-series. Both *any*- and *koli*-indefinites are sensitive to stress; unlike their stressed counterparts, unstressed indefinites do not trigger negative bias in questions. Since negative bias has been attributed to *even*-operators (cf. Heim, 1984), it seems reasonable to conclude that *koli*-indefinites contain an *even*-operator which may (but need not) be foregrounded by stress, just as is the case of *any*-indefinites.

The analysis of corpus data has shown that both *any*- and *koli*-indefinites are compatible with DE contexts and incompatible with non-DE episodic sentences. This makes them NPIs. When stressed, these indefinites can occur in non-DE modal contexts, generating the FC inference and adopting the characteristics of universal quantifiers.

Like *any*- and *koli*-indefinites, *bare* indefinites are generally compatible with DE contexts and incompatible with non-DE episodic sentences. However, the *bare* series can also occur in the scope of non-adversative predicates, which are not DE. What is more, *bare* indefinites cannot trigger negative bias in questions. This might suggest that they do not contain an *even*-operator. They also cannot induce domain widening and are unable to generate the FC inference, unlike *any*- and *koli*-indefinites.

Kristina Gregorčič

SEMANTIČKI I PRAGMATIČKI ASPEKTI ENGLESKE ODREDNICE *ANY*- I SLOVENAČKIH IZRAZA NEODREĐENOSTI I NASUMIČNOSTI

Rezime

Slovenački jezik ima dve grupe izraza koje iskazuju govornikovo neznanje ili indiferentnost: one izvedene od upitnih reči (*kdo* 'iko', *kaj* 'išta', itd.) i one izvedene pomoću sufiksa -*koli* (*kdorkoli* 'iko', *karkoli* 'išta', itd.). Dve grupe su nazvane nasumičnim zamenicama (Toporišič, 2000), što je stvorilo pogrešan utisak da su one međuzamenljive. I pored toga što obe grupe izražavaju govornikovo neznanje ili indeferentnost u odnosu na svog referenta, njihovo pojavljivanje u datom kontekstu često uzrokuje različite interpretacije. Analiza primera preuzetih iz slovenačkog referentnog korpusa Gigafida 2.0 pokazuje da izrazi sa sufiksom -*koli* dele mnoge odlike sa engleskim izrazima sa *any*, dok izrazi izvedeni od upitnih reči u većoj meri pokazuju idiosinkratičko ponašanje.

Od vremena kada je autor Ladusaw (1980) objavio svoje delo, izrazi neodređenosti sa *any* i drugi izrazi negativne polarnosti analiziraju se kao izrazi sa osetljivošću na operatore silaznog logičkog zaključivanja, koji okreću u suprotnom smeru logičko zaključivanje koje

povezuje skupove i podskupove. Ova osetljivost je rezultat skalarnog karaktera izraza negativne polarnosti (Israel, 2011). Izrazi neodređenosti sa *any* su skalarni po tome što označavaju minimalne krajnje tačke (članove koji su u najmanjoj meri netipični u klasi) na kvantitativnoj skali, pri čemu do maksimuma dovode informativnu snagu iskaza u kojima se pojavljuju (ibid.). Ono što ove izraze neodređenosti čini posebnim je njihova sposobnost da daju zaleđe skalarnom karakteru koji je rezultat prisustva operatora sa *even* (cf. Krifka, 1994).

Slovenački izrazi neodređenosti sa sufiksom -*koli* imaju mnoge sličnosti sa engleskim izrazima neodređenosti sa *any*. Oni su kompatibilni sa kontekstima silaznog logičkog zaključivanja i nekompatibilni sa nemonotonim epizodičnim rečenicama, što ih čini izrazima negativne polarnosti. Kada su naglašeni, izrazi sa sufiksom -*koli* proširuju domen interpretacije, ističući da su čak i manje prototipični članovi klase uzeti u obzir. Naglašeni izrazi sa sufiksom -*koli* takođe izazivaju negativnu pristrasnost u pitanjima, dok njihovi nenaglašeni parnjaci nemaju tu sposobnost. Pošto je negativna pristrasnost izazvana i operatorima sa *even* (cf. Heim, 1984), razumno je zaključiti da izrazi sa sufiksom -*koli*, baš kao i izrazi sa *any*, sadrže operator sa *even* koji može biti stavljen u prvi plan naglaskom.

Kako nemaju sposobnost izazivanja negativne pristrasnosti u pitanjima, čini se da izrazi neodređenosti izvedeni od upitnih reči ne sadrže operator sa *even*. Ovi izrazi nisu toliko slični izrazima sa *any* kao izrazi sa sufiksom -*koli*. Oni su, uopšteno, kompatibilni sa kontekstima silaznog logičkog zaključivanja i nekompatibilni sa nemonotonim epizodičnim rečenicama. Međutim, oni se takođe mogu pojaviti i u neadverzativnim predikatima, koji nisu kontekst silaznog logičkog zaključivanja. U modalnim kontekstima, ovi izrazi neodređenosti generišu inferenciju o modalnoj varijaciji i zadržavaju karakteristike egzistencijalnih kvantifikatora, dok izrazi sa *any* i sufiksom -*koli* generišu inferenciju o slobodnom izboru i poprimaju osobine univerzalnih kvantifikatora.

Ključne reči: negativna polarnost, sloboda izbora, silazno logičko zaključivanje, operatori sa *even*, neodređene zamenice, engleski, slovenački.

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A CORPUS-BASED CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF EXPERIENCER VERBS IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN: SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STRUCTURE OF VP[**]

The aim of this paper is twofold. First, it reports on a parallel corpus study of experiencer verbs in English and Serbian and offers a contrastive description of this class of verbs. This investigation reveals two important observations: (i) a number of Serbian equivalents of English verbs with PP complements require oblique case-marked bare NP complements, (ii) the association between P-heads of these PP complements in English and their Serbian equivalents is not random (i.e. certain Ps in English correlate with certain Ps and/or oblique cases in Serbian). Understanding the potential theoretical significance of these observations is the second goal of the paper. The non-random link between English Ps and their Serbian counterparts speaks in favor of them having a semantic contribution, which goes against Neeleman's (1997) analysis of Ps in PP complements as having no semantic contribution due to the fact that they LF incorporate into the verb. Neeleman's (1997) account also fails to generalize to Serbian because oblique-cased bare NP complements exhibit syntactic characteristics of arguments. It is argued that the link between oblique-cased bare NP and PP complements speaks in favor of the functional/semantic equivalence along the lines of Caha (2009, 2013).

Key words: PP complements, experiencer verbs, parallel corpus, adjuncts, arguments, complements, English, Serbian.

1. INTRODUCTION

Experiencer verbs, or verbs that trigger entailments about emotional states of one of their arguments (Dowty 1991), are still a hotly debated subject in

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linguistics as evidenced by numerous recent books and papers tackling precisely this topic (Landau 2010, Alexiadou & Iordachioaia 2014, Alexiadou 2016; Alexiadou 2018; Cheung & Larson 2015; Fabregas & Marin 2015; Hartshorne et al. 2016, among many others). The reason they are still the topic of linguistic debates is because they pose challenges to some of the most well-established linguistic theories, from Baker's (1988) Uniform Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) to theories in the domain of case and aspect. In English, as well as various other languages, they are quite well-described even though not completely understood. Comprehensive formal descriptions of English experiencer verbs including exhaustive lists and categorizations are, nonetheless, available (cf. Levin 1994), which is why investigations of this class of verbs are greatly facilitated.

In Serbian, experiencer verbs are still an uncharted territory, at least from the perspective of formal approaches. Several descriptive studies of these verbs, both in Serbian and in Croatian, have appeared recently (cf. Oraić 2008; Šaravanja 2011; *inter alia*). Some of these studies looked at specific verbs or specific subclasses of experiencer verbs (Arsenijević 2006, 2015). Others focused on some aspects of their syntax such as clausal complements (Oraić Rabušić 2016) or instrumental and dative NP complements (Brač and Oraić Rabušić 2016; Daković 2016). The most comprehensive studies of these verbs such as Milenković (2017) and Štrbac (2006) come from the functionalist framework so the classifications and descriptions that they provide are not so informative and user-friendly from the perspective of formal approaches.

This paper is part of a larger study of the syntax and semantics of Serbian experiencer verbs from the generative perspective. The general goal of this paper will be to present a comparative overview of English and Serbian experiencer verbs based on a parallel corpus study of Serbian translations of *The Harry Potter* series and *the Lord of the Rings* trilogy. A more specific aim is to offer a classification of the Serbian data in line with established cross-linguistic classifications (cf. Belletti and Rizzi 1988; Landau 2010) as adapted for English by Levin (1994). As will be shown, the attempt to adapt Levin's (1994) classification to Serbian faces a number of challenges. The one that will be taken up here concerns the status of oblique case-marked NPs that often appear as counterparts of English PP complements (1).

(1) a. Tom marveled *at the painting*
    b. Tom se divio   *slici*
       Tom SE marvel   painting.dat
       'Tom marveled at the painting'

The status of these PPs in English is not particularly well-understood either and there have not been many attempts to offer a principled treatment of these elements (however, see Pesetsky 1994; Neeleman 1997). Thus, this paper will, indirectly, shed some light on their status in English by providing a comparative perspective.

It will be observed that PP complements of English experiencer verbs have two kinds of equivalents in Serbian: PPs and oblique-cased bare NPs. Moreover, the choice of one of these two options as well as the choice of a particular P or particular oblique case as an equivalent of a given P in English is not random, and interesting patterns can be observed in this regard. Next, it will be shown that at least oblique case-marked bare NPs in Serbian behave like arguments given the limited number of tests that can be used to tease these two categories apart. On the basis of these facts, the existence of Neeleman's (1997) category of PP complements will be called into question in favor of a simpler division between arguments and adjuncts where arguments can also be realized as PPs or oblique-cased bare NPs. Finally, it will be suggested that these issues could be better handled drawing on Caha's (2009, 2013) implementation of the intuition about the functional and semantic equivalence of cases and prepositions.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The literature on experiencer verbs is too extensive to be summarized here. Therefore, I will limit myself to providing a very general overview of those accounts that are relevant to any study of experiencer verbs as well as those works that pertain to the particular topic that I want to address here, i.e. the status of obligatory PPs and oblique-cased bare NPs with these verbs. The intense focus on experiencer verbs in the literature was sparked by the formulation of UTAH (Baker 1988). The idea behind this proposal is that there is a one-to-one mapping between syntactic positions in which elements are merged and thematic roles that they receive from the verb. Experiencer verbs represent a challenge for this theory because with these verbs the experiencer argument can appear in various syntactic configurations (2).

(2) a. *John* fears snakes
   b. Snakes frighten *John*
   c. Snakes appeal *to John*

As shown in (2), the experiencer argument can occur in the subject position, in the object position and inside a PP complement.

Instead of taking these examples as a direct refutation of UTAH, Belletti and Rizzi (1988) argued that the experiencer argument does not actually have the same role with all of these verbs. The evidence for their analysis comes from atypical binding patterns that are observed with experiencer verbs in Italian. Namely, in Italian, the experiencer in the object position can bind a reflexive contained inside the subject NP, but a proper name in the object position with a verb of a different class cannot do so (3).

(3) a. Questi pettegolezzi su di se preoccupano Gianni piu di ogni altra cosa.
     'These rumors about himself worry John more than anything else'
   b.*Questi pettegolezzi su di se descrivono Gianni meglio di ogni biografia ufficiale.
     'These rumors about himself describe John better than official biography'

Belletti and Rizzi (1988) take the contrast in (3) as evidence in favor of the idea that the surface word order with object experiencers is derived by movement from an underlying structure in which the experiencer actually c-commands the theme. If that is the case, Belletti and Rizzi (1988) argue, experiencer verbs have a syntactic structure that is different from those of other verbs, which makes it possible to maintain UTAH in the face of these apparent counterexamples. Belletti and Rizzi's (1988) analysis has been called into question by a number of authors (Pesetsky 1994, Landau 2010, among many others), but it is, nonetheless, extremely important because it represents the first powerful articulation of the idea that experiencer verbs do not falsify UTAH. The intuition that Belletti and Rizzi (1988) implement will be assumed here, too, although I will not commit myself to all the details of their analysis.

Focusing on the research question of the status of obligatory PPs (and oblique-cased bare NPs) with some experiencer verbs, there are two influential approaches. The first approach comes from Pesetsky's (1994) work on the so-called cascade structures. Pesetsky (1994) is concerned with the status of the obligatory PP with experiencer verbs such as the one in (4).

(4) Peter worried about his future.

The obligatoriness of this PP precludes a simple analysis in which it represents nothing but an adjunct. On the other hand, the available theoretical apparatus has no room to explain the transmission of case and the thematic role from the verb to the DP inside the PP. Pesetsky (1994) proposes a cascade structure in which the PP represents a continuation of the VP, thus, making the VP structure 'deeper'. The most immediate empirical advantage of cascades is the possibility of accounting for examples such as (5).

(5) a. Sue spoke to these people$_i$ about each other$_i$'s friends in Bill's house.
b. John spoke to Mary about these people$_i$ in each other$_i$'s houses on Tuesday.
c. Sue gave books to these people$_i$ on each other$_i$'s birthdays.

(Pesetsky 1994: 172)

The problem with the examples in (5) is that the linear precedence seems to translate into hierarchy and c-command as the NP *people* binds the reciprocal to its right in every sentence. These facts are problematic for any standard theory of binding relations. Pesetsky (1994) proposes a cascade structure in (6) as a way of capturing these data.

(6)
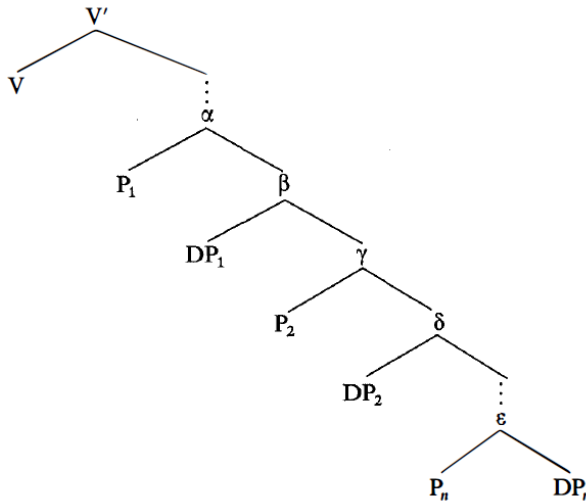
(Pesetsky 1994: 174)

By treating PP complements as extensions of the VP deeper down, Pesetsky (1994) provides a systematic explanation for these puzzles in the domain of binding. One should note, on the basis of Pesetsky's (1994) examples in (5), that the notion of 'complements' becomes much looser under this approach and extends deep into the territory of traditional adjuncts.

A different approach to obligatory PPs comes from Neeleman (1997). He proposes a tripartite division into argument PPs, complement PPs and adjunct PPs as illustrated in the example in (7) from Dutch.

(7) a. Dat de held *op het laatste moment* gered werd   *adjunct*
   that the hero at the last   moment saved was
  b. Dat ik *door de polder* zou willen afraden   *argument*
   that I through the polder would want to-advise-against
  c. Dat Jan *op zijn geluk* vertrouwt   *complement*
   that John on his luck   trusts

                  (Neeleman 1997: 91)

The highlighted PP in (7a) is a typical temporal adjunct, which can be omitted without consequences. In (7b), the PP is the object of the main verb, and it can also be analyzed as a reduced DP. Nonetheless, the PP has a compositional, predictable denotation. Finally, in (7c), the PP does not have a typical PP denotation and it is an obligatory part of the construction.

Neeleman (1997) argues that the PP in (7c) should be analyzed as PP complement, but such an analysis requires a more thorough syntactic explanation. In particular, it raises the question of the transmission of a thematic role, and the role of the preposition in the interpretation of the sentence. Drawing on Chomsky's (1995) dismissal of D-Structure with the requirement that theta assignment has to take place at D-Structure, Neeleman (1997) suggests that the PP is active in overt syntax but at LF, the P head incorporates into the verb, and the verb, then, theta marks the DP that is left in the complement of the PP.

Neeleman's (1997) approach certainly has an advantage in the fact that it does not depart from the mainstream views in such a radical way as Pesetsky's (1994) proposal. However, it has no way of accounting for the problematic binding facts that are captured by Pesetsky (1994). Also, Neeleman's (1997) account treats the P head inside the PP as semantically vacuous, and it provides no mechanism that could deal with the presence of oblique-cased bare NPs in similar contexts in other languages.

3. DATA: CORPUS EXPLORATION

In the exploratory part of this work, I carried out a parallel corpus study using sentence-aligned parallel corpora of *the Lord of the Rings* and *Harry Potter* series and their Serbian translations (compiled by A. Kavgić). The sub-corpus consisting of the original texts of Lord of the Rings Trilogy contained 455,125, while the sub-corpus that was made up of the Harry Potter series contained 1,084,170 words. In total, the English part of the parallel corpus had more than 1.5 million words. Therefore, the corpus was sizable enough to satisfy the needs of a study of this kind.

It should be emphasized that this is an exploratory corpus study rather than a hypothesis-driven one. Consequently, the data will be presented as illustrations of important patterns that have been observed without the accompanying quantitative reports and statistical tests, which would not add anything substantial to the exposition in this paper.

The goal was to achieve a thorough formal description of Serbian data using Levin's (1994) list and classification of experiencer verbs as a starting point. In the second phase, after I complied the list of Serbian equivalents of English experiencer verbs, I carried out the same procedure from the opposite direction starting from Serbian verbal lexemes and looking at English equivalents. This second phase was useful because some Serbian verbs were frequently used as equivalents of adjectival phrases in English.

The reason why Levin's (1994) classification was selected as the starting point is twofold. First, it is the most comprehensive classification of psych verbs available in the literature. Other influential classifications, such as the one provided in Belletti and Rizzi (1994) and adopted with minor modifications in Pesetsky (1994) and Landau (2010), divide the category of experiencer verbs into three classes leaving out an entire class that is included into Levin's (1994) classification. Second, Levin's (1994) classification is the only one I know of that provides extensive, one is tempted to say exhaustive, lists of experiencer verbs belonging to each class.

Levin (1994) classifies experiencer verbs into four classes building on Belletti & Rizzi's (1998) original three-way classification. She distinguishes between *admire*-type (8a), *amuse*-type (8b), *marvel*-type (8c) and *appeal*-type (8d) verbs.

(8) a. **Tom** admires *his professors*
   b. *The professor* amused **the students**
   c. **Lucy** marveled *at the artwork*
   d. *The professor's jokes* appealed **to the students**

Admire-type verbs realize the experiencer argument as the subject while the stimulus argument is realized as the object. *Amuse*-type verbs exhibit the opposite pattern, whereby the experiencer is in the object position while the stimulus is the subject. With *marvel*-type verbs, the experiencer is in the subject position, once again, but the stimulus is realized in the form of a PP. Finally, appeal-type verbs realize the experiencer in the form of a PP while the subject position is filled by the stimulus participant. In total, Levin (1994) lists 349 different verbal lexemes and classifies them into the four classes she identified.

I searched the parallel corpora for each verb from Levin's (1994) list and recorded the ways in which they were translated. For the purposes of this paper, I will focus only on the instances in which a lexical verb was used to translate a particular verb in English. The Serbian data were, then, organized according to the formal properties of the verbs that were used as the basis for Levin's (1994) classification. The criteria of interest were the syntactic position of the experiencer and the stimulus participant as either the subject or the object of the sentence and the morphosyntactic realizations of these expressions as NP/DPs or PPs.

The presentation of the Serbian data will, thus, be organized following Levin's (1994) classification. The source of the example will be given in brackets (HP for *Harry Potter* and LOTR for *Lord of the Rings*).

The examples in (9) show the most common patterns.

(9) a. oni **vole** mir i tišinu i dobro obdelavanu zemlju   *admire*-type
      they love peace.acc and quiet.acc and well-tilled.acc earth.acc
      "they **love** peace and quiet and good tilled earth" (LOTR)
   b. Mora da   ih   je nekako **uznemirio**   *amuse*-type
      must DA them.acc aux.cl somehow upset
      He must've **upset** them somehow (HP)
   c. lično   mi   **se** ne **dopada** njihova stopa smrtnosti *appeal*-type
      personally me.dat.cl SE not like   their.nom rate.nom mortality.gen
      I don't personally **fancy** the mortality rate (HP)
   d. što mi   je   najviše **prijalo** i iskoristio   sam to
      what me.dat.cl aux.cl most appeal.prt.neut and use.prt.masc aux.cl.1sg

that

it was most convenient and I used it (HP)

e. Pipin **se čudio** njegovoj snazi   *marvel*-type

Pippin SE marvel his.dat strength.dat

"Pippin **marvelled** at his strength" (LOTR)

f. **Čudio   se** zbog toga,   jer   je bio skoro zaboravio sunce

wonder SE because that.gen because aux.cl was almost forgot sun.acc

He **wondered** at it, for he had almost forgotten about the Sun (LOTR)

g. mi se   ne   **plašimo** njih!

We SE neg fear   them.gen

"we do not fear them!"

h. Krajnje je   vreme da tvoja   baka nauči da se **ponosi** svojim unukom

extreme aux.cl time that your grandma learn DA SE pride refl.poss.inst

grandson.inst

It's high time your grandmother learned to be proud of the grandson

(HP)

i. ne **brinući** o tome što   ih   pedesetak ljudi posmatra, Hari

je poljubi

not worrying about that which them.acc.cl fiftyish people look Harry

her.acc kiss

without **worrying** about the fact that fifty people were watching, Harry

kissed her (HP)

The data in (9) show that the situation in Serbian is more complicated than in English because there are subject experiencer verbs which take a PP stimulus like in English (9f, 9i) and those that take a genitive (9g), dative (9e) or instrumental (9h) marked bare NP stimuli. These data raise some important questions. The first question concerns the status of different PP and oblique-cased bare NP complements in Serbian and whether there are differences in the status of these two types of complements. Secondly, one might wonder about the significance of the correlations between specific Ps that appear as heads of these complements in English and their Serbian equivalents. Quite frequently directional Ps such as AT or TO in English have the equivalents in the form of dative bare NPs, which often mark directionality in Serbian (9e,9d). In other contexts, one finds these directional English Ps translated as PPs headed by prepositions with similar semantics such as NA ('at/to') (10). Similarly, English Ps that encode the meaning of source such as OF or FROM tend to be translated either as genitive bare NPs (11a) or PPs with

similar prepositions such as OD ('of/from') (11b). These questions will be taken up in the next section.

(10)   Očigledno je   to bila njegova reakcija na loše izvedenu kontrolišuću kletvu

                  Apparently AUX that was his reaction   to poorly performed controlling curse

                  'He has clearly reacted to a poorly performed Imperius Curse' (HP)

(11)   a. Toga   se   i bojao

                   that.gen SE and fear

                   'He had been afraid of that' (HP)

              b. Lucijusov strah od gospodara koga godinama   nije   bilo

                   Lucius's fear   of master.gen who years   AUX.neg was

                   'Lucius's fear of a master who had been gone for years' (HP)

4. OBLIQUE-CASED BARE NP STIMULI: ADJUNCTS, ARGUMENTS OR COMPLEMENTS

This section will present an argument that the Serbian data presented in Section 3 in parallel with the English equivalents cannot be accounted for on Neeleman's (1997) approach relying on the idea about PP complements and LF incorporation of the P head. The reason for this is that his account faces difficulties when it comes to explaining the existence of oblique-cased bare NPs in these positions. Furthermore, Neeleman (1997) assumes that the P head of the PP complement does not have any semantic contribution, but such an approach is contradicted by the correlations between the P that appears as a complement of one verb in English and the case form and/or P that appears in its Serbian counterpart. These correlations reveal that there is a significant semantic contribution of the relevant P/case form.

Before I examine the Serbian data in light of Neeleman's (1997) analysis, I want to ward off the idea that the PPs and oblique-cased bare NPs that occur with Serbian experiencer verbs in the examples (9-11) are actually adjuncts. Such a view would hardly get off the ground, especially in the case of bare NPs elements because one would have to assume that they represent an additional class of bare NP adjuncts. Standard accounts of bare NP adjuncts (cf. Larson 1985) usually rely on the special locative or temporal semantics of the nouns that can appear inside those elements, which is responsible for independently assigning case and thematic

role to these NPs. However, the NPs that appear as oblique case-marked stimuli are clearly not of that sort (i.e. they do not normally refer to locations and times).

Applying syntactic tests that are used to tease apart adjuncts and arguments to the bare NPs that can be found with experiencer verbs in Serbian, one can see that they pattern with arguments rather than adjuncts. Bošković (2008) points out that the movement of the NP complement out of an adjunct results in a total ungrammaticality while the same movement out of an argument results in a degraded but marginally acceptable sentence.

(12)   a. *Moga djeda$_i$ je trčao [šumom t$_i$].

        my.gen grandfather.gen is run forest.instr

       'He ran through the forest of my grandfather.'

       b. ??Moga djeda$_i$ je volio [šumu t$_i$].

        my.gen grandfather.gen is loved forest.acc

       'He loved the forest of my grandfather.' (Bošković 2018)

Extracting the complement of a dative-marked stimulus (13) yields results that are much closer to (12b) than (12a).

(13)   ??Mog   dede   se divila šumi

        my.gen grandfather.gen SE marvel forest.dat

        'She marveled at my grandfather's forest'

With genitive stimuli (14), complement extractions are much worse but this is probably due to the fact that movement across elements that match the element that moves in all its features (case is especially important) is banned across the board as argued by (Kuno 1980, 2003, *inter alia* for Japanese and Kovačević 2014 for Serbian).

(14)   *Mog   dede   se bojala šume

        My.gen grandfather.gen SE scare forst.gen

        'She was afraid of my grandfather's forest'

One should also rule out the possibility that these genitive and dative marked bare NPs are predicates. This can be seen from the fact that they are fully referential as shown, for instance, by the fact that they can be realized as pronouns (15).

(15)   a. Jovan   se njoj   divi
              John.nom SE her.dat marvel
              'John admires her/John marvels at her'
     b. Jovan   se nje   plaši
              John.nom SE her.gen sacre
              'John is afraid of her'

Of course, having shown that these bare NPs should not be treated as either adjuncts or predicates, one should consider the possibility that they are PP complements in the sense of Neeleman (1997). The problem with applying Neeleman's (1997) analysis to these elements has several dimensions. There is the conceptual issue reflected in the fact that such an analysis would require assuming the existence of a null P that is responsible for assigning case to its NP complement. This null P would then incorporate into the verb at LF. In a sense, in order to apply Neeleman's (1997) analysis to these examples one would have to subscribe to the idea that there is a covert P that undergoes covert LF movement with these elements.

Even if one were prepared to accept such a proposition, one would be at pains to find evidence to support it while there is important evidence to the contrary. For instance, genitive and dative bare NPs that appear with experiencer verbs can cliticize (16).

(16)   a. Mi   ih   se ne plašimo
             we them.dat.cl SE neg fear.1pl
             'We are not afraid of them'
     b. On   mu   se divi
             He him.dat.cl SE marvel
             'He admires him/He marvels at him'

This fact speaks against the null-P analysis of these elements because PPs do not allow cliticization. Abels (2003) derives the ban on clitics that originate inside PPs from the impossibility of moving the complement of a phasal head due to the interplay of PIC and anti-locality and the necessity of moving the clitics to the second position in Serbian. Milićev & Bešlin (2019) use Abels's (2003) account to explain why instrumental case does not produce a clitic form in Serbian by suggesting that instrumental case actually appears inside a PP headed by a null P (see M&B's paper for additional evidence that instrumental NPs are actually PPs with a null head). Therefore, at least for genitive and dative bare NPs with

experiencer verbs, it is safe to assume that they do not involve a null P contrary to what is predicted by Neeleman's (1997) analysis applied to Serbian.

Another problem associated with Neeleman's (1997) account is that it does not leave any room for a semantic contribution of the P head inside a PP complement. The reason why this is a problem is not apparent when looking only at English or Dutch. In fact, Neeleman (1997) uses the relative semantic vacuity of prepositions inside PP complements to distinguish them from prepositions in adjunct or argument PPs, which retain clear locative, temporal, causal, etc. semantics. However, assuming that these prepositions have no semantic contribution implies that the reason why, say, AT appears together with the verb *marvel* is purely a matter of (diachronic) coincidence and not something that reflects the actual interpretation of a sentence containing this verb and this preposition. Such a view, then, has nothing to say about the fact that a Serbian verb such as *diviti se* that means roughly the same as *marvel* requires a dative case-marked bare NP as its complement event though both a PP headed by AT and a dative case-marked NP typically involve directional semantics in these two languages. Similarly, a PP headed by AT that appears in adjectival phrases such as *angry at* has its equivalent in another expression of directionality in Serbian in the phrase *besan na*, with the preposition *na* also expressing directional semantics as in (17).

(17)   Milan cilja na Petra
        Milan aims at Peter.acc
        'Milan is aiming at Peter'

I would propose that these correlations are not accidental and that these Ps and case forms do have a semantic contribution. It is not my aim to make that semantic contribution explicit in this paper. Such an account will be left for further research. I will, however, propose a framework for an account of that sort. Caha's (2009, 2013) recent work on the Nanosyntax of case and prepositions seems like a promising line of thinking to couch an analysis of these phenomena in. The reason for this is that this framework treats case morphology and prepositions as realizations of the same abstract concepts arranged in a hierarchy (18).

(18)   nom < acc < gen < dat < ins < com   (Caha 2009: 33)

In Caha's work, these abstract meanings are arranged in a hierarchy or nested structure that is available on top of every NP/DP. The higher layers of

structure are 'peeled off' through movement operations that strand higher portions of the hierarchy in order to reveal lower ones. The NP/DP itself finally moves successive-cyclically to the highest projection in the hierarchy it can reach.

Languages differ in the height of NP/DP movement. In some languages, the NP/DP can move all the way up to comitative, and such languages will have that case realized in the form of a suffix. In others, NP/DPs will be able to move only until, say, accusative, and all the meanings that are higher in the containment hierarchy will be realized in the form of prepositions. In Serbian, the NP will be able to move all the way up to instrumental and all these meanings would be realized by means of case suffixes. By contrast, English DPs can only move to accusative, and all the other cases are realized by means of prepositions. The lexical properties of the verb select the case they need for their argument.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

Summing up, the aim of this paper was to offer a comparative description of Serbian and English experiencer verbs with a special focus on the status of obligatory PPs and oblique-cased NP/DPs. The data were drawn from a parallel corpus of Serbian translations of *The Harry Potter* series and *The Lord of the Rings* based on Levin's (1994) list and classification of experiencer verbs in English. The central observation was that Serbian experiencer verbs can take complements in the form of oblique-cased bare NPs as well as PPs. These complements appear as the equivalents of English obligatory PPs in a non-random manner (i.e. certain prepositions in English tend to be associated with similar prepositions and cases with a similar default meaning in Serbian).

These observations were taken as a basis of a critique of Neeleman's (1997) analysis of PP complements relying on the idea about LF incorporation of the preposition into the verb. This analysis is built on the idea that Ps that appear inside PP complements are semantically completely vacuous. This assumption is problematic because it would fail to capture the systematic links between the prepositions that appear in these constructions in English and their Serbian counterparts in the form of prepositions and cases with similar meanings. Moreover, Neeleman's (1997) idea fails to generalize to oblique-cased bare NPs in Serbian because it predicts the presence of a covert P that (covertly) incorporates into the verb at LF, which is both conceptually problematic and empirically contradicted by the fact that genitive and dative complements cliticize quite freely. PPs, on the other hand, always resist cliticization, and in fact, the lack of cliticization with instrumentals is a major argument in favor of treating instrumentals as PPs with a

null P (Milićev & Bešlin 2019). The proposal in this paper was that oblique-cased bare NPs with experiencer verbs should be analyzed as arguments. Finally, it was suggested that Caha's (2009, 2013) approach to case could provide a basis for an account that would make explicit the connection between English prepositions and Serbian oblique cases and prepositions.

Predrag Kovačević

KORPUSNA KONTRASTIVNA STUDIJA PSIHOLOŠKIH GLAGOLA U ENGLESKOM I SRPSKOM: NEKE IMPLIKACIJE ZA STRUKTURU GLAGOLSKE SINTAGME

Rezime

Rad ima dva glavna cilja. Prvi je da prikaže rezultate istraživanja psiholoških glagola u engleskom i srpskom zasnovanog na paralelnom korpusu i da ponudi kontrastivni opis ove klase glagola. Navode se dva glavna zapažanja (i) jedan broj srpskih ekvivalenata engleskih glagola sa dopunom u vidu predloške sintagme zahteva dopunu u vidu imeničke sintagme u kosom padežu, (ii) veza između predloga u predloškim sintagmama na engleskom i njihovih srpskih ekvivalenata nije nasumična (tj. određeni predlozi u engleskom koreliraju sa određenim predlozima i/ili kosim padežima u srpskom). Drugi cilj rada je razumevanje teorijskih implikacija ovih zapažanja. Korelacija između engleskih predloga i njihovih srpskih parnjaka govori u prilog tome da oni imaju semantički značaj, što je nasuprot Nelemanove (1997) analize ovih predloga kao elemenata bez semantičkog doprinosa koji se na nivou interpretacije inkorporiraju u glagol. Nelemanov (1997) pristup se ne može generalizovati na imeničke sintagme u kosim padežima u srpskom jeziku jer one ispoljavaju osobine argumenata. Iznosi se tvrdnja da se veza između kosih padeža i predloga u predloškim dopunama može razumeti iz perspektive Cahinog (2009, 2013) pristupa po kom se uspostavlja funkcionalna i semantička veza između predloga i padeža.

Ključne reči: dopune u vidu predloških sintagmi, psihološki glagoli, paralelni korpus, adjunkti, argumenti, dopune, engleski, srpski.

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ARE PROTOTYPICAL SEMANTIC CONCEPTS ACQUIRED FIRST?[**]

The aim of the present research was to examine the production of three types of *se*-verbs at different stages of first language acquisition of Serbian. The verbs tested were true reflexive (e.g. *oblačiti se* 'dress oneself'), true reciprocal (e.g. *grliti se* 'hug each other'), and anti-causative verbs (e.g. *otvoriti se* 'open'). None of the tested types is syntactically simple, because they do not involve a canonical linking of semantic roles and syntactic functions (agent-subject and patient-object). However, it was expected that true reflexive verbs would be acquired before true reciprocal and anti-causative verbs, because they are less complex. They are the only type that mirrors prototypical semantic concepts, although the agent and patient theta-roles are both mapped onto the subject. A total of sixty subjects belonging to three age groups (31-42, 43-55, 56-68 months-twenty participants in each group) took part in the research. The data collection technique was a verb elicitation task. The children were asked to name the activities presented in the pictures. The number of tested verbs was the same for each verb type. The initial hypothesis was confirmed, since the production of true reflexive verbs was the most accurate across groups.

Key words: first language acquisition, verb production, reflexive verbs, reciprocal verbs, anti-causative verbs, semantic concepts, semantic-syntactic mapping

1. INTRODUCTION

The question of how children learn verbs has been one of the crucial questions in the study of language acquisition. It has been claimed that children follow a canonical order that links thematic roles to syntactic functions (agent-subject and patient-object) (Pinker, 1984). However, canonical linking is not

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present with all the verbs (e.g. anti-causative verbs, where the patient performs the function of the subject). It is exactly the question of how children acquire these verbs that researchers attempt to answer. According to Pinker, "how argument structures are acquired is intertwined with the question of why particular verbs are paired with particular argument structures" (Pinker, 1989: 5). That is why the study on the acquisition of Serbian *se*-verbs is suitable not only for gaining an insight into the way children acquire argument structures, but also for a better understanding of the nature of these verbs.

The aim of the present study is to test and compare the production of true reflexive, true reciprocal[1] and anti-causative verbs at different stages of language acquisition in Serbian. It is expected that true reflexive verbs are acquired before true reciprocal and anti-causative verbs and will therefore be produced more accurately, because they are syntactically and semantically less complex. True reflexive verbs are the only type of *se*-verbs that reflects prototypical semantic concepts (although the agent and patient theta-roles are mapped only onto the subject), whereas reciprocal verbs involve two arguments that are both agents and patients at the same time, and anti-causative verbs involve a complex process of derivation from a transitive verb (including the elimination of the external +cause theta-role).

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 will deal with the theoretical background. First, reflexive, reciprocal and anti-causative verbs in Serbian will be looked into, paying attention to how they have been defined in traditional Serbian grammars, as well as within the generative approach. Then, each category of *se*-verbs will be illustrated and explained in terms of their syntactic and semantic complexity and prototypicality. An outline of the hypothesis about the innateness of semantic roles will be provided next, followed by an overview of studies on the acquisition of reflexive and anti-causative verbs. After the theoretical background, in section 3, a detailed description of the method will be given. Section 4 will deal with the analysis and discussion of the results obtained. Finally, in section 5, we will summarize the limitations and the main contributions of the research.

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[1] Inherent/lexical reflexive and reciprocal verbs are beyond the scope of this paper. For more information, see Miličević (2015).

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. Se-verbs in Serbian
2.1.1. Reflexive verbs in Serbian grammars

A reflexive verb is an umbrella term for all the verbs that appear with the clitic *se* in Serbian. However, Serbian linguists have pointed out that the reason for using it should be looked for in the Serbian linguistic tradition, rather than the nature of these verbs (Ivić, 1961-62; Stevanović, 1954; Arsenijević, 2011). The only unifying element of these verbs is the clitic *se*, even though the consensus on its own lexical-syntactic status has not been reached yet.

The most widely accepted classification of Serbian reflexive verbs is the one into true reflexive, quasi reflexive and reciprocal reflexive verbs (Stanojčić–Popović, 2002). True reflexive verbs denote activities which the agent of the verb performs on himself/herself. In this case, the clitic *se* is interpreted as the accusative case of the reflexive pronoun *sebe* 'self' (*oblačiti se* 'dress oneself'). On the other hand, quasi reflexive verbs denote activities or states in which the clitic *se* cannot be interpreted as the accusative case of the reflexive pronoun *sebe* 'self' (e.g. *igrati se* 'play'). Reciprocal reflexive verbs mark activities in which the agents perform activities on each other (*ljubiti se* 'kiss each other'). Other types of *se*-verbs (middles, impersonal, anti-causative verbs etc.) are not included in this classification.

As Samardžić (2006) points out, such a classification is not based on a unique criterion. While the interpretation of the clitic *se* is taken as an indicator of true reflexive verbs, its function is not defined with quasi reflexive verbs, and it is only stated how it cannot be interpreted. With reciprocal verbs, the clitic *se* is not mentioned at all.

In the following section, we are going to look at a different approach to the verbs that appear with the clitic s*e*, namely the generative approach.

2.1.2. Generative approach to se-verbs

Reinhart–Siloni (2003) offer a different approach to *se*-verbs, focusing on their derivation. As Reinhart–Siloni (2003) claim, arity operations, which change the valency of the verb, apply in syntax in Serbo-Croatian. The authors (2003) show how the clitic *se* appears in constructions in which the syntactic valency of the verb is reduced. The clitic *se* is a morphological component of the verb which reduces

the case. When it appears, the internal theta-role of the verb cannot be assigned to its canonical position and thus it remains unassigned until the external argument is merged. When the external argument is merged, bundling takes place, i.e. two theta-roles are assigned to the same argument. That is how Reinhart−Siloni (2003) explain the possibility of the subject bearing two theta roles at the same time (those of the agent and patient), which happens with reflexive verbs. According to Siloni (2008), the reciprocalization operation also prevents the assignment of the internal θ-role due to the lack of case. The internal θ-role is not eliminated, but gets associated with the external θ-role, and forms a reciprocal meaning.

Moreover, whereas traditional classifications of *se*-verbs in Serbian do not provide any account of anti-causative verbs, which also appear with the clitic *se*, this type is also included in their theory. Reinhart−Siloni define decausativization (turning a transitive into an anti-causative verb) as the "reduction of an external [+c] role" (Reinhart−Siloni, 2005: 416). The external argument is removed before the remaining argument is merged internally. At the final step of the derivation, after the internal argument is merged, it moves to a higher position, to become the subject.

It has been claimed that reciprocal verbs possess more agentive properties than reflexive verbs. According to Rákosi (2008), reciprocal verbs are more active than reflexive verbs. For example, while reflexive verbs in Hungarian show features of both unaccusativity and unergativity, because they take patient as their second argument, reciprocals behave more like unergatives, since their second argument takes the role of a "secondary Agent". This point is also taken by Siloni (2008), who uses a number of tests in Hebrew, French, Italian and Russian to show that reciprocal verbs are unergative. According to Siloni, "reciprocalization is a universal operation that associates two roles with one – external – argument… " (Siloni, 2008: 461).

Semantic and syntactic complexity of the tested *se*-verbs and their relation to prototypical transitivity will be outlined in the next section.

2.1.3. Prototypicality of se-verbs

The notion of prototypical transitivity, as defined by Hopper & Thomson (1980), involves a volitional animate agent affecting the state of an inanimate patient. These thematic roles are linked to the syntactic functions of subject and object. True reflexive verbs are the only type of *se*-verbs that mirror prototypical transitivity relation, since there is a volitional animate agent who affects the state of a patient. However, the patient is animate and coreferential with the subject in this

case. Both theta-roles are mapped onto the subject. The clitic *se* can be replaced with the reflexive pronoun *sebe* 'self' as shown in (1):

1) a. *Dečak se oblači.*
   boy.nom SE get dressed.3sg.pres
   'The boy is dressing himself.'
   b. *Dečak oblači sebe.*
   boy.nom dress.3sg.pres himself.acc
   'The boy is dressing himself.'

When it comes to true reciprocal verbs, the situation becomes more semantically complex, since there are two agents who affect the state of an animate patient and are the patients themselves at the same time. Both theta-roles are associated with the external argument. The clitic *se* can be replaced with the complement *jedan drugog* 'each other', as exemplified in (2).

2) a. *Dečak i devojčica se ljube.*
   boy.nom and girl.nom SE kiss.3pl.pres
   'The boy and the girl are kissing.'
   b. *Dečak i devojčica ljube jedan drugog.*
   boy.nom and girl.nom kiss.3pl.pres one another
   'The boy and the girl are kissing each other.'

Finally, in terms of prototypical transitivity, anti-causative verbs are the least prototypical and the most syntactically and semantically complex type of the tested *se*-verbs, since the patient theta-role, which is prototypically mapped onto the syntactic function of object (3a), moves to the position of the external argument to become the subject of the sentence, after the agent theta-role is eliminated (3b).

3) a. *Marko je otvorio vrata.* (agent-subject, patient-object)
   marko.nom open.3sg.past door.acc
   'Marko opened the door'
   b. *Vrata su se otvorila.* (agent is eliminated; patient is mapped onto the subject)
   door.nom SE open.3sg.past
   'The door opened.'

Because of the multitude of syntactic conditions in which they appear, *se*-verbs form a suitable research area for testing the hypothesis about the innateness of semantic roles (Pinker, 1984, 1989), which will be the topic of the next section.

2.2. Innateness of semantic roles

The development of grammar involves finding out the right syntactic functions for the thematic roles of Agent, Theme, Goal etc. (Pinker, 1984, 1989). Pinker says that his theory is "about how the child begins learning syntax" (Pinker, 1994: 385). He assumes the existence of universal linking rules, which are innate and help children draw conclusions. For instance, one linking rule is that agents are subjects of active sentences. Once a child recognizes a certain word as the agent in a given context, he/she can infer that that word is also in the position of the subject.

As Pinker states, "certain contingencies between perceptual categories and syntactic categories, mediated by semantic categories, could help the child get syntax acquisition started" (Pinker, 1994: 385). Pinker (1989) introduced the idea of children's learning classes of verbs via broad and narrow semantic constraints. Broad constraints are directly associated with universal linking rules for mapping conceptual structures to syntax. They define the semantic roles of the arguments of a verb in general. Narrow constraints refer to very subtle nuances in meaning, which children need more time to master. According to Pinker (1989), when a child makes an overgeneralization, that happens because the child is not yet able to assign the verb to the narrow class to which it belongs (see Brooks−Tomasello, 1999).

Interestingly, Brooks−Tomasello (1999) obtained results which support Pinker's hypothesis about narrow semantic constraints (Pinker, 1989). In an experiment which included ninety-six children, Brooks−Tomasello (1999) tested Pinker's hypothesis that children base their use of verbs on their belonging to narrow-range semantic classes. They also tested the hypothesis that children make use of indirect negative evidence, i.e. that the forms which they hear in the cases where they would expect to hear a different pattern prevent them from using those verbs in more expected constructions. The conclusions of the experiment are very interesting, since both hypotheses were confirmed. The prediction that the children would respect the assigned transitivity of a verb more often if the verb belonged to a fixed transitivity class (either transitive or intransitive) than if it belonged to alternating transitivity verbs proved to be true. It was shown that it takes some time for children (from 2.5 to 4.5 years) to recognize which verbs occur with which argument structures. Therefore, the results provide empirical support for Pinker's hypothesis (1989) about narrow semantic constraints. Brooks−Tomasello (1999)

also found that providing children with an alternative construction – different from what they might expect based on the given situation but still keeping the verb's transitivity – tended to preempt their usage of that verb.

2.3. Previous research on the acquisition of reflexive and anti-causative verbs

Data from cross-linguistic research show that reflexive verbs are acquired pretty early in the course of language acquisition. Snyder−Hyams and Crisma's (1995) findings show that reflexive verbs do not pose a difficulty for children, since one French-speaking child (in her transcripts ranging between the ages 2;1;9 and 3;3;12) and three Italian-speaking children (all younger than three) selected the right auxiliary with reflexive verbs almost without any mistakes.

However, the situation with some other types of *se*-verbs is not that clear. According to the studies that support the Maturational hypothesis (Borer−Wexler, 1987), children are expected to have difficulty acquiring anti-causative verbs, because of their inability to form A-chains, i.e. to perform movement to an argument position. Moreover, the results of various studies looking into the children's use of anti-causative verbs show that children are likely to come up with implicit agents, which are not present in the structure of anti-causative verbs (Roeper, 1987; Bowerman, 1991; Verrips, 2000).

When it comes to the results obtained for the acquisition of Serbian *se*-verbs, the results from a pilot study on the production of true reflexive, true reciprocal and anti-causative verbs suggest that children have more difficulty producing anti-causative *se*-verbs than reflexive or reciprocal verbs (Ilić, 2019), which is in accordance with the prototypicality scale described in the section 2.1.3. However, the results of this study need to be taken with caution due to a limited number of participants. There were only twenty-seven participants that were tested in the study.

A study that looked into the acquisition of *se*-verbs in Croatian as L2 (Pavlinušić−Kelić, 2001) came to a similar conclusion. True reflexive, quasi reflexive and reciprocal verbs were tested prior to, immediately after and some time after the language instruction on *se*-verbs was provided. True reflexive verbs were produced most accurately in all three testing situations. Pavlinušić−Kelić (2001) concluded that linguistic structures which mark prototypical semantic concepts are acquired first.

3. CORPUS AND METHOD

3.1. Participants

A total of sixty monolingual Serbian-speaking children belonging to three age groups (twenty participants each) took part in the research. The age range in group 1 was 31-42 months (N=20, M= 37.75, SD= 2.88). The age of three was chosen as the starting point because that is usually the earliest age for testing children (Eisenbeiss, 2010). Moreover, we tried to conduct the experiment with 2-year-old children, but it was impossible, because of their lack of attention on the task. The age range in group 2 was 43-55 months (N=20, M=50.65, SD=2.99); and it was 56-68 months in group 3 (N=20, M=61.55, SD=4.19). None of the children selected had any language impairment, learning disability or hearing loss. Kindergarten teachers provided all the children's relevant information (the child's birth date and information about their mother tongue). Children were tested in February 2019, in "Maslačak" kindergarten, "Radosno detinjstvo" preschool facility in Novi Sad. Parental consent forms were obtained prior to the testing for every child. Parents also gave their permission for the sessions to be audio-taped using a Dictaphone/voice recorder.

3.2. Instrument and Procedure

The data collection technique was a structured interview with a verb elicitation task. The participants were tested in single sessions that lasted up to 10 minutes. The interviewer's descriptions and questions were prepared in advance in order to prevent using the words that were being elicited from the children. The children were asked to name the activities presented in the pictures. Each stimulus contained two pictures. The examiner would tell the child what was presented in the first picture and elicit the answer for the second picture (Figure 1). All the stimuli are given in Appendix 1.[2] The child was expected to look at the picture and the interviewer would ask him/her what the person in the picture was doing in case of animate arguments of the verb (testing the production of true reflexive and reciprocal verbs) or what happened in case of inanimate ones (testing the production of anti-causative verbs). An example of one situation is the following:

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[2] The author would like to thank Viktorija Stanković, a second-year student at the Academy of Arts in Novi Sad, for drawing the stimuli.

Interviewer: *Oni ovde sede, a šta rade ovde?*

'They are sitting here, and what are they doing here?'

Interviewee: *Ljube se.*

'They are kissing.'

Figure 1-Stimulus for *ljubiti se* 'kiss each other'
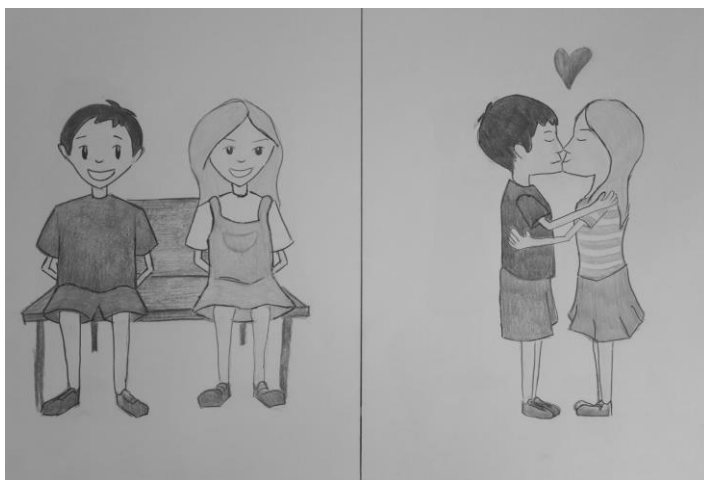
The number of tested verbs was the same for each verb type (six), which makes a total of 18 target verbs presented to every participant:

1. true reflexive: *oblačiti se* 'dress oneself', *umivati se* 'wash one's face', *brisati se* 'wipe oneself', *kupati se* 'wash oneself', *češljati se* 'comb one's hair', *šminkati se* 'put on make-up';
2. true reciprocal: *grliti se* 'hug each other', *ljubiti se* 'kiss each other', *udarati se/tući se* 'hit each other', *juriti se/vijati se* 'chase each other', *gađati se* 'throw something at each other', *gledati se* 'look at each other'[3];
3. anti-causative verbs: *otvoriti se* 'open', *zatvoriti se* 'close', *upaliti se* 'turn on', *ugasiti se* 'go out', *pokvariti se* 'break', *polomiti se* 'break'.

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[3] As an anonymous reviewer notes, the verb *gledati se* could also be classified as a true reflexive verb under the reading of "looking at themselves in the mirror". Although such an interpretation might have been known to the children as suggested by the reviewer, it was not available in the stimulus. Moreover, the results of producing individual reciprocal verbs have shown that this verb was quite difficult to produce in comparison with others.

The data were analyzed with the Mixed Effects Logistic Regression (GLMER), in the R free statistical software (R Core Team, 2017), by using *lme4* (Bates et al., 2019) and *lmerTest* (Kuznetsova–Brockhoff–Bojesen, & Jensen, 2019) packages. Three analyses were conducted (for true reflexive, true reciprocal and anti-causative verbs). The dependent variable was verb production coded as target or non-target (no answer or non-target word), and the independent variable was age. Verb length and frequency effects were also examined, as co-variables. Verb frequencies were taken from *Serbian Web Corpus (SrWaC)* (Ljubešić–Klubička, 2016). Verb length was quantified by counting the number of letters.

4. RESULTS

4.1. GLMER analyses

The results of the first GLMER analysis (true reflexive verbs) presented in Table 1 suggest that there is a significant difference in the production of true reflexive verbs at the age of three and the age of four (β=1.056; z=2.672; Pr(>|z|)=.007**), as well as at the age of three and the age of five (β=1.182; z=2.914; Pr(>|z|)=.003**). True reflexive verbs were produced more successfully at the ages of five and four than at the age of three. No significant difference was found between the ages of four and five (β=.125; z=.272; Pr(>|z|)=.785).

Table 1-Reflexive verb production across groups

Random effects			Variance	SD
Subject : Intercept			.220	.469
Stimuli : Intercept			.162	.402
Fixed effects	Estimate	SE	z-value	p-value
Intercept	1.317	.418	3.150	.001**
Trial Order	.011	.018	.594	.552
Verb Frequency	-.289	.267	-1.084	.278
Verb Length	-.708	.347	-2.036	.041*
Age (4-year-olds)	1.056	.395	2.672	.007**
Age (5-year-olds)	1.182	.405	2.914	.003**

The second GLMER model (true reciprocal verbs) suggests that there is a significant difference in the production of true reciprocal verbs between all the tested ages (shown in Table 2), which was not the case with true reflexive verbs. Reciprocal verbs were produced more accurately at the age of four than at the age of three (β=1.676; z=4.349; Pr(>|z|)=.000***). Moreover, they were produced more

successfully at the age of five than at the age of three (β=2.777; z=6.456; Pr(>|z|)=.000***), or at the age of four (β=1.101; z=2.958; Pr(>|z|)=.003).

Table 2-Reciprocal verb production across group

Random effects			Variance	SD
Subject : Intercept			.156	.396
Stimuli : Intercept			1.272	1.128
Fixed effects	Estimate	SE	z-value	p-value
Intercept	-.576	.603	-.955	.339
Trial Order	.036	.042	.845	.397
Verb Frequency	1.539	.632	2.434	.014*
Verb Length	-1.872	.642	-2.912	.003**
Age (4-year-olds)	1.676	.385	4.349	.000***
Age (5-year-olds)	2.777	.430	6.456	.000***

The last GLMER analysis (anti-causative verbs) presented in Table 3 supports the results of the previous GLMER analysis. Anti-causative verbs were produced more accurately at the age of four than at the age of three (β=1.156; z=3.909; Pr(>|z|)=.000***), as well as at the age of five than at the age of three (β=1.814; z=5.676; Pr(>|z|)=.000***). Moreover, five-year-olds produced anti-causative verbs significantly better than four-year-olds (β=0.657; z=2.106; Pr(>|z|)=.035).

Table 3-Anti-causative verb production across groups

Random effects			Variance	SD
Subject : Intercept			.240	.490
Stimuli : Intercept			.655	.809
Fixed effects	Estimate	SE	z-value	p-value
Intercept	-.655	.466	-1.405	.160
Trial Order	.016	.014	1.072	.284
Verb Frequency	.102	.377	.272	.786
Verb Length	.746	.322	2.317	.020*
Age (4-year-olds)	1.156	.295	3.909	.000***
Age (5-year-olds)	1.814	.319	5.676	.000***

The results indicate that children have more difficulty producing reciprocal and anti-causative verbs than producing reflexive verbs. The effect of verb length was significant for all verbs types, whereas the frequency effect was only significant for reciprocal verbs. This implies that more frequent reciprocal verbs are acquired before less frequent ones, whereas the same could not be stated for other verb types, at least according to the present results.

In figure 2, we can see that the participants had no difficulty producing true reflexive verbs (94/120) from the earliest age. Unlike the production of reflexive verbs, the production of true reciprocal verbs (54/120) and anti-causative verbs (50/120) did not reach even 50% in the youngest tested group. Figure 2 also shows that the production of both reciprocal and anti-causative verbs increased steadily (81/120 reciprocal verbs produced in Group 2 and 98/120 in Group 3; 78/120 anti-causative verbs produced in Group 2 and 92/120 in Group 3). On the other hand, the production of true reflexive verbs was above 90% in both Group 2 and Group 3. Non-target answers will be briefly discussed in the next section.

Figure 2 – Overall verb production across groups
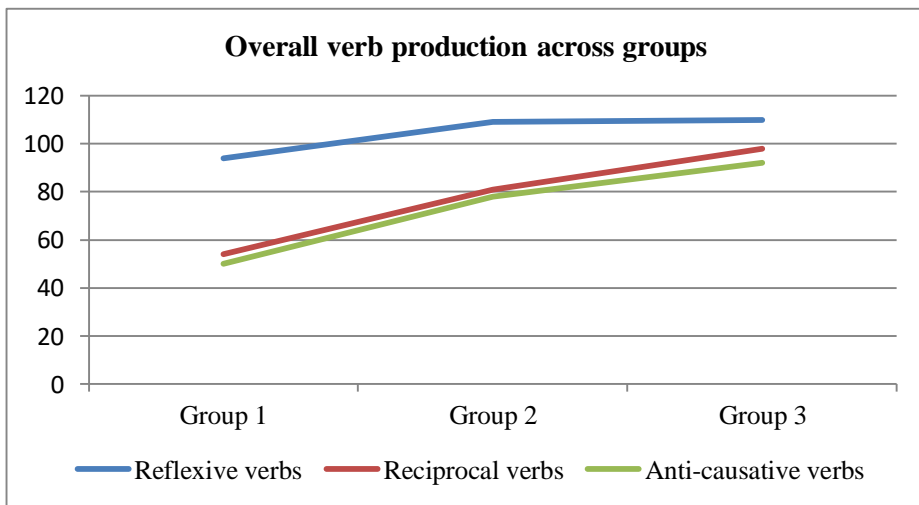
4.2. Non-target answers

For reasons of space, non-target answers cannot be discussed in detail. However, an overview of the most common non-target answers for each verb type will be provided.

The number of non-target answers was the lowest for true reflexive verbs (26/120 in Group 1, 11/120 in Group 2, and 10/120 in Group 3). Alternative answers in all the groups most often included verbs with complements instead of their variants with the clitic *se* (e.g. *kosu četka* 'she is brushing her hair' instead of *češlja se* 'she is brushing herself'). Answers of this kind point to these children's tendency to use prototypical semantic-syntactic mapping (agent-subject and patient-object).

As far as non-target answers for true reciprocal verbs are concerned, their number was much higher than the number of non-target answers for true reflexive verbs (66/120 in Group 1, 39/120 in Group 2, and 22/120 in Group 3). Non-target answers most often included non-target verbs. The children would choose unergative or transitive verbs, with co-agents instead of simultaneous agents and patients (e.g. *bacaju* 'they are throwing' instead of *gađaju se* 'they are throwing pillows at each other'). As it can be seen from the example given, the verbs that they used instead of the target ones were more prototypical in terms of transitivity, or they were syntactically less complex, as was the case with unergative verbs.

Finally, anti-causative verb type yielded most non-target answers (70/120 in Group 1, 42/120 in Group 2, and 28/120 in Group 3). Alternative answers in all the groups most often included non-target verbs. In almost half of the cases, the children used verbs that involved the presence of an agent, which is not present in the structure of anti-causative verbs, which again points to their preference towards prototypical semantic concepts. For example, instead of the target answer *ugasila se* 'it went out', one participant said *duvaju deca* 'the children are blowing', which is more prototypical in terms of transitivity and semantic-syntactic mapping.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The aim of the present research study was to test the production of true reflexive, true reciprocal and anti-causative verbs at different stages of language acquisition, in order to gain some insight into the way children acquire *se*-verbs of different syntactic and semantic complexity. Based on the data obtained in different age groups, it can be concluded that true reflexive verbs are acquired before reciprocal and anti-causative verbs. Therefore, the initial hypothesis was confirmed. The results suggest that *se*-verbs that mirror prototypical semantic concepts are acquired before those that do not, which replicates the results of previous studies (Pavlinušić–Kelić, 2001; Ilić, 2019). Moreover, non-target answers have shown the children's tendency towards prototypical linguistic structures. As was noted in previous research (Roeper, 1987; Bowerman, 1991; Verrips, 2000), the children tend to insert agents with anti-causative verbs.

Regarding the limitations of the research, the frequencies of the target verbs in child language could not be explored in detail, because there are only eight available transcripts of Serbian-speaking children in the CHILDES database (Anđelković, Ševa & Moskovljević, 2001), which is a small number if one is to look into specific verb types. For that reason, the frequency of the verbs was taken from Serbian Web Corpus (SrWaC). When it comes to the limitations of the stimuli,

experiments with children are sensitive to inference based on 'knowledge of the world' (Verrips, 2000). It might be the case that with some non-target answers children chose to focus on what would happen in the real world, regardless of the exact representation in the stimulus. Finally, the age of the participants may be taken as another limitation of the study, which prevents any definite conclusions regarding the innateness of thematic roles being drawn.

Finally, our intention is to repeat the experiment longitudinally after a year, in order to obtain a more complete understanding of the development of true reflexive, true reciprocal and anti-causative *se*-verbs in Serbian and track the further development of reciprocal and anti-causative verbs.

Nina Ilić

DA LI SE PROTOTIPIČNI SEMANTIČKI KONCEPTI USVAJAJU PRVI?

