

УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У НОВОМ САДУ

ГОДИШЊАК

ФИЛОЗОФСКОГ ФАКУЛТЕТА
У НОВОМ САДУ

КЊИГА XLVIII-3
СПЕЦИЈАЛНО ИЗДАЊЕ



ISSN 0374-0730
e-ISSN 2334-7236
doi: 10.19090/gff.2023.3

Нови Сад, 2023.

Издавач
ФИЛОЗОФСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ НОВИ САД

За издавача
проф. др Ивана Живанчевић Секеруш, декан

Уредници специјалног издања
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Лектура
Аутори су одговорни за језичку исправност својих радова.

Publisher
FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY IN NOVI SAD

Representing the Publisher
prof. Dr Ivana Živančević Sekeruš, Dean

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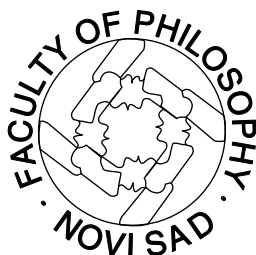
Proofreading
Authors are responsible for linguistic and grammatical correctness of their papers.

UNIVERSITY OF NOVI SAD

ANNUAL REVIEW

OF THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY

VOLUME XLVIII-3



ISSN 0374-0730
e-ISSN 2334-7236
doi: 10.19090/gff.2023.3

Novi Sad, 2023.

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INTRODUCTION

This publication is a selection of papers presented at the Sixth International Conference on English studies: *English Language and Anglophone Literatures Today (ELALT 6)*, held at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad on 29 and 30 October 2022 and organised by the Department of English. Over sixty researchers from fifteen countries across three continents took part in the conference, presenting their work on various aspects of English language, literature and culture, often from a comparative perspective.

The papers in this volume have been carefully selected to showcase the most varied and most diligently written contemporary research into English studies presented at the conference. Each of the selected papers received two positive double-blind reviews and sometimes additional editorial comments. The resulting publication before you is organised alphabetically by author.

Even though the 2022 conference was the sixth *ELALT*, it was also a first for our Department, in two important regards. This was the first *ELALT* held entirely online, which allowed us to play virtual host to researchers from all over the world and easily exchange ideas from the comfort of our own homes and offices. The changing world which begot this purely online academic meeting also influenced the other *ELALT* first: unlike the previous five conferences, which welcomed the broadest possible array of topics, this one was themed.

The theme of the Literature and Culture section of *ELALT 6* was nostalgia. As we put it in our call for papers, as time rushes forwards, the mind turns backwards, yearning to recapture a glimpse of feelings, ideas, thoughts, situations or desires long past. That enterprise works in mysterious ways, and its results are as unpredictable as they are hopeful (or hopeless). At times, this wistfulness is an almost palpable longing for the things of yore; at others, it takes the form of yearning for something that might not have happened at all. Whether manifesting as nostalgia, *Sehnsucht*, *hiraeth*, *saudade*, or even *FOMO*, the emotion connected to the idea of *missing* is a powerful tool of creativity, sometimes pointing the artistic self towards escapism and sometimes towards critique. A mix of the personal, the social and the political, nostalgia glides along the scale of contemplation, and acts accordingly, with its intent and consequent impact ranging from forlorn rumination to weaponised commentary. We invited papers that would focus on nostalgia's many manifestations in literature and culture, and the ways that artists employ it in order to tell their stories about our present, our future, and our past.

The nostalgia-focused papers in this collection serve as perfect examples of our conference participants' broad scope of interests and theoretical approaches. Ranging from Old English poetry to *Star Wars*, from canonical figures like Ernest Hemingway to contemporary classics like Don DeLillo or Paul Auster, from American, Indian or African literary greats to revered authors of English children's literature, the papers you will read deal with many different aspects of nostalgia and its manifestations. The themes our authors cover include exile, death, body, memory, history, popular culture, erasure, Othering and numerous other concepts explored through a nostalgic lens.

The linguistic papers in this volume fall under three different topics reflecting three different thematic workshops that constituted the conference. One linguistic workshop was dedicated to the formal approaches to clausal embedding inviting contributions that would bring in empirical and analytic insights into syntactic but also semantic issues having to do with the way in which various types of dependent clauses are integrated into a main or matrix clause. Of the various papers on this broader topic that were presented at the conference, four were included in this volume. These papers contribute empirical observations and formal accounts of phenomena related to clausal embedding (not only in English), while also shedding light on other empirical and theoretical questions such as clitic climbing, extractions out of factive and non-factive complement clauses, agreement and word order differences across main and embedded clauses.

The second linguistic workshop was focused on lexicology and lexicography, asking questions about the theoretical and practical issues in the creation of modern dictionaries. Two papers emerging from this workshop published in the present volume provide relevant case studies from specific lexical (verbs of drinking) and terminological domains (sports terminology) while also illuminating some of the pertinent theoretical questions and reporting on concrete experience in the construction of a specialized bilingual dictionary.

Finally, *ELALT 6* also included a one-session workshop on applied linguistics that engaged the norms of literary translation in languages with limited distribution. The present volume contains one paper that came out of this lively session, and it illustrates the way in which translation norms have changed over the last several decades on the example of retranslations of Salinger's modern classic *Catcher in the Rye* into Serbian.

In closing, not only does this publication serve as a testament to the academic resilience catalyzed by an online conference format, but it also encapsulates the tapestry of linguistic, literary, and cultural scholarship at the forefront of the evolving landscape of English studies. The Editors earnestly wish

this volume to be a valuable resource, fostering continued intellectual exploration and contributing to the ever-expanding horizons of our discipline.

The Editors

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	9
Jelena Biljetina VERBS OF DRINKING IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN: A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS FOR A NEW TYPE OF DICTIONARY	17
Iva Dozet HOW FAR IS TOO FAR: THE COMBINED EFFECT OF SYNCRETISM AND SYNTACTIC DISTANCE ON SUBJECT-VERB AGREEMENT IN SERBIAN	33
Marija Đorđević NOSTALGIA FOR WHAT NEVER WAS: SILENCE, ABSENCE AND HISTORICAL ERASURE IN RAYMOND FEDERMAN'S THE TWOFOLD VIBRATION	59
Borislava Eraković RETRANSLATIONS OF <i>THE CATCHER IN THE RYE</i> INTO SERBIAN (1979- 1995) REVISITED: REFLECTIONS ON THE CHANGING NORMS AND TRANSLATORS' AGENCIES	71
Anđelka Gemović THE NOSTALGIA BEHIND THE DECONSTRUCTION OF DEATH AND ITS PERSONIFICATION IN TERRY PRATCHETT'S DISCWORLD	89
Bojana Gledić NOT SPOKEN FOR – NOSTALGIA AS AN INSTRUMENT OF RESISTANCE IN GRAHAM SWIFT'S <i>MOTHERING SUNDAY</i> AND <i>HERE WE ARE</i>	105
Nina Ilić, Valentina Đorić ADJUNCT EXTRACTION IN FACTIVE, NON-FACTIVE AND SEMI- FACTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS	117
Stefan Ivanović, Predrag Kovačević, Nataša Milićević CLITIC CLIMBING WITH DIFFERENT KINDS OF <i>DA</i> -COMPLEMENTS IN SERBIAN AND THE STATUS OF PROBABILISTIC RULES IN GRAMMAR	135
Viktorija Krombholz	157
NOSTALGIA AND PERVERSION IN NEO-VICTORIAN NARRATIVES	157
Arijana Luburić-Cvijanović	

NOSTALGIA AND THE AILING BODY IN NADEEM ASLAM'S <i>MAPS FOR LOST LOVERS</i>	171
Slađana Mandić	
PHRASAL VERBS IN ENGLISH DICTIONARIES: THE NEW MODEL OF ORGANIZATION AND PRESENTATION FROM THE PERSPECTIVES OF COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS AND THE PROTOTYPE THEORY	185
Marko Marjanović	
THE OLD WORK OF THE GIANTS — RUINS AND NOSTALGIA IN OLD ENGLISH POETRY	201
Tanja Milićev, Maša Bešlin	
WORD ORDER IN OLD ENGLISH EMBEDDED CLAUSES: SYNTACTIC INSTANTIATION AND PRAGMATIC FACTORS	215
Mira Milić, Olga Panić Kavgić, Aleksandra Kardoš Stojanović	
<i>A NEW ENGLISH-SERBIAN DICTIONARY OF SPORTS TERMS: THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL ASPECTS</i>	239
Tvrtko Prčić	
EXPLORING THE ENGLISH VOCABULARY, INCLUDING NEOLOGISMS, WITH RESOURCES OF AI CHATBOTS USED AS MULTITALENTED SUPERDICTIONARIES	257
Atreyee Sinha, Dr. Shuchi Kaparwan	
ADMIRING BORDER AND FORGETTING PARTITION: A POSTMEMORY STUDY OF <i>CHOTODER BORDER</i> BY MANJIRA SAHA	293
Slađana Stamenković	
NOSTALGIA AND POSTMODERN SUBJECTIVITY IN <i>WHITE NOISE</i> BY DON DELILLO	305
Aleksandra Stojanović	
NAVIGATING NOSTALGIA AND EXILE IN PAUL AUSTER'S <i>IN THE COUNTRY OF LAST THINGS</i>	325
Milica B. Surla	
PERSONAL AND HISTORICAL NOSTALGIA AS PORTRAYED IN ERNEST HEMINGWAY'S <i>A MOVEABLE FEAST</i> AND WOODY ALLEN'S <i>MIDNIGHT IN PARIS</i>	341

Lena Tica, Ivana Krsmanović ATHOL FUGARD'S <i>SORROWS AND REJOICINGS</i> : THE NOSTALGIA OF AN EXILE	355
Bojana Vujin "YOU, MY FRIEND, ARE ALL THAT'S LEFT OF THEIR RELIGION": <i>STAR WARS</i> , FANDOM AND NOSTALGIA	369
Упутство за припрему рукописа за штампу	383

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UDC: 811.111:811.163.41]’367.625
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81’374
DOI: 10.19090/gff.v48i3.2393
Original research paper

VERBS OF DRINKING IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN: A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS FOR A NEW TYPE OF DICTIONARY

The paper analyses verbs of drinking in English and Serbian using the method of contrastive analysis of the meanings of the verbs in the corpus. The paper provides not only the analysis of the synonymous lexical relations among these verbs and their interrelations, but also the specific elements that each dictionary entry consists of. The analysis is threefold as it contrasts not only English verbs and Serbian verbs of drinking respectively, but also contrasts the verbs between the two languages in order to obtain contextually appropriate translation(s). The results of the analysis in the paper show the similarities and differences between the specific language usage of verbs of drinking in the two languages. They also show that the action of drinking in English and in Serbian is expressed using a range of different verbs that provide a more specific description of the drinking action, but that the conceptualisation of the action of drinking is similar in both languages. The meanings of such specific verbs of drinking have been contrasted and a proposal for one type/model of dictionary that would contrast English and Serbian verbs of drinking has been provided.

Key words: verbs of drinking, English, Serbian, contrastive analysis, contrastive dictionary

INTRODUCTION

The research in this paper is focused on analysing verbs of drinking in English and Serbian in order to find what formal correspondents and/or lexical equivalents there are in the Serbian language for the English drinking verbs and vice versa. The main aim of the paper is to offer a proposal for a contrastive bilingual dictionary of verbs denoting the process of drinking that would clearly present verbs of drinking in English and their corresponding Serbian forms. This aim would be attained by analysing the lexicalisations and conceptualisations of the drinking process in English and Serbian and by providing contextual examples of using the analysed verbs taken from spoken and written corpora of the two languages.

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The paper is primarily in the field of lexicology, as it analyses semantic and lexical fields of drinking. On the other hand, the paper is based on contrastive lexicology and the theory of translation, since it analyses formal correspondents and/or translation equivalents of verbs of drinking in English and Serbian. As lexical fields represent a specific realisation of semantic fields as abstract notions (Prčić 2018: 117), in this research, the abstract, extralinguistic dimension is the notion of ‘drinking’, whereas its specific lexicalisation is represented by the specific verbs of drinking, for example *booze, imbibe, tittle, toast, swill* etc. The parallel in Serbian is ‘*pijenje*’ (representing the lexical field) and verbs like *drmnuti, lokati, nazdraviti, pijuckati* etc. (as concrete lexicalisations of the lexical field). In other words, the aforementioned verbs in English and Serbian represent synonymous elements in two languages that are comparable in terms of their similarity and their main descriptive meanings (Prčić 2018: 117). In this way, it is possible to lexicalise an abstract notion in formally different, although semantically similar ways, meaning that the concepts of ‘drinking’ and ‘*pijenje*’ both refer to the action of taking liquid into the mouth/body, but these two concepts are lexicalised by two formally different verbs (*drink* and *piti*) which are both semantically defined in a similar way (‘take liquid into the body through the mouth’ and ‘unositi kroz usta u svoj organizam tečnost i gutati je’ (Eng ‘take liquid through the mouth into the body and swallow it’)).

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Meaning

The paper examines the meaning(s) of verbs of drinking. Traditional approaches explain the meaning of a lexeme as a way of naming an entity in the extralinguistic world, or, in other words, as a way of determining the relationship between the name given to the entity and the entity itself. More modern approaches see a lexeme as part of a linguistic structure that can only be interpreted depending on the functional relations it enters (Lyons, 1977: 232). The meaning of a lexeme is determined on the grounds of the various features that differentiate one specific lexeme from the other potential lexemes (or referents) (Nida 1975: 26). Meaning necessarily presupposes contrasting and choice (Prčić 2016: 47): “without choice there is no meaning” (Nida 1975: 203). Paradigmatic relations among lexemes reflect such contrasting as they represent a vertical, selective axis of an imaginary linguistic structure (Lyons 1968: 73). This means that paradigmatic lexical relations occur between at least two lexical units that can be contrasted in their form, function and/or content (Prčić 2016: 120). Paradigmatic lexical networks rely on sense relations

between specific meanings that lexemes take and, in case it is the sameness of meaning, synonymy is the paradigmatic relation in which two words in the same category share their descriptive meaning, but differ in their associative and/or collocative implications (Prčić 2018:71). For example, the verb *drink* is contrasted against *booze*, *imbibe*, *swig*, *swill*, etc. in English, while *piti* in Serbian is contrasted against *nazdraviti*, *eksirati*, *pijuckati* and other verbs of drinking. Since the paper contrasts verbs of drinking at the level of their sense relations and the appropriate choice of the verb in a specific context (as these verbs might occur in the same context), the analysis is related to the paradigmatic lexical relations and could therefore serve as the basis for a draft of a dictionary of synonyms or, more specifically, of the segment of vocabulary dealing with verbs of drinking.

Prototypes

Since language reflects our perception of extralinguistic reality, the way we perceive the outer world is therefore expressed by linguistic structures and the lexemes denoting a specific class of extralinguistic entities, whether they be living beings, objects, processes or abstract ideas (Lyons 1977: 207). People's general tendency to classify ideas into structured data leads to the extralinguistic reality being perceived as a structured group of data (Rosch -Mervis, 1975). Within such groups or categories of data, a specific entity is perceived as the best, or prototypical representative - a *prototype*, whereas the other entities in the category are closer to the prototype or more distant from it (Prčić 2018: 60) and people, when classifying the extralinguistic reality, tend to find similarities with the established standard (Aitchinson 1987: 55). In cognitive linguistics, the prototype is understood as a schematic representation of the conceptual core of a category: it is a mental representation of certain attributes which are not binary, a reference point for a certain entity that exhibits certain attributes on the basis of which the entity is (or is not) included into a category (Taylor 1989: 59). The more frequent a certain attribute is among members of a specific category, the more representative member of the category it is (Evans and Green 2004: 266). Within the category of verbs of drinking the prototypical verb in the English language is *drink*, defined as 'to take liquid into the mouth and swallow it' whereas in Serbian it is *piti* 'take liquid into the mouth and through the body'. Therefore, when contrasting other verbs to the prototypical verbs of drinking, the focus is on their similarity to the prototype (Taylor: 1989: 60): *booze*, for example, is included into the category of verbs of drinking since it is defined as 'to drink alcohol, especially in large quantities'. *Booze* shares the feature 'to take liquid into the mouth and swallow it' with the prototype of the category (*drink*), but

is further specified by the specific liquid (*alcohol*) and the quantity (*large*) that are drunk. In the same way, *šljokati* in Serbian shares the characteristic of drinking a liquid with *piti* and is additionally specified by the liquid (*alcohol*) and the amount (*heavily*) taken.

THE CORPUS

According to Prčić, prototypes also serve as *tertium comparationis* (Prčić 2011: 170) or, as a *linguistic universal* or a *universal linguistic feature*. Đorđević defines a prototype as a conceptual reference (2000: 58-59), whereas Bugarski explains a linguistic universal as a structural characteristic of all languages (1989: 31-32). The process of contrasting verbs of drinking in the paper is done against the prototypical verbs of drinking in the two languages (*to drink* in English, *piti* in Serbian) and the universal concept of drinking ‘taking liquid into the mouth and swallowing it’. However, in cases when (some of) the analysed verbs have metaphorical meaning(s), *tertium comparationis* is slightly different, and refers to ‘denoting the action of drinking that is possible to map onto the conceptual domain of another action’ (Németh Konc 2010: 153). Dictionaries and analyses of this type are necessary as they help learners and users of (primarily) English and Serbian become familiar with the lexicon of the language and avoid incorrect translations and misunderstandings.

The verbs included in the corpus are those that denote the process of drinking and are defined using the prototypical verbs, *drink* in English and *piti* in Serbian. For example, the verb *sip* is defined as ‘to drink, taking only a very small amount at a time’. Twenty English verbs and twenty Serbian verbs have been included in the corpus and they have been compiled from relevant online monolingual dictionaries of English (*American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, *Cambridge English Dictionary*, *The Britannica Dictionary*, *The Chambers Dictionary*, *Longman Dictionaries of Contemporary English Online* and *Oxford Learner’s Dictionary Online*) and from two Serbian dictionaries (*Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika* (1967), *Rečnik srpskoga jezika* (2011)), while illustrative examples have been compiled from the dictionaries and from the two language corpora, *British National Corpus* (for the English language) and *Korpus savremenog srpskog jezika na Matematičkom fakultetu Univerziteta u Beogradu* (for Serbian language).

ANALYSIS

The attention in this paper is thus focused on analysing verbs of drinking in English and verbs of drinking in Serbian respectively. This is necessary in order for the verbs to be defined with precision and contrasted between themselves in one language, which would provide grounds for the sketch of a dictionary of verbs of drinking in English and in Serbian, since one of the main aims is to help understand the nuances in meaning among the verbs of drinking in the two languages.

The purpose of such a dictionary would be to provide a proper functional-communicative equivalence (Serbian) that refers to a word in the source language (English) in its form, function and content. The dictionary as proposed in this paper should be descriptive and should also offer an insight into the network of the synonymous interrelations within the vocabulary of English and Serbian, taking the example of the lexical field of verbs of drinking. It should also aim to avoid the traditional approach in dictionaries that only offers a ready-made lexeme in the target language, without taking into account its specific contextual or stylistic usage. The proposed dictionary should therefore provide the following information: (1) the definition(s) of the verb specifying the meaning(s) and the difference in meaning against the other verbs in the field, (2) the appropriate formal correspondent or translational equivalent in Serbian and (3) the example(s) of contextual use of the verb and its translation into Serbian, offering in this way the similarities and/or differences in meaning and usage of the specific verb in the two languages.

Verbs of drinking from the corpus, as synonymous lexemes, are grouped in one lexical field and are related by the principle of hyponymy (Prčić 2018: 101): *drink*, as a prototype, is the hypernym or the unmarked lexeme in the specific lexical field that has the most general meaning, whereas other verbs like *belt*, *booze*, *carouse*, *guzzle*, *imbibe*, *sip* or *toast* are its hyponyms. They are semantically marked and are more specific in their meaning(s) than the hypernym.¹ The first entry word in the dictionary would therefore be *drink*, the hypernym of the lexical field. It would be followed by its hyponyms ordered alphabetically, and including subentries for the various meanings that a verb takes. Each entry verb in the dictionary (Times New Roman, 12, small caps, bold) provides the information regarding the morphosyntactic (intransitive, transitive) and stylistic features (*dialect*, *sociolect*, *chronolect*) of the

¹ More on hyponymous relations in Cruse 1986, Dragičević 2010, Fellbaum 1998, Lyons 1977 and, particularly, Prčić, introducing the hybrid idea of hyposynonymy (2019: 148).

verb, given in angled brackets and in italics, respectively. These are followed by the definition of the verb in English and the formal correspondent and/or translation equivalent in Serbian (Times New Roman, 12, the correspondent and/or the equivalent in small caps) with the accompanying definition of the meaning of the Serbian verb. Each of the specific meanings in Serbian is explained by the definition in Serbian language. The usage of the entry verb is exemplified by contextual, corpus-based sentences that illustrate the specific meaning(s) of the verb and its stylistic, pragmatic and contextual variations (Times New Roman 11). What follows is the translation of the English sentences into Serbian (Times New Roman 12, italics) in order for the formal correspondent/translation equivalent to be contextually integrated into the sentences in Serbian. In this way, the proposed correspondent/equivalent provides a contextually adequate lexeme(s) in Serbian and the dictionary user is provided with the correspondent/equivalent appropriate to the context.¹ Organised in this way, the dictionary offers the concept and the word lexicalising the concept in the source language (English), but also the concept and the word lexicalising it in the target language (Serbian). Prčić suggests the seven functions of such a dictionary: concept finder, word finder, word sense differentiator, word sense translator, word sense refiner, word behaviour exemplifier and conceptualization insight-afforder (2019: 120). The ideas of the dictionary as proposed in this paper for the most part rely on the ideas and guidelines for compiling a contrastive English-Serbian dictionary of synonyms as outlined in Prčić (2019) and the idea of a 'specialised dictionary' that should provide the description of a specific segment of lexical units (here, the units are verbs of drinking).

When the verb is polysemous and has more than one meaning, these meanings are listed one after another and the same lexicographic principle is followed as with its primary meaning.

The structure of the dictionary entries relies to a large extent on the proposal for an English-Serbian contrastive dictionary of synonyms as proposed in the textbook about lexicography and various dictionary aspects (Prčić 2018: 112-129), but has been modified in the way that the dictionary proposal in this paper provides not only the definition of the entry word (the verb, in this case) in English, as L_1 , but the definition of its formal correspondent/translation equivalent in Serbian, as L_2 . In this way, it is expected, the users of both the L_1 and the L_2 will be able to find the proper word (verb) more easily and the dictionary would therefore be applicable for both the speakers of English and the speakers of Serbian.

Several dictionary samples²

The first example is the verb *drink*, which represents one of the most clear-cut examples as each of its meanings has a formal correspondent in Serbian: for primary meaning, it is *piti*, whereas for its secondary meanings the corresponding verbs are *piti* and *upijati*. However, it should be noted that *piti* in Serbian is the formal correspondent of one of the secondary meanings ‘to drink alcohol, especially regularly, be an alcoholic’ and is used in its intransitive form in this meaning in both languages. The two metaphorical meanings, ‘to absorb’ and ‘to watch or listen with great interest’ have the same correspondent, *upijati*, with the meaning of ‘take into oneself’.³ However, *upijati* is a hyponym of *piti*, containing the prefix *u* that adds to *piti* the notion of spatial meaning, as of inside a place, area or as enclosed by something (Klajn 2005: 209). In particular, in the examples in which *upijati* refers to the action of watching or listening with great interest, its meaning refers to taking the view or the sound(s) into one’s mental sphere, where the view or the sound(s) taken into the mental sphere stand for the liquid being drunk and taken into one’s body. Four meanings that are lexicalised by one verb in English, *to drink*, are therefore lexicalised by two verbs in Serbian, the prototype, *piti*, and its hyponym, *upijati*. *Upijati* is, therefore, more specialised in meaning than its English counterpart *to drink*.

DRINK

- (1) [transitive or intransitive] take liquid into the body through the mouth
 PITI = [neprelazni ili prelazni] unositi kroz usta u svoj organizam tečnost i gutati je
- I live in the village, and we can’t drink the water out of the taps. = *Živim u selu, i ne možemo da pijemo vodu iz česme;*
 - He was drinking a lot, eating loads and still losing weight. = *Pio je puno, jeo je puno a i dalje gubio na težini;*
 - The animals came down to the waterhole to drink. = *Životinje su sišle do izvorišta da piju;*
- (2) [intransitive] to drink alcohol, especially when regularly or too much

² The verbs chosen from the corpus to be analysed and presented as dictionary entries have been selected on the basis of how specific they are from the lexicographic perspective. In other words, the verbs have been chosen on the grounds of the specific features they exhibit and of the lexicographic solutions that can be offered in order to provide the most appropriate verb form(s).

³ However, the meaning under 4 (‘gledati ili slušati sa velikim zanimanjem’ – ‘to watch or listen with great interest’) is the metaphorical meaning of *upijati* and refers to absorbing the view or the sound into one’s mental sphere.

PITI=[neprelazni] provoditi vreme pijući žestoka pića, biti alkoholičar, opijati se

- He doesn't drink. = *On ne pije;*
- I no longer drink and drive. = *Ja više ne pijem kad vozim;*
- She drank another bottle. = *Popila je još jednu bocu;*

(3) [transitive] to look at, listen to, feel, or smell something in order to enjoy it

UPIJATI (OČIMA, UŠIMA) = [prelazni] gledati ili slušati sa velikim zanimanjem

- From the top, you will have a glorious view, and you can go for a walk, ... , drinking in the views. = *Sa vrha ćete imati sjajan pogled, a možete ići i u šetnju, ... , i upijati pogled;*
- He drank in the speaker's every word. = *Upijao je svaku govornikovu reč;*
- Any normal man would find it a pleasure just to sit still and look at her, drinking her in. = *Svakom normalnom čoveku bi predstavljalo zadovoljstvo da samo sedi i posmatra je, upijajući je pogledom;*

(4) UPIJATI (VODU, VLAGU I SL.) = [prelazni] (biljka ili porozna supstanca): biti porozan, upijati (vlagu), apsorbovati

- Check the water level daily and keep topped up - the tree will drink a lot especially in a warm room. = *Proveravajte nivo vode svakodnevno i dopunjavajte ga - drvo će puno upiti, pogotovo u toploj prostoriji;*
- The plants drink a great deal of water. = *Biljke upijaju veliku količinu vode.*

To toast is the verb that also has a corresponding verb in Serbian. What is interesting about *to toast* from the semantic-contrastive aspect is that it has its formal correspondent in Serbian, *nazdraviti*, which bears all the semantic nuances that the English verb has: both verbs refer to the action of having a (most often, alcoholic) drink and, at the same time, of lifting a glass with the drink to celebrate or wish somebody luck or success. Moreover, in both languages the context is affirmative and requires the company of other people (and, most often, of the people to whom happiness and success are wished); therefore, the connotative features of these two verbs fully match.

TOAST = [transitive] to drink (and eat) in order to wish somebody/something success, happiness, etc.

NAZDRAVITI = [prelazni] piti (na slavlju, gozbi) u nečije ime, u znak dobrog zdravlja, želja

- We toasted the happy couple. = *Nazdravili smo srećnom paru.*
- He raised his glass, silently toasting his absent son. = *Podigao je čašu, nazdravljajući bez reči svom odsutnom sinu.*

- They toasted the birth of their new baby with champagne. = *Nazdravili su šampanjcem rođenju svog deteta.*

Another verb with a formal correspondent in Serbian is *to sip*: its corresponding verb is *pijuckati*), but the Serbian verb needs to be redefined since the consulted monolingual Serbian dictionaries do not provide the definition of this verb and only explain it as a ‘diminutive of *piti*’. Such an explanation is not precise since it does not clearly distinguish as to whether it is the (extremely) small total amount of liquid taken that is referred to as the ‘diminutive’ or the small amount of liquid taken in each mouthful. *Pijuckati* should therefore be redefined: according to our extralinguistic knowledge of the world, the definition should comprise both aspects and could be as follows: ‘*piti malu količinu tečnosti u malim gutljajima*’ (English: ‘to drink a small amount of liquid in small mouthfuls’).

SIP = [transitive/intransitive] to drink by taking just a small amount of liquid at a time

PIJUCKATI = [prelazni, deminutiv prema *piti*] *piti malu količinu tečnosti u malim gutljajima*

- She was sitting at the table sipping her coffee. = *Sedela je za stolom pijuckajući kafu.*
- Jessica sipped her drink thoughtfully. = *Džesika je zamišljeno pijuckala svoje piće.*
- He gave me a few quick, curious glances from time to time as I slowly sipped my coffee. = *S vremena na vreme me je čudno pogledao nekoliko puta dok sam polako pijuckao kafu.*

One more English verb that has its formal correspondent is the verb that belongs to informal and even colloquial register, *booze*. It refers to the action of drinking intoxicating liquor, especially to excess; therefore, the agent’s action and behaviour lexicalised by this verb are not considered as socially appropriate, especially if the action is carried out regularly or chronically. Its Serbian counterpart is *šljemati*, since it refers to drinking alcoholic drinks too much and is used in informal contexts, but one has to bear in mind that in the Serbian language *šljemati* is negatively connotated as it bears a pejorative characteristic and is therefore overtranslated in the way that it is probably not semantically, but associatively more specific than *booze* and therefore only partially corresponding to the English verb.⁴ There is one more possible partial correspondent in Serbian - *šljokati* (‘to become

⁴ The term *overtranslation* is taken from Prčić who defines it in the way that the correspondent in L₂ has more diagnostic features than the lexeme in L₁, making it semantically more specific (Prčić, 2019: 171). In this specific case, *šljemati* bears an additional associative component of being used in a disrespectful way of the agent of the action, which the English *booze* does not bear (at least, not in dictionary definitions).

drunk'), but the meaning of this verb is more oriented towards the consequence of the action of drinking alcohol, which is to become drunk, than towards the quantity of the liquid taken. That is why the two Serbian verbs are both used as formal correspondents, depending on the context: *šljemati* is used as the formal correspondent in the first two examples in the proposed dictionary, as in both sentences *booze* is used to refer to exercising the action of drinking, whereas in the remaining two example sentences, the more appropriate verb in Serbian is *šljokati*, since *booze* refers to the result and the consequences of drinking large quantities of alcoholic drinks.

BOOZE = [informal] to drink alcohol, especially in large quantities

- (1) ŠLJEMATI [pejorativno] piti preterano, u neumerenim količinama alkoholno piće, lokati
 - Or he's asleep in his pad, or he's boozing. = *On ili spava u svojoj gajbi, ili šljema.*
 - Michael, 45, who quit boozing because it threatened to wreck his life... = *Majkl, 45, koji je prestao sa šljemanjem jer je pretilo da mu upropasti život...*
- (2) ŠLJOKATI [pejorativno] piti preterano, u neumerenim količinama piti alkoholno piće, opijati se
 - He's out, boozing with mates. = *Izašao je, šljoka sa društvom.*
 - 'Of course he's been boozing,' said Mrs Mounce. = *Naravno da je šljokao, rekla je gđa Mauns.*

One verb that is specific is *to drain*: its primary meaning refers to removing or drawing off the liquid completely, which is then transferred to its secondary meaning, that of drinking the liquid completely. This should, however, be noted: in this (type of) dictionary, the entry for *to drain* should define it as a verb of drinking and should be numbered in Roman numbers as (II); below it a definition of its primary meaning should also be provided and numbered as (I).

The meaning that refers to drinking has two correspondents in Serbian, *ispiti* and *iskapiti*. The difference between the two verbs lies in the conceptualisation of the result of drinking the liquid completely: with *ispiti*, the focus is on the empty container in which the liquid has been before drinking, whereas with *iskapiti* the focus is on the liquid which has been drunk to the last drop, so that nothing remains in the container. This difference is not reflected in the dictionary definition(s) of the English verb, but can be discerned in a contextualised sentence. Moreover, *ispiti* usually takes a container as its direct object, as the example sentences provide (*the glass, the mug, their glasses, the jug of water* respectively). This is the metonymic transfer CONTAINER FOR LIQUID, in which the container stands for the liquid and in this way reflects our experience by which we conceptualise the liquid taken in via the container

that gets emptied by drinking the liquid from it (more on the theory of conceptual metaphor and metonymy in Radden and Kövecses 2007, Kövecses 2010, Filipović Kovačević 2021).

DRAIN = (II) [transitive] *metaphorically* to drink all of the liquid in (something)

(I) [transitive] to make something empty or dry by removing the liquid from it, by pouring the liquid away or allowing the liquid to flow away

(1) ISPITI = [prelazni] popiti sve, do kraja, pijući isprazniti

- In one gulp, he drained the glass. = *U jednom gutljaju je ispio čašu.*
- He drained the mug and left. = *Ispio je šolju i otišao.*
- They all rose and drained their glasses. = *Svi su ustali i ispili čaše.*
- She yanked her fridge open and drained the jug of water. = *Širom je otvorila frižider i ispila bokal vode.*

(2) ISKAPITI [prelazni] = ispiti do poslednje kapi, do dna

- She quickly drained the last of her drink. = *Brzo je iskapila ostatak svog pića.*
- He drained his brandy and signalled for two more. = *Iskapio je svoj brendi i zatražio još dva.*
- He seized the Scotch that was set before him and drained it. = *Zgrabio je škotski viski poslužen ispred njega i iskapio ga.*

One of the verbs from the corpus that does not have a formal correspondent, but a translation equivalent is *belt*. Its Serbian equivalent is *halapljivo piti* and is represented by the modified prototypical verb of drinking. The prototypical verb, *piti*, is premodified by the adverb of manner (*halapljivo*) and it is in this way that the correlation between the meaning of the English verb and the Serbian equivalent is achieved. However balanced this equivalent is in its meaning, it still lacks the informal connotation that *belt* bears; therefore it could not be treated as completely equivalent to *belt*, but as the closest equivalent possible since *halapljivo* implies both quickness and hurriedness in performing the action. The illustrative example all collocate with *down*, as the adverb that further intensifies the natural downward flow of the liquid taken. In the dictionary, the translation equivalent would be placed in the position in which the position of a formal correspondent would otherwise be.

BELT = [transitive, informal, always followed by an adverb] to drink something quickly, by gulping it

HALAPLJIVO PITI

- Cocktails should be sipped and savoured, not belted down. = *Koktele trebe pijuckati i uživati u njima, a ne ih halapljivo piti.*

- He belted down a shot of whiskey. = *Halapljivo je popio čašu viskija.*
- I belted down a can of soda and rushed back out to the game. = *Halapljivo sam popio limenku soka i odjurio nazad u meč.*

CONCLUSION

Since the research in this paper was based on examining the various ways of conceptualising and then lexicalising the action of drinking in English and Serbian, the nature of the research naturally led to systematising the research findings into an organised contrastive-based form of a dictionary. The dictionary proposes one possible way of organising and presenting meanings of words in bilingual dictionaries taking the example of verbs of drinking in English and Serbian, providing in this way a model of a contrastive dictionary of verbs of drinking in English and Serbian.

The analysis showed that most of the English verbs of drinking have their formal correspondents, some even more than one formal correspondent (like *booze*, for example, with *šljokati* and *šljemati* as its two corresponding verbs). In such cases it is of utmost importance to choose typical example usages of such correspondents in order that the dictionary could provide clear and unambiguous corresponding verb(s) in Serbian that illustrate the descriptive and associative nuances in the sense(s) of the verbs. The organisation of the dictionary proved to be complex, particularly in some practical aspects, mainly concerning the fact that a lexeme (in this case, a verb of drinking) depends not only on the linguistic, but on the extralinguistic context as well, where both contexts should be incorporated into a dictionary entry. One aspect that should be under careful scrutiny is related to the example sentence providing illustrative usage of both linguistic and extralinguistic contexts as it should offer a precise, contextual based illustration of the concept expressed by the verb (in this case, the verb of drinking). One aspect of the dictionary that should be further developed are the example sentences: in this paper they have been excerpted from the relevant English – English dictionaries and from the British national corpus. However, it should be noted that the illustrative sentences from the British National Corpus do not contain solely vocabulary defining words that are basic and familiar (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, 1995: Preface), but such sentences have been used in this paper in order to provide supportive examples that would best illustrate the use of the specific verbs of drinking. This should, however, be avoided in the actual realisation of the dictionary, as the defining

vocabulary should be understood by users with “only a modest command of English” (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, 1995: Preface).

The research has shown that verbs of drinking in English and Serbian exhibit high similarity in the conceptualisation, with slight modifications in the conceptualisation of a certain action of drinking, whether it is an associative modification (when *šljokati* bears a pejorative connotation, unlike its English correspondent *booze*) or a modification in the very sense of the verb (when *iskapiti* and *ispiti* are more specific in their meaning that drain). The analysis has shown that the conceptual systems of the two languages, when the action of drinking is conceptualised, are closely related and that they therefore lexicalise similar concept. The benefits of the analysis and the model of the dictionary proposed in the paper would have multiple effects and would primarily reflect the similarities and differences between the meanings of verbs of drinking in both English and Serbian as individual languages but would also show what the similarities and differences are when these verbs are contrasted in the two languages. Organised in this way, the proposed dictionary model would also offer a network of synonymous lexical relations in one of the languages examined, but also a cross-referential network of verbs of drinking that would provide a detailed insight into the various ways drinking is lexicalised and conceptualised in English and Serbian. Moreover, such a dictionary model would present a useful reference for translators as the analysed verbs in the lexical field of drinking are each assigned the appropriate contextual formal correspondent or translation equivalent. Further analysis in this field should be related to the metaphorical meanings of these verbs in order to check in what way(s) the action of drinking can be employed in conceptualising ideas different from drinking. The results of such analysis should be a contribution to the possible future dictionary of metaphorical meanings.

Jelena Biljetina

GLAGOLI PIJENJA U ENGLESKOM I SRPSKOM JEZIKU: KONTRASTIVNA
ANALIZA ZA NOVI TIP REČNIKA

Rezime

Rad se zasniva na analizi glagola pijenja u engleskom i srpskom jeziku kako bi se ustanovilo koji glagoli pijenja u srpskom jeziku odgovaraju glagolima pijenja u engleskom jeziku, odnosno u cilju utvrđivanja formalnih korespondenata, kao glagola u srpskom jeziku koji i

formalno i sadržinski odgovaraju glagolima pijenja u engleskom jeziku, i prevodnih ekvivalenata, kao glagola ili leksema koje predstavljaju indikatore smisla glagolima pijenja na engleskom jeziku. U teorijskom smislu, u radu se primenjuje široki teorijski okvir koji obuhvata oblasti semantike i ispitivanja značenja, kognitivne lingvistike i konceptualizacije radnje pijenja, i, konačno, kontrastivne lingvistike i sličnosti i razlika u konceptualizaciji i leksikalizaciji radnje pijenja u dva jezika. Zasnovana na navedenom teorijskom okviru, analiza u radu je trojaka, budući da ispituje i kontrastira glagole pijenja prvo unutar engleskog jezika, potom unutar srpskog jezika, a zatim kontrastira engleske glagole sa srpskim. Takva, trojaka analiza, pokazala je da se glagoli u pojedinačnim jezicima kontrastiraju u odnosu na prototipične glagole pijenja, *to drink* i *piti*, i pojmova na koje se odnose, a da se međusobno kontrastiraju u smislu konceptualizacije pojmova koje glagoli leksikalizuju i da se pojmovi i konceptualizacija pijenja u velikoj meri podudaraju. Rezultati analize pokazali su se pogodnim za sistematizovanje u formi rečnika koji je zamišljen tako da obuhvata leksička polja, odnosno, u ovom slučaju, leksičko polje glagola pijenja koje se u predloženom nacrtu rečnika leksikografski obrađuje tako da se polazi od značenja prototipičnog glagola pijenja na engleskom jeziku (*drink*), a nastavlja značenjem svakog pojedinačnog glagola, koje je definisano navođenjem osnovnih deskriptivnih i asocijativnih obeležja kojima se uspostavljanju razlike u značenju. Potom se navodi formalni korespondent ili prevodni ekvivalent na srpskom jeziku i definicija njegovog značenja, takođe navodeći neophodna značenjska obeležja, a nakon toga i kontekstualno adekvatna upotreba definisanog glagola, uz prevod na srpski jezik, kako bi se postigla što približnija ilustracija upotrebe glagola u kontekstu, što je naročito neophodno u slučajevima kada u srpskom jeziku postoje dva moguća prevodna rešenja, kao što je, na primer, engleski glagol *booze*, koji se može prevesti i kao *šljokati* i kao *šljemati*, u zavisnosti od kontekstualne situacije. Navedeni postupak primenjuje se počevši od doslovnog, primarnog značenja glagola, a potom i na svako od sekundarnih, metaforičkih značenja koje jedan glagol ima. Navedeni predlog rečničke obrade kontrastira engleske i srpske glagole pijenja u engleskom i srpskom jeziku, ali bi mogao da bude primenjiv na druga leksička polja i na taj način doprinese adekvatnijoj upotrebi kako engleskih, tako i srpskih leksema.

Ključne reči: glagoli pijenja, engleski, srpski, kontrastivna analiza, kontrastivni rečnik.

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UDC: 811.163.41'367
DOI: 10.19090/gff.v48i3.2373
Original research paper

HOW FAR IS TOO FAR: THE COMBINED EFFECT OF SYNCRETISM AND SYNTACTIC DISTANCE ON SUBJECT-VERB AGREEMENT IN SERBIAN**

The aim of this research paper is to examine the joint effect of syncretism and syntactic distance on subject-verb agreement in Serbian. To do so, the paper employs one comprehension experiment, a speeded grammaticality judgment task. The task is designed to determine whether an attractor noun syncretic with the nominative plural elicits more erroneous judgments in environments of varying syntactic distance, those with either prepositional or clausal postmodifiers. The results of the speeded grammaticality judgment task point to an apparent joint effect of syncretism and syntactic distance on agreement. More specifically, there is an evident increase in the number of attraction errors with syncretic, as opposed to non-syncretic attractors in prepositional and clausal postmodifiers. This increase is greater with prepositional than with clausal postmodification. These observations are elaborated within the retrieval approach to agreement.

Key words: subject-verb agreement, syncretism, syntactic distance, retrieval approach, Serbian, comprehension

INTRODUCTION

Agreement has been and still remains one of the most extensively researched phenomena within the field of linguistics. While numerous instances of agreement have been investigated, this paper centers on the phenomenon of subject-verb agreement.

Several factors have been pinpointed as relevant for establishing successful agreement between the subject and verb. Among them, one of the most prominent has been syntactic distance, used to explain the discrepancy in erroneous number

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** Experimental results presented at the 6th International Conference on English Language and Anglophone Literatures Today (ELALT6)

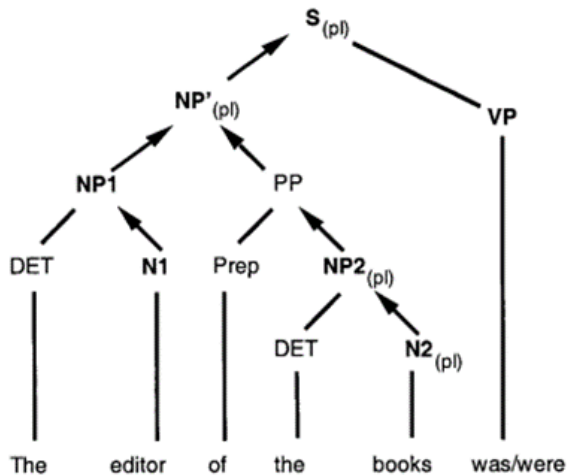
agreement between the verb and local nouns, also termed attractors, embedded in phrasal and clausal modifiers.

(1a) *The editor of the books were (...)

(1b) *The editor who rejected the books were (...) (Franck, Lassi, Frauenfelder & Rizzi, 2006: 176)

In sentences (1a) and (1b), the linear distance between the attractor *the books* and the target verb *were* is the same. However, a difference is found in the syntactic distance between the attractor and verb in the two sentences. It has been argued that because the syntactic distance between the local noun and the node at which agreement occurs is shorter in (1a) than in (1b), the former construction is more prone to erroneous agreement. In other words, the discrepancy in position within the hierarchical structure accounts for the greater number of errors in cases where the local noun is in a prepositional, rather than a clausal modifier. Figures (1) and (2), taken from Franck et al. (2002), illustrate the two respective paths in more detail.

Figure 1: Agreement path for a subject with a prepositional postmodifier



distance and syncretism on subject-verb agreement in Serbian. An effect of syntactic attractors within clausal postmodifiers would be in favor of an independent role of syncretism in subject-verb agreement.

In addition to these introductory remarks, the paper has four more sections. Section 2 provides a cohesive theoretical overview of the relevant work that has been conducted in reference to agreement. Section 3 provides a detailed description of the comprehension experiment used in this paper, while Section 4 presents the results. This is followed by a detailed discussion in Section 5 and subsequent concluding remarks in Section 6.

2. PREVIOUS STUDIES: A CONCISE THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

2.1. *The argument for syntactic distance*

Experimental research on subject-verb agreement has in most instances centered around the phenomenon of attraction, i.e., cases where the verb will agree with a local noun found in its vicinity, rather than with the head noun, as exemplified in (3).

(3) *The time for fun and games are over.

(Bock & Miller, 1991: 46)

In the example above, the verb *are* does not agree with the head noun *time* found in subject position. Rather, it erroneously establishes agreement with the plural noun phrase *fun and games*, situated within the prepositional (post)modifier.

Some of the first attempts to describe this phenomenon linked these erroneous judgments to the notion of linear proximity (Francis, 1986; Quirk et al., 1972). Within this framework, the verb mistakenly agrees with the linearly closest noun, rather than with the one in subject position.

While convenient, this proposal was subsequently challenged, most notably by Bock and Cutting (1992), who argued that attraction was a phenomenon dependent on the clause in which the attractor was embedded, rather than on linear proximity. They proposed that attraction errors occur more frequently in constructions in which the local noun, i.e., the attractor, is situated in the same clause as the head noun, as in (4a), rather than when it is in separate clause, as in (4b).

(4a) The tradition of the Christmas trees (...)

(4b) The tradition that she lights the Christmas trees (...)

(Bock & Cutting, 1992: 124)

Upon further inspection, Franck, Vigliocco and Nicol (2002) suggested that the varying attraction rates found between phrasal and clausal postmodifiers could not be attributed to clausal boundaries. According to them, this discrepancy was related to the depth of syntactic embedding, specifically that of the local noun. Note examples (5a) and (5b) below:

(5a) *The computer with the programs of the experiment are broken.

(5b) *The computer with the program of the experiments are broken.

(Franck et al., 2006: 175)

In both sentences, the two local nouns *program(s)* and *experiment(s)* are situated within the same clause as the head noun *computer*. Following the argumentation from Bock and Cutting (1992), we would expect a consistent ratio of attraction in both instances. However, the results detailed in Franck et al. (2002) show a somewhat different picture. Namely, a higher number of attraction errors were reported with constructions such as (5a), where the attractor noun is situated higher in the hierarchical structure than in those like (5b), where the attractor is embedded deeper within the structure. In other words, the syntactic distance between the attractor noun *programs* and the node at which agreement with the verb occurs is shorter than the distance of the attractor *experiments*. It is precisely this difference in syntactic distance that makes the construction in (5a) more prone to erroneous agreement.

Subsequent work, most notably that conducted by Solomon and Pearlmutter (2004) and Franck et al. (2006), further developed on the importance of the syntactic distance hypothesis. However, as their research exceeds the scope of this paper, the reader is referred to Franck et al. (2006) for a more comprehensive overview.

2.2. *Morphophonological factors: an argument in favor of syncretism*

The aforementioned approach assumes that agreement occurs solely during the formation of the sentential structure, during which time syntactic functions and relation are established. Such a view leaves little if no room for the effect of other factors that might influence agreement, specifically morphophonological ones.

However, several studies have reported a connection between attraction errors and morphophonological features. A notable one, conducted by Vigliocco, Butterworth, and Semenza (1995), reported an increased number of attraction errors with Italian nouns ambiguous with respect to their number marking. Yet another study, one investigating both Dutch and German, reported a similar increase in attraction errors, this time with nouns that were morphologically ambiguous in both number and case. In this particular study, the stronger attractors were indistinguishable in case and number from the nominative head noun (Hartsuiker, Schriefers, Bock, & Kikstra, 2003).

A final study of note, one conducted by Slioussar (2018), details the relationship between attraction errors and morphophonological form in Russian. More precisely, the paper examines the independent effect of case syncretism on attraction in subject-verb agreement. Accusative plural and genitive singular nouns were used as attractors, as both are syncretic with the nominative case associated with the subject position. Furthermore, using both plural and singular syncretic attractors allowed examining the role of syncretism independently from other factors, such as number. Results from both the comprehension and production experiments indicate an increased number of erroneous agreements with both accusative plural and genitive singular attractors, as opposed to their non-syncretic counterparts. Slioussar (2018) argues that these patterns point to an independent effect of syncretism in subject-verb agreement.

Thus far, this subsection has focused solely on detailing the role of morphophonological factors, from the perspective of number agreement. However, it would be unfair to claim that evidence in favor of the role of morphophonological features stems solely from research into number agreement. Rather, another substantial body of evidence comes from crosslinguistic research into gender agreement, most notably by Slioussar and Malko (2016) and Bedecker and Kuminiak (2007), who report an increased amount of attraction errors in cases with gender mismatched attractors. However, as the topic of these studies is beyond the present scope, they will not be examined further.

2.3. A few words about the Serbian case system

Seven cases are recognized in Serbian. They appear in one of three available forms: the free form (without a preposition or determiner) (6a), preceded by a preposition (6b), or preceded by a determiner (6c). The nominative appears solely in free form, while cases like the genitive, accusative, and instrumental can appear in all three forms.

(6a) Marko peva.

Marko-SG.M.NOM. sing-PRES.1.M.

"Marko sings."

(6b) Izašao je iz prodavnice.

left-PTCP.PST.1.M be-PRS.3.SG. from-PREP. store-SG.F.GEN.

"He left the store."

(6c) Čekao sam je taj dan.

wait-PTCP.PST.1.M be-PRS.1.SG. her-SG.ACC. that-ADJ.M.ACC. day-SG.M.ACC.

"I waited for her all day."

Apart from variation in form, there are also more than a few syncretic patterns observed within the Serbian case system. However, only one is of particular interest for this paper, the syncretism between the nominative and accusative. It appears across all three grammatical genders in Serbian (feminine, neuter, and masculine). However, syncretism between the nominative and accusative is dependent on other factors, including animacy and the declension group of the noun¹. For the purposes of this paper, it is only important to note that the nominative plural of feminine nouns and neuter nouns, are syncretic with the accusative plural. For instance, the plural form of the inanimate feminine noun *lopte* (balls) is ambiguous between the nominative plural and accusative plural in Serbian. The same is true for

¹ The description of the declension system referenced in the present study has been developed by Stevanović (1964). It recognizes three separate groups of nouns based on their ending in the genitive singular. Therefore, there is the first group referred to as the a-declension, the second also known as the e-declension, and the third referred to as the i-declension, respectively.

the plural forms of inanimate neuter nouns such as *ogledala* (mirrors), which are again ambiguous between the nominative plural and accusative plural.

3. COMPREHENSION EXPERIMENT

3.1. Initial hypothesis

Before discussing the comprehension experiment in detail, it will be useful to precisely define both the research question and initial hypotheses that stem from it. In reference to the first of these issues, this paper aims to investigate the combined role of syncretism and syntactic distance on subject-verb agreement in Serbian. More specifically, it examines whether syncretism will have an independent effect on agreement, regardless of the depth of syntactic embedding.

Based on the research question above, the paper also puts forth two initial assumptions. Firstly, attraction errors are expected to be more prominent in sentences where (subject) nouns are postmodified by a phrase rather than a relative clause. Our second hypothesis concerns syncretism. Namely, we expect to see an increased number of attraction errors in cases where the attractor noun is syncretic with the nominative plural. We expect this effect to be seen in sentences with both phrasal and clausal postmodification.

3.2. Materials and design

The administered comprehension experiment is a speeded grammaticality judgment task. It represents a modified version of a comprehension experiment designed by Slioussar (2018). Within the present task, participants are asked to judge the acceptability of sentences that contained a singular nominative head noun, a plural accusative attractor noun within either a prepositional or clausal modifier, a predicate comprised of the verb 'to be' and a past participle, and a final non-obligatory modifier in the form of either a prepositional or noun phrase. For a more straightforward overview, two examples are provided below, as (7a) and (7b).

- (7a) Fioka za komode
 drawer_{-F.SG.NOM.} for_{-PREP.} dresser_{-F.PL.ACC. (=NOM.PL.)}
 je nakrivljena na levo.
 be_{-PRES.3.SG.} crook_{-PTCP.PST.F.SG.} on_{-PREP.} left_{-ADV.}

“The drawer for the dressers is crooked to the left.”

- (7b) Mašina koja proizvodi
 machine- F.SG.NOM. which-PRO.F.SG. make- PRES.SG.
 grejalice je pokvarena
 heater- F.ACC.PL. (=NOM.PL.) be- PRES.3.SG. break- PTCP.PST.F.SG.
 od juče.
 since- PREP. yesterday-ADV.

“The machine which makes heaters has been broken since yesterday.”

There are three important points to note about the experimental materials. Firstly, to determine the effect of syntactic distance on agreement, both prepositional phrases and relative clauses were used. According to the syntactic distance hypothesis, more attraction errors are expected in sentences with a prepositional, rather than a clausal modifier.

Secondly, to determine whether there was indeed an effect of syncretism on agreement, both syncretic and non-syncretic attractors were used, all plural and in the accusative case. Because they exhibit syncretism between the nominative and accusative plural, inanimate feminine and neuter nouns were used as the syncretic attractors. Inanimate masculine nouns were used as attractors in the control condition because they do not exhibit syncretism with the nominative plural. Furthermore, no previous research has indicated that grammatical gender could affect number agreement. In other words, there is no evidence that nouns of a particular grammatical gender are stronger attractors than those of other grammatical genders, at least not in the domain of number agreement.

Furthermore, only accusative attractors were used, as accusative has been shown to elicit a stronger attraction effect than other cases syncretic with the nominative. In addition, all attractors were plural, as previous studies have reported a notably greater attraction effect of plural forms, as opposed to singular ones.

Finally, both grammatical and ungrammatical sentences were included. The ungrammatical sentences agreed in number with the attractor rather than with the head noun. Both grammatical and ungrammatical conditions were included primarily to determine whether syncretism and syntactic distance could override correct agreement once it had already been established in grammatical sentences.

A total of 24 stimuli sentences were constructed. Half included prepositional modifiers while the other half included clausal ones. Moreover, half contained

syncretic, and half contained non-syncretic attractors and half were grammatical, and half were not. Finally, since the past participle is marked for gender in Serbian, the head and attractor always agreed in gender to control for its possible effect on agreement. For a clearer overview of all the experimental conditions, refer to Table 1 below.

Table 1: Experimental conditions

Condition	Head Noun	Modifier Phrase	Dependent noun	Predicate
Sg. + Pl. (acc) + Sg.	Sg.	PP	Acc.Pl. (=Nom.Pl.)	Sg. (grammatical)
Sg. + Pl. (acc) + Pl.	Sg.	PP	Acc.Pl. (=Nom.Pl.)	Pl. (ungrammatical)
Sg. + Pl. (acc) + Sg.	Sg.	PP	Acc.Pl. (≠Nom.Pl.)	Sg. (grammatical)
Sg. + Pl. (acc) + Pl.	Sg.	PP	Acc.Pl. (≠Nom.Pl.)	Pl. (ungrammatical)
Sg. + Pl. (acc) + Sg.	Sg.	CP	Acc.Pl. (=Nom.Pl.)	Sg. (grammatical)
Sg. + Pl. (acc) + Pl.	Sg.	CP	Acc.Pl. (=Nom.Pl.)	Pl. (ungrammatical)
Sg. + Pl. (acc) + Sg.	Sg.	CP	Acc.Pl. (≠Nom.Pl.)	Sg. (grammatical)
Sg. + Pl. (acc) + Pl.	Sg.	CP	Acc.Pl. (≠Nom.Pl.)	Pl. (ungrammatical)

Lastly, in addition to the experimental conditions, the comprehension experiment also included 12 filler sentences. The filler sentences were of the same length as the experimental ones and contained both prepositional and clausal modifiers. Both the head and local nouns were inanimate. Furthermore, half of the filler sentences were grammatical, while the other half contained gender agreement errors. A complete list of the experimental and filler items is provided in the Appendix.

3.3. Procedure

The comprehension experiment was run in PCIBex Farm software. Sentences appeared in the center of the screen one word at a time. Each word appeared for 500ms. A response screen then appeared after each sentence. Here, participants needed to choose whether the sentence they had just seen was acceptable or unacceptable, by pressing either A or L on the keyboard. After each response, there was a 2 s pause with a message to wait for the next sentence. Each participant saw each condition only once. Moreover, no more than two experimental sentences ever appeared in a row. After the experiment ended, participants were informed that their response had been successfully recorded.

Before the start of the experiment, an instruction screen appeared advising participants to read each sentence carefully and respond as quickly as possible.

Moreover, to allow participants adequate time to adjust to the speed and positioning, three practice items were included at the start of the experiment.

3.4. Participants

The comprehension experiment was administered to 33 participants, all students from the University of Novi Sad. Their ages ranged from 19 to 27. All participants were naïve with respect to the experimental hypothesis and provided informed consent before beginning the experiment.

4. RESULTS

There were 264 responses in total, of which there were 35 (13.26%) grammaticality judgment errors. Responses in grammatical and ungrammatical sentences are analyzed separately. This decision partially follows arguments put forward by Slioussar (2018) on the nature of agreement errors in these two conditions. Namely, while incorrect judgments in ungrammatical sentences indicate that the error was overlooked, those in grammatical sentences could be the result of several reasons, including but not exclusive to an attraction error, misreading a word, etc.

We first examine the responses in ungrammatical sentences. Incorrect judgments occurred in all conditions, except sentences with a non-syncretic attractor within a clausal modifier. Still, while erroneous judgments occurred in all other conditions, their distribution varied. Errors were most prevalent in sentences with a syncretic attractor embedded within a prepositional phrase, followed by ones with a syncretic attractor within a clausal modifier and finally those with a non-syncretic attractor within a prepositional phrase.

Table 2: Ungrammatical sentence responses

Condition	Modifier Phrase	Head Noun	Dependent Noun	Correct Responses	Incorrect Responses
Experimental	PP	Nom.Sg.	Acc.Pl.(=Nom.Pl.)	26	7 (21.21%)
Control	PP	Nom.Sg.	Acc.Pl.(≠Nom.Pl.)	31	2 (6.06%)
Experimental	CP	Nom.Sg.	Acc.Pl.(=Nom.Pl.)	29	4 (12.12%)
Control	CP	Nom.Sg.	Acc.Pl.(≠Nom.Pl.)	33	0

Like the ungrammatical condition, judgment errors within grammatical sentences occurred in only three conditions, again with the exception of sentences with non-syncretic attractors embedded in clausal postmodifiers. Once again, the largest

number of errors occurred with syncretic attractors embedded in prepositional phrases, followed by those in clausal postmodifiers and then those with non-syncretic attractors embedded in prepositional phrases. Interestingly, while the number of errors either decreased or remained constant in three conditions, it increased in sentences with a syncretic attractor embedded in a clausal postmodifier.

Table 3: Grammatical sentence responses

Condition	Modifier Phrase	Head Noun	Dependent Noun	Correct Responses	Incorrect Responses
Experimental	PP	Nom.Sg.	Acc.Pl.(=Nom.Pl.)	22	11 (33.33%)
Control	PP	Nom.Sg.	Acc.Pl.(≠Nom.Pl.)	31	2 (6.06%)
Experimental	CP	Nom.Sg.	Acc.Pl.(=Nom.Pl.)	24	9 (27.27%)
Control	CP	Nom.Sg.	Acc.Pl.(≠Nom.Pl.)	33	0

5. DISCUSSION

As apparent from the previous section, attraction errors occurred in the same three conditions in both grammatical and ungrammatical sentences. The exception in both cases was the control example in which a non-syncretic attractor was embedded in a relative clause.

Based on the attraction pattern, our first hypothesis seems to be borne out. The rate of attraction errors is greater in sentences with phrasal rather than clausal postmodification. However, upon further inspection, we see that syntactic distance cannot be considered the sole factor at play. When comparing the experimental and control conditions for both phrasal and clausal postmodifiers, we observe an evident increase in erroneous judgements in all cases with a syncretic attractor. In other words, both phrasal and clausal modifiers with attractors syncretic with the nominative plural had an increased number of attraction errors compared to their non-syncretic control counterparts. Relative clauses with syncretic attractors even saw an increase in the number of attraction errors in grammatical as opposed to ungrammatical sentences, a pattern that was not initially expected nor observed in previous research on syncretism. Together, the results from both the grammatical and ungrammatical conditions appear to point to a joint effect of syntactic distance and syncretism on agreement. Firstly, for an explanation of the effect of syncretism, we turn to Slioussar (2018) and her revision of the retrieval approach to agreement.

The retrieval approach assumes that the agreement mechanism retrieves all potential agreement sources from the elements active in our working memory. This

process is cue-based, meaning that individuals search through their working memory with a set of cues, such as number, gender, and case. The element with the maximum number of matching cues is then selected as the agreement source (Slioussar, 2018). According to this approach, attraction errors occur because a local noun may match some of the retrieval cues, such as number or gender. The theory postulates that when a clear distinction becomes impossible, discerning the head and attractor noun becomes dependent on the number of structural distinctions that are maintained between them.

Within this approach, an attractor syncretic with the nominative plural would cause morphological ambiguity. This would, in turn, lead to all its feature sets being activated, including ones marked as [accusative singular] and ones marked [nominative plural] (Slioussar, 2018). However, in the case of both Russian and the present study, the preceding preposition, and in this case pronoun, should disambiguate these constructions. In other words, these cues should indicate that the attractor is not an element eligible for agreement. Still, attraction errors occur with these constructions, more commonly than with non-syncretic attractors.

Because of this, Slioussar (2018) argues for a revised version of the retrieval approach, one in which all potential feature sets would be activated regardless of whether the multiple interpretations are hindered by other elements, such as prepositions and pronouns. This would entail that the agreement mechanism would have access to both the accusative and nominative case cue, as well as both the singular and plural number cue of the attractor noun. As the attractor allows for multiple feature variants, one of them associated with the subject position, the chance for erroneous judgements is assumed to increase. While Slioussar (2018) observes this pattern with prepositional postmodification, this paper takes note of it in relative clauses as well. Thus, it appears that neither the preposition nor relative pronoun are capable of completely disambiguating a syncretic attractor and thus preventing erroneous agreement. Furthermore, the observations found with relative clauses point to an effect of syncretism even across clausal boundaries.

On a final note, we must mention one pattern that neither our assumptions nor the retrieval analysis could explain. This is the increased number of erroneous judgments in grammatical sentences with syncretic attractors in clausal modifiers as opposed to ungrammatical ones of the same type. While this pattern has not yet been reported, we argue that it may not be the product of attraction. As mentioned, erroneous judgments in grammatical sentences are not solely the result of attraction and could be caused by a multiplicity of factors. Further research, preferably

involving production experiments, is needed for a more comprehensive understanding and re-examination of this particular pattern.

6. CONCLUSION

This paper aimed to examine the combined effect of syntactic distance and syncretism on subject-verb agreement in Serbian. One comprehension experiment, a speeded grammaticality judgment task was administered for this purpose.

Based on previous crosslinguistic research, it was hypothesized that both factors would elicit erroneous judgments in both grammatical and ungrammatical conditions. The results of the comprehension experiment verified these assumptions. For one, more attraction errors were observed in conditions with a phrasal, than a clausal modifier, showing that the effect of syntactic distance was indeed in effect in Serbian. Furthermore, the results also suggest that syncretism affected agreement independently of syntactic distance, as attraction errors occurred with both prepositional phrases and relative clauses.

The revised retrieval approach allows for both syntactic and morphophonological factors to be taken into consideration when discussing agreement. It assumes that the morphological ambiguity, produced by syncretic forms, leads to attraction errors even when other sentential cues, such as prepositions or in our case relative pronouns, disambiguate the role of the syncretic attractor.

While in line with previous findings, the above results require further elaboration. At present, they provide only starting point for understanding the joint effect of syntactic and morphophonological factors on subject-verb agreement. However, the data above needs to be elaborated, most notably by production experiments. The data pool should also be expanded to include non-binary systems, such as the Serbian gender system.

Iva Dozet

KOLIKO DALEKO JE PREDALEKO: ZAJEDNIČKI EFEKAT SINKRETIZMA I SINTAKSIČKE DISTANCE NA SLAGANJE SUBJEKTA I PREDIKATA U SRPSKOM JEZIKU

REZIME

Ovaj rad izučava zajednički uticaj sinkretizma i sintaksičke distance na slaganje subjekta i predikata u srpskom jeziku. Iako su prethodna istraživanja zapazila individualni uticaj oba gorenavedena faktora, do sada nije bilo reči o njihovom zajedničkom uticaju. Zbog ovoga, primarni cilj ovog istraživanja jeste da ispita na koji način sinkretizam može uticati na pravilno slaganje subjekta i predikata u broju na različitim sintaksičkim distancama.