Rezime

Najšire prihvaćena podela povratnih glagola jeste trodelna podela na prave povratne, neprave povratne i uzajamno-povratne glagole (Stanojčić–Popović, 2002). Međutim, kako navodi Samardžić (2006), ovakva podela glagola nema jedinstven kriterijum. Dok se tumačenje klitike *se* pominje kao kriterijum za definisanje pravih povratnih glagola, kod nepravih se njeno značenje ne pominje, već se samo navodi kako se ona ne može tumačiti kao akuzativ povratne zamenice *sebe*. Kod uzajamno-povratnih glagola se njena uloga uopšte ne pominje. Analizirajući različite konstrukcije glagola sa klitikom *se*, Rajnhart–Siloni (2003) pokazuju da se reč *se* javlja kada jedan od argumenata nestane iz sintaksičke reprezentacije. Autorke govore i o derivaciji anti-kauzativnih glagola, kod kojih se spoljašnji argument briše, a unutrašnji obavlja funkciju subjekta (Rajnhart–Siloni, 2005). Cilj ovog istraživanja jeste da se uporedi produkcija pravih povratnih, uzajamno-povratnih i anti-kauzativnih glagola kod dece uzrasta približno 3, 4 i 5 godina (po 20 ispitanika u svakoj grupi). Prethodna istraživanja su pokazala da deca nemaju poteškoća sa usvajanjem povratnih glagola na ranom uzrastu (Snyder, Hyams & Crisma, 1995), dok se očekuje da usvajanje anti-kauzativnih glagola bude otežano (Borer–Wexler, 1987; Brooks–Tomasello, 1999; Roeper, 1987; Bowerman, 1991; Verrips, 2000). Inicijalna hipoteza je bila da se pravi povratni glagoli usvajaju prvi, jer su samo kod njih prisutne dve prototipične tematske uloge (agensa i pacijensa), koje se preslikavaju na funkciju subjekta na nivou sintakse. S druge strane, kod recipročnih glagola su prisutna dva argumenta, koja istovremeno obavljaju i funkciju subjekta i funkciju objekta, dok anti-kauzativne glagole karakteriše sintaksički kompleksan proces derivacije iz tranzitivnog glagola. Istraživanje je sprovedeno pomoću struktuiranih intervjua uz korišćenje unapred pripremljenih vizuelnih stimulusa (crteži), a od dece se tražilo da produkuju glagol prikazan na slikama. Rezultati istraživanja ukazuju na to da deca ne usvajaju sve vrste glagola sa klitikom *se* istom brzinom. Pravi povratni glagoli se

produkuju sa većom tačnošću od uzajamno-povratnih i anti-kauzativnih glagola na različitim stupnjevima razvoja govora. Ovi podaci svedoče o različitom stepenu sintaksičke i semantičke kompleksnosti povratnih glagola i idu u prilog tezi da se prototipične semantičke strukture usvajaju prve.

Ključne reči: usvajanje maternjeg jezika, produkcija glagola, povratni glagoli, uzajamno povratni glagoli, anti-kauzativni glagoli, semantičko-sintaksičko mapiranje

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APPENDIX 1: VISUAL STIMULI - DRAWINGS

oblačiti se 'dress oneself'
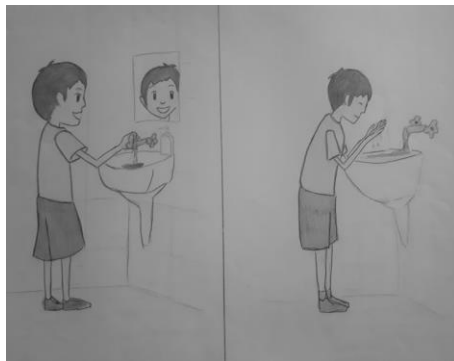
umivati se 'wash one's face'

brisati se 'wipe oneself'

kupati se 'wash oneself'
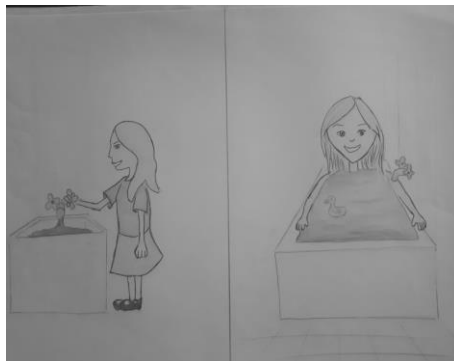
češljati se 'comb one's hair'
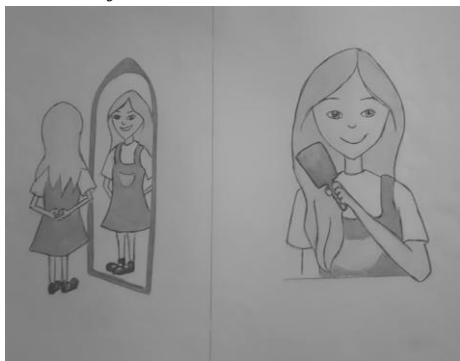
šminkati se 'put on make-up'
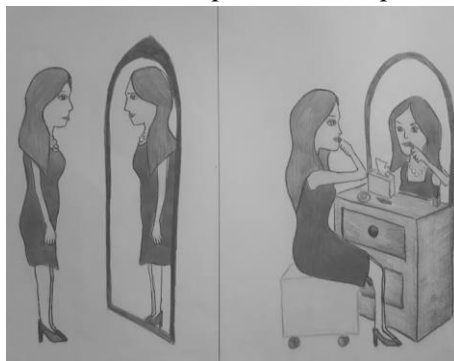
grliti se 'hug each other'
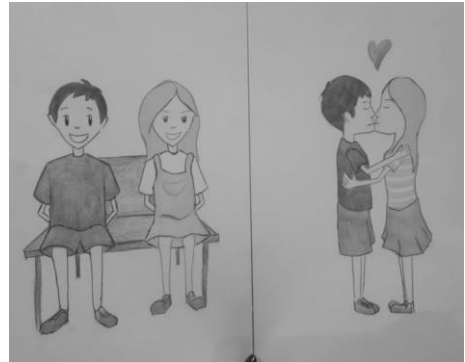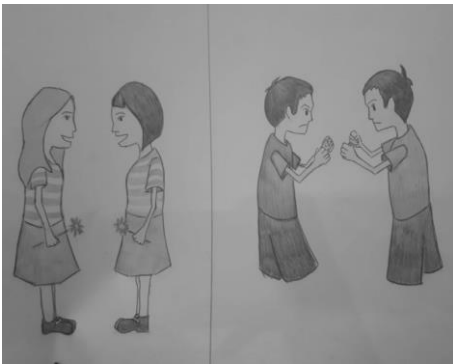
ljubiti se 'kiss each other'

udarati se/tući se 'hit each other'

juriti se/vijati se 'chase each other'
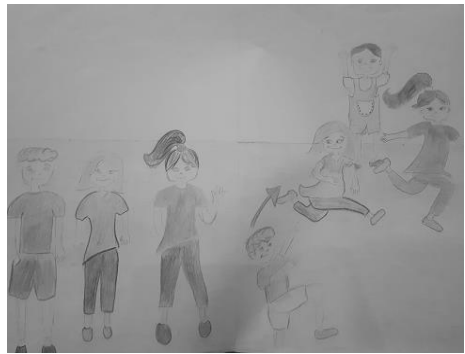
gađati se 'throw something at each other'

gledati se 'look at each other'

otvoriti se 'open'
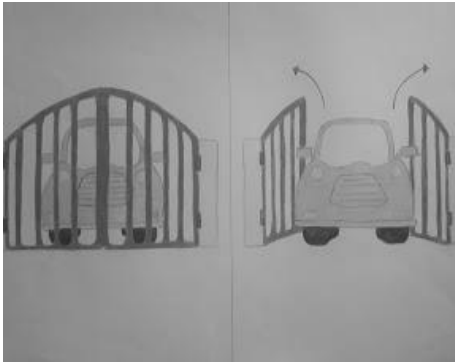
zatvoriti se 'close'
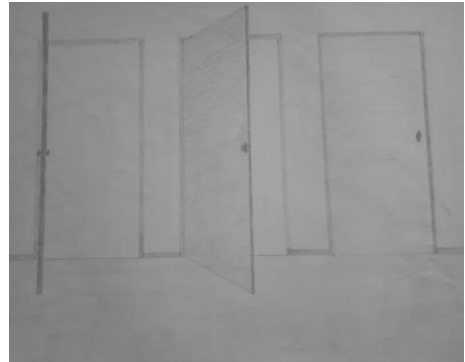
upaliti se 'turn on'
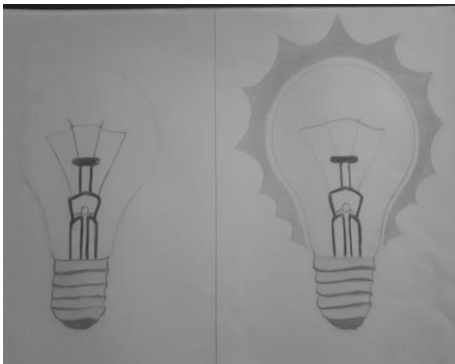
ugasiti se 'go out'
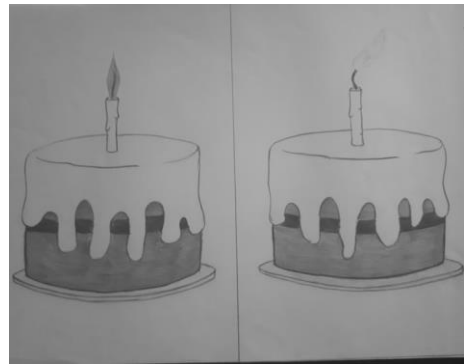
pokvariti se 'break'
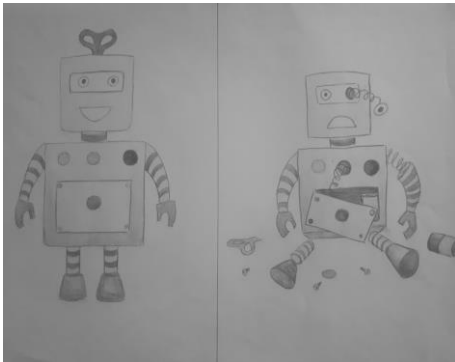
polomiti se 'break
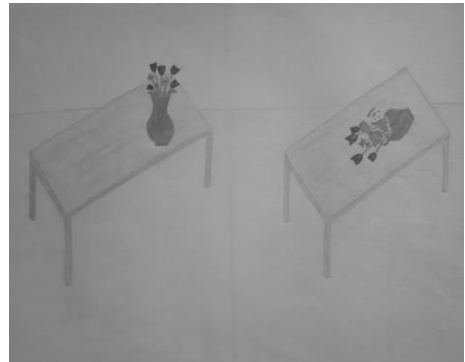
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PROPERTIES OF I-BOUNDARY LENGTHENING OF VOWELS IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN[**]

Phonological features which signal the right IP edge include boundary tones and pre-boundary lengthening. However, languages differ in the prominence of these features. While in English final information focus has significant F0 prominence on PWd immediately preceding I-boundary, Serbian primarily relies on durational cues to signal final information focus and, thus, the right IP edge. This research aims at analyzing the degree and scope of I-boundary lengthening in English and Serbian as well as examining whether there is a compensatory relation between F0 prominence and pre-boundary lengthening in these languages. The research is part of a larger-scale corpus study involving approximately one hour of read speech per language. Both English and Serbian speakers were professional newsreaders and the recordings were comparable in terms of articulation rate and recording quality. The acoustic analysis involved measuring the degree and scope of lengthening in trisyllabic PWds, which was done in the *Praat* programme (version 6.0.52). The results of the measurements were statistically analyzed. The results of the analysis primarily point to the differences in the scope of I-boundary lengthening in English and Serbian. While the scope of lengthening in Serbian affects the stressed vowel of IP-final PWd as well as all the vowels following it, English post-accented non-final unstressed vowels are skipped by this process. Accordingly, wider scope of lengthening might suggest slightly higher significance of this process in Serbian,

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which can further be interpreted as a compensation for low F0 prominence at the right IP edge in this language.

Key words: pre-boundary lengtening, Intonantional Phrase (IP), prosodic word (PWd), prosody-syntax interface, English, Serbian, acoustic analyis

1. INTRODUCTION

According to π-gesture model (Byrd – Saltzman, 2003), the process of pre-boundary lengthening (also referred to as 'final lengthening') results from slowing down the articulatory movements, and consequently, the speech tempo while approaching the prosodic boundary, thus signaling the right prosodic edge. Considering the cumulative nature of this process and the fact that it increases over time, the slowest articulatory movements are associated with the prosodic boundary itself. For this reason, the process of pre-boundary lengthening most often affects the rhyme of the final syllable in front of prosodic boundary.

The studies conducted in many languages have shown that the degree of pre-boundary lengthening depends on the depth of prosodic boundary and, accordingly, increases from Prosodic Words (PWds) to Phonological Phrases (PhPs) (also referred to as 'Intermediate Phrases' or 'Major Phrases') and Intonational Phrases (IPs), where it tends to be the highest (Wightman – Shattuck-Hufnagel – Ostendorf & Price, 1992 for English; Horne – Strangert & Heldner, 1995 for Swedish; Cambier-Langeveld – Nespor & van Heuven, 1997 for Dutch)[1]. Some authors go so far as to suggest the degree of pre-boundary lengthening is sufficient to distinguish the complexity of prosodic constituents, i.e. the constituents of Prosodic Hierarchy (Wightman et al., 1992). Considering that the degree of pre-boundary lengthening tends to be the highest in IPs, most studies focus on I-boundary lengthening.

In order to describe the process of pre-boundary lengthening in a given language, it is necessary to examine its degree and its scope.

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[1] Although the terms 'Phonological Phrase', 'Intermediate Phrase' and 'Major Phrase' are not absolutely the same, they are often used interchangeably and the use of the term primarily depends on the author. The term 'Phonological Phrase' is used by Nespor – Vogel (1993) and Selkirk (1984, 1986), the term 'Intermediate Phrase' (ip) by Beckman – Pierrehumbert (1986), whereas Elordieta – Frota & Vigário (2005) use the term 'Major Phrase'.

Although there is no uniform study on I-boundary lengthening (or pre-boundary lengthening in general), the studies conducted in most languages point to the following universal properties of this process:

- The highest degree of I-boundary lengthening is related to the rhyme of the final unstressed syllable in front of I-boundary;
- The degree of lengthening increases with the strength of prosodic boundary;
- The degree of lengthening of both vowels and consonants depends on their inherent duration;
- The degree of lengthening often depends on the presence of the following pause, i.e. it tends to be higher if IP is followed by a pause, which has been shown in a number of languages (Wightman et al., 1992 in English; Horne et al., 1995 in Swedish; Chow, 2008 in Cantonese).

Also, languages most often differ with respect to the scope of lengthening. Although the rhyme of the final unstressed syllable in front of I-boundary is most prone to lengthening, the analysis of this process in some languages such as English (Shattuck-Hufnagel – Turk, 1998; Turk – Shattuck-Hufnagel, 2007), German (Kohler, 1983), Russian (Volskaya – Stepanova 2004) and Hebrew (Berkovitz, 1994), have shown that the process of lengthening starts on the last stressed syllable of PWd in front of I-boundary, where it is the lowest, and finishes on the last unstressed syllable, where it is the highest, whereas the syllables in between, if present, do not undergo this process. On the other hand, in Japanese (Shepherd, 2008), this process is associated only to the rhyme of the final syllable in front of I-boundary. Finally, there are languages, such as Dutch, where the scope of this process depends on the strength of the vowel in the final syllable rhyme, i.e. if the final vowel is /ə/, which cannot lengthen due to the minimal articulatory effort, the lengthening is transferred to the rhyme of the preceding syllable (Cambier-Langeveld et al., 1997).

Still, despite its presence and significant phonological implications in various languages, the phenomenon of pre-boundary lengthening has still been understudied in Serbian. It has been shown that it affects the duration of both initial stressed and final unstressed vowels (Ivić – Lehiste 1996: 235-241). However, the scope of lengthening, i.e. whether this process affects the syllables in between, as well as the lengthening of coda consonants have not been examined yet. On the other hand, this process has been thoroughly examined in English, although the results regarding the scope of lengthening in English tend to be rather contradictory.

While some authors suggest that this process primarily affects the rhyme of word-final[2] syllable in front of higher prosodic boundaries (Oller 1973; Klatt 1975; Klatt 1976; Wightman et al., 1992), others insist that pre-boundary lengthening starts earlier, i.e. on the rhyme of the last stressed syllable in front of prosodic boundary (Shattuck-Hufnagel – Turk, 1998; Turk – Shattuck-Hufnagel, 2007).

2. RESERACH GOALS

Pre-boundary lengthening is only one phonological cue which signals I-boundary. Phonological features which are considered as I-boundary markers also include boundary tones, optional pitch reset in the following IP as well as optional presence of pauses (Wang – Hirschberg, 1992; Ladd 1996; Godjevac, 2000; Godjevac, 2005; Selkirk, 2005). However, languages differ with respect to the prominence of these features. In English, IPs with final information focus are characterized by significant F0 prominence of the last PWd in front of I-boundary (Cruttenden 1986; Ladd 1996). On the other hand, Serbian relies on durational cues, whereas F0 prominence tends to be unreliable (Sredojević, 2011). Accordingly, this research aims at analyzing the degree and scope of I-boundary lengthening in English and Serbian.[3] The ultimate goal is to examine the relation between F0 prominence and lengthening, both being the markers of the right IP edge or, more precisely, to examine if these two I-boundary cues are directly or inversely proportional.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research is part of a larger-scale corpus study aimed at examining temporal properties of boundary segments of prosodic units. It involves

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[2] The term 'word' refers exclusively to prosodic word (PWd) in this paper.

[3] Despite numerous research works on pre-boundary lengthening in English (see Section 1), the most detailed corpus study of this process was performed only by Wightman et al. (1992). Regarding that the results of this research provide normalized duration values for four speakers, it was necessary to obtain quantitative data so that the results for English and Serbian would be comparable. In addition, Wightman et al. (1992) examine a relatively small set of properties of pre-boundary lengthening in English. In order to get a fuller and more precise picture of how this process operates in English and Serbian, a much more detailed corpus analysis had to be conducted in the same conditions and by using the same methodology in both languages.

approximately one hour of read speech per language. Both the English and Serbian speaker are professional newsreaders. The recordings are comparable in terms of articulation rate (p<0.001), topics and recording quality, i.e. sampling rate was 44.1 kHz. Also, both in the English and Serbian speech corpus, the articulation rate was within the scope of normal articulation rate for read speech, which is, according to Goldman-Eisler (1961), in the range from 4.4 to 5.9 syl/sec.

We analyzed vowel lengthening in trisyllabic PWds, as defined in formal approaches to prosody and syntax-prosody interface, i.e. stressed words combined with clitics. While in English only leftward cliticization is allowed and the weak forms of function words are treated as clitics only if the weak form is not caused by syntax, i.e. the presence of empty categories (see Inkelas – Zec, 1993; Selkirk 1996), in Serbian both leftward and rightward cliticizations are possible as long as the host is available (see Zec, 2002). As for I-boundaries, we relied on prototypical phonological I-boundary cues mentioned above, i.e. boundary tones, (optional) pitch reset, (optional) presence of pauses, and pre-boundary lengthening itself when it was perceptually salient. In addition, we relied on syntactic cues, primarily in determining I-boundaries in Serbian. Due to the second-position rule for clitics in IP domain, the syntactic structures which are typically realized as IPs, besides clauses, include appositives, parentheticals, heavy constituents and tropicalized elements (see Marković – Milićev 2012).

The acoustic analysis was done in the *Praat* software (Boersma –Weenink, 2019). It involved measuring the duration of vowels in PWds in IP non-final and IP-final position and then deriving the degree of final lengthening. In order to achieve uniformity, all the analyzed IPs had final information focus and all the analyzed samples had the same number of IPs with a pause and without a pause on their right edge. We considered only the pauses ≥100 ms due to the fact that it is the lower limit of pause duration in read speech (Campione – Véronis, 2002). Finally, we considered only IPs with falling intonation, which were dominant both in the English and Serbian corpus. The results of the measurements were statistically analyzed.

4. RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

4.1. I-boundary lengthening of English vowels

Considering that that the final syllable rhyme is unmarked lengthening position, we first analyzed the lengthening of word-final post-accented vocalic realizations. Word-final vowels were analyzed in closed syllables, where they were

followed by both voiced and voiceless consonant as well as in open syllables. Both short and long vowels were analyzed. In the latter case, the vowels had either secondary or tertiary stress. However, the distinction between long monophthongs and diphthongs was not made due to the fact that there were not enough examples with long monophthongs word-finally, which made diphthongs dominant.[4] The results of the research show statistically significant lengthening of all vocalic realizations (Table 1). Also, the degree of lengthening is directly proportional to vowel duration. Long vowels tend to lengthened more than short vowels both in closed and open syllables. In addition, the degree of pre-boundary lengthening is the most prominent in open syllables, less in syllables with a voiced coda consonant, and yet less in those with a voiceless coda consonant.[5]

Table 1: Duration of English post-accented word-final vowels IP-finally and IP non-finally (ms) and the degree of pre-boundary lengthening

	IP non-final position	IP-final position	t	df	p	The degree of lengthening
Vowels in closed syllables (vowel + voiced consonant)						
Short vowels	56.32	86.88	5.10	40	0.000	**1.54**
Long vowels	104.36	166.82	5.72	38	0.000	**1.60**
Vowels in closed syllables (vowel + voiceless consonant)						
Short vowels	53.78	81.45	4.71	38	0.000	**1.51**
Long vowels	86.18	132.45	5.34	36	0.000	**1.54**
Vowels in open syllables						
Short vowels	65.06	104.13	5.91	38	0.000	**1.60**
Long vowels	129.58	214.67	7.02	36	0.000	**1.66**

In order to examine whether the degree of pre-boundary lengthening depends on the distance between the post-accented word-final vowel and the vowel in the syllable carrying primary stress, we examined separately trisyllabic PWds with primary stress on antepenultimate and penultimate syllable. In this part of the analysis, we analyzed the lengthening of short word-final vowels in open syllables.

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[4] The difference in the degree of lengthening between long monophthongs and diphthongs will be discussed in the case of non-final stressed vowels.

[5] Maddieson (1984) points that longer duration of vowels in open syllables has been observed in a large number of languages, including English. Also, the reduction of vocalic duration in front of voiceless consonant is a universal property, which happens due to different intraoral pressure in the production of voiceless and voiced consonants, influencing the speed of transition from vowel to the following consonant (Chen, 1970).

The results showed almost identical degree of lengthening in both types of PWds, although it is minimally higher in the case of PWds with penultimate stress (Table 2). However, the fact that there is no significant difference in the duration of word-final vowels in PWds with antepenultimate and penultimate stress in either IP-position (p>0.05), we conclude that the distance of post-accented word-final vowel from the preceding primarily stressed vowel does not affect the degree of lengthening.

Table 2: Duration of English word-final short unstressed vowels in open syllables IP-finally and IP non-finally (ms) in PWds with antepenultimate and penultimate stressed syllables and the degree of pre-boundary lengthening

Words with antepenultimate stress	IP non-final position	IP-final position	t	df	p	The degree of lengthening
Final short vowels	63.70	101.52	6.36	30	0.000	1.59
Words with penultimate stress	IP non-final position	IP-final position	t	df	p	The degree of lengthening
Final short vowels	64.04	102.61	6.72	30	0.000	1.60

However, in contrast to word-final vowels, post-accented word-medial vowels do not lengthen in English (Table 3). In this part of the analysis, we measured the lengthening of short unstressed vowels. The vowels were followed by both voiced and voiceless consonants and for methodological reasons, the number of vocalic realizations followed by voiced and voiceless consonant was identical in each sample.[6] The absence of lengthening was also observed in the case of pre-accented unstressed vowels in word-initial syllables (Table 4). Thus, in the case of unstressed vowels in English, the analysis shows that only word-final vowels undergo pre-boundary lengthening.

Table 3: Duration of English post-accented word-medial unstressed vowels IP-finally and IP non-finally (ms)

IP non-final position	IP-final position	t	df	p
50.06	51.75	0.53	32	0.598

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[6] The same procedure concerning the number of the following voiced and voiceless consonants was used in the analyses whose results are provided in Table 4, Table 6, Table 10, Table 11 and Table 14.

Table 4: Duration of English pre-accented word-initial unstressed vowels IP-finally and IP non-finally (ms)

IP non-final position	IP-final position	t	df	p
49.94	52.88	1.26	32	0.216

Shifting the focus to stressed syllables, we first examined non-final vowels in syllables with primary stress. The results of the analysis show relatively low, but significant lengthening (Table 5), which was observed both in PWds with primary stress on antepenultimate and penultimate syllables (Table 6). In addition, significant difference in vowel duration was not found between PWds with these two accentual patterns in either IP-position (p>0.05), which indicates that the degree of pre-boundary lengthening of vowels in non-final stressed syllables does not depend on their distance from I-boundary.

Table 5: Duration of English non-final stressed vowels IP-finally and IP non-finally (ms) and the degree of pre-boundary lengthening

	IP non-final position	IP-final position	t	df	p	The degree of lengthening
Vowels in closed syllable (vowel + voiced consonant)						
Short monophthongs	73.53	85.57	3.95	36	0.000	**1.16**
Long monophthongs	107.44	127.11	4.55	36	0.000	**1.18**
Diphthongs	132.45	159.09	4.69	38	0.000	**1.20**
Vowels in closed syllable (vowel + voiceless consonant)						
Short monophthongs	69.27	79.09	3.72	34	0.001	**1.14**
Long monophthongs	88.22	101.44	3.80	34	0.001	**1.15**
Diphthongs	105.92	122.75	3.78	36	0.001	**1.16**

Table 6: Duration of English non-final stressed vowels IP-finally and IP non-finally (ms) in PWds with antepenultimate and penultimate stressed syllables and the degree of pre-boundary lengthening

Words with antepenultimate stress	IP non-final position	IP-final position	t	df	p	The degree of lengthening
Short vowels	72.07	83.82	3.98	36	0.000	**1.16**
Long vowels	107.89	126.29	4.08	38	0.000	**1.17**
Words with penultimate stress	**IP non-final position**	**IP-final position**	**t**	**df**	**p**	**The degree of lengthening**
Short vowels	71.33	81.20	3.92	36	0.000	**1.14**
Long vowels	110.74	129.86	4.19	38	0.000	**1.17**

Lastly, we examined the lengthening of stressed vowels in word-final syllables. Due to corpus limitations caused by the features of stress-carrying suffixes in English, it was possible to analyze only long vowels, i.e. long monophthongs and diphthongs. The results point to rather significant lengthening, which is slightly higher in comparison to final post-accented vowels (cf. Table 1 and Table 7). This only shows that it is the finality of a syllable that is crucial to lengthening, whereas the prominence of F0 only slightly increases the degree of this process.

Table 7: Duration of English word-final stressed vowels (ms) IP-finally and IP non-finally (ms) and the degree of pre-boundary lengthening

	IP non-final position	IP-final position	t	df	p	The degree of lengthening
Vowels in closed syllables (vowel + voiced consonant)						
Long monophthongs	125.92	199.77	5.71	30	0.000	**1.59**
Diphthongs	152.09	246.38	6.14	32	0.000	**1.62**
Vowels in open syllables						
Long monophthongs	128.45	206.08	6.13	30	0.000	**1.60**
Diphthongs	156.42	259.57	7.08	30	0.000	**1.66**

4.2. I-boundary lengthening of Serbian vowels

In the case of Serbian post-accented word-final syllables, it was possible to examine only the duration of short vowels due to the fact that long vowels are not found in this position (Table 8).[7] Although the results point to a lower degree of pre-boundary lengthening than in English (cf. Table 1 and Table 8), the relation between the degree of lengthening and vowel duration follows the same pattern as in English. Thus, the degree of pre-boundary lengthening is the most prominent in open syllables, less in syllables with a voiced coda consonant, and yet less in those with a voiceless coda consonant.

Moreover, no statistically significant difference between word-final vowel duration was found in PWds containing stressed antepenultimate and stressed ultimate syllable in either IP-position (p>0.05), which indicates that in Serbian, as in English, the distance of the final unstressed vowel from the preceding stressed

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[7] This observation refers only to phonologically distinctive length, i.e. stressed vowels with short and long accents, and not to so-called 'post-accentual lengths' in Serbian.

vowel in PWds does not influence the degree of pre-boundary lengthening (Table 9).[8]

Table 8: Duration of Serbian post-accented word-final unstressed vowels IP-finally and IP non-finally (ms) and the degree of pre-boundary lengthening

	IP non-final position	IP-final position	t	df	p	The degree of lengthening
Vowels in closed syllables (vowel + voiced consonant)						
Short vowels	61.07	88.14	5.17	34	0.000	**1.44**
Vowels in closed syllables (vowel + voiceless consonant)						
Short vowels	57.43	81.64	5.33	36	0.000	**1.42**
Vowels in open syllables						
Short vowels	66.31	100.38	7.03	48	0.000	**1.51**

Table 9: Duration of Serbian word-final short unstressed vowels in open syllables IP-finally and IP non-finally (ms) in PWds with antepenultimate and penultimate stressed syllables and the degree of pre-boundary lengthening

Words with antepenultimate stress	IP non-final position	IP-final position	t	df	p	The degree of lengthening
Short vowels	64.17	96.13	6.63	30	0.000	**1.50**
Words with penultimate stress	IP non-final position	IP-final position	t	df	p	The degree of lengthening
Short vowels	65.01	98.29	6.87	30	0.000	**1.51**

Unlike English, the analysis of the duration of vowels in post-accented medial syllables revealed that they do undergo pre-boundary lengthening in Serbian (Table 10). These results further indicate that English and Serbian differ with respect to the scope of pre-boundary lengthening.

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[8] Sovilj-Nikić (2007: 48-49) finds the tendency of Serbian unstressed vowels to last longer if they are closer to stressed syllables. In this analysis, statistically significant difference in vowel duration with respect to the distance from the stressed syllable was not found. However, it is possible that the analysis of longer words would give different results.

Table 10: Duration of Serbian post-accented short word-medial unstressed vowels IP-finally and IP non-finally (ms) and the degree of pre-boundary lengthening

IP non-final position	IP-final position	t	df	p	The degree of lengthening
57.93	69.11	2.42	34	0.021	1.19

As for pre-accented word-initial unstressed vowels, English and Serbian show the same behavior. Thus, pre-accented initial realizations of Serbian vowels are not affected by the process of lengthening (Table 11). In this part of the analysis we examined only short unstressed vowels.

Table 11: Duration of Serbian pre-accented short word-initial unstressed vowels IP-finally and IP non-finally (ms)

IP non-final position	IP-final position	t	df	p
57.27	60.32	0.86	52	0.394

Lastly, significant lengthening was also observed in the case of Serbian non-final stressed vowels (Table 12). However, in contrast to post-accented final vowels, which exhibit higher lengthening in English, the degree of lengthening of non-final stressed vowels is higher in Serbian (cf. Table 6 and Table 13). It can be concluded that pre-boundary lengthening in Serbian starts on the stressed syllable of PWd in front of I-boundary, finishes on the ultimate syllable of the PWd in question, where it is the highest, and it affects all the vowels in between, in contrast to English where these vowels are skipped by the process of lengthening. However, as in English, significant difference in lengthening was not found between stressed vowels in antepenultimate and penultimate syllables (Table 13) considering that that the difference in duration of both short and long vowels was not statistically significant either IP-position ($p > 0.05$).

Table 12: Duration of Serbian non-final stressed vowels IP-finally and IP non-finally (ms) and the degree of pre-boundary lengthening

	IP non-final position	IP-final position	t	df	p	The degree of lengthening
Vowels in closed syllables (vowel + voiced consonant)						
Short vowels	87.07	110.05	4.16	36	0.000	1.26
Long vowels	122.13	160.69	5.02	34	0.000	1.32
Vowels in closed syllables (vowel + voiceless consonant)						
Short vowels	84.96	105.65	4.08	34	0.000	1.24
Long vowels	118.09	153.67	4.82	34	0.000	1.30

Table 13: Duration of Serbian non-final stressed vowels IP-finally and IP non-finally (ms) in PWds with antepenultimate and penultimate stressed syllables and the degree of pre-boundary lengthening

Words with antepenultimate stress	IP non-final position	IP-final position	t	df	p	The degree of lengthening
Short vowels	87.46	107.67	4.10	32	0.000	**1.23**
Long vowels	122.36	161.11	4.87	32	0.000	**1.32**
Words with penultimate stress	**IP non-final position**	**IP-final position**	**t**	**df**	**p**	**The degree of lengthening**
Short vowels	89.35	110.53	4.18	32	0.000	**1.24**
Long vowels	121.47	157.05	4.63	32	0.000	**1.29**

5. CONCLUSIONS

Our analysis shows that the degree of I-boundary lengthening of vowels is rather similar in English and Serbian. In the case of final unstressed syllables, it is slightly higher in English, whereas in the case of non-final stressed syllables, it is slightly higher in Serbian. Also, the process of pre-boundary lengthening does not affect pre-accented unstressed vowels in either English or Serbian. The last similarity between English and Serbian concerns the degree of lengthening of non-final stressed vowels depending on the position in a prosodic word, i.e. distance from I-boundary as well as the degree of lengthening of final unstressed vowels depending on their closeness to the primary stress in a prosodic word. In both cases, the significant relation was not found in either English or Serbian.

However, the differences were found in relation to the scope of lengthening in these two languages. While the scope lengthening in Serbian starts on the last stressed syllable of IP-final PWd and continues until the ultimate syllable, English non-final unstressed vowels following stressed vowels are skipped by this process (Figure 1)[9]. We conclude that lengthening tends to be slightly more significant in Serbian, indicating that low F0 prominence might be compensated for a larger scope of I-boundary lengthening.

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[9] The same domain of pre-boundary lengthening was found by Shattuck-Hufnagel – Turk (1998) and Turk – Shattuck-Hufnagel (2007) in American English.

Figure 1: The degree of lengthening of short vowels in closed syllables in trisyllabic PWds in English and Serbian[10]
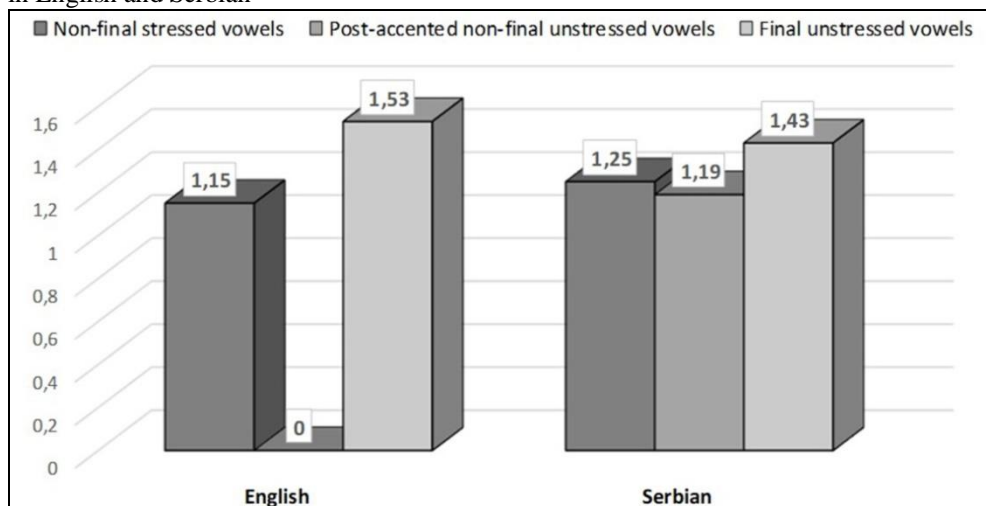
Future research should involve testing the results by examining the speech produced by a larger number of subjects as well as testing the perceptual relevance of I-boundary lengthening of vowels in IPs with final information focus in English and Serbian.

Bojana Jakovljević, Maja Marković

ODLIKE FINALNOG DUŽENJA VOKALA U INTONCIJSKIM FRAZAMA U ENGLESKOM I SRPSKOM JEZIKU

Rezime

Engleski i srpski jezik značajno se razlikuju u pogledu prominentnosti pokazatelja desne IP granice. Dok u engleskom jeziku finalni informacioni fokus odlikuje veliki raspon osnovnog tona, te se granični tonovi mogu smatrati pouzdanim pokazateljem desne IP granice, u srpskom jeziku granični tonovi su informativni samo u slučaju uzlazne intonacije, te se srpski jezik prvenstveno služi temporalnim odlikama segmenata, odnosno procesom finalnog duženja, kako bi se naznačila desna IP granica. Budući da je finalno duženje univerzalan proces, te da je prisutan u oba jezika, glavni cilj ovog istraživanja jeste da utvrdi stepen i opseg finalnog duženja u engleskom i srpskom jeziku. Šire gledano, istraživanje

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[10] In the case of all vocalic realizations, the number of vowels followed by a voiced and voiceless consonant was identical in both languages.

ima za cilj da analizira odnos ova dva pokazatelja desne IP granice, odnosno da ispita da li se odsusutvo informativnosti graničnih tonova u slučaju silazne intonacije u srpskom jeziku kompenzuje većom prominentnošću finalnog duženja. Budući da analiza data u ovom radu predstavlja deo znatno opširnije eksperimentalne korpusne studije koja se bavi temporalnim odlikama segmenta na granicama prozodijskih celina u engleskom i srpskom jeziku, govorni korpusi u oba jezika bili su prilično veliki i obuhvatali su oko jedan sat čitanog govora. Tekstove su čitale jedna izvorna govornica engleskog i jedna izvorna govornica srpskog jezika, pri čemu su obe profesionalni spikeri, a korpusi su bili uporedivi u pogledu brzine artikulacije, tematike i kvaliteta snimaka. Analiza data u ovom radu fokusira se na finalno duženje vokala u trosložnim rečima u engleskom i srpskom jeziku. Mereno je njihvo trajanje u IP finlanoj i IP nefinalnoj poziciji u programu *Praat* (verzija 6.0.52), a potom je izveden stepen finalnog duženja. Svi rezultati merenja statistički su obrađeni. Rezultati analize pokazali su da se engleski i srpski jezik ne razlikuju bitno u pogledu stepena duženja. Iako je u engleskom duženje nešto veće kod vokala u finalnim nenaglašenim slogovima, u srpskom je duženje veće kod vokala u nefinalnim naglašenim slogovima. Mnogo veće i bitnije razlike primećene su u opsegu duženja u ova dva jezika. Dok u srpskom jeziku finalno duženje utiče na sve vokale, počevši od nefinalnog naglašenog do finalnog nenaglašenog vokala prozodijske reči pred IP granicom, te se odvija kontinuirano, odnosno bez prekida, u engleskom jeziku postakcentovani nenaglašeni medijalni vokali ne podležu duženju. Drugim rečima, u engleskom je proces finalnog duženja nekontinuiran budući da finalno duženje utiče na naglašene i finalne vokale prozodijskih reči pred IP granicom, a svi vokali između, ukoliko su prisutni, bivaju preskočeni. Stoga, rezultati ove analize sugerišu da je proces finalnog duženja nešto prominentniji u srpskom nego u engleskom jeziku, što se može posmatrati kao kompenzacija odsustva informativnosti graničnih tonova u intonacijskim frazama u srpskom jeziku.

Ključne reči: finalno duženje, intonacijska fraza, prozodijska reč, sintaksičko-prozodijski interfejs, engleski jezik, srpski jezik, akustička analiza

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SUPPORTIVE MOVES IN THE SPEECH ACT OF DIRECT COMPLAINT IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN: A CROSS-CULTURAL AND INTERLANGUAGE PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS[**]

This paper examines the use of supportive moves in the speech act of direct, face-to-face complaints produced by English and Serbian native speakers in their respective mother tongues, highlighting similarities and differences in their performance. The study also explores how advanced Serbian L1 learners of English use supportive moves in complaints performed in English and especially, whether and to what extent they apply the pragmatic rules of their native language (pragmatic transfer) in doing so. Data were collected through discourse completion tasks (DCTs). The performance of all three groups of participants is compared, with special focus on the contextual variables of social power and severity of complaint. The results of the research indicate that the two cultures are similar with respect to the production of direct complaints, as well as that a low level of pragmatic transfer is observable in the complaint production of the English learners' group. In order to avoid pragmatic failure in communication in the target language in general, L2 learners need to be exposed to explicit instruction regarding both the linguistic and the cultural conventions in the foreign language, supported by authentic and suitable teaching materials.

Key words: speech act, complaint, supportive moves, English language, Serbian language, Serbian EFL learners

PURPOSE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study examines the use of supportive moves in direct, face-to-face complaints produced by native speakers (NSs) of Serbian and NSs of English, as

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well as advanced Serbian EFL learners, which is an important aspect since many foreign language (FL) learners do not manage to acquire a high level of pragmatic competence despite a rather high level of linguistic competence. Therefore, they often rely on the rules of their native language and culture (Olshtain & Weinbach 1993, Tanck 2002, Al-Tayib Umar 2006), which is known as pragmatic transfer. It is a phenomenon that can reflect negatively on communication as cultures around the world differ and what is considered acceptable in one culture may not be equally acceptable in another.

The data collected in this research are to be analyzed in terms of House & Kasper's (1981) classification of supporting moves found in speech acts while paying special attention to the social variables of power and severity of offense. Potential differences are expected to be observed in the performance of the two NS groups, as well as a certain amount of pragmatic transfer in the EFL group. This paper is significant since the speech act of complaint remains rather underexplored in the production of Serbian L1 learners of English (see next section.)

DEFINING RELEVANT NOTIONS

To begin with, Crystal (1997) defines pragmatics as:

the study of language from the point of view of users, especially of the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction and the effects their use of language has on other participants in the act of communication. (Crystal, 1997: 301)

While rules of syntax or vocabulary are easier to identify, recognizing rules of pragmatics can be challenging. This can lead to the inappropriate use of vocabulary/grammar but also to failure to adhere to L2 pragmatic norms, which may result in the FL learner being perceived as ignorant or impolite. Therefore, FL learners need to be aware of FL linguistic and cultural conventions when producing speech acts.

Speech act theory was introduced by Austin (1962) and later developed by Searle (1969, 1975, 1976). It deals with the actual communicative function of language rather than units as isolated phrases and their literal meaning. According to Austin (1962), an utterance has three functions: locutionary (uttering the actual words), illocutionary (what the speaker means/implies by uttering the words), and perlocutionary (the actual effect of the utterance on the hearer). How successful a speech act is depends upon the hearer's ability to grasp the intended meaning. As for the speech act of complaint, it is defined as "an illocutionary act in which the

speaker expresses his/her disapproval, negative feelings, etc. toward the state of affairs described in the proposition and for which he/she holds the hearer responsible, either directly or indirectly" (Trosborg, 1995: 174). Therefore, a complaint is a face-threatening act (FTA). Brown & Levinson (1987: 65) define FTAs as speech acts "that by their nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or of the speaker."

Many linguists have studied complaints from various perspectives. It has often been reported that more attention should be dedicated to improving learners' pragmatic competence. For example, Piotrowska's (1987) studied Cantonese EFL learners and their sociolinguistic competence. Complaints produced by English NSs and EFL learners differed concerning social distance and situational context and this was found to be due to different sociocultural norms in the two languages.

In addition, Trosborg (1995) focused on complaints produced by NSs of English, NSs of Danish, and Danish EFL learners. She found that the EFL learners used fewer complaint strategies and modifications than the NS groups. Moreover, the two NS groups differed regarding the use of strategies when communicating with an interlocutor of higher status – the English NSs were most likely to employ indirect strategies in this case, unlike the Danish NSs, who mostly relied on using direct strategies.

Tanck (2002) investigated how adult English NSs and adult EFL speakers perform refusals and complaints. The findings of her study indicate that the non-native speakers' (NNS) responses, although generally linguistically correct, differed from the NSs' responses concerning pragmatic elements. For instance, NNSs' complaints were usually longer, whereas their complaints directed at an addressee of higher status were often considered inappropriate (too direct).

Eshraghi & Shahrokhi (2016) explored complaining strategies in Iranian female EFL learners and female NSs of English. Notable differences were found concerning the frequency of the strategies used. The two groups may simply have had different attitudes due to different cultural/religious contexts. However, it is more probable that EFL learners should receive better pragmatic instruction and develop pragmatic competence leading to higher proficiency.

Serbian linguists have analyzed various speech acts, but complaints are not commonly researched. Prodanović examined the speech act among several other FTAs as part of her doctoral dissertation (2014), as well as the function of pragmatics in L2 acquisition through the prism of complaints (2016). The former study describes strategies and mitigation devices used by NSs of Serbian and NSs of the British and American dialects of English. Namely, the paper shows that

Serbian NSs produce FTAs more directly and with fewer mitigating devices than NSs of English. Prodanović (2016) compared the performance of English NSs and Croatian/Bosnian/Serbian EFL learners, presuming there will be notable differences in the use of complaint strategies. In contrast, the present study deals with complaints only, offering a more thorough depiction of the use of supporting moves, and it pays special attention to NNSs' pragmatic competence and potential pragmatic transfer.

Moreover, this paper focuses on supportive moves suggested by House & Kasper (1981: 166) – elements modifying speech acts that can be omitted without affecting the illocutionary force of the utterance. The authors refer to those elements as downgraders in case they lower the impact of the speech act, or upgraders if they increase its impact. House and Kasper's (1981) taxonomy is given in the table below.

Table 1. Supportive moves by House & Kasper (1981)

Supportive moves		
Category	Explanation	Devices
Downgraders		
politeness marker	used to show deference to the hearer and to ask cooperation	*please*
understater	an adverbial modifier used to mitigate the state of affairs in the utterance	*a (little) bit, not very much, maybe*
hedge	used to avoid a precise specification in the utterance to avoid potential provocation	*just, like, somehow, kind of, and so on, rather*
subjectivizer	used to inform the hearer the utterance is the speaker's subjective opinion	*I think / believe / suppose / wonder / guess*
downtoner	a sentential modifier used to mitigate the impact of the speech act	*perhaps, simply, just*
cajoler	used to increase or restore harmony between the speaker and the hearer	*You know, You see, I mean*
appealer	used by the speaker to appeal to the hearer's benevolent understanding	question tags, *ok/right?*
scope-starter	used to exhibit the subjectivity of the speaker's opinion and explain the state of affairs in the proposition	*I'm afraid, I'm not happy about*

Upgraders		
intensifier	adverb used to intensify particular elements of the proposition	*very, so, really, absolutely, quite, indeed*
commitment indicator	a sentential modifier used to show the speaker has a high commitment to the state of affairs	*I'm sure, certainly, obviously*
expletive	a lexical item used to express negative social attitude	*bloody, damn*
time intensifier	used to make a time expression more intense	*right now, immediately*
lexical uptoner	gives the proposition negative connotations	*Clean up the <u>mess.</u>*
determination marker	increases the degree of the speaker's determinants	*That's that!*
emphatic addition	used to give additional emphasis to the proposition	*Go and clean the kitchen.*

All in all, a complaint can include different (combinations of) modifying elements some of which are used to soften the FTA, while others intensify it.

METHODOLOGY

This study involved three groups of participants: NSs of English and NSs of Serbian, as well as advanced Serbian learners of English – students in their 4th year or master's studies at the English Department of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad, all at C2 level of English according to the Common European Framework for Reference for Languages (CEFR). Participation in this research was voluntary.

Table 2. Information about the participants

Participants	Total number	Average age	Gender	
			M	F
NSs of English	13	41.15	4	9
NSs of Serbian	24	26.96	3	21
Advanced Serbian EFL learners	22	23.82	3	19
TOTAL	59	30.64	17%	83%

We must underline that finding English NS respondents willing to participate in the research was difficult. Furthermore, Serbian women were more

eager to participate than men. The same applies to the third group, but female students at the English Department in Novi Sad are generally more numerous than male students, so the uneven distribution of the genders was expected.

As for the variables used in this research, P marks the power relation holding between the interlocutors. This study involved interlocutors of equal power (P=) or unequal power (P+ when the speaker was superior and P- when they were inferior). Unequal power relations are typically illustrated by communication between an employer and an employee or a professor and a student, while P= usually involves communication between friends or roommates. The second variable, marked as S, relates to the severity of an offense (what the hearer has done to motivate the complaint). S is a binary category in this research and offenses are taken to be more or less severe (S+/-). Since this notion may be quite subjective, either distinctly serious or trivial offenses were used to elicit clearer responses.

Responses were collected through a method called discourse completion task (DCT). Kasper & Dahl (1991) interpret it as a questionnaire with short descriptions of a situation aiming to reveal the pattern of the speech act analyzed. DCTs can take a written or an oral form and respondents are allowed to not provide a response at all. Our questionnaire (see Appendix) offered 24 scenarios that could be categorized into six groups of four questions, each based on the following variable combinations: P+S+, P+S-, P=S+, P=S-, P-S+, P-S-. The situations were presented in the questionnaires in random order. The Serbian NS group received the Serbian version of the questionnaire via *Google Forms* (back translation was used to ensure that the situations translated into Serbian matched the ones in English), while the NSs of English and the group of EFL learners completed the English version. Each response was carefully analyzed, noting all instances of supporting moves, which were subsequently classified into the appropriate categories and analyzed using descriptive statistics. The results and their interpretation are presented in the following section.

RESULTS

The three groups' complaints were examined based on the supporting moves (downgraders and upgraders) described earlier. The performance of the groups differed with respect to several elements, which we discuss in separate headings for each group of research participants.

4.1 English NSs

The English NSs' responses are discussed first. The following table offers the exact number of instances in which each of the supportive moves was employed.

Table 3. Supportive moves in the complaints of the English NSs

	High offense (S+)			Low offense (S-)			TOTAL
	Inferior hearer (P+)	Equal hearer (P=)	Superior hearer (P-)	Inferior hearer (P+)	Equal hearer (P=)	Superior hearer (P-)	
Downgraders							
Politeness marker	11	1	7	14	1	4	38
Understater			1		2	2	5
Hedge	1	2	18	3	1	23	48
Subjectivizer		2	2	1			5
Downtoner			1		1		2
Cajoler		4			2		6
Appealer	1		1	1			3
Scope-starter	1						1
DOWNGRADERS TOTAL	**14**	**9**	**30**	**19**	**7**	**29**	**108**
Upgraders							
Intensifier	4	8	3	1	1		17
Commitment indicator	1			1	1		3
Expletive	1	1			1		3
Time intensifier	9	1	8			1	19
Lexical uptoner		3			4		7
Determination marker							
Emphatic addition	3	1					4
UPGRADERS TOTAL	**18**	**14**	**11**	**2**	**7**	**1**	**53**
SUPPORTIVE MOVES TOTAL	**32**	**23**	**41**	**21**	**14**	**30**	**161**

The English NSs used downgraders more frequently than upgraders (108 vs. 53). Moreover, downgraders were used regardless of the value of the variable S (53 vs. 55), but there are some noticeable differences regarding the variable P.

Downgraders were employed the most in the P- scenarios (in over 50% of cases with both S+ and S-), with a notably lower use in the P+ situations (26.41% in S+ and 34.55% in S-), and the least between status-equal (P=) interlocutors (16.98% in S+ vs. 12.73% in S-). These findings can probably be ascribed to the fact that English NSs feel the need to mitigate their complaints when speaking to a person seen as an authority or a person of respect. The same need sometimes exists with inferior hearers, possibly to prevent them from perceiving the complainer as abusing their higher relative power. Using downgraders the least in P= scenarios shows that English NSs may feel most comfortable expressing their negative feelings to someone they perceive as their equal. The last thing to be noticed is that hedges were employed much more frequently than any of the other downgraders, again most noticeably in P+ situations, whereas the politeness marker *please* is the second most-used supportive move. Other elements were less numerous. A couple of representative examples of English NS complaints are offered below.

1) Would you mind turning down your music? I am not feeling well.
2) Could you please put your pen down? Thank you.
3) You know, I lost a good job because you didn't give me the message.
4) Look I'm sorry, but this is not acceptable.

As opposed to downgraders, the use of which did not vary much regarding the variable S, upgraders were much more common in the S+ scenarios than the S- ones (43 vs. 10). However, those supportive moves were now employed the least in the P- situations (25.58% in S+ and 10% in S-). The most frequent use of upgraders is observed in the P+S+ scenarios (33.96% of the overall use of upgraders), which could be interpreted as the speakers' need to stress the seriousness of the offense and to express concerns because the situations were such that the speaker would probably have to take at least partial responsibility for the consequences of the complainee's behavior. Intensifiers were also observed in the P= scenarios (especially in S+, 26.42% of the overall use), which again indicates that the English NSs felt free to express their dissatisfaction more strongly with someone perceived as their equal since the relationship between the interlocutors could be repaired more easily in such cases. The most frequently used upgraders were time intensifiers (especially *(right) now*) and intensifiers (especially *really* and *very*). Less numerous were commitment indicators, expletives, lexical uptoners, and emphatic addition. There were no instances of determination markers. The following responses illustrate how English NSs used upgraders in their responses:

5) This is really going to be an issue.
6) I need the exams now, you need to get them now.
7) Why did you not write the message down? It was very important.
8) Damn! Now I have to cancel the meeting.

The distribution of supportive moves described above is not surprising because it suggests that English NSs tend to mitigate their complaints rather than intensify them when communicating with interlocutors who have power over them. To go even further, it can be pointed out that this is especially true in S- situations, which indicates that English NSs do not want to risk performing an FTA, possibly harming the relationship with a superior interlocutor, especially if this is due to a rather insignificant matter.

4.2 Serbian NSs

As for the Serbian NSs, the frequency of supporting moves varied. There were a total of 242 such elements, 10.08 per participant (compared to 12.38 per English NS participant). All the numbers are available in the table below.

Table 4. *Supportive moves in the complaints of the Serbian NSs*

	High offense (S+)			Low offense (S-)			
	Inferior hearer (P+)	Equal hearer (P=)	Superior hearer (P-)	Inferior hearer (P+)	Equal hearer (P=)	Superior hearer (P-)	TOTAL
Downgraders							
Politeness marker	13	1	13	17	4	8	56
Understater	1	1	5	2	3	10	22
Hedge	1	3	18	4	3	31	60
Subjectivizer	1			1	3	2	7
Downtoner						1	1
Cajoler					1		1
Appealer	1						1
Scope-starter	1		1				2
DOWNGRADERS TOTAL	**18**	**5**	**37**	**24**	**14**	**52**	**150**
Upgraders							
Intensifier	8	13	7	3	1	5	37
Commitment			1	2			3

indicator							
Expletive	2	5					7
Time intensifier	6	1	8		1	1	17
Lexical uptoner	4	1		4	5		14
Determination marker	1	1	1				3
Emphatic addition	6	1		2	2		11
UPGRADERS TOTAL	**27**	**22**	**17**	**11**	**9**	**6**	**92**
SUPPORTIVE MOVES TOTAL	**45**	**27**	**54**	**35**	**23**	**58**	**242**

The Serbian NSs used 150 downgraders and 92 upgraders. The English NSs also employed downgraders more, so it is something these groups share. Furthermore, these elements were used more in the S- than in the S+ situations. They were mostly found with P-, to a somewhat lesser extent with P+, and significantly less often with P=. It seems the Serbian NSs made an effort to present their complaints aimed at superior hearers as less aggressive, whereas the least amount of mitigation was used with equal interlocutors. The participants probably felt the consequences would be more serious if they did not modify their complaints to prevent the complainee from feeling threatened. Mitigating was predominantly achieved by employing hedges (mostly through constructions such as *Možeš li* (Can you), *Da li biste mogli* (Could you), *Voleo bih* (I'd like to), among others) and the politeness marker *molim te/Vas* (please)). Understaters were also common – mostly *malo* (a bit) and *možda* (maybe) – whereas the rest of the downgraders were much less numerous. The following examples are some of the responses the Serbian NSs provided:

9) Da li možete da mi kažete na osnovu čega se utvđuje iznos božićnog dodatka?
   Could you tell me how the Christmas bonus is calculated?
10) Izvinite, čekaću koliko treba, ali samo bih da proverim da znate da sam tu.
    Excuse me, I will wait as long as necessary, but I would just like to make sure you know I am here.
11) Sledeći put samo malo skloni iza sebe.
    Next time, just tidy up a bit before you leave.
12) Izvinite, profesore, nije mi stigao mejl sa rezultatima ispita. Da li se možda sećate kako sam uradila ispit??

> *Excuse me, professor, I have not received an email with the exam results. Do you remember by any chance how I did in the exam?*

The use of upgraders, however, exhibited a different tendency. Upgraders were used considerably more often with S+ than S- (66 vs. 26 occurrences), indicating that the speakers felt the need to underscore the seriousness of offense and its potential consequences. With both S+ and S-, the amount of intensification was directly proportional to the perceived power of the hearer. This means the speakers opted for strengthening the impact of their complaints the most when they felt they had more power over the complainees (41.30% of the overall use of upgraders). Contrastively, the Serbian participants avoided intensifying their complaints when addressing an offense committed by someone superior. The most widely used upgraders were intensifiers (mostly *baš/veoma/jako=really/ indeed/very),* followed by time intensifiers, such as *odmah* (immediately) and *što pre* (as soon as possible). Other elements were much less frequent.

13) To je veoma neodgovorno od Vas. Idite sada da umnožite testove.
   That is very irresponsible of you. Now go and make copies of the test.
14) Onda to ti objasni profesoru. Baš si nemaran.
   Then you explain it to the professor. You're so careless.
15) Tata, to mi je jako važno. Sledeći put kad ti kažem molim te da to odmah uradiš.
   Dad, it is very important to me. Next time I tell you, please do it immediately.
16) Stvarno nije u redu što ste bacili te papire, ko vam je rekao da to uradite?
   It is really not ok that you threw away those papers; who told you to do it?

To reiterate, the Serbian NSs used downgraders more than upgraders, much like the English NSs. Both groups' complaints most commonly involved hedges and the politeness marker *please*, and the overall use of downgraders was more prominent when interacting with superior participants. Therefore, both Serbian and English NSs mitigate their complaints aimed at people having power over them. Both groups used downgraders least frequently when complaining to an equal interlocutor. English and Serbian NSs thus express their dissatisfaction in a more softened manner with people representing an authority figure, probably to avoid more serious consequences to their relationship with the hearer. For that reason, it

was not surprising to find that the two groups employed upgraders the most with inferior hearers and the least with superior ones.

When Prodanović (2014) investigated this speech act, her scenarios involved equal participants only, therefore the present results can only be compared to hers in that respect. In addition, Prodanović analyzed her data based on a different classification of modifiers. However, her findings are similar to ours in the sense that the politeness marker *molim te* (please) and hedges in the form of modal verbs (mostly *moći* (could)) were the most numerous, and intensifiers such as *stvarno* (really), *tako* (so), and *veoma* (very) also occurred frequently in her corpus.

4.3 Advanced Serbian EFL learners

Finally, an overview of the use of supportive moves in complaints produced by the advanced Serbian EFL learners is presented in the table below.

Table 5. Supportive moves in the complaints of the advanced Serbian EFL learners

	High offense (S+)			Low offense (S-)			TOTAL
	Inferior hearer (P+)	Equal hearer (P=)	Superior hearer (P-)	Inferior hearer (P+)	Equal hearer (P=)	Superior hearer (P-)	
Downgraders							
Politeness marker	23	4	29	25	5	25	111
Understater			2	3	1	5	11
Hedge	3	2	28	9	2	36	80
Subjectivizer	2	3	2	3			10
Downtoner	4		1				5
Cajoler				2	2		4
Appealer	1			1			2
Scope-starter	1				1		2
DOWNGRADERS TOTAL	**34**	**9**	**62**	**43**	**11**	**86**	**245**
Upgraders							
Intensifier	7	14	11	3	2	3	40
Commitment indicator	1	1		1			3
Expletive		3			4		7
Time intensifier	11		13	1	2	3	30
Lexical uptoner		2	1		10		13

Determination marker			1		1		2
Emphatic addition	5						5
UPGRADERS TOTAL	**24**	**20**	**26**	**5**	**19**	**6**	**100**
SUPPORTIVE MOVES TOTAL	**58**	**29**	**88**	**48**	**40**	**92**	**345**

While producing complaints (as many as 15.68 per participant), the advanced Serbian EFL learners relied more on downgraders (245) than upgraders (100), just as the other two groups. Supporting moves were used similarly regarding the S+/S- distinction (175 vs. 180).

Focusing on downgraders, the respondents used them more in the S- situations, indicating that they tried to soften their complaints more if the offense was less serious, which was quite unexpected. As for the variable P, downgraders were mostly found in the P- situations (more precisely, 59.05% of the S+ and 61.43% of the S- situations). Contrastively, downgraders were used the least in the P= scenarios (8.57% in S+ and 7.86% in S- situations). The politeness marker *please* was the most frequent downgrader, followed by hedges. Other downgraders were less common. The four examples below illustrate the complaint production of the EFL group of research participants, as they occurred in the questionnaires:

17) I would be grateful if you could write an explanatory note for the library.
18) Would you mind turning down the music a little bit, please? I have a horrible headache and I could use a little rest.
19) For some reason, I didn't receive the email with final exam marks. Could you, please, send them to me as well?
20) Excuse me, I'm not on the list, and I was wondering if you maybe skipped me by accident?

As opposed to downgraders, upgraders occurred more frequently in the S+ situations (70 vs. a mere 30 occurrences with S-), which means the respondents felt the need to emphasize their negative evaluation of the situation when the offense was viewed as serious. The difference in the use of upgraders with respect to the variable S is not particularly significant, but these elements were used slightly more often in the scenarios which depicted status-equal (P=) interlocutors (39%) compared to the P+ scenarios (29%) and the P- ones (32%), which makes this group different from the previous two (the English NSs and Serbian NSs used upgraders the most in the P+ situations and the least in the P= situations). This could be

explained by the fact that the advanced Serbian EFL learners in this study were somewhat younger than the participants in the other two groups, so they probably have not experienced many real-life situations in which they were a superior interlocutor (employer/professor/parent), which makes these situations more hypothetical for them. Overall, however, intensifiers (especially *really/very*) and time intensifiers (such as *(right) now, asap, right away*) were predominantly employed, much like in the other two groups, a shown in the examples below:

21) This was really important. I am really angry.
22) Dad, send me the money as soon as possible, it's a matter of life and death.
23) Clean this up, right now.
24) You need to come back here and take care of your mess.

What all three groups have in common is that downgraders were used more than upgraders, especially in low offense scenarios. Moreover, all three groups used those elements the most with superior hearers and the least with equal ones. Both cultures seem to share the view that it is not (always) necessary to soften complaints to equal hearers, but it is best to do so with superior ones in order not to threaten the interlocutor's face. As for upgraders, the two NS groups had similar performance, while the Serbian EFL learners performed somewhat differently, indicating that the difference is most likely to be ascribed to a non-cultural factor. In other words, even though generally, "adult learners rely on universal or L1 based pragmatic knowledge" (Kasper 2001: 511) and they "by default transfer their L1 conventions and judgments to L2 encounters" (Glaser 2009: 54), this is not always the case. In some situations, when they suspect that the target linguistic and cultural conventions might differ from the L1 ones, they are prone to producing speech acts which do not conform either to the L1 or the target language conventions. However, a lot more research into this domain is needed in order to draw sound conclusions regarding this matter.