Za svrhe ovog rada je sačinjen eksperiment koji od kandidata zahteva da procene gramatičnost rečenica koje vide pred sobom. Svaka od rečenica se sastoji iz imenice u jednini u ulozu subjekta, zavisne imenice u okviru predloške konstrukcije ili odnosne rečenice, predikata u jednini ili množini i prateće imeničke sintagme ili predloške konstrukcije. Sve zavisne imenice se nalaze u akuzativu množine. Kako bismo ispitali ulogu sinkretizma, polovina zavisnih imenica ostvaruje sinkretizam sa nominativom množine dok druga polovina to ne čini. Ako bi sinkretizam uticao na slaganje subjekta i predikata, očekivali bismo više grešaka u rečenicama u kojima sinkretizam između akuzativa i nominativa množine postoji, tačnije u onim u kojim zavisna imenica izgleda kao potencijalni subjekat. Takođe, kako bismo ispitali uticaj sintaksičke distance, polovina zavisnih imenica se nalazi u predloškoj konstrukciji, dok se druga polovina nalazi u odnosnim rečenicama. U ovom slučaju, veći broj grešaka je očekivan u slučaju odnosnih rečenica.

Rezultati ovog istraživanja ukazuju na zajednički uticaj sinkretizma i sintaksičke distance na slaganje subjekta i predikata u srpskom jeziku. Naime, veći broj grešaka se pojavljuje u rečenicama u kojima postoji sinkretizam između akuzativa i nominativa množine, kako u onim sa predloškom konstrukcijom tako i u onim sa odnosnim rečenicama. Ovi rezultati ukazuju ne samo na relevantnost sinkretizma, već i na potrebu daljeg razvitka teorije o slaganju subjekta i predikata koja će obuhvatiti i sintaksičke i morfonološke faktore.

Ključne reči: slaganje subjekta i predikata, sinkretizam, sintaksička distanca, slaganje subjekta i predikata u srpskom jeziku

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APPENDIX

Experimental sentences

1. Fioka za komode je
 drawer-F.SG.NOM. for-PREP. dresser-F.PL.ACC. be-PRES.3.SG.
 nakrivljena na levo.
 crook-PTCP.PST.F.SG. on- PREP. left-ADV.
 “The drawer for the dressers is crooked to the left.”
2. Činija za biljke je
 bowl- F.SG.NOM. for- PREP. plant- F.PL.ACC. be- PRES.3.SG.
 kupljena prošle nedelje.
 buy- PTCP.PST.SG. last-ADJ. week-F.SG.
 “The bowl for the plants was bought last week.”
3. Ogledalo za kupatila
 mirror- N.SG.NOM. for- PREP. bathroom- N.PL.ACC.
 je završeno pre
 be- PRES.3.SG. finish- PTCP.PST.N.SG. before-PREP.
 useljenja.
 moving-F.SG.
 “The mirror for the bathrooms was finished before moving
 in.”
4. *Čokolada za torte
 chocolate- F.SG.NOM. for-PREP. cake- F.PL.ACC.
 su ostale u kolima.
 be-PRES.3.PL. leave- PTCP.PST.F.PL. in- PREP. car-F.SG.
 “*The chocolate for the cakes were left in the car.”
5. *Navlaka za stolice su

cover- F.SG.NOM. for- PREP. chair- F.PL.ACC. be- PRES.3.PL.

premeštene iz kancelarije.

move-PTCP.PST.F.PL. from- PREP. office-F.SG.

“*The cover for the chairs were moved from the office.”

6. *Gorivo za vozila su

fuel- N.SG.NOM. for- PREP. vehicle- N.PL.ACC. be- PRES.3.PL.

poskupela ove

become more. expensive-PTCP.PST.N.PL. this-PRO.

godine.

year-F.SG.

“*Fuel for vehicles became more expensive this year.”

7. Prijava koja potresa

report- F.SG.NOM. which-PRO.F.SG. shock-PRES.SG.

redakcije je stigla

newsroom-F.PL.ACC. be- PRES.3.SG. arrive- PTCP.PST.F.SG.

rano jutros.

early-ADV. morning-NOUN

“The report which shook the newsrooms arrived early in the morning.”

8. Mašina koja proizvodi

machine- F.SG.NOM. which-PRO.F.SG. make- PRES.SG.

grejalice je pokvarena

heater- F.PL.ACC. be- PRES.3.SG. break- PTCP.PST.F.SG.

od juče.

since- PREP. yesterday-ADV.

“The machine which makes heaters has been broken since yesterday.”

9. Tenda koja prekriva
 awning- F.SG.NOM. which- PRO.F.SG. cover-PRES.SG.
 terase je dostupna
 terrace-F.PL.ACC. be- PRES.3.SG. available- PTCP.PST.F.SG.
 na popustu.
 on- PREP. discount-M.SG.
 “The awning which covers terraces is available at a discount.”

10. *Skica koja prikazuje
 sketch- F.SG.NOM. which- PRO.F.SG. show-PRES.SG.
 sobe su završene
 room-F.PL.ACC. be- PRES.3.SG. complete- PRES.3.F.PL.
 prošle nedelje.
 last-ADJ. week-F.SG.
 “*The sketch which shows the rooms was completed last week.”

11. *Knjiga koja analizira
 book-F.SG.NOM. which- PRO.F.SG. analyze-PRES.SG.
 bajke su predstavljene
 fairy-tale- F.PL.ACC. be- PRES.3.SG. showcase- PRES.3.F.PL.
 na sajmu.
 at-PREP. fair-M.SG.
 “*The books which analyses fairy tales were showcased at the fair.”

12. *Osiguranje koje pokriva
 insurance-N.SG.NOM. which-PRO.N.SG. cover-PRES.SG.
 putovanja su rasprodata veoma
 trip-N.PL.ACC. be-PRES.3.SG. sell out- PRES.3.F.PL. very-ADV.

brzo

fast-ADJ.

“*The insurance which covers the trip were sold out very fast.”

13. Ključ za sefove je

key-F.SG.NOM. for- PREP. safe- M.PL.ACC. be- PRES.3.SG.

skriven u podrumu.

hide- PTCP.PST.M.SG. in- PREP. basement-M.SG.

“The key to the safe is hidden in the basement.”

14. Šraf za motore

screw- M.SG.NOM. for- PREP. motorcycle- M.PL.ACC.

je naručen prošle nedelje.

be- PRES.3.SG. order- PTCP.PST.M.SG. last-ADJ. week-F.SG.

“The screw for the motorcycles was ordered last week.”

15. Ram za crteže

frame- M.SG.NOM. for- PREP. picture- M.PL.ACC.

je išaran tokom

be- PRES.3.SG. color- PTCP.PST.M.SG. during-PREP.

časa.

class-M.SG.

“The frame for pictures was colored during class.”

16. *Prozor uz radijatore

window- M.SG.NOM. next to- PREP. radiator- M.PL.ACC.

su prefarbani pre

be- PRES.3.SG. paint over- PRES.3.M.PL. before-ADV.

useljenja.

moving-N.SG.

“*The window next to the radiators were painted over before moving in.”

17. Punjač za telefone

charger- M.SG.NOM. for- PREP. phone- M.PL.ACC.

su ukradeni iz kofera.

be-PRES.3.SG. steal-PRES.3.M.PL. from-PREP. suitcase-M.SG.

“*The charger for the phones were stolen from the suitcase.”

18. *Lanac za bicikle

chain- M.SG.NOM. for- PREP. bicycle- M.PL.ACC.

su nađeni u tržišnom centru.

be- PRES.3.SG. find-PRES.3.M.PL. in-PREP. mall-M.SG.

“*The chain for the bicycles were found in the mall.”

19. Poster koji najavljuje

poster- M.SG.NOM. which-PRO.M.SG. announce-PRES.SG.

koncerte je okačen

concert- M.PL.ACC. be-PRES.3.SG. hang- PTCP.PST.SG.

na vratima.

on- PREP. door-F.SG.

“The poster which announces the concerts is hung up on the door.”

20. Ormar koji prekriva

closet- M.SG.NOM. which- PROM.SG. cover-PRES.SG.

zidove je išmirglan

wall- M.PL.ACC. be- PRES.3.SG. polish- PTCP.PST.M.SG.

tokom dana.

during-PREP. day-M.SG.

“The closet which covers the walls was polished during the day.”

21. Otirač koji prekriva
 doormat-M.SG.NOM. which- PRO.M.SG. COVER-PRES.SG.
 parkete je isprljan
 floor-M.PL.ACC. be-PRES.3.SG. dirty-PTCP.PST.M.SG.
 tokom selidbe.
 during-PREP. moving out-F.SG.

“The doormat which covered the floors was dirtied during moving.”

22. *Časopis koji sadrži
 magazine-M.SG.NOM. which-PRO.M.SG. have-PRES.SG.
 kupone su iscepani
 coupon-M.PL.ACC. be- PRES.3.SG. rip-PRES.3.M.PL.
 pred prodavnicom.
 in front of-PREP. store-F.SG.

“*The magazine which has coupons was ripped up in from the store.”

23. *Suncobran koji zaklanja
 parasol-M.SG.NOM. which- PRO.M.SG. COVER-PRES.SG.
 peškire su izbledeli
 towel- M.PL.ACC. be- PRES.3.SG. fade-- PRES.3.M.PL.
 tokom godina.
 during-PREP. year-F.SG.

“*The parasol covering the towels faded out during the years.”

24. *Aparat koji pravi
 device- M.SG.NOM. which- PRO.M.SG. make-PRES.SG.

čajeve su sklopljeni
 tea- M.PL.ACC. be- PRES.3.SG. assemble- PRES.3.M.PL.
 bez uputstva.
 without- PREP. instruction-NOUN

“*The tea maker were assembled without instructions.”

Filler sentences

1. Ručka za šporet je
 handle-F.SG. for-PREP. stove-M.SG. be- PRES.3.SG.
 pokvarena kasno sinoć.
 brake- PRES.3.F.SG. late-ADV. last night-ADV.
 “The stove handle was broken late last night.”
2. Klupa uz bazen je
 bench-F.SG. next to- -PREP. pool- -M.SG. be-PRES.3.SG.
 uništena zbog osvete.
 destroy- PRES.3.F.SG. because-CONJ. revenge-F.SG.
 “The bench next to the pool was destroyed out of revenge.”
3. Narukvica sa priveskom je
 bracelet-F.SG. with- -PREP. charm- -M.SG. be-PRES.3.SG.
 uručena slavljenici.
 give- PRES.3.F.SG. birthday girl-F.SG.
 “The bracelet with a charm was given to the birthday girl.”
4. *Pošiljka za rođendan je
 package-F.SG. for- -PREP. birthday- -M.SG. be-PRES.3.SG.
 kasnio nekoliko dana.
 late- PRES.3.M.SG. several-ADJ. day-M.PL.
 “*The birthday package was several days late.”
5. *Činija za doručak je

bowl-F.SG. for-PREP. breakfast-M.SG. be-PRES.3.SG.

kupljen na buvljaku.

buy-PRES.3.M.SG. on-PREP. flea market-M.SG.

“*The breakfast bowl was bought at a flea market. “

6. *Koverta uz paket je

envelop-F.SG. next to-PREP. package-M.SG. be-PRES.3.SG.

ostao u vreći.

leave-PRES.3.M.SG. in-PREP. bag-F.SG.

“*The envelope that came with the package was left in the bag.”

7. Saksija koja drži kaktus

pot-F.SG. which-PRO.F.SG. hold-PRES.SG. cactus-M.SG.

je napukla po sredini.

be-PRES.3.SG. break-PRES.3.F.SG. in-PREP. middle-F.SG.

“The pot which holds the cactus is broken across the middle.”

8. Žalba koja sadrži

complaint-F.SG. which-PRO.F.SG. contain-PRES.SG.

potpis je odbačena

signature-M.SG. be-PRES.3.SG. dismiss-PRES.3.F.SG.

zbog nepravilnosti.

because-CONJ. irregularity-F.PL.

“The complaint containing the signatures was dismissed because of irregularities.”

9. Suknja koja doseže pod

10. skirt-F.SG. which-PRO.F.SG. reach-PRES.SG. floor-M.SG.

je dozvoljena u školi.

be-PRES.3.SG. allow-PRES.3.F.SG. in-PREP. school-F.SG.

“A skirt which reaches the floor is allowed in school.”

11. *Krpа koja pokriva kolač
 cloth- F.SG. which- PRO.F.SG. cover- PRES.SG. cake--M.SG.
 je pocrneo.
 be-PRES.3.SG. become black- PRES.3.F.SG.

“*The cloth covering the cake turned black.”

12. *Gumica koja briše mastilo
 rubber- F.SG. which- PRO.F.SG. erase-PRES.SG. ink--N.SG.
 je zabranjeno na fakultetu.
 be-PRES.3.SG. forbid- PRES.3.N.SG. on--PREP. faculty-M.SG.

“*Rubber which erases ink is forbidden at university.”

13. *Igla koja probada pamuk
 needle- F.SG. which- PRO.F.SG. pierce-PRES.SG.
 pamuk je ispala
 cotton--M.SG. be- PRES.3.SG. fall out- PRES.3.F.SG.
 iz kutije
 from-PREP. box-F.SG.

“*The needle which can pierce through cotton fell out of the box.”

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UDC: 821.133.1:: 821.111(73).09-31 Federman R.
10.19090/gff.v48i3.2395
Original research paper

NOSTALGIA FOR WHAT NEVER WAS: SILENCE, ABSENCE AND HISTORICAL ERASURE IN RAYMOND FEDERMAN'S THE TWOFOLD VIBRATION^{†}**

Raymond Federman was a French-American Jewish writer whose works embodied postmodern literary tendencies of the time. His tragic experience with the Holocaust greatly influenced his worldview, leading to the creation of a unique literary theory and style of writing. His works show a defiant stance against the imposed literary norms of the previous decades with central themes being those of absence, loss, historical manipulation and erasure, cancellation and ultimately, silence. His novel *The Twofold Vibration*, however, adds an additional element to his literary opera – that of nostalgia. It being Federman, that nostalgia does not necessarily refer to actual times past, but to a hypothetical past, a what-could've-been. In this novel, Federman displaces this particular feeling of sorrow for something that was not allowed to happen. In this novel, Federman explores the concepts of silence, absence, historical erasure and nostalgia in the aftermath of historical atrocities. One could say that it was in this novel where Federman masterfully manages to make his readers feel nostalgic for a vision of the past. This paper aims to recognize the intricate and subtle application of different language devices Federman used to establish these themes and will also deal with specific instances of the appearance of these themes in the novel. Finally, the author hopes to demonstrate how skillfully Federman managed to convey the strength of an everlasting emotional burden behind these themes.

Keywords: nostalgia, silence, absence, erasure, history, Holocaust

INTRODUCTION

There are many adjectives with which one could describe the fiction of Raymond Federman, ranging from difficult, incoherent, non-sequitur and illegible even, to fascinating, original and unique, yet rare are those who would venture to call it nostalgic. Yet it is precisely the overwhelming feeling of nostalgia, which is encapsulated, though in different degrees, in all of his novels. Being a survivor of the

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** The paper was presented at THE 6TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND ANGLOPHONE LITERATURES TODAY, held in Novi Sad, October 29-30, 2022.

Holocaust, an immigrant forced out of his native land by the burden of the memories of those he had lost, “lost in translation” in a country whose language he did not speak at first, Raymond Federman masterfully managed to sew his feelings, both good and bad, into his novels, including the feelings of nostalgia, grief and guilt. That guilt, the guilt of having survived, may even be deemed a driving force behind his writing, especially the early novels. As Federman himself said, in his last novel *Shhh: The story of a childhood*:

I have written all of that for her [his mother] in order to decode the great silence she imposed on me with her CHUT¹. My duty, if I must have one, is to fill the whole of absence that my mother dug into me. My duty is to render her absence present. And thus give a little dignity to those whose lives were humiliated. (2010: 341)

At the beginning of every impulse to write, there is a central agonizing event, and to write is to acknowledge this event (McCaffery et al., 1998: 362). Nothing could be more true for the works of Raymond Federman than this statement. In all of his works, criticism included, there is without exception the mention of the most tragic event in his life – the loss of his entire family in one night. On the morning of July 16th, 1942, in Paris, during an event now known as *La Rafle d’Hiver*, the police stormed the building in which Raymond Federman lived with his family – mother, father and two sisters – and took them away by force. The only reason he survived was because his mother pushed him into a broom closet and told him to be silent (“CHUT!”). His family was later killed in Auschwitz. This devastating loss for the then 13-year-old Raymond Federman would carve itself into all aspects of his life and fiction and will always be referred to in Federman’s works through the symbol “X-X-X-X”, marking the absence of his parents and sisters.

It is impossible to delve into the works of Raymond Federman without acknowledging the importance of this central event of his youth, which will become the central absence defining his early fiction. However, even though he undoubtedly writes about his own experience as a survivor of the Holocaust, Federman’s writing does not fit the mould of traditional Holocaust writing and his contribution to Holocaust literature is a category of its own (DiLeo, 2011: 18).

Federman’s first five novels, which also make up the exemplary set for his *surfiction*, a term he coined referring to “the kind of fiction that tries to explore the possibilities of fiction beyond its own limitations, [...] which exposes the fictionality of reality” (Federman 1993: 37), are explorations of Federman’s past and in a way

¹ Federman intentionally left this in the original language, French, since it is the language in which his mother spoke and told him this. The capitalization is also his.

represent his confrontation with all the events in his life that took place following the murder of his family and his departure for the United States, aged 19. Out of the five books, the one which stands out the most in terms of coherence and organization, as well as the overt references to the Holocaust and the camps is the novel *The Twofold Vibration*.

This novel is Federman's fifth novel, published in 1982. The very title of the novel was taken from a Samuel Beckett² novel called "The Lost Ones". It is a mixture of the science-fiction genre and historical writing, with an overarching autobiographical narrative. The protagonist of the novel is a man simply called *Old Man* who himself is an amalgamate representation of the personalities of Federman, Samuel Beckett, Federman's father and other figures (McCaffery et al., 1998: 364). The other three characters in the novel are Namredef and Moinous³ and Federman, the narrator of the novel (to be distinguished from the real Federman, the author). The "adventures" of the Old Man and the events described in the novel, carry an unignorable similarity to the events which happened in the life of Raymond Federman himself, though for Federman this is a matter of no consequence since he made no distinction between the stories he wrote and the life he lived (McCaffery–Hartl, & Rice, 1998: 328). To use his words: "There is no story... My life is the story. The story is my life." (LeClair, McCaffery, 1988: 148).

The central story of the novel takes place exactly on December 31, 1999, with the Old Man and his dog waiting at the departure gate, to be deported into space. This is done to people who are no longer considered useful or necessary in that society and is thus a way of "removing" them from it. However, it can also be a kind of punishment for something the person had done and which is looked upon as inappropriate, offensive or simply illegal, or otherwise forbidden. Namredef and Moinous desperately try to save the Old Man, either by talking to the authorities or pleading with him to tell them what was it that he had done to earn him the punishment of deportation, yet no answer is provided. The descriptions of their

² Samuel Beckett is an extremely important influence in the life and work of Raymond Federman. Federman wrote his PhD dissertation called *Journey to Chaos: Samuel Beckett's Early Fiction*, on Beckett, and he also considered him his "spiritual father" (McCaffery et al., 1998: 341). The two were good friends and Federman would often travel to visit Beckett in Paris. Apart from his thesis, Federman wrote numerous essays on Beckett and was the co-author of one the best studies of the work of Samuel Beckett – *Samuel Beckett: The Critical Heritage*.

³ Federman's literary alter egos. Namredef is "Federman" spelled backwards, whereas Moinous is an important and frequent alter-ego which first appeared in Federman's novel "Take It or Leave It". The name Moinous is a combination of the pronouns "me" and "us" in French.

attempts to talk to the Old Man and to try to talk to the authorities are constantly interrupted with the episodes from the Old Man's life, as described by Namredef and Moinous to Federman, the narrator. These include the Old Man's gambling sprees in Germany, a short love affair with June Fanon (Jane Fonda in the original version, changed at the behest of the publisher), a university protest and the central scene of the Old Man's visit to Dachau. However, in the end, subverting all the pre-set expectations and against all odds, the Old Man is not deported and is the only one left at the departure gate. Thus, the question of "why is he there, what has he done to deserve this" from the beginning of the novel, turns into the "why was he spared, how did he survive" (McCaffery et al., 1998: 365). Much like Federman himself, the Old Man was given an "excess of life" (Federman, 1993: 95) as well as the burden of never knowing *why* he was the one granted it.

The Twofold Vibration is a complex novel which, even though it deals with the Holocaust, is not a book *about* the Holocaust. Rather, it is a book which talks about what it means to live/survive in the post-Holocaust era (McCaffery et al., 1998: 361).

SILENCE, ABSENCE AND HISTORICAL ERASURE IN RAYMOND FEDERMAN'S *THE TWOFOLD VIBRATION*

The premise of *The Twofold Vibration* is a glaring reference to the deportation of Jews to the Nazi camps, as well as Federman's own survival story, but it is neither limited to nor by that. In the novel, which may be considered his "first book of answers", following the previous "novels of questions" (Abádi – Nagy, 2002: 140), the narrator "pre-re-members" the past of his protagonist (McCaffery et al., 1998: 364) since the book deals with the future and the past in a rather indistinguishable manner. The two are set on equal planes, almost as if they were happening simultaneously. This form of temporal dislocation allowed for Federman to create a form of distortion of the past, changing the historical narrative without being in any way subject to historical accuracy and truthfulness. This corresponds to Roland Barthes' concept of historical discourse being "a form of ideological elaboration, an imaginary elaboration [...] and thus historical memory easily lends itself to forgery and false or at least *subjective* projections" (Rudaitytė, 2018: Foreword). This is why the subversion of "real" events and "real" historical facts from the collective past may be considered a form of historical erasure in the novel, though they do serve the purpose of accentuating and reinforcing the "realness" of the events themselves.

Another overt reference is when, while describing the Old Man, Federman states that he is also “of Jewish origin on top of that, not that this fact makes much difference here, not at all⁴” (Federman, 1982: 6). It is obvious, of course, that the fact that he is Jewish is extremely important, or at least it would be in the “real” historical sequence of events. Also, the date of birth, May 15th 1918, of the Old Man, coincides with Federman’s birthday (both the narrator and the author), as well as Federman’s father (narrator’s), while the colonies were set up in 1994, a comparison emphasised by Federman himself: “no I don’t think it too obvious, or too soon, there is nothing symbolic, nothing premature in that date, don’t start making all sorts of literary connections” (Federman, 1982: 10). The connection which could easily be drawn between the numbers 1994 and 1944 is obvious in this instance. This “playing” with history, which is very typical of Federman, can be perceived as a mechanism to accentuate the real and the factual, to draw attention to the actual historical events that *did* take place, by subverting them. In the next paragraph, the narrator says: “after all history, as a friend once wrote, is a dream already dreamt and destroyed” (*ibid.*).

In the following paragraphs, Federman goes on to explain how he could change the timeline of the novel, set it either deeper in the past or even further in the future, but that he prefers not to. He also touches directly on the question of the Holocaust and says:

that’s an important item which must never be forgotten, yes my old man⁵ was there, he experienced the Holocaust, that beautifully sad affair for art as it was once called, in a way he was a survivor, an escapee⁶, way back then, he endured that humiliating experience and somehow managed to survive it, by extension one might say, and that’s crucial to our story, I think (Federman, 1982: 12)

Again, a parallel between the events which are to be described and the deportation to the camps is brought into focus by the narrator himself, in an attempt to make distance the plot of the current story from the historical narrative. Later on, however, we find out that the Old Man spent four years in a concentration camp during the war, which is not true for any of the members of Federman’s family, nor himself.

⁴ Original punctuation and orthography kept. This will be the rule for all subsequent quotations.

⁵ Here it is, probably purposefully, left in small letters, indicating that it may not be a name in this particular instance, and could, thus, refer to Federman’s real “old man” i.e., his father.

⁶ Now, on the other hand, it is clear that he is talking about himself.

An event which did take place in Federman's life were the university demonstrations against the war in Vietnam where Federman participated as the only full-time professor. He was arrested, along with 44 other members of staff and protestant, and they will be called the Buffalo 45. Just like him, the Old Man was also arrested, was a part of the Buffalo 45, but unlike him, Federman did not meet Jane Fonda at the demonstrations, nor did he run away with her and have a love affair. This is another example of the blatant overlap of historical fact and fiction, in which the truth of both events is equally questionable, but just as much equally valid, making it difficult to distinguish fact from fiction.

Another instance would be when the narrator claims that the Old Man experienced the Italian Revolution (which historically happened in 1848) and the burning of the Vatican (which never happened) in 1989. He continues to state that the Old Man witnessed the Pope's death, being burned alive in the fire on the roof of St. Peter, which of course did not happen, but it may refer to the bombing of the basilica in 1944, during WWII. This is another example of Federman's alterations of historical facts, where the temporal placement of characters (the Old Man was born in 1918, making it impossible to witness the Italian Revolution) and events is fluid and subject to no standard of historical factuality. Thus, the very historical reality of these events is erased, since in the universe of the novel, their existence is not denied, but the facts surrounding them are altered to the point of unrecognition.

Nevertheless, it is not the past events only which are being altered and erased, it is the future ones as well. By setting future events which have not yet happened (for example, the first baby born in space, a joint Russian - American venture, artificial fruits, etc.) into a past already lived, these events are deleted *a priori* and retroactively, at the same time.

A very important episode in the novel is the Old Man's visit to Dachau, one of the deadliest death camps in Nazi Germany. In it, the Old Man finds himself with a group of people in Dachau, which looks more like a museum than what it actually was, this being a form of historical erasure in itself. There the Old Man takes a special interest in one of the pictures on the wall, a little boy wearing an oversized coat with a yellow star on it, and he is not sure whether it is him in the photograph. Here we have another clash of historical fact and fiction, but also an incongruity within the story itself. First of all, if the Old Man was born in 1918, he would have been over 20 years old during WWII, which immediately makes it impossible for him to be the little boy in the picture: "for a moment I thought it was a picture of me" (Federman, 1982: 100). However, since the Old Man and Federman (author) share a history, it is paradoxically possible for him to in fact be that boy, considering that that is how

Federman emerged from the closet at 13 years old – in his father’s coat with a yellow star on it. Again, several historical accounts clash, making it hard to discern which one was the *real* one, making all of them *a priori* true, or *a priori* false, depending on the stance.

Another flagrant example of historical erasure exemplified within the scene itself is when they come across a room with photographs from which the face of Adolf Hitler had been erased: “there were many photographs of Hitler where the face had been cut out, scratched out, mutilated with a knife or a sharp object in futile gestures of anger” (Federman, 1982: 99). Whether this is in fact true, and there are photographs like this in Dachau is unsure, but it is a very potent illustration of the need for and drive towards historical erasure, yet also a proof of its impossibility, since the existence of those holes in the photographs only points more assertively to what was once there.

Moreover, this is the only scene in the novel which is interrupted only once, for the Old Man to say his (Federman’s) story about how he escaped being caught by German soldiers. This very interjection cancels everything said before, since that is the story of the Old Man’s escape, yet we know that he had been in the camps, spent 4 years there in fact. Hence, once again, we have a subversion of expectations and erasure of historical fact by making it ambiguous.

Furthermore, it is during the trip to Dachau and in the camp itself where the Old Man divulges a bit more about his family and the tragedy that befell it. When it comes to telling this story, Federman is very consistent in all of his novels, altering it minimally. The first mention of the Old Man’s family was at the very beginning, when he talks about the harsh conditions in which his family lived “before they were exterminated [...] x-x-x-x out, is how he always put it” (Federman, 1982: 8). The symbol “x-x-x-x” used to describe the absence of this family members is a very powerful and memorable reminder of their fates. As Walsh (1992, 80) points out: “The remembered dead are undoubtedly one of the most conspicuously absent yet still present forces in our lives”. This absence, however, is viewed also in the physical form of how the pages of the novel are made. There are unusually large gaps between paragraphs, “empty”, unused space, which Bruce Kawin regards as “attempts to replicate real and inescapable limits of human experience beyond which we cannot see” (Walsh, 1992: 77). He goes on to explain that “gaps and silences function as the principal means by which the limitations of human consciousness are encoded” (*ibid.*). In the case of Federman, it is precisely that what is absent that should be given most attention to, because the central theme of his prose is absence (Federman, 1993: 86).

Just like Federman uses silence in his works, the Old Man also does not speak about many things from his past. He is known to be extremely reticent about the matters of his tragedy and subsequent survival, except for the rare occasions when he does share some stories. However, the truthfulness of what he says must always be doubted, since, as he says, “words lie only to those who are haunted by the truth of the words” (Federman, 1982: 63). And since it is his stories that Namredef and Moinous later tell Federman the narrator, one must assume that his narrative is not to be trusted either. In his words: “fiction is merely the reshaping of old truths into lies or vice versa” (Federman, 1982: 70).

What is also notably absent from the novel and the story are the Old Man’s emotions about being deported. All the while we are familiar with the plight expressed by Namredef and Moinous, attempting to save him, yet his own stance on the matter remains unknown until the very end. The only indication of his possible feelings is given in the beginning of the novel where the Old Man says: “I am a survivor, my death is behind me” (Federman, 1982: 50). At the very end of the novel, once we have realized that the Old Man will not be deported, Federman the narrator and Federman the author talk to each other, and it is there that we find out that another thing that will be absent from the novel is its proper conclusion:

That’s it, I say, that’s the whole story, you mean to say you don’t even know what happened to the old man, where he went, what they did with him, after all that, after all we’ve gone through, the days, the weeks, months of probing, questioning, worrying, agonizing over the old man’s fate, that’s all you have to say, I look at Namredef and Moinous, they are still sitting on the sofa in my study, I cannot tell if it is fear or happiness I see in their eyes (Federman, 1982: 174)

NOSTALGIA IN *THE TWOFOLD VIBRATION*

Even though it may not be as conspicuous as the other elements in the novel, such as historical erasure, silence and absence, the overwhelming feeling of nostalgia is asserted precisely through those strategies. Through the retelling of the anecdotes from his life, be they real or imaginary, Federman transfers onto his readers his own feelings and emotions embedded within them. By altering the official versions of historical events, he gave us a glimpse into his own world view and imagination, into how he might have felt during certain events which had taken place in his life, or how he had imagined they would unfold.

At the core of the feeling of nostalgia is a certain lamentation, a yearning for something (Andersson, 2011: 13) which may not necessarily be plausible. It can also be defined as a yearning for an idealized past or as a mechanism for soothing the

feeling of loss (Andersson, 2011: 15, 17) both of which are present in *The Twofold Vibration*. By saying that his death is behind him, yet changing the circumstances of his survival, followed by a failed suicide attempt⁷, the Old Man is expressing nostalgia for his own demise, a yearning for that whose absence made him a survivor, but neither willingly nor knowing why. Not only that, throughout the novel, we see no emotional investment, except when he talks about his past, especially his account of what that past was. Since it is safe to assume that his accounts of his own past may not be entirely true, we can say that it through those stories that he expresses the biggest yearning, thus the biggest nostalgia, for something which only might have been.

Perhaps the best example of this is an exchange he had with one of his lovers: “I mean how do you live without a past, well you manage to survive anyhow, to fake it, fictitiously, extemporaneously, not as revenant, but as devenant, by projecting yourself ahead of yourself” (Federman, 1982: 50).

CONCLUSION

The Twofold Vibration is a novel which, at its core, has one of the most traumatizing events of Federman’s life and as such represents a rare account of Federman’s own emotions towards it as well as relationship with it. Federman stated that much of his writing stemmed from the aloneness, the fear and the apprehension of coming out of the closet and confronting the world (Abádi – Nagy, 2002: 142) and much of that is visible in *The Twofold Vibration*.

Through hypothesizing about what his past might have been like, or exploring different avenues through which certain events could have unfolded, Federman takes his readers through the corridors of his own nostalgic view of a past which never was, but may have been, and obviously could be in a fictitious realm. If it is possible to change a life story, to change the timeline and even the sequence of past events in a life, it may also be possible to go back in history and revisit or re-live certain moments. Nostalgia is the mechanism for most people to go back in time and do that, thorough their thoughts and memories. For Federman, his nostalgia became fiction.

⁷ After returning from Dachau and a failed gambling bout, the Old Man tried to hang himself in his hotel room, but the chandelier fell off the ceiling and the Old Man, disgruntled, was helped up by some people who had heard the noise. In a fit of despair, he shouted: “Goddammit, I can’t even die in this fucking country, no, they won’t let me die here” (Federman, 1982: 111).

Marija Đorđević

NOSTALGIJA ZA NEČIM ČEGA NIKAD NIJE BILO: TIŠINA, ODSUSTVO I
BRISANJE ISTORIJE U ROMANU *DVOJAKA VIBRACIJA* REJMONDA FEDERMANA

Rezime

Roman *Dvojaka vibracija*, francusko-američkog postmodernog autora Rejmonda Federmana je jedan od primera prisustva nostalgije u njegovoj prozi, najviše kroz korišćenje motiva tišine, odsustva i brisanja istorije. Kao pravi predstavnik američkog postmodernizma, Rejmond Federman je u svojoj prozi koristio i motive i strategije pisanje koje su smatrane eksperimentalnim, čak i za jednog postmodernistu, ali u ovom romanu, iako ne odstupa od svojih principa pisanja, ipak pruža narativ napisan na način koji pokazuje određenu zrelost u pisanju, ali i samom pristupu temi koju obrađuje. Roman *Dvojaka vibracija* kao centralnu temu ima Holokaust, ali nije knjiga o Holokaustu, već bi se pre mogla opisati kao ekploracija pitanja života i prošlosti onoga koji preživi veliku tragediju. Prvi deo rada daje opšti uvod u sam roman, kao i kratke relevantne biografske podatke o piscu. Drugi deo obrađuje motive tišine, odsustva i brisanja istorije kroz konkretne primere u delu, dok treći deo to zaokružuje kroz prizmu nostalgije. Na kraju, u zaključku autor daje svoja završna razmatranja i komentare.

Ključne reči: nostalgija, tišina, odsustvo, brisanje, istorija, Holokaust

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UDC: 821.111(73)'255.4=163.41 Salinger J. D.
81'25
DOI: 10.19090/gff.v48i3.2380
Original research paper

RETRANSLATIONS OF *THE CATCHER IN THE RYE* INTO SERBIAN (1979-1995) REVISITED: REFLECTIONS ON THE CHANGING NORMS AND TRANSLATORS' AGENCIES**

The paper relates the renderings of teenage vernacular in the four translations of J. D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye* in Yugoslavia (1958, 1979, 1987) and Serbia (1995) (Eraković 2002) to the wider cultural factors present at the time of each (re)translation. Retranslation is approached as a phenomenon that is shaped by a variety of factors in a particular historical context. In this case, the factors include the development of the *jeans prose* literary genre in Yugoslavia, different publishing policies and practices during the 1970s and 1990s in Serbia, political contexts surrounding the publications of the four translations, and the translators' agencies. The translators' agencies are deduced from paratexts (the third translator's published commentary and interviews), the differences between the versions of the teenage vernacular in the two translations (1979 and 1987) by the second translator, and a comparative analysis of the global strategies applied in the (re)translations. It is argued that the first translation (1958) predominantly complied with the target literary tradition regarding the acceptability of nonstandard language varieties in a literary work, whereas the following three show evidence of competing translators' agencies in addition to changing publishing policies, which came as consequences of major societal changes.

Keywords: Retranslation, teenage vernacular, historical context, translator agency, jeans prose

INTRODUCTION

Within the Descriptive Translation Studies approach, translations are understood as “facts of a target culture” (Toury 1995: 23), i.e. that they are influenced and constrained by the target context. The discussion in this paper builds on the results of the comparative study (Eraković 2002) of the differences in the dominant strategies in the transferring of the teenage vernacular in the four translations of Jerome David Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*, which were published in Sarajevo

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** The paper was presented at the ELALT 6 conference in 2022.

in 1958 and in Belgrade in 1979, 1987 and 1995. More specifically, the notable differences between the translators' choices are seen as related to the interplay of factors from wider cultural, economic and political contexts that were present at the time. The first of these factors is related to the changing identity of the target language. Within the span of the 37 years between the first and the last of the four translations of Salinger's novel, the target language changed its official status and name from the Bosnian variety of Serbo-Croatian (1958), to Serbo-Croatian (1979, 1987) and Serbian (1995). Since retranslation is defined as a later translation of a single work into the *same* target language (Koskinen and Paloposki 2010: 294), it is necessary to address the rationale concerning the sameness of the target language, in order to justify the choice of the retranslations that are compared.

Depending on whether (re)translations have the same or different audiences, they can be active (the same audience) or passive (different audiences) (Pym1998:82). The first translation was done into the Bosnian variety of Serbo-Croatian by Nikola Kršić and was published in 1958 in Sarajevo. It was intended for all readers in former Yugoslavia¹. In 1978, this first translation was revised into the Croatian variety and republished in Zagreb². Soon after, in 1979 in Belgrade, it was followed by a new translation into the Serbian variety of Serbo-Croatian by Dragoslav Andrić. In 1987, Andrić published a revised version of his retranslation. Finally, in 1995 the novel was retranslated in Belgrade for the third time, by Flavio Rigonat. Three years later, in 1998, Kršić's translation underwent another revision into Croatian, which was published in Zagreb. It is therefore safe to conclude that the revised translations published in Zagreb and the retranslations published in Belgrade were not intended for the same audience, although all were comprehensible for the speakers of both Croatian and Serbian varieties of Serbo-Croatian. Defined by the criteria of audience, active (re)translations for our purposes are those published in Sarajevo (1958) and Belgrade (1979, 1987, 1995).

There are also translational reasons to treat the Sarajevo translation as the predecessor for later Belgrade translations. The third translator, Rigonat (1995)

¹ In Yugoslavia, Serbo-Croatian was considered a polycentric language with four varieties: Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian and Montenegrin. By some data it was spoken by 73% of the people (Požgaj Hadži 2014: 49). The first translations into Macedonian and Slovenian (Bratož 2004:97) were published in 1966, so the 1958 translation was also read by Slovenes and Macedonians, because Serbo-Croatian was taught in all schools in Yugoslavia.

² In 1978 Kršić's translation was republished by Znanje and in 1998 by ABC naklada (both in Zagreb). Although both were edited by T. Dobričević, they are not identical – each edition adheres to the current Croatian language norm more closely than the previous one.

explicitly mentions the Sarajevo translation as the first translation of Salinger's novel in the Afterward to his retranslation from 1995. In addition, as we will show later, the global strategy applied by the second translator (Andrić 1979/1987), is in contrast to the dominant strategy in the 1958 translation – which is an example of what Koskinen and Paloposki (2015: 27) consider a necessary condition for a retranslator: assuming a stance toward the first translator.

THE RETRANSLATION STUDIES

Research on retranslations is said to have been stimulated by the Retranslation Hypothesis (RH), which was first formulated by Chesterman in a series of statements that served to exemplify explanatory and predictive hypotheses in translation studies as a field of enquiry. He worded the explanatory hypothesis in the following way:

Retranslations tend to be closer to their original texts than first translations because:

- later translators take a critical stance to the earlier translation, seek to improve on it
- the existence of the earlier translation in the target culture affects the potential reception of the new one, and the translator knows this
- the target language has developed and allows the translator more freedom of movement
- T[arget]C[ulture] translation norms have become more relaxed, allowing a closer link to the source text.

Chesterman (2000: 24-25)

Chesterman then goes on to derive a predictive hypothesis, formulating it as “Later translations of a given text will be found to be closer than earlier ones” (2000:25). Chesterman formulated these hypotheses as paraphrases of Bensimon's and Berman's views published in the special edition of the journal *Palimpsestes* on retranslation in 1990³. Later research on retranslations moved away from the RH as being too narrow to explain this phenomenon, finding that retranslations can be conditioned by a variety of factors. Further along this vein, Paloposki and Koskinen's research in the Finnish context shows that near simultaneous translations may appear because translators and publishers are not aware that other may be at the same task

³ Chesterman's formulation of Berman's and Bensimon's views has recently been discussed in great detail by Peeters and Poucke (2023: 6), who claim that the ideas expressed in RH are actually solely Bensimon's. Due to space limitations, we forego this question from our discussion. The RH has also been reviewed in greater detail by Tahir Gürçağlar (2009), Koskinen and Paloposki (2010) and Deane-Cox (2104: 3-4), among others.

(2010:35), but also that there can be other, marketing reasons (retranslations attract attention), or because different publishers have different profiles in different times. Expectations of the audience have also been found as an influential contextual factor (Koskinen and Paloposki 2010:33). In summarizing previous studies on retranslation, Deane-Cox (2014:2-12) identifies four major causes for retranslations: target norms, ideologies, wider sociocultural context, agencies of translators and commissioners, including rivalry between translators (2014: 17). It will be shown that in the case of the four translations of *The Catcher in the Rye* in former Yugoslavia and Serbia, a similar interplay of factors can be identified.

METHODOLOGY

This study is not intended as a criticism of individual translations. Rather, it is based on the tenets of both descriptive studies and the polysystem theory, as interpreted by Chang, that the role of research is to explain and predict translational behaviour, as opposed to the role of criticism, which is an applied and norm-setting attempt to effect changes in the object of study (Chang 2011:257). In addition, this discussion builds on the previous (Eraković 2002) contrastive analysis of the techniques applied in the translation of teenage vernacular in the four translations and their examples, and relates the translators' approaches to the phenomena outside Salinger's novel.

The extent in which the teenage vernacular was recreated in the first and the second Serbo-Croatian translations (1958 and 1979) is first paralleled to the appearance of this type of language in the model of *jeans prose* (Flaker 1983) in the target literature during 1950s and 1970s. The model was conspicuous in its use of stylisations of urban language, so we draw on Flaker's conclusions regarding the acceptability of this type of language in the target literature. However, considering the order of appearance of this type of language in the works of writers such as Olujić (1963) and Kapor (1972) and writers/translators such as Kiš (1973), we suggest that in the case of the translators of *The Catcher*, the direction of influence may have been the opposite: from the target literature to the translators.

Translations can also be contextualized by means of paratexts, which are defined as (verbal or visual) materials that present a text to the readers, appearing either within the same volume as the text (such as forewords and afterwords) or outside it, in various interviews, conversations, even private communications (Genette 1997, 1-5). Our understanding of the agencies of the two (re)translators (Andrić and Rigonat) is based on the paratexts they left behind and their biographies. We find that these sources are relatable to the global strategy they applied in their

(re)translations. In the case of Andrić, we also consider his lexicographical work that predates his retranslation in 1979 – the first Serbian *Dictionary of Jargon* (1976).

With the passing of time, the teenage vernacular in *The Catcher in the Rye* may have lost some of its initial outrageousness because nonstandard speech has long been accepted on the pages of literary works. The readers in the decades when the four (re)translations appeared, however, were not equally accustomed to it – in the 1990s, the effect of nonstandard language in a literary work was not nearly as shocking as it had been in the 1950s or even the 1970s. Before we address the factors that influenced the translators, however, we begin with a reminder of the features of the main character's language in the novel, as described by the American literary scholar Donald Costello around the time of the novel's first appearance (1959).

FEATURES OF THE TEENAGE VERNACULAR OF THE 1950'S IN *THE CATCHER IN THE RYE*

One of the contentious features of Salinger's novel *The Catcher in the Rye* when it was published in 1951 was the language of the main character, Holden Caulfield, which imitated "the teenage vernacular of the 1950s" (Costello 1959:172). To support this judgment, Costello cites the reviews published in 1951 in some leading American and British papers: the *Atlantic*, the *Library Journal*, the *Guardian*, the *Nation*, the *New Statesman and Nation*, the *Times Book Review*, *Newsweek*, the *Spectator*, and *Time*. In all of these, the language of the novel is described as *authentic, daring, obscene, blasphemous, and with comic effect* (1959:173), so Costello proceeds to analyse how Salinger achieves this effect. He notes that Holden's speech is a stylization, marked by semantically empty expressions (*and all*), idiosyncratic insistences that what is being said is *really* true, direct address to the reader (*If you want to know the truth*), at times intentional use of incorrect grammar, all of which show that Holden is very much aware of his language (1959: 180). Costello lists the types of words that most attribute to the vernacular, citing some examples of vulgarities and obscenities such as *fuck* and *ass*, "divine" words such as *goddam, damn, for Chrissake, for Gods's sake, God, Jesus, Jesus Crist, hell* and "crude" words such as *sonuvabich* and *bastard*. He also counts a hundred slang terms with examples such as *crap, crazy*⁴, *kill* in various expressions such as *shoot the crap, that story drives me crazy or the story killed me*. The novel is also peppered with a limited number of repeated adjectives and adverbs such as *lousy, pretty, crumby, terrific, quite, old, stupid*, which are devoid of any specific meaning in the contexts

⁴ in its slang meanings.

in which they are used (1959:175-177), but which help achieve the desired effect. In combination with some original, idiosyncratic, “hilariously funny”, “dramatically effective” expressions, Costello says, Salinger achieves a “good comic effect” (1959: 178). Holden is an intelligent and well-read teenager and the reader can see this because Holden also uses a number of words that are above elementary English, such as “ostracized, exhibitionist, unscrupulous, conversationalist, psychic and bourgeois” (1959:179). Toward the end of his article, Costello summarizes the features of the language in *The Catcher in the Rye* in the following way: “[...] it is crude and slangy and imprecise, imitative yet occasionally imaginative, and affected toward standardization by the strong efforts of schools.” (1959:181).

From the day it was first published, *The Catcher of the Rye* has been enormously popular among readers worldwide. Simultaneously, however, it is also one of the most banned books in the US (Whitfield 1997: 574). According to the *Banned and Challenged* list of books created by The American Library Association (ALA), the most common reason cited is its “profanity” (ALA1, also West 2015, 2131). During the 1950s, the infamous McCarthy era, some censors in the USA even believed that “Holden’s filthy” words would somehow make students more susceptible to Marxist indoctrination (West 2015: 2131). Some critics in the 1950s found that the language of this novel was not just colloquial, but also “vulgar, blasphemous, obscene”, to the extent that it should be banned (ALA1). Such attempts subsided in the 1960s, to reappear again around 1978 and keep occurring until the 1990s with one or two censorship attempts every year, the main accusations again being targeted at the language, which “undermines family values” or is “anti-Christian” (West 2015: 2131).

Looking at how the status of the 297 identified informal words⁵ in the novel changed in the four decades from the 1950s to the 1990s, Eraković (2002:10) found that as much as 86% of them remained informal. This is further confirmed by the ALA list, which shows that the novel is still among the 10 most banned books because it contains “offensive language”, is “sexually explicit” and “unsuited to age group”, even in 2009 (ALA2).

The stylization of informal teenage vernacular is therefore very noticeable in the novel. Its function is to characterize Holden as a young man, but also voice an opposition to the traditional, conservative and hypocritical aspects of the American society after the WWII. Costello notes that Salinger uses standard language only for the characters who represent those parts of the society that Holden reacts against.

⁵ Their status was determined according to the *Dictionary of American Slang* (1960), *Random House Webster’s Dictionary* (1996) and *Microsoft World English Dictionary* (1999).

Whitfield (1997: 600) believes that what makes Holden memorable and the novel so distinctive is the “guileless integrity of his language”.

THE FEATURES OF THE TEENAGE VERNACULAR IN THE FOUR TRANSLATIONS

The linguistic analysis of the four translations of Salinger’s novel by Eraković (2002) shows that all translations meet the criteria of semantic transfer. They are all close translations, in the sense that there are no significant additions or omissions, except at the level of phrase and word order when it serves the purpose of achieving idiomatic expression in the target language. The translations, however, employ varying degrees of teenage vernacular. Comparing the number of sentences in the first chapter with an element of teenage vernacular (which are listed in Costello’s overview in the previous section) with the translations, it can be seen that the source text contains the greatest number of such elements (204), to be followed by Andrić 1979 (192), Andrić 1987 (183), Rigonat 1995 (108) and Kršić 1958 (85). A notable feature of the first translation (Kršić 1958) is that it closely follows the source text word order and choice of words, often decreasing the text’s informality, as in the following example:

Salinger 1951	One of those <u>little English jobs</u> that can <u>do</u> around two hundred miles an hour.
Kršić 1958	To su jedna od onih <u>malih engleskih kola</u> koja mogu da <u>razviju</u> oko dvije stotine milja na sat.

Kršić’s stylization of the vernacular also largely remains at the level of words: while Salinger uses contractions and short sentence structures to signal the informality, Kršić uses standard forms, and at times combines series of short sentences into one:

Salinger 1951	Maybe two guys. If that many.
Kršić 1958	Možda samo dvojicu, ako i toliko.

Andrić’s 1979 retranslation differs from the first translation in that it systematically localizes Holden’s narrative into Serbian (i.e. Belgrade) teenage vernacular of the 1970s. In the revised version of this retranslation in 1987, Andrić attenuates the jargon. The third translator’s retranslation from 1995 is generally syntactically closer to the original than both Andrić’s translations (Eraković 2002: 98), but there are more colloquial expressions than in the 1958 translation. This can

be illustrated by the following example from the beginning of the novel (all markers of the vernacular/informal language are underlined):

Salinger 1951	He wrote <u>this terrific</u> book of short stories, The Secret Goldfish, <u>in case you never heard of him</u> . The best one in it is “The Secret Goldfish.” It was about <u>this little kid</u> that wouldn’t let anybody look at his goldfish because <u>he’d</u> bought it with his own money. <u>It killed me</u> .
Kršić 1958	On je napisao onu <u>fantastičnu</u> zbirku pripovjedaka „Tajna zlatna ribica“ – ako za njega niste ranije čuli. Najbolja priča u njoj bila je upravo ta »Tajna zlatna ribica«. To je priča o jednom dječaku koji je posijedovao jednu zlatnu ribicu ali nije nikome dozvoljavao ni da je pogleda, zato što <u>ju je kupio za vlastiti novac</u> . Ta me je priča <u>obarala s nogu</u> .
Andrić 1979	Napisao je onu <u>krvišnu</u> knjigu pripovedaka, <i>Tajanstvena zlatna ribica</i> , ako niste znali. A <u>najmoćnija</u> priča u njoj je <i>Tajanstvena zlatna ribica</i> . O nekom <u>klinji</u> što nikome nije dao ni da <u>gvirne</u> na njegovu zlatnu ribicu jer <u>ju je kupio za sopstvenu lovu</u> . E, to me je stvarno <u>iseklo</u> .
Andrić 1987	Napisao je onu <u>strašnu</u> knjigu pripovedaka, <i>Tajanstvena zlatna ribica</i> , ako niste znali. A <u>najmoćnija</u> priča u njoj je <i>Tajanstvena zlatna ribica</i> . O nekom <u>klincu</u> što nikome nije dao ni da <u>gvirne</u> na njegovu zlatnu ribicu jer <u>ju je kupio za sopstvene pare</u> . E, to me je stvarno <u>iseklo</u> .
Rigonat 1995	Napisao je onu <u>fenomenalnu</u> knjigu priča <i>Tajna zlatna ribica</i> , ako slučajno niste čuli za njega. Najbolja priča u njoj je baš "Tajna zlatna ribica": o nekom <u>klincu</u> koji ne da nikome da vidi njegovu zlatnu ribicu jer <u>ju je kupio za svoj novac</u> . Stvarno <u>me oborila</u> .

Paloposki and Koskinen (2010:37) point out that not all subsequent translations are necessarily retranslations, even if done by different translators, because some may be just slightly revised versions. They define revision as an edited, corrected or modernized version of a previous translation (2010: 294). Chesterman (2000: 22) similarly formulated this difference between a retranslation and a revision as a change of focus: while revisions focus on the previous translations, retranslations focus on the original. The second translation (Andrić 1979) is easily identifiable as a retranslation, because the differences introduced in relation to the 1958 translation are not only at the level of word units, but are more global. The vernacular Andrić created is coherent throughout the novel and it imitates the Belgrade teenage vernacular of the 1970s above the word level.

Salinger 1951	<u>They're</u> quite touchy about anything like that, especially my father.	It cost him <u>damn</u> near four thousand <u>bucks</u> .	Now <u>he's</u> out in Hollywood, D.B., being a prostitute.
Kršić 1958	Oni su prilično osjetljivi u tim i takvim stvarima, naročito moj otac.	Koštala su ga <u>prokleta</u> , blizu četiri hiljade dolara.	Sada živi u Hollywoodu, D.B., kao prostitutka.
Andrić 1979	Mnogo su osjetljivi po tim pitanjima, naročito moj <u>stari</u> .	Koštala ga je, <u>brat bratu</u> , skoro četiri hiljade <u>zelembaća</u> .	Sad <u>vam</u> je D.B. u Holivudu – <u>prodana duša</u> .
Andrić 1987	Mnogo su osjetljivi kad je reč o tome, naročito otac.		
Rigonat 1995	Prilično su osjetljivi u tom pogledu, pogotovo otac.	Koštao ga jedno četiri hiljadarke	Sad je tamo u Holivudu, D. B, <u>prodao se</u> .

Andrić's revised retranslation from 1987 is obviously a revision, because the only changes are at the word level – slangy words are generally replaced with less informal, colloquial ones. The matter is not so clear with Rigonat's translation, however. Like the first translation, it is syntactically closer to the original. The differences between the translations by Andrić and Rigonat are not so much in the type of vocabulary they use (both make use of the informal teenage speech from the time of the translation), but in their unit of translation (cf. Eraković 2002: 94-98). In cases when there were no available register equivalents at word level, Andrić compensated with informal words and expressions (pragmatic solutions) in available positions, while Rigonat tended to use standard Serbian expression, thus making his translation in general less colloquial. Examples of this can be seen in the example above, where Andrić compensates the verbal contraction in *they're* with an informal lexical choice for *father* – *stari* [old man], and the intensifier *damn* with the expression *brat bratu* [approximately]. Rigonat, on the other hand, omits *damn* in the translation because literal transfer would be unidiomatic in Serbian and does not compensate for the lost markers of informality which are expressed with verb contractions.

The distinctions between retranslation and revision, however, have not been found to be relevant or generalizable in retranslation studies: every new publication of a translation may contain a number of interventions for a wide variety of reasons (cf. Koskinen and Paloposki 2010:294). The same can be said in our case. Finally, if the four translations were placed along a scale from the one that applies substandard language the least to the one that uses it most, taking into account the markers of teenage vernacular from Costello's list, the order would be 1958 Kršić – 1995 Rigonat – 1987 Andrić – 1979 Andrić. In the following section we address the cultural factors that can be related to this difference in the translators' choices.

THE JEANS PROSE PARALLELS

According to Aleksandar Flaker, Salinger's novel was one of the influences that, in combination with the national traditions and some Eastern European literary models, inspired the appearance of the literary model which he termed *jeans prose* (1983:40). Flaker based this model on the shared features of a number of novels published in Yugoslavia, Central and Eastern European countries and the USSR from the 1950s until the 1980s. Their protagonist is invariably a young person who uses urban language to express nonconformist attitudes toward the existing traditions in the society (1983:15). In Yugoslavia, the first representatives of the model were the early novels by Grozdana Olujić in 1958 and 1963, Antun Šoljan and Mirjana Stefanović in 1961, Alojz Majetić in 1963. In Serbia, some most prominent novelists of this type were Bora Ćosić (1969) and Momo Kapor (1972). Similarly to Salinger in the States, some of these writers faced court trials and censorship (Flaker 1983:17, Ilić 2019, Stamenković 2017:248). Since the use of slang and colloquialisms in these novels was met with negative critical appraisal, this might have influenced the translators of *The Catcher* to treat the teenage vernacular differently in their translations. Flaker cites instances of Croatian writers of *jeans prose* Slamnig and Šoljan having to defend and justify the use of jargon in their novels, and states that the opposition was strong and constant in the 1950s because it was politically judged as a bad influence on younger readers (1983:124). The change of attitude that ensued in the 1970s, Flaker attributes to the influence of "brave" translators and publishers. One of them was the writer Danilo Kiš, who famously translated Queneau's *Zazie in the Metro* in 1973 using Belgrade youth jargon. A "brave publisher" was, for example, the publishing house Veselin Masleša (Sarajevo), which published Sagan's *Hello Sadness* (with another teenage protagonist) in Yugoslavia as early as 1955.

As has been suggested by the tenets of the polysystem theory (Even-Zohar 1990:194) and cultural research (Venuti 1998: 132), translations can occupy peripheral position in relation to the target culture, be conservative and support target language canons and trends, but they can also occupy the central position and be resistant (to the target norms) and innovative in the choice of expression. Kiš's translation of *Zazie in the Metro* was one such case that seems to have supported the introduction of the vernacular into the literary model of the jeans prose. Flaker, however, believes the ground was already prepared for Salinger's *Catcher* by Yugoslav writers during the 1960s and 1970s (1983:317). Already in 1972, this can be exemplified by the condensed use of jargon that characterized Momo Kapor's novel *Beleške jedne Ane*, a highly popular novel in Yugoslavia. The first translator, Kršić, however, did not have this ground ready in 1958. His choice toward a more

standard linguistic expression and the minimal use of the teenage vernacular is clearly conforming to the target norm that expected the use of standard register in the literature for young people. There might also be another reason why this type of language could have been less important for the first translator. As Ilić (2019) pertinently notes, the 1950s saw a surge in the number of translations of the works by those “Western” writers who could be interpreted as being critical toward capitalist societies (Faulkner, for example), which was a means to present “the true face” of the Western society, as an artistic critique of capitalism in the socialist Yugoslavia. Such an intention is also traceable in the *Note about the writer* that was included as the Afterword of the 1958 translation:

Salinger je u svom djelu dao duboku psihološku studiju mladog američkog čovjeka i njegovog duševnog razvitka uopšte, a posebno u onom najosjetljivijem periodu njegova života kada počinje sa razumijevanjem da posmatra svijet oko sebe. *Salinger stvara jasnu i uvjerljivu sliku zašto upravo oni koji u američkom društvu imaju mogućnosti da se školuju i da se razviju u korisne članove društva, tako često bježe od života, ne teže ničemu, nemaju nikakvog cilja, žele da budu „lovci u žitu“*. (1958: 286)

[Salinger in his work offers a deep psychological study of a young American and his spiritual development in general, but particularly during the most sensitive period of his life when he begins to look at the world surrounding him with understanding. *Salinger creates a clear and persuasive picture showing why it is particularly those who in the American society have all the opportunities for education and development into constructive members of the society, all too often run away from life, do not strive toward anything, have no goals and want to be „catchers in the rye“*.] (our translation and emphasis)

Kršić’s translation, therefore, came at a time when *The Catcher in the Rye* may not have been primarily relevant because of its rebellious language, but because of what the novel says about the American society.

Andrić’s use of jargon in the translations from 1979 and 1987 can be related to the condensed use of jargon in Kapor’s novel from 1972 and Kiš’s translation from 1973. In other words, as Flaker notes, substandard language varieties were now allowed to appear in novels and Andrić could feel free to use it in his translation, as he did. The reactions, however, were still not favourable – according to Andrić himself, negative reactions to his use of Belgrade jargon in the 1976 translation were

so prominent that he felt he needed to produce another translation⁶. In his 1987 revision, Andrić therefore took a step in the opposite direction, replacing many teenage slang expressions with more general colloquialisms.

The global strategy in the first Andrić's translation (1979), however, cannot be addressed without taking into account his agency – and the same can be said about the choices made by Rigonat in his translation in 1995. Some indications of their agencies can be seen in the variety of sources, as will be shown in the following section.

AGENCY OF THE TRANSLATORS: BIOGRAPHIES AND PARATEXTS

Koskinen and Kinnunen (2010:6) define the concept of translator's agency as willingness and ability to act, which involves reflectivity and intentionality. It is related to the position of power and presupposes a social context.

At the time when Nikola Kršić (1928-1985) did the first translation of the *Catcher in the Rye* in 1958 in Yugoslavia, he was a novice translator, just starting his career as an academic in military engineering (Panjko 2013). Being a newcomer to the field of translation, Kršić could express little agency in the choice of translation strategy, and this is another explanation for the more conservative nature of his translation. The case was radically different with the two retranslators, Andrić and Rigonat.

By his education, Dragoslav Andrić (1923-2005) was a philologist and a dramatist (having graduated in two study programmes, one in English language and literature and the other in Dramaturgy, from the University of Belgrade). He is the author of the Serbian first *Dictionary of Jargon* (1976), which was originally motivated by his work on the translation of the *West Side Story* for The Belgrade Drama Theatre in the 1960s.⁷ This also enabled him to tackle the language of Salinger's novel in a significantly different way to that of Kršić. Andrić was later awarded for a lifetime achievement in literary translation (Serbian Literary Translation Association 1991) and for accomplishments in education, science and art (The Vuk award in 1997). That Andrić could publish two translations of the same work within the span of eight years is a testament both to his acclaim as a translator in Serbia, and to his agency in applying the translation strategy he felt was justified. Understanding how exceptional such a practice was at the time requires a consideration of the wider context. During the 1970s and 1980s, the translation scene

⁶ Andrić, personal communication in 2001.

⁷ Personal communication.

in Serbia was at its peak (cf. Eraković 2021). This was the time when two Serbian translator associations published four volumes of translation journals annually (*Mostovi* from 1970 and *Prevodilac* from 1980), with critiques and texts on various translational issues written by academics as well as translators. The journals also published translators' responses to their critics (cf. Stakić 1986), contesting the criticisms and defending their understanding of what quality in literary translation entails (cf. Petrović 1970). The publishing houses in question (Rad in 1979 and Bigz in 1987) were also highly reputable and had quality control procedures in place: translations were reviewed by editors in chief, expert consultants and language editors (cf. Bertolino 2019). This was the climate in which Andrić published his retranslation and later revision. In addition to this, his 1979 translation is an example of what Vanderschelden (quoted in Paloposki and Koskinen 2010: 32) describes as a "cold" translation, done after enough time has passed since the first publication of the source text, when the translator has opportunity to draw on research and audience responses. Although his revised translation in 1987 attenuated the vernacular, it should be noted that its expression was still going against the safe option of using standard language expression that syntactically closely follows the source text.

The author of the last translation (1995) was Flavio Rigonat, who previously had already tried his hand as a translator of Bukowski, Henry Miller, Isaac Bashevis Singer and Joyce. His educational and professional background was law, but he soon founded his own publishing house (Haos/Lom) and turned to translation (Rigonat 2011, 2022). His agency derives from his double status of an established translator/publisher, and his publicly expressed belief that "translators should avoid slang" and that "slang in translation sounds unnatural and forced" (Rigonat n.d). He also expressed his negative view of Andrić's use of the vernacular in an unmitigated way in the *Afterword* to his own translation and in his published interviews (n.d, 2011).

Both Andrić's and Rigonat's translations are examples of active, competing translations, vying for the same audience in Serbia, but only Rigonat's is still reprinted⁸. Kršić's (1958) translation, originally written in Bosnian variety and later revised into Croatian variety, has remained the only Croatian translation of *The Catcher*, which reflects the political reality of the post-Yugoslav societies. Considering the size of the book market in Serbia today, there is no room for two

⁸ There is, however, a record in the Cobis.rs (Serbian library information system), that the 1979 translation by Dragoslav Andrić was reprinted in 2019, but that no Serbian library has a copy of this publication. See <https://plus.cobiss.net/cobiss/sr/sr/bib/273702924>.

translations of the same novel any more, which might explain why other Serbian publishing houses have not reprinted either of the two Andrić's translations.

CONCLUSION: THE SURVIVAL OF (RE)TRANSLATIONS

Considering the changing fate and critical appraisal of the *jeans prose* novels in the 1950s, 1970s, and 1980s, the presence of substandard language in them has been related to the translators' decisions on how to recreate Holden Caulfield's language in *The Catcher in the Rye*. In the terminology of the polysystem theory, there is an indication that the first translation from 1958 and the retranslation from 1995 occupied peripheral position in Serbian culture, i.e. they followed the established models in the target literature. The retranslation (1976) and its revision (1987) by Andrić strove for a more central position in the target literature, supporting new types of language appearing in the literary works in the target culture. They also express the translator's understanding that a translator should have the right to interpret a literary work based on his own, explicit or underlying, theory of translation and not be negatively judged for it.

Berman believed that retranslations pave the way toward the major cultural translation of a given work (Peeters and Van Poucke 2023: 5). For Serbian translations, we argue that the factors that influence which retranslations are published today are least of all translational and are mostly related to the power of institutions, political and economic, as well as cultural. As Toury noted, regardless of the intended or initial position of a translation in the target culture, it changes with time, so later translations also shed light on the preferences pertinent to later periods (1995: 25). Translations as "facts of the target culture" can influence the target literature or be influenced by it and our conclusions in this regard are based on the features and the time of appearance of the first novels that used the literary model of *jeans prose* in Serbia. We believe that the way teenage vernacular was presented in the novels of this genre and the critical appraisal that met them at the time, can partly explain the absence of the 1979/1987 retranslations by Dragoslav Andrić today. The second part of the explanation is related to the power of cultural institutions such as publishing houses and their financial judgements in the Serbian book market.