CONCLUSION

This paper explores direct, face-to-face complaints produced by NSs of Serbian, NSs of English, and advanced Serbian EFL learners. More specifically, it focuses on supportive moves and analyses them drawing on the taxonomy offered by House & Kasper (1981) and taking into account the social variables of power and severity of offense. The findings confirm the hypothesis that the two cultures would not differ widely concerning the way their representatives produce

complaints. What might nevertheless be considered as an example of pragmatic transfer is the unexpected tendency of the Serbian EFL learners to soften their complaints more in case of a trivial offense than a rather severe one – a phenomenon observed in the Serbian NS group, as well. Other than that, it appears that the EFL group exhibited an acceptable level of pragmatic competence. This means that their performance can have two interpretations – it is either seen as similar to the performance of the English NS group and the learners' pragmatic competence really is at a level close to their linguistic competence or else, given that the two cultures are similar with respect to this aspect of complaining, it might be seen as following the Serbian NS conventions and involving transfer from the learners' L1. Either way, the importance of teaching L2 pragmatics must be emphasized again so that all EFL learners and especially future teachers like the EFL participants in this research can be equipped with the best tools possible for using and teaching L2 language and culture successfully.

Milica Lukić, Sabina Halupka-Rešetar

POMOĆNI IZRAZI U GOVORNOM ČINU DIREKTNE ŽALBE U ENGLESKOM I SRPSKOM JEZIKU: MEĐUKULTURNA I MEĐUJEZIČKO-PRAGMATIČKA ANALIZA

Rezime

Cilj ovog istraživanja je analiza pomoćnih izraza u govornom činu direktne žalbe kod izvornih govornika engleskog i srpskog jezika kako bi se ustanovile sličnosti i razlike između pripadnika dve kulture pri izvođenju pomenutog govornog čina na maternjem jeziku. Istraživanje takođe uključuje studente engleskog jezika na visokom nivou znanja čiji je maternji jezik srpski kako bi se istražila njihova pragmatička kompetencija u stranom jeziku, naročito mera u kojoj je uočljivo oslanjanje na pragmatičke konvencije maternjeg jezika u produkciji govornog čina direktne žalbe na stranom (engleskom) jeziku. Naime, ovi studenti su realizovali svoje žalbe na engleskom, jeziku kojem su izloženi tokom čitavih studija, ali kod svih učenika stranog jezika postoji mogućnost oslanjanja na maternji kada pragmatičke norme ciljnog jezika nisu usvojene u dovoljnoj meri (pragmatički transfer).

Podaci su prikupljeni putem testa dopune diskursa u pisanom obliku i analizirani na osnovu klasifikacije koju su ponudili House i Kasper (1981). Autori predlažu dve vrste pomenutih elemenata (jedni pojačavaju efekat izraza, dok ga drugi ublažavaju), koji se dalje dele na podgrupe. Analiza takođe uključuje dve varijable: relativna društvena moć sagovornika (jednaki ili nejednaki govornici) i ozbiljnost prekršaja (više ili manje ozbiljan).

Rezultati istraživanja su pokazali da je upotreba pomoćnih izraza kod izvornih govornika engleskog i srpskog jezika u velikoj meri slična. Žalbe se najčešće ublažavaju u komunikaciji sa osobama koje imaju veću društvenu moć (profesori, nadređeni na poslu, roditelji, itd), a najređe sa osobama koje imaju jednaku društvenu moć (prijatelji, kolege, vršnjaci, itd). Najčešće korišćeni pomoćni elementi bile su diskursne ograde (modalni glagoli, izvinjenja, itd) i izraz *molim te/Vas (please)*. Efekat žalbe najčešće je pojačavan u komunikaciji sa osobama koje imaju manju društvenu moć (podređeni na poslu, učenici, mlađi komšija i sl), uglavnom koristeći izraze poput *što pre* (*as soon as possible*), *odmah* (*right away*), *stvarno* (*really*), *tako* (*so*) i *veoma* (*very*).

Srpski studenti engleskog na visokom nivou znanja postigli su slične rezultate, s tim da je kod ove grupe nešto dominantnije pojačavanje efekta žalbe pri komunikaciji sa statusno jednakim govornicima. Kako su prethodne dve grupe ostvarile gotovo identične rezultate, teško je suditi o pragmatičkoj kompetenciji ove grupe ispitanika. Ipak, kao primer mogućeg pragmatičkog transfera izdvaja se činjenica da su ovi ispitanici, isto kao i grupa izvornih govornika srpskog jezika, nešto češće ublažavali žalbe u situacijama gde je prekršaj bio manje ozbiljan. U svakom slučaju, važno je istaknuti koliko je značajno da učenici stranog jezika – naročito ako su mahom budući predavači tog jezika, poput učesnika u ovom istraživanju – steknu visok nivo pragmatičke kompetencije u stranom jeziku, što se može postići uz eksplicitno podučavanje, koristeći prikladne i autentične materijale kako bi razvijali ne samo znanje o gramatici i vokabularu nego i pragmatičku kompetenciju, što je glavni preduslov za uspešnu komunikaciju na bilo kom jeziku.

Ključne reči: govorni činovi, žalba, pomoćni izrazi, engleski jezik, srpski jezik, srpski studenti engleskog na visokom nivou znanja

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APPENDIX

The questionnaires used are available at:

1) the English version: http://tiny.cc/82loiz
2) the Serbian version:http://tiny.cc/g5loiz

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ANIMAL SOUNDS AS REPORTING VERBS IN TRANSLATIONS FROM ENGLISH INTO BCMS[**]

This paper discusses the use of animal-sound reporting verbs (e.g. *grunt*, *bark*, *croak*) in English literary texts and the significance they are assigned in Serbian translations. Based on a corpus of Dickens's novels *Oliver Twist*, *David Copperfield*, and *Great Expectations*, an analysis of animal-sound reporting verbs will be carried out in the SL and the TL texts for the purpose of learning whether the animal trait is (accurately) preserved in translations. Firstly, the translations of these verbs will be subject to componential analysis to determine if they retained the animal feature. The next step is checking if the translation solutions that do retain the animal feature accurately reflect the sound. Finally, translations that fail to convey the animal feature and the intended sound will be analyzed in order to determine the translation procedure employed. The preliminary hypothesis is that animal-sound verbs will largely be translated as their equivalent verbs (e.g. *growls=reži*). This research is important because animal-sound reporting verbs often serve as stylistic devices and offer glimpses into fictional characters' nature. Additionally, since few studies exist on the translation of reporting verbs from English into BCMS, this paper could draw more focus on them and shed more light on this specific matter.

Keywords: noise verbs, reporting verbs, characterization, translation procedures, animal sounds

1. INTRODUCTION

Reporting verbs (hereafter RVs) with visceral elements can aid in the textual representation of a literary character by lending nuance to their personation, indicating various aspects of spoken language that cannot be immediately discerned by, for example, neutral RVs such as "say" or "tell". Taking into consideration the

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restrictive characteristics of text when it comes to conveying such elements of spoken communication (Brüngel-Dittrich, 2005), questions arise regarding the approach to reporting verbs reflecting animal sounds (e.g. *hiss* or *chirp*, hereafter ASRVs) in the process of translation. Put more precisely, the focus of this paper lies in whether such limitations of the written medium imply the vulnerability of the animal feature of the aforementioned RVs and whether this particular feature is more prone to be disregarded in translation from English into Serbian.

The initial hypothesis is that, due to their significance and contribution to the emotional coloring and the overall image and perception of literary characters, ASRVs are far more likely to be translated into Serbian with their exact equivalents rather than with non-animal RVs. Therefore, a given animal feature is retained in the target language as well and the intended characterization preserved. The matter at hand can also be viewed in the following manner: this paper juxtaposes the restrictiveness of the written medium with respect to spoken-language aspects and the translator's aim to remain as faithful to the original as possible and attempts to discover if the former affects the latter.

2. THEORY, IMPLICATIONS AND QUESTIONS

In the context of the written medium, the misinterpretation of messages, as stated by Silk, does happen despite an author's efforts to achieve maximum clarity. He goes on to link such miscommunications to the written medium's inability to "convey the mood, tone, emphasis, or body language of the author" (2007: 90).

When it comes to researching the theoretical background of ASRVs, perhaps one of the most crucial steps would be to see how they are treated in different existing taxonomies due to their paralinguistic feature. Among such classifications is one elaborated by Caldas-Coulthard, focusing on five separate kinds of RVs: descriptive, illocutionary, neutral, structuring, and discourse signaling. ASRVs would be placed in the descriptive category—what sets them apart from the other four RV types is the fact that they affect the manner in which a message is being conveyed (for example, sound-wise), rather than its content (Caldas-Coulthard, 1987: 162).

This contrast of content and manner of speaking is also present in the division of speech-act verbs which was established by Leech. In his work, the author differentiates between neutral, phonically descriptive, and content-descriptive verbs (1983: 214). Not surprisingly, animal sound RVs such as *growl*, *bark*, or *roar*, fall under the category of phonically descriptive verbs, which the

author also refers to as 'noise' verbs, due to their description of the manner of speaking (1983: 214).

Noise verbs carry paralinguistic speech-features, which, according to Brown, are a given speaker's means of indicating their attitude to interlocutors more clearly. Therefore, if we take into account that "paralinguistic vocal features will reinforce what the speaker says" (1990: 113), and their unquestionable effect on and involvement in what Brown refers to as *the affective meaning* (as opposed to *the conceptual*), the significance of 'noise' verbs in the development of a literary character's image becomes even more noticeable. ASRVs are no exception here.

The literary contribution of animal sounds and the RVs associated with them is easily recognized in the works of the Victorian author Charles Dickens. Namely, Dickens was keen on using phonically descriptive verbs as a way of emphasizing certain portrayals of his two-dimensional characters. Because of this tendency, linguists have studied the varying patterns of the employment of noise RVs in his novels.

As stated by Pablo Ruano San Segundo (2018), Dickens's utilization of such RVs was far from random, as the author frequently relied on attributing certain personality traits to his characters through their speech by coloring it with carefully chosen 'noise' RVs. Furthermore, San Segundo pinpoints two particular aspects where RV pattern variations were established, and those are primarily **gender** and **characterization**.

Put more accurately, it has been shown that Dickens frequently turned to RVs like *thunder*, *boast*, or *shout* in order to more successfully associate male characters with traditionally masculine traits such as strength, self-confidence, and leadership. On the other hand, these characteristics were contrasted with those of fragileness, subservience, weakness, or emotional sensitivity, which the Victorian author associated with female characters by employing verbs like *sob*, *languish*, *moan*, and so on.

The impact of phonically descriptive RVs is highly visible in the formation of characters such as Bill Sikes from *Oliver Twist*, Uriah Heep from *David Copperfield*, or Dodge Orlick from *Great Expectations*. What San Segundo (2017) implies under characterization is, for instance, the use of ASRVs as **stylistic devices** emphasizing the darkness of evil characters. Consequently, Dickens's villains are wont to *croak*, *roar*, or *snarl*, for example, which only makes their baseness more prominent to the reader. In numerous situations, the villains are thus depicted as incapable of communicating and interacting as civilized human beings, and instead reduced to the level of the animalistic, even bestial.

Taking into account the abovementioned, several questions arise with respect to animal sounds as RVs, of which this paper attempts *to raise awareness* in translation studies:

1) How often is the animal feature of such verbs retained in certain translations (specifically from English into BCMS)?
2) How is its role treated in translations?
3) Is it simply glossed over with a non-animal 'noise' verb with a visceral meaning?
4) If it is disregarded, which procedures and what kind of equivalence are employed by translators in the target language (Newmark, 1988: 68-93; Baker, 2006: 10-12, 15-16; Koller, 1995: 191-222)?

3. ANALYSIS

The analysis was conducted on an electronic corpus which included ASRVs from Charles Dickens's novels *Oliver Twist*, *Great Expectations*, and *David Copperfield*.[1] In the given works, the following ASRVs were used: **bellow**, **croak**, **growl**, **roar**, and **shriek**. Though present in far higher numbers when structures other than RVs are taken into account, they were detected in 43 instances as ASRVs. They were all checked against their BCMS translations; during this process, componential analysis was employed in order to determine the absence, that is, existence of the animal sense component of the lexical unit in the TL.

The succeeding phase involved determining if the translations which retained this component accurately reflected the sound in the SL. Because of the significance of animal sounds on characterization, it was necessary to check if the translations which retained the animal feature accurately conveyed the intended RV sound. Finally, translations not marked as precise equivalents were then analyzed in order to determine the translation procedure employed. The following table shows the verbs detected and analyzed, the novels in which they were detected, their context, their translation into BCMS, and which of those were treated as precise equivalents (marked with '+', whereas other instances were marked with '-').

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[1] Because of the date of publication, the translations used in this analysis will be referred to as BCMS translations instead of Serbian or Serbo-Croatian.

Table 3: *ASRVs and their translations into BCMS*

Word	Novel	Pg.	EN	BCMS	Pg.	
bellow	GE	237	1. He faintly moaned, 'I am done for,' as the victim, and he barbarously **bellowed**, 'I'll serve you out,' as the murderer.	Kao žrtva je iznemoglim glasom jaukao: »Svršeno je!« a kao ubojica okrutno **vikao**: »Ubit ću te!« .	129	-
croak	OT	295	2. 'Nancy, dear!' **croaked** the Jew, in his usual voice. 'Did you mind me, dear?'	Nensi, čedo moje! — **zamumla** Jevrejin svojim uobičajenim glasom. — Valjda se ne ljutiš na mene?	145	-
growl	DC	164	3. 'No - no,' **growled** Mr. Barkis, reflecting about it.	»Ne, nisam«, **progunđa** gospodin Barkis razmišljajući o tome.	82	-
	DC	207	4. 'But really and truly, you know. Are you?' **growled** Mr. Barkis, sliding nearer to her on the seat…	»Ama je l' zbilja i zaista, razumete li? Dobro se osećate?« **promumla** Barkis, dok joj se primicao na sedištu…	101	-
	DC	208	5. 'I say,' **growled** Mr. Barkis, 'it was all right.'	»Slušajte«, **promrmlja** Barkis, »sve je bilo u redu«.	101	-
	DC	1130	6. 'Stop!' he **growled** to me; and wiped his hot face with his hand.	»Stojte!« **zareža** on prema meni i obrisa rukom zažareno lice.	499	+
	GE	68	7. No one seemed surprised to see him, or […] spoke a word, except that somebody in the boat **growled as if to dogs**, 'Give way, you!' ...	Čini se da se nitko nije iznenadio što ga vidi, niti [...] je itko prozborio riječ, samo što netko **povika** kao da se izdire na pse: - Ej vi, uprite! ...	39	-
	GE	200	8. 'Shall if I like,' **growled** Orlick.	Hoću, ako me bude volja — **progunđa** Orlick.	110	-
	GE	201	9. 'You're a foul shrew, Mother Gargery,' **growled** the journeyman.	— Vi ste pogana nadžakbaba, majko Gargery — **zareža** nadničar.	111	+
	GE	202	10. 'Ah-h-h!' **growled** the journeyman, between his teeth, 'I'd hold you, if you was my wife.'	Ahhh! — **promrsi** radnik kroz zube. —Ja bih vas već držao da ste mi žena.	111	-

GE	210	11. Orlick sometimes **growled**, 'Beat it out, beat it out - Old Clem! …'	Orlick bi ponekad **zarežao**: ≫Kujte to gvožde, da iskra skače—o Stari Cleme! …≪	116	+
GE	233	12. 'Halloa!' he **growled**, 'where are you two going?'	Ho ho! - **zareža**. – Kuda ćete vas dvoje?	127	+
GE	381	13. 'I don't want to know what passed between Herbert there and you,' **growled** Drummle.	Ne želim znati što se dogodilo između Herberta i vas – **progunđa** Drummle.	209	-
GE	403	14. 'And don't blame me,' **growled** the convict I had recognized.	Nemojte mene kriviti — **progunđa** robijaš, kojeg sam prepoznao.	221	-
GE	406	15. 'More fool you,' **growled** the other.	Još si veća budala od njega — **progunđa** drugi.	222	-
GE	451	16. … a sulky man who had been long cooling his impatient nose against an iron bar in the front row of the gallery, **growled**, 'Now the baby's put to bed let's have supper!'	…neki je mrzovoljasti gledalac u prvom redu galerije, pritisnuvši i hladeći nos na željeznoj ogradi, nestrpljivo **zarežao**: ≫Sad, kad će beba na spavanje, hajdemo na večeru!≪	247	+
OT	24	17. Mr. Gamfield **growled a fierce imprecation** on the donkey generally, but more particularly on his eyes…	Gospodin Gemfild **žestoko opsova** magare uopšte, a posebno njegove oči...	19	-
OT	119	18. 'Swear the man,' **growled** Mr. Fang. with a very ill grace. 'Now, man, what have you got to say?'	Zakunite ovoga čoveka — **progunđa** gospodin Feng veoma ljutito. — Dakle, čoveče, šta imate da izjavite?	63	-
OT	137 - 138	19. 'Why, what the blazes is in the wind now!' **growled** a deep voice. 'Who pitched that 'ere at me?	Hej, kakva je to gužva, trista mu muka! — **zareža** neki debeli glas. — Ko li me je to raspalio?	72	+
OT	138	20. 'Come in, d'ye hear?' **growled** this engaging ruffian.	— Ulazi kad ti kažem! — **promumla** taj krasni razbojnik.	72	-

OT	166	21. 'Didn't know, you white-livered thief!' **growled** Sikes. 'Couldn't you hear the noise?'	Nisi znao, lopove matori! — **zagrme** Sajks. — Zar nisi čuo galamu?	84	-
OT	174	22. 'Do you hear?' **growled** Sikes, as Oliver hesitated, and looked round.	Čuješ li ti šta ti kažem? — **promrmlja** Sajks, budući je Oliver oklevao i obazirao se oko sebe.	88	-
OT	200	23. 'You old women never believe anything but quack-doctors, and lying story-books,' **growled** Mr. Grimwig.	Vi stare žene verujete samo u vračare i u prazne priče — **progunđa** gospodin Grimvig.	100	-
OT	237	24. 'Now, then!' **growled** Sikes, as Oliver started up; 'half past five! Look sharp, or you'll get no breakfast; for it's late as it is.'	Hajde, diži se! — **promrmlja** Sajks kad se Oliver trgao iza sna. — Pola šest je! Požuri ili ćeš ostati bez doručka; i inače smo već zadocnili.	117	-
OT	315	25. 'I wish I was among some of you; you'd howl the hoarser for it.' As Sikes **growled forth this imprecation**, with the most desperate ferocity that his desperate nature was capable of…	— Da mi samo koji od vas dopadne šaka, onda bi bar znao zašto laje. **Psujući tako i grdeći** u najvećem besu za koji je bila sposobna njegova divlja priroda…	155	-
OT	363	26. … twisting himself, dexterously, from the doctor's grasp, **growled forth** a volley of horrid oaths, and retired into the house.	… izvivši se vešto iz lekarevih ruku, **zasu** ga čitavom bujicom groznih psovki i povuče se u kuću.	176	-
OT	449	27. 'Oh! you've thought better of it, have you?' **growled** Sikes, marking the tear which trembled in her eye.	A, sad si nesto bolje smislila, je li? — **gunđao** je Sajks opazivši suzu koja joj se zavrtela u oku.	216	-
OT	453	28. … but I couldn't help it, upon my honour.' 'Upon your what?' **growled** Sikes, with excessive disgust.	... ali ti nisam mogao priteći u pomoć, časnu ti reč dajem. — Šta mi daješ? — **promumla** Sajks s izrazom krajnjeg gađenja na licu.	218	-

	OT	483	29. 'A bad one! I'll eat my head if he is not a bad one,' **growled** Mr. Grimwig, speaking by some ventriloquial power...	Nevaljalac je to! Poješću svoju glavu ako nije nevaljalac — **progunđa** gospodin Grimving govoreći nekako iz trbuha...	233	-
	OT	484	30. 'Do not heed my friend, Miss Maylie,' said Mr. Brownlow, 'he does not mean what he says.' 'Yes, he does,' **growled** Mr. Grimwig.	Ne obraćajte pažnju na moga prijatelja, gospođice Mejli, — reče gospodin Braunlo — i on ne misli kao što govori. — Jeste, misli — **progunđa** gospodin Grimvig.	233	-
	OT	484	31. 'He'll eat his head, if he doesn't,' **growled** Mr. Grimwig. 'He would deserve to have it knocked off, if he does,' said Mr. Brownlow.	On će pojesti svoju glavu, ako ne misli — **gunđao** je gospodin Grimvig. — Ako tako zaista misli, onda neko treba da mu je zaista razbije — reče gospodin Braunlo.	233	-
	OT	527	32. 'Obstinacy; woman's obstinacy, I suppose, my dear.' 'Well, I suppose it is,' **growled** Sikes.	Inat, ženski inat, mislim, rode moj. — To je, i ništa drugo — **progunđa** Sajks.	255	-
	OT	568	33. 'Coming!' cried the office keeper, running out. 'Coming,' **growled** the guard.	Evo idem! — uzviknu upravnik poštanske stanice trčeći. — Ideš — **progunđa** sprovodnik.	276	-
roar	GE	451	34. … on the question whether 'twas nobler in the mind to suffer, some **roared** yes, and some no...	…na pitanje je li plemenitije u duši pritajiti bol, jedni **urlali** ≫Da≪, a drugi: ≫Ne≪…	248	-
	OT	107	35. …so away he went like the wind, with the old gentleman and the two boys **roaring** and shouting behind him. 'Stop thief! Stop thief!'	…te je jurio kao vetar sa starim gospodinom i dvojicom dečaka koji su **vikali** i hajkali za njim. „Drž'te lopova! Drž'te lopova!"	57	-
	OT	133	36. 'Ha! ha! ha!' **roared** Charley Bates.	— Ha, ha, ha! — **kikotao se** Čarli Bejts.	69	-

	OT	354	37. He was smoking his pipe here, late at night, when all of a sudden Chickweed **roars out**, 'Here he is! Stop thief! Murder!'	Pušio je on tako svoju lulu do duboko u noć, kad se odjedanput **zaorio** Čikvidov glas: ‚Evo ga! Drž'te lopova! Ubicu!'	172	-
	OT	354	38. Away goes Spyers; on goes Chickweed; round turns the people; everybody **roars out**, 'Thieves!' and …	Spajers se nadade za njim, a Čikvid trči li, trči; svet se uskomešao, svi **viču** ‚Drž'te lopova!'...	172	-
	OT	354	39. At last, he couldn't help shutting 'em, to ease 'em a minute; and the very moment he did so, he hears Chickweed **a-roaring out**, 'Here he is!'	Najzad je morao da zažmuri da ih malo odmori; i tek što ih je zatvorio čuo je Čikvida **kako urla** ‚Drž'te ga!'	172	-
	OT	505	40. 'Ha! ha!' **roared** Mr. Claypole, kicking up his legs in an ecstasy.	— Ha! ha! — **smejao se grohotom** i gospodin Klejpol izbacujući noge uvis od silne razdraganosti.	243	-
	OT	600	41. Some shouted to those who were nearest to set the house on fire; others **roared** to the officers to shoot him dead.	Jedni su dovikivali onima koji su bili bliže da zapale kuću; drugi su **grmeli** tražeći od policajaca da pucaju na ubicu.	291	-
shriek	GE	544	42. 'But to be proud and hard to me!' Miss Havisham quite **shrieked**, as she stretched out her arms.	Ali ponosita i okrutna prema meni! — gotovo **cikne** gospođica Havisham, ispruživši obje ruke.	302	+
	OT	599	43. 'Help!' **shrieked** the boy in a voice that rent the air.	— U pomoć! — **vrištao** je dečak glasom koji je parao vazduh.	291	-

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As can be seen in the table, *bellow* was used as an RV in **1** instance, *croak* in **1** instance, *roar* in **8** instances, *shriek* in **2**, but the most striking was the use of *growl* as an ASRV, found no fewer than **31** times. Of the **43** given cases, upon analysis, **7 (16.3%) were noted as precise equivalents**, as opposed to the remaining **36 (83.7%)**, which were cases of:

1) mistranslation – as many as 21 RVs (48.9%) were mistranslated (e.g. *growl* as *gunđati; roar* as *kikotati se*);[2]

2) synonymy – detected in 11 cases (25.6%) (e.g. *roar* as *urlati*);

3) transposition – detected in 6 cases (13.9%) (e.g. *growl forth* as *zasuti*);[3] or

4) descriptive equivalence – detected in 1 case (2.3%) (e.g. *roar* as *smejati se grohotom*).

The given numbers depict an obvious negation of our initial hypothesis. The animal feature appears to be vulnerable in the analyzed translations into BCMS, with fewer than a fifth (16.3%) of the ASRVs being translated with a precise equivalent and retaining this feature. The remaining 83.7% of the translations marked with "-" in the table excluded the animal sense component and they substituted ASRVs with human noise verbs (cf. Table 1).

Another noticeable detail is that mistranslations outnumber not only precise equivalents, but also the cases of descriptive equivalence, transposition, and even synonymy. Almost a half of all 43 translations disregarded the animal feature, but also failed to reflect the presence and intensity of the visceral element (e.g. *growl* translated as *mumlati* is missing elements of volume, aggressiveness, etc.) contained within the source-language RV. On the other hand, through synonymy, only slightly over a quarter of the translations show the attempt to at least preserve the visceral element if not the intended animal sound. In his elaboration on synonymy as a translation procedure, Newmark states that "a synonym is only appropriate where literal translation is not possible and because the word is not important enough for componential analysis" (1988: 84). If we view the translations of the given 43 ASRVs in the light of this statement, we reach the conclusion that resorting to synonymy was unjustified due to the fact that the given noise verbs all have more precise equivalents in BCMS (e.g. *bellow* and *roar* as *rikati*, *croak* as *kreketati* or *graktati*, *growl* as *režati*, and *shriek* as *kreštati*). In light of Newmark's elaboration, we can also point out *the possibility* of synonymy being applied in the TL texts precisely because of the translators' underestimation of the ASRVs' role (or at least of their animal sense component) in the SL text.

It should be mentioned that the analysis was not as clear-cut as it may seem, as was the case with the translations of the verb *growl*. In three situations, this RV

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[2] Not only did they disregard the animal sense component, but they also failed to precisely include the visceral element present in the SL reporting verb.

[3] Of the 6 examples of transposition, 3 were part of couplets (combined with synonymy).

was translated with the phonically descriptive verb (*pro*)*mumlati*, two of which were in *Oliver Twist*. The first association of the BCMS verb is a human sound, although, upon checking its dictionary definition, it was discovered that the word *mumlati* can also refer to a sound produced by bears, for example.[4]

Consequently, a dilemma arose as to whether the translation of *growl* as *mumlati* was to be treated in the analysis as one retaining the animal sense component in these particular works. One of the ways to avoid the danger of subjectivity in that analysis was to look at all the instances of the verb *mumlati* as a translation of any occurring ASRVs and check for any existing patterns in its employment. Thus, the dilemma was resolved upon looking into the solution of the verb *croak*, which was also translated with the verb *mumlati*. This was a strong indicator that animal sounds such as *growl* and *croak* were not differentiated in translations and that, in the case of the verb *mumlati,* the focus was not kept on (the nuancing of) the animal sense component. Instead, a human sound was consistently used and is present in most cases throughout the translation (we also notice the synonyms (*pro*)*gunđati*, (*pro*)*mrmljati*, and *promrsiti* as translations of *growl*).

The aforementioned dilemma also led to the possible treatment of the verb (*pro*)*mumlati* as a translation of *growl* as an instance of synonymy, in which case the verbs *(pro)mrmljati* and *promrsiti* could have been seen as more acceptable solutions, as they are synonymous with the verb (*pro*)*mumlati*. Nevertheless, as previously elaborated, the misrepresentation of the animal feature was determined, resulting in the RV *(pro)mumlati* being treated as a case of mistranslation. Furthermore, if back-translated, (*pro*)*mumlati*, (*pro*)*gunđati*, (*pro*)*mrmljati*, and *promrsiti* end up in English as *mumble*, *grumble*, and *mutter*. Though some of these verbs do convey a note of displeasure or negativity, they do not remain faithful to the far more intense visceral elements of hostility and aggression, contained within the verb *growl* or its precise BCMS equivalent *režati*. Furthermore, the lack of the animal feature in the verbs (*pro*)*gunđati*, (*pro*)*mrmljati*, and *promrsiti* impacts the formation and interpretation of their respective literary characters, softening them and altering their emotional coloring. This is one of the main reasons why they are marked as mistranslations of the RV *growl*.

On the basis of what has been detected in these three novels, the animal sense component is frequently assigned less significance, and the same seems to

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[4] Vujanić, M., Gortan-Premk, D., Dešić, M., et al. (2011). *Rečnik srpskoga jezika*. Novi Sad: Matica srpska, pp. 729, 1052.

apply to the source-language RVs' visceral sense components. This is of questionable acceptability because the source-language RVs and the sounds they convey were purposefully employed by Dickens as a stylistic device with a specific function (San Segundo, 2017).

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS AND POSSIBLE FURTHER RESEARCH

The findings of this analysis suggest that, in the abovementioned novels, the translations of ASRVs interfere with the author's stylistic devices and their effectiveness. Considering the given suggestion, an entire topic for further research has emerged. By combining the principles of characterization in literature with an analysis of ASRVs as components of it, and by analyzing translations of English texts into BCMS, much can be learned about the skill and art of translation. First, since ASRVs lend a hue to a character's personation (i.e. how it is that he or she communicates with others), if the translation strategies employed preserve that hue, the emotional coloring will also surface in the TL. Conversely, elements of the character's personation will be lost. It follows then than further research could be done to discover how characters are perceived in the TL culture, if the readership's reaction to them is similar to that of the SL culture. Second, although the findings of this paper are interesting, it must be said that the sample used was limited. It is difficult to draw larger conclusions based on three books by one author and four translators. Using a large corpus of literary works in English that have been translated into BCMS should shed more light on the accuracy and consistency of translators.

Likewise, it should be noted that the SL texts were all at least 150 years old (the translations more than 40), and it would be useful to examine newer texts to see if the situation has changed. The lexical field of RVs is quite large in English. It would be worthwhile to examine a larger corpus to establish how large that field is in BCMS and to see whether those RVs are used with the same flexibility and frequency in BCMS texts. Moreover, it would be interesting to examine how translators of those texts into English cope with RVs of all sorts. Finally, the conclusions drawn from such studies would be quite useful to future translators, helping them to ensure accuracy and consistency.

Ema Pandrc, Randall A. Major

ŽIVOTINJSKI ZVUCI KAO UVODNI GLAGOLI U PREVODIMA SA ENGLESKOG NA SRPSKI

Rezime

Ovaj rad se bavi upotrebom uvodnih glagola koji se odnose na životinjske zvuke kao što su *režati*, *lajati*, *kreketati*, *graktati*, itd. Takvi glagoli se koriste u književnim tekstovima radi karakterizacije likova, tj. upotrebljavaju se da bi pisac efektnije istakao određene osobine datog lika. Stoga se može reći da je njihova uloga od izrazitog značaja i da se ona treba imati u vidu prilikom prevođenja književnih dela. Značaj ovog rada se, dakle, ogleda u korisnosti uvida u to koliko se u prevodima sa engleskog vodi računa o tačnosti i usaglašenosti uvodnih glagola ovoga tipa.

Krenuvši od hipoteze da se u većini slučajeva prevodioci opredeljuju za precizne ekvivalente da bi sačuvali karakterizaciju likova u ciljnom tekstu, sastavili smo elektronski korpus od tri romana Čarlsa Dikensa (*Oliver Tvist*, *Velika očekivanja* i *David Koperfild*), kako u originalu tako i u prevodu, da bismo stekli uvid u prevodilačka rešenja. Zatim smo sastavili spisak uvodnih glagola koji sadrže životinjske zvuke na engleskom i proverili koji od njih se javljaju u gorepomenutim romanima u originalu. Naredni korak je zahtevao obeležavanje i izdvajanje svih rečenica u kojima su pronađeni životinjski uvodni glagoli, što je obezbedilo uslove za narednu fazu rada: traženje prevoda datih rečenica i izdvajanje istih zarad detaljnije analize i poređenja sa njihovim originalom.

Sledeći korak podrazumevao je vršenje analize značenjskih komponenata prevedenih uvodnih glagola, i to u cilju dolaženja do tačnog broja prevodilačkih rešenja čije je značenje zadržalo životinjsku komponentu. Naravno, da bi se rešenje smatralo preciznim ekvivalentom, bilo je potrebno da, pored zadržavanja životinjske komponente, precizno prenese u ciljni jezik zvuk koji je autor zamislio. Poslednja faza analize predstavljala je određivanje prevodilačkih procedura koje su prevodioci upotrebili u slučajevima koje nismo tretirali kao precizne ekvivalente.

Engleski glagoli koje smo pronašli u ovim romanima su **bellow**, **croak**, **growl**, **roar**, i **shriek**, sve skupa upotrebljenih kao **uvodni** glagoli u 43 slučaja. Od toga, samo 16,3% činili su precizni ekvivalenti, dok je životinjska značenjska komponenta bila izuzeta u 83,7% slučajeva, što se primetno kosi sa uspostavljenom hipotezom. Naročito je interesantan i još jedan podatak izveden iz analize, a to je da je gotovo polovina glagola (48,9%) pogrešno prevedena. Zatim sledi upotreba sinonimije kao prevodilačke procedure, koja je prisutna u 25,6% slučajeva, transpozicija (13,9%, od kojih je pola kombinovano sa sinonimijom) i deskriptivna ekvivalencija (2,3%, tj. samo jedan slučaj). Nizak procenat slučajeva sinonimije i visok procenat pogrešnih prevoda takođe pokazuju da, pored životinjske komponente, zanemareno je i ophođenje i sveukupno psihofizičko stanje lika. Date brojke nas stoga dovode do zaključka da je uloga ove vrste uvodnih glagola potcenjena u

prevodima i da se odsustvo određenih značenjskih komponenti negativno odražava na njihov učinak kao stilskog sredstva. Posledica tog negativnog uticaja je ublažavanje i ometanje karakterizacije književnih likova.

Ključne reči: uvodni glagoli, životinjski zvukovi, karakterizacija, književna dela, prevodilačke procedure, značenjske komponente

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THE VARIETIES OF INTERTEXTUALITY IN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE ROLEPLAYING VIDEOGAMES[**]

This paper aims at demonstrating various forms of intertextuality as exemplified by selective excerption of samples from a corpus of narrative and user-interface elements of roleplaying videogames, or RPGs. We review several types of excerpts, by applying various scientific methods (description, comparison, qualitative and quantitative analysis, induction). These excerpts include: the virtual "books" that facilitate the immersion into the RPG world, while adhering to the stylistic requirements of the respective real-world genres; unique fantasy idioms in dialog lines spoken by RPG characters, with references to English phraseology; and finally, the titles of missions that the player needs to complete, which are often based on allusions to English proverbs or classical literature.

Key words: intertext, popular culture, videogames, RPG, roleplaying games, phraseology, English language

INTRODUCTION

While one might argue that the concept of intertextuality dates as far back as discussion of self-sustaining Logos by Greek philosophers such as Heraclitus (Bondar', 2006), the true groundwork for studying the phenomenon was laid by the Bulgarian-French poststructuralist Julia Kristeva, who offered the very term "intertextuality" (Kristeva, 2000) to describe the way any given text generates new meaning by referencing other texts. While Kristeva was speaking specifically of literary texts, the term may also be applied to texts as semiotic systems created in other fields, much as modern digital media.

Researchers (see, for instance, Lapshina, 20011) believe that, by including references to other texts, the author establishes contact with a certain audience,

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which, as the author believes, is capable of recognizing and interpreting these references correctly. Intertextual insertions are also able to convey information about the sphere of knowledge where they were taken from, and to highlight the connections and similarities between several texts. Furthermore, intertextual insertions create additional, deeper layers of meaning, enriching the text where they occur. Specifically, they may serve as elements of wordplay — i.e. the creative, non-canonical use of language that allows the author to express their linguistic individuality, as well as draw the audience's attention (Konovalova, 2008).

This paper aims to expand the previous studies of intertextuality by demonstrating, through the methods of description, comparison, qualitative and quantitative analysis, and induction, how intertextuality manifests itself in a relatively unexplored medium: videogames. This type of entertainment, which may be defined as computer software that comprises digital graphics, audio, and text, has firmly established itself as an integral part of today's popular culture.

A LINGUISTIC APPROACH TO VIDEOGAMES

Since the emergence of videogames in the 1960s, the academic community's attitude towards them has been divided. Some early works by Russian critics, for instance, described videogames as "indubitable champions of violence" intended to "stir the aggressive fantasies of young people" (Shestakov, 1988: 47–48). The first positive scholarly interpretation of videogames can be pinpointed to 2001, when a special conference on the subject of videogames was held in Copenhagen, Denmark, and the Swedish Research Council, together with the IT University of Copenhagen, began publishing the Game Studies journal, which aims to review videogames not only in terms of their technological aspect, but also in terms of their cultural and aesthetic significance. Since then, videogames have piqued the interest of researchers specializing in a diverse range of study areas, from information technology to psychology and education theory. However, linguistics has not yet accumulated a substantial research base on the subject of videogames.

One of the first scholars to study videogames from the linguistic point of view was the British researcher Astrid Ensslin. She has developed a classification of language used in videogames, as follows: language used by the gamers themselves for interacting during their videogame sessions, and discussing the games that they play; language used by videogame developers; language used by the media, politicians, activists, parents, teachers, and other outside parties as they discuss the sphere of gaming; language used within videogames, such as the user interface and

various narrative elements that build the game's plot (e.g. dialog uttered by videogame characters) and finally, language used in various supplementary materials, for instance videogame walkthroughs (Ensslin, 2012: 6). Our study will focus largely on the narrative elements of videogames and, to a lesser extent, the interface, where intertextuality is present in the titles of game missions (quests).

The research corpus has been extracted from videogames belonging to the role-playing genre (RPGs), namely five fantasy RPGs — two from the *Elder Scrolls* series (developed by Bethesda Softworks and Zenimax Online), and three from the *Dragon Age* series (developed by BioWare and published by Electronic Arts) — and three science fiction RPGs of the post-apocalyptic subgenre, from the *Fallout* series (developed by Bethesda Softworks). RPGs may be described as media where a person (the player) "through immersion into a role and the world of this role" — such as a computer-generated quasi-Medieval or futuristic space-themed setting — is given the opportunity "to participate in and interact with the contents of this world" (Hitchens, 2009). Such immersion is facilitated by vast amounts of textual material, which, as we have observed, often contains intertextual features.

INTERTEXT IN VIDEOGAMES

Inserted Texts

Firstly, the player may encounter intertext as it has been interpreted, among other researchers, by the distinguished Russian linguist Irina Arnol'd (1999), who views texts that have been created by the author "on behalf" of one of the characters as a form of intertext, since in this case, the entity that generates the text formally changes. One of the examples of this type of intertextuality cited by Arnol'd (ibid.) is the novel about Jesus (Yeshua) and Pilate, which has purportedly been written by the Master, one of the titular characters of Bulgakov's *The Master and Margarita*, and then gets interwoven into the framework of a different plotline, describing the chaos sown by the Devil and his entourage as they arrive in the pointedly atheistic Soviet Moscow, and the unholy company's encounter with the Master's lover Margarita. Thus, the Master's novel forms a text within a text, and may, from Arnol'd's point of view, be counted as an intertextual insertion (Arnol'd, 1999).

Insertions of this variety abound in videogames: as the player progresses through the plot, they may often encounter digitalized books, journal entries, notes, and other texts with authorship attributed to the game's characters. Sometimes studying these texts is obligatory for progressing further in the game: for instance, they may contain hints needed to solve a puzzle that the player has come across. On

certain occasions, however, in-game texts serve no purpose other than adding more depth to the virtual world that the player is exploring, and exhibit features typical of real-world texts that belong to the same genre.

As a sample comparison of in-game texts and real-world texts, let us consider some textual material found in *The Elder Scrolls V: Skyrim* videogame. Among the books that the player can "read" while progressing through this fantasy RPG, is a three-volume scholarly treatise titled *Dwarves*, which is presented as a monograph on one of the game world's fictional cultures. It fully complies with the functional specifics of academic writing, and meets the requirements that would have existed for a similar text in real life. These include: the use of highly literary, "bookish" vocabulary *(**plethora** of samples; discussion **pertaining** to dwarven machinery; **in lieu of** the more accurate term; [it] can be **inferred** from the writing),* impersonal constructions *(it would be erroneous to conclude),* participial constructions *(With that small point finished),* a great variety of conjunctions that ensure proper cohesion between sentences and clauses *(nevertheless)*, the so-called academic we *(In our previous discussion, **we** looked into the properties of dwarven architecture and metallic crafts)*, and even the serial (Oxford or Harvard) comma, which is listed as one of the recommendations for academic writing in The Chicago Manual of Style *([we see the Dwarves as a] careful, intelligent, industrious**, and** highly advanced culture).*

Similar features may also be found in other in-game texts that emulate academic writing. Looking at such texts in the *Mass Effect* series, where they are referred to as "codexes", we may point to the use of terminology for added authenticity: *The second **species** to join the Citadel, the Salarians are warm-blooded **amphibians** with a hyperactive **metabolism;** Turians come from an **autocratic** society; the Asari reproduce through a form of **parthenogenesis**…*

The emulations of other fiction and non-fiction genres in RPGs also successfully implement the characteristic features of the real-world written works that they are meant to reflect. An interesting example would be a sonnet found in the *Dragon Age: Inquisition* videogame. It is presented as a poetic account of a sorcerer who wanted to conjure a perfect bride for himself from the spirit realm — not unlike the sylphs found in real-world Romantic literature — but ended up transforming her into a cunning, cruel demonic creature.

> *When first I summoned her, she was a rose,*
> *Unwithering, unchanging, and unthorned,*
> *A spirit of the purest love one knows,*
> *Who never hated, coveted, or scorned.*

A second time I drew her 'cross the Veil,
And shared a walk, a dance, a stolen kiss;
With such a perfect beauty, pure and pale,
No woman could compare, no man resist.

Then in my weakness I essayed a third,
Tho' magisters their warnings did impart.

She broke my binding with a single word,
And said this smiling as she clutched my heart:
"Though love I was, your passion's changing fire
Has forged this spirit into cruel Desire."

A qualitative examination of this work of poetry clearly shows that it complies with the stylistic requirements of the real-world literary canon on several language levels. On the phonetic level, we encounter such typical features as alliteration and assonance *(unwithering, unchanging, and unthorned; perfect, pure and pale);* on the lexical level, again, we may come across some "bookish" vocabulary (such as *to essay* instead of *to attempt)* and metaphors *(she was a rose, your passion's changing fire);* and on the syntactical level, we observe ellipsis *(no woman could compare, no man resist)* and inversion *(when first I summoned her; though love I was).*

In addition to merely emulating real-life texts, in-game texts may also parody them. As an example, let us review the magazines and comics found in the *Fallout* game series. The player cannot peruse their contents and can merely examine the covers, but even those are characterized by humorous references to various popular magazines with domestic advice. Since the actual subject matter of the magazines is survival in the harsh post-apocalyptic environment, the comical effect is created through contrasting positive and negative vocabulary: *Farming The Wastes, The Bright Side of Radiation Poisoning, The Scrapyard Home Decoration Guide, Water Aerobics for Ghouls*, etc.

In-Game Idioms

Another variety of intertextuality that makes RPGs more immersive is the creation of unique idioms, which transform the existing English-language expressions to fit the RPG world. Russian scholars (see, for instance, Kornilov, 2003) have extensively studied idioms as "building blocks" of the so-called linguistic worldview, i.e. the way various peoples perceive the world and reflect

their perception through their respective languages. One may assume that the same is true of "artificial" idioms inserted into the speech of videogame characters. For the purposes of our study, we have collected over 280 such idioms. A qualitative analysis, as well as a comparative analysis of in-game idioms and their real-word counterparts has revealed that in-game idioms may be divided into several groups.

In the 280-item idiom wordlist, 59 idioms, or roughly 20% of our material, are expressive, sometimes even profane exclamations invoking the names of various deities or other elements of the supernatural. In the real world, they would be comparable to *God damn it! Go to hell! Jesus Christ on a bike!*, etc. Some examples include: *Y'ffre's bones! Maker's breath! By Stendarr's sweaty sword arm!* where Y'ffre, the Maker, Stendarr, and others are all names of fictional gods and spirits worshipped by the inhabitants of the respective RPG universes; or *I will send you to Sovngarde!, Void take you!,* where Sovngarde and the Void are terms for the afterlife.

The next group of idioms includes 57 expressions (or 19% of the total amount of idioms that we have gathered) that contain the names of various fictional animals. Again, we may observe a parallel with real-world idioms, which often have animal names (zoonyms, in Russian research terminology) among their components, as a result of historically close interactions between humankind and the animal world.

Animal metaphors have always been an effective way of embodying difficult-to-grasp abstract concepts. More than that, studies show that one of the first human artistic creations that does not merely copy nature, but also includes an element of imagination and metaphorical thinking, was a depiction of a human-like lion, the so-called Löwenmensch, which is currently a museum exhibit in the German city of Ulm (Coolidge–Wynn, 2011).

Some of the animal metaphors included into RPGs are, in fact, the transformed versions of actual English-language idioms that contain the names of animals which are very much real. Let us compare, for instance, expressions such as *to circle like vultures* and *to circle like cliffracers*; or *wild goose chase* and *wild guar chase*. The components that are used to replace the original zoonyms, *cliffracer* and *guar*, are both names of fictional reptilian creatures inhabiting the RPG world of the *Elder Scrolls* series, which could be described as culturally significant for the fictional peoples that reside close to their habitat. We must note that these creatures share some characteristics in common with vultures and geese respectively: cliffracers are wild predators and, possibly, scavengers, whereas guar are grazers that can be tamed and raised as livestock. Moreover, the alliteration

between the *goose* and *guar* components in our second example is also worth noting.

Apart from the animal world, real-world languages also source metaphors from the inanimate natural surroundings. Such metaphors also occur among idioms found in RPGs: 47, or 16% of them contain components denoting weather phenomena, landscape features, and so forth. The idioms found in the speech patterns of characters belonging to the fictional Argonian race from the *Elder Scrolls* series — a nation of sentient, humanoid reptiles that has settled in humid marshlands — are particularly noteworthy. Upon analyzing these idioms, inductive reasoning has allowed us to conclude that they are based around what George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (Lakoff–Johnson, 2003) call a conceptual metaphor: a means of understanding one broad concept by describing it through vocabulary that pertains to another concept. Lakoff and Johnson list such examples of conceptual metaphors as ARGUMENT IS WAR, TIME IS A RESOURCE, etc.

In the case of the fictional Argonian race, the conceptual metaphor would be LIFE/FATE IS A RIVER, which reflects the marshy landscape that these fantasy beings live in. Idioms that are based on this conceptual metaphor include: *Prying causes ripples in the river. I prefer my waters to remain still; The river has brought us here for a reason*, etc.

Another notable group of metaphorical idiomatic expressions, both in real world and in RPG dialog, includes idioms with components denoting various artefacts, such as tools, pieces of furniture, or, in the case of the material we have gathered, food. Among all the idioms in RPGs, 49, or 17% of all our empiric data, contain references to fictional dishes, which, just as in the case of zoonyms, reflect actual idioms found in the English language. A good example would be such idioms as *easy as blood berry pie* and *easy as scrib jelly pie,* which are found in the *Elder Scrolls* games and are both based on the real English expression *easy as pie.*

The use of components denoting body parts is also a prominent feature of phraseology, and approximately 13% of RPG idioms that we discovered do contain references to the anatomy of fictional human-like beings. Quite a few of those belong to low colloquial speech and slang, which is in line with the findings of researchers studying slang in the real world, who point out that the human body, especially those parts of it that are considered improper to talk about in polite society, is a wellspring of new slang creation. Consider, for instance, the expression *he is a bit of a cloaca,* based on the slang phrase *he is a bit of an asshole,* and found in the dialog of a reptilian alien creature from the *Mass Effect* fictional universe, whose physiology differs from that of humans.

Outside of slang, we should note idioms like *I am yanking your tusk*, which paraphrases the real-world expression *I am pulling your leg,* with the word *tusk* being a reference to the specific facial structure of the speaker, a character from the *Elder Scrolls Online* videogame, who belongs to the fictional Orc race, characterized by prominent boar-like tusks.

Quest Titles

Finally, we turn to consider intertextuality in the user interface of RPGs, where it is present as references inserted into the titles of missions the player needs to complete while advancing the plot.

These tasks are usually known as missions, or quests; the written description of a quest, which is logged into the player's in-game "journal", typically consists of a title and a brief overview of the objective that the player is to complete. While the objective is generally straightforward, giving the player a clear notion of what needs to be done, the quest's title quite often contains elements of wordplay that leverage the expressive potential of intertextuality. This may be explained by the fact that titles and headings perform a very specific cognitive function: according to Teun van Dijk, a heading creates a macrostructural representation of the text that is to follow it, preparing the audience for mentally processing the said text (van Dijk, 1988).

As a result, if the heading engages the audience by appealing to their background knowledge of the material that it is referencing, the likelihood of the recipient taking an interest in the text as a whole will increase, and the creator of the text will fulfill the goal of "urging" the potential recipient "into accepting the message" (Monsefi, 2016: 68). The linguistic and cognitive properties of intertextual insertions in headings have been widely studied in relation to the more traditional types of discourse, such as the language of mass media; this paper, in turn, aims to show that videogames also make use of intertext-based wordplay in a similar fashion.

In order to illustrate this point, we have managed to collect as many as 204 quest titles with intertextual insertions, sourced from the same set of games that we have outlined above. The vast majority of these quest titles (143 in all) contains references to English phraseology and set expressions. In a number of cases, the expressions that are being referenced undergo structural transformations, with one or more of their components being replaced with a lexical unit that either shares a morpheme with the component (pain in the neck -> *Pain in the Necklace*); rhymes with the component or is homonymous to it (lifting the veil -> *Lifting the Vale;* an axe to

grind -> *An Axe to Find*) or contains an element with a similar phonetic structure (smooth jazz -> *Smooth Jazbay,* where *jazbay* is the name of the fictional wild grapes that the player has to gather). The component of an idiom or set expression may also be replaced with its antonym (falling asleep -> *Falling Awake*). However, the prevailing tendency within the group of 143 quest titles that we have singled out is for the idiom or set expression to retain its outer structure, while its semantics is being enriched as the quest's plotline references the literal meaning of one of its polysemantic components.

For example, in *Elder Scrolls IV: Oblivion*, the player may receive a quest titled *A Brush with Death,* which involves saving an artist whose use of an enchanted paint brush has led to him getting trapped within one of his own paintings; whereas in *Dragon Age: Inquisition*, a quest titled *Seeing Red* is dedicated to destroying ominous red crystals that have a negative effect on the mind of those who approach them – thus, the quest title is a play on the literal meaning of the adjective "red" and the figurative meaning of the idiom "to see red" (become angry and lose self-control).

It is also worth noting that in *Fallout: New Vegas*, a postapocalyptic videogame that takes places where the American states of Nevada, California, and Arizona were once located, a substantial share of the quests has titles that reference various set expressions from the conceptual sphere of gambling *(Wild Card, The House Always Wins).* This may be attributed to the association that exists between the state of Nevada and gambling in the minds of native English speakers, especially speakers of American English. In addition, we must point out that the latter of the quest titles cited, *The House Always Wins,* also serves as a play on the name of the character that gives the quest, Mr. House.

The remaining 61 quest titles collected for the purposes of this paper contains references to a number of precedent texts and mass culture phenomena. When taking a closer look at this group of quest titles, we may see that some precedent texts serve as universal reference sources both for fantasy and science fiction RPGs, while others are referenced only within one of these two genres. Among the universal sources, we must first single out the Bible: references to this precedent text (13 in all) may be found in titles of quests both in fantasy RPGs *(My Brother's Keeper, Sins of the Father)* and science fiction RPGs *(We Are Legion, Render Unto Caesar).* It should be noted, however, that it is highly possible for today's native English speakers to have stopped recognizing certain intertextual insertions as references to the Bible, attributing them instead to other texts, as quotes from Biblical sources have been cited time and again throughout history by a large number of cultural and political figures. For instance, the quote *If a house is divided against itself, that house cannot stand* (Mark 3:25), which is referenced in the *A House Divided* quest in *Fallout IV*, made an appearance in one of

Abraham Lincoln's most famed speeches, while the quote *For now we see through a glass, darkly* (I Corinthians 13:12), which is referenced in the *Through a Nightmare, Darkly* quest in *Elder Scrolls IV: Oblivion*, has been used as a title of multiple works of literature.

In the case of fantasy RPGs specifically, the most notable source of intertextual insertions is the writing of J.R.R. Tolkien, which is cited in such quest titles as *Affairs of a Wizard, A Knife in the Dark,* and others. In addition, quest titles may contain intertextual insertions from the works of William Shakespeare *(Strange Bedfellows, What's in a Name,* etc.), classical poetry *(Promises to Keep),* Arthurian legends *(Spirit in the Lake),* and fairytales. We believe that an example of an intertextual insertion from the latter source needs to be reviewed separately, as it presents an interesting case of appealing to the audience's background knowledge. The example in question is a quest from *Dragon Age: Inquisition,* titled *Bring Me the Heart of Snow White.*

The quest, which entails hunting down a fantasy creature that is white in colour and extracting its heart, is given to the player by a powerful female enchantress, who does not disclose what she needs the heart for. The association with the evil queen ordering her huntsman to destroy Snow White may prompt the player to assume that the enchantress also needs the white creature's heart for nefarious purposes. In the end, however, the audience discovers that the enchantress' intentions are benevolent (and the quarry itself, incidentally, is a dangerous mythical beast, far from the defenseless young girl that appears in the fairytale). This subversion of the widely-known plot disrupts the linear scenario that the player was preparing for, thus forcing them to engage their mental processes more actively, and making the quest more memorable.

It is also worth noting that the specific geographical location of *Fallout: New Vegas*, which we emphasized before, prompts an extensive use of intertextual insertions from the cowboy folklore and Western films *(By a Campfire on the Trail, Wild Bill's Last Stand, They Went That-a-Way, Here Stands the Grass,* and *A Pair of Dead Desperados).*

CONCLUSION

We have met our goal of demonstrating three main varieties of intertextuality in roleplaying videogames: inserted texts, which clearly have a correlation with real-world literature; specially coined idioms, which also have counterparts in English phraseology and slang across several classification groups (including idioms with names of body parts, animal name, etc.) and even allow to reconstruct a conceptual metaphor; and names of missions (quests), which aim to capture the audience's attention through references to widely known cultural phenomena. Our classification of

intertextual insertions found in RPGs has also revealed how diverse such phenomena may be, ranging from the Bible and the works of William Shakespeare to cowboy songs.

Furthermore, we have showcased the various transformations that accompany the inclusion of intertextual references, both disrupting the linear narrative to alert the audience to the presence of intertextuality, and creating humorous roleplay. Such transformations are largely based on the systemic features of the English language, including the prevalence of homonymy and polysemy.

Our findings demonstrate that videogames, while being a rapidly developing contemporary type of entertainment, are closely interlinked with other products of human creativity, history, and culture. The existence of linguistic and cultural references, which presuppose the audience having a certain scope of background knowledge, may serve to disprove the claim that videogames dull the human intellect and promote the idea of mindless violence. The expressive use of language in videogames, especially those with a complex plot and an immersive virtual world, allows them to establish themselves as a valid subject of linguistic study.

Translating such intertextual elements of videogames from English into other languages may be a particularly promising area, as the cultural points of reference that are widely known to an English-speaking audience may be unfamiliar to videogame players from non-English-speaking countries.

Kseniia Bogdanova

VARIJETETI INTERTEKSTUALNOSTI U VIDEO-IGRAMA SA IGRANJEM ULOGA NA ENGLESKOM JEZIKU

Rezime

Cilj ovog rada je da prikaže tri tipa intertekstualnosti u savremenim video-igrama, koje definišemo kao tip softvera za zabavu sa elementima grafike, zvuka i pisanog teksta. Svrha studije je osvetljavanje načina na koje su video-igre sa igranjem uloga integrisane u popularnu kulturu, naročito kulturu zemalja engleskog govornog područja.

Sakupili smo tekstualne podatke, poput uzoraka korisničkog interfejsa i dijaloga likova, iz onlajn baza podataka posvećenih nekolikim video-igrama sa elementima fantazije i onima scifi karaktera sa igranjem uloga (koje su objavile istaknute američke i kanadske kompanije poput Electronic Arts i Bethesda Softworks) radi izdvajanja primera različitog intertekstualnog upućivanja na književnost pisanu na engleskom jeziku, popularnu kulturu i frazeologiju. Prvi tip takvog upućivanja, otkriven putem komparativne analize, jeste sličnost između virtuelnih knjiga koje igrač može „čitati" dok igra video-igru sa igranjem uloga i „stvarnih" objavljenih dela

književne i neknjiževne proze. Na primer, *Dwarves*, monografija iz *The Elder Scrolls V: Skyrim* koja je uključena u igru da poduči igrača o fikcionalnoj trci patuljaka, prati uputstva akademskog pisanja, poput onih u the Chicago Manual of Style, na svakom nivou teksta, od vokabulara i sintakse do izgovora.

Naredni varijetet intertekstualnosti koji smo pronašli u video-igrama sa igranjem uloga je vrsta idioma koji transformišu postojeće izraze iz engleskog jezika kako bi odgovarali svetu ovih igara (npr. reč „goose" u „wild goose chase" zamenjena je rečju „guar", koja označava stvorenje iz fantazije). Klasifikujemo takve idiome, pronađene u replikama iz dijaloga u igrama, prema aspektu sveta koji reflektuju (npr. geografija, biologija, itd) i nalazimo da neke od najvećih grupa među njima čine: idiomi sa imenima božanstava i upućivanjem na natprirodno, idiomi sa imenima životinja, idiomi sa imenima prirodnih pojava, idiomi sa imenima artefakata (naročito kulinarskih jela) i idiomi sa nazivima delova tela.

Treći i poslednji varijetet intertekstualnosti je element korisničkog interfejsa, odnosno nazivi ciljeva (koji se takođe nazivaju i misije ili potrage) koje igrač ispunjava kako bi napredovao u daljem zapletu igre. Kratki i ekspresivni, ovi naslovi su formulisani tako da budu upečatljivi i često su zasnovani na aluzijama na engleske poslovice, popularne filmove ili klasičnu literaturu. Bavimo se njima takođe koristeći kvantitativni metod kako bismo izdvojili najistaknutije izvore aluzija (poput Biblije ili dela Vilijama Šekspira).

Ključne reči: intertekst, popularna kultura, video-igre, video igre sa igranjem uloga, frazeologija, engleski jezik

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INVESTIGATING TEXT-PROCESSING SKILLS OF EFL STUDENTS: A COMPARISON OF EXPLICIT AND INFERENTIAL COMPREHENSION ITEMS[**]

The aim of this paper is to determine whether reading proficiency is a significant predictor of English as a Foreign Language learners' performance on reading test questions targeting explicit and inferential information when controlling for language proficiency. For this purpose, a total of 38 university students who are taking a course in English as a faculty requirement completed a reading comprehension test with items testing local textual information (locating facts, paraphrasing information, recognizing stated facts) and global textual information (identifying main idea and establishing connections). The participants were first divided into high- and low-proficiency groups based on their scores and then compared by means of a mixed between-within subjects analysis of covariance (ANCOVA). The results indicate that the participants varied in their ability to identify factual information and to make inferences based on stated information with respect to their reading proficiency, and, to a lesser extent, their overall foreign language proficiency, but not as a result of the interaction between these two factors. This finding offers practical support in favour of the Linguistic interdependence hypothesis, which proposes that reading performance in a foreign language is shared to a large degree with reading ability in a first language and with a general reading ability not tied to any specific language.

Key words: reading comprehension, foreign language proficiency, EFL, explicit items, inferential items.

1. INTRODUCTION

With the status of English as a *lingua franca* of tertiary education, the importance of English as a Foreign Language academic reading skills cannot be

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overstated. There is an increasing need for students to be able to read complex texts in English which place substantial cognitive demands on the reader. Students are required to process both lower level, i.e. literal information from the text, as well as higher level information, drawing conclusions, making predictions and inferences. The aim of this paper is to determine whether English language proficiency and reading proficiency are significant predictors of EFL learners' performance on reading test questions targeting local and global information.

2. READING COMPREHENSION

Various reading models have so far been proposed to account for foreign language (FL) reading comprehension, relying mainly on ideas established in L1 reading research. There are several reasons for this reliance. First, a far greater number of studies have been done in the context of L1 reading, primarily with English as the first language, than in the context of reading in a foreign, or even in a second language. Furthermore, practical implications and instructional guidelines derived from the results of empirical research are far more numerous in the context of reading in the first language than in a foreign language. Finally, notable changes in the teaching paradigm and methods of reading instruction stemming from the results of first language reading research have not been sufficiently translated into the context of the foreign language classroom, nor have they been adequately explored. The analysis of the L1 reading process, therefore, makes an indispensable starting point for any exploration of the reading context in a foreign language. Prominent examples of L1 reading models most often used in FL research include the interactive-compensatory model (Stanovich, 1980) and the cognitive processing model of real-life reading comprehension (Khalifa, & Weir, 2009).

Building on Rumelhart's model (1977), which describes reading as "a pattern [...] synthesized based on information provided simultaneously from several knowledge sources (e.g., feature extraction, orthographic knowledge, lexical knowledge, syntactic knowledge, semantic knowledge" (Stanovich, 1980: 35), Stanovich (1980) proposes the interactive-compensatory model by introducing the notion of compensation. Specifically, Stanovich draws on an earlier psycholinguistic reading model proposed by Coady (1979), who originally introduced the term compensation, stating that "weaknesses in one area can be overcome by strength in another" (Coady, 1979: 11) and explains how top-down processing can compensate for deficiencies in bottom-up language skills. By connecting interaction with compensation in reading, Stanovich explains the mechanisms in the reading process of both good and poor readers. A less successful

reader who does not understand the meaning of a particular word but is well versed in the subject matter of the text will compensate for inadequate linguistic knowledge by using his or her prior knowledge. On the other hand, a successful reader who is less familiar with the subject matter and content of the text will compensate for any potential comprehension weaknesses by capitalizing on their decoding skills. One of the drawbacks of the interactive-compensatory model lies in the fact that every reader can potentially achieve comprehension in reading by compensating for their weaknesses, so that, although the model is validated by the results of numerous studies, it lacks predictive power (Samuel, & Kamil, 2002; Urquhart, & Weir, 1998).

Khalifa and Weir (2009), on the other hand, propose a comprehensive cognitive processing model of reading comprehension, which accounts for real-life reading tasks that are usually tested in reading research and classroom contexts. The model takes into consideration the effects of context variables (including semantic and syntactic characteristics of reading passages, their structure and organization, the purpose of the test), as well as learner characteristics (readers' physiological and psychological states, their reading background) on internal reading processes (Lim, 2017). Internal reading processes include executive processes (lexical access, parsing, inferencing, synthesizing), cognitive resources (linguistic knowledge), and monitoring of established goals and comprehension breakdowns (Lim, 2017). According to the model, reading can take place at the local or global level, and can be either careful or expeditious (Khalifa, & Weir, 2009). Local comprehension occurs at the "level of decoding (word recognition, lexical access, and syntactic parsing) and establishing propositional meaning" (Khalifa & Weir, 2009: 45). In contrast, global comprehension includes understanding the main ideas of an entire text and recognizing text structure. Careful reading represents "slow, careful, linear, and incremental reading for comprehension" (Khalifa, & Weir, 2009: 46), the aim of which is to achieve complete meaning from a given text. It is important to keep in mind, as Lim (2017) points out, that careful reading is the default type of reading that most reading theories and studies tracking eye movement have investigated. "Expeditious reading, however, refers to quick, selective, and efficient reading to locate specific information" (Lim, 2017: 484).

With respect to our understanding of reading processes by means of empirical investigation, the model is particularly valuable as it operationalizes cognitive processing in reading in terms of hierarchically arranged levels of complexity. Tasks requiring lower level cognitive processing include word matching, synonym and word-class matching, grammar/syntax tasks (using

grammatical knowledge to disambiguate or identify the answer) and propositional meaning (using knowledge of lexis and grammar to understand the meaning of the sentence) (Khalifa, & Weir, 2009). Tasks which require the activation of higher order cognitive processing include inferencing, building a mental model and understanding text function (text structure and purpose) (Khalifa, & Weir, 2009). The model further identifies multiple reading comprehension types taking into consideration that the reader may engage fairly different cognitive processes or combinations of processes when reading for different purposes (Kong, 2019). Drawing on work of Carver (1997), Goldman (1997), Enright, Grabe, Koda, Mosenthal, Mulcahy-Ernt, & Schedl, (2000) and Perfetti (1997), Grabe (2009: 7-9) provides a list of six different purposes of reading which prompt the activation of different reading processes, including reading (1) to search for information, (2) to learn, (3) to integrate information, (4) to evaluate, critique and use information, (5) for quick understanding and (6) for general comprehension. In Khalifa and Weir's (2009) cognitive processing model, metacognitive activities such as goal setting and goal monitoring are crucial in determining the types and levels of reading and, in turn, the relative importance of the associated mental processes (Lim, 2017).

2.1. Foreign language reading comprehension

Turning to issues related to reading comprehension in the context of foreign language use, during the 1990s a new research question was formulated concerning the development and acquisition of foreign language reading skills, which resulted in a dual approach to analyzing the reading process: Is foreign language reading a linguistic or a reading issue?

According to the Linguistic threshold hypothesis, reading comprehension breakdowns and low success rates in reading tasks are attributed chiefly to lower levels of linguistic development in the foreign language (Alderson, 1984). If a reader does not possess sufficiently developed skills in processing foreign language vocabulary and syntax, then a heavier cognitive load will be placed on the processes of decoding and syntactic and semantic extraction of meaning, leaving fewer cognitive resources at disposal for higher order processes necessary for a holistic comprehension of the reading passage. "Limited control over the language short circuits the good reader's system causing him/her to revert to poor reader strategies" (Clarke, 1988: 120). The reader must, therefore, reach a certain level of knowledge of a foreign language, in order to be able to read in that language. The hypothesis further introduces the concept of a linguistic threshold, which represents a metaphorical line the reader must cross so as to successfully transfer their skills

developed by reading texts in the first language to foreign language reading situations. The hypothesis, however, asserts that this transfer does not necessarily take place.

On the other hand, according to the Linguistic interdependence hypothesis, "reading performance in a second language is largely shared with reading ability in a first language" (Bernhardt & Kamil, 1995: 17). Reading skills developed by reading in the first language can be transferred to reading in a foreign language largely because reading skills are principally connected and essentially equal, so that the reader, having developed a certain reading skill in the first language, does not have to learn the same skill once he or she starts reading in the foreign language. Block (1992: 322) further maintains that, since readers use already acquired skills when they are reading in a foreign language, certain aspects of the reading process are easily transferred from one language to another. This is chiefly possible since reading skills are influenced both by foreign language proficiency and by a general reading skill not connected to any particular language. Namely, foreign language proficiency concerns the lower cognitive processes, such as comprehension of syntactic and semantic information and the formation of the microstructure and the textual model of the text, whereas the independent reading skill has an effect on the formation of the situation model of the text and is active during higher cognitive processes.

Bernhardt (2011) provides an overview of research that has raised the aforementioned research question over the years, examining it in different languages (Spanish, French, English and Turkish, among others) and with participants of different ages (children, adolescents and adult respondents). In most cases, the authors come to a similar conclusion – reading proficiency in the first language, including a general literacy skill not connected to a specific language, are significant predictive factors in the development of reading proficiency in a foreign language, with up to twenty percent of comprehension related to the first language. First language literacy represents a complex set of variables that include different ways in which readers' native languages encode propositions, form the structure of the text, the purpose for which readers read, their attitudes toward reading etc. The reader's level of literacy is of great importance in determining what they will be able to achieve when reading in a foreign language. Readers who have difficulty reading in their first language are likely to have similar difficulties when reading in a foreign language; conversely, any knowledge and reading skills acquired in the first language will not have to be re-acquired when starting to read in a foreign language. Research has further shown that readers' knowledge of a foreign

language participates with up to thirty percent in the development of reading skills. This includes the knowledge of grammar and vocabulary, similarities and differences between L1 and FL, the value a person attaches to reading, etc. Thus, fifty percent of the process of developing reading skills in a foreign language is explained. Finally, the unexplained variance in the foreign language reading model is hypothesized to include all the individual factors with which the reader interacts with the text, including higher cognitive processes, such as situational model formation, executive control, and strategic processing. The most important contribution of the model is that it reconciles the notion of language threshold versus linguistic interdependence, emphasizing that both language proficiency as well as literacy processes are involved in comprehension (Bernhardt, 2011).

What remains unanswered is how the components of the model proposed by Bernhardt (2011), namely, language proficiency and literacy, interact with different purposes of reading which trigger activation of either lower- or higher-level cognitive processes, as put forth by Khalifa and Weir (2009). Thus, this paper is aimed at investigating whether proficiency in the English language together with developed reading skills can account for the comprehension of English academic texts at the local and the global level.

3. METHODOLOGY

The central question in this study asks whether the participants from two different proficiency groups vary in their performance on reading comprehension items targeting two reading skills, namely (1) identifying factual information and (2) drawing conclusions and making inferences. The set of two null-hypotheses are formulated in the following manner:

H0(1) – Reading Proficiency, English Proficiency and the interaction between these factors do not significantly influence the students' scores on reading comprehension items targeting Explicit/Local information.

H0(2) – Reading Proficiency, English proficiency and the interaction between these factors do not significantly influence the students' scores on reading comprehension items targeting Inferential/Global information.

3.1. Participants

A total of 38 students studying at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad who were taking a course in English as a faculty requirement took part in the research reported in this paper. The sample of students included both male

(N=13) and female students (N=25) between the ages of 18 and 22. With respect to the criterion of the year of study, the participants were both first-year (N=18) and second-year students (N=20).

Furthermore, all the participants were placed on the B2 level of *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* based on the results of the Quick Pen and Paper Test (Oxford University Press/University of Cambridge/Association of Language Testers in Europe, 2001) which they took at the beginning of the academic year.

3.2. Instrument

The data was collected by means of TOEFL IBT (ETS, 2009) and Quick Pen and Paper Test (Oxford University Press/University of Cambridge/Association of Language Testers in Europe, 2001). For the purposes of this research, TOEFL IBT included only the reading section of the test, the aim of which was to assess the students' ability to understand academic texts in English (Cohen, & Upton, 2006: 104-106). Specifically, the section of TOEFL that assesses EFL reading skills is designed to replicate the types of tasks that university students face when reading in an academic context (Jamieson, Jones, Kirsch, Mosenthal, & Taylor, 1999: 11). In order to gather data regarding the dependent variables, the following two groups of questions were included:

- Local/explicit items – this group included questions that tested the students' ability (1) to locate factual information that was explicitly stated in the text, (2) to distinguish information that was true from information that was not true or not included in the text, and (3) to identify the meanings of individual words or phrases as they are used in the text.

- Global/inferential items – this group included three general types of questions: (1) inference questions, that tested the students' ability to draw conclusions about information that is implied but not explicitly stated in the passage, (2) text insert questions, in which a new sentence was provided and the students were asked to place that sentence into the text where it would best fit, and (3) prose summary questions, which asked students to identify major ideas from the text and distinguish them from minor ideas or from ideas that were not presented in the text.

For each question, the students were required to choose the best answer among four possibilities. The total number of questions targeting Local information

was eight (with a possible maximum score of 8), whereas there were five questions targeting Global information (with a maximum possible score of 5).

3.3. Variables

The independent variable in the study was the students' Reading Proficiency operationalized as their achievement on the reading test. The control variable was the students' English Proficiency, indicated by their scores on the placement test.

The dependent variables in the research included Local items (factual and negative factual questions, as well as vocabulary questions) and Global items (inference, insert text and prose summary questions).

3.4. Procedure

The research took place at the beginning of the academic year. The students completed the reading section of the TOEFL IBT (ETS, 2009) and the Quick Pen and Paper Test (Oxford University Press/University of Cambridge/Association of Language Testers in Europe, 2001) during a single 90-minute session. For each student, mean scores, medians and standard deviations were computed for both measures. Median scores were then used as a cut-off point between high- and low-proficiency groups for both proficiency measures. The resulting groups were compared by means of a between-subjects analysis of factorial ANOVA. In performing this statistical test, it is possible to answer questions about mean differences between populations as defined by either factor, as well as to ascertain whether the effects of each factor are additive, i.e. whether there is any interaction between the factors (Landau, & Everitt, 2004). The data were processed using SPSS 20.0 statistical software.

4. RESULTS

The results of descriptive tests for both the dependent and the independent variables are given in Table 1.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics

	English Proficiency	Reading Proficiency	Explicit Items	Inferential Items
Minimum	29	4	1	1

Maximum	55	12	8	4
Mean	40.53	9.04	5.88	3.16
SD	6.03	1.96	1.56	0.82
Median	41	9	6	3
Skewness	.017	-.596	-.728	-.628
Std. Error of Skewness	.374	.383	.374	.374
Kurtosis	-.375	.463	1.103	-.330
Std. Error of Kurtosis	.733	.750	.733	.733

Preliminary results of testing for the normality of distribution indicate that the data is either moderately skewed (values between −1 and −½ or between +½ and +1) or approximately symmetric (values between −½ and +½,) and that the excess kurtosis in the tested variables shows both positive results, indicating more outliers than normality, and negative, indicating fewer outliers. A comparison of these results with the results of their respective standard errors reveals that there are no values that exceed the score higher than three times their respective standard errors, which is considered acceptable in proving normal univariate distribution.

Two factorial ANOVAs were conducted to compare the main effects of Reading Proficiency, English Proficiency and the interaction between Reading Proficiency and English Proficiency on students' performance on Local and Global reading comprehension items, respectively. Both Reading Proficiency and English Proficiency included two levels (high- and low-scorers) (Table 2).

Table 2: Between-subjects factors

		N
English Proficiency	Low	20
	High	18
Reading Proficiency	Low	20
	High	18

A cross-tabulation of mean scores and standard deviations for the students' scores on Local and Global items is shown in Table 3. On Local items, where the highest possible score was 8, the lowest mean was found with the students

belonging to both the low-proficiency English subsample and the low-proficiency reading subsample, whereas the highest mean was recorded with the students belonging to both high-proficiency subsamples. On the other hand, with Global items, where the highest possible score was 5, the lowest score was found with students who were in the high-proficiency language subsample, but in the low-proficiency reading subsample, while the highest recorded mean remained in the same group as with the Local items (high English Proficiency, high Reading Proficiency). Overall, the results indicate that the mean scores on both types of comprehension questions are lower in the low-proficiency reading group.

Table 3: Cross-tabs of mean scores for dependent variables of Local items and Global items

Reading Proficiency	English Proficiency	Local items		Global items	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Low	Low	4.31	1.32	2.88	0.96
	High	5.86	0.69	2.57	0.73
	Total	4.85	1.35	2.78	0.88
High	Low	6.86	0.69	3.29	0.70
	High	7.18	0.98	3.73	0.41
	Total	7.06	0.87	3.56	0.57
Total	Low	5.20	1.67	3.03	0.88
	High	6.67	1.08	3.28	0.79
	Total	5.89	1.59	3.14	0.84

In order to test the significance of the effects of independent variables on the students' reading scores, a two-way analysis of variance was conducted for both of the dependent variables. From the distribution of the participants presented in Table 2, it is clear that the factorial design was unbalanced. Therefore, the Type III option was selected in SPSS as the model for determining the sums of squares, as suggested by some authors as a means of mitigating the potential effects of unbalanced sample sizes (Maxwell, & Delaney 1990).

The results of between-subjects effects for the dependent variable of Local items yielded a significant main effect for the factor of English Proficiency ($F(1, 37)=7.290$, $p<.05$, $\eta_p^2=.17$), suggesting that students' mean scores on the Explicit

items vary between high- and low-scorers (Table 4). Furthermore, there was a significant main effect of the factor Reading Proficiency ($F(1, 37)=31.150$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=.48$), implying that mean scores on Local items also differ significantly between high- and low-scoring participants. We found no statistical evidence of an interaction between Reading Proficiency and English Proficiency; thus, the effect of developed proficiency in the reading skill on the students' scores on items targeting explicit textual information does not vary significantly with more developed knowledge of the English language. The effect sizes for both main effects, reported above as partial eta-squared, are considered large (Cohen, 1988). Fitted ANOVA model is able to explain 61.4% of the variance in the scores on explicit items. In humanities research, this is generally considered to be a high value, indicating strong relationships between explanatory factors and the results on Local items.

Table 4: Tests of Between-Subjects Effects for Local Items

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p	η_p^2	Observed Power[b]
English Proficiency	7.744	1	7.744	7.290	.011	.177	.746
Reading Proficiency	33.092	1	33.092	31.150	.000	.478	1.000
English Proficiency * Reading Proficiency	3.307	1	3.307	3.113	.087	.084	.403
Corrected Total	93.579	37					
a. $R^2=.614$ (Adjusted $R^2=.580$)							
b. Computed using alpha = .05							

Further pairwise comparisons reveal that the students from the high-proficiency reading group are estimated to score 1.937 points higher than the low proficiency group (95% CI from 1.232 to 2.642 points).

The results of the influence of the two independent variables (Reading Proficiency and English Proficiency) on the students' scores on Global items (see Table 5) reveal a statistically significant effect at the .01 significance level only for Reading Proficiency; the main effect yielded an F ratio of $F(1, 37)=9.614$, $p<.01$, $\eta_p^2=.22$, indicating a significant difference between low-scorers (M=2.73, SD=.17) and high-scorers (M=3.51, SD=.18). The effect size, reported as partial eta-squared, is considered large (Cohen, 1988).

Table 5: Tests of Between-Subjects Effects for Global Items

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p	η_p^2	Observed Power[b]
English Proficiency	.036	1	.036	.065	.800	.002	.057
Reading Proficiency	5.345	1	5.345	9.614	.004	.220	.854
English Proficiency * Reading Proficiency	1.256	1	1.256	2.259	.142	.062	.309
Corrected Total	25.954	37					
a. R^2=.272 (Adjusted R^2=.207)							
b. Computed using alpha = .05							

Further pairwise comparisons reveal that students from the high-proficiency reading group are estimated to score on average .778 points higher than the low-proficiency group (95% CI from .268 to 1.289). Neither the main effect for English Proficiency ($F(1, 37)$=.065, $p>.05$), nor the interaction effect ($F(1, 37)$=1.256, $p>.05$) were significant. Fitted ANOVA model is able to explain 27.2% of the variance in the score on the inferential items.

5. DISCUSSION

The aim of this paper was to explore the relative effects of two factors that have so far been found to be important in achieving reading comprehension in the foreign language, namely language proficiency and literacy, on the students' ability to answer comprehension questions that targeted local information, i.e. information that was explicitly stated in the text, and global information, i.e. information which required readers to draw conclusions, make inferences and create an accurate situational model of the text as a whole.

Overall, students varied in their ability to answer both explicit and inferential questions, with higher success rates found for explicit items regardless of the students' proficiency levels. The least successful in answering explicit questions were students who were both in low-proficiency EFL subsample and low-proficiency literacy subsample, whereas the highest scores were recorded with the students belonging to both high-proficiency subsamples, which was a result that was expected. One unexpected finding was related to the least successful subsample in answering global questions. What is curious is that the students who were in the

low literacy group, but high language proficiency group scored the lowest, a finding that will be discussed further on in the text.

Concerning the results of the effects of the two investigated factors on the students scores on explicit items, it is clear that the students varied in their ability to answer questions based on both proficiency levels. The results indicate that tasks which required readers to identify stated facts and recognize important details that are explicitly stated in the text and, by means of various stylistic devices, marked as important are directly connected with both the reader's knowledge of the foreign language and the level of the development of their reading skills. Overall, the students from the low-proficiency reading group were less successful than the high-proficiency reading group regardless of the language proficiency level, further confirmed by a larger effect size of this factor, when compared to the language proficiency variable. This finding would also suggest that, even though the students' knowledge of a foreign language plays a role in correctly answering questions which target information that is explicitly stated in the text, or that focuses on understanding the meanings of words and phrases, general reading skills were found to be more influential. This is also only a partial confirmation of the relative contribution of each factor in Bernardt's (2011) hypothesized model of foreign language reading comprehension, according to which it is foreign language proficiency that accounts for a greater amount of variation in reading skill than literacy.

Turning to the results investigating students' scores on global questions, it was revealed that the only significant effect can be attributed to reading proficiency, with high-proficiency reading subsample significantly outscoring the low-proficiency reading subsample. No effects were found for English language proficiency or the interaction between the two factors. For a possible interpretation of this result we should turn back to Khalifa and Weir's (2009) cognitive processing model of reading comprehension and its hierarchically organized cognitive mechanisms active while reading. Namely, in order to correctly answer global tasks, readers must activate higher-order cognitive processes, including drawing accurate inferences from implicit textual information and understanding text structure and purpose. While a more highly developed linguistic knowledge would certainly not be a disadvantage in achieving a holistic understanding of the text, the results reveal that it is not language proficiency, but literacy that is crucial in creating appropriate mental representations of the text. Good readers are sensitive to the organizational structure connected with different types of texts or to stylistic and rhetorical cues, such as cohesive elements; in other words, good readers are able to

compensate linguistic deficiencies while reading a text in a foreign language by drawing on their previous knowledge and reading experiences in order to build accurate text and/or situational models of reader interpretation and undertake executive control (Grabe, 2009). On the other hand, poor readers, who fail to accurately interpret global cues in reading passages, are not able to compensate for the weaknesses in their reading skills by developed linguistic knowledge, thus failing to activate higher cognitive processes and to provide accurate answers to global questions. This interpretation also offers a possible explanation of the unexpected result mentioned above, according to which high-proficiency, low-reading subgroup scored the lowest.

On the whole, the lower-proficiency reading group had more difficulty answering questions that required a holistic understanding of the text regardless of their level of English language proficiency, suggesting that low-level readers process text using bottom-up strategies. This finding offers practical support in favour of the Linguistic interdependence hypothesis, which proposes that reading performance in a foreign language is to a large degree dependent on a general reading ability not connected to any particular language. Other studies have come to a similar conclusion, pointing out that readers who read in a foreign language find it easier to make local connections in texts (Becker, 2016; Hansen, & Jensen, 1994; Shohamy, & Inbar, 1991) as opposed to readers who read in their first language, and often have difficulty recognizing cohesion signals, such as linking devices and anaphores (Carrell, 1988; Devine, 1988; Mackay, 1979).

6. CONCLUSION

The research reported in this paper looked into issues concerning the influence of different types of knowledge, i.e. foreign language proficiency and literacy, on the success EFL readers achieve when answering comprehension questions which target information that is explicitly or implicitly stated in the text. The results indicated that the readers varied in their ability to identify factual information and to make inferences based on stated information with respect to their reading proficiency, and, to a lesser extent, their overall foreign language proficiency, but not as a result of the interaction of these two factors. An important conclusion also concerns the issue of compensation, as proposed by Stanovich (1980) and adopted by Bernhardt (2011) for foreign language reading contexts. Namely, the results revealed that, when dealing with global comprehension tasks, good readers were able to compensate for their linguistic deficiencies by relying on their developed reading skills, but poor readers were not able to compensate for

their less developed reading abilities by relying on their developed linguistic knowledge.

The limitations of the study reported in the paper are numerous. Apart from the threats that commonly apply in this type of research, including subjects effects (students not having optimal level of motivation to complete the proficiency tests, and/or feeling the effects of their current physiological states), as well as test bias, in terms of the topic of the text which may be more familiar to some students and less to others, the main limitation concerns the EFL level of the participants. It is quite possible that lower levels, especially the beginning level, would provide a confirmation of the Linguistic threshold hypothesis. This limitation is due to practical reasons, as the students at this level were the only ones who took a standardized reading comprehension test as part of their syllabus, so that the organization and implementation of data collection interfered the least with their lessons. This limitation is, hopefully, mitigated by the fact that a standardized reading comprehension test such as TOEFL IBT takes into account the testee's language level and creates the reading tasks that are adapted to higher linguistic demands which the learners are expected to meet at B2 level.

Despite the limitations, a potential contribution of the study may be best recognized in the practical implications that follow from its results. Most importantly, the research has shown that the reading skill is not solely tied to language proficiency. Students can overcome language problems by employing compensatory reading strategies, such as elaboration, world-knowledge, making inferences, all of which can be taught. In light of this, the paper ends with a recommendation for EFL teachers to explicitly work on students' metacognitive awareness and strategic competence.

Jagoda P. Topalov

ISTRAŽIVANJE VEŠTINE ANALIZE TEKSTA NA ENGLESKOM KAO STRANOM: POREĐENJE EKSPLICITNIH I IMPLICITNIH ZADATAKA

Rezime

Ovaj rad ima za cilj da ponudi odgovor na pitanje da li, ukoliko kao faktor kontrolišemo znanje engleskog jezika, nivo razvoja veštine čitanja predstavlja značajan prediktor uspeha koji studenti koji uče engleski jezik kao strani postižu prilikom rešavanja zadataka na testu razumevanja teksta koji su usmereni na lokalne, odnosno eksplicitno navedene informacije, s jedne strane, i globalne, odnosno informacije koje zahtevaju izvođenje zaključaka i razumevanje celovitosti teksta, njegove strukture i svrhe, s druge? U tu svrhu, ukupno 38

studenata koji pohađaju nastavu engleskog jezika kao izbornog predmeta na Filozofskom fakultetu u Novom Sadu uradilo je test razumevanja teksta koji se sastojao od pitanja koji testiraju lokalne tekstualne informacije (lociranje činjenica, parafraziranje informacija, prepoznavanje navedenih činjenica) i globalne tekstualne informacije (identifikovanje glavnih ideja i uspostavljanje referentnih veza). Učesnici su prvo podeljeni na uspešne i manje uspešne čitaoce na osnovu rezultata testiranja, a zatim su upoređeni pomoću analize kovarijanse (ANCOVA). Rezultati pokazuju da se učesnici razlikuju u sposobnosti identifikovanja činjenične informacije i izvođenja zaključaka na osnovu navedenih informacija spram nivoa razvoja veštine čitanja, a u manjoj meri i spram nivoa poznavanja stranog jezika, ali ne i kao rezultat interakcije između ova dva faktora. Ovaj rezultat nudi praktičnu podršku u korist hipoteze jezičke međuzavisnosti, koja predlaže da je čitanje na stranom jeziku u velikoj meri povezano sa veštinom čitanja na maternjem jeziku i sa nezavisnom veštinom čitanja koja nije vezana za neki određeni jezik. Pored toga, studenti sa slabijim nivoom znanja jezika i nedovoljno razvijenom veštinom čitanja imali su više poteškoća pri rešavanju zadataka koja su zahtevala holističko razumevanje teksta, što navodi na zaključak da ovi čitaoci obrađuju tekst koristeći strategije odozdo prema gore.

Ključne reči: razumevanje teksta, znanje stranog jezika, engleski kao strani, eksplicitne informacije, implicitne informacije.

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ESP SPEAKING STRATEGIES AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE ANXIETY IN HIGHER EDUCATION CLASSROOM[**]

The study examines the undergraduate students' perceived use of foreign language speaking strategies, their levels of foreign language anxiety, and the potential relationships between them. Two instruments were used in the study—Inventory of Speaking Strategies in a Foreign Language, based on the instrument Strategy Inventory in Foreign Language Learning, and Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale. The results showed that students' overall perceived use of speaking strategies in English as a foreign language for specific purposes was frequent. The findings also revealed that the students' foreign language anxiety was at a medium level; individual performance anxieties remained at the same medium levels. A few differences were found between the low-anxious and high-anxious groups on the speaking strategy use: the former uses circumlocutions and synonyms when stuck with a word in English more frequently while the latter is paying attention more often when someone is speaking in English. The results also suggest that the medium-anxious group uses gestures when unable to think of a word during a conversation in English less frequently than the low-anxious group.

Keywords: anxiety, English for specific purposes, foreign language, speaking, strategies

1. INTRODUCTION

Since the 1970s, many researchers and practitioners in the field of foreign language learning/second language acquisition have been aware of the importance of using language learning strategies to achieve command over foreign language skills

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(Rubin, 1975; Stern, 1975; O'Malley–Chamot–Stewner-Manzanares–Russo, & Kupper, 1985: 557). Language learning strategies, in addition to intelligence, aptitude, and learning styles, are cognitive factors that can be the root cause of a student's inability to reach the desired level of foreign language proficiency. Using the skill-based approach, language learning strategies are viewed in terms of their role in the receptive skills of listening and reading, as well as the productive skills of speaking and writing (Oxford, 1990; Cohen, 2010). Speaking strategies, which are viewed as the means used to operationalize speaking skills (Cohen, 2014), are assumed to improve foreign language proficiency substantially and spoken performance in particular. The affective variables, such as beliefs and attitudes, anxiety, interests, motivation, and inhibition, have also been recognized as one set of critical factors used to explain varying degrees of success among foreign language learners (Samimy, 1994: 29-30).

Many learners are eager to learn a new language, and yet, they consider it a challenging task and often describe and consider it an uncomfortable experience. Hence, researchers have shifted the focus on learners' emotional responses to learning a foreign language and their impact on classroom performance. Affective variables include language learning anxiety, which has been widely investigated over the last three decades (Horwitz, 2010). Foreign language anxiety manifests itself in a foreign language learning context where learners may experience the worry and negative emotional reaction aroused when learning a new language (MacIntyre, 1999: 27). A body of literature has suggested that a high level of foreign language anxiety interferes with foreign language learning (Horwitz–Horwitz, & Cope, 1986; MacIntyre–Gardner, 1994; Ohata, 2005; Young, 1991), and a sentiment of worry during language activities (speaking in particular) in the classroom seems to be the commonly identified among the obstacles of foreign language fluency (Gkonou, 2014). According to Lucas, Miraflores, and Gou (2011), foreign language learners seek to equip themselves with learning strategies that help them not only to learn the target language but also to cope with their language learning anxieties.

Studies investigating the relationship between strategy use and foreign language anxiety have shown that the students who have lower levels of foreign language anxiety used language learning strategies more than those with higher levels of language anxiety (Olivares-Cuhat, 2010; Pawlak, 2011; Sioson, 2011), although other studies have suggested that foreign language anxiety has less influence on language strategies than other variables, such as students' motivation or attitudes towards the learning context (MacIntyre–Noels, 1996).

The aim of the present study is to determine how biotechnology engineering students behave when they speak in English as a foreign language for specific purposes by examining their perceived use of speaking strategies. It also aims to investigate the potential relationships between students' levels of foreign language anxiety and their perceived use of EFL speaking strategies, or more specifically, which types of speaking strategies learners at different levels of language anxiety use. Whether students who are less or more anxious than other students use language speaking strategies more frequently is worth a closer examination. Understanding these areas may contribute to the understanding of advantages and limitations regarding the development of students' ability to learn to speak English in the context of foreign language instruction in the field of biotechnical sciences.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. Language learning strategies and EFL speaking strategies

There are many language learning strategy definitions in the literature. One of the earliest researchers in the field of foreign/second language learning, Rubin, defined foreign language learning strategies as "techniques or devices that learners apply in order to acquire knowledge of a foreign language" (Rubin, 1975: 43). Language learning strategies are also defined as "specific actions or techniques that students use, often intentionally, to improve their progress in developing foreign language skills" (Green–Oxford, 1995: 262). Language learning strategies are purposeful, situated (in a real setting) mental actions, used by learners to meet learning needs; they are sometimes observable, helping learners in developing self-regulation, completing tasks in a foreign/second language, and moving forward foreign/second language proficiency; language learning strategies are dynamic, complex, and fluid (they are not part of rigid categories or used only for certain functions), used consciously or at least partially consciously; they can be discussed in terms of functions (metastrategic, cognitive, emotional/affective, motivational, and social), and they can be taught, assessed, and researched (Oxford, 2017). The ultimate goal of language learning strategies is to promote language proficiency (Tudor, 1996) so that the learner can use the language outside the classroom.

Grouping strategies involve two notable approaches:

1. categorization according to their psychological functions into memory, cognitive, compensation, metacognitive, affective, and social strategies (Oxford, 1990); and

2. categorization according to the skill area to which they relate, into listening and reading strategies (receptive skills), speaking and writing strategies (productive skills), vocabulary learning, and translation strategies (Cohen 2010), grammar learning strategies (Oxford, 2017; Pawlak, 2018a), strategies for learning pragmatics (speech acts) (Cohen, 2005).

In this study, speaking strategies are tools used by foreign language learners to solve any communication problems when speaking in a foreign language. They are used to practice speaking, engage in a conversation, and keep the conversation going when words or expressions are lacking. Speaking strategies help foreign language learners "in negotiating meaning where either linguistic structures or sociolinguistic rules are not shared between a foreign language learner and a speaker of the target language" (O'Malley–Chamot, 1990: 43). The concept of speaking strategies is based on a combination of language learning strategies, particularly on Oxford's language learning strategies (1990), and skill area strategies—speaking strategies.

Speaking is a highly complex skill that comprises knowledge of language and discourse, core speaking skills (e.g. chunking, signalling intention, turn-taking), and speaking strategies (Goh–Burns, 2012). Foreign language learners usually encounter difficulties in the mastery of speaking—speaking is the skill in which the students' language ego is most vulnerable due to a higher level of self-exposure that it imposes on them (Gkonou, 2014). Hence, speaking in front of the class is an in-class activity producing a high level of anxiety (Young, 1999).

2.2. Foreign language anxiety

Foreign language anxiety (FLA) implies "performance evaluation within an academic and social context" (Horwitz–Horwitz, & Cope, 1986: 127). They identified three related performance anxieties: communication apprehension, test anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation, which are believed to "provide useful conceptual building blocks for a description of foreign language anxiety" (Horwitz, 1986: 128).

Communication apprehension (CA) refers to shyness, fear, and anxiety which individuals experience when they have to communicate with others; it is manifested as difficulties and discomfort in speaking (oral communication anxiety or speaking anxiety) in groups, in public, or in listening to or learning a spoken message (receiver anxiety) (Horwitz et al., 1986: 127). The usual behaviour of communicatively apprehensive people involves communication avoidance and withdrawal (Aida, 1994: 156).

Test anxiety (TA) is the performance anxiety stemming from a fear of failure (Gordon–Sarason, 1955). Test-anxious students often have unrealistic goals, feeling that anything less than perfect test performance is a failure. Speaking in a foreign language has the potential of provoking both test and oral communication anxiety at the same time.

Fear of negative evaluation (FNE) is an individual's fear of being evaluated, distress about negative evaluation, avoidance of evaluative situations, and the expectations of being negatively evaluated (Watson–Friend, 1969: 449). It can be applied to any aspect of social and evaluative context (e.g., job interview, oral presentation in the foreign language classroom), not only to testing context.

Relatively little attention has been given to investigating speaking strategies that develop speaking skills and enhance speaking performance. Few available empirical studies suggest that the high achievers were more likely to engage in functional practice such as talking to oneself or reading to get the models for speaking (Huang–van Naerssen, 1987), adequate planning and preparation, practicing speaking daily, starting discussions with their peers and relying on stop-gap strategies when communication breakdowns occurred (Kawai, 2008), or paying attention to what their partner was saying, and self-evaluating their success on the completion of the tasks, frequent deployment of cooperation, asking for clarification or verification, circumlocution, approximation, gesticulation, reliance on the mother tongue (Pawlak, 2018b).

When speaking in a foreign language, language anxiety tends to be more debilitative than facilitative. Using speaking strategies may reduce levels of language anxiety. According to Sioson (2011), the students' use of planning and monitoring while speaking in a foreign language or goal-setting lessens their language anxiety (communication apprehension and fear of negative evaluation in particular), making them more self-confident. Also, some studies suggest that the lower anxiety the students had, the higher use of strategies they made (Khamkhien, 2012; Yamashiro–McLaughlin, 2001; Wu, 2010).

3. METHOD

3.1. Research questions

The study aims to answer the following research questions:

1. Which EFL speaking strategies do the students in biotechnology engineering use, and how frequently?
2. What are the levels of foreign language anxiety among the students?

3. Are there differences in speaking strategy use between learners manifesting different levels of foreign language anxiety?

3.2. Participants

The participants in this study were 60 undergraduate students of biotechnology engineering (47 females and 13 males) in a four-year bachelor program at the University of Kragujevac (sophomores, juniors, and seniors), learning English for specific purposes (ESP). According to the results obtained by the EFL placement test applied at the beginning of the semester, the students' EFL proficiency was at the B1 level of CEFR.

3.3. Variables

The variables in the study are as follows:
- foreign language speaking strategies, including memory, cognitive, compensation, metacognitive, and affective strategies;
- foreign language classroom anxiety and its performance anxieties: communication apprehension, test anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation.

3.4. Instruments

The research instruments involved the Inventory of Speaking Strategies in a Foreign Language (ISSFL) and Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS) (Horwitz, 1986; Horwitz et al., 1986).

3.4.1. Inventory of Speaking Strategies in a Foreign Language

The ISSFL instrument is a tool for measuring the perceived use of speaking strategies by non-native English speakers. It is derived from the Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (SILL), Version 7.0, for measuring strategies for learning a foreign/second language (Oxford, 1989). This self-report, five-point Likert-type scale comprises 20 items with choices ranging from "never or almost never true of me" (1) to "always or almost always true of me" (5). The high end of the scale indicates a high frequency of speaking strategy use while the low end indicates a low frequency of use. The items were written in the participants' mother tongue (Serbian) to avoid unnecessary miscomprehension; then they were back-translated into English by an independent language expert for linguistic validation of the instrument.

3.4.2. Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale

The FLCAS (Horwitz, 1986; Horwitz et al., 1986) items measure foreign language learner's anxiety from the perspective of total anxiety in the foreign language, which includes communication apprehension, test anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation. The instrument was designed to measure the level of anxiety that foreign language learners experience in the language classroom. This five-point Likert-type scale comprises 33 items, ranging from "strongly agree" (1) to "strongly disagree" (5). The theoretical range of the FLCAS is from 33 to 165. The positively worded statements express low levels of anxiety, while negatively worded statements express high anxiety levels. The positively worded statements were reverse-scored, ranging from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (5), lower scores indicating higher levels of anxiety, and vice versa. The scale is adapted so that the items refer to learning EFL. The instrument was translated into Serbian language and translated back into English by an independent language expert for the instrument language validation.

3.5. Procedure

The instruments used for collecting the data in the study they were administered to the participants by their ESP teacher during their regular ESP classes. The ESP classes involved regular speaking activities aimed at the development of speaking skills. Rather than being presented as a separate learning task, speaking strategies were implicitly embedded in the classroom activities.

The measures of internal consistency, descriptive and correlation statistics were used for data processing. We analyzed the obtained data using SPSS 20.00 Package for Windows. For the Likert-scaled strategy-use items of the ISSFL, the following key helped to interpret the means: mean values from 3.5 to 5.0 indicate high use, from 2.5 to 3.49 indicate medium use, and from 1.0 to 2.49 low use (Oxford, 1990). To determine the levels of students' language anxiety, the 60 students were classified into three groups — high-anxious, medium-anxious, and low-anxious — based on their scores on FLCAS. The authors of the FLACS (Horwitz, 1986; Horwitz et al., 1986) did not include the scoring procedure with the instrument. To determine a student's foreign language anxiety level, including three performance anxieties (communication apprehension, test anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation), local norms are established for the FLACS. The students mean scores are transformed into z scores: the students scoring more than two-thirds standard deviations above the overall sample mean are identified as low-anxious;

those between +0.67 and -.67 standard deviations from the sample mean are identified as medium-anxious; and, those scoring more than two-thirds standard deviations below the sample mean are identified as high-anxious. Two-thirds standard deviation is used as the "cut point" for the high and low anxiety groups to ensure that each group includes enough students for comparison (Sparks–Ganschow, 2007).

4. RESULTS

In this study, the instrument ISSFL proved to be reliable and internally consistent since the coefficient Cronbach's alpha is 0.83. This result is within the coefficient values found in the literature for SILL, on which the ISSFL is based, ranging from 0.81 to 0.94 (Oh, 1992; Yang, 1999; Lee–Oxford, 2008; Murray, 2010; Olivares-Cuhat, 2010; Yang, 2010; Liu–Chang, 2013). Also, the instrument FLCAS proved to be reliable and highly internally consistent since the coefficient Cronbach alpha is r=0.93. This result is within the values found in the literature ranging from 0.90-0.96 (Horwitz, 1986; Horwitz et al., 1986; Aida 1994; Cheng–Horwitz, & Schallert, 1999; Rodriguez–Abreu, 2003; Toth, 2008; Yan–Horwitz, 2008; Tallon, 2011).

4.1. The students' perceived use of speaking strategies in EFL

Descriptive statistics (mean value and standard deviation) was used to describe how the biotechnology engineering students perceived their use of speaking strategies, the means of self-reported scores for the speaking strategies being shown in Table 1.

Table 1 –The use of EFL speaking strategies in biotechnology

Speaking strategies	Possible scores	M	SD	Rank usage
Associate new material w/already known	1-5	4.27	.733	frequent
Use new English words in a sentence	1-5	3.07	.880	medium
Connect a word to a mental picture of the situation	1-5	3.75	.932	frequent
Use rhymes to remember new words	1-5	2.43	1.240	low
Say new words several times	1-5	3.53	1.157	frequent
Try to talk like a native speaker	1-5	3.38	.976	medium

Practice sounds of English	1-5	3.75	1.068	frequent
Start a conversation in English	1-5	2.67	1.003	medium
Make summaries of information	1-5	2.97	.991	medium
Use gestures when stuck for words	1-5	3.65	.777	frequent
Make up new words when stuck	1-5	3.47	.965	medium
Try to guess what other people will say	1-5	2.88	1.010	medium
Use circumlocutions or synonyms	1-5	3.93	.861	frequent
Notice my mistakes/try to do better	1-5	3.95	.746	frequent
Pay attention when someone is speaking	1-5	4.42	.645	frequent
Look for people to talk to in English	1-5	3.23	.789	medium
Have clear goals for improving speaking skills	1-5	4.53	.769	frequent
Try to relax when feeling afraid of speaking	1-5	4.18	1.000	frequent
Encourage self to speak when feeling afraid	1-5	3.97	.974	frequent
Give self-reward for doing well	1-5	2.92	1.139	medium
Overall EFL speaking strategies	1-5	3.55	.459	frequent

EFL–English as a foreign language, M–mean value, SD–standard deviation, N–number of participants

The mean value of the overall perceived use of speaking strategies shows the students' frequent use of EFL speaking strategies (M=3.55). The analysis reported eleven speaking strategies as high usage strategies. Associating new material with the material the students already know, paying attention when someone is speaking in English, having clear goals for improving speaking skills in English, and trying to relax when afraid of speaking in English are the four most frequently used speaking strategies (M=4.27, M=4.42, M=4.53, and M=4.18, respectively). The other speaking strategies at the high level of usage involve the following strategies: connecting the sounds of new words to a mental picture of a situation (M=3.75); saying new words in English several times (M=3.53); practicing the sounds of English (M=3.75); using gestures when stuck for words when speaking in English (M=3.65); using circumlocutions or synonyms when stuck for an English word (M=3.93); noticing mistakes and trying to do better when speaking in English (M=3.95); encouraging oneself to speak when afraid of making mistakes when speaking in English (M=3.97).

Eight speaking strategies are medium usage strategies, as shown in Table 1. The least frequently used speaking strategy is using rhymes to remember new words in English, where the mean value was M=2.43 (M < 2.5), indicating low strategy use.

4.2. Levels of foreign language classroom anxiety

Descriptive statistics (mean value and standard deviation) show that the overall FLA is at a medium level (M=102.55, the score is between +0.67 and -.67 standard deviations from the sample mean) and that all the performance anxieties are also at medium levels (Table 2).

The study reports the highest level of anxiety for communication apprehension (M=31.95) and the lowest level of anxiety (the highest level of relaxation) for the test anxiety factor (M=49.72). All the anxiety levels are reported for the communication apprehension, test anxiety, fear of negative evaluation, and overall anxiety among the participants ($15 \leq M \geq 54$, $27 \leq M \geq 65$, $9 \leq M \geq 33$, $52 \leq M \geq 150$, respectively).

Table 2 –Levels of foreign language anxiety

FLA - factors	Possible scores	M	SD
Communication apprehension	11-55	31.95	7.933
Test anxiety	15-75	49.72	9.741
Fear of negative evaluation	7-35	20.88	6.344
Overall anxiety	33-165	102.55	21.843

M–mean value, SD–standard deviation, N–number of participants

4.3. The effects of students FLCA levels on their speaking strategy use

To determine whether there were significant differences in the students' perceived use of speaking strategies among the high, medium, and low anxiety groups, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) procedure was conducted for the groups' ISSFL scores (Table 3). The respondents representing low, medium, and high levels of anxiety were ascribed to these three categories depending on whether their scores on the FLCAS were in the range 52-86 (18 subjects), 87-118 (27 subjects), and 119-150 (15 subjects), respectively.

The results obtained by one-way ANOVA (Table 3) showed there were no statistically significant differences in the overall use of speaking strategies between

the students manifesting different levels of foreign language anxiety (p>0.05). However, the results show the differences between the students at different levels of foreign language anxiety in the reported use of the following three speaking strategies: using gestures and using circumlocutions and synonyms when stuck for an English word, and paying attention when someone is speaking in English. The students at the high and low levels of language anxiety reported frequent use of gestures when they cannot think of a word during a conversation in English (M=3.75 and M=4.00, respectively, both being M>3.50); the students at the medium level of language anxiety use this strategy less frequently (M=3.39, 3.49 ≥ M ≥ 2.50 indicating the medium use) than their peers at high and low anxiety levels (F=3.573, p<0.05, p=0.035). The findings also suggest that students at all levels of FLA use circumlocutions and synonyms when stuck for a word in English. However, this strategy use is significantly higher among the participants at the low level of language anxiety (M=4.38) than among the participants at the high level of language anxiety (M=3.69) (F=3.219, p<0.05, p=0.047). The students at the high level of foreign language anxiety are paying attention when someone is speaking in English significantly more frequently (M=4.74, indicating a very high strategy use as M≥4.50) than their peers at the low anxiety level (M=4.24) (F=3.393, p<0.05, p=0.041).

Table 3 –Differences in speaking strategy use dependent on overall FLA

Speaking strategies	Levels of overall FLA			p
	high anxiety (N = 18) M	medium anxiety (N = 27) M	low anxiety (N = 15) M	
Associate new material w/already known	4.11	4.26	4.47	.388
Use new English words in a sentence	3.00	3.22	2.87	.43
Connect word to a mental picture of the situation	3.72	3.81	3.67	.879
Use rhymes to remember new words	2.50	2.48	2.47	.838
Say new words several times	3.61	3.63	3.27	.595
Try to talk like a native speaker	3.00	3.56	3.53	.137
Practice sounds of English	3.89	3.81	3.47	.489
Start a conversation in English	2.44	2.56	3.13	.101
Make summaries of information	3.11	2.93	2.87	.754
Use gestures when stuck for words	3.75	3.39	4.00	**.035***
Make up new words when stuck	3.61	3.37	3.47	.721
Try to guess what other people will say	2.78	3.04	2.73	.57
Use circumlocutions or synonyms	3.69	3.82	4.38	**.047***

Notice my mistakes/try to do better	3.94	3.85	4.13	.511
Pay attention when someone is speaking	4.79	4.34	4.24	**.041***
Look for people to talk to in English	3.06	3.19	3.53	.206
Have clear goals for improving speaking skills	4.61	4.52	4.47	.862
Try to relax when feeling afraid of speaking	3.83	4.26	4.47	.169
Encourage self to speak when feeling afraid	3.67	4.04	4.20	.262
Give self-reward for doing well	2.61	3.19	2.80	.232
Overall EFL speaking strategies	3.46	3.58	3.60	.654

N=60   *p < .05

FLA–foreign language anxiety, N–number of participants, p–statistical significance

4.4. Discussion
4.4.1. Interpretation of results

The instruments in the study proved to be reliable and internally consistent. The frequent perceived use of English language speaking strategies reported in this study is not consistent with the results of other studies dealing with EFL learners' use of language learning strategies where the students' overall use of language learning strategies was at a medium level ($2.50 < M < 3.49$) (Khalil, 2005; Zhang–Liu, 2005; Lee–Oxford, 2008; Yang, 2010). Such a result could be ascribed to various and frequent speaking activities in the ESP classroom (descriptions, presentations, discussions, simulations, negotiations, conflict resolving, role-plays), which allowed the students to use speaking strategies — speaking strategies were neither taught explicitly (they were implicitly embedded in classroom speaking activities) nor awareness-raising training (identifying and assessing through observation, interviews, diaries, or think-aloud protocols) was applied. The findings from ISSFL reveal (Table 1) that the most prominent speaking strategies used by the participants involved: having clear goals for improving speaking skills in English, paying attention when someone is speaking in English, associating new material with what students/learners already know, and trying to relax when feeling afraid of speaking in English. In this study, the students used these strategies more frequently than previous research reported (Liu–Chang, 2013).

The findings also show that the students' language anxiety and its performance anxieties are at a medium level. These results are consistent with the results obtained in the researches studying the language anxiety levels of students learning the English language (Rodriguez–Abreu, 2003; Chiang, 2006; Lucas et al., 2011; Arnaiz–Guillen, 2012). However, there are studies in which high levels of

language anxiety have been recorded (Gregersen–Horwitz, 2002; Maros-Llinas–Garan, 2009). The average score of FLCAS in this study is also lower than that reported by Pawlak (2011) for his university (English Department) students; although such a finding might seem surprising given the fact that biotechnology students are less proficient (B1 level of CEFR, compared to B2—C2 level of CEFR in Pawlak's study) and might be less confident in their language abilities, it can be explained by the fact that they were possibly confronted with lower requirements (due to different proficiency levels) and clear task-oriented instruction characteristic for ESP classrooms (which included frequent speaking activities and their assessment). There is an indication that, besides instructional conditions (e.g. participation in speaking activities in smaller groups) (Young, 1990), classroom atmosphere (e.g. low competition, clear task orientation) is also associated with lower anxiety levels (Palacios, 1998). It should be kept in mind that the value of such comparisons may be limited due to the occurrence of individual variations since the data appear to indicate that the growth in proficiency is accompanied by greater heterogeneity in terms of anxiety levels (Pawlak, 2011). On the other hand, higher levels of relaxations have also been recorded (Pichette, 2009).

Another issue that the study referred to is the differences in speaking strategy use between respondents representing high, medium, and low levels of foreign language anxiety. There has been a paucity of research that touched upon this issue (Pawlak, 2011) as the bulk of research has been correlational (Liu, 2018; Khamkhien, 2012; Pawlak, 2011; Sioson, 2011; Shabani, 2015). The analysis in this study demonstrated that there were differences in overall speaking strategy use between the students manifesting high, medium, and low anxiety — low- and medium-anxious students used speaking strategies frequently (M=3.60 and M=3.58, respectively), while high-anxious students used speaking strategies at the medium level (M=3.46), approximating the medium high cut-off point of 3.5 (Oxford, 1990); however, the differences were minute and did not reach statistical significance. These results are similar to the findings in Pawlak's study (2011) in terms of non-existing statistically significant differences in strategy use between high-, medium-, and low-anxious students, though Pawlak reported medium strategy use across the anxiety levels.

However, the differences were found in the frequency of using three individual speaking strategies. Firstly, the medium-anxious students reported significantly less frequent use of gestures when having a problem thinking of a word when speaking in English, which suggests more frequent use of this kinesic element of nonverbal behaviour by high-anxious and low-anxious respondents.

Based on the findings of the nonverbal behaviour of the participants in a Gregersen's study (2005), it is reasonable to assume that the presence of foreign language anxiety increases self-contact with the body and decreases the use of speech-related gestures. High-anxious learners tend to use gestures less for illustratory and regulatory purposes (which low-anxious students do more frequently) and more for fidgeting and interactionally nonproductive activity. Secondly, those students who showed lower levels of general foreign language anxiety reported using synonyms and circumlocutions when in a problem to find a word (a compensation strategy used frequently among the participants) more frequently than their high-anxious peers. Lowering stress, monitoring one's emotions, and relaxing before speaking in a foreign language learning context enables the learner to a wider variety of words and structures (Pietrzykowska, 2014), even if lacking an appropriate word. Finally, high-anxious students used significantly more frequently a strategy of paying attention when someone is speaking in English than their peers at the lower levels of language anxiety. Learners experiencing higher levels of anxiety might put more effort into paying attention during the language tasks (Chang et al., 2017); a feeling of uneasiness and fear that they will not recognize the words or understand the interlocutor is facilitative enough to make the students alert and attentive.

Although such results suggest that language anxiety levels do not influence the use of speaking strategies, this conclusion might be premature in view of the fact that the students were at the different years of study in the bachelor biotechnology program, with the effect that experience, self-confidence or proficiency (all beyond the scope of this study) could have acted as mediating variables to be reckoned with. Correlation studies, with which the findings of this study are not in line, report the link between strategy use and foreign language anxiety providing the evidence that the high-anxious learners may rely less on strategic devices and vice versa (Liu, 2018; Khamkhien, 2012; Pawlak, 2011; Sioson, 2011; Shabani, 2015).

4.4.2. Pedagogical implications

Although the evidence provided by the present study is admittedly tenuous, there still are reasonable grounds (such as the correlational studies previously mentioned) to believe that foreign language anxiety may be an important variable affecting the use of speaking strategies by foreign language learners. While the quantity of speaking strategies used is less important than the students' ability to match them to the task in hand and their learning styles and capably combine them

with related strategies (Ehrman–Leaver, & Oxford, 2003), it is reasonable to assume that those learners who shy away from employing speaking strategies will have fewer opportunities even to identify the devices that meet such requirements. It is advisable to pay more attention to the ways of helping students cope with anxiety in the language classroom. Some foreign language anxiety reduction techniques mentioned in the literature involve: the transformation of students' negative self-related cognitions by focusing on positive experiences (MacIntyre–Gardner, 1991); students verbalizing fears in the classroom through relaxation exercises and journal keeping (Horwitz et al., 1986); making the classroom relaxing and friendly through vocabulary brainstorming activities, language games, pair and group work, role-plays and simulations (Crookall–Oxford, 1991); using affective error correction techniques (Gregersen, 2003); or teachers making the message more interesting or language tests reflecting in-class instruction (Young, 1991).

Understanding the differences between how high-anxious and low-anxious students communicate nonverbally, more precisely whether and how often they use gestures while speaking in a foreign language, will give teachers a starting point for identifying which students are struggling with foreign language anxiety so that the anxiety reduction measures can be taken. When suspicious that nonverbal cues such as using gestures by a student when speaking are indicative of foreign language anxiety, specific techniques discussed previously may prove beneficial in allaying students' anxiety (Gregersen, 2005). Since using synonyms and circumlocutions when lacking an appropriate word when speaking in English can help in interaction, these reducing-anxiety techniques may also be immeasurably helpful in enabling learners at the higher levels of language anxiety not to get blocked and to continue the interaction. Cognitive strategies, such as using synonyms and paraphrasing, enable learners to master vocabulary at such an extent that students find appropriate words more easily, even in a stressful situation (Pietrzykowska, 2014). A certain extent of anxiety might lead to better students' attention to the speaking context (other speakers, potential interlocutors); thus, lowering language anxiety might not always be beneficial for language learning. Instructors, when designing speaking tasks, should consider scaffold or facilitate students who experience high anxiety levels by providing a more authentic or more challenging speaking task that might increase the students' attention (Chang et al., 2017).

5. CONCLUSION

The study reported in this paper is one step toward better understanding the use of speaking strategies in the ESP academic context. It reveals that the

participants used the overall speaking strategies frequently and that foreign language anxiety was at a medium level and individual performance anxieties, i.e. communication apprehension, test anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation, remained at the same medium levels. The quantitative analysis failed to supply evidence for the existence of statistically significant differences in speaking strategy use between the learners characterized by high, medium, and low level of foreign language anxiety, except for three speaking strategies: low-anxious students' more frequent use of synonyms and circumlocutions when they encounter the problem of finding an appropriate word in English than their peers in medium- and high-anxious group; high-anxious students paying attention when someone is speaking in English more frequently than medium- and low-anxious students; and medium-anxious students' more frequent use of gestures when they lack the appropriate word in English.

This study has certain limitations. The results consider the perception of academic use of EFL speaking strategies of a limited number of students in a very specific engineering domain. Thus, these results cannot be generalized to the total student population in the biotechnology engineering domain and particularly not to the engineering profession. Also, the instruments applied in the study are self-report scales - it means that the participants' responses depend on their sincerity and willingness to cooperate in the research, and on their awareness of the speaking strategies they use and language anxieties they experience while speaking in English.

The strength of the present study is that it explores the use of speaking strategies at different levels of foreign language anxiety, which has been rarely done by the researchers and mostly with regard to general language learning strategies (Khamkhien, 2012; Pawlak, 2011), and this having been done in English for specific purposes. As many correlation studies suggest (Liu, 2018; Pawlak, 2011; Wu, 2010; Zhang–Liu, 2005) that higher levels of anxiety may go hand in hand with a lower frequency of strategy use, it is reasonable to assume that language anxiety may be an important variable influencing the language strategy use and speaking strategy use in particular. Further research is indispensable in this area, targeting other groups of learners, other methods of investigation, such as interview, diary, observation method, or tapping more specific aspects of anxiety and strategy use (in an ESP context in particular). Future research could also further investigate other learner variables not accounted for by this study such as learning style, gender, age, self-perception, and public speaking activities (e.g. debate).

Milevica Bojović

STRATEGIJE USMENOG IZRAŽAVANJA I ANKSIOZNOST U UČENJU ENGLESKOG JEZIKA STRUKE U VISOKOŠKOLSKOJ NASTAVI

Rezime

Prethodne studije su istakle značaj strategija učenja stranih jezika u ovladavanju jezičkim veštinama (razumevanjem pročitanog teksta, veštinom pisanja i usmenog izražavanja) i da je anksioznost u učenju stranog jezika afektivni faktor koji se često inicira u formalnom obrazovnom kontekstu u učionici. Istraživanja su, takođe, pokazala da učenici koji imaju niži nivo anksioznosti u učenju stranog jezika češće primenjuju strategije učenja stranog jezika od onih učenika koji imaju viši nivo anksioznosti u učenju jezika. Ove karakteristike treba uzeti u obzir prilikom koncipiranja nastave stranog jezika i izrade nastavnog programa učenja stranog jezika. Cilj ovog istraživanja je da ustanovi učestalost primene strategija usmenog izražavanja na engleskom jeziku kao stranom jeziku struke, nivo jezičke anksioznosti kod ispitanika i razlike u upotrebi strategija usmenog izražavanja kod ispitanika na različitim nivoima jezikčke anskioznosti. Ispitano je 60 studenata osnovnih studija, budućih inženjera biotehnologije, koji uče engleski kao strani jezik struke na Univerzitetu u Kragujevcu, Srbija. Instrument korišćen za merenje primene strategija usmenog izražavanja je bila Skala samoprocene učenikovih strategija usmenog izražavanja na stranom jeziku, zasnovana na Skali strategija učenja stranog jezika (Oxford, 1989b). Instrument korišćen za merenje anksioznosti u učenju stranog jezika je bila Skala anksioznosti u učenju stranih jezika (Horwitz, 1986; Horwitz et al., 1986). Rezultati ukazuju na to da su ispitanici često koristili strategije usmenog izražavanja na engleskom jeziku i da su pokazali umeren nivo jezičke anksioznosti u usmenom izražavanju na engleskom jeziku u nastavnoj situaciji. Nisu zabeležene statistički značajne razlike u upotrebi strategija usmenog izražavanja na engleskom jeziku između ispitanika na različitim nivoima anksioznosti. Izuzetak su tri strategije – gestikulacija, korišćenje sinonima i opisnih objašnjenja u nemogućnosti da se sete odgovarajuće reči na engleskom jeziku. Ispitanici koji su imali niži nivo jezičke anksioznosti češće su koristili sinonime i opisna objašnjenja u situacijama kada nisu mogli da se sete adekvatne reči u usmenom izražavanju na engleskom jeziku. Ispitanici koji su bili na višem nivou jezičke anksioznosti češće su obraćali pažnju kada neko govori na engleskom jeziku. U nemogućnosti da se sete odgovarajuće reči na engleskom jeziku češće su gestikulirali ispitanici srednjeg nivoa anksioznosti. Nastavnici stranog jezika bi trebalo da stvaraju pozitivnu atmosferu uz pružanje podrške učenicima i da osposobljavaju učenike da primenjuju strategije usmenog izražavanja. U budućnosti bi trebalo sprovesti istraživanja sa većim brojem ispitanika da bi se potvrdile ovakve tendencije.

Ključne reči: anksioznost, engleski kao jezik struke, strani jezik, usmeno izražavanje, strategije

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PRONUNCIATION IN EFL TEXTBOOKS USED IN SERBIAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

In order to gain insight into the treatment of pronunciation in the EFL classroom, we analyzed 4 textbooks that are used at the fourth grade of secondary school in Serbia and belong to B2 and C1 levels according to Common European Framework of Reference (*New Inside Out*, *English in Mind*, *New Matrix* and *New English File*). The study aims to determine the number of pronunciation activities in the corpus, the pronunciation topics that receive the most attention and the nature of instructions provided in the exercises. The analysis shows that pronunciation does not occupy much space in EFL textbooks – the average percentage of pronunciation activities in the corpus is 7,13%. Word stress, vowels and consonants are the components which have received the most attention. The textbooks do not possess specific instructions related to pronunciation, which is why the teacher's positive attitude towards the teaching of pronunciation is of great significance. Another possibility that teachers should consider is using the integrated approach to teaching, in which pronunciation would be taught along with other language skills.

Key words: pronunciation, English as a foreign language, textbooks, Serbian schools.

1. INTRODUCTION

Pronunciation represents an important aspect of learning a foreign language. Many people need effective communication skills for their job, e.g. for writing reports, presenting seminar papers, teaching English (Brazil, 1994: 1). Apart from this, pronunciation is vital to proper communication which can, but does not have to be job-related. Regardless of how often one uses English, they should dedicate attention to this component of English as well, primarily to achieve adequate mutual intelligibility (Derwing–Munro, 2005). 'Perfect pronunciation' which used to be set as a traditional goal is not likely to be achieved by the majority of learners and sometimes it can be 'devastating' (Morley, 1991: 498). Such a task

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could be too demanding for learners, which could affect their motivation for reaching the goal. On the other hand, some occupations do require more than adequate intelligibility. As Morley (1991) claims, teachers of English should aspire to make their pronunciation similar to the pronunciation of native speakers.

A learner should master both segmental and suprasegmental features of a language in order to attain a desirable level of proficiency. The concept which plays an important role as regards segments' learning is *functional load* (King, 1967). The term refers to the contrast which two phonemes create in different contexts. For example, the phonemes /l/ and /n/ have a higher functional load than the phonemes /ð/ and /d/ since the former more frequently occur in minimal pairs than the latter (Munro–Derwing, 2006: 522). For this reason, it is more important to understand the contrast between /l/ and /n/ and the activities that deal with them should be incorporated in teaching to a greater extent. Intonation is one of the most important suprasegmental features. Wells (2006: 2) claims that it is usually neglected in teaching English as a foreign language. The author indicates that although there are many possible intonation patterns in English, their meanings differ. Thus, one should dedicate attention to this aspect of pronunciation as well so as to avoid misunderstanding in communication with native speakers of English.