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НОВИ ОСВРТ НА ВИШЕСТРУКЕ ПРЕВОДЕ РОМАНА *THE CATCHER IN THE RYE*
НА СРПСКИ: УЛОГА ПРОМЕНЉИВИХ НОРМИ И ПРЕВОДИЛАЧКЕ
АГЕНТИВНОСТИ

Резиме

Рад се на примеру компаративног приказа разлика у приступима превођењу тинејџерског говора у вишеструким преводима романа *The Catcher in the Rye* (1979, 1987, 1995) на српски бави анализом социо-културних фактора који су утицали на избор преводачких стратегија и опстајавање тих превода у циљној култури. Феномен вишеструких превода је дефинисан као резултат комплексне интеракције различитих социо-културних фактора, који се крећу од историјског контекста, политичких утицаја (агитпроп политика 1950-их), књижевно-теоријских норми у погледу прихватљивости супстандардног језичког варијетета у домаћој књижевности и моделу прозе у траперицама (Флакер 1983), агентивности преводаца и променљивих процедура у издавачкој делатности у време када су објављени анализирани преводи. Поред самих превода, као извори кориштени су паратекстови (интервјуи преводаца и поговори уз преводе) и биографије преводаца. Анализа показује да је на избор преводачких поступака у преношењу тинејџерског говора у првом преводу (1958) пресудну улогу имала норма која је такав језик у књижевним делима за младе сматрала штетним, али поговор уз овај превод показује да је вредност Селинцеровог дела у југословенском друштву била и политичка, јер је однос главног лика према америчком друштву 1950-их схваћен и као критика капиталистичког система. Анализа превода Драгослава Андрића из 1979. године открива другачији приступ језику и превођењу: преводац стилизује тинејџерски говор на основу сопственог истраживања тог регистра (*Речник жаргона*, 1976) и уверења да језик превода треба да делује аутентично у жаргону. Ревизија тог превода из 1987, у којој је Андрић изразите жаргонизме заменио колоквијалним изразима, показује да супстандардни језик још увек није био прихватљив, и поред тога што су овим преводима претходили Кишов превод Кеноове *Цаце у метроу* (1973), велика популарност *Белешки једне Ане* Моме Капора (1972) и других представника прозе у траперицама током 1960-их у којима је жаргон био заступљен. Стандарднији језички израз у поновном преводу из 1995. године Флавија Ригоната одаје разумевање превођења као процеса који се заснива остваривању еквиваленција на нивоу нижих језичких јединица. У интервјуима Ригонат такође исказује уверење да је жаргон дозвољен писцима, али не и преводиоцима, јер утиче на трајност превода. У погледу статуса анализираних вишеструких превода, на основу чињенице да се и данас, у Хрватској штампају ревидирани Кршићев превод из 1958, а у Србији Ригонатов превод из 1995, закључује се да је положај ових превода у односу на циљну књижевност периферан, тј. да су опстали преводи који чувају вредности конзервативније књижевне норме.

Кључне речи: вишеструки преводи, тинејџерски жаргон, историјски контекст, преводачка агентивност, проза у траперицама

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UDC: 821.111.09-31 Pratchett T.
DOI: 10.19090/gff.v48i3.2396
Original research paper

THE NOSTALGIA BEHIND THE DECONSTRUCTION OF DEATH AND ITS PERSONIFICATION IN TERRY PRATCHETT'S DISCWORLD**

The paper explores the portrayals of nostalgia and the notion of death in the popular fantasy book series *Discworld*, written by Terry Pratchett. In the novels, death is not depicted as a mere natural phenomenon but rather as a recurring, fully developed character whose role throughout the series is manifold and essential to convey the author's underlying doctrine. Firstly, the paper is to briefly demonstrate the relevant perspectives on nostalgia by Davis (1979), Boym (2001,2007), and Salmose (2019) and their relation to the topic of the paper. The following part is to exemplify Pratchett's illustrations of death and the nostalgia they convey, as well as to uncover the philosophy behind the deconstruction of conventional supposition towards humanness and dying. The character of Death simultaneously functions as an objective observer of humanity and a subjective participant who frequently fails to meet the criteria of being a human. It is precisely through these instances that Pratchett invokes the uniquely human mixture of follies and decency he glorifies throughout his oeuvre. The analysis is generated by presenting different narratives centered on the character of Death, which often encompass nostalgic views on the simplicity of life in the past and the loss of human essence associated with the deteriorating social values of the contemporary era. Therefore, the research aims to investigate Pratchett's purportedly nostalgic personification of death in relation to his depiction of the aforementioned concerns.

Keywords: death, personification, nostalgia, human essence, Terry Pratchett, *Reaper Man*,

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** Rad je izlagan na naučnom skupu ELALT 6 na Filozofskom fakultetu u Novom Sadu.

INTRODUCTION: GRIM REAPER AND NOSTALGIA

The world that now, in my old age
I go about in,
Is not the world I was born into
Or in which I grew up. It is a world
Changed like the sea in another light,
A storm light. A world
Of raging waves and sudden terror.
Anger . . . and fright.
Legends are lost here, lost and forgotten.
There is no magic here, no ardor—
The full heart, the spirit uplifted—
Its songs are harsh, the sound is deafening.
- Excerpt from Robert Nathan's poem *The World That Now*

Exploration of human finitude seems to be at the essence of almost every one of Terry Pratchett's works, as his anthropomorphic personification, the beloved character of Death, appears in thirty-nine out of forty-one Discworld novels. Anthropomorphic personifications can serve multiple purposes, and this paper posits that they negotiate and facilitate the acquisition of hard-to-chew notions and influence the audience's attitude toward the subject. For instance, Christina Alm-Arvus (2003:129) claims that by employing personifications, language users can "project their subjective experiences," including the way they behave, think, or react to other things surrounding them. In addition, Barbora Vinczeová (2020:67) explains that attributing human features to the inanimate is "an effort to humanize the strange," while Leilah Wendell (2001:5) emphasizes the necessity to "bring the deities down to a comfortable level for interaction," making *them* "ready to accommodate us." The aforementioned accurately explains the abundance of death-related anthropomorphic personifications in different forms of art through history and, relevant to this research, particularly in popular art, as can be notable in the work of Ingmar Bergman (1957), Alberto Casella (1936), Neil Gaiman (1988), Piers Anthony (1986), and Markus Zusak (2007) among others.

Returning to the subject of Pratchett's Death, he sometimes occupies the role of a peripheral character appearing at the onset of a novel¹ to spirit someone away, while on other occasions he takes the stage as a main character, particularly so in *Discworld's* Death subseries. He is portrayed as a black-robed "seven-foot-tall

¹ Almost as if Pratchett wanted to convey that every beginning intrinsically comes along with an ending.

skeleton” with eyes like “tiny blue points of light” who smells of “old, forgotten rooms,” carries a scythe and rides a living horse Binky², and whose voice, due to the absence of vocal cords, is heard inside one’s brain³ (Pratchett & Briggs, 2014: 94). While Pratchett’s Grim Reaper might initially be seen as a stereotype, evidential lack of imagination or even a cliché, his anthropomorphic personification, similarly to virtually everything on Discworld, subverts the tropes and reveals there is more than meets the eye, especially so once his fondness of cats, obsession with curry and profound admiration of humanity are uncloaked.

Adriana Teodorescu distinguishes between a specific body of works that trivializes the death-literature relationship, turning it into an over-aestheticized, romanticized, cliché-fueled or even scrupulously glorified attempt to “annihilate death” and, on the other hand, between the literature that cannot “achieve immortality” but is capable of alleviating trepidations and assisting the readership in coming to terms with their own inevitable termination of life (Teodorescu, 2015: 1–5). As opposed to traditional pitiless and religiously inspired representations of the Angel of Death in art, Pratchett strives to depict Death as a pleasant and relatable fellow so that people would “stop looking at death as if it was an enemy” (Kňazeová, 2014: 30). The character of Death is still an omega to life but instead of seeing him as an obliterating mindless force, the readership is invited to put on humane glasses and observe him from a fresh perspective. Though the author of the paper acknowledges that Pratchett’s opus can serve as a means to familiarize readership with complex concepts of dying or facilitate facing the inescapable ending, the research aims to shed light on another aspect of Discworld’s death — nostalgia.

The etymology of the word nostalgia, coined by Johannes Hofer in his medical dissertation, shows that it is formed from the Greek word *nostos* meaning to return home, and *algia*, a painful condition. Therefore, the term could be roughly translated as a painful yearning to return home (Davis, 1979:1; Boym 2001:15). Nevertheless, the concept is “susceptible to semantic vagueness, drift, and ambiguity” (Davis, 1979:7), and has developed far from being restricted to spatial longing. Rather, it involves a set of personal and social idiosyncrasies, “*home-type* sentiments” intertwined with past or present experiences (Davis, 1979:6). As the same author elaborates, nostalgia is “that subjective state which harbors the largely unexamined belief that THINGS WERE BETTER (MORE BEAUTIFUL) (HEALTHIER) (HAPPIER) (MORE CIVILIZED) (MORE EXCITING) THEN

² “He tried a skeleton horse after seeing a woodcut of himself on one, but he had to keep stopping to wire bits back on.”

³ Death’s voice is recognizable in every novel as it is printed in SMALL CAPS.

THAN NOW.⁴” As Boym (2001: 16) acknowledges in this view, “consideration of the future makes us take responsibility for our nostalgic tales.” In other words, nostalgia is triggered by the irreconcilable personal or collective opposition between what Davis refers to as “the Beautiful Past” and “the Unattractive Present” (Boym, 2001:30). As will be demonstrated, the stark contrast between appealing past and present anxiousness originating in anticipation of the future is particularly notable in Pratchett’s *Reaper Man*, though a certain amount of nostalgia is present in every Death series novel. Therefore, the paper aims to analyze Pratchett’s Death focusing on the deconstruction of the notion of death and its personification anew as a means of conveying nostalgia for the simpler life in the past.

Additionally, it is necessary to note that Pratchett was a supporter of the British Humanist Association (*Terry Pratchett | New Humanist*, n.d.) and prominently engaged in the question of what it means to be a human, or as it will be referred to in this paper – human essence. Humanism, a philosophy emphasizing the intrinsic worth and potential of human beings (Lamont, 1997:14), is beautifully woven into the fabric of Discworld, where characters grapple with existential questions and moral dilemmas. One example is the character of Sam Vimes, the no-nonsense commander of the Ankh-Morpork City Watch, who exemplifies humanist principles through his commitment to justice and the well-being of all citizens, regardless of their social status. Moreover, Pratchett’s witches showcase humanism’s emphasis on individuality and personal growth. These wise women reject superstition and dogma in favor of common sense and empathy, conveying that being true to oneself and understanding others’ perspectives are the keys to a harmonious society. By infusing his fantastical Discworld with these humanist ideals, Terry Pratchett leaves an enduring legacy that inspires readers to reflect on the significance of human essence and the power of compassion. Human essence, can, for the purpose of this paper, be defined as fundamental qualities or characteristics that determine what it means to be human, the core aspects that set humans apart from other beings, which are grounded in rationality, self-awareness, and consciousness as well as the capacity for moral reasoning and the pursuit of meaning and purpose. Thus, the research will delve into the illustration of the conflict between genuine human essence in the past, its waning in the present, and the anxieties about allegedly threatening future (dis)order which consequently awakes nostalgia in Pratchett’s Death subseries.

⁴ Capital letters are used in the source text.

WHAT CAN THE HARVEST HOPE FOR, IF NOT FOR THE CARE OF THE REAPER MAN?

As mentioned in the introduction, Pratchett's Death is an anthropomorphic personification depicted as a tall, robed skeleton with a scythe — a traditional, or even trite Western representation known as the Grim Reaper. However, before the finger is pointed at Pratchett's deficient inventiveness, the real culprit is to be revealed — humanity. Namely, as Pratchett explains in *Hogfather*:

The shape of Death was the shape people had created for him over the centuries. Why bony? Because bones were associated with death. He'd got a scythe because agricultural people could spot a decent metaphor. And he lived in a sombre land because the human imagination would be rather stretched to let him live somewhere nice with flowers (Pratchett, 1998:276).

As the excerpt illustrates, it is humanity that chooses Death's appearance, professional equipment, and even his place of dwelling. In other words, Death is trapped in the shape people have crafted for him and cannot break free from the metaphor which turned real. Pratchett calls this phenomenon *narrative causality*, which refers to the Discworld's creative power to call into being whatever people believe exists (Pratchett, 2012:104). Therefore, allegedly opposite to the belief in our world, on Discworld, "belief predates the object" (Neely, 2014:4)⁵ which is the reason for the existence of Discworld's gods⁶, Tooth Fairy, Hogfather⁷ and, of course, Death.

Narrative causality can be linked with Heidegger's idea of inauthenticity⁸, or the inability to escape one's predetermined story – whether it be obeying gender roles, conforming to demands of social environment, submitting to a family's instruction on how to live one's life, etc. — as it governs humanity which rarely seems aware of and in opposition to it (Heidegger, 2008:68-70). As Rana concisely puts it, owing to narrative causality, people are "caught in the idea of what one is *supposed to be*" and consequently, meekly following the narrative, "fail to choose their own paths and construct their own selves" (Rana, 2018:11). The analysis of narrative causality is an adequate beginning of the exploration of Pratchett's nostalgia for the simplicity of life and restoration of human essence. Namely, as will be illustrated in the following part of the paper, the confrontation between individuality, or being oneself, and social

⁵ Or is it just another remarkably witty commentary on Earth's population's absurd naivety?

⁶ Including Anoina, the goddess of things that get stuck in drawers.

⁷ Discworld's version of Santa Claus.

⁸ For further information, address Martin Heidegger's *Being and Time* or James B. Steeve's *Authenticity and Falling in Martin Heidegger's Being and Time*.

demands for ordered and uniform members within the present/future paradigm is a frequent theme throughout Pratchett's canon.

The source of Death's fascination with humans could be found within the fact that they did bring him into being or, as Nelly (2014:5) explains, "they created him and influenced his very being." Taking the previous into account, Death acts on a principle of intrinsically human behavior – as a teen adopting the style of their favorite rock star – he attempts to imitate humanity. "He appears to derive his opinion on how he should live by observing people, but the nuances consistently escape him" (Pratchett & Briggs, 2014:94). For instance, he manipulated time and space and erected a deadly-for-the-living Victorian mansion which mirrors the residences of successful craftsmen (as he is undoubtedly the best in his line of work), he hired/adopted a dying wizard as his manservant, and he built bedrooms and bathrooms he has no use of. He even has "a pair of silver-backed hairbrushes and a little glass tray for cufflinks, despite having neither hair nor cuffs. He thinks that's what he ought to have" (Pratchett & Briggs, 2014:94). Death realizes the principle of the universe, as he explains that all Discworld's personifications "PICK UP HUMAN TRAITS" (Pratchett, 2014:86), but unlike the Auditors who loathe anything even nearly related to humans, he seems to thrive on this likeness. It can be argued that by illustrating Death's lifestyle, Pratchett celebrates humanity, as if reminding the readership to appreciate their existence. To be more specific, Death, who became "long before humans ever considered him" (Pratchett, 2012:104) and is "almost the oldest creature in the universe (obviously something had to die first)" (Pratchett & Briggs, 2014:93), an omnipotent being that could virtually bend time and space, opts for a slightly more human approach to existence. For instance, he adopts a daughter, tries fishing, and creates a pitch-black apple orchard for his beehive interests. Therefore, the paper takes a further step to claim that Death's imitation does not, as Nelly's suggestion cited above points, derive merely from the fact that he was shaped by humanity. Rather, it is precisely Pratchett, with his fondness for human foibles and merits, and his celebratory humanist attitudes who lends the character of Death great admiration for humankind — an admiration intertwined with uneasiness about the humans' future that serves as a source of nostalgia.

Nevertheless, as Death is a personification of death with a job to do, developing too much of a personality is not seen positively by the universe. Consequently, Death's managers, the Auditors, decide to terminate their contract and find a new, less-developed employee, personality-wise. The Auditors are a group of collective "nonlife-forms" (Pratchett, 2014:7) who have an "obsession with order and conformity" (Neely, 2014:5) and who, therefore, supervise and maintain the

paradigm of the universe. Not only do they cherish their unaliveness which grants them immortality, but also foster pure hatred towards the living, particularly so in the case of humans who are unpredictable and thus a threat to the universe's order. In short, humans with their personalities make the Auditor's job burdensome, and Death, having developed a personality, needs to be punished, sentenced to life. The Auditors prefer atoms and physics to humanity for an apparent reason – their predictability and regularity are reassuring and safe. In contrast, humans' individuality makes them inefficient, and their messiness deserves to be obliterated. The extent of the Auditors' loyalty to uniformity as opposed to individualism is particularly notable when they exterminate one of their own under the suspicion of the personality development (Pratchett, 2012:7). The order of the Auditors is a straightforward allusion to the era Pratchett fears Earth is heading towards. Pratchett uses Death's encounters with the Auditors to criticize a bureaucratic and technologically driven form of governance that enforces impersonal conduct and uniformity. In other words, they represent the idea that the world would run more effectively without human essence to separate and individualize. The paper argues that Pratchett's nostalgia originates from trepidations about the future of human nature, as humanity has proven susceptible to manipulation, trends, socio-economical changes, and techno-industrial influences. Though a great enthusiast of technology (Burrows, 2020:38), Pratchett considered it a set of facilitating tools and thus had anxieties about its rapid expansion, dehumanizing potential, and the social consequences it implies. As Boym (2007:8) explains, "nostalgia appears to be a longing for a place, but it is actually a yearning for a different time—the time of our childhood, the slower rhythms of our dreams." Thus, similarly to the Auditors, the future era allegedly threatens individuality, the time of slowness, or the authentic simplicity of childhood. Technologically driven future strives for order, assimilation, and uniformity, making human peculiarities less distinguishable since each can be expressed through the binary system of zeros and ones. In relation to this, "nostalgia is a rebellion against the modern idea of time," which "desires to turn history into private or collective mythology, to revisit time like space, refusing to surrender to the irreversibility of time" (Boym, 2007: 8). It could be concluded that, though Pratchett is not a typical traditionalist or adversary of future prospects, many of his novels tackle the human advancement and provide commentary regarding its corruption of human essence. Nevertheless, it is not an opposition to the development that arises within his pages. Instead, it is a gentle reminder to preserve humanity, an attempt to evoke the readership's nostalgia for "better time, or slower time—time out of time, not encumbered by appointment books" (Boym, 2007: 8).

In *Reaper Man*, Pratchett conducts a rather interesting subversion of tropes - he converts Death into a mortal, Bill Door, whose clock⁹ began ticking away. His whole existence gains a new dimension as now he is painfully aware of the passage of time and the inevitable end, and he cannot but wonder why people use a clock “as though it were a friend” (Pratchett, 2012:126). “Seconds had meant a lot to Bill Door, because he’d had a limited supply. They meant nothing at all to Death, who’d never had any ”(Pratchett, 2012: 263). Once his life sand runs out, Death, like every other human being, inherently tries to deny the end, which leads him to a duel with his power-blinded heir, New Death.

It is relevant to underline another instance by which Pratchett illustrates the importance of human individuality in the face of global conformity. As Bill Door reaps, he cuts each blade of grass separately, denoting that he doesn’t regard the field as a collective entity to be ordered, shaped, and ruled. Instead, as is notable from the following excerpt, he bestows acknowledgment and appreciation to each blade of grass, just like he used to do as Death with each dying person.

“But why one blade of grass at a time?”

“THERE IS ANOTHER WAY? “

“You can do lots in one go, you know.”

“NO. NO. ONE BLADE AT A TIME. ONE TIME, ONE BLADE” (Pratchett, 2012:107).

As already stated in the introduction, Pratchett's portrayal of human essence can be seen in the deep and complex emotions, thoughts, and motivations of his characters who often grapple with existential questions and moral dilemmas. Pratchett's exploration of empathy, compassion, and the connections between individuals in the Death series suggests that the essence of humanity lies in our ability to understand and care for others, by valuing their unique existence, as illustrated in the example above.

There is a three-way parallel in *Reaper Man* that originates from Pratchett’s intention to glorify human essence and its uniqueness which can be observed through the prism of nostalgia. Ultimately, the blades of grass are wiped out by the brand new agricultural machine, Combination Harvester, instead of being graciously and uniquely reaped by Bill Door, equally as the humanity on Discworld is carelessly brought to oblivion by New Death whose sole purpose is not to perform the job but to ruthlessly rule the fearful living – “the reaper does not listen to the harvest” (Pratchett, 2012:280). “In both cases, he fights against the anti-individualistic threat

⁹ Sand in the hourglass, actually.

they pose: the harvester reaps many crops at once with a kind of impersonal behavior, much like the New Death” (Neely, 2014:6). The final aspect of the mentioned triad is also the least obvious one – the future reveals its menace to the human essence, seeking uniformity and obedience, annihilating the oddities and foibles in the name of the efficient and predictable order. Once again, nostalgia arises from the longing for a simpler, more humane attitude toward life when facing the vague yet looming rigidity of the future. Boym (2007: 7) considers nostalgia as a consequence of unfulfilled utopias in the past and dissatisfactions with the present, which, when combined, led to an outmoded belief in the future, “while nostalgia, for better or worse, never went out of fashion.” Similarly, Niklas Salmose sees nostalgia as an engaging device, “the present stubbornly rooted in the past” which refuses to yield to the “many tomorrows inherent in every new technology, product, and digitally mediated event” (Salmose, 2019:1). Nevertheless, Pratchett is not blinded by the nostalgic stance of the idealness of the past. On the contrary, he, at times, twists nostalgia into satire, a social commentary on the past ways of humanity. For instance, in *Mort*, the discussion between Death’s apprentice, Mort, and Death’s adopted daughter, Ysabel, reveals the subversion and deconstruction of nostalgia. While Ysabel stands for nostalgia and glorification of the “romantic” pyramids “by moonlight,” Mort’s critical observation that they are “mortared with the blood of thousands of slaves” breaks the nostalgic enchantment and underlines the concerns about luxury and human suffering, thus exposing the diabolical truth behind the nostalgic attraction of the ancient monuments (Pratchett, 2012: 225). Boym discusses such an acerbic approach to nostalgia in her distinction between restorative¹⁰ and reflective nostalgia. Namely, she elaborates that reflective nostalgia, the kind the paper argues is present in Pratchett’s work, is “ironic and humorous” as it “reveals that longing and critical thinking are not opposed to one another” (Boym, 2001: 49–50). In other words, in the case of reflective nostalgia, memories of the charming past do not prevent one from employing proper judgment, critical reflection, or basic ethics.

Besides actively participating in human experience as farmer Bill Door in *Reaper Man*, Death has been a keen observer of humans who objectively comments on their everyday absurdities, such as in the following excerpts. “MOST PEOPLE ARE RATHER STUPID AND WASTE THEIR LIVES” (Pratchett, 2013:154) or “HUMANS ARE SO INTERESTING THAT THEY HAVE EVEN INVENTED DULLNESS. QUITE ASTONISHING” (Pratchett, 1998: 433). The two humorous instances rely on satire as a form of criticism. Still, it can be argued that Pratchett points to the meaningless manners in

¹⁰ For more information, see Svetlana Boym’s *The Future of Nostalgia*.

which humans waste their lives, thus conveying a vital message of the necessity for seeking the purpose or the essence of living. His satire further reveals nostalgia, which corresponds to Davis' (1979: 5) understanding that nostalgia originates from our lives as social actors, especially since it inspects memories of the past with the aim of bestowing meaning in our present and future. Similarly, Pratchett's Death scrutinizes society, observes human roles and ways, explores the changes that the passage of time brings, and attempts to add meaning to his own reinvented human personality.

In *Mort*, as already mentioned, Death, oscillating between his duty and sympathy for humanity, hires an apprentice in an attempt to further explore his nearly compulsive imitation of humanity. As an everyman exhausted with the dullness of his job, he "FELT IT WAS TIME FOR A CHANGE" (Pratchett, 2009:215). Taking up the allegedly great pleasures of life — "fishing, dancing, gambling and drink" and failing to see their purpose, Death hopes to find a more humane employment, preferably something which includes "FLOWERS OR KITTENS" (Pratchett, 2009:207, 227). In his doctoral thesis on Discworld, Özbay (2021:260) considers Death as being "able to look at these things, which people have been taking for granted, from a great distance, just as the fantasy reader is able to look at their own lives and world through the distance created by the author." The explanation aligns with the paper's topic since, intending to resuscitate human essence, Pratchett employs satire intertwined with nostalgia to draw attention to irreversible time spent on futile activities such as making canapes. "THAT'S MORTALS FOR YOU. THEY'VE ONLY GOT A FEW YEARS IN THIS WORLD AND THEY SPEND THEM ALL IN MAKING THINGS COMPLICATED FOR THEMSELVES" (Pratchett, 2009: 48). As an observer of humanity, Death in *Mort* (which chronologically takes place before *Reaper Man*), is aware of the appearance of certain activities but not their purpose, and having experienced them entirely, only grasps their meaninglessness. Finally, overwhelmed by the confusion, he surrenders to the serenity of Ankh-Morpork¹¹ and experiences his first and genuine moments of happiness.

The seagulls swooped and dived around him. A one-eyed cat, down to its eighth life and its last ear, emerged from its lair in a heap of abandoned fish boxes, stretched, yawned, and rubbed itself against his legs. The breeze, cutting through Ankh's famous smell, brought a hint of spices and fresh bread. Death was bewildered. He couldn't fight it. He was actually glad to be alive and very reluctant to be Death (Pratchett, 2009:178).

¹¹ Which seems to be a unique moment as the city, according to Pratchett, never sleeps.

That is to say, contemporary narrative causality, or comparably, Heidegger's inauthenticity, traps individuals into uniform socioculturally shaped molds, obstructing the pathway to self-discovery. In addition, the futilities imposed by the modern era, or as Death refers to them, weaknesses of the flesh, drag humanity away from true happiness and hinder their recognition of universal harmony and the waning essence of humanity (Pratchett, 2009: 237). Similarly, to Death, Nietzsche's Zarathustra achieves the "perfect moment" by recollecting the essence of his soul while surrounded by nostalgic Alpine tranquillity. Boym (2001: 26) underlines that the Nietzschean epiphany does not originate in urban, cosmopolitan, present, or futuristic conditions, but its source is a nostalgic reminiscence on a mountaintop. In addition, it is worth mentioning that Pratchett's nostalgia for the simplicity of life is also pronounced through strikingly different portrayals of the rural kingdom of Lancre and the urban, cosmopolitan city of Ankh-Morpork. Namely, while the former is filled with organic kind of magic, folk traditions, preservation of the traditional and images of nature, the latter is described as a place where magic is institutionalized, and crimes are legalized and taxed; it is a polluted, yet charmingly hectic environment prompted by capitalist values and aspirations for techno-industrial development. Moreover, in *Reaper Man*, once Death becomes mortal, he is presented with a virtually indefinite spectrum of lifestyle possibilities. Nevertheless, he opts to impersonate a quiet farmer, Bill Door, and spend his life in the comforting serenity of rural life. It is possible that Pratchett poured his own vision of an ideal life into his novels since he spent most of his life in the tranquility of Gayes Cottage, an idyllic place with a garden, goats, and beehives (Burrows, 2020:38).

Finally, it can be argued that the events in *Mort* and *Reaper Man* brought Death to the utter realization of human essence's value, and thus his sheer interest transformed into complete devotion to such extent that he opts to bend the principles of his trade for the sake of humanity as is notable in *Hogfather*, the novel which also tackles the threat of an inauthentic and monotonous future. Namely, Hogfather is abducted as a part of another Auditors' scheme to eradicate humanity, which endangers human belief. Death understands that belief is the very core of being a human and therefore does his part¹² and impersonates the Hogfather to maintain the holiday magic. To put it into the perspective of the paper, it is of utter importance for the belief to be preserved as it is the parallel of the collective reminiscence that characterizes humanity. Hence, as long as the nostalgia for the past holiday traditions and the celebratory magic prevails in the face of an indiscernible future, the Auditors are deflected, and so is the inauthenticity of modernity. In other words, "through plotting this temporary disappearance of the Hogfather,

¹² Quite literally, as Death, being skeleton and all, dresses up as Santa Claus and saves the holiday.

Pratchett reflects on the existential crisis of fantasy and belief in our contemporary world and addresses a philosophical conception regarding the essential existence of fantasy and belief to define our being human” (Huang, 2018:177). As Death explains to his granddaughter Susan, “IT IS THE THINGS YOU BELIEVE WHICH MAKE YOU HUMAN,” since without the belief the sun would be a “MERE BALL OF FLAMING GAS” and the little lies such as Tooth fairies, the Hogfather/Santa Claus are little lies that teach the humans to believe in big ones such as “JUSTICE. MERCY. DUTY. THAT SORT OF THING.” (Pratchett, 1998: 409,422). That is to say, the diminishment of belief in the present prompts Pratchett’s nostalgia; without it, humanity will revel in the utmost chaos — an entirely opposed paradigm of order from the one the Auditors aim to achieve. Furthermore, Death conveys that the future without belief, and consequently, the essence of humanity will not be merely inauthentic but rather hectic disarray, deprived of basic human principles such as justice, mercy, and duty.

However, the ultimate question may remain — why does Pratchett opt to deconstruct and personify the notion of death to convey nostalgia? Death, as an abstract notion or anthropomorphic personification, certainly connotes inescapability, omnipresence, and finality. In addition, Death is an interspatial and transtemporal carrier of knowledge and experience, an all-encompassing image of the world’s wisdom. Nevertheless, the paper argues that it is not his omnipotent might that allows Pratchett’s character of Death to resonate with the audience. Rather, it is his undeniable humanness and relatability that enables Pratchett to convey the nostalgic philosophy on the simplicity of life and the very core of being a human, with all the emotions, desires, and the profound connection people have with each other and the world around them. This exploration of the human essence challenges Death’s previously detached and distant view of existence, firstly in *Mort*, as he comes to appreciate the richness and complexity of mortal lives, and later in *Reaper Man* and *Hogfather*, where he is forced to experience mortality and vulnerability as well as to bend the rules of the universe to maintain belief for the very sake of human essence survival—all of which further deepens his understanding of humanity and the value of life.

CONCLUSION – NOLI TIMERE MESSOREM

It can be concluded that Pratchett’s Death series playfully intertwines the concepts of death and nostalgia. Even though, at first glance, the character of Death appears like a jolly tragicomic imitator of humanity, the more profound analysis unmasks the fact that he might be the most humane Discworld character. In other words, Death is an “entity that we might otherwise instinctively consider humanity’s antithesis” (Lockett, 2021:205), who grew to understand the relevance of human essence, initially by

observing and imitating, later by participating in humanity, and finally, by ensuring the veracity of the big lies – justice, duty, and mercy. The concept of death is a fundamental human principle that frequently serves as a sinister remainder of our own mortality. Nevertheless, besides being wonderfully innovative, Pratchett’s characterization “showed us that the anthropomorphic personification of death makes the end of our existence just a little less scary” (Miori, 2016:465). However, the paper proves that besides serving to reconcile with our own mortality, Death underlines the importance of belief and carries the nostalgic connotations that allude to the core of a human being. Davis (1979:110) considers nostalgia a “crepuscular emotion” that “takes hold when the dark of impending change is seen to be encroaching, although not so fast as to make a monster loom where but a moment ago stood a coat tree.” In a similar manner, Pratchett tackles the encroaching anxieties of the future through the personification of the Auditors. The Auditors and the looming future striving to convert individuality into a homogenous mass is seen as a peril to humanity’s essence, which the author intends to mitigate through different means: humor, intertextuality, parody, satire, and, most importantly for this paper — nostalgia. Pratchett’s nostalgia not only reenchants and offers shelter from a worrisome future but also confirms Davis’ view that nostalgic sensation need not merely feed upon or revel in the past as it can be used as the means of creative expression in the present (Davis, 1979:116). Finally, Bill Door’s care for each stalk and Death’s appreciation of every human life despite its brevity mirrors Camus’ diary entry: “Disseminated by the wind, harvested by the wind, and yet a creator, this is the man, through the centuries, and proud of living only for a single moment” (Camus, 2008:184). Hence, regardless of the fantastic in Pratchett’s oeuvre, Discworld is bound to reality and particularly so in the case of Death’s characterization as he dives into the core of humanity, disclosing the fundamental aspects of human peculiarities, reminding us of the preciousness of life.

Anđelka Gemović

NOSTALGIJA KAO SREDSTVO DEKONSTRUKCIJE I PERSONIFIKACIJE LIKA SMRTI U DISKSVETU TERIJA PRAČETA

Rezime

Rad se bavi pojmom nostalgije u romanima o Disksvetu autora Terija Pračeta čiji je protagonist Smrt. Teorijski deo rada u vezi sa pojmom nostalgije se najviše oslanja na uvide Svetlane Bojm, Freda Dejvisa i Niklasa Salmosa. Nadalje, rad ispituje prisustvo nostalgije u romanima, polazeći od ideje da je nostalgija u Pračetovim delima protkana nemirima u vezi sa budućnošću i da se javlja kao rezultat razočaranosti sadašnjošću u poređenju sa okolnostima iz prošlosti. Naime, Smrt je

antropomorfnu personifikaciju predstavljena kao tipični kosač u savremenoj kulturi koji naizgled potvrđuje klišeje fantastike. Kako radnja romana odmiče, otkriva se da ovaj protagonista zapravo ima ulogu da sugerise čitaocima relevantne elemente Pračetove filozofije. Smrt, prvo u ulozi posmatrača, a zatim i kao deo čovečanstva ističe ljudske vrline i mane, istovremeno kritikujući i slaveći čovečanstvo. Rad ima za cilj da pokaže da Pračetova nostalgija iskazana kroz lik Smrti služi kao podsetnik o jednostavnosti života i suštini ljudskosti koje su ugrožene od strane uniformisanog, sistematičnog i dehumanizovanog društvenog poretka budućnosti.