Based on her empirical research into EIL[1] phonology, Jenkins (2002: 88) provides examples of situations in which inadequate pronunciation skills can lead to communication breakdown between non-native speakers of English. The most frequent errors can be classified into the following categories: consonant segments, tonic stress, vowel length and non-permissible simplification of consonant sequences. While describing a situation in which a Japanese learner mispronounced each word in the sentence, the author indicates that only the other Japanese students understood the speaker, while speakers whose L1 was not Japanese did not succeed even after four repetitions. Such examples demonstrate that incorrect pronunciation can bring about issues in interaction between non-native speakers of English as well.

There are many different ways in which one can acquire characteristics of English pronunciation. The authors who explored the pronunciation of Serbian learners considered the following possibilities: using British sitcoms for teaching pronunciation to primary school students (Klimenta, 2016), using Praat for teaching university students of English (Marković, 2017), introducing 'remedial exercises' which would address the pronunciation issues in the ESP classroom (Đurović–

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[1] English as an international language.

Silaški, 2013). Klimenta (2016) reports a positive impact of British sitcoms on pronunciation since the experimental group achieved significantly better results than the control group. The authors of the other two studies speak in favour of their methods based on their teaching experience. We think that all of these methods are useful; the ones which are used in teaching at the university level can also be incorporated into teaching at primary and secondary levels. Nevertheless, we believe that it is highly important that the textbook includes pronunciation exercises, which is why the teacher's first task should be choosing the appropriate textbook.

Levis and Sonsaat (2016: 111) suggest that pronunciation materials should be based on three general principles: "they should emphasize intelligibility, they should explicitly connect to other language skills, and they should provide sufficient and usable support for teachers". The first principle implies setting priorities for teaching. Different authors have different attitudes towards the importance of segmental and suprasegmental characteristics. Some of them believe that it is more significant to teach segments (Couper, 2006; Zielinski, 2006), while others point up the importance of suprasegmental features (Wennerstorm, 1999; Roach, 2002). The second principle suggests that pronunciation should be completely incorporated in the teaching of other skills. Even though it is sometimes necessary to teach pronunciation in a decontextualized way, this cannot be the only way since pronunciation represents an integral part of both speaking and listening (Levis–Sonsaat, 2016: 111). The third principle refers to the teacher's needs. In order to be able to impart their knowledge in the appropriate way, it is recommended that they use additional teaching materials.

The paper is structured in the following way: in Section 2, we present the research methodology, including the instrument, the research questions and the procedure. Section 3 includes the results obtained from the teaching materials analyzed in this paper. In Section 4, we discuss the most important results. The final section contains conclusions and suggestions for future research.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1. Instrument

We have analyzed 4 textbooks that are used at the fourth grade of secondary school in Serbia: *New Inside Out*, *English in Mind*, *New Matrix* and *New English File*. The textbooks belong to B2 and C1 levels according to Common European Framework of Reference. We chose textbooks aimed at students at higher

levels of proficiency because we had assumed that they would offer a wider range of topics for the analysis. The reason why we chose these textbooks specifically is quite simple. Namely, out of 15 textbooks that we examined (e.g. *Solutions*, *New Headway*, *Real Life*, etc.), these are the only ones that include pronunciation as one of the elements in each unit.

2.2. Research questions

The research questions that we attempt to answer in this paper are the following:

1) What is the number of pronunciation activities in the textbooks?
2) What pronunciation topics receive the most attention?
3) What is the nature of instructions provided in the exercises?

2.3. Procedure

The quantitative part of the analysis includes the calculation of activities that deal with pronunciation in each of the textbooks. We first calculated the number of all exercises in a given textbook, after which we determined the percentage of pronunciation activities. After that, we obtained these results for the entire corpus. In the next part of the analysis, we divided pronunciation into smaller topics occurring in the corpus (e.g. vowels, consonants, linking) and calculated the number of exercises dedicated to each topic. If two pronunciation elements were covered in one activity, e.g. consonants and vowels, we counted them as two activities. If an activity was divided into several parts, e.g. a), b), c), each part of the task was considered to be one activity. In addition, we wanted to discover whether the textbooks comprised pronunciation in units used for revision having in mind that these parts additionally emphasize the importance of previously introduced topics.

Furthermore, we also performed a qualitative analysis dealing with the nature of instructions provided in the activities. In this way, we intended to find out what types of activities were encouraged, if the instructions could be improved in some way and what would be the teacher's role concerning pronunciation teaching.

3. RESULTS

In this section, we will present the analysis of pronunciation in each textbook. Special attention will be devoted to English phonemes and intonation. Table 1 provides the most frequently covered pronunciation topics in the textbooks; each topic is followed by the number of exercises in which it occurs.

Table 1: The most frequent pronunciation topics, followed by the number of exercises

New Inside Out				
word stress (10)	intonation (6)	weak forms (6)	assimilation (4)	silent letters (4)
English in Mind				
vowels (6)	intonation (5)	consonants (4)	linking (4)	word stress (3)
New Matrix				
weak forms (4)	vowels (3)	sentence stress (2)	word stress (2)	homophones (2)
New English File				
word stress (26)	vowels (23)	rhythm (18)	consonants (16)	sentence stress (10)

A total number of activities dealing with pronunciation in *New Inside Out* is 42, which constitutes 6.33% of all activities. As can be seen in Table 1, the authors place the most emphasis on word stress, which is addressed in 10 exercises. Intonation and weak forms are the topics of six activities. We can conclude that suprasegmental features occupy more space in this textbook; there is no exercise dealing with vowels or consonants. In all of the activities including intonation, the authors turn attention to the ways in which intonation can be used to express feelings such as rage, enthusiasm, reservation. Pronunciation exercises can be found in each of the twelve units except for the last one. *New Inside Out* includes pronunciation in revision units as well. The instructions occurring in the activities frequently encourage pair work. Another significant characteristic of the instructions is a large number of questions in the activities. In this way, the authors motivate learners to actively participate in class.

English in Mind deals with pronunciation in 27 out of 483 exercises, which makes up 5.59%. The authors of this textbook do not give an advantage to any of pronunciation topics having in mind their distribution: vowels – 6 activities, intonation and consonants – 5 activities each and linking – 4 exercises. We can

observe that the authors do not undermine the importance of segments, as is the case in *New Inside Out*. Learners have the opportunity to practise pronouncing the following vowels: /æ, e/, /ɪ, i:/ and /ə/. Consonant pairs covered in *English in Mind* are /θ, ð/ and /n, ŋ/. 3 activities comprise intonation in questions and 2 tasks deal with intonation in question tags. In the parts of the textbook dedicated to revision, which occur after every two units, only grammar and vocabulary exercises are included. The most frequent activity practised in this textbook is listening. In each unit there is at least one activity which requires repetition, based on which we can conclude that production is not neglected in this teaching material.

New Matrix has the lowest percent of pronunciation activities (16; 2.64%). The highest number of pronunciation tasks deals with weak forms (4), which are followed by vowels (3). *New Matrix* does not include consonant segments. Furthermore, this is the only textbook which does not cover intonation in any exercise. In the three activities in which learners are supposed to identify words with the same sound, a large number of vowels is covered: /æ, ɒ, ɔ:, əu, ʌ, i:, ʊ, u:, ɛ, ei, ɜ:/. There are no pronunciation exercises in revision units in *New Matrix*.

New English File possesses the largest number of tasks (688) and the largest number of pronunciation tasks (89; 12.94%). Word stress is the most frequently occurring topic (26). It is followed by vowels (23), rhythm (18) and consonants (16). The activities comprise almost all vowel segments that exist in English – all 12 monophthongs and all diphthongs apart from /ɔi/. The activities enable mastering a high number of consonants as well: /d, g, h, dʒ, k, s, t, w, z, tʃ, ʃ, θ, ð/. Pronunciation is also revised in *New English File*. In this textbook, segments are presented in an interesting way. Namely, there is a picture accompanying every symbol which illustrates the use of this phoneme in a particular word. For instance, the consonant /k/ is followed by the picture of keys, the vowel /ɪ/ is illustrated with the picture of fish, the diphthong /ɑi/ is represented by the picture of bicycle. Therefore, learners are exposed to somewhat different teaching materials, as well as the chance to connect the segments they learn with English vocabulary and learn the way they are transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet. *New English File* is the only textbook which stimulates learners to practise dictation.

4. DISCUSSION

Pronunciation activities make up 7.13% of the total number of activities in the corpus. The results obtained in this paper do not differ significantly from those

analyzed by Derwing, Diepenbroek and Foote (2012), who used a much larger corpus in their research – 48 ESL textbooks (12 series). The percentage of pronunciation exercises for each series varies from 0.4% to 15.1% (M=5.0%).[2]

In 2 of the 4 texts that we used as a corpus, there are no pronunciation tasks in revision units. Therefore, our results are similar to the above-mentioned study in this respect as well, since the authors found deliberate coverage of pronunciation in the review sections only in one of the five series. As indicated by Dickerson (2010), the most important aspects of pronunciation must be revisited so that students could have a more coherent picture (cited in Derwing–Diepenbroek, & Foote, 2012: 33).

In each unit in *English in Mind*, pronunciation is only indicated by the title 'pronunciation' and the title of the topic, after which the learner is referred to one of the two pages in which all pronunciation activities are included; therefore, this aspect of language is separated from others. We do not find this decision appropriate since it may lead teachers to avoid dealing with pronunciation. It is possible that the authors believed that grouping all pronunciation activities in one place would facilitate learning English pronunciation. However, it is also possible to make an impression that pronunciation is less important than other elements which are covered in each unit. Similar observations were made by Marks (2006: 35): "all too often, pronunciation appears at the end of a unit, in the bottom right-hand corner of a page, which only serves to reinforce its lowly status as the thing most likely to be omitted if time is short" (cited in Kanellou, 2011: 12).

The authors of the textbooks analyzed in this paper assign different degrees of importance to different pronunciation topics. For instance, intonation is the second most frequent element in *English in Mind*, while *New Matrix* does not deal with intonation in any activity. Such distribution could be related to different opinions about the relationship between segments and suprasegmentals mentioned in the introduction – whether the former or the latter should be more significant in teaching English pronunciation. Word stress, vowels and consonants are the most frequently covered topics in the corpus. More than half of the exercises are dedicated to these topics. Nevertheless, having in mind the coverage of other topics, we can conclude that suprasegmental features received more attention than segmental features.

The instructions occurring in the corpus which refer to the production of segments and suprasegmentals usually require repeating the material after listening.

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[2] The authors assessed pronunciation coverage by calculating a half-page for each pronunciation entry in comparison with the total number of pages in the textbook.

It is possible that the authors think that going into details and the use of technical terms would be too demanding for the fourth grade of secondary school. However, having in mind that some activities contain additional explanations (most of them can be found in *New English File*), such as: ''English vowel sounds are either short, long, or diphthongs (a combination of two short sounds)" (Oxenden–Latham-Koenig, 2008: 23), we believe that more specific instructions related to articulation could also find place within the textbooks. For example, the task that indicates the distinction between /ɪ/ and /iː/ could include the sentence: "The position of the tongue is higher during the pronunciation of the vowel /iː/." In this way, learners would find out that the difference between the two sounds does not only refer to their length, but also to the way these segments are articulated. Nevertheless, the explanations should not be too detailed. As suggested by Levis (1999: 41), the use of musical terms in teaching intonation, advocated by some authors (e.g. Chan, 1987), may include unnecessary details.

Bearing in mind that the textbook cannot contain all the information essential for mastering pronunciation elements, it is important to highlight the teacher's role. The results reported by Burns (2006), Kanellou (2011) and Burgess–Spencer (2000) suggest that teachers need additional professional development as regards pronunciation teaching. We believe that this issue should be tackled both individually and collectively since the teacher's positive attitude towards pronunciation is crucial for creating a positive classroom atmosphere and effective pronunciation teaching.

5. CONCLUSION

Pronunciation's marginalized status has been indicated by many authors, e.g. it has been referred to as 'the EFL/ESL orphan' (Gilbert, 2010) or 'the Cinderella of language teaching' (Seidlhofer, 2001). Therefore, a small number of pronunciation activities in our corpus is not surprising. The reason for such treatment may be an opinion shared by many teachers of English – teaching pronunciation is not easy. It is possible that such an attitude leads authors to evade introducing pronunciation activities. Even though we do not claim that pronunciation is the most essential aspect of learning a foreign language and that it deserves more attention than grammar and vocabulary, for instance, we believe that it is of great significance for communication and that each English textbook should incorporate a certain number of pronunciation tasks. The possibility that teachers should also consider is teaching pronunciation along with other language skills. As Oxford (2001: 2) claims, the integrated-skill approach (within which the primary

skills of listening, reading, speaking and writing are taught together with related skills such as pronunciation, syntax, etc.) leads to optimal ESL/EFL communication. The skills should not be taught separately since people normally use them in an integrated way when communicating with each other.

As regards the corpus analyzed in this paper, we can notice some inconsistencies, e.g. *New Inside Out* does not deal with segments in any of the exercises, *New Matrix* does not cover consonants or intonation, etc. We are of the opinion that both segmental and suprasegmental characteristics are equally important for pronunciation teaching; therefore, textbooks should contain both types of exercises. If some authors consider teaching segments to be more useful than teaching suprasegmentals, or vice versa, we believe that this should not affect the distribution of activities in such a way that one of the areas is omitted from the textbook. It is also important that pronunciation activities encourage active participation, i.e. students should practice pronunciation as much as possible. Based on the obtained results, we can conclude that the textbooks place more emphasis on perception than production.

Another topic related to pronunciation which we could deal with in future is the analysis of Serbian EFL teachers' attitudes – their relationship towards the importance of pronunciation, whether they analyze this aspect of language while choosing the textbook, how much time they dedicate to teaching pronunciation, etc. In such research, we could compare the attitudes of teachers from Serbia and other countries and thus shed more light on the place of pronunciation in Serbian schools.

Aleksandar Živanović

IZGOVOR U UDŽBENICIMA ENGLESKOG JEZIKA KOJI SE KORISTE U SRPSKIM SREDNJIM ŠKOLAMA

Rezime

Kako bismo dobili uvid u zastupljenost izgovora u nastavi engleskog jezika, analizirali smo 4 udžbenika koji se koriste u 4. razredu srednjih škola u Srbiji i pripadaju nivoima B2 i C1 prema Zajedničkom evropskom okviru za žive jezike (*New Inside Out*, *English in Mind*, *New Matrix* i *New English File).* Izabrali smo udžbenike namenjene učenicima koji poseduju više nivoe znanja jer smo pretpostavili da će takvi nastavni materijali ponuditi veći izbor tema za analizu. Rad nastoji da odredi broj aktivnosti koje se bave izgovorom u udžbenicima, teme koje su najzastupljenije, kao i prirodu instrukcija koje se nalaze u aktivnostima. Kvantitativni deo analize obuhvata računanje broja zadataka koji se bave izgovorom u korpusu, kao i procenat zastupljenosti svakog tipa zadatka (npr. vokali,

konsonanti, intonacija). Kvalitativni deo analize ispituje prirodu instrukcija koje se mogu naći u vežbama. Analiza pokazuje da izgovor ne zauzima mnogo mesta u udžbenicima engleskog – prosečan procenat aktivnosti koje se bave ovom temom iznosi 7.13%. Rezultati sugerišu da autori dodeljuju različit stepen važnosti različitim temama. Npr. intonacija je drugi najzastupljeniji element u udžbeniku *English in Mind*, dok se *New Matrix* ne bavi intonacijom ni u jednom zadatku. Akcenat, vokali i konsonanti su komponente koje su zadobile najviše pažnje u čitavom korpusu. Aktivnosti koje sadrže ove teme čine više od polovine svih vežbi. Udžbenici ne poseduju precizne instukcije koje se tiču izgovora, npr. kako bi učenik trebalo da upravlja govornim organima da bi proizveo određeni glas. Iz tog razloga, nastavnikov pozitivan stav prema podučavanju izgovora i želja za detaljnijim bavljenjem ovom veštinom dobijaju na važnosti. Mogućnost koju nastavnici treba da razmotre jeste integrativni pristup učenju, u okviru kog se izgovor podučava zajedno sa drugim jezičkim veštinama.

Ključne reči: izgovor, engleski jezik kao strani, udžbenici, škole u Srbiji.

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INTERACTIVE METADISCOURSE MARKERS IN EFL MAJORS' SUMMARIES IN ENGLISH[**]

EFL majors' academic training includes the development of academic skills, primarily academic reading and writing, which are important since English majors have to read many books and papers during their studies and often have to write papers on the basis of what they have read. This implies the students' ability to decide which parts of the text are important and will be mentioned in the paper they are writing, as well as the ability to synthesize the material in a reader-friendly manner in accordance with the Anglophone academic tradition, which heavily relies on the use of metadiscourse markers that guide the reader through the text. In order to investigate to what extent EFL majors use interactive metadiscourse markers (Hyland 2005, 2010), which concern the writer's awareness of a participating audience and address ways of organizing discourse, a research study was conducted with 59 English majors in their fifth year (MA level), who read a paper published in an academic journal and were asked to write a 250-word summary. The material was analyzed with the AntConc freeware and the results are used as a basis for pedagogical recommendations that aim at improving students' training in academic writing.

Key words: summary, EFL students, academic writing, interactive metadiscourse markers, corpus analysis.

1. INTRODUCTION

Students of English language and literature (henceforth EFL majors) are trained both at the BA and MA levels to write shorter academic texts such as

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essays, summaries or state-of-the-art papers or longer academic texts such as seminar papers, which prepares them for the final act of writing an MA thesis. During their studies they read vast amounts of text and often write brief reports or longer seminar papers either as class assignments or as parts of their final exams. This process relies on deciding which parts of the source text are important and will be mentioned in the paper they are writing and being able to synthesize the source material in a reader-friendly manner in accordance with the Anglophone academic tradition. In other words, EFL majors often have to summarize source texts and deduce them to just a few sentences, which implies a writing task that relies on outside sources, authors and ideas. The author of the summary is, therefore, a filter for a large quantity of information, because he/she needs to decide what will be summarized and in what order, what will be emphasized, etc. and this is facilitated by the use of metadiscourse markers that guide the reader through the text. For that reason, this paper investigates to what extent EFL majors use interactive metadiscourse markers in summaries by analyzing a corpus of 59 texts written by MA students and offers some pedagogical recommendations that aim at improving students' training in academic writing, because the hypothesis is that students use metadiscourse markers, but their variation is low.

2. SUMMARIES AS A GENRE

Summaries are one of the most important texts in academic writing because reading to write (cf. Krashen, 1984) is an essential part of the work of any academic community. More precisely, every author of an academic text relies on previously written and published sources, which he/she first reads and then decides what parts of the source text are important for his/her own research. While writing their own papers, writers undergo "the process of synthesizing and organizing individual idea units into a summary or organized series of related general ideas" (Irwin, 1986: 5). Summaries put into concise form the essential information or ideas of a source text[1] and the process of summary writing therefore follows a clearly defined set of steps: the source text is closely read; one-sentence summaries are written for each paragraph or section; the author uses his/her own words while summarizing; all notes are then edited for clarity, cohesion and coherence; hence,

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[1]   https://twp.duke.edu/sites/twp.duke.edu/files/file-attachments/summary-method-and-genre-handout.original.pdf

the final result is a new text which is different from the source text in terms of form, though conveying the selected content and meaning of the source text.

Summaries can be seen as a genre because "members of a community usually have little difficulty in recognising similarities in the texts they use frequently and are able to draw on their repeated experiences with such texts to read, understand, and perhaps write them relatively easily" (Hyland, 2007: 149). For instance, Gagich and Zickel (2017: 85) list three characteristics of a good summary: neutrality (there should be no evaluative language, writers of the summary should not express their own opinion nor should they make their presence known with the use of pronouns "I" and "we"), brevity (summaries only highlight the most important information from the source text in an accurate way) and independence (summaries should make sense to someone who has not read the source text, so there should be no confusion about the main content and its organization). Furthemore, Gagich and Zickel (2017: 86–87) state that summaries should be about 10–15% of the source text in length and should have an internal organization of the introduction (introduces the author and the source text), body (presents main ideas and arguments from the source text) and conclusion (restates the most important points for readers to remember after reading the summary).

The task of the writer of a summary is, then, to bridge a gap between the source text and the reader of the summary by carefully reading, selecting and rephrasing the source text thus mediating in the process of information transfer. The summary has the task of bringing the source text closer to the secondary audience and the author of the summary has the task of organizing the summary in a way which will help the reader understand and follow its main points. This is best achieved with an appropriate and adequate use of metadiscourse markers, which will be discussed and elaborated in the following section.

3. METADISCOURSE MARKERS

Every text is essentially an act of communication between the writer and the reader and in this dialogue the writer has the power to "guide a receiver's perception of a text" (Hyland, 2005: 3). Since this exchange of information is never entirely objective, and it actually includes "the personalities, attitudes and assumptions of those who are communicating" (Hyland, 2005: 3), many aspects of the process of communication are expressed via metadiscourse. This view on the language in use was put forth by Zelig Harris in 1959 and further developed by Williams (1981), Vande Kopple (1985), Crismore (1989), Hyland (2005), Ädel (2006), Hyland (2010) and Mauranen (2010) over several decades. Although

different authors have different views regarding the relationship between propositional material and metadiscourse, they all agree that metadiscourse is broadly defined as the way in which the writer tries to guide the reader through the text and help him/her understand the text and the author's perspective (Bogdanović, 2017: 99). This is achieved by a whole range of metadiscourse features, whose classifications and taxonomies depend on the perspective that various authors assume in their analyses. In this paper the basis of the analysis will be Hyland's (2005) model of metadiscourse, which is "a more theoretically robust and analytically reliable model of metadiscourse, based on a number of core principles and offering clear criteria for identifying and coding features" (Hyland, 2005: 37).

Hyland's model is functional, which implies the idea that metadiscourse is context-dependent. In other words, one and the same word or phrase could be taken as a metadiscourse marker in one context, but not in the other, because in the former case this word or phrase has the *function* of a metadiscourse marker, but in the latter it does not. This model divides metadiscourse markers into two broad categories: interactive and interactional. The first category "concerns the writer's awareness of a participating audience and the ways he or she seeks to accommodate its probable knowledge, interests, rhetorical expectations and processing abilities" (Hyland, 2005: 49). The use of interactive metadiscourse markers ensures that the writer signals how discourse is organized and how he/she constructs it with the reader's needs, knowledge and experience in mind. The second category, interactional metadiscourse markers, is more concerned with the writer making his/her views explicit and involving readers by allowing them to respond to the text (Hyland, 2005: 49). More precisely, interactional metadiscourse is "essentially evaluative and engaging, expressing solidarity, anticipating objections and responding to an imagined dialogue with others. It reveals the extent to which the writer works to jointly construct the text with readers" (Hyland, 2005: 49–50).

As this paper focuses on the corpus analysis of students' summaries of a text they had previously read, it is clear that this type of texts produced by the students inherently requires the explication of the structure of the source paper and ideas presented there, which implies the necessity to use interactive metadiscourse markers. On the other hand, this task does not require students to make their views explicit as they are summarizing someone else's ideas and arguments, so interactional metadiscourse markers are not the subject of research presented here.

Interactive markers "are used to organize propositional information in ways that a projected target audience is likely to find coherent and convincing" (Hyland, 2005: 50) and they "anticipate readers' knowledge and reflect the writer's

assessment of what needs to be made explicit to constrain and guide what can be recovered from the text" (Hyland, 2010: 128). When summaries are concerned, this actually means that the students first choose which information from the source article needs to be included in the summary (what they deem important for the reader) and then organize this selected set of arguments in a way which they assess the reader will best understand, i.e. they "manage the information flow to explicitly establish his or her preferred interpretations" (Hyland, 2010: 129). This is generally achieved with five types of interactive metadiscourse markers: transitions, frame markers, endophoric markers, evidentials and code glosses (cf. Hyland, 2005: 50–52).

Transitions are mainly conjunctions, but also adverbials which signify additive (e.g. *and*, *moreover*, *furthermore*, etc.), comparative (e.g. *however*, *likewise*, *similarly*, *on the other hand*, etc.) or consequential (e.g. *therefore*, *in any case*, *nevertheless*, etc.) steps in presenting arguments. Next, frame markers refer to text boundaries or elements of schematic text structure, hence they sequence (e.g. *firstly*, *lastly*, *then*, *to begin with*, etc.), label text stages (e.g. *for the moment*, *in conclusion*, *in summary*, *on the whole*, etc.), announce goals in the discourse (e.g. *in this chapter*, *intention*, *objective*, *purpose*, *want to*, etc.) and specify topic shifts (e.g. *look more closely*, *with regard to*, *now*, *back to*, etc.). Then, endophoric markers refer to other parts of the text, which allows the reader to recover the writer's meaning that may rely on a reference to the point already made or an announcement of a point yet to be made (e.g. *in chapter X*, *Fig. X*, *X above*, *X below*, etc.). Evidentials serve the purpose of indexing another source, or more precisely referring to literature from the field, which supports arguments and conclusions (e.g. *to cite X*, *to quote X*, *according to X*, etc.). Finally, code glosses supply additional information because they rephrase, explain or elaborate what the writer had already said, which serves the purpose of clarification for the reader (e.g. *e.g.*, *for example*, *in other words*, *namely*, etc.).

When the genre of summaries is concerned, it can be clearly seen that its individual parts and aspects are covered by certain types of interactive metadiscourse markers. When the writer of the summary mentions the source text and its author, as well as any other authors he/she deems necessary, evidentials should be used. When the summary elaborates on the main ideas from the source text, the appropriate metadiscourse markers are transitions and frame markers. Finally, when the author of the summary thinks it is necessary to further explain ideas from the source text in case he/she assesses the reader needs further clarification, code glosses will serve this purpose. This paper investigates to what

extent EFL majors abide by the principles of this genre when they write summaries, which is further elaborated and investigated in the sections that follow.

4. RESEARCH METHOD

The research for this paper was conducted on the corpus collected in the MA course Advanced Academic Writing and Research at the Department of English Studies, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad in the academic 2016/2017. One part of the course trains students to read academic texts, identify main ideas and arguments and summarize them in order to incorporate them into their own papers and theses, most often in the section that deals with literature overview. In order to practice this skill and get feedback on their own production, the students were given an academic paper (Novakov, 2011) which they were supposed to read at home, single out the main points and write a 250-word summary. The source text that the students received did not have the abstract nor the summary from which they could adapt structure or phrases because those parts were deleted in the pdf file given to the students.

A total of 59 summaries were submitted with a total length of 13,200 words and an average length of 225 words per summary. All the summaries were then read, spelling errors were corrected and the texts were prepared for the two-step corpus analysis (cf. Hyland, 1998; Ädel, 2006): first the whole material was analyzed with the AntConc freeware for all instances of interactive metadiscourse markers listed in Hyland's (2005) appendix and then every concordance was manually filtered in order to separate metadiscourse functions of the words from Hyland's list from their other functions (e.g. the conjunction *and* was found to have 430 instances in the corpus, whereas it functions as a metadiscourse marker in 69 cases). Finally, after all interactive metadiscourse markers were counted and singled out in the corpus, their frequency per 10,000 words was calculated, as that is the standard procedure of presenting the occurrence of metadiscourse markers in texts.

5. RESULTS

Out of five Hyland's categories of interactive metadiscourse markers, four were identified in the material analyzed (code glosses, evidentials, frame markers and transition markers). The fifth category, endophoric markers, was not identified in the material because this type of metadiscourse markers refers to other parts of the same text (*in chapter X*, *in section X*, *in part X,* etc.); since the summaries were

short texts without intricate structure, it was neither possible nor necessary for students to refer to their internal parts or segments.

The first category of interactive metadiscourse markers are transition markers, which are formally mostly conjunctions or adverbial phrases, but functionally "they signal additive, causative and contrastive relations in the writer's thinking, expressing relationships between stretches of discourse" (Hyland, 2005: 50). After the results presented in Table 1. below are analyzed, it can be concluded that there are a few metadiscourse markers that have a relatively high frequency (*and*, *because*, *but*, *however*, *since*, *so*), while most of the others have less than ten occurrences in the entire corpus.

Table 1. Frequency of transition markers

TRANSITION MARKERS	per 13.200 words	per 10.000 words
also	5	3.79
alternatively	1	0.76
although	3	2.27
and	69	52.27
as a result	1	0.76
at the same time	1	0.76
because	14	10.60
but	29	21.97
even though	6	4.54
further	1	0.76
furthermore	5	3.79
however	25	18.94
in addition	4	3.03
moreover	4	3.03
on the other hand	5	3.79
result in	1	0.76
similarly	1	0.76
since	10	7.57
so	12	9.09
still	1	0.76
therefore	9	6.81
though	7	5.30
thus	3	2.27
whereas	1	0.76
while	5	3.79
yet	1	0.76
TOTAL	224	169.70

Frame markers as the second category analyzed in the corpus are of great importance for summaries in general since they order, sequence, label, predict and

shift arguments (Hyland, 2005: 51). In the summaries they serve the purpose of sequencing the parts of the source paper in order to help the reader understand its internal structure, but the quantitative analysis reveals that there are actually very few instances when students use them (see Table 2). Hyland (2005: 219-220) further subdivides them into frame markers of sequencing, frame markers that label stages, frame markers that announce goals and frame markers that shift topic (separated in the table with dotted lines) and on the basis of the results in Table 2 it can be deduced that the students sequence the arguments in their summaries, but do not label stages, announce goals or shift topics as much.

Table 2. Frequency of frame markers

FRAME MARKERS	per 13.200 words	per 10.000 words
(in) part x	8	6.06
(in) section x	3	2.27
finally	6	4.54
first	17	12.88
first of all	1	0.76
firstly	5	3.79
second	2	1.51
secondly	3	2.27
then	15	11.36
third	3	2.27
all in all	1	0.76
in conclusion	5	3.79
to conclude	3	2.27
aim	11	8.33
focus	3	2.27
goal	1	0.76
purpose	2	1.51
now	3	2.27
so	3	2.27
TOTAL	95	71.97

The third category of interactive metadiscourse markers that was analyzed are evidentials, which are "metalinguistic representations of an idea from another source" (Thomas and Hawes, 1994: 129). When the corpus analyzed in this paper is concerned, it seems that the students resorted to these discourse devices quite often (see Table 3). This can be explained by the fact that in their summaries they referred to the source paper or other sources it cited. Even though this is not always necessary in summaries, the students seemed to have applied what they had learnt in the course dealing with academic writing, where citing sources is an imperative and serves the purpose of avoiding plagiarism.

Table 3. Frequency of evidentials

EVIDENTIALS	per 13.200 words	per 10.000 words
(date) (name)	23	17.42
according to	8	6.06
TOTAL	31	23.48

The final category of interactive metadiscourse markers, code glosses, "supply additional information, by rephrasing, explaining or elaborating what has been said" (Hyland, 2005: 52), which in the case of the summaries from the corpus means that students offered alternative explanations in the parentheses or introduced examples from the source article to illustrate some of the theoretical claims made by its author (see Table 4). However, a closer comparison of the summaries from the corpus and the source text reveals the following: in most cases the students lifted phrases and parenthesized examples from the source text, which explains the relatively high number of the '( )' code gloss (41 per 10,000 words).

Table 4. Frequency of code glosses

CODE GLOSSES	per 13.200 words	per 10.000 words
( )	54	40.91
called	2	1.52
e.g.	1	0.76
for example	1	0.76
for instance	3	2.27
i.e.	4	3.03
in fact	1	0.76
namely	3	2.27
or	3	2.27
specifically	3	2.27
such as	4	3.03
that is	4	3.03
TOTAL	83	62.88

As has already been mentioned, the category of endophoric markers was not identified in the corpus, which is logical because the short summaries that were analyzed did not have an intricate internal structure, parts of which could be referred to in the text. If the other four categories of interactive metadiscourse markers are observed in comparison (see Table 5), it can be seen that transition markers are the most numerous and are followed by frame markers and code glosses, with a low frequency of evidentials.

Table 5. A comparative view of interactive metadiscourse markers

Category	Total items	Frequency per 10,000 words	% of total interactive metadiscourse markers
Transition markers	224	169.70	51.73
Frame markers	95	71.97	21.94
Evidentials	31	23.48	7.16
Code glosses	83	62.88	19.17
TOTAL	433	328.03	100

The results presented in this section need to be further contextualized and compared with other research studies in order to determine to what extent the students from the sample abide by the standard conventions of the application of interactive metadiscourse markers in academic writing.

6. DISCUSSION

When Table 5 is analyzed, it can be noticed that transition markers make up over 50% of all interactive metadiscourse markers in the summaries, as well as that frame markers and code glosses have an almost equal share of around 20%. Because there are no other papers which analyze metadiscourse markers in this genre, precise comparisons cannot be made in order to observe how the writing of EFL majors who are non-native speakers compares to that of native speakers. However, since the source paper was in the field of applied linguistics, a comparison with Hyland's (2010) analysis of interactive metadiscourse in dissertations by discipline, particularly in the field of applied linguistics, will be presented first (see Table 6).

Table 6. Comparison of interactive discourse in summaries and dissertations

Category	Frequency per 10,000 words	Hyland (2010)
Transition markers	169.70	95.1
Frame markers	71.97	25.5
Endophoric markers	0.0	22.0
Evidentials	23.48	82.2
Code glosses	62.88	41.1
TOTAL	328.03	265.9

Namely, Hyland (2010) has found that dissertations in applied linguistics have 265.9 interactive metadiscourse markers per 10,000 words, which is less than

in the corpus of summaries, which has 328.03. Furthermore, Hyland's transition markers and evidentials appear to almost the same extent (95.1 and 82.2 per 10,000 words), which differs from the analyzed summaries (169.70 and 23.48 per 10,000 words). This could, of course, be explained by the differences in genre, because dissertations are by all means expected to cite other sources and do that frequently, which is not really the case with summaries. Another noticeable point of difference is the frequency of frame markers, which is much higher in the corpus of summaries (71.97 vs. 25.5). This could be explained by the content of the courses EFL majors took during their studies, which insist on the use of transition and frame markers in general, but also by the genre, since summaries condense a lot of information in a short text and therefore need to be "reader-friendly" in terms of ordering and sequencing information that can be found in different parts of the source paper. Finally, code glosses are again more frequent in summaries than in dissertations (62.88 vs. 41.1) and a closer look at Table 4 reveals why. Namely, 65% of all code glossed that EFL majors used in their summaries are parentheses '( )' which further explain or exemplify information from the source paper, while all other code glosses are very infrequent. All these differences could also be explained by other factors such as the length of the texts in the corpus (very long dissertations vs. very short summaries), but also by the differences between native and non-native writers, which should definitely be further explored in another paper.

However, what is more interesting in the results of the analysis is the uneven distribution of particular interactive metadiscourse markers within each subcategory. Like already noted for transitions, markers like *and*, *because*, *but*, *however*, *since*, *so* have a relatively high frequency, while instances of other markers (*whereas*, *thus*, *still*, etc.) have just a few occurrences in the corpus. The same could be noted for other categories of interactive metadiscourse: the most frequent frame markers are *first*, *then* and *aim*, but *second* and *third*, or *goal* and *focus* appear just once or twice in the entire corpus; in the category of evidentials *(name) (date)* is much more frequent than *according to*; and finally, in the category of code glosses parentheses '( )' outweigh all other code glosses combined. Lack of variety of interactive metadiscourse could be illustrated with an excerpt from a summary in the corpus:

> *Some terms were not even adapted into Serbian (low fat)* **and** *the usage of borrowed words was often unjustified because of the existence of the domestic terms (implementacija – sprovođenje),* **and** *the borrowed words were not always understood. Afterwards the terminology started to be integrated into Serbian* **and** *the terms were naturalized.*

As it can be seen, in the two sentences from a summary that have a total of 51 words the transition marker *and* was used three times even though it could have been replaced by another marker with some syntactic changes. This feature of EFL majors' summaries is considered to be poor academic writing, which is characterized by the lack of variety of metadiscourse markers (Intaraprawat and Steffensen, 1995: 265). What can also be noticed about the excerpt above is that it resembles spoken language with a repetitive use of coordination and lack of subordination, which is another feature of poor ESL writing that Intaraprawat and Steffensen (1995: 262) detected. These findings imply that there is a need to pay more attention to metadiscourse markers in courses that teach academic writing to EFL majors and other non-native speakers, so some of the principles that could help improve their skill are outlined in the section that follows.

7. PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

If summaries are taken to be a genre, then it is logical that they could be the subject of a genre-based approach to teaching writing. This method implies a focus on two different sides of summaries: the source text and the summary itself. As some research studies (Kongpetch, 2006; Cheng, 2008; Chen and Su, 2012) have proven, if students understand how a source paper is structured, they could more easily distinguish between important and unimportant points, which will later help them structure their summary. According to Widodo (2006), the genre-based approach to writing requires students to (1) understand why they are writing a text, i.e. focus on its purpose; (2) ask themselves who they are writing for, i.e. who the audience will be; and (3) think about how to write a text, i.e. what its organization should be like. When summaries are concerned, students should be taught that they are writing a summary in order to show their understanding of the source text and present in short form its main points and their relevance for students' own research if the summary is part of an MA thesis. They should also discuss with their teacher of academic writing what kind of audience they are writing the summary for and it should be made clear that the audience is usually an expert in the field. Finally, when discussing organization, they should pay attention to the distinction between important and less important aspects of the source text and decide how they are going to present a selection of important points in their own text. The results of the research presented in this paper could be of great use in this case. Hyland (2007) describes a teaching-learning cycle of a genre-based approach, which could be applied with some modification to teaching EFL majors how to write a summary. The first stage is setting the context, where students explore the purpose of

summary writing. This is followed by modelling, where students analyze discourse features of a sample summary, which should definitely put an emphasis on metadiscourse markers and possible variations in their use. Then students do controlled tasks with teacher guidance in order to learn and practice the organizational and grammatical features of the genre such as markers, which is followed by independent tasks without teacher control. Finally, students collaborate in pairs or groups and compare their products, do peer assessment and state what they had learnt in the process and what aspects still need improvement. When this cycle is repeated enough times, students will gradually acquire the conventions of this genre and hopefully increase the skill of using adequate and varied metadiscourse markers in their own writing.

8. CONCLUSION

Using a corpus-based approach, this paper has set out to analyze how EFL majors use interactive metadiscourse markers when writing summaries of a paper from the field of applied linguistics. The analysis of 59 summaries has established that students used four categories of interactive metadiscourse and that more than half of overall markers were transitions. Furthermore, the analysis has established that despite relatively high frequencies of markers in the corpus, especially in comparison to Hyland (2010), the variation of markers is low, i.e. students used just a few markers very frequently, while the majority of other markers were essentially underrepresented, which confirms the initial hypothesis. This has established ground for pedagogical improvements in the courses that tackle academic writing, especially courses that prepare students for writing their MA theses. What remains to be investigated is an idea mentioned several times in the papers, related to the students' ability to distinguish important and unimportant information, which has a direct influence on how summaries are structured and which metadiscourse markers are used. However, since that falls well beyond the scope of this paper, it could be the topic of a future research study.

Biljana Radić-Bojanić

INTERAKTIVNI METADISKURSNI MARKERI U SAŽECIMA STUDENATA ENGLESKOG JEZIKA I KNJIŽEVNOSTI

Rezime

Obrazovanje studenata engleskog jezika i književnosti uključuje i razvoj akademskih veština, ponajviše veština čitanja i pisanja. Ove veštine su studentima veoma značajne pošto mnogi

zadaci tokom studija podrazumevaju pisanje seminarskih radova kojima prethodi opsežno čitanje i analiza literature. Proces čitanja podrazumeva da studenti umeju tokom čitanja da razluče bitne informacije od nebitnih, tj. ono što će u seminarskom ili nekom drugom radu spomenuti spram onoga što će izostaviti. Nadalje, proces pisanja podrazumeva sposobnost studenata da veliku količinu informacija sažmu i predstave ih, u skladu sa tradicijom pisanja na engleskom jeziku, na način koji će čitaocu biti lak za praćenje i razumevanje. Tokom studija studenti engleskog jezika i književnosti pohađaju nekolike kurseve koji u nekim svojim delovima naglašavaju potrebu promene stila pisanja koji su studenti usvojili u maternjem jeziku, što konkretno podrazumeva uvođenje raznolikih metadiskursnih markera koji čitaoca vode kroz tekst. Stoga ovaj rad istražuje upotrebu interaktivnih metadiskursnih markera u sažecima studenata engleskog jezika i književnosti na korpusu od 13.200 reči (ukupno 59 sažetaka koje su pisali studenti masterskih studija engleskog jezika i književnosti). Pomenuti korpus je analiziran uz pomoć besplatnog softvera za korpusnu analizu *AntConc*, a dobijeni rezultati ukazuju na to da su tranzicioni izrazi najčešće korišćena grupa interaktivnih metadiskursnih markera, a potom slede markeri sheme i izrazi za razjašnjavanje pojmova u gotovo jednakoj meri. Pronađeno je najmanje markera izvora tvrdnje, dok nije pronađen nijedan primer markera najave. Sem toga, kvantitativni rezultati za pojedinačne interaktivne metadiskursne markere ukazuju na nizak stepen varijacija, tačnije na to da studenti izrazito često koriste samo nekoliko markera, dok su sve ostale mogućnosti unutar svake od kategorija nedovoljno iskorišćene. Dobijeni rezultati ukazuju na potrebu da se kod studenata i dalje razvija svest o značaju ove oblasti u okviru akademskog pisanja, a u radu se daju konkretne pedagoške preporuke i koraci za poboljšanje nastavnog procesa.

Ključne reči: sažetak, studenti engleskog jezika i književnosti, akademsko pisanje, interaktivni metadiskursni markeri, korpusna analiza.

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THE USE OF METADISCOURSE MARKERS IN ESSAYS WRITTEN BY ESP UNIVERSITY STUDENTS[**]

The study deals with metadiscourse markers employed in the essays written by ESP university students of mechanical engineering. The aim was to investigate the frequency of use of metadiscourse markers and to determine their types according to Hyland's (2005) taxonomy. The corpus consisted of 100 essays dealing with two topics related to mechanical engineering. The research findings indicate that students used interactional metadiscourse categories to a significantly higher extent than interactive metadiscourse categories. The most used markers overall were transitions, followed by engagement markers and hedges. This suggests that students tried to capture the attention of their readers and make them participate in the discussion. Still, some markers were misused or overused, which implies that students need more instruction in the adequate use of markers. It can be concluded that adding explicit instruction in the use of metadiscourse markers to the ESP university curriculum would increase the level of students' pragmatic competence so as to help them avoid pragmatic failures in writing.

Key words: essay writing, metadiscourse markers, ESP, pragmatic competence, university students.

INTRODUCTION

Metadiscourse markers, as devices that primarily contribute to the cohesion and coherence of a text, have been a very popular topic of research in recent years.

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This is due to the fact that they serve to establish a relationship with the reader and convey the writer's message better, which is especially important when it comes to academic writing. As such, they also play a vital role in the development of pragmatic competence of foreign language learners since metadiscourse "increases the readability of an essay and makes it more likely that the message will be understood" (Intaraprawat–Steffensen, 1995: 254).

The current study deals with the metadiscourse employed in the genre of undergraduate student essays. The aim is to investigate the use of metadiscourse markers in the essays written by first-year students of mechanical engineering within English for Specific Purposes (ESP) courses at the University of Belgrade. More precisely, we seek to identify the types of metadiscourse markers used according to Hyland's interpersonal model of metadiscourse (Hyland, 2005) and obtain an insight into the frequency of their use. The study can be viewed as diagnostic research which serves to assess the students' current skills in using metadiscourse features in writing and identify points where they might need help and clarifications in the context of ESP.

The paper is organised in the following way. In the next section, we reflect on the concept of metadiscourse and its importance in academic writing, as well as on previous studies dealing with the use of metadiscourse markers in English learners' essays. The third section contains a description of the corpus and methods used in the study. The fourth section provides the results of the conducted quantitative and qualitative analyses. The final part discusses the findings and provides pedagogical implications relevant to increasing students' pragmatic competence in ESP.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The concept of metadiscourse

The term 'metadiscourse' goes back to 1959 when it was coined by Zellig Harris (Harris, 1959). It soon became appealing to different language scholars, who started inventing their own models and definitions related to metadiscourse. Other terms were created in time, showing similarities with the term 'metadiscourse' (metacommunication (Rossiter, 1974), signalling words (Meyer, 1975) or meta-talk (Schiffrin, 1980)).

The particular features of metadiscourse used in the text are usually labelled as metadiscourse markers. Various taxonomies of metadiscourse markers have been proposed in the literature (cf. Blagojević, 2008; Crismore–Markkanen, &

Steffensen, 1993; Hyland, 2005; Vande Kopple, 1985; 2002; 2012). In this paper, we opted for Hyland's widely known interpersonal model of metadiscourse (Hyland, 2005: 48–49), which comprises two categories of metadiscourse, interactive and interactional. Interactive metadiscourse serves to "help to guide the reader through the text" and includes transitions (e.g. *in addition*, *but*, *and*), frame markers (e.g. *finally*, *to conclude*), endophoric markers (e.g. *noted above*, *see Fig*), evidentials (e.g. *according to X*, *Z states*) and code glosses (e.g. *namely*, *such as*) (Hyland, 2005: 49). Interactional markers are used to "involve the reader in the text" (Hyland, 2005: 49) and comprise hedges (e.g. *perhaps*, *might*, *possible*), boosters (e.g. *definitely*, *in fact, it is clear that*), attitude markers (e.g. *surprisingly*, *unfortunately*), self-mentions (e.g. *I*, *me*, *we*, *our*) and engagement markers (e.g. *consider*, *note, you can see that*) (Hyland, 2005: 49).

Almost all scholars agree that metadiscourse is an important segment of both writing and the writer's pragmatic competence; an author who is able to adequately use metadiscourse markers is considered a successful writer. The importance of the appropriate use of metadiscourse for successful academic writing has been frequently emphasised in the literature (e.g. Hyland, 2004; Hyland–Tse, 2004). Metadiscourse has been labelled a crucial element of text meaning, "which helps relate a text to its context, taking readers' needs, understandings, existing knowledge, prior experiences with texts and relative status into account" (Hyland–Tse, 2004: 161). By using metadiscourse features correctly, writers can "highlight certain relationships and aspects of the organisation to accommodate readers' understandings, guide their reading, and make them aware of the writer's preferred interpretations" (Hyland–Tse, 2004: 164). There is a plethora of research articles on metadiscourse and its use in academic writing which highlight its significance for both writers and readers (e.g. Alyousef, 2015; Blagojević, 2008; 2010; Hauranen, 1993; Hyland, 1998; 2000; 2001; 2005; Li–Subtirelu, 2015; Vande Kopple, 2012).

Previous studies on metadiscourse in L2 writing

The use of metadiscourse markers plays a very important role in the development of pragmatic competence of foreign language learners, especially in the context of academic target situations, within the language for academic purposes (Hyland, 2006). Pragmatic competence implies "the ability to communicate your intended message with all its nuances in any socio-cultural context and to interpret the message of your interlocutor as it was intended" (Fraser, 2010: 15).

Essay writing is an integral part of developing student L2 skills and it is usually included in the curriculum of foreign language courses at all levels of education, including teaching a foreign language at university. Still, it may be argued that undergraduate students are mostly inexperienced writers when it comes to academic writing, both in their native and second language. The case of L2 writers is emphasised as quite specific in the literature since they are in the process of learning the foreign language, e.g. mastering its morphology, syntax and lexicon (Intaraprawat–Steffensen, 1995: 255), but, on the other hand, are faced with "the task of learning the conventions of an L2 discourse community" (Intaraprawat–Steffensen, 1995: 255). An important issue that is also raised in the literature is the audience that the student writes to in an academic setting. It is usually a teacher, who may pay more attention to lexis and grammar, and less to text coherence and the ideas expressed in the text (Intaraprawat–Steffensen, 1995), thus failing to develop awareness in students about the importance of metadiscourse features necessary for successful writing.

The inability of students to use metadiscourse adequately in university foreign language classes "might be a consequence of an insufficient input of metadiscourse knowledge during their secondary education" (Ho–Li, 2018: 65). The issue of previous knowledge and the extent of knowledge about the correct use of metadiscourse has been mentioned as important in other studies as well (e.g. Intaraprawat–Steffensen, 1995). These authors argue that certain metadiscourse markers show good effects of teaching, such as connectives, coordinating conjunctions and conjunctive adverbs, which are usually included in the ESL textbooks (Intaraprawat–Steffensen, 1995).

Various studies have dealt with the use of metadiscourse in a university setting (e.g. Aull–Lancaster, 2014; Cheng–Steffensen, 1996; Hyland–Tse, 2004; Lee–Subtirelu, 2015; Li–Wharton, 2012; Kobayashi, 2016; Steffensen–Cheng, 1996), with special attention paid to writing in the second language, especially English. The research was focused on different aspects of metadiscourse, such as establishing the types of metadiscourse markers used, their use in successful and less successful essays, as well as the differences in their use depending on the students' native language and the effects of teaching metadiscourse markers. Some studies investigated the use of specific markers, such as hedges (Crompton, 2012), or specific metadiscourse categories, such as interactional markers (Lee–Deakin, 2016).

Previous studies have reported higher use of interactive metadiscourse in undergraduate EFL learners' essays (e.g. Crismore et al., 1993; Li–Wharton, 2012).

It has also been shown that postgraduate writing is characterised by the frequent use of transitions (Hyland–Tse, 2004). The comparison of the use of metadiscourse in successful and less successful university students' essays has shown that successful essays contained more hedges than the less successful ones (Lee–Deakin, 2016), as well as that, regardless of the quality of the essay, boosters appeared less frequently than hedges in student essays. Previous research has found that there are differences in the use of metadiscourse markers in L2 essays depending on the L1 groups (Kobayashi, 2016). Some studies have also revealed gender variations in the use of metadiscourse features (Crismore et al., 1993).

MATERIALS AND METHODS

As stated in the introduction, the aim of this study is to investigate the frequency of use of metadiscourse markers in the genre of student essays and to classify them according to the taxonomy provided in Hyland's interpersonal model of metadiscourse (Hyland, 2005). We used a corpus of 100 essays written by the first-year students of the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, University of Belgrade (N=100), all native speakers of Serbian. The gender structure of students was 76% of male students and 24% of female. Students' English-language proficiency had not been tested prior to the task of essay writing, and hence the data on their proficiency can only be inferred from the grades they obtained in English in the course they attended at the university (level B2/C1). The largest number of students had the highest grades, 10 and 9 (32% of students obtained the grade 10, and 29% the grade 9), 26% of students had an 8, while only 13% of students had the lowest grades (7% had the grade 6, and 6% obtained the grade 7). Hence, it may be argued that the general proficiency in English of the students who wrote the essays was at an upper-intermediate level towards the advanced level, although this cannot be said with certainty, due to the lack of adequate data.

The students were given the task to write an essay ranging from 150 to 250 words as part of their final English exam, with 45 minutes at their disposal for this activity. They could choose between two topics pertaining to mechanical engineering: *Advances in Mechanical Engineering in the 21ˢᵗ century* and *Mechanical Engineering – Branches and Opportunities*. These issues had previously been discussed during regular classes at the university, but students were not explicitly instructed on how to use metadiscourse markers.

Once the essays had been collected, they were carefully read by both authors. The authors independently identified and classified metadiscourse markers according to the developed coding protocol based on the aforementioned typology

provided by Hyland (2005). Since linguistic units may have the role of metadiscourse in some parts of the text and not in some others (Hyland, 2004), special attention was paid to the context in which a specific unit occurred. There were several situations in which the authors' judgements were different, and these cases were solved by mutual discussion, resulting in agreement. The findings of the metadiscourse markers' classification and the results of additional statistical analyses which indicate the relations between the number of metadiscourse markers used and the length of essays, students' gender and their grade in English are provided in the following section.

RESEARCH RESULTS

We previously mentioned that the corpus of student essays comprised 100 essays. The total number of words was 18,650 (i.e. the average length of an essay was 186.5 words). The results of our analysis show that students used 980 metadiscourse markers in total, which is 9.8 per essay (the normalised frequency per 1,000 words was 52.5). The highest number of markers used in an individual essay was twenty-six, while the lowest was one marker, used in three essays. There were 607 interactional markers in total (the normalised frequency was 32.55 per 1,000 words) and 373 interactive markers (the normalised frequency at 20.00 per 1,000 words). The most numerous in the individual categories were transitions (n=281; 15.07 per 1,000 words), which belong to the group of interactive markers, followed by engagement markers (n=254; 13.52 per 1,000 words) and hedges (n=222; 11.90 per 1,000 words), which belong to the group of interactional markers.

The statistical analysis has shown that longer essays, as a rule, contained a larger number of markers ($r = .23$, $p < .05$), i.e. the length of essays was significantly and positively correlated with the number of markers. On the other hand, the number of markers in individual essays was not significantly correlated with the students' grades in English ($r = .02$, $p = .87$). The difference between male and female students in the number of markers used was not significant either, confirming that both males and females, on the average, used the same number of markers in their essays.

Although the two topics which served as writing prompts for students were considered equally argumentative, the results show that the average number of used metadiscourse markers varied depending on the topic. A larger number of markers was used in the case of the topic *Advances in Mechanical Engineering in the 21st century* (11.2 markers per essay on the average) than in the case of the topic

Branches of Mechanical Engineering (8.8 markers on the average) and this difference is statistically significant (t (98) = -2,15, *p* < .05). A fairly similar number of students chose each topic (54% selected the topic *Advances in Mechanical Engineering in the 21ˢᵗ century* and 46% opted for the topic *Branches of Mechanical Engineering*). There were no differences in the average grade of the two groups of students that chose a different topic (t(98) = .10, *p* = .92).

The use of interactional metadiscourse in the analysed corpus of essays

As stated earlier, the number of interactional markers in the analysed corpus was significantly higher than the number of interactive markers. The distribution of interactional markers according to categories (engagement markers, hedges, boosters, self-mentions, attitude markers) is given in Table 1.

Table 1: Frequency of interactional markers used in the analysed corpus

Category	Tokens	Normalised frequency per 1,000 words
Engagement markers	254	13.62
Hedges	222	11.90
Boosters	74	3.97
Self-mentions	50	2.68
Attitude markers	7	0.38
Total	**607**	**32.55**

Engagement markers were the most used category of interactional metadiscourse (the normalised frequency at 13.62 per 1,000 words). They serve to include the reader in the text and indicate the presence of the reader and the shared knowledge (Hyland, 2005: 53–54). These are some of the examples of engagement markers found in the corpus.[1]

(1) Who knows what will happen in future and how new discoveries will look like?
(2) *You can use* air tunel to improve *your* aircrafts aerodynamics and with that save a galons of fuel.
(3) One of the mechanical engineering branches in which *we can see* these advances is robotics.

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[1] Illustrative examples from the corpus are provided in their original form, i.e. including all the spelling and grammar errors made by the essay writers.

In (1), the whole question is an example of an engagement marker: the writer raises a rhetorical question, which serves to seek the attention of the readership, i.e. engage the readers into an argument. In example (2), the student-writer explicitly addresses the audience, emphasising their presence in the text by using the pronoun *you* and the possessive adjective *your* (cf. Hyland 2005: 53). Furthermore, example (3) shows that inclusive *we* can also be used to highlight the inclusion of the readers in an argument.

The second most frequently used category of interactional markers in the analysed corpus includes hedges (the normalised frequency was 11.90 per 1,000 words). The purpose of hedges is to express the author's opinion and position rather than facts. Hence, their use in the corpus suggests different degrees of confidence (Hyland, 2005: 52), as shown by the examples below (4–7). In (4) and (6), student writers used the hedge *almost*, which decreases the strength of the claim and the degree of confidence. This may imply that they wanted to be cautious when it comes to generalisation. In examples (5) and (7), the use of modal hedges *could*, *maybe* and *perhaps* demonstrates that the writers withheld the full commitment towards their proposition.

(4) *Almost* every process in any kind of industry can be done by mechanical.

(5) Science is improving so fast that we *could maybe* in future *travel* through time, go to other planets and live on the, we don't know so we'll have to wait to finde out.

(6) Every single branch helps people in *almost* everything they do though day and, *generally speaking*, it makes our life easier.

(7) *Perhaps* that one skill is the mechanical engineer's exclusive domain is the ability to analyze and design object and systems with motion.

The frequency of boosters, self-mentions and attitude markers in the analysed corpus of student essays was not very high (with the normalised frequencies at 3.97, 2.68 and 0.38 per 1,000 words, respectively).

Boosters serve to show the author's confidence and certainty regarding the topic and the audience (Hyland, 2005: 52–53). In (8), the use of the booster *there is no doubt* implies that the student writer wished to emphasise that it was very likely or highly possible that the expressed claim was true. Similarly, the use of the adverb *surely* in example (9) indicates that the writer had a confident attitude towards the proposition.

(8) In the conclusion, I would say that *there is no doubt that* mechanical engineering has big opportunities and potential to make greater progress in future.

(9) One of the biggest advantages of mechanical engineering in 21st century is a possibility that it will slowly, but *surely*, for the next couple of decades be in a position to solve global issues.

Self-mentions in (10) and (11) imply the explicit presence of the author(s) in the text, and their use shows openly their relation towards "their arguments, their community and their readers" (Hyland, 2005: 53).

(10) *I get a bit sad* when *I hear that* old-fashion pen and ruler are not used any more.

(11) These are only two examples and *I could tell* you a 100 more.

Attitude markers, indicating the author's affectivity regarding the propositional content (Hyland, 2005: 53), were the least present in the analysed essays. For instance, students used phrases such as *it is no wonder that* (example 12) not to show surprise or *proudly* (example 13) to show pride.

(12) Keeping in mind that engineers have a wide errey of subjects to choose from in colleges and *it is no wonder that* it is the study of the future.

(13) Thanks to the recent technological advances in mechanical engineering, new generations can *proudly* say that we as a human kind are closer then ever to realization of an energy free and clean society.

The rather infrequent use of these categories of metadiscourse markers may imply that students are still not aware of their uses and significance, as well as of the effect they can produce in readers. Based on the analysed essays, it may be argued that students lack confidence when it comes to discussing some points in their arguments since they mainly avoid using the personal pronouns *I* or *we*, thus opting not to show their attitude towards the topic.

The use of interactive metadiscourse in the analysed corpus of essays

The distribution of interactive markers according to categories (transitions, code glosses, frame markers, evidentials and endophoric markers) is given in Table 2. It should be noted that all other interactive metadiscourse categories apart from transitions were used to a very low extent, while the category of endophoric markers was not found in the analysed corpus at all. The reason for missing endophoric markers in this type of writing can be the shortness of the essays, as

well as their main purpose. Namely, endophoric markers are usually used for pointing to other parts of the same text and since the analysed essays can be considered short forms, it is somewhat expected that this type of markers be rarely present or not present at all.

Table 2: *Frequency of interactive markers used in the analysed corpus*

Category	Tokens	Normalised frequency per 1,000 words
Transitions	281	15.07
Code glosses	57	3.06
Frame markers	30	1.61
Evidentials	5	0.27
Endophoric markers	0	0.00
Total	**373**	**20.00**

Transitions were by far the most frequently occurring category of markers overall (the normalised frequency was 15.07 per 1,000 words), which is in line with some previous studies (e.g. Ho–Li, 2018; Hyland–Tse, 2004). Their function is to link ideas and help the reader to interpret them, implying addition (e.g. *and*, *furthermore*), comparison (e.g. *similarly*, *likewise*, *in contrast*, *however*) or consequence (e.g. *thus*, *therefore*, *in conclusion*, *nevertheless*, *anyway*) relations (Hyland, 2005: 50). The examples of various types of transitions identified in the corpus are given below (14–16). In example (14), the use of *however* and *but* implies that students sought to compare different views by contrasting them; the transition marker *because* used in example (15) suggests the reason for the claim stated in the previous clause, while the use of the marker *although* again implies a contrast between the statements introduced in the subordinate and main clauses (16).

(14)   *However*, every modul (branch) will bring you some money, *but* first you have to study, a lot.

(15)   Mechanical engineers have to work closely with computer scientists, biologists, architects etc. *because* there is a big distinction between every engineering field.

(16)   *Although* it is hard to predict exactly how mechanical engineering will advance in the 21st century, I think that we can conclude that the new century will bring new advances in the area of robotics.

Code glosses serve to clarify the given information, provide more details or rephrase information (Hyland, 2005: 52). Not many examples of this category were found in the analysed corpus (the normalised frequency at 3.06 per 1,000 words).

The code glosses used in the corpus (examples 17 and 18) serve for illustrating instances (*for example*), as well as for distinguishing one situation from another (*particularly*).

(17)   *For example*, mechanical engineering is used in bio-medicine, engineers can fight diseses and do many more.

(18)   *Particularly,* by using various technics, mechanical engineers developed a series of systems which greatly improved possibilities of using renewable energy.

The frequency of frame markers and evidentials is also fairly low in the analysed student essays (the normalised frequencies at 1.61 and 0.27 per 1,000 words, respectively). The function of frame markers is to "provide framing information about elements of the discourse" (Hyland, 2005: 51). In corpus examples (19, 20), we can see sequencing, which is introduced so that the readers can clearly see the order of different arguments.

(19)   *First of all* this is reflected in it's branches.

(20)   And *last but not the least* is the 3d Computer-aided design which helps mechanical engineers in creating new inventions with more precision and less time.

Evidentials indicate other sources of information, that is, other authors' stances, and are valuable for arguments (Hyland, 2005: 51). These were also few and far between in the analysed corpus. Illustrative examples (21) and (22) indicate that students wished to substantiate their own claims by relying on the opinion of experts and scientists, thus raising the credibility of their own arguments.

(21)   *Experts are of the opinion that* in the next ten years for now, every company that operates in mechanical engineering should be more advanced in training and use of computerication.

(22)   *Scientists believe* that is future of the world. The development of mechanical engineering never stops.

Adequacy of the use of metadiscourse markers in the analysed corpus

Looking at the obtained results, it may be argued that students generally recognised the importance of using metadiscourse markers when writing essays (52.5 per 1,000 words). Some students have shown a very high level of proficiency in using these markers within their essays. They were able to properly employ metadiscourse markers for expressing and connecting their thoughts, rephrasing and

giving examples, including the readers into the text, balancing between the propositional and non-propositional content of the essay, etc. In contrast, there were students who obviously struggled when it came to this segment of writing; they either used metadiscourse features to a very small extent or used them inadequately.