Ključne reči: Teri Pračet, Disksvet, nostalgija, Smrt, antropomorfnu personifikacija, *Kosač*

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UDC: 821.111.09-31 Swift G.
DOI: 10.19090/gff.v48i3.2394
Original research paper

**NOT SPOKEN FOR – NOSTALGIA AS AN INSTRUMENT OF
RESISTANCE IN GRAHAM SWIFT’S *MOTHERING SUNDAY* AND *HERE
WE ARE*****

It is not an uncommon trope in literature that the past is associated with an unknown or unfathomable realm. L. P. Hartley famously wrote that “The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there.” (2002: 11), while Salman Rushdie has argued “the past is a country from which we have all emigrated” (2010: 12). While the term “nostalgia” was at first used to denote an actual illness (Merriam-Webster), nowadays it is mainly associated with a kind of “homesickness” or a desire to return to one’s place of origin/belonging. In addition, nostalgia may be perceived as a tool for maintaining one’s identity (Davis, 1979: 31-51) and it does not have to relate to real events (Lasch, 1990: 18). So, what if this longing really is felt towards a non-existent past, in an attempt to reclaim a non-existent history? This paper proposes a reading of Graham Swift’s two most recent novels as presenting the female nostalgia towards a past that never existed as a form of resistance. While nostalgically recounting their respective pasts, both literally and metaphorically, Jane Fairchild (*Mothering Sunday*) and Evie White (*Here We Are*) will make an attempt at reclaiming their rightful place in history.

Key words: nostalgia, resistance, Graham Swift, *Mothering Sunday*, *Here We Are*

The contemporary British novelist Graham Swift is most famous for his (re)interpretations of the past and its meaning(s) in the lives of ordinary people. For this reason, though his stories remain firmly embedded in the past, they are retold and reexamined from a more recent perspective. As a consequence, his work might be brought into close connection with nostalgia studies. Graham Swift mainly includes male characters in the main storylines of his writing, rarely featuring women as lead actors in the great whirlwind that is history. The female characters, though at times crucial for the story, usually remain on the margins and hold a rather mystical and nature-oriented role. It may be argued that Swift portrays them in the way a typical

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** The paper was presented at the 6th International Conference on English Language and Anglophone Literatures Today (ELALT6), conference section *Literature, Culture and Nostalgia*, held online on 29th and 30th October 2022.

20th-century male would see them – as enigmatic, alluring creatures and also mothers. However, Swift’s two most recent novels, *Mothering Sunday* (2016) and *Here We Are* (2020)¹, both uncommonly feature women as the main protagonists² and also challenge this trend of his. Unfortunately, in them there is no change in the role of women, but there is a nostalgia towards a past that never was. Since both stories are set in the 20th century, and due to the longevity of the two main protagonists they encompass almost the whole of the century, one may interpret them as attempts by women to reclaim their non-existent place in the history of the past century. Swift never gets involved in these stories by providing any kind of social or political commentary, he simply is not that kind of writer and his main focus is on telling a story and the manner of telling it. However, upon closer reading, one may infer a great deal about the social and political aspects of life in Great Britain from his work.

The main protagonists of both *Mothering Sunday* and *Here We Are* are ordinary women, both special in their own way, and they might be taken to represent Everywoman. Subsequently, each one of their stories might represent Herstory. Graham Swift uses several means to this end. Firstly, the two main female characters may be characterized as reliable narrators. Both women have reached an impressively old age and both of them tell stories that are half a century old. In this sense, they exude a sense of trust and reverence from the reader. A half a century of distance appears like an almost objective way to tell a story (despite the fact that a story is always part fiction). Eve (Evie) White, the main protagonist of *Here We Are*, is seventy-five years old in the more recent part of the story which takes place in 2009, and one is not given information as to how old she is yet to become. On the other hand, the reader is informed that Jane Fairchild, the main protagonist of *Mothering Sunday*, will live to be ninety-eight. Next, both heroines have what one would call relatable backgrounds. Though both stories invoke a sense of magic (*Mothering Sunday* contains echoes of the Cinderella story, while *Here We Are* deals with the power of magicians’ tricks), both main protagonists come from modest backgrounds. For this reason, their stories echo many real women’s lives. Lastly, the two main protagonists may be perceived as quintessential women. Both their names are utterly “feminine”. Jane Fairchild has a first name that is a multiple-use placeholder name and thus could be used for “any female”, while her last name denotes beauty, an outer quality strongly associated with the female gender. Evie White bears the name of the

¹ The novels will be quoted as *MS* and *HWA*, respectively, and in the reference section they are listed under Swift, 2017 and 2020, respectively.

² The only other such instance in Swift’s opus was the novel *Tomorrow* (2007) but, theme-wise, this novel is completely different from all of Swift’s other work.

“first” or “original” woman and a last name that denotes innocence and purity, both qualities also traditionally associated with women. Though both Jane and Evie will become more independent and successful as their stories progress, neither of them will live up to their full potential or become what they could have become had they been born into a different world or had they been born as men. The unspoken nostalgia of a life never lived is clearly visible throughout both stories, and even though they were written by Swift, they are told from the women’s own perspective, as if they are not letting anyone else tell it. In a way, one might say that they are owning a past they never possessed.

The past being associated with an unknown or unfathomable realm is not an uncommon trope in literature. L. P. Hartley famously wrote that “The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there.” (2002: 11), while Salman Rushdie has argued “the past is a country from which we have all emigrated” (2010: 12). The past, as a notion, is something that all mankind has in common, as is the inevitable return to it, or the backward gaze. Contemplating times long past often invokes what we call nostalgia. The term was at first used to denote an actual illness (Merriam-Webster), but nowadays it is mainly associated with a kind of “homesickness” or a desire to return to one’s place of origin/belonging. Nostalgia may also be perceived as a tool for maintaining one’s identity as Fred Davis pointed out in *Yearning for Yesterday – A Sociology of Nostalgia* (1979: 31-51). In it, he describes nostalgia as “one of the means—or, better, one of the more readily accessible psychological lenses—we employ in the never ending work of constructing, maintaining, and reconstructing our identities” (Davis, 1979: 31). It is also of note to add that “nostalgia does not entail the exercise of memory at all, since the past it idealizes stands outside time, frozen in unchanging perfection” (Lasch, 1990: 18). In both *Mothering Sunday* and *Here We Are* these different aspects of nostalgia are clearly visible. There is no denial of the present, there is no escape into the past. The heroines’ return is done from a stable point, there is no burden and no discontinuity. Gazing backwards, theirs is an attempt to reclaim space. It is a reconstruction, actually an expansion of past possibilities that had never taken place.

Both Jane Fairchild and Evie White are silent but dutiful bystanders to both life and history. Jane, as a maidservant, was expected to play her part and keep the house in order, while Evie White was expected to keep the show running as its beautiful but silent sidekick. Both women have unclaimed roles in their lives and in their thoughts they return to them. Both used to wear “costumes” while they were young – Jane, naturally, wore her maid’s outfit on a daily basis while Evie at first wore the costume of a dancer and then a magician’s assistant every night while

performing. Finally, both women experienced an apparent change of heart. They both obviously questioned but silently accepted their position in life. They seem to have been painfully aware of the fact that things were what they were and that they could not be anything else. Still, Swift allows them to play with different possible, if not real, scenarios once they have reached enough of a distance time-wise.

The main events of Graham Swift's *Mothering Sunday* take place on an unusually warm and sunny spring day in the English countryside. The day is Sunday, 30th March 1924, and it is a holiday – Mothering Sunday – a day that will be celebrated by even those who never get time off – servants in large country mansions. Jane Fairchild is working as a maid at the Niven estate, and she is in a secret relationship with the heir to the neighbouring estate, Mr. Paul Sheringham. The day, which starts out in a very unusual manner, will turn out to be quite tragic as the young Mr. Sheringham will lose his life in an unfortunate automobile accident. Before this happens, he and Jane will spend a magical day together, all alone in Paul's enormous house. It will be a day that will hold a special place in Jane's memory.

Since *Mothering Sunday* takes place in the 1920s, Jane Fairchild faces certain obstacles that Evie White does not face (the Second World War did, slightly, change the role of women in British society, but not as much as it should have). Being a simple maid, and having entered the service at the young age of fourteen, Jane is not expected to be able to read, yet she has a strong desire to do so. The inaccessibility of reading content is an issue she faces on a daily basis. In her youth, libraries were reserved for men:

Libraries too—libraries especially—had normally to be entered with much delicate knocking and caution, though as often as not, judging by the one at Beechwood, there was actually no one inside. Yet even when empty they could convey the frowning implication that you should not be there. But then a maid had to dust—and, my, how books could gather dust. Going into the library at Beechwood could be a little like going into the boys' room upstairs, and the point of libraries, she sometimes thought, was not the books themselves but that they preserved this hallowed atmosphere of not-to-be-disturbed male sanctuary. (*MS*: 89)

As the reader finds out throughout Jane's story: "everything had a masculine bias in 1924" (*MS*: 169). Jane attempts to dabble into this male space several times – she loans books from her superior, Mr. Niven, even though at first she was too shy to ask. In the library she feels like "some welcome, innocent thief" (*MS*: 90). She enters the library in her clandestine lover's home naked, in what is perhaps the most memorable scene of her attempting to claim space, and in the end she becomes a writer herself, producing a total of nineteen novels.

Jane living in service in the harsh class system is another obstacle she is often reminded of. She encounters barriers not only related to gender, but to class as well. One can clearly see that she knows that on a theoretical level things could have been different had she been born rich, and had been able to marry a rich man:

And she'd had the clear sharp vision (she would have it still when she was ninety) that she might have gone with him – might still somehow miraculously go with him, just him – to stand at the rail and watch Fandango hurtle past, kicking up the mud and dew. She had never seen such a thing but she could imagine it, imagine it clearly. (MS: 4-5)

In addition to this idea being presented at the very beginning of the novel, it is reiterated and revisited at the very end as well, bringing its importance into the foreground:

She might have gone with him, it might somehow have been magically arranged, to stand, pressed close to him, by the rail, in the chill of the dawn, as the sun unfurled great fiery carpets across the downs and as Fandango drew close, nostrils flaring and steaming, hooves pounding. (MS: 175)

The day that Jane spends in her clandestine lover's home, having entered it (unimaginably!) through the front door, she calls an "upside-down day" (MS: 46) because "There might have been another world, another life in which all this might have been a regular, casual repertoire. But there wasn't." (MS: 66-67). The entire description of that particular Mothering Sunday clearly shows how much of the world was inaccessible to people like Jane. On that day, which breaks a familiar pattern, Jane is a little more aware things do not quite make sense:

It was called "relaxation," she thought, a word that did not commonly enter a maid's vocabulary. She had many words, by now, that did not enter a maid's vocabulary. Even the word "vocabulary." She gathered them up like one of those nest-building birds outside. And was she even a maid any more, stretched here on his bed? And was he even a "master"? (MS: 43)

It is also implied that things might have been different had Jane Fairchild been born a man. Throughout the story, she gives this alternative scenario thought. When her lover leaves, in order to attend a family gathering, at one point: "She wanted to eat this pie, which he hadn't eaten, for him. As if she *were* him." (MS: 99). When left alone in the huge empty house, Jane will at first feel very strange. The "essential art of the servant" was "being both invisible yet indispensably at hand" and "She was invisible now." (MS: 84). Yet, even though in the grander scheme of things she truly was invisible (as in her daily life), especially because no one, except Paul,

knew that she was there, she would attempt to dominate the space reserved for the male gender and the rich with her mere presence. She wanders around the vast home completely naked:

She had no particular business in any of the rooms—except the bedroom upstairs, where the business was over. Yet her general and compelling business seemed to be to impregnate with her unseen, unclothed intrusion this house that was and wasn't hers.

And so she did. She glided from room to room. She looked, took in, but also secretly bestowed. She seemed to float on the knowledge that, outrageous as her visiting was—she hadn't a stitch on!—no one would know, guess she had even been there. As if her nakedness conferred on her not just invisibility but an exemption from fact. (MS: 85)

With her body, she will attempt to dominate the male/privileged space, even just for a little while. As she is walking the spacious halls and various rooms, she experiences a mix of confusing emotions; on the one hand, she knows she is not in her usual role, but her usual role is not who she really is. When entering the drawing room: “She could not help entering it with the studied deference of a maid announcing a caller or bringing in tea.” (MS: 86) but some moments later, when she sees her reflection in different mirrors, she will think: “Look, this is you! You are here!” (MS: 86) and “This is Jane Fairchild! This is me!” (MS: 87) Paul Sheringham had stood in front of one of those mirrors less than an hour before. Jane ponders: “Can a mirror keep a print? Can you look into a mirror and see someone else? Can you step through a mirror and *be* someone else?” (MS: 88) so her wish to be someone else, or to be a man, in this, case, is repeated. Jane also compares herself to Joseph Conrad because he surpassed the barrier of language to become a great writer. In Jane's eyes, what Conrad had done “was almost unbelievable” (MS: 172); “And it was what she would have to do to become a writer: cross an impossible barrier.” (*Ibid.*). In Jane's case, they were barriers of class and of gender.

However, regardless of all the questions Jane poses, and despite her attempt at claiming the physical space of a world which is out of reach, she does not truly question her position. The silent bystander that she is, on that very different day Jane reflects: “It was true of all days, it was the trite truth of any day, but it was truer today than on any day: there never was a day like this, nor ever would or could be again.” (MS: 44). It is obvious that the day had a great impact on her: “Was there ever such a day as this? Could there ever be such a day again?” (MS: 60). She could not thoroughly comprehend all that had taken place. It was almost as if the day was unreal: “It was the profoundest of questions. Had it really happened?” (MS: 103).

That Mothering Sunday was the first day on which Jane felt true freedom: “All over the country, maids and cooks and nannies had been ‘freed’ for the day, but was any of them—was even Paul Sheringham—as untethered as she?” (*MS*: 109). Such a feeling would remain inside of her like a virus she could not get rid of. All her life she would remember that day as the first day of her journey to becoming a different woman. Still, Jane would never cease to see her place next to a man, quietly accepting what she perceives as her female role. She would never forget Paul, her first love, she would toy with the idea of having been in a physical relationship with Joseph Conrad, she would spend twelve years of her life being the devoted wife of a philosopher named Donald Campion, up until death did them part. This is one aspect of her character that makes her very similar to Evie White.

The novel *Here We Are* takes place in England, and it opens in Brighton, in August of 1959, as the theatre at the end of the pier is having a great season. Jack Robinson (his real name and the one he later used was Jack Robbins) is the host of the show and the season’s most sought-after performance is a show by a real-life engaged couple who “had ‘taken Brighton by storm’” (*HWA*: 5). Their names are Ronnie and Evie, stage names Pablo and Eve. As the story progresses, the reader also learns about 8th September 2009, almost half a century exactly since the last show (performed on Saturday, 12th September), and also the first anniversary of Jack Robinson’s death. Due to a tragic turn of events, Evie White would spend almost half a century as Jack’s wife, not Ronnie’s. Like Jane Fairchild, Evie would also lose two men that she loved.

Evie White lives in very different times and enjoys endless freedoms compared to Jane Fairchild. She walks into Ronnie’s life “like a gift” (*HWA*: 63). Ronnie was not much older than her and they met after she had answered his magician’s ad that said: “‘Suit Young Lady. Previous Stage Experience Essential.’” When Evie met Jack, she and Ronnie were already engaged. Evie’s life would have been completely different had she left Ronnie mid-interview when she had the chance. (*HWA*: 65-66) A pretty blonde with “flashing blue eyes” (Swift, 2020: 78), Evie White is also described as a young woman “... who’d never been slow in coming forward and would give anything a go at least once.” (*HWA*: 72). One also learns that Evie’s mother believed that she would succeed eventually:

Once her mother had said to her that life was unfair, but her turn would come. And look what a turn it had turned out to be. Fifty years with Jack Robbins. Or not quite. Forty-nine. How unfair. But now, anyway, here she was, sitting pretty in Albany

Square, guardian, curator and beneficiary of her late husband's shining career. (HWA: 77)

The sad and disturbing aspect of this quote is that Evie apparently saw her late husband Jack's "shining career" as her biggest success. Magic was what had attracted Evie to joining Ronnie in the first place, but she always wanted and planned to be part of a duo. In their short but brilliant career on stage together, Evie was a bit of Ronnie's manager as well, and people often noticed her first (HWA: 94). In truth, Evie was more than just a pretty sidekick, she had her own ideas about the show (HWA: 88). When she ended up marrying Jack, he needed her support as well:

If Evie was there – with the punters and pesterers, the autograph-seekers – he might feel her little prod, her squeeze of his elbow, but even if she wasn't he would hear her whisper in his ear. 'Go on, Jack. Do it. One more time.' (HWA: 97)

Jack would not have been as successful as he was had it not been for her: "But it was Evie White (sometimes known as Mrs Robbins) who'd put him there, Evie White who'd marched him down to Lime Grove and said, 'Sign, Jack, and say thank you to the nice people.'" (HWA: 83). On the one hand, Evie loved both Ronnie and Jack dearly, and she misses them dearly when they are gone (HWA: 76). On the other, despite her undying love for these men, Evie is clearly aware that she was the best of the entertainment trio:

It was Evie who you might say chose to live in the real world, when she gave up the stage, where she'd disported and dazzled like the best of them, to become Jack Robbins' wife and, as it proved, rather more than that. What a big gamble that was, and what a big mistake it might have turned out to be. But look how it had paid off. Just look at her now. And all when she might have had her ongoing stage career, not to say marriage to Ronnie Deane, who had even become the 'Great Pablo'.

But who has heard of the Great Pablo now? That magician chap. Whatever became of him? And Jack never became the Great Jack, or even Sir Jack. But life is unfair, you do or you don't have your moment, and if the show must come to an end then there's always the sound theatrical argument: save the best till last. (HWA: 157-158)

This is a discrepancy that keeps popping up throughout the story. This is where the nostalgia for what never was comes into play. Only through Evie's musings might one infer that she could have achieved a lot more in life, and yet she maintains that her true place in life was within a couple: "Then Vijay had called anyway, as arranged. He'd said, 'Good afternoon, Mrs Robbins.' She was really 'Evie' or 'Evie White' or 'Ms White' but she'd learnt – in almost fifty years – to accept the frequently conferred title without fuss." (HWA: 153) and her true calling was that of a partner:

“Wouldn’t ‘Eve’ always have its immaculate ring? First of women. And did the world need to be told, to have it confirmed, that for him she would always be the great Eve, the wonderful Eve. And, if only for a little while, *his* Eve.” (*HWA*: 160). Evie White sees her role of a female as that of a supporter (despite having become the controlling director of a production company), and only by nostalgically looking back does she allow herself to fully perceive her power and her talents:

Though hadn’t she always had it? Long before Rainbow Productions³ was a twinkle in their eyes (but mainly hers). Hadn’t she always wound Jack up and set him off in all the right directions? Just as his mother had done, just as her mother had done with her. The obituaries had simply noted the fact that they’d had no children. No ‘survived bys’. Well, need she make any comment? Too busy with Jack, hands full with Jack. If it wasn’t obvious. (*HWA*: 86)

Through Swift’s choice of words, it almost appears as if Evie is expecting the reader to understand her point of view. It is also noticeable that she can picture an entire vertical or diachronic line of female history in her wake. Tragically, she does not perceive this as a way forward.

Jane Fairchild felt like a stranger in her rich lover’s house because her position in life did not allow her to ever belong there. Evie White, even though in a far more advanced position in life also feels that she does not belong: “18 Albany Square was still here – just about, it suddenly seemed to her. And who was living in it? As she looked in her mirror, this suddenly seemed a question you could ask too.” (*HWA*: 179). Despite all her success, and despite her taking credit for many of her lovers’ achievements (Ronnie’s brief but phenomenal success and Jack’s life-long career) Evie still does not believe that she belongs in the space reserved for men. On the day of the anniversary of Jack’s death “She’d felt a little dizzy and strange, she’d felt a little not herself.” (*HWA*: 153) and it is almost as if she needs her deceased lovers to appear from the netherworld and make her feel complete again:

So the house had entombed her again. Yet there was nowhere, for all the silenced voices, where she would rather be entombed. And the wine had done its work. Now she sat at her dressing table, wondering whether to remove her make-up and half expecting to see in the mirror Jack standing behind her, placing his hands softly on her shoulders.

...

³ Perhaps named after Pablo and Eve’s “Famous Rainbow Trick” (*HWA*: 166).

But it wasn't Jack that she saw. It was too brief a glimpse for every detail, but he was in his stage outfit, the last thing she'd seen him in, and she'd recognise those eyes anywhere. (HWA: 156)

Until the very end of the novel, Evie keeps imagining that Ronnie and Jack can see her or that they are not far away (e.g. HWA: 76, 77, 195). She also feels that her entire life has inextricable links to the past, the past in which she was the partner of these two men (HWA: 168-169).

However, while exploring the vast realms of her past, Evie, like Jane, will try to reclaim the kind of life and acknowledgement of the self that she never experienced. In both their cases, nostalgia is a tool they use in order to fight back in an unfair world. Their stories are not predictable; there is no villain responsible for their downfall, and in fact there is no downfall and no demise. The tragedy of Jane Fairchild's and Evie White's lives is the fact that they themselves never succeeded in finding and/or claiming their rightful place within them. In the tunnels of history they will try to reconstruct their lives, adding to them a flair of small victories. The fact that they themselves are telling the stories to both themselves and the reader is crucial and this aspect of the narrative was most probably intentional.

In *Mothering Sunday* the epigraph reads "You *shall* go to the ball!" and the opening line is "Once upon a time" (MS: 3). This adds to an overall feeling that what the two women are replaying in their minds might not be the full truth. Swift further toys with this idea by emphasizing the unreliability of memory and recounting: "And it might even have happened just like that." (MS: 14) and he mentions "All the scenes. All the scenes that never occur, but wait in the wings of possibility." (MS: 74) and "All the scenes. All the real ones and all the ones in books. And all the ones that were somehow in-between, because they were only what you could picture and imagine of real people." (MS: 175). The description of the magic show and the element of magic provide this same effect for *Here We Are*:

Then the show was over and the talked-about thing was no more than that, it could only ever exist in the memories of those who'd seen it, with their own eyes, in those few summer weeks. Then those memories would themselves fade. They might wonder anyway if they really had seen it. (HWA: 4-5)

Believing in magic requires passing through a certain door which leads "into a new way of thinking about everything around you". (HWA: 134) Evie needed to believe in magic in order to make the best of her life. She was proud of the woman she had become:

... what's more extraordinary, that actors turn into these other people – how on earth is it done? – or that people anyway turn into people you never thought they might be?

Evie White. Chorus girl. Prancer and dancer. Up for anything really. Even one-time magician's assistant. But, as it turned out, hard-headed and sharp-eyed business woman. She could vouch for that too. And Jack Robbins' wife for nearly fifty years. Not Ronnie Deane's. Who would know better? (*HWA*: 84)

Jane Fairchild was also proud of herself and her writer's career: "Telling stories, telling tales. Always the implication that you were trading in lies. But for her it would always be the task of getting to the quick, the heart, the nub, the pith: the trade of truth-telling." (*MS*: 176) Jane's and Evie's truths will always remain ever so slightly out of reach for the reader, as one can never truly walk a mile in their shoes. Perhaps their relationship towards a past they never had could be defined as nothing more than a magical fairytale. Perhaps in their case nostalgia would be, as Svetlana Boym put it, "a romance with one's own fantasy" (2001: XIII). Yet, herein lies the silver lining of these stories about lives unfulfilled; in Jane's and Evie's minds there will always be this path of success that they may have taken, there will always be this space that may be reclaimed by returning to the opportunities that were missed. But who are we as readers to judge, and what is "true", anyway? Reading such stories at the beginning of the 21st century most certainly makes one wonder why Swift had not chosen a different path to explore the female experience throughout history. Writing from a male perspective, even while giving the floor to his heroines, perhaps he provided the answer himself:

So what was it then exactly, this truth-telling? They would always want even the explanation explained! And any writer worth her salt would lead them on, tease them, lead them up the garden path. Wasn't it bloody obvious? It was about being true to the very stuff of life, it was about trying to capture, though you never could, the very feel of being alive. It was about finding a language. And it was about being true to the fact, the one thing only followed from the other, that many things in life—oh so many more than we think—can never be explained at all. (*MS*: 176-177)

Bojana Gledić

NE U MOJE IME – NOSTALGIJA KAO SREDSTVO OTPORA U ROMANIMA
MAJČIN DAN I EVO NAS GREJAMA SVIFTA

Rezime

Prošlost, kojoj se iznova vraćamo, neretko biva obojena značenjem koje joj tom prilikom dodeljujemo. Moglo bi se reći da predstavlja platno po kojem slikamo iznova i iznova. Tu dolazimo do pojma nostalgija, koji se isprva koristio da označi fizičku bolest, a danas se uglavnom povezuje sa nekom vrstom „melanholije za domom” ili željom da se čovek vrati tamo odakle potiče/gde pripada. U izučavanju književnosti koja se bavi nostalgijom, može se posmatrati kao alatka kojom se održava identitet (Davis, 1979: 31-51) i ne mora da se odnosi na stvarne događaje (Lasch, 1990: 18). U slučaju dva romana Grejama Svifta izabrana za analizu u ovom radu (*Majčin dan*, 2017 i *Evo nas*, 2020), čežnja za prošlošću zaista se odnosi na događaje koji se nikada nisu desili, ali ne u pokušaju da se dođe do utehe, već u pokušaju da se stvori istorija koja nikad nije postojala i povrati zasluženno mesto u istorijskom toku događaja. Dok se kroz nostalgiju vraćaju svojim životnim pričama, i kroz reči i kroz misli, Sviftove junakinje Džejn Ferčajld (*Majčin dan*) i Ivi Vajt (*Evo nas*) pružaju otpor i bore se za svoje mesto u istoriji.

Ključne reči: nostalgija, otpor, Grejam Svift, *Majčin dan*, *Evo nas*

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UDC: 811.163.41'367
DOI: 10.19090/gff.v48i3.2365
Original research paper

ADJUNCT EXTRACTION IN FACTIVE, NON-FACTIVE AND SEMI-FACTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS***

Whereas previous research has shown that adjunct extraction out of non-factive clauses is allowed, the results of adjunct extraction out of factive clauses were inconsistent (De Cuba & Mitrović 2008; Sekicki 2016). The main aim of the present paper is twofold: to reexamine the acceptability of adjunct extraction out of factive clauses and to offer a possible explanation for the differences in acceptability judgments. An acceptability judgment task was distributed among 90 native speakers of Serbian. As expected, the results showed that the sentences containing non-factive verbs allow long-distance extraction of adjuncts. The results also confirmed that native speakers of Serbian consider the clauses containing an adjunct extracted out of a true factive (emotive) clause unacceptable. Semi-factive (cognitive) verbs, which lose their factivity in questions, conditionals and modal environments (Karttunen, 1971), were also included in the questionnaire. The results suggest that they are mostly considered unacceptable when the extracted adjuncts are *how* and *why*, whereas they are considered more acceptable with *when* and *where*, which is in accordance with Oshima's Scale of Extractability (2007). The conclusion is that emotive and cognitive factive verbs behave differently, with cognitive verbs allowing extraction in some cases, which is in accordance with previous research (Djäv&Romero 2021).

Keywords: Factives, Non-Factives, *Wh*-movement, Adjunct extraction, Islands.

1. FACTIVE, NON-FACTIVE AND SEMI-FACTIVE VERBS

This paper offers a comparison of factive, non-factive and semi-factive constructions and their syntactic behavior in English and Serbian with respect to *wh*-extraction. In order to explain the differences, the syntactic and semantic characteristics of each verb type will be explained. In the linguistic literature, the division between factive and non-factive verbs was mentioned for the first time by Kiparsky & Kiparsky (1970). In their paper, they differentiated between two different

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classes of predicates. The first group of predicates presupposes the truth of the sentential complement and is called **factive verbs**. The list of these verbs in Serbian with the corresponding English translation equivalents is shown in (1a). The second group does not presuppose the truth of the sentential complement and is called **non-factive**. It includes the verbs presented in (1b).

1. (a) **Factives:** *žaliti* ‘regret’, *mrzeti* ‘hate’, *razumeti* ‘comprehend’, *sviđati se* ‘like’ etc.

(b) **Non-factives:** *verovati* ‘believe’, *tvrditi* ‘claim’, *reći* ‘say’, etc.

When we observe concrete sentences, the sentence with the factive verb *regret* (2a) implies that the presupposition of the complement is true. However, when a non-factive verb *believe* is used as in (2b), the verb does not presuppose the truth of the complement following it.

2. (a) I *regret* [that she came back].

(b) I *believe* [that it is raining].

These two types of predicates differ not only semantically, but also syntactically. The biggest syntactic difference between them is that complements of factive verbs are **weak islands** for extraction, as stated by de Cuba (2006). The weak island effect means that these clauses allow extraction of argument, but disallow extraction of adjunct wh-phrases. This means that adjuncts cannot move out of the embedded clause, as shown in (3a), while there is no such restriction on extraction from sentences containing non-factives like in (3b). The same behavior is noted in Serbian and presented in (4). The sentence (4a) contains a factive verb and disallows extraction, while (4b) contains a non-factive verb that allows adjunct extraction.

3. (a) *How_k do you *regret* that you behaved t_k ?

(b) How_k do you *think* that you behaved t_k ?

4. (a) *Kako_k žališ da si se ponašao t_k ?

how regret_{2.SG.PRES} that you AUX behaved

“How do you regret that you behaved?”

(b) Kako_k misliš da si se ponašao t_k ?

how think_{2.SG.PRES} that you AUX behaved

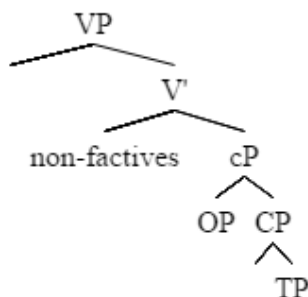
“How do you think that you behaved?”

When argument extraction is concerned, both factive and non-factive verbs allow extraction of arguments (5).

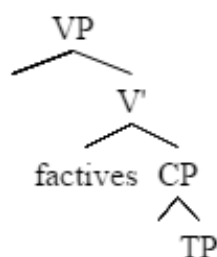
5. (a) What_{t_k} does she *think* that John bought t_k?
 (b) What_{t_k} does she *regret* John bought t_k?
 (c) Šta_{t_k} ona misli da je Petar kupio t_k?
 what she think_{3.SG.FEM} that AUX Petar bought_{3.SG.MASC}
 “What does she think that Petar bought?”
 (d) Šta_{t_k} ona žali da je Petar kupio t_k?
 what she regret_{3.SG.FEM} that AUX Petar bought_{3.SG.MASC}
 “What does she regret that Petar bought?”

When their syntactic structure is concerned, de Cuba (2006) proposes that there is an extra layer of syntactic structure (cP) in the CP layer selected by non-factive predicates, as in (6), but not selected by factive predicates, as in (7). This extra level in the CP is selected by the verb and it is projected by a semantic operator [OP]. Syntactically, this cP projection opens up an escape hatch for adjunct extraction. Contrastingly, the lack of a cP projection under factives leaves adjuncts stranded.

6.



7.



When describing the notion of the operator de Cuba (2006:5) also states that “[OP] is a variable allowing the <speaker> value of a sentence to change from the default <+current speaker> value to a different value, removing the utterer of the sentence from responsibility for the truth content of the embedded clause.” The presence of the [OP] means the non-presupposition of truth under non-factives, while the lack of the [OP] means the presupposition of truth in factive contexts. According to de Cuba (2006), it is the presence of cP that changes the interpretation from factive to non-factive. In conclusion, the operator is the key element that makes the

difference between factive and non-factive constructions on both syntactic and semantic level.

In addition to the distinction between factives and non-factives, there is a subcategory of factive verbs important for our research called **semi-factives**. This subcategory has been present in the literature for a long time. Karttunen (1977) makes a claim that these verbs lose their factivity in different environments such as questions, conditionals and modal environments, but not in other contexts. For instance, in negative environments, factivity does not change and the verbs always presuppose the truth of the embedded complement, as in (8). However, in other environments, factives behave differently. In modal environments, the truth of the complement can be inferred from (9a), but not from (9b, 9c) meaning that in these examples verbs do not behave as factives. The same thing occurs in conditionals, where the factive presupposition stays the same only in (10a) in contrast to (10b, 10c).