Some students tended to use as many metadiscourse markers as possible, without paying attention to whether this was appropriate or not. However, students were not informed about the purpose of the research, so this could not have been the reason for using the markers excessively in certain cases. A more plausible explanation for the inadequate use of discourse markers may be students' lack of knowledge about the proper use of these linguistic units, which might be attributed to the fact that they were not explicitly instructed how, why and when to utilise markers at previous levels of education. We may also argue that students used plenty of markers because they considered them as valuable devices to fill in the gaps or write the necessary number of words (approximately 150 words).

Certain markers were repeated a number of times within a single text (e.g. *and*, *but*, *so*, *for example*, *such as*). Another instance of the misuse of markers in the analysed corpus regards the overuse of questions (e.g. three long questions in a 206-word or 170-word essay). Although the overall frequency of self-mentions was low, in some essays the first-person pronouns *I* (e.g. *I think*, *I assume*, *I expect*) and *we* (both exclusive and inclusive: *We can make…*, *we are connected…*, *we use some kind of…*, *we drive cars*) were used more than three times in a row, which can also be regarded as overuse. Some of the students (seven essays in total), probably wishing to involve the reader in the text as much as possible, used the pronoun *you* too often in successive sentences.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The aim of the current study was to investigate the presence of metadiscourse markers in undergraduate student essays written in English with the topic related to their future profession as a prompt. The study has shown that university students frequently use markers although they were not explicitly instructed to do so, at least not in university foreign language classes. Students mostly used interactional metadiscourse (predominantly engagement markers and hedges), which might imply that they readily involved themselves in the text trying to capture the attention of the readers and make them participate in the discussion. This is a difference compared to the findings of previous research, which registered a higher use of interactive metadiscourse (e.g. Crismore et al., 1993; Li–Wharton, 2012). On the other hand, the most frequently used markers overall were transitions,

a type of interactive metadiscourse, which may indicate the students' awareness of the importance of connecting ideas into a coherent whole. The high use of transitions has also been recorded in other similar studies (e.g. Hyland–Tse, 2004).

Although the students were not previously introduced to the features of metadiscourse in university foreign language courses, the results of this study undoubtedly show that, in the majority, they were able to use different types of metadiscourse. The pattern of distribution of metadiscourse markers used in the essays shows that the students' primary focus was on engaging the readers, joining different ideas and cautiously stating their own opinions on the given topic. Still, some markers were misused, or the same markers were sometimes overused. Based on the results of this study, we may argue that university students need more instruction in the adequate use of markers. Students should learn about "appropriate ways to convey attitude, mark structure, and engage with readers" (Hyland, 2004: 148) by exploring metadiscourse in their own and in published writing. Further, ESP instruction in writing, e.g. the types of writing tasks in English classes at the university, should target the needs of these students so as to correspond to writing tasks in their future professional life, such as writing project proposals, technical reports for international clients, and ultimately, research articles in English. One of the possibilities for the practical introduction in ESP classes is the usage of authentic corpora (for example, the corpus of research articles, the corpus of student essays) with and without metadiscourse markers given so that the students can see the differences and learn the relevance and purposes of these markers.

The limitation of the current research is the fact that it served only to obtain insight into mechanical engineering students' current proficiency in the use of metadiscourse. Furthermore, we had no data on the input concerning the teaching of metadiscourse features at previous levels of education, so we could not judge whether some students had already been introduced to these markers, which may well have enhanced their awareness of the significance of using these devices when writing essays. Therefore, this research could be extended to, first of all, check the previous knowledge of students in the field of metadiscourse and judge their progress in ESP university courses. Future studies could also include the essays of the students of other majors with the writing prompts related to their own disciplines and compare the frequency of use and types of metadiscourse markers used.

It can be concluded that explicit introduction to the use of metadiscourse markers within the ESP curriculum would help students become more confident and rhetorically aware when presenting their ideas and attitudes so as to avoid

pragmatic failures. However, students should be also instructed on how to use these markers adequately in different contexts through carefully devised tasks during English language classes at university. In addition, their attention should be drawn to the right proportion of using metadiscourse markers in writing so as to enhance their overall pragmatic competence in ESP.

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UPOTREBA METADISKURSNIH MARKERA U ESEJIMA STUDENATA KOJI UČE ENGLESKI JEZIK STRUKE

Rezime

U poslednje vreme, metadiskursni markeri predstavljaju čest predmet istraživanja u primenjenoj lingvistici i analizi diskursa. Svrha metadiskursnih markera jeste uspostavljanje odnosa sa čitaocem i bolje prenošenje poruke autora, što je posebno važno kada je reč o akademskom pisanju. Usled toga, metadiskursni markeri imaju važnu ulogu i u razvoju pragmatičke kompetencije onih koji uče strane jezike.

Predmet ovog istraživanja je metadiskurs u žanru studentskih eseja. Cilj istraživanja jeste da se analizira upotreba metadiskursnih markera u esejima koje su pisali studenti koji pohađaju kurseve engleskog jezika struke na univerzitetu i da ih razvrsta prema široko korišćenoj Hajlandovoj taksonomiji metadiskursnih markera. Korpus su činili eseji studenata prve godine mašinstva (N=100). Studenti su imali zadatak da napišu esej na engleskom jeziku dužine od 150 do 250 reči kao deo završnog ispita, na jednu od dve teme koje se tiču oblasti mašinstva: "*Advances in Mechanical Engineering in the 21st century*" i "*Mechanical Engineering – Branches and Opportunities*". O ovim temama se na časovima prethodno diskutovalo, ali studenti nisu dobili uputstva o tome na koji način treba koristiti metadiskursne markere u esejima.

Rezultati pokazuju da su studenti koristili oko 52,5 markera na 1.000 reči. U okviru analize prema kategorijama Hajlandovog interpersonalnog modela metadiskursa, pokazuje se da su interakcioni markeri (607 markera ukupno, tj. 32,55 na 1.000 reči) češće korišćeni od interaktivnih markera (373 markera ukupno, tj. 20 na 1.000 reči). Najbrojniji markeri u pojedinačnim kategorijama su bile tranzitivni markeri (ukupno 281, tj. 15,07 na 1.000 reči) koje pripadaju grupi interaktivnih markera, a zatim slede markeri angažovanja (254 ukupno, tj. 13,52 na 1.000 reči) i ograde (222 ukupno, tj. 11,90 na 1.000 reči), koji pripadaju grupi interakcionih markera.

Ovakav obrazac upotrebe metadiskursnih markera u analiziranim esejima ukazuje na to da su studenti najpre želeli da uključe čitaoca u tekst, a zatim i da na odgovarajući način povežu različite ideje i da oprezno iznesu svoje stavove o datim temama. Iako se pokazalo da je većina studenata sposobna da koristi metadiskursne markere u pisanju eseja na stručnu

temu na engleskom jeziku, u pojedinim slučajevima zabeležena je i pogrešna ili preterana upotreba metadiskursa. Stoga se može zaključiti da bi eksplicitno uvođenje teme upotrebe metadiskursa na časovima engleskog jezika na univerzitetu doprinelo razvijanju pragmatičke kompetencije i omogućilo studentima da se adekvatno izražavaju u pisanoj formi na engleskom jeziku pri pisanju predloga projekata, tehničke dokumentacije ili naučnih radova u njihovoj daljoj profesionalnoj karijeri.

Ključne reči: pisanje eseja, metadiskursni markeri, engleski jezik struke, pragmatička kompetencija, nastava jezika na univerzitetu.

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ELEMENTS OF POPULAR CULTURE IN TEACHING SENTENCE PATTERNS AND VERBAL CATEGORIES TO STUDENTS OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE[**]

The paper deals with the application of elements of present-day popular culture in teaching certain elements of grammar to first-year undergraduate students of English Language and Literature at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad. Preceded by a theoretical discussion of implicit/explicit and descriptive/prescriptive grammar teaching at the university level, the paper introduces elements of popular culture as a motivating factor and connective tissue to teach numerous grammar rules otherwise often perceived by students as uninteresting and difficult to understand, memorize and apply. In order to illustrate and reinforce the point that grammar is made more comprehensible when its rules and principles, their correct or incorrect use, are explained through examples from present-day popular culture, a selection of language units is extracted from films, cartoons, comic strips, TV series, talk shows and song lyrics, most of which are well-known to Millennial students. Employing qualitative methodology, various uses of elements of popular culture implemented in teaching grammar are extensively described and analyzed, while two of the students' answers in the e-survey were also analyzed quantitatively. This research is expected to demonstrate, explain and systematize the various ways in which the teaching process exploits grammatically relevant examples from widely known works of contemporary popular culture. The authors' presumptions about the effectiveness of introducing elements of popular culture are reinforced by the results of a short survey carried out in order to obtain feedback from students who attended the courses *English Grammar 1* and *English Grammar 2*.

Key words: teaching grammar, English, popular culture, undergraduate grammar course, sentence pattern, verb phrase, grammar rule, student feedback

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1. INTRODUCTION

"A brief reference to popular culture led to momentary disruption of the norms, roles, and discourse customary in Ms. Leigh's classroom. […] Ms. Leigh's reference to the televised talent show *X Factor* (U.K. counterpart of *American Idol*) was received by a number of students with enthusiastic exclamations. […] This was the first time Ms. Leigh had introduced *X Factor* into her classroom, and we were intrigued by students' immediate and positive responses to the mere mention of the televised talent show." (Lefstein–Snell, 2011: 40)

Following the idea and its successful realization presented by Lefstein and Snell (2011), the topic of this paper is the application of elements of present-day popular culture in teaching elements of grammar (sentence patterns and verbal categories) to first-year undergraduate students of English Language and Literature, based on the authors' eighteen-year experience in teaching and testing English grammar at their home institution.

1.1. Aims and hypothesis of the research

This research is expected to demonstrate and explain the various ways in which the teaching process exploits grammatically significant and relevant examples from widely known works of contemporary popular culture, such as *Star Wars*, *Game of Thrones*, *South Park*, *Friends*, *The Big Bang Theory*, talk shows with Stephen Colbert, Jimmy Kimmel, Trevor Noah, or lyrics of songs performed by 20th- and 21st-century music stars.

The initial hypothesis is that elements of popular culture are applicable and useful in teaching grammar both implicitly and explicitly, as well as descriptively and prescriptively, since they represent a strong motivating factor and connective tissue when it comes to acquiring numerous grammar rules. This view is in line with Duff and Zappa-Hollman's (2013) observation that "pop culture by definition is a vernacular form of culture that has immediacy, currency, and cachet providing students symbolic, social, and cultural capital in their encounters with others" (Duff–Zappa-Hollman, 2013: 5997). Elements of popular culture are here seen as an auxiliary device, a helpful tool alongside the necessary use of more traditional teaching and reading materials, such as grammar books, workbooks, dictionaries and other reference books. This view will be reinforced in Section 4 by the results of an e-survey carried out with students who, within the past five years, attended the reformed grammar courses described in Section 1.3.

For the purpose of illustrating and reinforcing the point of this paper that grammar is made easier, more interesting and more comprehensible when its rules and principles, their correct or incorrect use, are explained through examples found in present-day popular culture, a selection of phrases and sentences has been extracted from films, cartoons, comic strips, cartoon drawings, TV series, talks shows and popular songs, most of which are well-known to Millennial students in Serbia. Such illustrative examples of language are then shown alongside accompanying pictures, photographs, captions and/or audio or video clips from the chosen works of popular culture. For instance, it has been proven in the authors' long experience in teaching and testing grammar that the semantic role of the patient is better remembered by students if, in class, they are given the famous sentence regularly occurring in the cartoon *South Park*: "Oh my God, they killed Kenny!", accompanied by the expected visual representation of the unfortunate little boy in the famous orange anorak. This assumption, as will be seen in Section 4, is also corroborated by the results of a short e-survey carried out to obtain feedback from students who attended the courses *English Grammar 1* and *English Grammar 2* in the period between 2015 and 2019.

1.2. Teaching grammar to undergraduate students of English Language and Literature

The two core one-semester first-year undergraduate courses for students of English Language and Literature covering topics in English grammar at the authors' home institution are *English Grammar 1* and *English Grammar 2*. The two complementary courses are taught one after the other over the course of two adjacent semesters through two weekly practice classes and theoretically oriented lectures. The basic required reading materials for both courses include selected sections of *A Student's Grammar of the English Language* (Greenbaum–Quirk, 1990) and, for practice classes, *A Student's Workbook of English Grammar* (Đurić–Šević, 2006), which is, to a large extent, based on Đurić and Šević (2001), and, to a lesser, on Chalker (1992) and Close (1974). In addition, exercises and theoretical notions from Vince and Sunderland (2003), Swan (2005) and Hewings (2013) are also included in the study materials. The two grammar courses have been taught in their current form since the introduction of the new curriculum at the Department of English Studies at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad in 2006, coinciding with the implementation of the Bologna Process into the system of higher education in Serbia, whose initial impact on studies of grammar at the university level is discussed in Novakov (2012).

The courses *English Grammar 1* and *English Grammar 2* cover a wide range of theoretically founded and practically explored topics at the C1 (CEFR) level and are intended to equip students with a sound basis for acquiring further knowledge in the field. Starting from the unit titled *Basic Concepts in Grammar*, *English Grammar 1* introduces the discussion of phrases in the English language through units *Verbs and the Verb Phrase* and *Nouns, Pronouns and the Noun Phrase*. The second course *English Grammar 2*, complementary to the previous one, consists of the following sections: *Adjectives and Adverbs*, *Prepositions and the Prepositional Phrase*, *Adverbials: Adjuncts, Conjuncts and Disjuncts*, *The Simple Sentence* and *The Complex Sentence*.

Understandably, the listed teaching and reading materials mostly place emphasis on explicit explanations of prescriptive aspects of standard English. On the other hand, examples from TV shows, songs etc. are either standard or partly informal/slang. This is why, as will be seen in Section 3, students are first acquainted with the notion of 'grammars' as opposed to the one and only 'grammar'. i.e. the standard variety of the formal register vs that of the informal interpersonal register of everyday communication.

The authors' strong conviction and, at the same time, the stated hypothesis of this paper is that better results in the teaching process would be achieved through expansion and enrichment of such, indisputably necessary, explicit and prescriptive foundations by means of certain carefully chosen, implicitly explained and, sometimes, descriptively underpinned phenomena in modern English, both formal and informal.

1.3. Implicit teaching and descriptive approach to grammar through popular culture

Prior to any discussion on introducing elements of popular culture into the teaching process, it is important to define two dichotomous pairs of terms and concepts inextricably linked to grammar instruction – namely, explicit vs implicit, and descriptive vs prescriptive approaches. In this respect, Bodrič (2018) differentiates between the concepts of 'formS' and 'forms', the former referring to explicit, and the latter to implicit teaching. According to Bodrič (2018), "focus on formS advocates the explicit teaching of grammatical forms, namely the formal explanation of rules; focus on forms, on the other hand, involves the implicit teaching of grammatical forms through contextualized discourse, thereby emphasizing meaning and communication" (2018: 7). With no intention to favour either approach, it is not difficult to infer that introducing contextualized elements

of popular culture may enhance the one putting greater emphasis on 'forms', i.e. on implicit teaching practices.

Furthermore, if one adopts the simplest general definition of any prescriptive approach as "telling people what they should do, rather than simply giving suggestions or describing what is done", at the same time bearing in mind the sometimes notorious reputation of prescriptive attitudes to language, prescriptive grammar is actually about how the rules of language ought to be applied, i.e. about *prescribing* its correct use. On the other hand, descriptive grammar focuses on *describing* language as it is used, and not necessarily saying how it should be used. It would thus include both, strictly speaking, prescriptively correct and incorrect uses of language, as well as a certain number of what one might label "borderline cases". Regardless of the utmost importance of acquiring the rules of prescriptive grammar and giving them priority over their less standardized counterparts, especially by university students who are preparing to teach the self-same rules to their prospective pupils, it should still be stressed that modern linguistics insists on acknowledging there are different "grammars" of English that a future teacher must be aware of. In fact, there are broadly two types of "grammars" in every language: the grammar of the standard variety of a language and various grammars of its non-standard and colloquial varieties. Therefore, description, supported by contextualized examples from popular culture, deserves its place in the process, as an addition to and in parallel with presenting the prescriptive rules, which, in turn, can equally well be supported by chunks of language found in popular culture – a concept that will be defined in the following section.

1.4. *Popular culture as a concept and its application in the language classroom*

The term 'popular culture' was coined in the 19th century or, according to some sources, even earlier. Traditionally, it was associated with poor education and the lower classes, as opposed to the "official culture" and higher education of the upper classes. In simple terms, making reference to appealing to the popular taste, *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* defines popular culture (or mass culture, or pop culture) as "the music, books, films etc. that are liked by a lot of people".

Authors in the field of applied linguistics have also attempted to define the phenomenon in order to discuss its application in language teaching and learning. One of the most applicable accounts of what popular culture would include in this domain is provided by Duff and Zappa-Hollman (2013):

"Although popular culture is pervasive in contemporary Western and other highly urbanized, postindustrial societies impacted by globalization, it can be difficult to define and delimit the term. That is because popular culture means different things – both theoretically and practically – to different people […] Television programs, commercials, movies, sports broadcasting, radio programming, hip-hop, online media, blogs, YouTube, concerts and poetry slams, computer games and simulations, comic books and trade fiction, and various social media, texting tools, and clothing fashions can all be considered contemporary manifestations of popular (pop) culture – usually with mass (commercial) appeal and relevance to large swaths of the population" Duff and Zappa-Hollman (2013: 5997).

Adopting a non-elitist stance that certain elements of high culture, such as lines from famous opera libretti or quotes from classical works of fiction, may also be viewed as popular, in this research the concept would mostly include categories such as entertainment (television, film, music, video games, comic strips), politics and products of modern technologies, not all of which necessarily represent a 'lower' variety when contrasted with high culture which frequently enters the realm of the popular. In other words, popular culture encompasses extralinguistic references that permeate our daily lives to the extent that they become integral parts of our internal and external perceptions of the world we live in, in terms of memorable symbols of shared experience common to an entire generation.

When it comes to its application in language teaching practices, popular culture has only recently been recognized as an important tool and a successful auxiliary device. It has undergone a change in perception in the language-learning community starting from the late 1970s. Having been initially frowned upon, popular culture in the late 1970s and during the 1980s started being embraced first as a means for students to "sharpen their awareness of the influence of high and low cultures upon the popular culture" (Kirby, 1978: 34). Towards the end of the 1990s, popular culture was seen as a welcome addition to EFL textbooks in the context of increasing intercultural competences by a focus on culture, which was regarded as a means to achieve communication ends (Cortazzi–Lin, 1999: 218–219). In the 2000s, popular culture also started to be viewed as a means to modify EFL methodology so that it could be "amended and adapted to fit the needs of the students" (Harmer, 2003: 292) within the communicative approach. Finally, in the 2010s, popular culture is finally seen as a motivational resource in all EFL contexts that can be used to boost efficiency of learning in multiple domains (Luo, 2014: 209). For instance, Liu and Lin (2017) show the positive effects of using pop songs in the classroom.

Having all this in mind, popular culture can nowadays be considered an established motivational tool and a means to boost intercultural competences in the general EFL teaching processes, but, as also noted by Liu and Lin (2017), more research should be done "to examine the efficiency of using popular culture in TESOL and to investigate when and for whom popular culture can be useful and in which dimensions of the language ability" (Liu–Lin, 2017: 11).

As can be deduced from most of the above-mentioned authors' overview of the traditional approach to the use of popular culture in EFL and TESOL, there is a lack of research on its applicability to teaching grammar, as a possible application of popular culture. Having this in mind, this paper also aims to make a modest contribution to fill the gap of "insufficient research in applied linguistics and language education documenting learning processes and outcomes in these creative spaces" (Duff and Zappa-Hollman, 2013: 6001).

Furthermore, it is mostly at the level of primary and secondary education that research has been carried out in the field, with other recent notable studies by Lefstein and Snell (2011), Hua and Li (2015), Rets (2016), Hofmann (2018), while authors in Serbia include Gajdoš and Korpaš (2019), Ćurčić (2016) and Marjanović (2017). Within a broader context of new tendencies in EFL teaching in Serbia, Dejić (2013), Dujić (2016) and Nedić (2014) also tackle the topic of popular culture in grammar instruction, while students' and teachers' attitudes towards new practices are elaborated in, among others, Graus and Coppen (2016), Phipps and Borg (2009), Glušac and Pilipović (2019) and Bodrič (2018).

This research will, hopefully, contribute to the idea that popular culture also has its place in teaching grammar to prospective language instructors and translators. To this avail, a body of representative and grammatically relevant examples, a small part of which will be used for illustrative purposes in this paper, has been collected through two decades of teaching experience at the undergraduate level of university education.

2. RESEARCH CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY

The corpus for this research consists of grammatically relevant examples[1] from widely known works of popular culture and entertainment, including:

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[1] Examples from the listed sources are all used in class, incorporated into Power Point presentations accompanying weekly oral lectures in *English Grammar 1* and *English Grammar 2*. In this paper, however, only a small number of representative examples will be

- films and movie franchises (*Star Wars*, *Star Tracks*, *Lord of the Rings*, *Harry Potter*, *Indiana Jones*, *Jaws*, *Batman*, *Back to the Future*...)
- TV series (*South Park*, *The Simpsons*, *Friends*, *Game of Thrones*, *The Big Bang Theory*, *How I Met Your Mother*, *Only Fools and Horses*, *Stranger Things*...)
- feature-length animated films (*Toy Story*, *Finding Nemo*, *Frozen*, *Beauty and the Beast*, *Shrek*, *The Croods*, *Home*, *Inside Out*, *Zootopia*, *Alice in Wonderland*...)
- film titles and promotional taglines[2]
- documentaries (*Planet Earth*, *The Blue Planet*, *An Inconvenient Truth*...)
- comic strips (*Hi & Lois*, *Dilbert*, *Marvel* comics...)
- cartoon drawings (*CartoonStock*...)
- transcripts of and clips from late night shows with Stephen Colbert, Jimmy Kimmel, Jimmy Fallon, James Corden, Trevor Noah and Ellen DeGeneres
- lyrics of popular songs (*The One that Got Away* – Katy Perry, *Wildest Dreams* – Taylor Swift, *Sound of Silence* – Simon and Garfunkel, *Satisfaction* – The Rolling Stones, *Summer Wine* – Nancy Sinatra and Lee Hazlewood...)

Illustrative phrases, clauses and sentences from the selected sources are in class regularly accompanied by audio-visual material such as pictures, photographs, captions, video clips and music recordings. Understandably, for reasons of technical and medium-related nature, this paper will only contain selected static and visual instances of the listed in-class materials.

The methodology employed in this paper is mainly qualitative, as it consists in describing and exemplifying various uses of elements of popular culture implemented in teaching certain elements of grammar to undergraduate university students. In other words, it represents an attempt at collecting, organizing, describing and interpreting a particular kind of textual and/or visual aids in the teaching process. The results of the e-survey carried out to obtain feedback by some of the former students who attended the two grammar courses, further discussed in Section 4, will be analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively, by means of

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presented in Section 3. The relevancy of the examples refers to the fact that, structurally, semantically and/or functionally, they fit the requirements of the topic discussed in class.

[2] Huge corpora of five thousand film titles and nine hundred taglines also used in this study were initially collected by Panić Kavgić (2014) and Panić Kavgić and Kavgić (2018), respectively.

providing percentual data about the answers to two Likert-scale questions, and by commenting on the most representative answers to the third, open-ended question.

3. EXAMPLES FROM POPULAR CULTURE IN TEACHING GRAMMAR

Representative examples from popular culture will here be given for phenomena related to the topics *Basic Concepts in Grammar* and *Verbs and the Verb Phrase*, which represent the first two units of the undergraduate university course *Grammar of English 1* at the Department of English Studies, at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad. The initial idea was to provide examples from all the units listed in Section 1.2, both within *English Grammar 1* and *English Grammar 2*, but due to the restrictions on the scope of the paper, this section will focus only on cases of popular culture utilized in the first three units. Therefore, the topics covered will include the following: grammar of standard language vs grammars of non-standard varieties; syntactic constituents; grammatical ambiguity; phrases and clauses as structural units; types of phrases in English; verbs, the verb phrase and verbal categories: tense, aspect, mood, voice and modality.

In the introductory stages of the course, one of the goals is to make students aware that even native speakers of English (or any other language for that matter, including Serbian) do not always abide by the norms of the **standard variety** and prescriptive grammar rules, which does not necessarily hinder normal communication, as the message most often still gets across, especially in the informal interpersonal register. In order to illustrate this point, students are reminded of famous lines of well-known song lyrics which contain deviations[3] from the standard in different domains of grammar, such as the following examples in Table 1:

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[3] A question may be raised as to why these deviations were used by the authors of the lyrics – the answer could be that there are various reasons, linguistic and non-linguistic ones, and that they may be more or less conspicuous. For instance, *Lay Lady Lay* might have seemed 'better' to Bob Dylan than *Lie Lady Lie* for the sake of achieving assonance, while 'Who you gonna call', a line from *Ghostbusters* would not meet the metrical requirements had it been 'Who are you going to call'. Similarly, 'bleeded' in Timberlake's song rhymes with 'cheated', which would not be the case with the correct form 'bled'. Other, probably sociolinguistic, reasons may account for the non-standard use of 'was' instead of 'were' in *Hound Dog*, 'do' instead of 'does' in a song by *The Police*, or the double negation in *Satisfaction*.

SONG AND PERFORMER	THE "UNGRAMMATICAL" LINE IS…	THE GRAMMATICALLY CORRECT VERSION SHOULD HAVE BEEN…
Satisfaction, The Rolling Stones	I **can't** get no satisfaction	I can get no satisfaction
Lay Lady Lay, Bob Dylan	**Lay** lady **lay** **Lay** across my big brass bed	Lie lady lie Lie across my big brass bed
Lay Down Sally, Eric Clapton	**Lay** down, Sally, no need to leave so soon	Lie down, Sally, No need to leave so soon
Every Little Thing She Does Is Magic, The Police	Everything she **do** just turns me on	Everything she does just turns me on
Hound Dog, Elvis Presley	When they said you **was** high class…	When they said you were high class…
Ghostbusters, Ray Parker, Jr.	Who you **gonna** call? Ghostbusters!	Who're you going to call?
Summer Wine, Nancy Sinatra	A song that I had only **sang** to just a few	A song that I had only sung to just a few
What Goes Around … Comes Around, Justin Timberlake	When you cheated, my heart **bleeded**	When you cheated, my heart bled
I Don't Want to Wait, Paula Cole	So open up your morning light and say a little prayer for **I**	So open up your morning light and say a little prayer for me
Bad Romance, Lady Gaga	You and **me** could write a bad romance	You and I could write a bad romance

Table 1: *Non-standard vs standard grammar in popular song lyrics*

Having been introduced to the basic concepts regarding standard grammar, students are acquainted with the notion of parsing the sentence: first, broadly, into Subject and Predicate, and then, more elaborately, into **sentence elements**, i.e. **syntactic functions** – the five **syntactic constituents** (Subject, Verb, Object, Complement and Adverbial) whose number and distribution determine the pattern of each particular sentence in English. This is presented in class through one of the most iconic situations involving Eric Cartman and Kenny from the subversive animated series *South Park*, as seen in Pictures 1–3:

SENTENCE ELEMENTS SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS

Eric Cartman killed Kenny with a knife.

A general syntactic analysis of the sentence would yield the following syntactic structure:
S (Eric Cartman) + **Predicate** (killed Kenny with a knife)

SENTENCE ELEMENTS SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS

We intuitively know that the information contained in the sentence is STRUCTURED IN MORE DETAILS than simply subject + predicate.

If we look at the sentence "Eric Cartman killed Kenny with a knife." we can say that the verb **KILL** describes a situation which involves three different participants:

1 = THE PERSON WHO PERFORMED THE ACTIVITY

2 = THE PERSON WHO WAS KILLED

3 = THE INSTRUMENT USED FOR KILLING

SENTENCE ELEMENTS SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS

Eric Cartman killed Kenny with a knife.

SUBJECT   VERB   OBJECT   ADVERBIAL

Pictures 1–3: *From subject–predicate to syntactic constituents in "South Park"*

Once the stage has been set for dividing any English sentence into its syntactic constituents, it is pointed out that their number and distribution, crucially determined by the **verb category** (intensive vs. extensive /intransitive, monotransitive, ditransitive or complex transitive/), may result in one of the seven

possible **sentence patterns** based on its obligatory elements: SVC, SVA, SV, SVO$_d$, SVO$_i$O$_d$, SVO$_d$C, SVO$_d$A. These are represented through the following selected taglines and quotations from Oscar-winning or nominated films[4] in Table 2, with obligatory elements in square brackets and optional adverbials in parentheses:

SVC: [The dream]$_S$ [is]$_V$ [real]$_{Cs}$. (*Inception*);
[Your mind]$_S$ [is]$_V$ [the scene of the crime]$_{Cs}$. (*Inception*);
[All we have to decide]$_S$ [is]$_V$ [what to do with the time that we are given]$_{Cs}$.
(*The Lord of the Rings: Fellowship of the Ring*)

SVA: [Murderers]$_S$ [come]$_V$ [with smiles]$_A$. (*Goodfellas*);
[You]$_S$ ['ve]$_V$ (never)$_A$ [been]$_V$ [anywhere like No Country]$_A$. (*No Country for Old Men*);
[A little pig]$_S$ [goes]$_V$ [a long way]$_A$. (*Babe*);
[The time to live]$_S$ [is]$_V$ [now]$_A$. (*The Hours*)

SV: [The battle for Middle-Earth]$_S$ [begins]$_V$! (*The Lord of the Rings: The Two Towers*);
[A hero]$_S$ [will rise]$_V$. (*Gladiator*);
[Every second]$_S$ [counts]$_V$. (*127 Hours*)

SVO: [I]$_S$ [see]$_V$ [dead people]$_{Od}$. (*The Sixth Sense*);
[One dream]$_S$ [can change]$_V$ [the world]$_{Od}$. (*Selma*);
[All the power on earth]$_S$ [can't change]$_V$ [destiny]$_{Od}$. (*The Godfather: Part III*)

SVOO: [Show]$_V$ [me]$_{Oi}$ [the money]$_{Od}$! (*Jerry Maguire*);
[I]$_S$ ['m gonna make]$_V$ [him]$_{Oi}$ [an offer he can't refuse]$_{Od}$. (*Godfather*);
(In the shadow of war)$_A$, [one man]$_S$ [showed]$_V$ [the world]$_{Oi}$ [what we stand for]$_{Od}$.
(*Bridge of Spies*)

SVOC: [He]$_S$ [made]$_V$ [their lives]$_{Od}$ [extraordinary]$_{Co}$. (*Dead Poets Society*);

SVOA: [The road to greatness]$_S$ [can take]$_V$ [you]$_{Od}$ [to the edge]$_A$. (*Whiplash*);
[One of the most legendary directors of our time]$_S$ [takes]$_V$ [you]$_{Od}$ [on an extraordinary adventure]$_A$. (*Hugo*)

Table 2: *Sentence patterns in English through examples of film taglines and quotations*

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[4] These taglines and quotations help the students to memorize the patterns more easily because they are rather well-known, some of them even ubiquitous (e.g. 'I see dead people' from *The Sixth Sense*), having entered the everyday language of any regular movie-goer. This would enable students to easier remember the sentence pattern itself (in this case SVO), once they have linked it to such a familiar quote which is not only immensely popular, but also short and simple. Subsequently, it would be easier for students to merely replace the elements *I*, *see* and *dead people* by any more complex elements and conclude that a sentence does or does not constitute an example of the SVO pattern.

At this point it is reiterated that S, V, O and C are categorized in grammar as **obligatory** syntactic constituents (except in certain rare cases, such as, for example, the film title *Dances with Wolves*, which, for particular plot-based reasons, lacks a subject), while A is most often **optional**, in the sense that the sentence remains grammatically correct even if the adverbial is left out, regardless of the possible semantic implications, as in the following film taglines:

- **(This Christmas)$_A$**, Django is off the chain. (*Django Unchained*)
- **(At the point of crisis)$_A$**, **(at the point of annihilation)$_A$**, survival is victory. (*Dunkirk*)
- **(In memory)$_A$**, love lives **(forever)$_A$**. (*The English Patient*)
- **(To enter the mind of a killer)$_A$** she must challenge the mind of a madman. (*Silence of the Lambs*)
- **(When his nation needed a leader)$_A$**, **(when the people needed a voice)$_A$**, an ordinary man would help him (find the courage)$_A$. (*The King's Speech*)

Even if the sentence completely changes its meaning, the adverbial is viewed as optional as long as the structure is grammatically acceptable. In other words, changes in meaning are grammatically irrelevant:

- One of the greatest heroes in American history **(never)$_A$** fired a bullet. (*Hacksaw Ridge*)
- The world will **(never)** be the same **(once you've seen it through the eyes of Forrest Gump)$_A$**. (*Forrest Gump*)
- You don't get to 500 million friends **(without making a few enemies)$_A$**. (*Social Network*)

The importance of the verb category for shaping the sentence pattern is best comprehended based on the multiple class membership of the verb *get*, as observable in the following movie titles: *Get Hard (SVC)*, *Get Smart* (SVC or SVO), *Jane Got a Gun* (SVO), *Get Yourself a College Girl* (SVOO), *Get Him to the Greek* (SVOA), *They Got Me Covered* (SVOC). The second example, *Get Smart*, shifts the discussion in the direction of dealing with **grammatical ambiguity** intended by the creators of the film and its title. Two other interesting instances of grammatically ambiguous titles are *Hope Springs* (an SV clause, or a noun phrase – the name of the spa resort), and *Fear X* (an (S)VO clause, or a noun phrase designating unknown fear). To round up the discussion of verb categories and their consequent sentence patterns, a title is used to explain how easily one can ascribe misattributed ambiguity to a structure originally not intended to be equivocal. Namely, *Death Becomes Her* might at first be interpreted as an instance of the SVO

pattern, and, yet, it is only intended to be understood as SVC, based on the plot in which two women undergo lethal surgical treatment that permanently alters their appearance. Finally, grammatical ambiguity in everyday language is exemplified in Picture 4, through a *Hi & Lois* comic strip:

Picture 4: *Grammatical ambiguity in "Hi & Lois"*

The discussion of syntactic functions and potential ambiguities is followed by the introduction of the concept of **syntactic forms** – phrases and clauses, with a one-to-one correspondence between a function and a form, in the sense that one function (S, V, O, C, or A) is structurally realized as one form (a phrase – NP, VP, AP, AdvP or PP, or a clause – nominal or adverbial), albeit not always the same one. An adverbial can, for instance, be realized as an AdvP, a PP, an NP or an adverbial clause. **Phrases** are defined as words grouped around a **head word** – the most important element that is modified or complemented by the other words in a phrase. How a phrase of varying length and complexity (in this case, a noun phrase) could be substituted by a single short pro-form (in this case, a pronoun) is shown to the students in Picture 6, as they are reminded of the *head* of the Simpson family:

Picture 5: *Phrase headedness exemplified by the head of the Simpson family*

The first type of phrase analysed in the course *English Grammar 1* is the **Verb Phrase**. Preceded by a discussion of the verbal paradigm and its five forms, the verbal categories of tense, aspect, mood, voice and modality are introduced with special emphasis on the difference between time as a universal non-linguistic concept and tense as a linguistic category that "locates the situation somewhere on the timeline" (Đurić–Šević, 2006: 38). At this point students are made aware that English makes a distinction only between the Present and the Past Tense, while future is never labelled as 'tense', but as 'Future Time' – both due to linguistic reasons of morphological nature (lack of inflections) and to the non-linguistic, highly speculative and uncertain, nature of future activities. Here students are reminded of the main premise of the Hollywood blockbuster *Minority Report*, a dark dystopian view of the world with an underlying philosophical message about the unpredictability of future events. On a brighter note, speculating about the future is shown as being in the domain of self-confessed mediums and other charlatans who, like in Picture 6, claim to be able to predict events, even using the *be going to* structure, as if they were based on present causes that would almost inevitably have predictable future consequences:
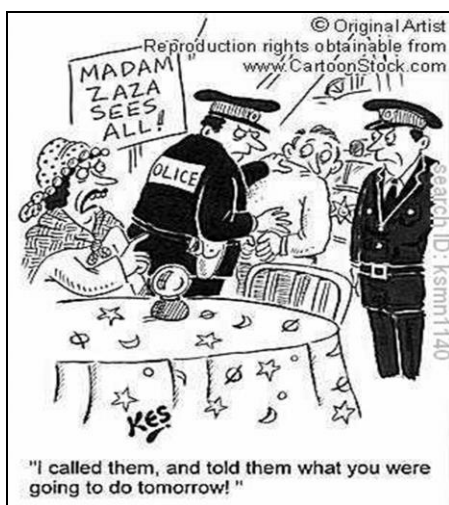
Picture 6: *The future is (not) foreseeable, what **is going to** happen?*

On the other hand, aspect is determined as "viewing the internal temporal structure of the situation" (Đurić–Šević, 2006: 38) and its combinations with tense yield constructions specific to the English language, such as the Present Perfect with its various uses and meanings, listed in Table 3. Aided by accompanying

video-clips[5], different uses of the Present Perfect are exemplified through excerpts from films and music clips:

MEANING AND USE OF THE PRESENT PERFECT	EXAMPLE	WORK OF POPULAR CULTURE
EXPERIENTAL PERFECT	A: He's your uncle? B: Him? Uh-uh. **I've never seen him before.**	*Mickey's Twice upon a Christmas*, Walt Disney Pictures
	I've never been sick before.	Jack Nicholson in *The Bucket List*, Warner Bros. et al.
	Have you ever imagined a future with me?	Penelope Cruz in *Elegy*, Lakeshore Entertainment
RECENT PAST USE	Hello, darkness, my old friend. **I've come to talk to you again.**	*Sound of Silence*, Simon and Garfunkel
	I've come to say good-bye.	*Back to the Future Part III*, Universal Pictures
PRESENT RESULT	**I've made changes for you, Shrek.** Think about that.	*Shrek 2*, DreamWorks
	Alice has escaped.	*Alice in Wonderland*, Walt Disney Pictures
	I've made a decision. We are going up that mountain.	*The Croods*, DreamWorks Animation
	The maniac Boov has ruined everything. This is bad.	*Home*, DreamWorks Animation
	Something wonderful has happened. Ani, I'm pregnant.	Natalie Portman in *Star Wars: Revenge of the Sith: Episode III*, Lucasfilm
DURATION UP TO NOW	A: **How long has he been gone?** B: Two weeks, one day, 15 hours.	*Batman: Bad Blood*, Warner Bros. Animation
	I've missed you so much.	*How I Met Your Mother*, Season 2, Episode 7, 20th Century Fox Television
DURATION UP-TO-NOW + PRESENT RESULT	**Their mother has not eaten for five months and has lost half of her body weight.**	*Planet Earth: From Pole to Pole*, BBC
PRESENT RESULT + EXPERIENTIAL PERFECT	**And when we've had our very last kiss** But my last request is…	*Wildest Dreams*, Taylor Swift

Table 3: *The Present Perfect, its meanings and uses: examples primarily based on "Best Examples of Present Perfect Tense – Learn and Teach English with Videos"*

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[5] There are certain visual segments of context that are helpful in determining a particular use of the Present Perfect. For instance, students are shown a clip from a documentary, of a polar bear before and after a five-month period of starvation. This provides for a perfect visual accompanying device to the sentence 'Their mother *has not eaten* for five months and *has lost* half of her body weight' and an excellent illustration of combining the following two uses of the Present Perfect: duration up-to-now and present result.

Another phenomenon pertaining to the category of aspect (perfective or progressive) is its relation with tense and whether the focus is on the structure of the activity, its outcome or the time of the activity, all of which are expressed by means of different tense-aspect combinations. This can be observed through the varying "behaviour" of the iconic Pixar Animation Studio's symbol – the jumping Luxo lamp and its notorious squashing of the I letter as part of the opening credits to Pixar movies, which can be seen in Pictures 7–9, representing captions from short animated videos:

Pictures 7–9: *Tense-aspect combinations: focus on activity, outcome and time with Pixar's Luxo*

In addition to discussing and exemplifying two other verbal categories that students are relatively familiar with (voice and modality), mood proves to be somewhat more obscure, especially the subjunctive, which does not exist as such in the Serbian language, although there are structures conveying similar meanings. Instances of the present subjunctive (mandative and formulaic) and past subjunctive (the universal *were* form in hypothetical contexts, with its widely used informal modal-past variation *was*) are presented to students through lines from Kate Perry's *The One That Got Away*, Beyoncé's *If I Were a Boy* and Jon Bon Jovi's *If I Was Your Mother*[6]:

In another life, I would be your girl, we keep all our promises, **be us against the world…**
If I were a boy, even just for a day…
*If I was your mother, would you let me hold your hand…

The unit about verbs and verb phrases would not be complete without tackling the often elusive issue of **finiteness** – a category which students are required to comprehend in order to later cope with the structure and typology of clauses. Announcing the topic of finiteness with the popular film title *What to Expect When You're Expecting*, which contains both a non-finite and non-finite VP (and, for that matter, a finite and non-finite clause), the students' expectations regarding this category are hopefully set in the expected direction: **non-finite** VPs in English, which, unlike **finite** ones, "do not show agreement with their subject (which is regularly omitted) and can only be marked with the categories of aspect and voice" (Đurić–Šević, 2006: 32), include participial and infinitival structures – the present and past participle and the bare and to-infinitive. When it comes the former, it is of utmost importance to distinguish between the clausal (in non-finite clauses) and adjectival uses of the so-called V_{ing} (present participle) and V_{ed2} (past participle) forms, which are exemplified by the following film titles in Table 4:

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[6] The purpose of using these and similar examples, in addition to memorizing them more easily and then recognizing that other similar examples belong to the same verbal category, is that students are, probably for the first time, made (and motivated) to pay attention to such structures and think about them in terms of the grammar rules they have acquired. Since the subjunctive mood has never been dealt with in either primary or secondary school, at least not formally, it is through these lines that students are made aware that there is another verbal category in addition to tense, aspect and voice, and that they can encounter its application in similar frequently used expressions such as *be that as it may*.

V_{ing} forms in non-finite clauses of various patterns:
(S)VO: *Finding Nemo, Saving Private Ryan, Driving Miss Daisy, Leaving Las Vegas, Breaking the Waves, Loving Vincent, Deconstructing Harry, Chasing Amy, Man Seeking Woman, Seeking a Friend for the End of The World*
(S)VA: *Bowling for Columbine, Playing by Heart, Sleeping with the Enemy, Being There*
(S)VC: *Being Julia, Being John Malkovich, Becoming Jane*
(S)V: *Searching, Loving*
V_{ing} forms in their adjectival use:
NP: (Det) + Adj + N_{head}: *Stealing Beauty, Raging Bull, Missing Link, The Running Man, The Shipping News, The Crying Game*
V_{ed2} forms in non-finite clauses of various patterns:
(S)VA: *Born on the Fourth of July, Lost in Translation, Gone with the Wind*
(S)V: *Taken, Wanted, Shattered*
V_{ed2} forms in their adjectival use:
Lost Girls, Hidden Figures, Missed Connections, Broken Flowers, Shattered Glass, The Lost Citz of Z, The Hurt Locker
V_{ing} + V_{ed2} forms in their adjectival use: *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*

Table 4: *The present and past participle forms and their clausal and adjectival uses*

To-infinitives and, somewhat less frequently, bare infinitives, also have their place in film title-formation. They can, at the same time, be viewed as non-finite participial clauses, from the syntactic point of view:

To-infinitive non-finite clauses: *How to Train Your Dragon*, *How to Be Single*, *How to Get Away with Murder*, *How to Make an American Quilt*, *Where to Invade Next*, *Fantastic Beasts and Where to Find Them*
Bare-infinitive + to-infinitive non-finite clauses: *Why Bother to Knock*

The last lecture of the course *English Grammar 1* ends with the following entertaining motivator (Picture 10), reminding students that they will have covered all important aspect of English grammar and will have reached "the top" once they have completed attendance of the course *English Grammar 2* in the following semester:
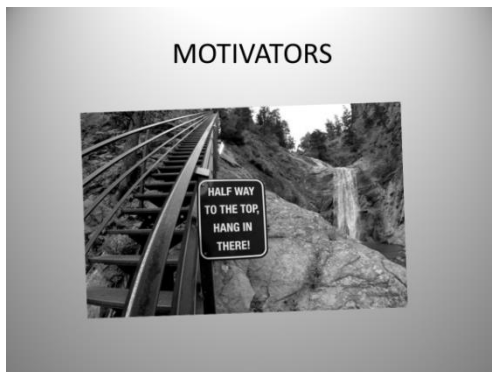
Picture 10: *End-of-semester motivator*

4. STUDENT FEEDBACK

A short e-survey was carried out in June 2020 in order to obtain feedback from students who attended the courses *English Grammar 1* and *English Grammar 2* in the period between October 2015 and June 2019. A three-part questionnaire was sent by e-mail to the addresses of 107 students, 58 of whom replied and filled out the questionnaire. The aim of the survey was to corroborate the hypothesis that introducing elements of popular culture in teaching English grammar to students of English Language and Literature was a facilitative innovation that students found welcome and more interesting than the more traditional method they had been, presumably, exposed to in the course of their primary and secondary education.

The first two questions required an answer on the so-called Likert scale – a five-point scale, sometimes also referred to as a satisfaction scale, that ranges from one extreme attitude to another:

1) To what extent were lectures in *English Grammar 1* and *English Grammar 2* similar to English grammar classes in the course of your previous education? They were:

   1 – almost identical; 2 – similar; 3 – neither obviously similar nor different; 4 – different; 5 – completely different

2) To what extent were lectures in *English Grammar 1* and *English Grammar 2* interesting when compared to English grammar classes in the course of your previous education? They were:

   1 – considerably more boring; 2 – more boring; 3 – the same; 4 – more interesting; 5 – considerably more interesting

The first question yielded the following results: 18 students (≈31%) found the university lectures *completely different* from English grammar classes in the course of their previous education, 31 (≈54%) thought they were *different*, 6 (≈10%) answered that they were *neither obviously similar nor different*, while 3 students (≈5%) found them *similar*. In line with these results, 23 students (≈39%) found the lectures *considerably more interesting*, 29 thought they were *more interesting* (50%), 5 labelled them as being *the same* (≈9%), while one student thought the lectures were more boring (≈2%). These figures conspicuously testify to the fact that the vast majority of students found their more recent experience with grammar classes both different and more interesting in comparison to what they had encountered in their primary and/or secondary education. However, these results become more relevant if they are viewed in the light of the respondents' comments in the third question – the one that actually highlights the application of elements of popular culture as the main innovation in the two university grammar courses.

The third question was an open-ended one and it was given in the following form:

3) Please comment on the use of popular culture references (movie clips, song lyrics, film titles and quotes, cartoons, etc.) in *English Grammar 1* and *English Grammar 2* lectures.

Some of the representative responses to the third question include the following:

– Grammar has never been this interesting.
– It is very interesting and much easier to remember the rules.
– This approach makes grammar rules fun and easy to understand.
– I always thought grammar was boring, but it is much better this way…
– I especially liked the "South Park" clips and I always think of poor Kenny when discussing syntactic elements and semantic roles. This is something I always thought of in the second-year grammar classes too.
– Awsome!
– :)
– In elementary school and high school we only had the traditional way, which was quite boring. This is much better and gives me more motivation to study grammar.
– Now I almost like grammar and I used to hate it. When I have to define or use a rule, I think of examples from the songs and films from the lecture.
– I was delighted when the professor played Katie Perry for us and then made us think of it in terms of grammar.
– I love cartoons and it was nice to see they could be used this way.
– Although I am kind of a traditional type when studying, I admit this was much better because it kept our attention for 90 minutes, which is, by the way, too long for a grammar lecture!
– It changed my view on modals! May the force be with you, especially in grammar!

– Grammar classes in school were always useful, but extremely boring. When they promised at the beginning of GEJ1 that it would be interesting and connected to what we know from popular songs and films, I didn't really believe them, but it was really both useful and INTERESTING!

– I think the main advantage over the traditional method is keeping our attention and creating associations between grammar and what we like to watch or listen to, which is then great for remembering new rules!

– Traditionally, grammar is boring, although it was never really boring for me, I always like it anyway. I think I would've liked it at university too, but like this it was a real pleasure and I really enjoyed the classes! Bravo!

– The biggest advantage is that you can always remember the example from the class because it was always something we know from real life.

– Grammar somehow came alive! It was not just on paper anymore!

– Before this, I always had problems with grammar rules (I could not use them successfully in school and never had more than 3 or 4 from grammar tests, I was always stronger in speaking) and I was scared at the faculty at the beginning, but in the end I got a 9 from GEJ1 and 8 from GEJ 2 because the popular examples helped me to understand and use the rules better than before. I still remember many examples, especially from The Simpsons and South Park.

– It was gr8. Rewatched all Indiana Jones Movies after the class on reference.

– Me like it;)

Based on the students' responses, it is not difficult to conclude that the open-ended question provoked a number of positive comments that corroborate the hypothesis about the useful and entertaining nature of elements of popular culture in grammar classes at this level of education. It is worth mentioning that there were only three distinctly different comments that boil down to one of them: "I didn't find it that interesting, but it was OK, I guess…". Otherwise, the authors' main impression is that, owing to the stated positive characteristics of popular culture as an auxiliary and supplementary teaching tool, a considerable shift in attitude was achieved when it comes to students who had previously found grammar rules complex, boring and difficult to memorize. This is especially obvious when students themselves drew comparisons between their previous and new experience in studying grammar. Yet, even those who found their more traditional grammar classes useful and interesting, emphasized that the introduction of elements of popular culture only added to their positive experience.

Viewed alongside the figures in questions 1 and 2, this short survey proves the point that popular culture has an extremely positive effect on the attitudes of students of English Language and Literature when they encounter topics related to complex issues in grammar.

5. CONCLUSION

Grammar rules are more often than not perceived by students as uninteresting, complex, abstract and difficult to understand, memorize and apply. This paper has, hopefully, proved – both through the presentation of representative examples and the students' comments in the survey – that elements of popular culture in teaching prescriptive and descriptive grammar at the undergraduate level are highly useful auxiliary learning tools, motivators, and, not less importantly, that they represent a special kind of "comic relief" – entertaining or humorous content in a more serious context. A memorable multimodal associative link is established between grammar rules, on the one hand, and well-known titles, lines and quotes from favourite films, uttered by famous performers or fictional characters, on the other. By establishing such a link, students are expected to accept grammar not as a self-sufficient isolated system, but an integral and lively part and basis of the contemporary language spoken and heard in the world of popular culture they are deeply immersed in. Thus, for instance, the varying complexity of the noun phrase structure shifts from being an abstract concept to a phenomenon observable and comprehensible by means of an easily memorized list of shorter and longer film titles ranging from *Her*, *Avatar* and *The Dark Knight*, through *The Grand Budapest Hotel* and *Three Billboards Outside Ebbing*, *Missouri* to *The Man Who Knew Infinity*. More generally, as Rets (2016) puts it, "popular culture, having global supranational character, giving priority to fashionable uses of words and emotionalism, might serve as a stronger encouragement for language acquisition" (Rets, 2016: 155).

The next step in establishing the place and function of popular culture in grammar instruction, and a complementary part of this study, would be a more comprehensive testing of students' impressions of and attitudes towards this kind of teaching at the university level, after they have encountered various methods and techniques throughout their previous education in primary and secondary school. In the long run, it would also be valuable to gather information on whether former students of English Language and Literature who attended the courses *English Grammar 1* and *English Grammar 2*, once they have graduated, apply similar methods in their own present-day teaching practices, regardless of how advanced their students are or which educational level or profile they are involved in.

In this vein, reverting to the entertaining and relieving nature of popular culture in teaching and studying grammar, the final class in the course and this paper both end with Pictures 11 and 12, showing a promotional poster of Steven Spielberg's *Jaws*, with the hope that the ominous shark fin, for many representing

grammar as something threatening lurking in a vast and seemingly endless ocean of rules, concepts and linguistic information, would actually turn out to be a cute friendly creature they would eventually come to enjoy the way they like their pet goldfish in an aquarium.
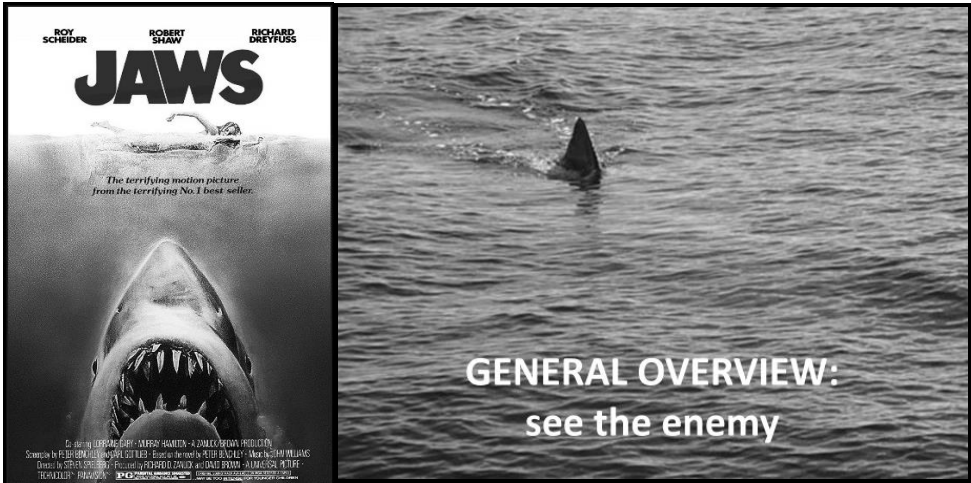
Picture 11: *Grammar as a shark: see the apparent enemy*
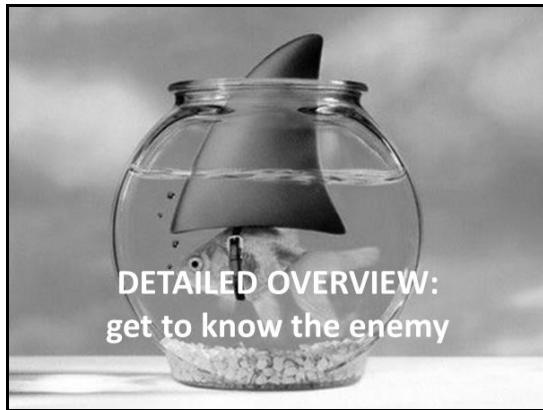
Picture 12: *Grammar as a goldfish: get to know the real "enemy"*

Olga Panić Kavgić, Aleksandar Kavgić

ELEMENTI POPULARNE KULTURE U NASTAVI REČENIČNE STRUKTURE I GLAGOLSKIH KATEGORIJA ZA STUDENTE ENGLESKOG JEZIKA I KNJIŽEVNOSTI

Rezime

Rad se bavi primenom elemenata popularne kulture u nastavi određenih oblasti gramatike engleskog jezika studentima prve godine osnovnih akademskih studija Engleskog jezika i književnosti na Odseku za anglistiku na Filozofskom fakultetu u Novom Sadu. Korpus razmatranih primera čine gramatički relevantni sadržaji iz odabranih popularnih filmova, televizijskih serija, dugometražnih animiranih filmova, filmskih naslova i slogana, dokumentarnih filmova, stripova, karikatura, šou programa, tekstova poznatih pop i rok pesama, koji su korišćeni kao pomoćni nastavni materijali tokom osamnaestogodišnjeg nastavnog iskustva autorâ rada na predmetima *Gramatika engleskog jezika 1* i *Gramatika engleskog jezika 2*.

U uvodnom odeljku navedena je hipoteza i ciljevi koji se tiču dokazivanja primenjivosti popularne kulture u nastavi gramatike na visokoškolskom nivou, koja je zatim predstavljena u svetlu reformisanog nastavnog procesa. Date su osnovne teorijske postavke eksplicitnog naspram implicitnog, te preskriptivnog naspram deskriptivnog pristupa, s naglaskom na činjenici da su elementi popularne kulture kao pomoćno nastavno sredstvo najbolje primenjivi u okviru implicitnog i deskriptivnog pristupa. Ovaj odeljak se završava razmatranjem i definisanjem pojma i termina popularne kulture kao ključnog za razumevanje kriterijumâ za odabir primera predstavljenih u radu, te hronološkim pregledom uvođenja elemenata popularne kulture u tradicionalnu nastavu jezika.

Nakon opisa korpusa (npr. filmovi, serije, animirani i dokumentarni filmovi poput *Ratova zvezda*, *Saut Parka*, *Šreka* ili *Planete Zemlje*; stotine filmskih naslova i slogana; pesme kao što su *Summer Wine* ili *Satisfaction*) i kvalitativne metodologije istraživanja zasnovane na deskriptivnom predstavljanju odabranih primera i kasnije datih studentskih odgovora u kraćem upitniku, obrađenih kvalitativno i kvantitativno, u centralnom delu rada kroz mnogobrojne gramatički reprezentativne primere opisana je primena elemenata popularne kulture u obradi nastavnih jedinica „Osnovni gramatički pojmovi" i „Glagol i glagolska sintagma", u okviru predmeta *Gramatika engleskog jezika 1*. Teme koje su u radu predstavljene kroz prizmu elemenata popularne kulture pomoću ilustrativnih fotografija, slika, tabela i tekstualnih sadržaja, koji su inače na samom času dati kroz audiovizuelne multimodalne sadržaje, jesu sledeće: gramatika standardnog jezičkog varijeteta naspram „gramatikâ" nestandardnih varijeteta; rečenični konstituenti; gramatička dvosmislenost; sintagme i rečenice kao sintaksičke jedinice; vrste sintagmi u engleskom jeziku; glagoli, glagolska sintagma i glagolske kategorije – vreme, vid, način, stanje i modalnost.

Na kraju glavnog odeljka i, kasnije, u završnim razmatranjima, naglašen je i bitan motivišući faktor zabavne i neformalne prirode elemenata popularne kulture. Ovo je, između ostalog, potvrđeno i odgovorima dobijenim u kratkom elektronskom upitniku poslatom studentima koji su u poslednjih pet godina pohađali nastavu iz predmeta *Gramatika engleskog jezika 1* i *Gramatika engleskog jezika 2*. Dobijeni odgovori obrađeni su kvantitativno (dva pitanja s odgovorima na Likertovoj skali) i kvalitativno (jedno pitanje o utiscima o primeni elemenata popularne kulture u nastavi).

U zaključku je istaknuto da primena ovakvih sadržaja u nastavi omogućuje studentima da gramatiku počnu da posmatraju kao integralni deo sveta koji ih okružuje, a ne kao samodovoljni izolovani sistem koji svojim obimom i kompleksnošću neretko izaziva strah, odbojnost i utisak da se radi o nečemu teško savladivom i odvojenom od praktične realnosti oličene, između ostalog, u i fenomenu popularne kulture. Potvrdu ovakvog stava predstavljaju i rezultati kratkog upitnika u kojem studenti u svojim komentarima iznose pohvale i ističu pozitivne strane ovakvog nastavnog procesa u odnosu na tradicionalniji metod. Na samom kraju, predloženi su mogući pravci za dalja istraživanja u ovoj aktuelnoj oblasti.

Ključne reči: nastava gramatike, engleski jezik, popularna kultura, kurs gramatike na osnovnim akademskim studijama, rečenična struktura, glagolska sintagma, gramatičko pravilo, povratne informacije od studenata

SOURCES

AZLyrics, available at www.azlyrics.com
Best Examples of Present Perfect Tense – Learn and teach English with videos,
        available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XUIJ9pBDlHs
Cartoon Stock, available at www.cartoonstock.com
Disney.com | The official home for all things Disney, available at: www.disney.com
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Hi and Lois, available at https://www.comicskingdom.com/hi-and-lois
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HOW UNIVERSITY TEACHERS OF ENGLISH FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES AND THEIR STUDENTS EMPLOY DICTIONARIES IN TEACHING AND LEARNING[**]

This paper explores how tertiary level teachers of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) and their students use dictionaries in ESP teaching and learning. The study included 21 ESP teachers and 705 students from the University of Novi Sad. Data were gathered by conducting a questionnaire (one for teachers and one for students) and an interview. The teachers' questionnaire had 45 questions, whereas the students' contained 60 questions. Of these, 16 questions were identical and the answers to them were compared using ANOVA. The results reveal that the teachers' and students' views of dictionary use differ significantly with respect to 11 questions. The students primarily use online bilingual dictionaries and tools, whereas the teachers prefer monolingual dictionaries in the form of mobile phone applications. Dictionaries were primarily used for finding word meanings, with students failing to understand all lexicographic information. The results necessitate that both students and teachers receive training in dictionary use and that dictionaries become an obligatory teaching and learning resource.

Key words: dictionaries, ESP learning, ESP teachers, ESP teaching, monolingual dictionaries, bilingual dictionaries, specialized dictionaries, university.

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INTRODUCTION

At the turn of the century, researchers noticed a change regarding the use of dictionaries in foreign language teaching: the practice started to gain more attention due to "a profound change of attitude toward vocabulary learning and consequently the renewed interest in dictionary use in the last two decades" (Tono, 2001: 1). Tono (2001: 1-2) reasoned that this shift had occurred as a result of the following three reasons: the lexicon had gained more interest in linguistics, the lexical dimension in foreign language learning had been re-evaluated, and lexicography had made a significant step towards making dictionaries more appealing and approachable to language teachers.

Two decades after the shift, there is still a widely-held belief that dictionary-assisted language learning has numerous advantages (e.g., Yamaizumi, 2014; Milić, Glušac, & Kardoš, 2018; Milić, Sadri, & Glušac, 2019a); however, researchers (e.g., El-Sayed & Siddiek, 2013) believe that the dictionary has yet to be adopted to an appropriate degree as a learning tool or as a teaching resource. Numerous recent studies indicate both that students lack dictionary skills (e.g. Akbari, 2015; Krajka, 2007) and that employing dictionaries as a teaching resource is still not a customary practice in many schools (Milić, Glušac, & Kardoš, 2018; Milić, Sadri, & Glušac, 2019a; Knežević, Miškeljin, & Halupka-Rešetar, 2019). It is believed by many (e.g., Milić, Glušac, & Kardoš, 2018) that dictionary consultation is important at all levels of education and is further intensified at the college level as many professions possess their own specialized vocabulary whose features need to be learned properly both in a foreign and native language.

The aim of this paper is to explore how congruent are the views of tertiary level Serbian teachers of English for specific purposes (ESP) and their students regarding dictionary use. More specifically, the research aims to answer the following questions:

1. What are ESP students' views on dictionary consultation in language learning?
2. What are ESP teachers' views on the same matter?
3. How congruent are the two groups' views?
4. What implications do the two groups' views have on dictionary use?

DICTIONARIES IN ESP TEACHING AND LEARNING

Even though lexicography is a century-old field, the pedagogical aspect of dictionary use has only recently become a topic of interest among theorists and practitioners. Not only is the dictionary a source of semantic, grammatical, and phonological information about the lexicon of a foreign language, but it should serve as a teaching and learning tool in today's Anglo-globalized world.

Dictionary aids in teaching standardization of English-based elements in non-English languages. Since English has become a widely spoken language, it affects the languages it comes in contact with, forcing them to accept foreign words in a more or less adapted form. It is not uncommon, though, that the adaptation is done against the standards of the receiving language; hence, dictionary consultation is beneficial toward the purpose of teaching standardization (Milić, Glušac, & Kardoš, 2018; Milić, Sadri, & Glušac, 2019a).

Dictionary use ensures learner autonomy (Leaney, 2007; Yamaizumi, 2014). When they are taught how to read and understand lexicographic information and how to choose or derive the meaning of a lexical item being sought, students become autonomous learners and their chances for successful foreign language mastery and correct vocabulary usage are expanded even after the conclusion of formal education. Since skillful, independent dictionary consultation ensures learner autonomy and increases linguistic competence, many authors (e.g., Asher, 1999; Chambers, 1999) call it a life-skill and equate its importance to that of any kind of literacy (e.g., computer literacy).

Dictionary consultation is part of vocabulary learning strategies. In ESP learning, it is by mastering a specialized register that one can communicate ideas to clients more successfully, "attain academic literacy and be part of chosen academic discourse communities" (Hou, 2014: 28). However, there is still no consensus among researchers and educators regarding the best way to teach specialized vocabulary (Hou, 2014: 29). Nonetheless, researchers and lexicographers agree that specialized dictionary consultation needs to be practiced in ESP learning (Knežević, Miškeljin, & Halupka-Rešetar, 2019; Milić, Sadri, & Glušac, 2019b) through activities that require the use of dictionaries (El-Sayed & Siddiek, 2013). To that end, Nesi (1999) advocates that a six-stage process of dictionary use should be followed. It includes activities before study (assessment on how to design activities that require dictionary consultation and when to apply and evaluate them), activities before dictionary consultation (users decide if dictionary consultation is necessary, what type of dictionary would be appropriate, and what to look up), locating,

interpreting, and recording entry information, and understanding lexicographic issues (what dictionaries are used for, knowledge of lexicographic terminology, etc.). Moreover, Campoy-Cubillo (2015: 129-138) makes a valuable contribution to the discussion on successful dictionary consultation by proposing dictionary use proficiency levels, specifying thus what a student at a certain level of knowledge can be expected to do with the dictionary as a learning tool.

Successful dictionary consultation requires mastering a set of skills (Campoy-Cubillo, 2015: 132) whose development is continuous and should begin very early. Upon entering university, students are expected to possess relevant dictionary skills, yet they do not receive (enough) instruction in school (Atkins, 1998). Tarp (2012: 95) believes that instruction in dictionary consultation begins with using high-quality dictionaries for the learning of the mother tongue, while Scofield (1982) adds to it the learning of lexicographic conventions. The research carried out by Atkins and Varantola (1998) showed that mere instruction in dictionary use does not ensure students' use of one; they need to be familiarized with its importance. In other words, they need to develop 'dictionary culture', the term that many linguists (e.g., Prćić, 2018; Ramagoshi, 2004) use to denote raising students' awareness of the importance of dictionary consultation and, hence, its regular use.

Pedagogical lexicography has expanded significantly over the last decade or so. In line with this trend, the number of research studies on the application of dictionaries as a teaching resource has increased; nonetheless, many researchers (e.g., Chi, 2003; Tono, 2001) believe additional studies are needed to provide a better insight into how best to utilize dictionaries as a teaching and learning resource. Along the same lines, Miller (2008) points out that teachers are still generally reluctant regarding the utilization of dictionaries for two reasons: (1) they have little awareness regarding dictionary use and (2) the prevailing communicative language teaching approach that favors communication over language accuracy might contribute to poor dictionary activity (Herbst & Stein, 1987, cited in Miller, 2008: 13).

As for the use of dictionaries employed by learners, many researchers (e.g., Augustyn, 2013; Knežević, Miškeljin, & Halupka-Rešetar, 2019; Tarp, 2012) claim that students prefer quick search tools (e-dictionaries or other online tools (e.g., *Google Translate*)) over paper dictionaries. Moreover, students have been found to use dictionary information selectively; they primarily look for word meanings and/or translation equivalents, followed by spelling, and, very rarely, pronunciation (Chi, 1998; Knežević, Miškeljin, & Halupka-Rešetar, 2019; Milić, Sadri, & Glušac,

2019a). Even though students mainly type an unfamiliar word in a search engine and click to get information regarding a particular word, many worry about the lack of their dictionary skills (Miller, 2008), even when they pertain to online searching (Krajka, 2007). Also, as observed by Tono (2001: 36) in his review of different studies on the use of the dictionary in EFL teaching and learning, variables including the students' native language, foreign language proficiency, cognitive skills, and learning styles all contribute to one's successful use of the dictionary. However, the author believes more research is needed to clarify how these variables might impact dictionary use.

METHODOLOGY

The research this paper is based on was conducted on a sample including 21 ESP teachers and 705 students enrolled in different years of study, all of them from the 11 faculties comprising the University of Novi Sad.

The research included a mixed-model inquiry. The quantitative part presupposed constructing two questionnaires — one for the students and the other for the teachers — whose aim was to explore the use of dictionaries in ESP teaching and learning. The qualitative part was realized by means of a semi-structured interview. Both measuring instruments were conducted in Serbian.

The questionnaire for the teachers included 45 questions that probed their views regarding the types of dictionaries used, reasons for asking students to or not to consult a dictionary, and dictionary skills students need. On the other hand, the questionnaire for the students included 60 questions grouped into the following sections: types of dictionaries used, purposes of dictionary consultation, difficulties in dictionary use, and use of technical dictionaries.

The researchers followed the suggestion put forward by Allen and Seaman (2007) for employment of a four-point Likert scale instead of the five-point version in order to obtain an answer with a specific meaning (*always — sometimes — rarely — never*) rather than the unspecific, omitted option (*Not sure* or *I don't know*).

Sixteen questions were identical in the two questionnaires. These related to the types of dictionaries used, the reasons and frequency of their consultation. Only these 16 questions are used for the analysis this paper is based on since the authors' primary aim was to discover the extent of congruence between the teachers' and students' views regarding these questions.

The research was carried out during the spring semester of the 2017/2018 academic year. The students were asked to fill out the printed version of the

questionnaire, whereas the teachers were instructed to fill out the questionnaire online in the *Google Forms* format.

The interview was semi-structured, which presupposed that the researchers would follow a set trajectory by asking the same core questions falling in four categories (type of dictionary used, reasons for use, difficulties encountered, and frequency of use). Additional questions were also possible for a more comprehensive insight into a given situation. Twelve students and nine ESP teachers were interviewed.

For the analysis of the questionnaire answers, a one-way ANOVA was used (SPSS 20), as well as the following frequency scale for interpreting the mean results: 1-2 low, 2-3 medium, and 3-4 high frequency. To analyze the interview transcripts, content analysis was applied.

RESULTS

The results of the questionnaires

The mean values presented in Table 1 reveal that the frequency of use of all dictionary types falls in the response ranges *sometimes* and *rarely*, except for the response for online dictionaries given by the students (it is in the category *often*). This is indicative of a rather poor employment of dictionaries in ESP teaching and learning at Serbian faculties.

The results in Table 1 also show that of 16 questions (Q/Qs), 11 have statistically different answers (Qs 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 14, and 16). This indicates that the teachers' and students' views of various aspects of dictionary use differ. For example, there is disagreement with respect to the use of all types of general-purpose dictionaries (Qs 1, 2, and 3). While the mean values show the teachers sometimes ask students to use monolingual dictionaries, the students' answers indicate they rarely use them (Q 1). As for general-purpose bilingual sources (Qs 2 and 3), the answers show that the students tend to use them more than the teachers expect them to do. Moreover, the teachers seem to be requiring their students to use all types of technical dictionaries more than the students actually do (Qs 4, 5, and 6), while the learners seem to be using online dictionaries considerably more than the teachers would want them to (Q 9). Both groups seem to prefer electronic to printed dictionaries (Qs 7 and 8). While the teachers favor a mobile phone application for a dictionary, an e-dictionary and then an online one, respectively, the students' first option is the teachers' least favorite — an online source.

The results presented in Table 1 also show that of the four questions pertaining to the reason for using a dictionary, the teachers and students disagree with respect to two: the teachers ask their students to consult a dictionary for grammatical information about a word far more than the students actually do (Q 14), and the teachers ask students to check the pronunciation of a word more often than the students truly follow this instruction (Q 12). On the other hand, the two groups share their views regarding the use of dictionaries for the purpose of finding out the meaning of a word (Q 11) and in searching for a synonym (Q 13), both being the main reasons for dictionary consultation for both groups of respondents.

As for those situations in which the teachers and students deem it necessary to consult a dictionary, the two groups' views differ significantly with respect to employing one in an English class (Q 16) — the teachers ask students to consult a dictionary far more often than the students seem to do so. The teachers indicated sometimes advising students to consult a dictionary when preparing for an English exam, a practice which the students reported as following to a similar degree (Q 15).

Table 1. *Comparison of ESP teachers' and students' answers regarding dictionary use*

Question	Mean	F	p
How often do you use / ask your students to use the following dictionaries?			
1. General-purpose English-English dictionary	T*: 2.48 S*:1.69	17.743	.000
2. General-purpose Serbian-English dictionary	T: 1.76 S: 2.25	5.703	.017
3. General-purpose English-Serbian dictionary	T: 1.86 S: 2.27	3.907	.048
4. Technical English-English dictionary	T: 2.19 S: 1.51	16.418	.000
5. Technical Serbian-English dictionary	T: 2.43 S: 1.63	21.265	.000
6. Technical English-Serbian dictionary	T: 2.24 S: 1.65	10.895	.001
7. Printed dictionary	T: 1.71 S: 1.85	.481	.488
8. E-dictionary	T: 2.71 S: 2.51	.721	.396

9. Online dictionary	T: 2.43 S: 3.12	12.583	.000
10. Mobile phone application dictionary	T: 2.86 S: 2.13	8.937	.003
Why do you use / ask your students to use a dictionary?			
11. To find out the meaning of a new word	T: 3.24 S: 3.17	.131	.717
12. To check pronunciation	T: 2.90 S: 2.14	5.546	.019
13. To find out a synonym	T: 2.48 S: 2.16	2.440	.119
14. To find out grammatical information about a word	T: 3.14 S: 1.77	50.006	.000
How often do you use / ask your students to use a dictionary in the following situations?			
15. When preparing for an exam	T: 2.95 S: 2.63	1.860	.173
16. During an English class	T: 3.10 S: 1.88	35.624	.000

*T - teachers, S -students

The results of the interview with teachers

The interview results confirm the quantitive data pertaining to the type of dictionary — all the interviewees refer their learners to mobile phone applications in the first place, then other electronic sources, monolingual and technical dictionaries. Five out of nine interviewed teachers do not ask their students to consult dictionaries, yet notice their students use them during class. The remaining four require using them only when learning or practicing new vocabulary.

As opposed to the quantitative data, the interview responses show the major reasons for dictionary consultation include the improvement of the overall knowledge of English, learner autonomy, and access to better quality information. All the interviewees are found to be the main source of vocabulary information for their students during classwork.

The interviewees reported difficulties in employing all dictionary types and they seem to be of technical (lack of printed copies in faculty libraries, lack of students' dictionary skills), organizational (busy syllabi, a small number of classes),

and financial (cost of printed dictionaries) nature. Most respondents did show awareness of printed sources being most reliable.

As for the frequency of use, the teachers' answers range from the statement that the dictionary has never been used more (1 teacher), over the opinion that dictionaries should be used considerably more (6 teachers) to the claim that they should not be used at all (2 teachers).

The results of the interview with students

Most students refer to an online source, predominantly *Google Translate* as they consider it a dictionary. Four students, however, typically type a word in a search engine and look at the first few links trying to guess the meaning of the word they are looking for. One student always uses a monolingual dictionary and one a printed source. Only three students know of technical dictionaries in their fields of study, yet they rarely use them.

The goal of all the students' searching is exclusively word meaning, preferably given in the form of a translation equivalent. However, when in class, they report no need to consult a dictionary as the teacher is the source of all needed information or the new foreign word is similar in shape to its Serbian equivalent.

When asked about their preference for online sources, students mentioned they are available at all times, the search is easy and quick and audio pronunciation is offered. Three students, though, refer to printed dictionaries when they need accurate information.

The interviewees' answers reveal they typically face challenges of technical, practical, and personal nature only when consulting a printed source. Technical issues include bulkiness, while practical relate to printed sources not being available at all times, their search being lengthier, not understanding all lexicographic information and their outdatedness. Among personal reasons, respondents reported believing *Google Translate* is unreliable and their lack of dictionary skills. They all think foreign language students should be trained in dictionary use.

DISCUSSION

The obtained results clearly show that there is more dissonance than congruence between the teachers' and students' responses.

The ESP teachers favor and refer their students to mobile applications, monolingual and technical dictionaries. However, when the mean values of the use

of these types of dictionary are taken into account, it is obvious the teachers only rarely recommend their use. The same finding has also been observed by Milić, Sadri and Glušac (2019b), who have appealed for a greater use of good quality specialized dictionaries in ESP learning. The teachers were shown to prefer, and refer their students mostly to, mobile application dictionaries, as they are an electronic version of reliable printed dictionaries containing all important information. The respondents did express their awareness of printed dictionaries as reliable and trustworthy, but they are employed least of all the other types.

The students most readily consult online sources (*Google Translate*), searching mainly for word meanings or translation equivalents. They seem to favor electronic dictionary resources due to their portability, their ease and speed of use, the ready-made answers they offer and the advantage that they do not require the considering of information that is not of primary interest to them at the moment of search. The same finding was obtained by Cook (2010, cited in Augustyn, 2013: 367), whose respondents were found to readily use smart phones or tablets that allow for easy access to *Google Translate* in search for a translation equivalent. These results also corroborate those of Miller (2008) — students mostly rely on bilingual electronic dictionaries. Béjoint and Moulin (1987) explain bilingual dictionary preference by stating that it is suitable for cursory consultations. Lexicographers have also come to realize that quick and easy access to dictionary data has become a necessity and are striving to design such reference books (Tarp, 2012).

As evidenced by other research studies (e.g., Miller, 2008), the results obtained through this research revealed that students mainly use bilingual dictionaries, while teachers prefer monolingual ones. Students seem to be seeking ready-made solutions, while teachers likely base their preference for monolingual dictionaries on the belief that they do not offer instant solutions, but rather require students to derive a solution by studying the given information by a monolingual source. Such a practice necessitates students' immersion in implicit language learning, which results in improved linguistic proficiency. Augustyn (2013) explains that even though no clear advantage of monolingual or bilingual teaching has been strongly supported by research findings, translation is undeservedly ignored in foreign language teaching to the expense of monolingual teaching. Discovering translation equivalents and contrastive analysis are desirable language learning strategies since the use of the mother tongue in the classroom has many important pedagogical, cognitive, and social functions (Augustyn, 2013: 366). Therefore, using a bilingual dictionary that offers ready-made solutions and

standardized forms of technical terms has not been found to have a negative impact on student' learning (Milić, Glušac, & Kardoš, 2018).

Another advantage of consulting bilingual dictionaries in ESP learning is the teaching of standardization (Milić, Sadri, & Glušac, 2019a). In the case of Serbian, the process of lexical borrowing in the specialized register from English is realized by means of adapting foreign terms in Serbian (Milić, 2015), frequently without respecting the rules of the receiving language. For that reason, consulting a bilingual technical dictionary would enable learning of such word forms that are in alignment with the standards of the receiving language, thus contributing to the preservation of the learners' mother tongue and their more accurate linguistic expression. However, the results of this research show that teachers rarely ask students to consult technical or bilingual dictionaries.

As for the purpose of using dictionaries, all respondents principally see the dictionary as a source of information on the meaning of words and/or translation equivalents. However, their views display a dissonance when it comes to viewing a dictionary as a source of grammatical information about words. The teachers seem to ask their students to look for grammatical or phonological information much more often than students actually do. Similar results were reported in the studies conducted by Miller (2008) and Milić, Sadri and Glušac (2019a).

Both groups' answers are congruent in that students should consult a dictionary when preparing for an exam, which they indeed seem to be doing. On the other hand, the results reveal that a dictionary is rarely used in class since either the teacher provides all needed information or the shape of the English word is so similar to the corresponding term in Serbian that they can guess its meaning.

As far as dictionary skills are concerned, the students' interview responses reveal that they are aware of their own lack of knowledge of lexicographic conventions and they believe foreign language students should be trained in dictionary use. The students are also aware of the limitations and inadequateness of online search tools, but their lack of dictionary skills and the practiced teaching routine seem not to require them to use a more reliable source.

CONCLUSION

Dictionary use in ESP teaching and learning at the University of Novi Sad is rather infrequent and sporadic and there has been found a great dissonance in ESP teachers' and their students' views regarding dictionary use.

Both teachers and students face challenges in consulting printed dictionaries. For that reason, teachers require students to use mobile phone

dictionary applications, typically monolingual, but the students seem to choose bilingual dictionaries or *Google Translate* instead as they offer instant, ready-made solutions. Both groups' preference for online/electronic sources points to the need for producing good quality electronic dictionaries. However, the results necessitate that students should be instructed on the benefits and trustworthiness of different sources of linguistic information. Also, the fact that both groups see the dictionary primarily as a source of word meanings and/or translation equivalents calls for teachers being informed and trained in how to employ dictionaries for other purposes as well, while students need to be instructed on how to use all dictionary information.

The findings also imply that the time may have come to reconsider the employment of bilingual dictionaries in ESP learning in order to discuss the sameness and differentness between the words in the two languages, as well as to teach standardization rules of the mother tongue, for which reason a sizable portion of an ESP class might need to be realized in the mother tongue.

Further studies investigating dictionary use are both possible and paramount. As suggested by Tono (2001: 36), it would be beneficial to investigate the impact of different variables (native language background, foreign language proficiency, cognitive skills, and learning styles) on dictionary use. Also, it would be worthwhile to conduct research after a systematic training of students in dictionary consultation so as to evaluate their competence in applying this resource. Moreover, as the training of ESP teachers in employing dictionaries is also desirable, a study could be conducted to assess their success in making use of this fundamental reference tool.

Tatjana Glušac, Mira Milić

KAKO UNIVERZITETSKI NASTAVNICI ENGLESKOG JEZIKA STRUKE I NJIHOVI STUDENTI KORISTE REČNIKE U PODUČAVANJU I UČENJU

Rezime

U radu se upoređuju stavovi nastavikâ engleskog jezika struke koji predaju na univerzitetskom nivou i njihovih studenata u vezi sa upotrebom rečnikâ u procesu podučavanja i učenja jezika. U istraživanju su učestvovali 21 nastavnik i 705 studenata novosadskog univerziteta. Podaci su prikupljeni tehnikom upitnika (posebne verzije za nastavnike i studente) i polustruktuiranog intervjua. Od ukupno 45 pitanja za nastavnike i 60 za studente u sklopu upitnika, 16 ih je bilo identično, te odgovori na njih predstavljaju osnov za izradu ovog rada. Odgovori na pomenuta pitanja obrađeni su postupkom ANOVA, a

rezultati intervjua metodom analize sadržaja. Srednje vrednosti odgovora otkrivaju da se sve vrste rečnika nedovoljno koriste u procesu podučavanja i učenja. Takođe, kod 11 od 16 analiziranih pitanja utvrđena je statistički značajna razlika u odgovorima između dve grupe ispitanika, što ukazuje na to da se njihovi stavovi o raznim aspektima upotrebe rečnikâ znatno razlikuju. Studenti uglavnom koriste onlajn dvojezične izvore radi bržeg pronalaženja gotovih odgovora, dok ih nastavnici upućuju na jednojezične rečničke aplikacije za mobilne telefone misleći da će ih tako više uključiti u proces implicitnog učenja jezika. Obe grupe slabo koriste štampani rečnik zbog njegovih brojnih nedostataka i poteškoća koje nastaju njegovom primenom, ali su svesne pouzdanosti ovog izvora informacija. Uočena je i prilično retka upotreba stručnih rečnika, ponajviše zbog načina rada nastavnika (on se postavlja kao primarni izvor svih potrebnih informacija) i usled činjenice da su strani termini često slični po obliku svojim ekvivalentima u srpskom jeziku, te studenti lako zaključe njihovo značenje. Obe grupe prevashodno koriste rečnik kao izvor informacija u vezi sa značenjem reči, zanemarujući ostale informacije iz rečničkog članka. Dobijeni rezultati ukazuju na potrebu da se i studenti i nastavnici obuče u vezi sa upotrebom rečnikâ i da oni treba da postanu obavezno nastavno sredstvo.

Ključne reči: rečnici, engleski jezik struke, nastavnici engleskog jezika struke, univerzitet, dvojezični rečnik, jednojezični rečnik, stručni rečnik.

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TOPICS IN ANGLOPHONE LITERATURES

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BIOGRAPHICAL AND SPATIOTEMPORAL PROTOTYPES: "HOMAGE TO SWITZERLAND" AS AN INTERSECTION OF HEMINGWAY'S LIFE AND EINSTEINIAN RELATIVITY[**]

The paper approaches Ernest Hemingway's short story "Homage to Switzerland" from two perspectives: biographical and relativistic, as the author inscribed some of his own experiences into this work of fiction, and he was also acquainted with Albert Einstein's fundamental ideas of time and space being relative depending on the experimenter's position. The first part discusses the biographical basis of the story and some possible intersecting points between the empirical author and his characters, as one is a degrading misogynist, the other is going through a divorce, and the third man's father shot himself. The second part focuses on the tripartite construction of the text, whose settings are three interchangeable Swiss towns with conspicuously similar participants in failed conversations. Drawing on Michael Reynolds's analysis of this story as an experiment in relativity, the paper scrutinises the paradoxical time references which proliferate towards the ending and concludes that there is no dominant time frame. It also includes an experiment based on special relativity, with the train as the main cause of events in the text. Finally, the paper proposes a new starting point in the reading of this story: the third section is the only one that opens in Stanzel's authorial, not figural narrative situation.

Keywords: "Homage to Switzerland," biography, relativity, time frames, repetition, inertial frame of reference, authorial narrative situation, figural narrative situation

1. INTRODUCTION

When we take into account the similarities between the empirical author's personal experiences and the potential analogies in his fiction, it is difficult to dismiss an assumption that Ernest Hemingway's life, with all its manifestations of a

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sometimes embittered, sometimes laconic masculine aura, plays a relevant role in the interpretation of many of his literary works, and can offer a spectrum of viable solutions to even some of the most cryptic texts, like the short story "Homage to Switzerland." The paper will shed light on the short story from two different angles: the shorter part is going to address the possible biographical references to Hemingway's own life, relying on the clues scattered throughout the storyline, especially the pivotal topics from his family history, and the longer section aims at analysing "Homage to Switzerland" through the lens of Einsteinian relativity, which must have been an underlying cause of the seemingly absurd "repetition" of similar events at locations situated in exactly the same time frame along the same railway line.

The short story was in all likelihood composed between March and June 1932, and features three different protagonists waiting for the Simplon-Orient Express at three different stations at the same moment in time (Beegel, 1992: 255). In an August 1932 letter to William Lengel, editor of *Cosmopolitan*, the author was enthusiastic about the narrative: "This is a damned good story – 3 stories in one. The amount of dialogue makes it long in space" (Hemingway, 1981: 367). By that time, Hemingway had gained a considerable reputation as a writer of minimised, often terse dialogues, which generally alluded to the depth of the characters' situation and required the readers to pay a lot of attention to his iceberg dictum from *Death in the Afternoon* (1932):

> If a writer of prose knows enough about what he is writing about, he may omit things that he knows and the reader, if the writer is writing truly enough, will have a feeling of those things as strongly as though the writer had stated them. The dignity of movement of an iceberg is due to only one-eighth of it being above water. (quoted in Johnston, 1984: 69)

The dialogues do not consist of sentences any longer or shorter than we can see in Hemingway's previous works, i.e. three novels and three short story collections, and the replicas produced in them open up paths for inscribing swaths of interrelated possible worlds that the characters hint at, phenomenologically termed "schematised aspects," the deepest layer of the work, where it is "up to the reader to fill in the gaps through an act of imagination in which he invests the data of his own existence" (Collot, 2010: 331). As the semantic structure of the text proper only covers one aspect of the storyworld, the reader must develop logical relations between what the text presents and the more expansive field that the text implies. Hemingway offers Lengel a master key to the constructed world in

"Homage to Switzerland," preparing the reader for an interpretation which should avoid filtering the events in the short story through the author's biography alone:

> It's a new form for a story. The fact that the three parts all open the same way or practically the same is intentional and is supposed to represent Switzerland metaphysically where it all opens in the same way always and where a young man will not marry a young lady until she has had her original teeth out and her store teeth in since that is an eventual expense that the girl's father, not her husband, should bear. (Hemingway, 1981: 367)

Hemingway evidently gives the editor advice to accept the story as an avant-garde narrative fragmenting the monadic plot structure, especially with its multiplied setting, which seems to have much bearing on the protagonists' repetitive behavior and the absurd atmosphere which pervades the triptych. In spite of his optimism, *Cosmopolitan* turned this manuscript down, and it was published in *Scribner's Magazine* in April 1933.

2. BIOGRAPHICAL GROUNDS

It has been noted that Hemingway had his private reasons to write this story, because he spent at least one winter at Chamby-sur-Montreux with his first wife Hadley Richardson, and also frequented Swiss resorts with his second wife, Pauline Pfeiffer. Around 1930 Hilda Doolittle lived in a villa between Montreux and Vevey with her partner Annie Winifred Ellerman, so the author acquired intimate knowledge of the region and also waited for the famous train on more than one occasion – the bitterest wait was for the Express back to Paris to check on the loss of his early manuscripts (Reynolds, 1992: 261).

Each part opens in a very similar way, with an American waiting for the Orient Express in three interchangeable Swiss towns: Montreux, Vevey and Territet. Due to the train's one-hour delay, Mr. Wheeler is killing time in a weird communication with the waitress at the station café, whom he even offers a large sum of money for casual sexual intercourse; she refuses his advances, but thinks to herself: "Three hundred francs for a thing that is nothing to do. How many times have I done that for nothing" (Hemingway, 1933: 205). Mr. Johnson begins his conversation with the waitress by asking her to play with him, only to direct his talk at the three station porters in the room – his central topic is his ongoing divorce, to which the Swiss nationals do not respond with much understanding or empathy. Johnson's question: "You like the married state?" is plainly answered: "Oui. C'est normale" (Hemingway, 1933: 206). Mr. Harris does not offend the waitress in a

way similar to the other two men, but his offer of a cigar to a stranger although he is a non-smoker signals an element of the absurd soon intensified in the talk with the old gentleman who happens to be a National Geographic Society member. This motif may have appeared for parody's sake, as "here the object of satire is […] the stiffly formal travel literature one finds in Swiss travel folders or *National Geographic*" (Oldsey, 1963: 181). The conversation ends with Mr. Harris's manifestly perfunctory revelation of his father's death, after his collocutor expresses the wish to meet the man: "I'm sure he would have liked to meet you but he died last year. Shot himself, oddly enough" (Hemingway, 1933: 208).

From a biographical point of view, it is easy to inscribe a number of parallels between Hemingway's life and the personal histories of the three protagonists, beginning with the chronotope itself: he was quite familiar with the country, and he never made an attempt at an imaginary historical distance in fiction, but immersed the reader into the temporally unmediated surroundings, and all the three men bear partial resemblance to the empirical Ernest Hemingway, age about 35 being just one of them. At first sight, Mr. Wheeler is a degrading, calculated womaniser, although "he was very careful about money and did not care for women" (Hemingway, 1933: 205). His performance may correspond to Hemingway's philandering facet, and may also imply the fateful winter of 1925/26 in nearby Schruns, Austria, when he began his affair with Pauline, which caused the disintegration of his marriage to Hadley. On the other hand, Mr. Wheeler's alternative role might be that of an object of ridicule – this troubled, uncommunicative man may stand for the stereotype of the money-hungry Jew, when we take into account the author's pronounced anti-Semitism from the decades before World War II (Lovell, 1976: 85). The wine he orders bears "Sion" as the geographic denomination, and at that time there were several dozen varieties of wine with that provenance, as they are made of such diverse grapes as Pinot Noir, Gamay or Cornalin for reds and Chasselas, Sylvaner, Pinot Blanc or Pinot Gris for whites (Sion Wine, 2014: para. 3). The reader will never learn the exact make and producer, but the spelling Sion in an intended allusion stands as an alternative for Zion, a place so dear to the Jews worldwide (Lovell, 1976: 85). Mr. Johnson is more open about his relationships than his predecessor, and he manages to assemble a larger company of listeners, although his manners towards the waitress are only a little less despicable than Mr. Wheeler's. This persona may serve as a substitute for Hemingway in the course of his divorce from Hadley, and he demonstrates a similar bitterness at his status of an unattached individual, unlike the representatives of the community he is talking to. The third American, Mr. Harris, does not come off as a

confident conversationalist either, but he soon shifts from awkward exchanges with the waitress to a dialogue with an old man who perceives a likeness to a fellow-member of the National Geographic Society (Harris's father). The fundamental intersection of Hemingway's and Harris's biographies certainly lies in the mention of the father's suicide, and even the manner of execution is identical. If we take the replica literally, it can be concluded that the story takes place in 1929, although that is not the only shrouded temporal marker in the narrative. Unusual for a Hemingway story, each character is styled "Mister," each uses language to dispel the boredom of the wait for the delayed train (and the clouds of existential angst they feel), and each is aware that he will not meet the chance acquaintances ever again (Flora, 2004: 5–6).

3. RELATIVISTIC INFLUENCES

However, if the text is read through a relativistic framework, the conclusions as to the exact time of action can be reached much harder, if at all. The very triptych structure facilitates the introduction of a multiple point of view, given that they contain the paratextual details like captions of each American and the location at hand. The three openings bear so much resemblance to one another that they could be mistaken as identical when read superficially:

> Inside the station café it was warm and light. The wood of the tables shone from wiping and there were baskets of pretzels in glazed paper sacks. (Part I, 204)

> Inside the station café it was warm and light; the tables were shiny from wiping and on some there were red and white striped table cloths; and there were blue and white striped table cloths on the others and on all of them baskets with pretzels in glazed paper sacks. (Part II, 205)

> In the station café at Territet it was a little too warm; the lights were bright and the tables shiny from polishing. There were baskets with pretzels in glazed paper sacks on the tables and cardboard pads for beer glasses in order that the moist glasses would not make rings on the wood. (Part III, 207)

As can be clearly seen, all the descriptions include the core elements of the shiny tables, baskets of pretzels, warmth and light, with the indispensable frame of the café where all the details of the mise-en-scène are placed. The only place name is Territet, although all the captions indicate the settlements' names before the dramas unfold. This detail deserves more attention, and it will be analysed separately later.

The relativistic reading of this short story was inaugurated by Michael Reynolds in the essay "'Homage to Switzerland': Einstein's Train Stops at Hemingway's Station," first published in the collection *Hemingway's Neglected Shorter Fiction* (1989), edited by Susan Beegel. He notices accurately that "Hemingway seldom uses geography carelessly" and that "the three geographical points in his story are out of their proper order" (Reynolds, 1992: 256). The train coming from Saint Maurice should pass through Territet first, then Montreux, and finally Vevey; in addition, the real Orient Express never stopped at minor stations like Territet or Vevey. On the other hand, these three stations play an important role in Hemingway's experiment in the theory of special relativity, since they make up three checkpoints within a larger frame of reference, i.e. the 20-kilometre-long stretch of railway in the diegesis. This inertial frame of reference has constant velocity, and it does not offer any acceleration to the train that could affect its motion in a way different from any other point of its journey (Steane, 2012: 55).

Each section of the short story exhibits fundamental ambiguity in the characters' mutual understanding, as the waitresses do not comprehend their American guests' initial allusions, nor are they supposed to. None of the three porters in the longest, central part of the text can genuinely relate to Mr. Johnson's predicament, and throughout their conversation, it is evident that the American makes awkward efforts to garner sympathy – that is simply prevented from happening due to the Swiss men's more rigid social and marital codes. Just for propriety's sake, the oldest porter once says: "It is understandable [...] I understand it" (Hemingway, 1933: 206). Furthermore, Hemingway gives the reader fragments of Mr. Johnson's imperfect French and soon shifts to the narration in English, but the four men spoke much more French than reported in the story: "He had stopped clowning with the language and was speaking good French now and had been for some time" (Hemingway, 1933: 206). The bias between his emotional frankness probably stemming from his search for human warmth and their hardly penetrable restraint visibly persists in the section, as soon as the porters must repeat to one another that "monsieur is going to divorce" in a matter of minutes. When he realises that all they remember is his immediate separation from his wife, Johnson ruefully concludes: "You're not interested in my troubles" (Hemingway, 1933: 206). Additionally soured by the fact that his wife does sports and is amused by them, unlike he is by the tediousness of his profession as a writer, he gloomily leaves for the platform 45 minutes before the train's arrival. Claude Lovell succinctly interprets the motive for Mr. Johnson's initial conduct:

He approaches these lower-class men with a gesture of largesse that is supposed to throw them off their feet. These porters are unsophisticated folk who remain unimpressed by the self-aggrandizing gesture. They, in fact, have the edge on him, for they have marriage (Lovell, 1976: 81).

In the relativistic intersection of cultural norms, he does not find assurance that divorce is not personal failure – on the contrary, his hope that talking about the divorce "would blunt it" falls through in a nameless warm and light café, in a casual encounter with three nameless porters, a universe apart from him. Just as he does not understand the formulaic social contacts, evident in his wonder at the toast with the interchangeable "prosit" and "salut," Mr. Johnson does not realise the extent of inapplicability of his cultural mores to a foreign space. His opening up to the three diametrically different men in a language that is not his own reflects his unawareness of the unbridgeable gaps in diverse human communities, which only intensifies his solitude on the platform, "in the snow [...] falling heavily" (Hemingway, 1933: 207).

This section features another instance of relativity in exact dating, and it concerns the drink that the four men are enjoying during their conversation; Mr. Johnson clumsily asks for the best champagne with a wrong interrogative pronoun: "Laquelle est le best?", only to receive the one-word reply: "Sportsman." (Hemingway, 1933: 206). This detail also serves the purpose of finer characterisation, revealed later in the conversation, when it turns out that the only one amused is Mr. Johnson's wife, and he is bitterly reminded of what he will lose at the dissolution of his marriage (Lovell, 1976: 85). Since there may be many alcoholic drinks offered under this umbrella term, archival materials were found to be of invaluable assistance in this case. In a 1930 civil court decision from Geneva in a litigation between Société des Établissements Mousset et Coron and Champagne Strub, Mathiss & Compagnie, regarding the similarity of names of several brands in question, these appear: "Le Sportif," "Strub Sportsman Da Capo" and "Sportsman's demi-sec Blankenhorn." It turns out that the Strub company registered its brand "Sportsman" in the Institute of Industrial Property in Bern under the patent number 67 423, on June 5, 1928. On the other hand, Mousset et Coron had registered their own brand "Sportsman" on May 5, 1923, but they never publicly sold their products under the designations "Sport" or "Sportsman" –

instead, they used the brand "Champagne Strub" (Jurisprudence: Suisse, 1931: 31).[1]
Following this lead, it is only logical to assume that the story must be set either in
1928 (less likely, due to the registration date and the months it takes for a wine
brand to become famous), 1929, 1930 or 1931; the *terminus ante quem* could be
early 1932, very close to the time of the story's composition. In accordance with the
third section, the year of Mr. Harris's (and Hemingway's) tragic death in the family
could plausibly be 1928, and the story may have been set in 1929.

It is the third section of the short story that disturbs any linearly based
temporal classification, which was analysed in Reynolds's article in several possible
time frames – in the references to George Shiras III's photographs of wild animals,
the panorama of the Sahara Desert, an Arab praying towards Mecca, and to
Lawrence of Arabia. The first three details direct us to the year 1911, denoted by
the aside comment: "That was nearly fifteen years ago." By this account, the year
1926 may be the acceptable date for the setting of the story (Reynolds, 1992: 259),
although Harris's collocutor does not pinpoint the year authoritatively, leaving the
reader in the zone of the included middle. Harris's cryptic mention of David
Belasco does not find a shred of understanding on the waitress's part, which only
goes to show his childish lack of resourcefulness in elementary intercultural
communication; judging by this awkward starter, he is by a notch more confused
than Mr. Johnson. This replica undermines any certainty about the year 1929,
because the information on his being "dead now" (Hemingway, 1933: 207)
necessitates a change in the timeline: David Belasco, an American theatrical
director, playwright, producer and impresario, died in May 1931. This alteration
draws the reader further from the approximate fifteen years after the *National
Geographic* publications, but it is quite in keeping with the relativistic episteme –
the short story gains another pivotal point and begins to distort the concept of
uniform, linear time, following in Einstein's footsteps in the dismantling of "the
Newtonian world of fixed, certain, mechanical processes," which left us "no more
absolutes except one: the speed of light. All else became relative" (Reynolds, 1992:

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[1] The author would like to express his gratitude to enologist Petar Samardžija, M.Sc., editor
of the *Svet pića* (*World of Drinks*) magazine, for a precise explanation of proprietary
differences between the alcoholic drinks *champagne* and *vin mousseux* – the designation
champagne is a registered trademark for sparkling wines made in Champagne, and *vin
mousseux* is used for other regions. Seen through this supplementary lens, Mr. Johnson's
misuse of the term *champagne* in Switzerland fits in well with his general ignorance of the
country's customs and characteristics.

257). To make the exchange even more absurd, Mr. Harris is not even sure that Washington is the headquarters of the National Geographic Society, which may serve as a conspicuous indicator of Hemingway's intention to create a new form for the short story genre. Careful as he was with geographic locales, he also meticulously planned who and what to include in these pruned dialogues, so the warning tone of the instructions to the *Cosmopolitan* editor should be trusted: "It is submitted to be published as it is with no changes and no deletions" (Hemingway, 1981: 367).

An unintended complication may arise from a literal following of Reynolds's otherwise excellent article, and it concerns the reference to T.E. Lawrence, better known as Lawrence of Arabia, who fought alongside the Arab guerilla forces in the Middle East during World War I. When Mr. Harris mentions Colonel Lawrence's book, his collocutor, identified at the end as Dr Sigismund Wyer, Ph.D., vaguely remembers that "his book deals with Arabia" (Hemingway, 1933: 208). The book's photographs of certain Arabs in the desert prompted Harris's confusion about the Sahara panorama from *National Geographic*, and Reynolds dispels the doubt: "Hemingway's reference here is to T.E. Lawrence's *The Revolt in the Desert* which was not published until 1931 and which Hemingway bought that September" (Reynolds, 1992: 259). The men are probably talking about that exact book, but it was first published in England in 1927 by Jonathan Cape (*OCTLE*: 382, s.v. Lawrence, T.E.), and its first US edition was printed in the same year by the George H. Doran Company in New York (Biblio.com, *Revolt in the Desert*). At this point, the biographical information on Hemingway's purchase of the volume gives way to the interpretation of the short story in a relativistic manner, which is now supplied by yet another humorously plausible time frame – the period between 1927 and early 1932 appears as the new time lent.

After discussing the possible large-scale historical context of the storyline, which varies by the factor of years, we will pay some attention to the internal chronology of the events related to the train's hours-long journey. To that end, we created a diagram with the most relevant changes in the plot structure. In physical terms, an event is defined as a point in spacetime, without a specific duration in time or significant spatial extent (Steane, 2012: 40–41), so it can be represented as a dot in a chart. In order to show how relativistically the story was executed, we now give a visual representation of the events following the worldline (a line representing the history of a particle/body) of the train itself. To Einstein, the only possible way to measure time and the simultaneity of events was by means of identical clocks placed at different positions, whose pointers had the same positions

in the event's vicinity (Einstein 2005: 32), which Hemingway followed almost verbatim.
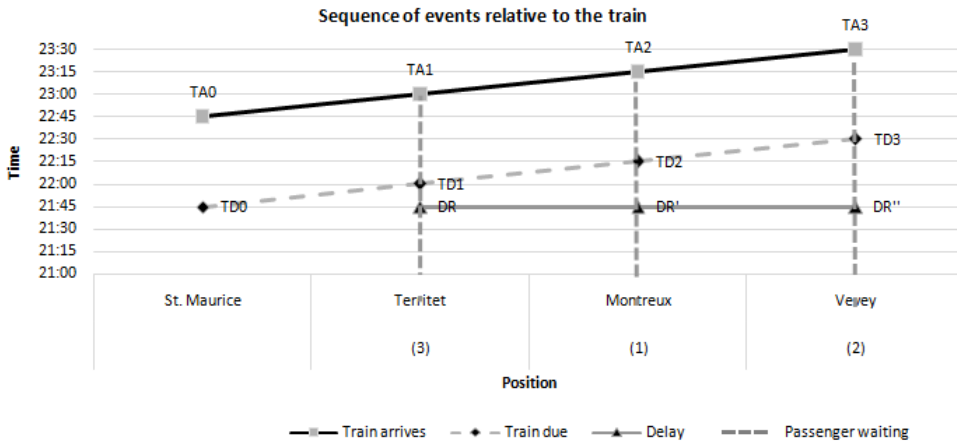
Fig. 1. The passage of the train through spacetime.
Legend:
DR – delay reported (at three different places synchronously, DR, DR' and DR")
TD – train due (with TD0 at Saint Maurice)
TA – train arrives (again with TA0 at Saint Maurice).

For experimentation's sake, the journey is divided into 15-minute intervals on the line from Saint Maurice (point of departure), via Territet and Montreux to Vevey (the train's true geographic order). If the delayed train arrives at Vevey at 23:30, as Mr. Johnson definitely learns in Part II (an hour later than the planned 22:30 arrival), we may suppose that it will arrive at Montreux at 23:15, and at Territet at 23:00. By the same token, the train departs from Saint Maurice at 22:45. In all probability, the information on the train's delay comes simultaneously to the three stations at 21:45 or a little earlier. Of all the plotted possibilities, these definitely take place: the news of the delay, Johnson's glance at the clock at 21:45, information that his train is due at 22:30, the end of his conversation at 22:45, and the arrival of the train at Mr. Wheeler's station of Montreux. The horizontal line represents the propagation of light, or radio signal which communicates the news of the delay to the three stations on the line instantly, hence the zero movement in time. On the other hand, the three passengers do not make any progress through space, but only in time (the vertical lines). The inclined dashed line symbolises the train's unrealised timetable, and the full line running parallel to it stands for the train's actual progress through spacetime. If the graph began relative to the first

plotline section (Montreux), the train's motion would be irreparably interrupted after Vevey and the train would be arriving at Territet virtually from nowhere.

One final point concerns both the basic narrative situations and the structural composition of the story regarding the placement of the parts of this triptych. The phrase "narrative situations" is given in the plural and the explanation relies on Franz Stanzel's tripartite typology: authorial, first-person and figural, out of which the last makes use of third-person utterances, but the point of view belongs to a character rather than the omniscient narrator. As Monika Fludernik puts it: "An authorial narrator has an external perspective on the events of the story while the perspective of a figural narrative is an internal one" (Fludernik, 2009: 88). When we take a closer look at all the three openings, we may notice that the first two sections (excepting the "stage directions") begin with already defined existents: "Inside **the** station café it was warm and light" (Hemingway, 1933: 204, 205), but the third part opens with a postmodifying phrase after "In the station café **at Territet** it was a little too warm..." (Hemingway, 1933: 207), which is perfectly acceptable in the first mention of a thing, person or phenomenon. The first two openings exhibit classical cases of Stanzel's figural situation, and the third follows the rules of the authorial situation, where the narrating instance sketches the location, time and characters in such a way that the perspective remains external, and the readers feel gradually acquainted with the storyworld. Hemingway puts the external perspective on the narrative existents at the end, having presented them internally twice before, and the only part that would not require a caption is the very Territet section, where the place name seems redundant – it only seems to be such because the captions do not represent the core parts of a prose narrative, and some initial information on the place should be incorporated into the very fabric of the diegesis. In view of the new form for a story, the captions assume a role that they do not usually have in short stories, and they (in the first two sections certainly) become playfully necessary and engage in a dialogue with the narrative text proper. Examples of Hemingway's figural narration are easy to find elsewhere – "Indian Camp" opens with: "At **the** lake shore there was another row boat drawn up," (Hemingway, 1987: 69), "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife" opens with: "Dick Boulton came from **the** Indian camp to cut up logs for Nick's father" (Hemingway, 1987: 73), "The Three-Day Blow" opens with: "**The** rain stopped as Nick turned into **the** road that went up through **the** orchard" (Hemingway, 1987: 81), and so on.

It is not difficult to conclude that the reader of a figural narrative is supposed to gain both the accurate and wrong insights from the character's point of view, and that this situation relativises the concept of an omniscient narrator and

that of a perfect reader who understands all the facets of narrative representation. That perspective suits Einsteinian considerations quite well, since no safe conclusion can be drawn as to the exact time of action, the ontological status of the individuals (imaginable everyday collocutors or just allegorical figures in an absurd drama), the real distinctive features of the cafés at the towns, and if all the experiments in communication fail analogously, it is not unreasonable to think that in this relative world, where a person is as much a stranger in a strange land as another person is in their own, the reading order could also be changed with respect to the "repetitive" plotline. In terms of authorial narration and a "classically" formulated introduction to the story, the most suitable candidate for the first section in the sequence would unequivocally be the third part, at the beginning of which we learn the location without any paratextual aid, and can get oriented without resorting to the inscription on the "frame" of the vignette. Since no single perspective takes precedence in the relativistic world, and each of the several time frames has a value equal to any other, we could freely invite future readings of "Homage to Switzerland" that begin with the third section, then continue along the railway line into the first and second parts, showing a decentred story which functions as a valid fictional text even if approached and perused from different points of its extent.

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BIOGRAFSKI I PROSTORNOVREMENSKI PROTOTIPOVI: „OMAŽ ŠVAJCARSKOJ“ KAO PRESJEK HEMINGVEJEVOG ŽIVOTA I AJNŠTAJNOVSKE RELATIVNOSTI

Rezime

Ernest Hemingvej je opisivao tri sižejne linije u „Omažu Švajcarskoj“ kao tri „dijela“, koji sadrže upadljivo sličan prostorni okvir (stanične kafee u tri gradića) u nečemu što se čini kao isti trenutak, pošto Simplon-Orijent ekspres u svim slučajevima kasni tačno sat vremena. Pisac je bio poznat po detaljnom istraživanju građe koju je namjeravao da preoblikuje u pripovijestima i, kako tvrdi Majkl Rejnolds, namjerno je poremetio fizički poredak pojavljivanja željezničkih stanica (Terite, Montre i Vevej). Rad predlaže analizu simultanosti događajâ i njihovo nelinearno tekstualno prikazivanje sa dva metodološka gledišta. Prvo, zasnovano na Hemingvejevom priznanju da je to „nova forma za priču...“ i „to što se sva tri dijela otvaraju na isti ili praktično isti način plod je namjere“, vodi istraživanje ka autofikcionalnom prototipu koji je predstavljen u tri varijacije. Drugo pokušava da osmotri sve događaje iz relativističkog ajnštajnovskog svemira, u kome priroda posmatranih događaja zavisi od položaja posmatrača i inercionog referentnog okvira, a sve ih pokreće očekivani voz. Uticaji relativnosti ispitivani su i na osnovu dvosmislenih

vremenskih referenci u tekstu, po kojima se radnja može odvijati u nekoliko različitih, ali podjednako prihvatljivih vremenskih okvira. Na sličan način, rad predlaže i to da je, ako čitalac slijedi jednostavniju auktorijalnu pripovjednu situaciju Franca Štancla, a ne složeniju figuralnu, najpristupačniji ulaz u tekst smješten u trećoj sekciji.

Ključne riječi: „Omaž Švajcarskoj", biografija, relativnost, vremenski okviri, ponavljanje, inercioni referentni okvir, auktorijalna pripovjedna situacija, figuralna pripovjedna situacija

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NEOLIBERALNI PROSTORI U FILMU *MOJA PRELEPA PERIONICA* I U ROMANU *BUDA IZ PREDGRAĐA* HANIFA KUREJŠIJA[**]

Književna i filmska produkcija britanskih autora kolonijalnog porekla poseduje izraženu političku komponentu koja gotovo jednoobrazno ispituje svojim estetskim i narativnim formama različite aspekte neoliberalne hegemonije. Prikazi hijerarhijski podeljenih urbanih prostora su jedna od strategija kojima ovi tekstovi dovode u pitanje diskurs da je savremena neoliberalna Britanija post-klasno i post-rasno društvo. Dramski, književni i filmski rad Hanifa Kurejšija (Hanif Kureishi) nezamenjivi je vodič kroz britanski neoliberalni pejzaž. Rasna i klasna topografija Londona u eri tačerizma ogleda se u oba dela kojima se ovaj rad bavi – Kurejšijevim romanom *Buda iz predgrađa* (*The Buddha of Suburbia*, 1990) i filmom za koji je napisao scenario *Moja prelepa perionica* (*My Beautiful Laundrette*, 1985). Ova dela protivreče tačerovskoj viziji o Britaniji osamdesetih kao homogenoj naciji, govoreći o pluralnostima i dubokim procepima subjektiviteta. Cilj ovog rada je da, na tragu savremenih teoretičara ideologije u poznom kapitalizmu, prikaže da je Kurejšijeva ambivalentnost prema neoliberalizmu produkt tekstualne svesti o tome da se ovde radi o poretku sposobnom za aproprijaciju intimnih prostora i njihovu transpoziciju u prostore gde društveni subjekti ostvaruju materijalne uslove za život. Zaključak je da pozni kapitalizam briše granicu između privatnog i poslovnog prostora, neutrališući tako svest subjekta o predideološkoj realnosti, utoliko koliko je ona zamisliva.

Ključne reči: Hanif Kurejši, prostor, identitet, tačerizam, neoliberalizam, ideologija

I. UVOD: LONDON U DELU HANIFA KUREJŠIJA: PROSTOR, IDENTITET I KAPITALIZAM

Hanif Kurejši (Hanif Kureishi) jedan je od retkih britanskih pisaca mešovitog etničkog porekla koji je osamsedestih godina dvadesetog veka bio prihvaćen u kanon najznačajnijih dela britanske književnosti, u vreme kada je iz današnje perpektive problematičan pojam nacionalnog književnog kanona tek

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počeo da biva dekonstruisan, ali je još uvek uživao čvrst legitimitet u akademskim krugovima. Kritičari su uvažili Kurejšijev opus najpre zbog njegovog doprinosa u poetizaciji hronike tektonskih promena u životu Britanaca u periodu zapamćenom kao istorijska prekretnica u posleratnom životu te zemlje. Naime, dolazak premijerke Margaret Tačer na vlast 1979. godine označio je nepovratnu transformaciju Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva iz posleratnog prostora „države blagostanja” u prostor poznog, postindustrijskog kapitalizma, uslovljenog političko-ekonomskom ideologijom popularno poznatom pod nazivom *neoliberalizam*. Neretko autobiografski opus Hanifa Kurejšija, njegovi brojni dramski tekstovi, novele, zbirke eseja, romani i nekoliko filmskih scenarija, testament su neprestanog preobražaja jednog globalnog centra moći, transformisanog na ruševinama njegovog pređašnjeg uticaja kao središta imperije. Koliko su u međuvremenu postkolonijalni imigranti oblikovali i razobličili prostor metropole, a koliko je metropola svojim sociopolitičkim i ekonomskim ambijentom proizvela subjektivitete imigranta, najbolje se ogleda u tekstovima Kurejšija poput scenarija za kultni film iz 1984, nominovanog za Oskara, u režiji Stivena Frirsa (Stephen Frears) *Moja prelepa perionic*a (*My Beautiful Laundrette*), kao i u njegovom podjednako kontroverznom romanu iz 1990, *Buda iz predgrađa* (*The Buddha of Suburbia*). Za poetiku prostora oba teksta zajedničko je da ocrtavaju jednu do tada nepoznatu konturu raspolućenog grada, kao i da osvetljavaju imigrantske prostore, uglavnom nedostupne za poglede većinskog belog britanskog naciona – intimne prostore imigrantskog doma, spavaće sobe, porodične trpezarije, s jedne strane, kao i prostore proizvodnje kapitala, kao što su piljarnica, perionica, preduzeće, pa i odnedavno neoliberalizovane prostore pozorišnih dasaka i univerziteta. Kurejšijevi tekstovi su posebno značajni po svom prikazu Londona kao nadnacionalnog kosmopolisa, kao egzila za globalne begunce od siromaštva, rata ili pak dosade, ali i kao svojevrsni radni kamp za svoju kapitalističku mašineriju (Massey 2007:70). Usled ovakve londonske polisemije, Dorin Mesi (Massey), društvena kritičarka i geografkinja, s pravom postavlja pitanje tom gradu: šta ovo mesto predstavlja?

Kritičar Pol Salmon (Paul Salmon, 1993) tvrdio je da se sa vremenske distance s koje on govori, od nekoliko godina razmaka, može već pouzdano reći da *Moja prelepa perionica* i *Buda iz predgrađa* nude izuzetnu široku viziju umetničkog i kulturnog britanskog prostora svoje ere. Danas se ova dela smatraju klasicima imigrantske britanske književnosti koji su doprineli njenoj popularizaciji i internacionalizaciji u svetu, zajedno sa autorima poput Salamana Ruždija (Salman Rushdie), Karila Filipsa (Caryl Phillips), Timotija Moa (Timothy Mo), Zejdi Smit

(Zadie Smith), Monike Ali (Monica Ali), Bernardin Evaristo (Bernardine Evaristo), Andree Livi (Andrea Levy), i mnogih drugih. Ovi tekstovi otvorili su vrata jednoj revolucionarnoj perspektivi na teme homoseksualnosti, imigracije i nacionalnog identiteta, pogled „iz unutra ka napolju" koji je promenio pravila igre za sve uključene aktere – autore, izdavače, čitalalaštvo, i celokupni kulturni establišment. U javnim i privatnim prostorima *Moje prelepe perionice* i *Bude iz predgrađa* odvija se performativnost društvenih kategorija rase, klase i roda, kao koordinata jednog od ključnih poprišta politike identiteta, pa time i bitke za osvajanje urbanih prostora od strane različitih zaraćenih subjekata neoliberalne ideologije. Ideje tačerizama osamdesetih kao polazna tačka za prostorno-književnu analizu Kurejšija posebno su značajne jer je taj period obeležio svojevrsnu marketizaciju grada oličenu u etiketi „svetska prestonica". Ako je nekadašnji London uživao status globalnog grada zbog svog imperijalnog nasleđa i postkolonijalne demografije, osamdesetih je ta titula ogrnuta u novo ruho – u tačerovsko poimanje „svetskog grada" kao globalnog središta finansijskog sektora i krupnog kapitala. Pritom, tačerizam kao istorijska epoha i skup ideja ni u kom slučaju ne označavaju prekid između ta dva gradska identiteta, već ih ujednjuju u transverzali Kurejšijevog dela.

Da bismo identifikovali ove prelaze, kontinuitete i pravce, potrebno je utvrditi šta su bili efekti neoliberalne ideologije na imigrantski britanski identitet. Jedna od upotrebljivih strategija je i sagledavanje prostora u Kurejšijevim delima kako bi se uvidela okupacija privatnog prostora od strane neoliberalizma, takoreći, ulazak tržišta u krevete, dnevne sobe i kuhinje Kurejšijevih junaka. Ono što Kurejši ovim preklapanjem različitih sociopolitičkih dimenzija prostora, prožimanje prostora intime sa prostorima poslovanja postiže je spoznaja ekploatacije privatnog od strane tržišnog, upliv materijalnog u duhovno. Upravo ta rastegljivost iz prostora čovekovog rada u prostor čovekovog zadovoljstva, ta sposobnost adaptacije neoliberalnog prostora saglasna je sa zaključcima Mišela Fukoa (Michel Faucault) da „neoliberalizam pretenduje da proširi svoj racio na sfere koje nisu izričito, ili barem ne primarno, ekonomske, kao što su porodica i stopa rađanja" (2005: 323, moj prevod). U skladu s tim, predstojeća analiza će se osvrnuti kako na subverzivne urbane prostore koji se opiru korporatizaciji i nadiranju kapitala kroz pukotine intimnog prostora, ali i na momente aproprijacije i neutralisanja tekstualne subverzije od strane hegemonske neoliberalne ideologije, koja je prodrla u savremenu britansku kolektivnu svest kao osnovni princip organizovanja društvenog, političkog, ekonomskog, pa i privatnog života.

II. NEOLIBERALNI TEMELJI KNJIŽEVNOG PROSTORA

Kada govorimo o idejnim postulatima tačerizma, bitno je napomenuti da je krajem sedamdesetih godina prošlog veka u Britaniji usled velike stope inflacije i nezaposlenosti, propadanja industrijskog sektora, a uvećanih rashoda iz državnog budžeta, došlo do naglog zaokreta ka neobliberalizmu u političko-ekonomskoj praksi ove zemlje, koji je već dobijao na globalnoj popularnosti kao rešenje za rastuće svetske ekonomske neprilike (Harvey, 2005). Iako se u međuvremenu neoliberalna opcija ustoličila u globalnoj popularnoj svesti kao jedina opcija za ekonomski rast i stabilnost, sve veći broj njenih kritičara, posebno u epilogu kraha finansijskog tržišta 2008. i današnje azilantske i ratne krize na globalnom nivou, upućuje na neadekvatnosti neoliberalnog rezonovanja. Kulturne posledice dominacije tržišne etike bili su izum novih tehnologija državne kontrole koja je imala za cilj proizvodnju „uspešnih građana", što je zahtevalo agresivnu promociju konzumerizma, preduzetničkog duha, i meritokratije[1]. Ruku-pod-ruku s navedenim diktumima išli su i popularizacija ličnog interesa, individualizma i konkurentnosti, društvenih simptoma koje u svojim delima ironizuje Kurejši.

Književnost britanskih pisaca kolonijalnog porekla, čak i kada to ne pretenduje da bude, ima posebno značajnu ulogu u podrivanju neoliberalne hegemonije, zahvaljujuči svojim prikazima hijerarhijski podeljenih prostora grada, kao što su kompartmentalizacija komšiluka, podela na siromašni južni i imućni severni London, zatim na bogataške vile i opštinske stanove za sirotinju, koje poslednjih decenija sve više nalikuju getu. Takvi prikazi prostora dovode u pitanje diskurs da je neoliberalna Britanija jedno post-klasno i post-rasno društvo. U tom smislu, London i njegovi prostori biće ovde sagledani kao ono što Bašlar (Gaston Bachelard) u svom delu *Poetika prostora* (1958) naziva *naseljenim prostorom*, društvenim pejzažom koji oni koji ga nastanjuju radikalno menjaju i oblikuju prema sebi, koliko prostor to isto čini sa onima koji ga nastanjuju.

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[1] Meritokratija u kontekstu ovog rada upućuje na ideju da su građani Britanije danas pokretljivi na društvenoj lestvici isključivo prema svojim zaslugama, a ne urođenim prednostima, poput rase, klase i nasledstva; više o problemu neiskrenosti u diskursu meritoktatije pročitati u radu britanske sociološkinje Džo Litler (Jo Littler, 2013).

Moja prelepa perionica i Buda iz predgrađa kao kulturni produkti ere Tačerizma

Radnja *Moje prelepe perionice* postavljena je u južnom Londonu, Vandsvortu, tradicionalno siromašnom delu grada rezervisanom za radničku klasu i imigrante. Naracija se fokusira na Omara, mladog nezaposlenog Pakistanca koji živi sa svojim ostarelim i ogorčenim ocem levičarom. Klaustrofobični sivi opštinski stančić s oljuštenim tapetama, večno uznemiren škripom voznih šina, oslikava očev psihološki krah, ali i beposmoćnost radničke klase u širem smislu, koja takve londonske stanove masovno nastanjuje. Husein, nekada uspešni novinar u Pakistanu, a sada razočarani alkoholičar u rasističkoj Britaniji, iz svog krevetskog nereda naređuje sinu da uđe u posao sa svojim stricem Naserom, uspešnim pakistanskim biznismenom, ne bi li stekao radne navike pre upisa na fakultet. Time će Naser, kako on to kasnije u filmu kaže, zadovoljiti premijerku Tačer zato što Omara „skida" sa biroa.