8. (a) John did not **regret** that he had not told the truth.
(b) John did not **realize** that he had not told the truth.
(c) John did not **discover** that he had not told the truth.
9. (a) It is possible that I will **regret** later that I have not told the truth.
(b) It is possible that I will **realize** later that I have not told the truth.
(c) It is possible that I will **discover** later that I have not told the truth.
10. (a) If I **regret** later that I have not told the truth, I will confess to everyone.
(b) If I **realize** later that I have not told the truth, I will confess to everyone.
(c) If I **discover** later that I have not told the truth, I will confess to everyone.

In line with this division, Klein (1975) makes a distinction between two types of factive verbs called cognitive and emotive factives. This distinction is based on the type of attitude the factive predicate denotes. **Cognitive factives** include verbs like *know*, *discover*, *realize*, *find out*, while **emotive factives** include verbs such as *regret*, *resent*, *be glad*, *be sorry*, etc. The cognitive factives notion, which Klein (1975) uses, corresponds to the term semi-factives used by Karttunen (1977). The reason why they are included in this research is because semi-factives are believed to exhibit atypical behavior when it comes to extracting adjuncts.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND ON LONG-DISTANCE WH-EXTRACTION

When adjunct extraction in long-distance wh-movement is concerned, there are two restrictions that de Cuba & Mitrović (2008) propose. The first restriction is concerned with the order of adjuncts and arguments in the long-distance wh-movement. This paper will solely focus on the second restriction stating that non-factive complements allow adjunct extraction as in (11a), but factive complements do not (11b). They explain that adjunct extraction in (11b) is ungrammatical because CP is lexically selected by *znaš* ‘know’, making the adjunction impossible. Adjunct extraction in (11a) is grammatical, thus allowing the adjunct *zašto* ‘why’ to move.

11. (a) *Zašto_K tvrdiš* [da si Nenadu dao knjigu *t_K*]?
 why claim_{2.SG.PRES} that AUX to Nenad given book
 “Why do you claim that you have given the book to Nenad?”
- (b) **Zašto_K znaš* [da si Nenadu dao knjigu *t_K*]?
 why know_{2.SG} that AUX to Nenad given book
 “Why do you know that you have given the book to Nenad?”

Sekicki's (2014) study contradicts the conclusions made by de Cuba & Mitrović (2008). Based on the obtained results, Sekicki concludes that the restriction on adjunct extraction out of Factive Islands claimed by de Cuba & Mitrović does not exist as such in Serbian and that the adjunct extraction out of factive verbs is grammatical, as illustrated in (12a). She also adds that extraction of adjuncts out of non-factive verbs (12b) is more acceptable than out of factives. Sekicki's claim is that pragmatic ambiguity can be one of the reasons why some sentences are interpreted as unacceptable.

12. (a) *Kako_K žališ* [što se nisi ošišala *t_K*]?
 how regret_{2.SG} that refl. not cut your hair
 “How do you regret that you did not cut your hair?”
- (b) *Kako_K smatraš* [da se Marko poneo *t_K*]?
 how deem_{2.SG} that refl. Marko behaved
 “How do you deem that Marko behaved?”

Another factor that has been claimed to influence long-distance wh-extraction is uniqueness. Szabolcsi & Zwarts (1993) observe that argument extraction out of the complement of a factive verb leads to ungrammaticality when the event described in the embedded clause is non-iterable with respect to the extracted

argument, i.e. when the embedded property is unique and cannot be iterated over several individuals. In (13a), the extracted argument has many possible resolutions (different recipients), which is not the case with (13b), where only one resolution (an individual or a group of individuals as the sender) is possible.

13. a. To whom do you regret having shown this letter?
b. *From whom do you regret having gotten this letter? (Sz & Z, 1993)

Building on the analysis proposed by Szabolcsi & Zwarts (1993), Oshima (2007: 4) proposes that: “the extraction of a *wh*-phrase α from a factive complement *C* is blocked when [α *C*] (or [*C* ... α ...] in languages with in situ *wh*-interrogatives) would form an interrogative such that among its resolutions, at most one can be true (its resolutions are mutually exhaustive)”, an example of which is given here in (13b). Oshima uses the term *unique wh-interrogatives* to refer to these *wh*-questions. He notices a pattern in the acceptability of extraction under factives, creates a Scale of Extractability and assumes that adjuncts *when* and *where* can be extracted from a factive complement; the extraction of *how* is marginal; and the extraction of *why* is unacceptable.

14. Scale of Extractability: **argument *wh*-phrases > {when, where} > how > why**

Oshima (2007:3)

According to this hierarchy, *why* extractions always lead to a unique, non-iterable property (there is always one reason in a given context); *how* extractions tend to be interpreted in the same way (although there may be exceptional cases when multiple manners are provided as resolutions), which is not the case with *where* and *when* extractions, which allow for multiple resolutions. Similarly, Schwarz & Simonenko (2018) suggest that the combination of factivity and uniqueness leads to the ungrammaticality of factive islands.

The conflicting results of long-distance *wh*-extraction in Serbian obtained by de Cuba & Mitrović (2008) and Sekicki (2014) were the starting point for the research we conducted. Its aims were twofold, the first goal was to reexamine the acceptability of adjunct extraction out of factive and non-factive clauses. The second goal was to offer a possible explanation for the differences in acceptability judgments. Before the main research, we conducted a pilot study that also focused on adjunct extraction from true factive, non-factive, and semi-factive verbs.

3. PILOT STUDY

The pilot study was done in an online format with 20 participants in total. The questionnaire consisted of two tasks containing 12 sentences each. Both tasks included the long-distance adjunct extraction out of factive, non-factive and semi-factive clauses. The acceptability of each sentence was judged by the speakers using a Likert scale with a numerical score from 1 to 4. In the first task, a variety of adjuncts were used including *zašto* ‘why’, *kada* ‘when’, *gde* ‘where’, *kako* ‘how’. The aim of the task was to see whether different types of adjuncts have an influence on the acceptability of the sentences in line with Oshima (2007). In the second task, the set of questions was followed by an answer, which enabled the native speakers’ easier understanding of the intended interpretation of the sentence. Two answers were offered for each sentence, one with a long-distance adjunct extraction and another one with a short-distance extraction serving as a filler.

The results of the pilot study that we obtained are the following. Regarding non-factives, the sentences containing non-factive verbs allow long-distance extraction of adjuncts shown in (15) and are judged as acceptable by native speakers.

15. *Zašto sumnjaš da ga je ostavila?*

why doubt_{2.SG} that he AUX left_{3.SG.FEM}

“Why do you *doubt* that she left him?”

answer: Sumnjam da ga je ostavila jer nije bio iskren.

“I doubt that she left him because he wasn’t honest.”

Regarding factive verbs, the results confirmed that the clauses containing an adjunct extracted out of a **factive** clause are considered unacceptable, in line with de Cuba & Mitrović (2008).

16. **Kako žališ da si se poneo prema njoj?*

how regret_{2.SG} that AUX treat_{2.SG} towards her

“*How do you *regret* that you treated her?”

answer: Žalim da sam se poneo nepravedno prema njoj.

“I regret that I treated her badly.”

In the pilot study, semi-factives were considered marginally (un)acceptable by the native speakers, regardless of the adjunct type (*zašto* ‘why’, *kako* ‘how’, *kada* ‘when’, *gde* ‘where’).

17. Kada si *saznao* da ga je *zvala*?

when AUX find out that him AUX called_{3.SG.FEM}

“When did you find out that she called him?”

answer: Saznao sam da ga je sinoć *zvala*.

find out_{1.SG} AUX that him AUX last night called_{3.SG}

“I found out that she called him last night.”

Since the number of both the items and participants in the pilot research was quite limited, we decided to conduct a wider-scale study, which would enable us to confirm the obtained results and further examine wh-extraction of different adjuncts out of semi-factive embedded clauses. The research is described in detail in the following section.

4. MAIN RESEARCH

Instrument

The data collection technique was an acceptability judgment task. The participants were asked to judge the acceptability of the sentences, ranging from 1 (completely unacceptable) to 4 (completely acceptable). A forced-choice Likert scale was chosen in order to avoid neutral answers. All the questions were followed by an appropriate answer so that we could ensure that the extracted adjunct referred to the embedded clause. The participants were instructed to rate the question in relation to the answer, as illustrated in (18):

18. Kako ti je drago što su **otputovali**?

how you AUX glad that AUX travelled_{3.PL}

“How are you glad that they travelled?”

answer: Drago mi je što su otputovali avionom.

“I’m glad that they travelled by plane.”

They were also informed that all the question words referred to the bolded verb that was part of the embedded clause.

Design

Independent variables were factive (emotive) verbs, semi-factive (cognitive) verbs and non-factive verbs. Four verbs of each type were chosen:

- **factive verbs:** *ceniti* ‘appreciate’, *žaliti* ‘regret’, *mrzeti* ‘hate’, *biti drago* ‘be glad’;
- **semi-factive verbs:** *setiti se* ‘remember’, *saznati* ‘find out’, *otkriti* ‘discover’, *primetiti* ‘notice’;
- **non-factive verbs:** *misliti* ‘think’, *očekivati* ‘expect’, *tvrditi* ‘claim’, *verovati* ‘believe’.

The verbs were combined with 4 extracted adjuncts (*kada* ‘when’, *gde* ‘where’, *kako* ‘how’, *zašto* ‘why’), which made 16 sentences per verb type, and 48 sentences in total. The number of filler sentences was the same. For processing reasons, it was decided that the sentences should be split into two questionnaires (with an even number of verbs belonging to different verb types), distributed to two groups of participants.

Participants

A total of ninety (N=90) native speakers of Serbian (from the region of Vojvodina) were tested. They were undergraduate-level students at the University of Novi Sad, divided into two groups, each completing one of the two versions of the questionnaire. The testing took approximately 15 minutes.

Results

A descriptive statistical analysis was conducted. As it was expected, the sentences which included adjunct extraction out of factive (emotive) embedding verbs were judged as unacceptable. In the first questionnaire, sentences with factive (emotive) verbs were assessed as **completely unacceptable** ($M < 1.50$), with the exception of two sentences that were assessed as somewhat acceptable. In the second questionnaire, sentences with factive (emotive) verbs were assessed as **completely to somewhat unacceptable** (with the mean ranging from 1.47 to 1.89), with the exception of two sentences that were assessed as somewhat acceptable. The results are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. The adjunct extraction results – factive verbs

Gde ti je drago što je Ana dobila posao? “Where are you glad that Ana got a job?”	M=1.29 SD=0.59
Kada Ana ceni što će firma organizovati zajedničko putovanje? “When does Ana appreciate that the company will organize a joint trip?”	M=1.45 SD=0.86
Zašto Jovan mrzi što je sve poskupelo ? “Why does Jovan hate that all the prices went up ?”	M=3.12 SD=1.04
Zašto žališ što nam je opala prodaja? “Why do you regret that our sales went down ?”	M=3.05 SD=1.13
Kako Jovan mrzi što zaposleni dostavljaju izveštaje? “How does Jovan hate that the employees deliver their reports?”	M=1.38 SD=0.69
Gde Ana ceni što će firma organizovati zajedničko putovanje? “Where does Ana appreciate that the company will organize a joint trip?”	M=1.48 SD=0.86
Kako žališ što ti se šef obraća ? “How do you regret that your boss is addressing you?”	M=1.43 SD=0.80
Kada ti je drago što su objavili rezultate konkursa? “When are you glad that they published the results of the call?”	M=1.26 SD=0.59

The situation was much less clear with semi-factive verbs. In the first questionnaire, five sentences with semi-factive (cognitive) verbs were assessed as **somewhat unacceptable** (with the mean ranging from 1.43 to 2.21), whereas three sentences were assessed as **somewhat to completely acceptable** (3.43 to 3.81). In the second questionnaire, half of the sentences with semi-factive (cognitive) verbs were assessed as **somewhat unacceptable** (with the mean ranging from 1.55 to 2.34), and half of them were assessed as **somewhat acceptable** (2.51 to 3.40). The results are shown in Table 2. It should be pointed out that *when* and *where* sentences were rated much higher than *how* and *why* sentences.

Table 2. The adjunct extraction results – semi-factive verbs

Kada si saznao da je kupio kuću? “When did you find out that he bought the house?”	M=3.52 SD=0.80
Gde su otkrili da se ubica skriva ? “Where did they discover that the murderer was hiding ?”	M=3.43 SD=0.70
Zašto si saznao da ga je ostavila ? “Why did you find out that she left him?”	M=1.43 SD=0.80
Kako si se setio da izveštaj treba da se preda ? “How did you remember that the report should be submitted ?”	M=1.93 SD=1.07
Gde si primetila da greši ? “Where did you notice that he makes mistakes ?”	M=3.81 SD=0.59
Zašto si primetila da se ne slaže sa šefom? “Why did you notice that he does not get on with his boss very well?”	M=1.81 SD=1.02
Kako si otkrio da je položila ispit? “How did you discover that she passed the exam?”	M=2.21 SD=1.07
Kada si se setio da sastanak treba da se održi ? “When did you remember that the meeting should be held ?”	M=1.98 SD=0.98

Finally, as it was expected, the sentences that included adjunct extraction out of non-factive embedding verbs were judged as acceptable. All the sentences with non-factive verbs were assessed as **somewhat to completely acceptable** with the mean ranging from 2.81 to 3.90 in the first questionnaire, as Table 3 shows. Likewise, all the sentences with non-factive verbs were assessed as **somewhat to completely acceptable** with the mean ranging from 2.94 to 3.81 in the second questionnaire, with the exception of one sentence assessed as somewhat unacceptable.

Table 3. The adjunct extraction results – non-factive verbs

Gde tvrdiš da je Ivan preraspoređen ? “Where do you claim that Ivan was transferred ?”	M=2.81 SD=0.86
Zašto misliš da je Nenad dao otkaz? “Why do you think that Nenad resigned ?”	M=3.71 SD=0.74
Kako očekuješ da će naša reprezentacija proći ? “How do you expect that our national team will qualify ?”	M=3.48 SD=0.80
Zašto tvrdiš da je Marko udario Miloša? “Why do you claim that Marko hit Miloš?”	M=3.17 SD=0.82
Kako misliš da su uspeli da sve završe ne vreme? “How do you think that they managed to finish everything on time?”	M=3.29 SD=0.81
Gde veruješ da bi trebalo napraviti izmene? “Where do you believe the changes should be made ?”	M=3.26 SD=0.96
Kada očekuješ da ćeš dobiti ponudu? “When do you expect that you will get a better offer?”	M=3.90 SD=0.37
Kada veruješ da će se ova situacija poboljšati ? “When do you believe that this situation will improve ?”	M=3.38 SD=0.91

The presented results suggest that extraction out of factive embedded clauses is not allowed, with the overall mean below 2 in both of the tested groups (M=1.80; M=1.93). The results have confirmed that extraction out of non-factive embedded clauses is allowed, as was expected, with the overall mean above 3 in both of the tested groups (M=3.38; M=3.34). However, the situation with semi-factive verbs is less clear (M=2.51; M=2.43).

Discussion

Upon looking at the results, it is clear that there is a difference in the syntactic behavior between true factive and semi-factive verbs. As could be observed in the questionnaire items, these two verb types appeared with different complementizers; namely, factive verbs appeared with the complementizer *što*, and semi-factive verbs with the complementizer *da*. As Arsenijević (2021) claims, the complementizer *što* marks that the situation is familiar and unique, whereas the complementizer *da* is neutral, with a tendency for an indefinite interpretation. Baunaz (2015, 2016, 2018)

argues for the existence of specific and partitive complementizers, the first of which binds a single propositional variable, which corresponds to a single truth value, and the second of which ranges over a set of propositional values (either true or false). Baunaz and Lander (2017) also claim the existence of the non-presupposed complementizer that ranges over non-finite sets of propositional variables (neither true nor false). In Serbian, the specific complementizer is *što*, whereas the partitive complementizer is *da*. The non-presupposed complementizer is *da* as well. Furthermore, Baunaz and Lander (2017) claim that factive islands are conditioned by the complementizer (among other factors): the complementizer *što* creates strong islands, whereas the complementizer *da* may create a weak island, although it does not have to (if it is the non-presupposed complementizer, it does not create an island). The differences in the complementizer of true factive and semi-factive verbs tested in the present paper may account for the difference in the grammaticality judgments.

The results also show that although there seems to be a general ban on the extraction of adjuncts out of true factive (emotive) verbs, factivity - non-factivity opposition is not enough to account for slight differences in grammaticality judgments of semi-factive (cognitive) verbs. One solution could be to look at the syntactic-pragmatic interface.

Relating the data obtained in the present study with previous observations on uniqueness (Oshima 2007; Schwarz & Simonenko (2018), some of the examples given in (19) and (20) that got relatively high ratings were non-unique:

19. Gde su otkrili da se ubica skrivao? M=3.43

where AUX discover_{3.PL} that refl murderer hide_{3.SG.PAST}

“Where did they discover that the murderer was hiding?”

answer: Otkrili su da se ubica skrivao po šumama.

“They discovered that the murderer was hiding in the woods.”

20. Gde si saznao da se mogu kupiti dobre cipele? M=3

where AUX find out_{2.SG} that refl can buy good shoes

“Where did you find out that good shoes could be bought?”

answer: Saznao sam da se mogu kupiti u jednoj zanatskoj radnji, kao i u novom tržnom

centru.

“I found out that they could be bought in a shoe-craft store, as well as in the new

shopping mall.”

However, the present results suggest that Oshima's Extractability scale (2007) seems to be applicable only to semi-factive, but not true factive verbs in Serbian, which is in contrast with Sekicki's findings (2014). Therefore, other factors that possibly influence extraction need to be taken into account as well.

Djäv & Romero (2021) observe that cognitive factives like *discover* and *find out* allow for parenthetical uses (they can be used as parenthetical verbs like *know* or *believe*; for more details see Urmson, 1952), in which p (embedded gapped property) is not treated as part of the common ground. Instead, they are used to introduce discourse-new information. However, p is still entailed, which is why the sentence would result in ungrammaticality with a different entailment, as shown in (21b), which would not be the case with non-factives (21c).

21. (a) Big news! Archaeologists reveal new facts about the life and death of Caesar.

So tell me – where did they {discover, learn} that Caesar was killed?

(b) They just {found out, discovered, learned} that Caesar was actually killed in the Theatre

of Pompey. (#Though he was in fact killed in the regular Senate Building.)

(c) They {think, are saying} that Caesar was actually killed in the Theatre of Pompey. (Though he was in fact killed in the regular Senate Building.)

Djäv & Romero (2021:190)

Importantly, Djäv & Romero (2021) also claim that emotive factives like *regret* and *appreciate* do not generally allow for such parenthetical uses, but impose a stronger requirement that p be common ground, which could account for the discrepancy between the two types of factive verbs found in this study. The present results provide support for the claim that ungrammaticality with semi-factives can be avoided through non-uniqueness or 'evidential questions' (if permitted by the factive verb), as Djäv & Romero (2021) suggest.

CONCLUSION

The results obtained in the research suggest that adjunct extraction out of non-factive verbs is considered acceptable based on the native speaker's intuition. On the other hand, adjunct extraction out of true factive (emotive) verbs was considered unacceptable by the speakers. Considering the fact that the complementizer *što* (being unique and familiar) is combined with factive verbs, it results in a strong island

violation banning this movement. Furthermore, semi-factives were typically combined with complementizer *da* (having non-uniqueness/partitive meaning) and allowed some adjunct extractions. The adjunct extraction out of semi-factives had different acceptability rates based on the type of adjunct that was extracted, with *when* and *where* being more acceptable than *how* and *why* extraction. We can conclude that emotive and cognitive factives behave differently and that cognitive factives allow adjunct extraction in contexts of non-uniqueness and evidential questions.

The possible limitations of the research would be the limited geographical region, where only native speakers from Vojvodina were included in the research. Some further research could also include other dialects and regions. Furthermore, further research could incorporate and propose a syntactic structure with potential features for sentences with semi-factive verbs, and how their different behavior in regard to extraction is accounted for syntactically.

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EKSTRAKCIJA ADJUNKTA U FAKTIVNIM, NEFAKTIVNIM I SEMI FAKTIVNIM KONSTRUKCIJAMA

Rezime

U radu se daje pregled faktivnih i nefaktivnih konstrukcija (Kiparsky & Kiparsky, 1970), sa fokusom na se na njihovo sintaksičko ponašanje kada je u pitanju ekstrakcija adjunkta iz umetnute klauze. Prethodna istraživanja su pokazala da je ekstrakcija adjunkta iz umetnutih klauza nefaktivnih glagola dozvoljena, dok je ekstrakcija adjunkta iz umetnutih klauza faktivnih glagola dovela do suprotstavljenih rezultata (De Cuba & Mitrović 2008; Sekicki 2014). De Cuba i Mitrović (2008) tvrde da faktivni komplementi ne dozvoljavaju ekstrakciju adjunkta zato što faktivni glagoli ne selektuju dodatni cP nivo sintaksičke strukture, za razliku od nefaktivnih glagola. Glagol selektuje ovaj dodatni nivo unutar CP projekcije, dok ga semantički operator [Op] projektuje. S druge strane, Sekicki (2016) je došla do rezultata koji pokazuju da je ekstrakcija adjunkta iz faktivnih klauza moguća u nekim slučajevima. Osim faktivnih i nefaktivnih glagola, u istraživanje su bili uključeni i semifaktivni glagoli koji gube svoju faktivnost u pitanjima, kondicionalima i modalnim okruženjima (Karttunen, 1971). Semifaktivni glagoli su zapravo kognitivni glagoli, dok su pravi faktivni glagoli emotivni (Klein, 1975). Cilj istraživanja je dvostruk: ponovo ispitati prihvatljivost ekstrakcije adjunkta iz faktivnih klauza i ponuditi moguće objašnjenje za razliku u proceni prihvatljivosti dobijenu u prethodnim istraživanjima. 90 izvornih govornika srpskog jezika uradilo je zadatak procene prihvatljivosti u kome su testirani pravi faktivni (žaliti), nefaktivni (misliti) i semifaktivni (saznati) glagoli. Treba istaći da je svako pitanje bilo praćeno odgovorom kako bismo bili sigurni da će ekstrahovani adjunkt biti interpretiran u odnosu na umetnutu, a ne na glavnu klauzu. Kao što smo i očekivali, rezultati istraživanja su potvrdili da rečenice koje sadrže

nefaktivne glagole dozvoljavaju ekstrakciju adjunkta. Rezultati su takođe pokazali da izvorni govornici srpskog jezika smatraju ekstrakciju adjunkta iz umetnute faktivne klauze neprihvatljivom, što je u skladu sa zaključcima do kojih su došli De Cuba i Mitrović (2008). Što se semifaktivnih glagola tiče, rezultati istraživanja ukazuju na to da su rečenice u kojima su ekstrahovani adjunkti bili kako i zašto uglavnom ocenjene kao neprihvatljive, dok su one u kojima su ekstrahovani adjunkti bili kada i gde dobili dosta više ocene, što je u skladu sa Ošiminom Skalom ekstraktabilnosti (2007). Zaključak rada je da se emotivni, tj. pravi faktivni, i kognitivni, tj. semifaktivni glagoli ponašaju različito, pri čemu kognitivni glagoli dozvoljavaju ekstrakciju u slučajevima nejedinstvenosti i evidencijalnih pitanja, što je u skladu sa prethodnim istraživanjima u engleskom jeziku (Djäv&Romero 2021).

Ključne reči: faktivni, nefaktivni, ostrva, wh pomeranje, ekstrakcija adjunkta

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UDC: 811.163.41'367
DOI: 10.19090/gff.v48i3.2378
Original research paper

CLITIC CLIMBING WITH DIFFERENT KINDS OF *da*-COMPLEMENTS IN SERBIAN AND THE STATUS OF PROBABILISTIC RULES IN GRAMMAR**

This paper addresses the problem of clitic climbing out of different *da*-complements in Serbian. Clitic climbing refers to a phenomenon where a clitic associated with an embedded clause is pronounced in the matrix clause. In previous literature (Aljović, 2005; Progovac, 1993; Stjepanović, 2004, etc.), various, sometimes contradictory, claims have been made about the (un)grammaticality of clitic climbing out of *da*-complements in Serbian. This paper provides experimental data on the acceptability of clitic climbing out of different kinds of *da*-complements in Serbian. We tested the predictions from Todorović & Wurmbrand (2020) by conducting a formal acceptability judgment experiment involving clitic climbing out of Proposition, Situation and Event-type embedded clauses. Although the results seem to generally follow the Implicational Complementation Hierarchy, the transitions between clause types are rather gradual. Following Bošković's (2004) proposal that clitics surface in the second position in their Intonational Phrase, we analyze the optionality of clitic climbing as being the result of a probabilistic rule at PF which decides whether *da* will induce a prosodic boundary, which takes structural size of the complement clause as one of its factors.

Key words: clitic climbing, *da*-complements, restructuring, acceptability judgments, Implicational Complementation Hierarchy

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**Predrag Kovačević's and Nataša Milićević's work was supported in part by the Science Fund of the Republic of Serbia, Project #1589, Clausal Complements between Language Structure and Identity: Documenting, Visualizing, and Theorizing Variation in Shtokavian (Non-)Finite Embedded Clauses - ClaCoLaSI

- (3) a. *???*Marija **ga_i** mora [da sluša **t_i]** *modal*
 Marija him.CL must DA listen.3SG
 ‘Marija must listen to him.’
- b. *???*Marija **ga_i** počinje [da sluša **t_i]** *phasal*
 Marija him.CL starts DA listen.3SG
 ‘Marija is starting to listen to him.’
- c. *???*Marija **ga_i** želi [da sluša **t_i]** *desiderative*
 Marija him.CL wants DA listen.3SG
 ‘Marija wants to listen to him.’

Moreover, SC does not allow infinitival complements of verbs that select full-fledged propositions with independent tense (e.g., *say*-type verbs) regardless of clitic position (4a), and CC out of *da*-clauses with these verbs is generally assumed to be blocked (4b) (Wurmbrand et al., 2020). For the purpose of this paper, the label DPC will be restricted to *da*-clauses with dependent (fixed) present tense only so as to distinguish them from fully independent finite embedded clauses of the sort illustrated in (4b). This distinction is widely recognized both in the descriptive and theoretical literature on the topic.

- (4) a. *Petar **ga** je tvrdio [slušati **t_i]**
 Petar him.CL AUX.CL claimed listen.INF
 Intended: ‘Peter claimed to be listening to him.’
- b. Petar (***ga_i**) je tvrdio [da (**ga_i**) sluša **t_i]**
 Petar him.CL AUX.CL claimed_{DA} him.CL listen.3SG
 ‘Peter claimed to be listening to him.’

The data in (3) and (4) give rise to rather concrete empirical research questions and thus provide the impetus for the present study. First, given the reported variation in native speaker judgments of sentences such as those in (3), there is a pertinent empirical question of the actual grammaticality status of CC out of DPCs. Second, since (non-)finite embedded clauses have been argued to come in different sizes (vP/TP/CP) (cf. Wurmbrand et al., 2020), the question is whether the acceptability ratings of sentences involving CC out of DPCs vary depending on the kind or size of DPCs.

Answers to these empirical questions carry significant theoretical implications. If CC out of DPCs is shown to be systematically available in (some dialects of) SC, this will be consistent with the claim that DPCs represent

restructuring contexts (Progovac, 1993; Aljović, 2005). Next, since non-CC configurations with DPCs are uncontroversially available as shown in (2), if it is shown that CC can also take place in these contexts, the question that immediately arises is whether CC in the context of DPCs represents an optional syntactic rule (see Aljović, 2005 for a discussion of this issue). Alternatively, if it is shown that CC out of DPCs is outright ungrammatical, the problem of optionality disappears, but, then, the question becomes why CC is excluded given that DPCs qualify as restructuring configurations on a number of other diagnostics such as Negative Polarity Item licensing or long topicalization (see Progovac, 1993). Finally, if sentences involving CC out of DPCs are judged as neither fully grammatical nor completely illicit, the issue of the status of grammatical structures with gradient or non-categorical acceptability is raised.

In this paper, we report on a formal acceptability judgments survey designed to test the overall acceptability of CC out of DPCs as well as the potential differences in the acceptability of CC out of different types of DPCs following Wurmbrand et al. (2020)'s classification. Our results show that the average acceptability ratings of sentences with CC out of DPCs are relatively low but significantly better in comparison to ungrammatical fillers. Next, CC out of event-type (roughly ν P-sized) complements is judged more favorably than out of situation-type (roughly TP-sized), which are in turn a better source for CC than proposition-type (roughly CP-sized) complements. Finally, CC out of proposition-type is rated significantly better in comparison to ungrammatical fillers.

In the discussion section, we address these findings in reference to the more general theoretical questions outlined above. The analysis of the findings that we put forth consists of several components. With Bošković (2004), we assume that clitic placement is a post-syntactic phenomenon, meaning that the ultimate position of the clitics is calculated at Phonological Form (PF) and clitics are placed in the second position (following the first phrase) within their Intonational Phrase (IP). CC happens when there is no IP boundary between the matrix clause and the embedded clause. If such a boundary is present, clitics will not climb. Crucially, we assume that whether a *da*-clause induces an IP boundary is a non-categorical, phonologically-conditioned matter. The syntactic size of a *da*-clause (ν P/TP/CP) is one factor that influences the likelihood of an IP boundary coinciding with the boundary between the matrix clause and the embedded clause (the probability is positively correlated with the size of the clause). We, thus, conclude that CC out of DPCs is an example of a non-deterministic/probabilistic rule. The existence of such rules implies that a theory of grammar must make room for non-deterministic rules, but based on our data, such

rules could, in principle, be confined to those contexts where seemingly grammatical effects are mediated through phonology. This is a welcome conclusion for models of syntactic variation that assume that Narrow Syntax operates on deterministic rules while probabilistic rules/tendencies in language can occur on the interfaces with the Lexicon and PF (Adger, 2006; Bresnan, 2007, Wasow, 2007; Adger & Smith, 2010; Guy, 2014; Grafmiller et al., 2018; Thoms, 2019).

2. BACKGROUND

The significance of the empirical questions regarding the grammatical status of CC out of DPCs manifests itself in relation to several broader theoretical concerns such as the so-called “second position effect”, the interaction between I-boundaries and clausal boundaries, the existence of optional grammatical rules. In this section, we will expand upon each of these concerns and draw out the connections with the empirical question at the heart of the present study.

2.1. The “second position effect”

The so-called “second position effect” associated with SC clitics has attracted a considerable amount of attention in the literature. In SC, clitics tend to surface after the first phrase in a clause regardless of what the syntactic function of that first phrase is, as illustrated in (5).

- (5) a. Juče **ga** **je** kupio.
 yesterday it.CL AUX.CL bought
 ‘He bought it yesterday.’
- b. Petar **ga** **je** kupio juče.
 Peter.NOM it.CL AUX.CL bought yesterday
 ‘Peter bought it yesterday.’
- c. Kupio **ga** **je** juče.
 Bought it.CL AUX.CL yesterday
 ‘He bought it yesterday.’
- d. Petru **ga** **je** kupio juče.
 Peter.DAT it.CL AUX.CL bought yesterday
 ‘He bought it for Peter yesterday.’

While there have been several attempts to derive this effect purely in syntactic terms (Franks & Progovac, 1994; Čavar & Wilder, 1994; Schütze, 1994;

Progovac, 1996), or from an interaction of syntactic, discoursal and prosodic factors (Zec & Diesing, 2016)¹, we adopt Bošković's (2004) analysis according to which clitic placement is essentially a prosodic phenomenon. Bošković (2004) states the relevant rule as in (6) and this rule is a consequence of the fact that SC clitics are essentially enclitics that “encliticize to the constituent that is right-adjacent to an IP boundary”.

- (6) SC clitics occur in the second position in their intonational phrase.

Bošković is explicit about the notion that IPs tend to, but do not necessarily always, correspond to clauses as shown in (7). Fronted heavy constituents (7a), parentheticals (7b), and appositives (7c) can induce an IP boundary within a single clause resulting in what looks like clitic delay or a deviation from the general second position rule but is in reality the product of a mismatch between an I-phrase (a prosodic unit) and a clause (a syntactic unit). Crucially for Bošković's (2004) argument, while they are not in the second position in the clause, clitics are, nonetheless, in the second position within their IPs in all the examples in (7).

- (7) a. Sa Petrom Petrovićem srela **se** samo Milena.
 with Petar Petrović met SE only Milena
 ‘Only Milena met Petar Petrović’
- b. Znači da, kao što rekoh, oni **će** sutra doći.
 means that as I said they will.CL tomorrow come
 ‘It means that they will come tomorrow, as I said.’
- c. Ja, tvoja mama, obećala **sam** **ti** sladoled.
 I, your mom, promised AUX.CL you.CL ice cream
 ‘I, your mom, promised to give you ice cream.’
- (Bošković, 2004)

While the syntactic accounts might not be directly falsified on the basis of the data in (7), it would take significant complications to derive such constructions in syntax. Bošković's (2004) approach, on the other hand, captures both these apparent

¹ Zec & Diesing (2016) show that the clitics tend to surface after the first prosodic word when the clitic host is a predicate, but after the first constituent when the clitic host is an argument. As a reviewer noted, these tendencies may complicate the picture for a purely prosodic approach to clitic placement, but we leave open the possibility that these tendencies are explainable through information-structural factors.

cases of clitic delay and the more typical examples where clitics are located after the first phrase simultaneously based on the prosodic rule in (6).