Na drugom kraju južnog Londona, Omarovim rođacima ide dobro u Tačerovoj Britaniji. Film počinje scenom u kojoj Naser i njegov rođak Salim izbacuju ilegalne stanare iz jednog od svojih objekata, bacajući beskućnikove prnje kroz prozor. Kurejši karikira pohlepnost novog intraetničkog klasizma time što Naser, na negodovanje jedne od žrtava prisilne selidbe da izbacuju „jednog od svojih", odgovara cinično da je on, Naser, „profesionalni biznismen, a ne profesionalni Pakistanac". Međutim, osim upadljivog uspostavljanja tačerizma kao ideološkog okvira filma ovom replikom, uočavamo i da za muškarce poput Salima i Nasera koji veliki značaj pridaju svojoj imovini, u psihološkom smislu, cigla i malter simbolišu emotivnu vezu s Britanijom, te daju sigurnost imigrantima u zemlji u kojoj, kako Salim to Omaru kasnije kaže, „bez novca, mi nismo ništa". Može se zaključiti da imigranti neretko gledaju na imućnost i preduzetništvo kao način da „zarade" svoje mesto u društvu. Ovim prvim scenama, film takođe uvodi temu dualnosti između bede u kojoj obitavaju „neuspeli" imigranti poput Omara i njegovog oca s jedne strane, i onoga što se u tačerizmu nazivalo „uspešnom etničkim manjinama", oličenog u Naseru i Salimu, onih koji su uložili svoje preduzetničke talente u svrhu razvijanja porodičnog posla i unapređenja ekonomije.

Rani neoliberalni London kao prostorni element metanaracije toliko je upečatljiv u romanu *Buda iz predgrađa*, da se slobodno može tvrditi da je grad zapravo glavni junak ovog romana. Naracija prati tradiciju *bildungsroman* žanra u opisu sazrevanja etnički ambivalentnog Karima Amira koja počinje u tradicionalnoj engleskoj kući niže srednje klase u londonskom južnom predgrađu Bromliju. Porodičnu kuću koju deli sa mlađim bratom i sredovečnim, nezadovoljnim

roditeljima, majkom Engleskinjom, domaćicom, i ocem Pakistancem, sitnim državnim činovnikom, Karim ne doživljava kao ono što Bašlar naziva prostorom stabilnosti, već naprotiv, teži od najranijih tinejdžerskih godina da pobegne iz sigurnosti dečačke sobe u nestalni, fluidni postmoderni identitet Bašlarovog „tranzitornog putnika" (Bašlar, 1958: 43). Za Karima, metafora porodičnog doma kao majke (45) ima opresivnu i izrazito negativnu konotaciju. Brojnim aluzijama na pop kulturu kojom je Karim dečački opčinjen, Kurejši nam u romanu otkriva kako svet glam-roka tako i pankersko-otpadničku supkulturu sedamdesetih godina, ali i opisuje kako su nažalost ove struje učestvovale u krajnjem trijumfu komformizma i materijalizma. Konačni krah subverzivnih ideala nagovešten je već na prvim stranicama romana kada Karimov otac predstavi sebe kao „budu iz predgrađa" – lažni hinduistički guru koji na svojim seansama okuplja pripadnike više srednje klase, željne duhovnosti u životima banalizovanim trkom za novcem. Roman takođe karakteriše i ono što MarkOže (Marc Augé) naziva preteranošću prostora u postmodernoj eri – prostorno preobilje, te dijapazon stvarnih i izmišljenih slika koje se smenjuju neuhvatljivom brzinom (Ože, 2005: 36). Tako će, recimo, Karim i Čarli usvojiti i odbaciti tokom romana niz identiteta koji se ispoljavaju površno, pukom promenom imidža, tj. slika, dok će iznutra ostati psihološki i politički neformirane ličnosti.

Karimov geokulturni narativ o putovanju od predgrađa do srca grada, a zatim dalje, do Njujorka, kao nove neosvojene teritorije, završava se ipak povratkom u London. Poslednja faza Karimove životne trajektorije kojoj čitalac svedoči oko njegove 24. godine označava i dolazak Margaret Tačer na vlast, a roman se završava večerom gde okupljeni slušaju vesti o izbornim rezultatima. Tada, Karim zaključuje da je došao kraj njegovim lutanjima, i da on pripada zavičajnom Londonu. Međutim, Karimova žudnja za koherentnim identitetom i stabilnošću oličena u želji da se posveti karijeri pisca, podrivena je na kraju romana time što on ipak prihvata posao u popularnoj televizijskoj sapunici, koja će od njega napraviti medijsku zvezdu, čime Karim ostaje simbolično zatočen u rastrzanom postmodernom kulturnom prostoru.

Pokušaji subverzivne apropriacije prostora u Moja prelepa perionica i Buda iz predgrađa

Na tragu Fukoove misli o heterotopiji (Michel Foucault), perionicu iz filma *Moja prelepa perionica* možemo prepoznati kao prostor koji se opire društvenom neokonzervatizmu i diskursu o heteronormativnosti i porodičnim vrednostima, koje je vlada Margaret Tačer smatrala osnovom zdrave nacije i

ekonomije. Kao takva, perionica se može nazvati Fukoovom heterotopijom, „drugim mestom", koje u eseju „Druga mesta" Fuko objašnjava kao prostorom „povezanim sa svim ostalima, a ipak protivrečni sa ostalim raspoređivanjima", tj. prostorima izgnanstva za one koji nemaju jasno definisanu društvenu ulogu u datom sistemu (2005: 30-32). Tako, recimo, ono što je za Fukoa vojna škola, kao heterotopija gde se šalju dečaci ne bi li se njihova rana seksualnost ispoljila drugde, van porodičnog doma, to je za Omara i Džonija prostor perionice, koji njihovu zabranjenu ljubav štiti od pogleda Džonijevih rasističih i homofobnih drugova, kao i od Omarove patrijarhalne, seksističke porodice.

Ako bismo se bavili odnosom stila i narativne strukture ovog filmskog prostora, uočili bismo da je prostor u filmu organizovan oko niza kontradiktornosti – višestruke kontradiktornosti ljubavi između dva muškarca, dve rase, dve politike. Deana Kamil (Deanna Kamiel) primećuje da je subverzivnost i šokantnost filma za britansku publiku osamdesetih bila u tome što se prikaz „gej međurasne romanse i gomile prljavog veša radničke klase nisu uklapali u ikonografiju Tačerove Britanije" (Kamiel, 2015:22, moj prevod). Kamil citira Sanduovu (Sukhdev Sandhu) analizu filmske stilistike u *Perionici* koji piše o tehnici kolažne montaže, i filmskom izrazu bliskom Ajzenštajnu ili Čaplinu, koji je ovde upotrebljen da bi predočio da London opstaje kroz prostor i vreme upravo kroz rituale dodira različitih ravni, kako estetskih tako i onih od etičkog i političkog značaja. Kamil primećuje igru preplitanja nadrealizma i realizma u filmu, koji ističu centralnu ironiju filma – inverziju stereotipa imperijalizma kroz poslovni model perionice u kome rešenje za socioekonomske probleme zemlje pada na teret vrednih i preduzimljivih pakistanskih došljaka (Kamiel, 2015:22-24). Transformativna moć narativnog prostora u filmu leži u tome što film nudi gledaocima poznate slike Londona, ali sa elementima latentnog i potisnutog, kao što je neonska fantazija oličena u ružičastoj reklami koju Omar postavlja za svečano otvaranje perionice. Optička podsvest, izraz Valtera Benjamina (Walter Benjamin), posebno je prisutna u kameri pri snimanju romantičnih scena, gde kamera izoluje ljubavnike, a opet zadržava pokretljivost i kontinuitet sa pozadinskom scenografijom. Cilj ove tehnike možemo reći da je fokusiranje na momente konflikta i kontradiktornosti, kao što su nasilje huligana u pozadini Omarovog i Džonijevog prvog poljupca, ili intimnost i alijenacija, u sceni gde Omar i Džoni vode ljubav u drugoj prostoriji, dok mogu da vide Nasera u poslednjem zagrljaju sa svojom ljubavnicom Engleskinjom. Film tako postaje metanarativno slavljenje filmskog platna kao utopijskog prostora, transformativnog prostora koji nudi nove, životvorne mogućnosti kroz prikaze

urbane anarhije iz kojih mogu da proisteknu nove, često neočekivane, ali vitalne solidarnosti.

Slobodoumni London sedamdesetih, sa nagoveštajem nadolazećeg konzervatizma krajem decenije, idealni je topos za protagonistu *Bude iz predgrađa*, kako Bart Mur-Gilbert primećuje, koji će na svom „često bolnom putu ka zrelosti proći kroz niz konflikata i dilema, kako društvenih, tako i seksualnih i političkih” (Moore-Gilbert, 2001:113). Porodična kuća za Karima postaje metonim za parohijalizam i ograničenja predgrađa (Procter, 2003:149). Karimovo napuštanje doma i otisnuće u London opisano elementima narativne psihogeografije[2], u potrazi za glumačkom slavom, umetničkim identitetom i seksualnom slobodom, subverzivno je utoliko što uvodi u engleski roman ideju privilegovanosti liminalnog identiteta imigranta druge generacije, koji je za razliku od starije generacije imigranata društveno pokretljiv (Trimm, 2015) – tema koja će postati centralna za autore tzv. treće generacije imigranata u decenijama koje su usledile, poput Zejdi Smit. Karimova dvoznačna pozicija otvara mu prostor da „osvaja” London, da se kreće slobodno gradom, laktajući se kroz krcate bulevare ka uspehu, ali i mogućnost da zadrži sigurnost doma u predgrađu, gde ga vidimo kako se pokunjeno vraća svojoj majci posle izgubljenih bitki sa gradom. Naime, Karimove ekskurzije u metropolu doneće glavnom junaku onoliko mladalačke ekstaze koliko i poniženja, što na profesionalnoj, što na rasnoj osnovi (neretko, ove dva iskustva u romanu su u sprezi jedno s drugim), a Karimovo sazrevanje i osvešćenje kao tipičan potez *bildungsroman* žanra upravo je spozaja ograničenja dečaka mešovitog etničkog porekla u Londonu.

III. ZAKLJUČAK: PROSTORI INTIME KAO PROSTORI KAPITALA

Džejms Prokter (James Procter) pišući o prebivalištima u imigrantskoj britanskoj književnosti primećuje izvesni fetišizam robe prisutan u romanu *Buda iz predgrađa*, kroz Karimovo kataloško nabrajanje stvari koje ga okružuju, posebno za vreme njegovog boravka u predgrađu. Bromli je u romanu prikazan kao plodno tržište za nostalgične suvenire britanske imperijalne prošlosti i izbledele slave

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[2] Psihogeografija je pojam koji je 1955. definisao Gi Debor (Guy Debord), francuski levičar, filozof i filmski stvaralac, u svom eseju „Introduction à une critique de la géographie urbaine" u kome govori o psihogeografiji kao pristupu prostoru gde se akcenat stavlja na strategije istraživanja gradova i njihovih psiholoških efekata na šetača. Ona uključuje prema Deboru sve što šetača skreće s utabanih staza.

monarhije, onakve kakvi se mogu naći u kući Karimovih roditelja. Takođe, kako Prokter tvrdi, naizgled benigna, tipično britanska pasija za preuređenjem prostora koju oličava ljubavnica Karimovog oca, Eva, zapravo signalizira jedno opštije povlačenje iz javnog i političkog prostora (Procter, 2003:147). U *Budi iz predgrađa*, ova Evina strast će zapravo postati najupečatljivija manifestacija neoliberalne ideologije i komercijalizacije privatnog prostora, tj. preobražaj doma u tržnicu. U znatnom delu ovog romana, iako Karimovo duhovno odrastanje ostaje središte naracije, možda podjednako zanimljiva tema romana predstavlja Evina paralelna trajektorija iz predgrađa u centar grada, tokom koje se ova prigradska domaćica transformiše u beskompromisnu tačerovku. Regina Martin (2015), u svojoj analizi romana, tvrdi da se *Buda iz predgrađa* mora tumačiti u kontekstu razvoja britanske profesionalne klase privatnog sektora, koja je osamdesetih godina za vreme ubrzane privatizacije javnog sektora došla u direktni sukob s klasnim interesma državnih činovnika. Lik Eve ključan je, dakle, u tematizaciji doma kao preduzeća. Kako Martin dalje beleži, Evin hobi preuređenja prostora anticipira tačerovske procese privatizacije opštinskih stanova i javnih prostora i usluga, koji time postaju nedostupni siromašnim stanovnicima grada, a dovode do naglog bogaćenja stanodavaca. Eva će tako od entuzijastične domaćice iz predgrađa napredovati u agenta gentrifikacije u Zapadnom Kenzingtonu. Nova klasa profesionalne londonske elite koju će doneti era tačerizma i čiji je Eva vesnik, više ceni dekor od suštine, pa se i London u novim ekonomskim prilikama transformiše u prostor fantazma i slika, prostor posve Imaginarnog (Martin, 2015:99).

Neoliberalna ideologija takođe prožima prostore filma *Moja prelepa perionica* i može se reći da propinje sve likove kroz radnju, proizvodeći time više protivrečnosti. Film je revizija realističnog žanra jer prepoznatljive slike bede južnog Londona često presecaju halucinatorna muzika i vizije snoviđenja, locirajući radnju filma na marginama između Simboličnog i Stvarnog. Može se zaključiti da na ovaj način film naglašava upletenost svojih likova u vladajuću ideologiju svog vremena. Teri Iglton (Terry Eagleton) je jedan od teoretičara koncepta ideologije koji su uočili paralele između ideologije i Frojdove definicije teksta sna: „San i simptom neuroze odvijaju se, baš kao i ideologija, na bazi činjenice da ono što je otkriveno može da postoji samo na osnovu onoga što ostaje skriveno u podsvesti i obrnuto" (Eagleton, 2007: 134). Ideologija, baš kao i san u Frojdovoj teoriji, nije samo simptom psihoze, već i potencijal ostvarenja subjektovih najdubljih, potisnutih nagona. Dakle, u ovom istovremeno prepoznatljivom, realističnom, ali i odsanjanom prostoru filma, primetne su brojne ideološke protivrečnosti. Tako na primer, rasizam i nasilje od strane belaca opstaje istovremeno dok buja ekonomski

prosperitet pakistanske etničke manjine. Pakistanski profiteri i zemljoposednici poput Nasera i Salima su zauzvrat i sami nemilosrdni agresori, ne samo prema belim rasistima kao prirodnim neprijateljima, već i prema siromašnim pripadnicima sopstvene etničke zajednice.

Takođe, Mur-Gilbert zaključuje da i pored sve satire tačerovske Britanije, film *Moja prelepa perionica* zapravo ne pobija neoliberalni diskurs – ideju da biznis i preduzetništvo mogu da regenerišu ekonomski i socijalno propala urbana naselja. Tako, recimo, prvobitno anti-socijalni lik Džonija, nezaposlene dangube sa fašističkom prošlošću, na kraju filma postaje funkcionalni član društvene zajednice kroz Naserovu šansu za posao i ljubav prema Omaru. Zapravo, film ne pruža argumente protiv Naserovog uverenja da je društvena pravda jedino dostižna kroz zakone tržišta (Moore-Gilbert, 2001: 103). Objašnjenje ovog paradoksalnog konsenzusa, uprkos duboko kontradiktornim odnosima prikazanim u filmu, može ponuditi nekoliko teoretičara postmoderne kapitalističke ideologije. Liotar (Jean-François Lyotard) je u svom čuvenom traktu o postmodernom društvu poznog kapitalizma *The Postmodern Condition* (eng. prevod sa francuskog) napisao da kapitalizam uživa veliki uspeh kao ideologija tako što „usmerava libidinalne žudnje subjekta u regulisano telo kapitala" (1984: 146, moj prevod). Ova konflacija kapitala i erotskih nagona najvidljivija je u transpoziciji ljubavnih odnosa iz privatnih prostora spavaće sobe u prostore biznisa, trgovine i medija. Smatram da je Kurejšijeva ambivalentnost prema neoliberalizmu produkt zamisli da se ova ideologija prikaže sposobnom za aproprijaciju intimnih prostora. Pozni kapitalizam briše tradicionalne granice između sfera privatnog i poslovnog, a samim tim i neutrališe otpor subjekta prema ovoj ideologiji, tj. neutrališe percepciju da su eksploatisani i lišeni zadovoljstva. Tačerovski neoliberalni varijetet oličen u preduzetništvu, individualizmu i fluidnim identitetima, kako u filmu, tako i u romanu, pokazuje sposobnost neoliberalizma da tesno poveže poslovne i privatne odnose svojih junaka. Na primer, Omarova i Džonijeva ljubavna veza nije toliko interesantna zbog izvrtanja imperijalističkog odnosa beli radnik – crni poslodavac, već zbog činjenice da se odvija pod budnim okom patrijarhalnog vlasnika, Nasera, koji je po svemu sudeći svestan ove homoseksualne veze, ali je ipak ne opstruiše, jer mu donosi profit. Njihove zabranjene libidinalne žudnje time dobijaju mogućnost izraza jedino unutar komercijalnog odnosa poslodavca i zaposlenog. Ovo je simbolično razrešenje svih ideoloških kontradiktrnosti prikazanih u filmu, ali pre svega omaž neoliberalnoj prilagodljivosti, sposobnosti da apsorbuje razlike i subverzije u svrhu svoje ekspanzije.

Perionica, dakle, kao i Evin i Harunov stan u Zapadnom Kenzingtonu, postaje mikrokosmos neoliberalnih proizvodnih odnosa koji nude bezbedni prostor za izvedbu identiteta drugosti junaka, ali samo do one mere do koje je ispunjenje njihovih želja isplativo za vlasnike kapitala. Ipak, Kurejšijevo delo upozorava na posledice prepuštanja prostora intime kapitalu kao najvišoj i najopasnijoj vrednosti epohe nadmodernosti, jer kakoOže tvrdi, odnos prema prostoru je način da se ostvari kako kolektivni tako i pojedinačni identitet (51), za koje tržišni zakoni ne mare. Ideološka manipulacija prostorom u eri poznog kapitalizma je svakako aktuelni događaj o čijim nepredvidivim posledicama će književnost i film budućnosti tek dati svoj sud.

Tatjana Milosavljević

KUREISHI'S LAUNDRETTES AND SUBURBS: PRIVATE AND PROFESSIONAL SPACES OF LONDON IN THATCHERISM

Summary

The literary production of politically engaged British authors of colonial descent play a decisive cultural role in subverting the neoliberal hegemony, marrying literary aesthetics to wider social concerns. This role is often enacted through their depiction of the hierarchical postcolonial cityscape, such as the segregation of spaces into the ghettoized South London and affluent neighbourhoods of North London, and the divisions that run through the Edwardian villas of the moneyed classes and the council estates occupied by the working classes, often the immigrants. Such portrayals of space challenge the British neoliberal propaganda of contemporary Britain as a post-race and post-class society. In line with this, London's spaces are interpreted in this paper as places radically altered by the subjects that occupy them, bending them to their needs, just as the spaces in return shape their inhabitants. It is at the margins of a society where the social power dynamics are refracted and most acutely felt, which makes the work of Hanif Kureishi, an acclaimed novelist, playwright and film director, an ideal guide through the British neoliberal landscape, from neoliberal origins in Thatcherism in the 1980s, down to the present day, with the acting right-wing elite's proclamation of the failure of multiculturalism. The race- and class-inflected topography of London during the Thatcher years is the topic of both works considered in this paper – Kureishi's 1990 novel *The Buddha of Suburbia* and the critically acclaimed 1985 motion picture *My Beautiful Laundrette* for which Kureishi wrote the script. These texts counter the Thatcherite vision of 1980s Britain as a unified, homogenous nation by depicting deep social rifts among social subjects and diversity of identity, both of which were aided by the neoliberal tenet of individualism and the resulting crumbling solidarity among the dispossesed classes. The objective of this paper therefore is to show that Kureishi's ambivalent attitude toward neoliberalism stems from the author's intention to

expose the neoliberal ideology as capable of appropriating intimate spaces and of granting its subjects libidinal pleasure exactly at those places where business is conducted and where the profit is made. In this way, late capitalism blurs the boundaries between the private and the professional spheres of human existence, and consequently neutralizes social dissent and the subjects' awareness of ongoing exploitation. To put it differently, Thatcher's neoliberal variety characterized by the cultivation of entrepreneurship, individualism and fluid identities, both in the novel and the film, manifests the ability of neoliberalism to forge a strong nexus between the business and the private relations among the characters.

Key words: Hanif Kureishi, urban space, identity, Thatcherism, neoliberalism, ideology

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TELEVISION CULTURE AND PERCEPTION OF REALITY IN DON DELILLO'S *WHITE NOISE* AND MILAN OKLOPDŽIĆ'S *VIDEO*[**]

In media studies, the concept of television culture is one of the most prominent phenomena. Its influence on the behavioral patterns of the audience has been a topic of a heated discussion among theoreticians since the 80s. Moreover, the extent to which television content is able to affect people's perception of reality is the key question in two novels presented in this paper. Don DeLillo's *White Noise* and Milan Oklopdžić's *Video* both explore the influence of modern mass media on the individuals and their perception of reality, as well as their interpersonal relationships. This paper aims at comparing and contrasting the depiction of television culture as a dominant factor which influences the way the audience perceives reality. Both novels discuss the potency of television programmes s and the possibility of passive masses who absorb the broadcast without processing the emitted information. By depicting the society of the late 20th century, these novels offer an insight into the core of television culture and the mechanisms of its influence on the audience.

Key words: television culture, Don DeLillo, Milan Oklopdžić, media culture, television, mass media

1. TELEVISION CULTURE IN *WHITE NOISE* AND *VIDEO*

The concept of television culture appears in media studies as one of the most important phenomena featured in modern human civilization. Fiske describes television culture as one of the crucial elements of society and popular culture (Fiske 2002: 1). Television provides the audience with meaning and pleasure.

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Meaning comes from factual information and useful knowledge about the world and social affairs that are part of the current global scene, in terms of politics, economy, standard and other news-worthy topics. Pleasure is provided by the entertainment industry that partly found its home on television (in addition to the movie industry and other means of popular mass entertainment). As opposed to television, Fiske claims, culture is related to the ways the aforementioned meanings and pleasure circulate within a generation (Fiske 2002: 1). In short, television culture discusses the informational and entertaining content that circulates within the social space. With such a strong influence on the way a society receives information about the world around it, television culture can be regarded as a major factor on how people perceive reality. Moreover, it observes the behavioral patterns that television imposes upon the audience, as well as the influence it has on the way spectators behave in real life.

One way we can regard television as a concept is as "an environment" (Tichi 1992: 3). By creating a specific hyperreality of spectacles and media events, television becomes a vast, virtual space that either spreads into the quotidian of its audience or it draws the very spectators into itself, thus affecting the spectator's very perception of reality. It enters the real world by becoming relevant and inhabiting social discussions among people, and it absorbs the spectators into its fictive and scripted world by keeping them glued to the screen, engulfed in the intricate events depicted on the programme. One way or the other, television represents a specific space, a separate hyperreality, which makes a significant influence on the audience's everyday lives. Tichi writes of television as of "cultural space" and describes it as being "as bold as it is baffling, provocative but lacking ready reference and thus apt to leave one mentally as blank as the turned-off screen itself" (Tichi 1992: 3). Hence, television as a cultural space usually implies negative traits of its content and the effects it has on spectators. In other words, its influence on its audience is not inspiring and enriching, but rather emptying and numbing. The problem arises once such influence becomes crucial for one's own perception of the world and reality. Kellner notes that "[m]edia images help shape our view of the world and our deepest values: what we consider good or bad, positive or negative, moral or evil" (Kellner 2011: 7). This implies that television teaches people not only what kind of world they inhabit, but also who they are. More precisely, television affects people's identities, both on the individual and collective levels. Poststructuralists, like Lacan, regard identity as a social construct and different theoreticians of media culture tend to agree with them. Barker hypothesizes the concept of identity, in terms of culture, as "wholly social

construction" (Barker 1999: 169). He further discusses television and its crucial role in affecting and altering human identity, citing it as an important factor for both construction and perception of identity. Therefore, television and its programmes can be seen as a lens which filters and modifies the way people see not only the world, but also themselves and each other, and thus reality as a whole.

Specifically, Kellner believes that television, as the main provider of media stories, provides "the symbols, myths, and resources through which we constitute a common culture and through the appropriation of which we insert ourselves into this culture" (Kellner 2011: 7). If such an important element proves to be hollow and debilitating, its effects on the people and their perception are at least questionable, if not alarming. Following a similar approach, Fiske defines television as "a bearer/provoker of meanings and pleasures" (Fiske 2002: vii). He further explains that it is "a crucial part of the social dynamics by which the social structure maintains itself in a constant process of production and reproduction" (Fiske 2002: vii). Both definitions put stress on the large part television has in one's comprehension of the environment they inhabit, which is something that provides an opportunity for manipulation. More specifically, the significant role television has in the lives of its audience presents a way for social or political indoctrination and implementation of different ideologies through entertainment formats.

Fiske also discusses the matter of audience and its homogeneity. He states that the term audience "implies that television reaches a homogeneous mass of people who are all essentially identical, who receive the same messages, meanings, and ideologies from the same programs and who are essentially passive" (Fiske 2002: 16). It is especially such passivity that represents the main trait of television spectators in different theoreticians' works – Kellner and Debord being the most notable among them. Fiske also notes that "it sees the audience as relatively powerless and undiscriminating, at the mercy of the barons of the industry" (Fiske 2002: 16). Yet, such definitions imply that each spectator reacts to television in the same, or at least similar, manner. They are problematic insofar as they disregard the process of the audience's interpretation of television programmes, which is a complex process in itself. The term audience implies a mass – usually hypnotized and manipulated – a homogenous entity of different individuals who are completely unaware of how their lives are affected by the mass media. While problematic in their nature, this definition's implications of masses created by debilitating, spellbinding programmes offer fertile soil for exploring different social phenomena, not the least of which are concepts of family and interpersonal relationships. These negative implications of television culture and its effect on reality perception can be

seen in two very different novels – *White Noise* by Don DeLillo and *Video* by Milan Oklopdžić. Although focusing on different societies (American and Serbian, respectively), they both explore predominantly the manner in which television affects the audience and its perception of the world that surrounds them. By comparing the two novels and their use of television culture, this paper aims at discussing the extent to which television participates in modifying the audience's perception of immediate reality.

2. *WHITE NOISE* AND *VIDEO*: THE ROLE OF TELEVISION IN PEOPLE'S LIVES

The concept of television and its effects on the audience are thoroughly explored in both Don DeLillo's *White Noise* and Milan Oklopdžić's *Video*, although from a different standpoint. Whereas *White Noise* takes us in front of the screen and shows how the media affects the audience, *Video* takes us behind the camera and follows the making of a television programme. In both cases, people who have interacted with television, in one way or the other, are marked as radiated or even oversaturated. Their lives are heavily influenced by television and, for the most part, revolve around it. What is more, their lives at times resemble the entertaining content seen on television (TV shows, series, films etc.). Although different in approach and genre, these novels contain striking similarities in terms of the societies that are depicted. In both American and Serbian society of the 80s present in the novels, the element of Cold War and implicit fear of radiation is evident, despite not being openly mentioned. This fear of radiation is symbolically related to television, as well – the effects of its radiation are perhaps not as hazardous as those of the nuclear bomb radiation, but are sufficiently harmful in their own way, insofar as television radiation affects the audience's mind and their perception and experience of the world they live in. The novels include a myriad of different characters, all having similar relationship with television.

In *White Noise*, Jack Gladney resembles a parody of a university professor with a peculiar subject (Hitler studies) and even more peculiar life story, especially from the moment when he gets infected by the toxic substances spread through the air after the lethal airborne toxic event. Moreover, the story of his family that gathers in front of the TV set almost religiously is a testimony to the strong roots of television culture within the archetypal American way of living. LeClair notes that "[t]he Gladney children are also the primary channel by which [television] enters the parents' safe domesticity" (LeClair 2003: 15). He continues to describe television in this novel as, respectively, "conditioning and comforting, distorting

and informing, even becoming […] a source of mystery" (LeClair 2003: 15). The titular white noise, constantly present in the Gladneys' house, enwraps this novel in an endless fragmentary jumbling, which constitutes a TV programme. In *Video*, the fragments of the individual stories represented in different chapters create an atmosphere of flicking through TV channels on a slow Saturday evening, during primetime. The stories themselves do not differ much from the plots of melodramas and soap operas, with an occasional slip into popular philosophical and almost religious-like talk shows. As fragmented as these stories are, what makes them special is the insight into the inner workings of television they offer, particularly the taping of one entertaining television programme. There is an orchestra, which is to do a special performance for television. At the beginning of the novel, the arrival of all members and executives starts off a fragmented depiction of their separate stories, while simultaneously depicting small details about television production as they prepare for a rehearsal. In a way, television represents a background for the protagonists' lives as much as the white noise in DeLillo's novel does. What is more, in both novels, television is an omnipresent entity, looming over the protagonists and their lives. In *Video*, it is implied in everything the characters do, since it is television that gives their life (as separate persons and as a group) a purpose. In *White Noise*, as the title implies, television fills in the background of the protagonists' world, most specifically their family home. This very role of television is "an 'environmental source', or background noise" (Gauntlett 2002: 6). Much more than just a mere soundtrack, television is a dominant force that disrupts their thoughts and even reactions to some events. This is why Jack, when faced with overpowering events in his life, recites sets of different brands from the commercials he subconsciously remembers. Thus, the problem with white noise coming from the television is not its presence per se, but its perfidious manipulation of one's conscious mind and subconsciousness. It introduces an aspect of triviality and undermines the reality it intrudes. When Jack recites commercials, he does so subconsciously replacing actual emotional reaction to the overwhelming events of the toxic spill, disease and marital problems. The triviality of television is also revealed in *Video* once Oklopdžić's narration, for example, becomes literally fragmented, separated into video and audio levels that are represented parallelly, showing what is said and done in front of the camera. Immediately after this particular segment of fragmenting television content, a trivial dialogue takes place between the director and cameramen that pay more attention to one of the ballerinas' mustaches than to the actual programme. At one moment, they even leave their cameras, which represents a lack of true interest and involvement in the

making of television content by those who are responsible for putting it together. This episode highlights the triviality and randomness of the very content of television programmes; it demonstrates the lack of any profound, substantial information in the broadcast that is constructed solely for entertainment, suggesting that it is created without much care or attention.

In both *White Noise* and *Video*, television also serves as a common topic that connects people, giving them a mutual point of interest, whether they are just the spectators or participants in the television business. For example, in *White Noise*, Jack and Murray use television (and consequently the sphere of popular culture it creates; i.e. television culture) as a starting point for their philosophical discussions. Murray usually assumes the role of the philosopher in charge, focusing on the messages that can be found in different programmes, repeatedly stating that there is a message that television programmes are trying to convey. His examination and close scrutiny of the Gladney children while they watch television highlights that the effect television has on its audience is something hypnotizing, and definitely something worth observing. For the Gladneys in general, television performs the role of a gathering element; spending entire evenings in front of the TV is a part of their weekly routine. What's more, television is such an important presence in their lives that it also fills the role of a physician for their family. The children start experiencing (or believing they experience) symptoms of the deadly disease only after they appear on television and in other media (ironically, Jack is the only one who does not react this way, and the only one in the family who is truly affected by the toxic spill). On the other hand, in *Video*, television programme is not only a common topic, but it quite literally connects the protagonists, because they met owing to it, in the first place – without television, their lives would follow completely different routes and it is questionable whether they would even know each other. Some of them do have relationships with each other outside the programme they are shooting (director and his wife, for example), but most of them are brought to the TV station only for the sake of shooting the programme. Furthermore, this particular show they are shooting, but also television in general (other programmes and television as a concept), triggers various wise observations and discussions of life and the society they are a part of. This is particularly seen in several episodes involving Metal Man and Blah Blah Blah, who discuss the negative effects television has on an individual. All of these examples constitute television as an element that is inseparable from the protagonists lives, and an element that somewhat shapes their interests, conversation topics and even perception of their physical health.

Interestingly, both novels represent television in such a way that it can be interpreted as a form of religion, as well. It can be said that DeLillo explicitly deems television a path to the sacred, as well as a means to describe some crucial questions of life and death. This is represented through frequent monologues that Murray steers the conversations into, especially when he observes the Gladney children, but also from the scene in which Jack Gladney meets a German nun with whom he discusses faith and pretends to have it. In a similar manner, Oklopdžić confronts television and its numbing influence with several opposing spiritual mantras spoken by his characters. Metal Man and Blah Blah Blah do give an impression of people under the influence. Yet, their observations about the influence television has on the audience and its behavior sound quite rational and clear-thinking. Although not religious, their conversation veers towards the spiritual, although rather ironically. In both novels, indeed, television is depicted as full of symbolism and messages, almost as a medium that carries the message of some higher truth, similar to the one communicated by different religions. Murray says that television is "a problem only if you've forgotten how to look and listen. […] Root out content. Find the codes and messages" (DeLillo 2011: 21). He is particularly interested in television, spending late nights in front of the TV, taking notes on what he sees (or thinks he sees) on screen. He refers to the experience of watching television as "close to mystical" and "a primal force in the American home" (DeLillo 2011: 60). He further elaborates: "It's like a myth being born right there in our living room, like something we know in a dreamlike and preconscious way" (DeLillo 2011: 60). As different theoreticians agree, in modern society, it is necessary to regard media, culture and religion as "an interrelated web within society" (Hoover and Lundby 1997: 3). Even when television programmes are not necessarily linked to any known religion and its preaching, the set of values their content communicates behaves in a similar way to religious teaching. As Murray puts it, television can give us deeper knowledge of the world and our existence, all of them as sacred as any religious chants and mantras.

> You have to learn how to look. You have to open yourself to the data. TV offers incredible amounts of psychic data. It opens ancient memories of world birth, it welcomes us into the grid, the network of little buzzing dots that make up the picture pattern. There is light, there is sound. I ask my students, 'What more do you want?' Look at the wealth of data concealed in the grid, in the bright packaging, the jingles, the slice-of-life commercials, the products hurtling out of darkness, the coded messages and endless repetitions, like chants, like mantras. […] The medium practically overflows with sacred formulas if we can remember how to respond innocently and get past our irritation, weariness and disgust. (DeLillo 2011: 61).

His monologue resembles religious preaching, although Murray is not aware of this resemblance. The openness to the sacred knowledge and the return to one's innocence in order to absorb said sacred knowledge is something that both religion and television seem to require. While Murray's speech suggests a meeker surrender to television and its teaching, *Video* provides a much more troubling image of television as a religion. Metal Man and Blah Blah Blah discuss television as something that separated them from their true self and their habits (reading for Metal Man and music for Blah Blah Blah). The sheer abundance of content they absorbed seems to have possessed them, as if it were the power of a cult or a sect. Both novels, in fact, suggest such a scenario, with different protagonists in a trance-like state, completely under the influence of television. For example, in *White Noise*, apart from Murray, it is Babette and Jack's eldest son Heinrich (but other children as well), while in *Video*, it is practically everybody – although only Metal Man and Blah Blah Blah are aware of it. Therefore, DeLillo and Oklopdžić both depict groups of people whose lives are deeply immersed into television culture. By connecting so many aspects of their lives to television (directly or indirectly) their novels suggest that television cannot be disregarded as a factor which influences and even distorts their protagonists' perception of reality.

3. TELEVISED PERCEPTION OF REALITY

Both novels suggest that people's perception of reality is heavily influenced by television and its content. This is perhaps most openly stated in a simple question posed by Oklopdžić's protagonists: "Where is the beginning of television?" (Oklopdžić 2015:137). Once television starts interfering with the real, DeLillo and Oklopdžić's protagonists are faced with a challenge of separating television from their own lives, which is an attempt soon proved futile in both cases. Some of them seemingly exist only in relation to television and its production. For example, the directing secretary in *Video* is described as appearing out of the blue for the programme. Oklopdžić writes: "She would come out of the unknown and disappear in the same way after the show" (Oklopdžić 2015: 42). The entire enterprise makes an incredible effort to maintain the appearance of being true and realistic. Such a need for maintaining authenticity can be seen in the conductor's vehement demands to go live, for example.

Another important television phenomenon – oversaturation – is discussed between its two of the most charismatic characters: the Rock Chick (who says her name is Blah Blah Blah) and the Metal Man. The two of them talk about being radiated by television, with him describing his daily habits: "I was watching the

news, and then they aired the show programme, then I switched to sports, and then they finally TKO-ed me with commercials… I exposed myself to radiation, several times, with no reason…" (Oklopdžić 2015: 95). The radiation that they talk about has nothing to do with physical exposure to deadly substances and waves, like in *White Noise*. In *Video*, radiation affects the mind rather than the body; it corrupts the way people function on a daily basis. Moreover, it affects one's very existence. Watching Lee Marvin on the screen, Blah Blah Blah's comment shows the extent to which television is closely related to human identity, but also the perception of other people. When the image disappears, she says: "This guy's gone. […] This guy, what's his name? While he was on the screen, he had a name, now he's completely anonymous" (Oklopdžić 2015: 98). Even her existence is inseparable from her TV persona; she says to him: "You've seen me. We've never talked. You've seen me on television opening and closing my mouth" (Oklopdžić 2015: 145). Furthermore, she seems to exist in two different realms – when he says that he saw her on television looking sad, she says "That wasn't me" with no hesitation (Oklopdžić 2015: 147). He joins her, talking about himself in terms of his resemblance with a screen, or the TV set. He states: "Every square is within me. It's not about screen multiplying, every screen is divided into small ones, each of them into even smaller ones, and so on, infinitely…We tend to miniaturize, you said" (Oklopdžić 2015: 147). One way or the other, they perceive television as something that is interwoven with the real, and most importantly, something they cannot escape. Their perception of reality, therefore, can be described as distorted, since they cannot separate the real from the televised.

In *White Noise*, a similar discussion about television and oversaturation occurs between Jack's university colleagues. Although they seemingly can separate the reality they inhabit and the televised content they see as low in both quality and meaning, television is still a significant element in their lives, since it is the culture indirectly created by television and its principles that they discuss and research in their studies. They discuss oversaturation in terms of the concept of spectacles. Oversaturation comes as a result of too much information existing on TV and being available to the audience to such an extent that the only thing that manages to catch their attention is something catastrophic. Kellner writes excessively about the concept of spectacle. He notes that "spectacle itself is becoming one of the organizing principles of the economy, polity, society, and everyday life" (Kellner 2003: 1). Concerning spectacles, it is inevitable to mention Guy Debord and his society of the spectacle. Kellner relies on Debord's definition of spectacle as a unifying force that connects different social phenomena (Kellner 2003: 2).

Furthermore, he describes the "media and consumer society organized around the production and consumption of images, commodities, and staged events" (Kellner 2003: 2). In such a society, spectacles "are those phenomena of media culture that embody contemporary society's basic values, serve to initiate individuals into its way of life, and dramatize its controversies and struggles, as well as its modes of conflict resolution" (Kellner 2003: 2). In DeLillo's novel, these spectacles are constant. Yet, what is peculiar about them is that they tend to focus on the negative and violent, or more specifically, on catastrophes.

> "The flow is constant," Alfonse said. "Words, pictures, numbers, facts, graphics, statistics, specks, waves, particles, motes. Only a catastrophe gets our attention. We want them, we need them, we depend on them. As long as they happen somewhere else. […] We not only enjoy seeing them punished for their relaxed life-style and progressive social ideas but we know we're not missing anything. The cameras are right there. They're standing by. Nothing terrible escapes their scrutiny." (DeLillo 2011: 78)

At first, it appears that Jack and his colleagues dismiss television and its love of catastrophic spectacles as the content of low quality, something below them and their intellect. They also give an impression that television is something they can disregard in their approach to the real. However, when the catastrophe happens to them, they, like all the citizens of this town, need television to give legitimacy to their suffering. In other words, they need television to validate the real, to confirm that the reality they perceive around them is, in fact, real. The frustration that comes from the fact that there is no television coverage of the events they experience proves the extent to which they depend on television to provide a framework through which they can trust their own eyes and senses. In one particular scene, for example, the lack of television coverage of the toxic spill event makes people enraged, because they feel unworthy. While away from their houses during the evacuation, a man walks all over the room with a tiny TV set, complaining there is no news about the toxic cloud. He says: "Not a word, not a picture. […] No film footage, no live report. Does this kind of thing happen so often that nobody cares anymore? Don't those people know what we've been through?" (DeLillo 2011: 188). The same man directly relates the value of their experience to the television representation of their suffering, or rather lack thereof. He shouts: "It was a deadly specter, right there above us. Is it possible nobody gives substantial coverage to such a thing? Half a minute, twenty seconds? Are they telling us it was insignificant, it was piddling? Are they so callous? Are they so bored by spills and contaminations and wastes?" (DeLillo 2011: 188). He then brings his rant to

culmination by asking: "Do they think this is just television?" (DeLillo 2011: 188). This perception of what happened to them and the relevance of the event ascribed by the media is both painfully symptomatic (of even the contemporary society, not only of the 80s DeLillo depicts in *White Noise*) and thoroughly underrating. By demanding media coverage of the event, this man diminishes the real experience, deeming it almost worthless without sufficient television representation. At the same time, he mocks television, by superimposing real events to it, proclaiming it scripted and artificial. However, in *White Noise*, the treatment of the Airborne Toxic Event is quite symptomatic of the media and what they are going to become. The media coverage of the toxic event becomes constant at first, focusing on different symptoms and illnesses caused by toxic substances. Yet, the media keeps focusing on the aspects of the event that hold entertainment or spectacle value – i.e. the ability to shock or amuse its audience. This extends to symptoms and the accompanying illnesses, but not to the effect such an event has on the community, nor the people's lives and experiences. This makes people, in turn, have problematic reactions towards both reality and television, showing that they are not entirely sure which of them they believe or value more.

To highlight the negative aspect television has on the perception of reality, a TV set, in DeLillo's novel is also "where the torment lurks, causing fears and secret desires" (DeLillo 2011: 101). Similarly to *Video*, this novel suggests a rotten influence of television programmes on an individual. It alters people's perception of reality so much so that they cannot recognize their loved ones if they happen to appear on television. Such is the case with the Gladneys who stand baffled in front of the screen, not being able to grasp the fact that their wife and mother was interviewed for one TV programme. DeLillo notes that "confusion, fear, astonishment spilled from [their] faces" (DeLillo 2011: 123). Jack notes that Babette gets "projected on their bodies", or rather her image, "Babette of electrons and photons, of whatever forces produced that gray light we took to be her face" (DeLillo 2011: 124). His inability to deal with what he sees is a testimony of a crumbling perception of reality.

> A strangeness gripped me, as a sense of psychic disorientation. It was her all right, the face, the hair, the way she blinks in rapid twos and threes. I'd seen her just an hour ago, eating eggs, but her appearance on the screen made me think of her as some distant figure from the past, some ex-wife and absentee mother, a walker in the mists of the dead. If she wasn't dead, was I? (DeLillo 2011:123).

Jack's reaction to the clash of his imminent present and reality and the world of television has him questioning the very existence. A passive spectator at

first, he becomes aware of the interaction only when the television realm attacks his quotidian in a direct, large enough manner. Apart from Jack, Murray, Metal Man and Blah Blah Blah seem to be the only ones in these two novels who react to the television programme in any conscious manner. Murray at least questions the symbolical values and messages television emits and recognizes that it has a manipulative effect on the audience, altering the way people think, feel and see things around them. Metal Man and Blah Blah Blah also approach television somewhat critically, although both of them do not show any will or motivation to separate themselves from the world of television. It is related to their profession and everyday lives to that extent that they see it as inevitable, despite being aware of the negative effects it has on them and any individual spectator. The rest of the characters, however, maintain their passive role in information absorption. Moreover, they do not demonstrate even the slightest hint of critical opinion or awareness of their altered reality perception. Rather, they function as parts of the perfect passive mass that Debord and Fiske describe – a massive audience that accepts the simulated and televised version of reality they are served through their TV sets.

4. CONCLUSION: IS TELEVISION CORRUPTING THE REAL?

A question that has divided different theoreticians to this day, the true effect of television on the viewers is still difficult to define. Fiske maintains that television does not truly affect people's lives or cause some changes in their behavior, although he admits it can "work ideologically to promote and prefer certain meanings of the world" (Fiske 2002: 19). In these two novels, however, it appears that the effect of television opposes such beliefs, at least on the collective level. In *White Noise*, no one is truly free of television influences, in spite of Jack's conscious refusal to surrender to the surrounding hysteria around the illnesses caused by the toxic spills. Babette continues to be under the biggest influence of television, constantly expecting her life to resemble the events she watches on screen. Murray, too, stays under the dazing influence of television programme, even though he is somewhat aware of the hidden meaning it radiates onto its audience. The problem is that he does not see television influence as something negative, as he is only interested in the hidden higher knowledge he might gain, if he is proven worthy enough. Similarly, in *Video*, the majority of the protagonists remain under the numbing influence of television. Yet, at least partial victory over television and its programmes is won by Blah Blah Blah and Metal Man, when they use magnets and urine to alter the TV image.

Metal Man approached a group of screens, unzipped his fly and started pissing all over the lowest one. The programme started to water down.

My contribution, he said.

Then he bent down and took a magnet. He moved the magnet across the screen and caused a visible distortion. Blah Blah Blah started clapping. Metal Man took one video mic out and plugged it directly into the screen. He started to comment on the image. Blah Blah Blah was having a wonderful time. She took the magnet and started doodling over all the screens. Metal Man would plug into programmes, sing, shout. Then the screens started to break down, one by one. Metal Man didn't care. (Oklopdžić 2015:150).

Once the two of them start directly interfering with the television programme, they become somewhat liberated of its control, at least temporarily. They manage to reach a state of consciousness that is able to surpass the effect television had on their behavior and reality perception. Both novels seem to suggest that the escape from the confusing hyperreality of television culture is possible only on the individual level. The rarest among the spectators are able to push through the oversaturation and imposed patterns of perception and behavior. For most of them, however, such an endeavor is sadly unreachable. Television, therefore, remains the silent shepherd dictating the rhythms of everyday life in these novels, creating the very thing different theoreticians claim to be non-existent – the passive masses of information absorbents.

Slađana Stamenković

TELEVIZIJSKA KULTURA U ROMANIMA *BELI ŠUM* DONA DELILA I *VIDEO* MILANA OKLOPDŽIĆA

Rezime

Rad prikazuje pojam televizijske kulture predstavljene na primeru dva romana – jedan američke i jedan srpske književnosti 80-ih godina 20. veka. *Beli šum* Dona DeLila i *Video* Milana Oklopdžića predstavljaju moderno društvo koje pod uticajem televizije i televizijskog programa nesvesno menja svoje obrasce ponašanja. Ovakve promene utiču pre svega na društvenu sferu, menjajući prirodu i navike osnovnih društvenih jedinica, poput porodice i bračne zajednice. Način na koji DeLilo i Oklopdžić opisuju uticaj televizije na svoje junake, pruža jedinstven uvid u mehanizme manipulacije i menjanja ljudske svesti, počev od njihovog identiteta, pa sve do poimanja stvarnosti. Ovaj rad upoređuje pristupe kojima autori ova dva romana pokušavaju da prikažu uticaj koji televizija ima na percepciju i poimanje stvarnosti publike na individualnom i kolektivnom nivou. U oba romana, televizija se pokazuje kao značajan uticaj na to kako ljudi vide stvarnost oko sebe i pored

toga što su prikazana dva društva, naizgled različita i teško uporediva. Slične reakcije publike na televiziju ukazuju na globalnu prirodu televizije kao fenomena, te na njeno duboko ukorenjeno mesto u životima raznih društava 20. veka.

Ključne reči: televizijska kultura, Don DeLilo, Milan Oklopdžić, medijske studije, televizija, masovni mediji

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УПУТСТВО ЗА ПРИПРЕМУ РУКОПИСА ЗА ШТАМПУ

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б) анонимизацијом референци у библиографији,

в) пажљивим именовањем фајлова, како се не би видело ко је творац (нпр. File > Check for Issues > Inspect Document > Document Properties and Personal Information > Inspect > Remove All > Close).

Радове рецензирају два квалификована рецензента, и то један интерни, са Филозофског факултета, а други рецензент је екстерни.

Аутор се аутоматски обавештава о томе да ли је његов чланак прихваћен за објављивање или не чим се процес рецензирања заврши. Процес рецензирања подразумева проналажење два рецензента, њихово оцењивање рада, ауторске исправке (ревизије) уколико су захтеване од стране рецензената и уколико је потребно, још једно читање рада од стране рецензената, а завршава се предајом коначне верзије рада која је спремна за процес лектуре и даље припреме за објављивање. Уколико један од рецензената да позитивну, а други негативну оцену проналази се трећи рецензент који даје коначну оцену рада. Уколико се категорије рада коју рецензенти одреде не слажу, проналази се трећи рецензент који чија оцена одлучује којој категорији рад припада. Рок за објављивање прихваћених радова је најкасније 12 месеци од предаје коначне верзије рукописа. Аутор је дужан да у року од 5 дана уради коректуру рада, уколико је то од њега затражено.

Језик и писмо

Радови се публикују на свим језицима који се изучавају на Филозофском факултету у Новом Саду (српски, мађарски, словачки, румунски, русински, руски, немачки, енглески, француски), и то латиничним писмом, изузев радова на руском који се штампају ћирилицом, али и код њих референце морају да стоје латиницом (због захтева иностраних база за индексирање часописа), док се у загради наводи да је библиографска јединица објављена ћирилицом.

Форматирање текста

Текстови се пишу у програму Microsoft Word, фонтом Times New Roman. Величина фонта основног текста је 12 (сем код блок цитата, односно цитата од преко 40 речи, где величина фонта износи 11). Проред основног текста је 1,15. Сваки први ред новог пасуса је увучен (Paragraph/Indentation/Special:_First line 12.7 m), а текст треба изравнати са обе стране („justify"). Не треба делити речи на крају реда на слогове. Странице треба да буду нумерисане, а формат странице је А4.

За фусноте се користе арапски бројеви, од 1 па надаље (осим првих двеју означених звездицом – које се прикључују имену првог аутора, односно наслову рада). Фусноте се пишу величином фонта 10.

Графички прилози треба да буду црно-бели и уређени у изворном формату. Њихову величину и сложеност треба прилагодити формату часописа, како би се јасно видели сви елементи.

Радови који не задовољавају формалне стандарде не могу да уђу у поступак рецензирања.

Насловна страница

Сви радови имају насловну страницу која треба да у горњем левом углу садржи име(на) аутора са именом институције, испод тога пун наслов прилога центрирано, верзалом, затим број карактера текста (укључујући фусноте и референце) и фусноту која је обележена звездицом (*, **). Звездица (*) која се налази иза имена јединог или првог аутора односи се на прву фусноту на дну странице која садржи e-mail адресу аутора, а две звездице (**) се додају иза наслова рада и односе се на другу фусноту, која треба да садржи име и број пројекта, захвалницу, напомену да је рад излаган на научном скупу итд. Иза насловне стране следи прва страна текста, са идентично наведеним насловом рада а затим остали елементи рада.

Структура чланка

Рукопис понуђен за штампу треба да има следеће елементе: име и презиме аутора, институцију у којој је запослен, наслов рада, сажетак, кључне речи, текст рада, резиме и научни апарат (редоследом којим су овде наведени).

Изворни, тј. *оригинални научни рад* мора јасно да представи научни контекст питања које се разматра у раду, уз осврт на релевантне резултате из претходних истраживања, затим опис корпуса, методологију и циљеве истраживања, анализу корпуса, односно истраженог питања уз обавезан закључак са јасно представљеним резултатима истраживања.

Прегледни научни рад треба да пружи целовит и критички приказ одређеног научног проблема као и критички однос према релевантној

литератури (са посебним освртом на разлике и недостатке у тумачењу резултата), и теоријски заснован став аутора.

Стручни чланак треба да буде приказ резултата развојних а не фундаменталних истраживања, ради примене у пракси и ширења већ познатих знања, ставова и теорија, с нагласком на употребљивости резултата. Поред теоријског ретроспективног и експликативног дела, овакви чланци треба да садрже аналитичко експериментални део у којем се решавају задати проблеми, доказују хипотезе. Такви радови треба да садрже и део у којем се нуде могућа решења актуелног проблема.

Наслов рада

Наслов треба да што верније опише садржај чланка, треба користити речи прикладне за индексирање и претраживање у базама података. Ако таквих речи у наслову нема, пожељно је да се наслову дода поднаслов.

Апстракт и кључне речи, резиме

Пре основног текста рада, испод наслова, следи апстракт, кратак информативан приказ садржаја чланка, који читаоцу омогућава да брзо и тачно оцени његову релевантност. Апстракт се пише на језику основног текста у једном параграфу, и то не дужи од 200 речи, величином фонта 10, са проредом 1.15. Саставни делови апстракта су циљ истраживања, методи, резултати и закључак. У интересу је аутора да апстракт садржи термине који се често користе за индексирање и претрагу чланака. Испод апстракта са насловом Кључне речи: треба навести од пет до десет кључних речи (то треба да буду речи и фразе које најбоље описују садржај чланка за потреба индексирања и претраживања).

Резиме на енглеском језику се пише на крају текста, а пре литературе, величином фонта 10, са проредом 1.15. Наслов резимеа на енглеском је исписан верзалом, центрирано. У резимеу се сажето приказују проблем, циљ, методологија и резултати научног истраживања, у не више од 500 речи. Резиме не може бити превод апстракта са почетка рада, већ сложенији и другачије формулисан текст. Затим с ознаком Key words: следе кључне речи на енглеском (до 10 речи).

Уколико је рад на страном језику, резиме је на српском, а ако је рад на мађарском, словачком, румунском или русинском језику, поред резимеа на енглеском следи резиме и кључне речи на српском.

Обим текста

Минимална дужина рада је 20.000, а максимална 32.000 карактера, укључујући апстракт, резиме и литературу. Радови који не задовољавају дате оквире неће бити узети у разматрање.

Основни текст рада

Основни текст се пише величином фонта 12. Наслови поглавља се наводе верзалом центрирано, а поднаслови унутар поглавља курзивом.

Табеле и графикони треба да буду сачињени у Word формату. Свака табела треба да буде означена бројем, са адекватним називом. Број и назив се налазе изнад табеле/графикона.

У подбелешкама, тј. фуснотама, које се означавају арапским бројевима дају се само коментари аутора, пишу се фонтом величине 10. Изузетак у погледу начина означавања фусноте јесу прве две.

Скраћенице треба избегавати, осим изразито уобичајених. Скраћенице које су наведене у табелама и сликама треба да буду објашњене. Објашњење (легенда) се даје испод табеле или слике.

Цитирање референци унутар текста

Цитати се дају под двоструким знацима навода (у раду на српском „...”, у радовима на другим језицима у складу с одговарајућим правописом), а цитати унутар цитата под једноструким знацима навода ('...'). Коришћени извор наводи се унутар текста тако што се елементи (презиме аутора, година издања, број странице на којој се налази део који се цитира) наводе у заградама и одвајају зарезом и двотачком (Bugarski, 1998: 24). Цитирани извори се наводе на крају реченице, непосредно пре тачке.

Ако цитат који се наводи у тексту садржи више од 40 речи не користе се знакови навода, већ се цитат пише у посебном блоку, лева маргина (Paragraph/Indentation/Left) је код таквих цитата увучена на 1,5 цм, а фонт је величине 11, на крају се у загради наводи извор. Размак пре и после блок цитата (Paragraph/Spacing/Before и After) је 6пт.

Кад се аутор позива на рад са 3–5 аутора, приликом првог навођења таквог извора потребно је набројати све ауторе: (Rokai–Đere–Pal, & Kasaš, 2002). Код каснијих навођења тог истог извора навести само првог аутора и додати „и др.” уколико је публикација на српском или „et al.” ако је писана на страном језику: (Rokai и др., 1982).

Уколико рад има 6 и више аутора, при првом и сваком даљем навођењу тог рада ставити само првог аутора и додати „и др.” ако је публикација писана на српском или „ et al.” ако је књига писана на страном језику.

Када се цитира извор који нема нумерисане странице (као што је најчешће случај са електронским изворима), користе се број параграфа или

наслов одељка и број параграфа у том одељку: (Bogdanović, 2000, пара. 5), (Johnson, 2000, Conclusion section, para. 1).

Ако рад садржи две или више референци истог аутора из исте године, онда се после податка о години додају словне ознаке „а", „б" итд. (Торма, 2000а) (Торма, 2000б). Студије истог аутора наводе се хронолошким редом: (Halle, 1959; 1962).

Ако се упућује на више студија различитих аутора, податке о сваком следећем одвојити тачком и зарезом (From, 2003; Nastović, 2008), студије се наводе такође хронолошким редом.

Литература

У списку литературе наводе се само референце на које се аутор позвао у раду и то по абецедном реду презимена првог аутора. Референце морају бити исписане Романским писмом, уколико је рад штампан ћирилицом, поред латиничног навођења у загради треба да стоји податак да је оригинални рад објављен ћирилицом. Фонт је величине 12, а облик навода „висећи" (Hanging) на 1,5 цм, као у следећим примерима:

Књиге (штампани извори)
Књига са једним аутором
Lukić, R. (2010). *Revizija u bankama*. Beograd: Centar za izdavačku delatnost Ekonomskog fakulteta u Beogradu.

Уколико рад садржи неколико референци чији је први аутор исти, најпре се наводе радови у којима је тај аутор једини аутор, по растућем редоследу година издања, а потом се наводе радови у односу на абецедни ред првог слова презимена другог аутора (уколико има коауторе).

Књига са више аутора
Када је у питању више аутора, наводе се сви, с тим што се пре последњег презимена додаје амперсенд, односно „&". Ако има више од седам аутора, наводи се првих шест, затим се пишу три тачке и на крају последњи аутор:

Đorđević, S.–Mitić, M. (2000). *Diplomatsko i konzularno pravo*. Beograd: Službeni list SRJ.
Rokai, P.–Đere, Z.–Pal, T. & Kasaš, A. (2002). *Istorija Mađara*. Beograd: Clio.

Књига са уредником или приређивачем, зборник радова
Ако је књига зборник радова са научног скупа или посвећен једној теми, као аутор наводи се приређивач тог дела и уз његово презиме и иницијал имена у загради додаје се „уред." или „прир." односно „ ed." ако је књига писана на страном језику.

Đurković, M. (ured.) (2007). *Srbija 2000–2006: država, društvo, privreda*. Beograd: Institut za evropske studije.

Чланак из зборника
Radović, Z. (2007). Donošenje ustava. U: Đurković, M. (ured.) (2007). *Srbija 2000–2006: država, društvo, privreda.* Beograd: Institut za evropske studije. 27–38.

Чланак из научног часописа
Đurić, S. (2010). Kontrola kvaliteta kvalitativnih istraživanja. *Sociološki pregled*, 44, 485–502.

Чланак из магазина
Чланак из магазина има исти формат као кад се описује чланак из научног часописа, само што се додаје податак о месецу (ако излази месечно) и податак о дану (ако излази недељно).

Bubnjević, S. (2009, decembar). Skriveni keltski tragovi. *National Geographic Srbija*, 38, 110–117.

Чланак из новина
За приказ ових извора треба додати податак о години, месецу и дану за дневне и недељне новине. Такође, користити „str." (или „p." ако су новине на страном језику) код броја страна.

Mišić, M. (1. feb. 2012). Ju-Es stil smanjio gubitke. *Politika*, str. 11.

А ако се не спомиње аутор чланка:

Straževica gotova za dva meseca. (1. feb. 2012). *Politika*, str. 10.

Онлајн извори
Кад год је могуће, треба уписати DOI број. Овај број се уписује на крају описа без тачке. Ако DOI није доступан, треба користити URL.

Чланак из онлајн научног часописа
Stankov, S. (2006). Phylogenetic inference from homologous sequence data: minimum topological assumption, strict mutational compatibility consensus tree as the ultimate solution. *Biology Direct*, 1. doi:10.1186/1745-6150-1-5

Ако чланак нема DOI број, може се користити URL адреса:

Stankov, S. (2006). Phylogenetic inference from homologous sequence data: minimum topological assumption, strict mutational compatibility consensus tree as the ultimate solution. *Biology Direct*, 1. Preuzeto sa http://www.biology-direct. com/content/1/1/5

Е-књиге

При цитирању књига или поглавља из књига која су једино доступна „онлајн”, уместо податка о месту издавања и издавачу ставити податак о електронском извору из ког се преузима:

Milone, E. F.–Wilson, W. J. F. (2008). Solar system astrophysics: background science and the inner solar system [SpringerLink version]. doi: 10.1007/978-0-387-73155-1

Веб сајт

Податак о години односи се на датум креирања, датум копирања или датум последње промене.

Kraizer, S. (2005). Safe child. Preuzeto 29. februara 2008, sa http://www.safechild. org/

Penn State Myths. (2006). Preuzeto 6. decembra 2011, sa http://www.psu.edu/ ur/about/myths.html

Срана унутар веб сајта:

Global warming solutions. (2007, May 21). U: Union of Concerned Scientists. Preuzeto 29. februara 2008, sa http://www.ucsusa.org/global_warming /solutions

Блог и вики:

Jeremiah, D. (2007, September 29). The right mindset for success in business and personal life [Web log message]. Preuzeto sa http://www.myrockcrawler.com

Happiness. (n.d.). U: Psychwiki. Preuzeto 7. decembra 2009 sa http://www.psychwiki.com/wiki/Happiness

Video post (YouTube, Vimeo и слично)

За податак о аутору изма се презиме и име аутора (ако је тај податак познат) или име које је аутор узео као свој алијас (обично се налази поред „uploaded by” или „from”):

Triplexity. (1. avgust 2009). Viruses as bionanotechnology (how a virus works) [video]. Preuzeto sa http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MBIZI4s5NiE3.

Необјављени радови

За резимее са научног скупа, необјављене докторске дисертације и сл. – уколико је навођење таквих радова неопходно, треба навести што потпуније податке.

Smederevac, S. (2000). Istraživanje faktorske strukture ličnosti na osnovu leksičkih opisa ličnosti u srpskom jeziku (Nepublikovana doktorska disertacija). Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, Novi Sad.

Рукописна грађа наводи се према аутору рукописа, а уколико аутор рукописа није познат, према наслову. Уколико рукопис нема наслов, наслов му даје онај који о њему пише. Следећи елемент је време настанка текста, затим место и назив институције у којој се рукопис налази, сигнатура и фолијација.

Уредништво часописа *Годишњак Филозофског факултета у Новом Саду*