2.2. *I-boundary and clause boundary with embedded clauses*

Cases of clitic delay in (7) illustrate the possibility of misalignment between a clausal boundary and an I-boundary where there is more than one IP within a single clause. However, the mirror image of this misalignment is also possible whereby more than one clause is found within a single IP. This is arguably what we see with typical CC examples such as those in (1). What happens in such cases is that the clitics that originate within the embedded infinitival clause surface in the matrix clause where they are again in the second position. Given that no I-boundary signals are observed between the matrix clause and the infinitival embedded clause and there is every reason to think that the complex sentences in (1) consist of only one IP, Bošković's (2004) prosodic analysis of the "second position" effect captures these cases straightforwardly. However, the situation with CC out of DPCs sampled in (2–3) is not nearly as straightforward.

One way to approach the data from CC out of DPCs in (2–3) comes from Progovac (1993) who maintains a syntax-based approach. For Progovac (1993), the crucial data point is the distinction between the possibility of CC in cases such as (3) and the lack thereof in (4). She observes that the availability of CC out of *da*-clauses correlates with the availability of independent tense such that those *da*-clauses with independent tense do not allow CC (4) while those with dependent tense allow it. Furthermore, the availability of CC out of *da*-clauses also correlates with several other diagnostics of the presence/absence of a clause boundary such as negative polarity item (NPI) licensing and topic preposing. Matrix clause negation can license an NPI in the embedded clause in (8a) where the *da*-complement is a typical DPC with dependent tense; however, this is not possible with a *da*-complement with independent tense in (8b). Similarly, a typical DPC with dependent tense in (9a) allows what is called long topic preposing where the object of the embedded verb moves to the left edge of the matrix clause under topicalization, but this movement is impossible with *da*-clauses with independent tense (9b).

- (8) a. Ne želim da vidim nikoga.
 not want.1.SG DA see.1.SG no-one
 'I don't want to see anyone.'

- b. *Ne tvrdim da vidim nikoga.
not claim.1.SG DA see.1.SG no-one
'I don't claim that I saw anyone.'
- (9) a. To ne želim [da vidim t].
that not want.1.SG DA see.1.SG
'I don't want to see that.'
- b. *To ne tvrdim [da vidim t].
that not claim.1.SG DA see.1.SG
'I am not claiming that I see that.'

On the basis of these correlations, Progovac (1993) argues that *da*-complements with dependent tense (after matrix verbs such as *želiti* 'want', *moći* 'can', *morati* 'must', etc.) are different from those with independent tense (after matrix verbs such as *tvrditi* 'claim', *reći* 'say', etc.) in that they license the deletion of the higher layers of clausal structure (TP/Infl and CP) at LF because they do not have semantic contributions. This deletion of the higher layers of clausal structure is what allows CC to take place. On this analysis, clitics are always in the second position within their own clause but what counts as a clause is determined at LF following the deletions of functional projections without semantic contributions.

We see three issues with Progovac's (1993) account. The first one is related to the general shortcomings of the syntactic accounts of clitic placement mentioned in Section 2.1. Namely, in contrast to Bošković's (2004) prosodic account which derives both the cases of apparent clitic delay (7) and CC in one fell swoop by exploiting the lack of one-to-one mapping between IPs and clauses, the syntactic accounts require extra computation to derive clitic delay, and in the case of Progovac (1993) structural deletion to account for CC out of DPCs. Secondly, and specifically to Progovac's (1993) analysis, it is difficult to see how LF deletions can be responsible for a phenomenon that has direct consequences for linearization. Whether clitics will be realized in the second position in the matrix clause or in the embedded clause must be decided either in syntax, in which case syntax would have to look ahead into LF to anticipate structure deletion, or in PF, in which case some mechanism of interaction between LF and PF would have to be allowed. Either way, it seems that the account demands some deviations from the standard assumptions about the division of labor between Syntax, LF, and PF. Finally, the deletion of semantically non-contributing layers of embedded clauses does not account for the marginal acceptability of CC out of DPCs, nor the general preference towards

pronouncing clitics in the second position of the embedded clause regardless of the clause type.

2.3. Clitic climbing out of DPCs and the issue of optionality

Another important question that emerges from the data pertaining to CC out DPCs concerns the apparent optionality of this rule. We saw that in SC, CC is obligatory with infinitival complements (1); however, DPCs show a more complex picture because they tend to block CC, at least for some speakers, allowing only structures such as (2), but, at the same time, there is no doubt that at least some speakers allow CC out of DPCs as well (3). One way to interpret this state of affairs would be to say that CC is obligatory with infinitival complements and optional with DPCs. Such an interpretation would, however, have some unwelcome theoretical implications at least within those frameworks that reject optional grammatical rules (cf. Chomsky, 1995).

Aljović (2005) addresses the problem of (apparent) optionality of CC out of DPC in SC, and argues that CC is actually obligatory with ν P-sized complements and blocked with larger ones (TP and CP). On her analysis, cases in which CC seems optional are cases of structural ambiguity ν P/TP such that CC happens obligatorily if the embedded clause is realized as a ν P and is banned if the embedded clause is a TP. She points to data such as (10) which seems to suggest that when structural ambiguity is resolved in favor of a larger structure (TP), CC is blocked. In (10a), with the matrix verb *želeći* ('want'), CC is apparently optional since the clitic can be realized either in the embedded clause or in the matrix clause. However, Aljović (2005) claims that these two options are only available because the embedded clause after this matrix verb can be realized either as a ν P or as TP (i.e., there is structural ambiguity). When this structural ambiguity is resolved by way of adding exponents of functional projections higher than ν P, for example, the negative particle in (10b), CC is no longer available (10c).

- (10) a. Mila (**ga**) želi [da (**ga**) vidi]
 Mila him.CL wants DA him.CL see.3.SG
 'Mila wants to see him'
- b. Mila želi [da **ga** *ne* vidi]
 Mila wants DA him.CL not see.3.SG
 'Mila wants not to see him'
- c. *Mila **ga** želi [da *ne* vidi]
 Mila him.CL wants DA not see.3.SG

Intended: ‘Mila wants not to see him’

While Aljović’s (2005) analysis avoids the conclusion that CC out of DPCs is an optional rule, it does not solve the optionality problem completely. Instead of treating CC as an optional rule, she assumes that certain matrix verbs can optionally select a *vP* or a *TP*. This form of optionality is, of course, less of a theoretical issue because it is known that optionality in the domain of argument selection/realization has to be accommodated somehow and it can be seen as a lexical feature rather than a grammatical rule.

2.4. *The typology of (non)-finite embedded clauses*

Wurmbrand et al. (2020) argue for a tripartite split of embedded (non-)finite clauses arranged in a containment structure as in (11) mirroring the three basic domains in the clausal spine (12).

(11) [Proposition [Situation [Event]]]

(12) [CP [TP [*vP*]]]

The containment structure given in (11) comes from the assumption that the semantics of higher types of complements contains and builds upon the semantics of the lower types. Event complements introduce event descriptions without time and world parameters. Situation complements contain existentially closed events enriched with time and world parameters (and potentially mood, modality and aspect information). Finally, Propositions are elaborations of Situations involving speaker and discourse-oriented information (Wurmbrand et al., 2020). Crucially, the type, and consequently the size of the embedded clause, is selected based on the lexico-semantic properties of the matrix verb. Verbs of saying and epistemic modals select Propositions; volitional verbs select Situations; while verbs of attempt (*try*) and phasal verbs select Events.

Consider (13) as an illustration. (13a) contains a Proposition-type complement with full temporal independence (independent tense form + temporal adverbials). (13b) shows a Situation complement with partial temporal independence (temporal adverbials allowed despite fixed present tense). In (13c), the complement shows no sign of temporal independence (fixed present tense and blocked temporal adverbials).

- (13) a. Petar je juče tvrdio da će pročitati knjigu (sutra).
 Petar AUX yesterday claimed DA will read.INF book tomorrow
 ‘Yesterday, Petar claimed that he would read the book tomorrow.’
- b. Petar je juče želeo da pročita knjigu (sutra).
 Petar AUX yesterday wanted DA read.3.SG book tomorrow
 ‘Yesterday, Petar wanted to read the book tomorrow.’
- c. Petar je juče pokušao da pročita knjigu (*sutra).
 Petar AUX yesterday tried DA read.3.SG book tomorrow
 ‘Yesterday, Petar wanted to read the book tomorrow.’

Of central relevance for our purposes here is the claim that the semantic containment structure in (11) manifests itself in syntax whereby complements that are higher in the semantic hierarchy are also syntactically richer, and the three semantic types of embedded clauses correspond to the three core domains of clausal structure. Event complements are syntactically realized as vP; Situation complements are TPs; and Proposition complements are full CPs.

The size of the embedded complement is, of course, expected to be positively correlated with the degree of syntactic independence from the matrix clause, which gives us rather clear predictions when it comes to the availability of CC out of various types of DPCs. These predictions are not discussed in Wurmbrand et al. (2020), but in a related study, Todorović & Wurmbrand (2020) argue that clitic climbing is impossible with what Wurmbrand et al. (2020) call Proposition type complements but is possible with smaller structures noting that native speaker judgments tend to vary.

Wurmbrand et al.’s (2020) typology of embedded clauses motivate the hypothesis that the availability of CC out of DPCs is negatively correlated with the size of the *da*-clause. If the typology that they propose is on the right track, then, one would expect structurally richer *da*-clauses to be less conducive to CC. Specifically, the relevant hypothesis can be stated as in (14).

- (14) a. The acceptability of CC out of Event-type (vP) complements is higher than the acceptability of CC out of Situation-type (TP) complements;
 b. CC is ruled out with Proposition-type (CP) complements because CP constitutes a full phase.

What is of particular interest here is the fact that Wurmbrand et al. (2020) explicitly propose a tripartite typology of clausal complements whereas Progovac

(1993) distinguishes only between two types². Therefore, if the hypothesis in (14) is confirmed, it will provide further empirical support for Wurmbrand et al.'s (2020) tripartite split.

Initial indirect support for the hypothesis in (14) comes from a corpus study of CC out of DPCs in Kolaković et al. (2022). While this study was not designed to test this hypothesis directly, the data that Kolaković et al. (2022) provide suggest that the constructions involving CC with matrix verbs that would be classified as taking Event-type complements under Wurmbrand et al.'s (2020) classification exhibit a larger number of attestations when compared to matrix verbs taking Situation-type complements.

Partial support for (14) also comes from the phonological side. In an experimental study, Milićev & Jakovljević (2017) compared the length of the rhyme of the final syllable before the clausal complement as a potential signal of an I-boundary (so-called 'pre-boundary lengthening') in the contexts of different types of *da*-clauses as well as infinitival complements. They show that the final syllable rhyme is the longest with propositional complements (after verbs of saying) where CC is blocked. Moreover, sentences involving CC after modal verbs show a lesser degree of pre-boundary lengthening when compared to their non-CC counterparts. These results imply that the possibility of CC out of *da*-clauses seems to inversely correlate with signals of an I-boundary between the matrix clause and the embedded clause. While the tendencies shown by Milićev & Jakovljević (2017) are not a clear diagnostic of the exact prosodic structures in question, this correlation is relevant in light of Bošković's (2004) argument that clitics are placed with reference to their IP.

2.5. Summary

In this paper, we follow Bošković's (2004) analysis of clitic placement as a prosodic rule which places clitics in the second position of their IP. So far, the accounts of CC with DPCs have relied on a binary distinction between clauses with independent tense that block clitic climbing and clauses with dependent tense which make clitic climbing possible. We believe that the designation of CC as merely 'possible' with certain (structurally smaller) DPCs is unsatisfactory for the following reasons: a) native speaker judgments of sentences involving CC out of DPCs tend to vary as reported in Todorović and Wurmbrand (2020) requiring a more precise factual (ideally quantitative) statement; b) the apparent optionality of CC with some

² The possibility of a tripartite split is hinted at but not explicitly argued for in Aljović (2005).

DPCs raises conceptual questions typically associated with optional grammatical rules (Aljović, 2005); c) given Wurmbrand et al.'s (2020) tripartite division of embedded clauses associated with syntactic (in)dependence, there are reasons to believe that the possibility of CC might correlate with the size of the complement (Event > Situation > Proposition) in line with the hypothesis in (14).

3. METHOD

In order to test the hypothesis in (14), we designed an acceptability judgment task (Cowart, 1997; Goodall, 2021) in SoSci.

The materials consisted of 48 experimental items and 24 filler items. Each item consisted of two sentences, a sentence serving as preceding context, and a target sentence (an example is given in (15)). The linear structure was the same in all target sentences: NP_[animate] (him.CL) Adv V_M DA (him.CL) V_E PP. Additionally, each target sentence had a non-obligatory clause provided for further context following the main part of the sentence.

(15) Luka i Marko su se posvađali.

(*Luka and Marko had a fight.*) (Situation, CC)

Marko ga ipak planira [da pita za malu pomoć],

Marko him.CL nevertheless plans DA ask for a small favor

ali on ne želi da mu pomogne.

but he not want da him help

'Marko nevertheless plans to ask him for a small favor, but Luka does not want to help him.'

Serbian has a number of pronominal clitics, varying across the categories of person (1, 2, 3), gender (masculine, feminine, neuter), number (singular, plural), case (accusative, dative), as well as potential syntactic function, that are a viable option for testing the acceptability of clitic climbing. For the purposes of this study, we only included *ga* (3SG.M.ACC.CL), as a direct object referring to an animate entity present in the preceding context.

Four matrix verbs were selected for each of the three complement-taking predicate types proposed in Wurmbrand et al. (2020). For each matrix verb we constructed two pairs (CC, no-CC) of sentences with different contexts and different embedded verbs. The resulting 48 experimental items were split into two experimental groups, so that each participant saw one member of each matrix verb pair.

Table 1. Matrix Verbs by Type

Type	Verb	Meaning
Event	<i>Pokušavati</i>	‘try’
	<i>Počinjati</i>	‘begin’
	<i>Nastavljati</i>	‘continue’
	<i>Prestajati</i>	‘stop’
Situation	<i>Planirati</i>	‘plan’
	<i>Odlučivati</i>	‘decide’
	<i>Odbijati</i>	‘refuse’
	<i>Nameravati</i>	‘intend’
Proposition	<i>Verovati</i>	‘believe’
	<i>Tvrditi</i>	‘claim’
	<i>Zaboravljati</i>	‘forget’
	<i>Misliti</i>	‘think’

All target sentences included an adverbial in the preverbal position in the matrix clause. The adverbials in question were *ipak* (nevertheless), *čak* (even), *uporno* (persistently), and *zato* (for that reason). Each of the three ICH classes of verbs had an equal number of sentences with all four adverbials. Our intuition (and that of a reviewer) is that the inclusion of an adverbial in the matrix clause possibly facilitates CC. We have no intuitions with respect to why this might be the case.

Apart from experimental items, we included 24 fillers—12 grammatical and 12 ungrammatical. Ungrammaticality was achieved by inserting superfluous auxiliaries, changing the word order, and incorrect morphosyntactic marking.

The survey was distributed through social networks. There were 87 eligible participants (64 female, 23 male). Ages ranged from 18 to 63 ($M = 24.82$, $SD = 9.21$). 48 participants stated Novi Sad as their place of residence. 44 participants stated that their occupation was closely related to language (student of philology, translator, language teacher, etc.). We refer to this demographic variable as the ‘philologist’ variable hereafter.

In the main part of the experiment, participants were consecutively shown 48 items. Each item consisted of two sentences and a five-point Likert scale of acceptability. The target sentence was marked in bold, and was preceded by the context sentence. The participants’ task was to judge the acceptability of the target sentence on the scale. There were no time limits on item presentation or judgment marking.

Before the main part of the experiment, participants were instructed on what their task was on two sample items. Following the explanation, participants were

assigned to one of the two experimental groups by the SoSci Random Generator, and were consecutively presented with the same four filler items (two grammatical, two ungrammatical). After these items, participants were consecutively presented with the remaining 44 items in a randomized order. After the main part of the experiment, participants were asked to provide demographic information. Finally, a brief explanation of the phenomenon was given.

4. RESULTS

Analysis of the results was done in SPSS (v. 26.0). Friedman's two-way analysis of variance by ranks was used for the purpose of pairwise comparisons of the average scores of respondents across the categories of ungrammatical sentences (F0; $M_{(F0)} = 1.09$), Proposition CC (PCC; $M_{(PCC)} = 1.37$), Situation CC (SCC; $M_{(SCC)} = 1.82$) and Event CC (ECC; $M_{(ECC)} = 2.07$) stimuli. Pairwise comparisons show that in all individual comparisons the variances show statistically significant differences. Individual comparisons are shown in Table 2. The abbreviations for each sample are shown in the parentheses above.

Table 2. Pairwise Comparisons

Sample 1-Sample 2	Test stat.	Std. err.	Std. test stat.	<i>p</i>
F0-PCC	-.517	.196	-2.642	.008
F0-SCC	-1.144	.196	-5.843	<.001
F0-ECC	-1.718	.196	-8.779	<.001
PCC-SCC	-.626	.196	-3.200	.001
PCC-ECC	-1.201	.196	-6.136	<.001
SCC-ECC	-.575	.196	-2.936	.003

Grammatical fillers ($M_{(F1)} = 4.63$) and no-CC stimuli ($M_{(noCC)} = 4.58$) were included in the experiment for control purposes and were not used in further statistical tests.

While pairwise comparisons across categories yield statistically significant differences, the scores for every matrix verb in CC stimuli are distributed quite gradually. Means for each matrix verb in CC items are shown in Figure 1.

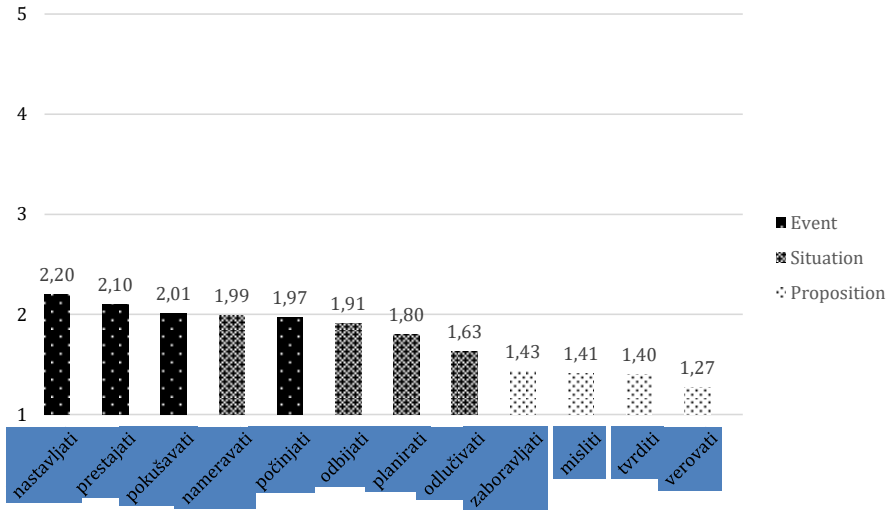


Figure 1. Means for Individual Verbs

Mann-Whitney U test was used to compare the distributions of the averages of individual classes across the demographic variables of gender and philologist. No significant difference was detected across the variables for any of the stimuli classes. p values are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Mann-Whitney U test for PCC, SCC and ECC across gender and philologist

Null hypothesis	p
The distribution of PCC is the same across categories of gender	.716
The distribution of SCC is the same across categories of gender	.176
The distribution of ECC is the same across categories of gender	.406
The distribution of PCC is the same across categories of philologist	.643
The distribution of SCC is the same across categories of philologist	.723
The distribution of ECC is the same across categories of philologist	.854

5. DISCUSSION

5.1. The acceptability of clitic climbing out of various types of DPCs

Our data shows that all classes of structures involving clitic climbing out of *da*-clauses received relatively low ratings—far lower than their no-CC counterparts or uncontroversially grammatical fillers. However, it also shows that structures with clitic climbing out of *da*-clauses are rated significantly better than uncontroversially

ungrammatical sentences. The average acceptability ratings of clitic climbing out of different types of DPCs are aligned with the hierarchical ordering of complement clause types proposed by Wurmbrand et al. (2020).

While CC out of Proposition-type complements is clearly the most dispreferred out of the three classes, we cannot justify the claim that clitic climbing out of Proposition-type complements is completely ruled out as claimed by most authors so far (Progovac, 1993; Aljović, 2005; Wurmbrand et al., 2020), at least not for all speakers. Our findings are also in contradiction with Aljović's (2005) argument that clitic climbing is obligatory from *da*-complements that show no sign of higher layers of clausal structure (TP/CP), as the acceptability ratings in such items are nevertheless quite low—significantly lower than their no-CC equivalents. CC out of DPCs is never fully acceptable, at least not on a par with uncontroversially grammatical fillers or cases of clitic climbing out of infinitival complement clauses.

Our findings seem to go in line with the complementation hierarchy proposed in Wurmbrand et al. (2020) to some extent, as the average acceptability ratings follow this hierarchy (Event > Situation > Proposition). It is, however, important to note that, while we did find a statistically significant difference in ratings of Proposition-type complements and the other two types, there seems to be no clear cutoff line between them, which goes against their predictions.

A possible way to account for the marginal acceptability of clitic climbing is to assume that clitic placement is computed at PF where the default rule is to place clitics in the second position inside their IP (Bošković, 2004), or perhaps a prosodic constituent of another size. As Milićev & Jakovljević's (2017) findings suggest, whether DA always induces an IP boundary remains an open question. However, the small but systematic differences in pre-boundary lengthening seem to follow the syntactic complexity of the complement. We can say that the place of DA in the clausal spine (ν P/TP/CP) is a significant factor in deciding whether it will induce a prosodic boundary at PF, which in turn determines whether CC will be available.

5.2. *Implications for syntactic variation*

Our findings show that syntactic variation is governed, at least to some extent, by grammar-internal factors. The correlation between the average acceptability ratings of examples involving clitic climbing with the size of the complement (i.e., its place on Wurmbrand et al. (2020) complementation hierarchy) can be seen as another “signature effect” of how this hypothetical universal manifests itself in linguistic variation.

More broadly, our findings and our analysis (if on the right track) lend support to the so-called “hybrid view” of language variation where grammatical rules are divided into categorial/deterministic and probabilistic ones (Adger, 2006; Bresnan, 2007, Wasow, 2007; Adger & Smith, 2010; Guy, 2014; Grafmiller et al., 2018; Thoms, 2019).

One way we could try to advance this line of research is by suggesting, following Adger (2006) and Adger & Smith (2010) (echoing Borer, 1984), that Narrow Syntax operates with deterministic rules and generates categorial constraints which cannot be violated while probabilistic rules are confined to the Lexicon and PF externalization.

Consider Wasow’s (2017) point about the interaction between categorial and probabilistic rules concerning Heavy NP Shift in English. Heavy NP Shift functions as a variable rule with predicative/small clause constructions (1a–a’) with the probability of its occurrence being governed by phonological factors (heaviness); however, it is completely blocked in double object constructions (1b–c).

- (16) a. They consider [a traitor] [anyone who opposes their war policies].
a’. They consider [anyone who opposes their war policies] [a traitor].
b. *I don’t envy [the adulation] [rock stars their fans worship]
c. ??I don’t envy [rock stars their fans worship] [the adulation].

Therefore, probabilistic rules governed by phonological factors apply unless they are blocked by categorial syntactic rules.

If our analysis is correct, and clitic climbing out of DPCs is an instance of a variable (seemingly) grammatical rule mediated through phonology/PF, then, we are dealing with another data point in favor of the “hybrid view” of language variation in which probabilistic rules have their place in linguistic analysis. However, they are located outside of Narrow Syntax (Lexicon or PF) and they are subject to categorial syntactic constraints.

6. CONCLUSION

In this paper, we investigated the acceptability of pronominal clitic climbing out of *da*-complements in Serbian using an acceptability judgment task. We have shown that the acceptability of clitic climbing out of *da*-complements follows the Implicational Complementation Hierarchy proposed in Wurmbrand et al. (2020) in a gradual manner. CC out of Event-type complements was ranked the highest on average, followed by CC out of Situation-type complements, followed by CC out of

Proposition-type complements. Still, the ratings for CC out of all three types were rather low.

Our findings suggest CC out of *da*-complements can be analyzed in terms of Bošković's (2004) proposal that clitics surface at the second position in their Intonational Phrase. Whether DA will induce a prosodic boundary can be regarded as a probabilistic rule computed at PF, with the structural size of the clausal complement as one of the factors.

Future research should try to uncover what other factors might influence the acceptability of clitic climbing. As mentioned in section 3, one of those is possibly the presence of an adverbial in the matrix clause. To get a whole picture on clitic climbing in Serbian, other clitics should be tested as well, especially in order to see whether clitics with different syntactic functions behave the same with regard to clitic climbing. As the availability and use of *da*-complements varies across the Serbo-Croatian sprachraum, clitic climbing should be tested in other regions as well, in order to see if the availability of clitic climbing correlates with other syntactic properties of embedded clauses in Serbo-Croatian varieties.

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DOI: 10.19090/gff.v48i3.2384
Original research paper

NOSTALGIA AND PERVERSION IN NEO-VICTORIAN NARRATIVES

While the link between nostalgia and neo-Victorian interest in the nineteenth century has been much discussed and largely acknowledged in neo-Victorian scholarship, the precise nature of this association, its ideological implications, and, most of all, critical interpretations of individual instances of these nostalgic revisitations remain multifaceted, complex, and often contentious. Readings of neo-Victorian texts as cultural memory artefacts or instances of Svetlana Boym's reflective nostalgia are certainly valid, yet these approaches do not account for a specific brand of neo-Victorian narratives which Marie-Louise Kohlke describes as "reading for defilement": a clear insistence on imagining the Victorian age as a den of depravity, rife with shocking obscenities and even more shocking crime, as the Victorian past is posited as a fetishised playground for deviance and voyeurism, often relying on Gothic tropes. This fascination with imagined Victorian filth is particularly interesting when considered in light of the global sway towards conservative politics. The neo-Victorian setting has also been approached through the theoretical lens of John Urry's "tourist gaze", as an environment offering "out-of-the-ordinary" experiences for nostalgic consumption. This paper will therefore seek to contribute to this ongoing critical debate by exploring the various facets of nostalgia in this subset of neo-Victorian narratives.

Keywords: neo-Victorian, nostalgia, perversion, sexsation, pornography, Gothic, tourist gaze

When it comes to neo-Victorian narratives, nostalgia is a key reference point. In one of the early readings of neo-Victorian fiction, Christian Gutleben approaches such narratives as expressions of postmodern nostalgic *Zeitgeist*: "By resuscitating the voices and principles of Victorian fiction, the contemporary novel not only displays its own nostalgia, it also makes clear, through its continuing success, the nostalgia of its readership." (2001: 46) Writing from a postmodernist perspective, Gutleben aligns such literary nostalgia with a conservative and regressive stance, as an instance of aesthetic pastiche devoid of parodic subversion. However, the exact nature of nostalgia when it comes to neo-Victorian texts is less than obvious and can take various forms, where ideological subversiveness does not always translate into

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a rejection of Victorian narrative or aesthetic conventions. Whatever the reason and motivation behind the fictional return to the nineteenth century, the implications of engaging with the past are far from straightforward. Whether these narratives indulge in aesthetic or stylistic recreation of period atmosphere, whether they seek to reposition the narrative perspective in favour of marginalised groups and historical blind spots or write back to mainstream culture, canonical works and normative systems, or whether they try to create a salacious version of the past for present enjoyment, the relationship with the past is never innocently neutral or simply concerned with aesthetics. Even in instances where the engagement with the past has the goal of recreating the style of a certain period without mounting any kind of critique, this is never done in an ideological vacuum, and is always associated with a specific position with regard to certain political or social concerns. Even those narratives that simply seek to offer an imitation of the past, without questioning it at all, also implicitly endorse a specific political or ideological stance – a desire for a simpler time with its attendant distribution of gender, race or class privilege, a call for a return of a more traditional family structure, an emphasis on a specific brand of work ethics, “a mourning . . . for the loss of an enchanted world with clear borders and values” (Boym, 2001: 8). While the past may be increasingly configured as a series of visual styles made available for consumption, its aesthetic reproduction also entails a set of signifiers that signal specific cultural, political and ideological meanings.

One possible framework for approaching the attitudes towards the past expressed in neo-Victorian narratives can be found in the writing of Svetlana Boym. Boym describes nostalgia as “a romance with one’s own fantasy” (2001: xiii), and the quote captures the dynamics inherent in neo-Victorian approaches to nostalgia – the projection of contemporary perspectives, concepts, needs and desires onto the past, creating a version of the past that expresses contemporary anxieties, desires and tensions and thus caters to presents needs. The nature of these needs can be wildly different – it can be a fictional return to a more conservative time, a journey back to correct injustices, omissions and erasures, or a trip to the past as a playground to satisfy unlicensed fantasies and desires that have to be projected and displaced somewhere else, for whichever reason. Notably, Boym’s book was published in 2001, at the cusp of the new postmillennial age and in the heyday of neo-Victorian revisitations. Even though Boym is concerned with a different cultural context (her exploration is focused mainly on postcommunist societies), it is suggestive of a broader cultural interest in the complex relationship between the past and the present. The turn of the millennium brought to light the many similarities between

contemporary anxieties and Victorian concerns – changing views on gender identity and gender roles, rapid scientific breakthroughs and the revolution in the digital industries, neo-colonial interventions and the troubled relationship with the global East. The impact of those developments can be discerned in the striking backlash they provoked, as well as the rightward political and ideological turn that has swept across the world in the recent years, relying, in many instances, on highly romanticised visions of the past that promise straightforward answers to the ills of the present, which are reframed as a consequence of greater civil freedoms. Boym’s writing thus offers a way of framing these cultural narratives as reactions to or reflections of specific political and ideological agendas. Whichever it is, the fictional return to the past satisfies a present need or urge; even in the case of those narratives that seek to provide a corrective to the Victorian omissions or occlusions and articulate marginal perspectives, by narrativising women’s experiences, portraying working-class lives, or representing racial and sexual minorities, the motive is rooted in a markedly contemporary awareness of the importance of these issues, in and for the present context. In this respect, the return to the past is not simply motivated by the need to rectify past oppressions, but is also driven by the need to strengthen and uphold present-day liberalism by providing minority experience with historical depth and a genealogy. This need can be seen as a reflection of the inclusivity and nuance of contemporary culture, but it also speaks of a deep-rooted anxiety that the hard-won battles for civil rights need to be solidified and reinforced. The fact that this anxiety is more than justified is repeatedly confirmed across the globe: the recent historic overturning of *Roe v Wade* in the United States is perhaps the most devastating example, but by no means an isolated one.

Boym’s writing distinguishes between restorative and reflective nostalgia, and it is along those lines that some of the key typologies of fictional recreations of the nineteenth century have been drawn as well. For Ann Heilmann and Mark Llewellyn, novels which are simply set in the nineteenth century are not neo-Victorian, since they lack critical engagement, and they can be said to align with Boym’s restorative nostalgia, which “does not think of itself as nostalgia, but rather as truth and tradition” (2001: xviii). While retaining the broad ideological framework of patriarchal, racial and class-based hierarchies, these narratives offer a more palatable, accessible, *less boring* version of the great Victorian novel. As Daisy Goodwin writes for *The New York Times*, “reading *Belgravia* [by Julian Fellowes] is rather like visiting a modern re-creation of a Victorian house – every cornice molding is perfect – but it’s a Victorian house with 21st-century plumbing and Wi-Fi. It’s for anyone who has tried to read a 19th-century novel and become bored, say, with the

demanding philosophizing in *Middlemarch* or the social misery of *Oliver Twist*.” (Goodwin, “Missing ‘Downton Abbey’?”, *The New York Times*). While Goodwin’s observation echoes Boym’s characterisation of restorative nostalgia as an attempt at “a transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home” (2001: xviii), it also highlights the selectiveness inherent to this process of reconstruction, where only certain aspects of the past are recreated, those seen as desirable or convenient. Goodwin’s examples are practical, but they reveal the underlying fact that the return to the nineteenth century is rarely simply aesthetically motivated – rather, it is a nostalgic transposition to a lost home tailored to the needs of those who seek to resurrect it, reflective of their vested interests or privileges, and suggestive of a specific ideological framework. On the other hand, for Heilmann and Llewellyn, neo-Victorian writing approaches the past with the intention of challenging its values and beliefs, by highlighting perspectives that were previously marginalised, or fully erased, often operating on the periphery in terms of race, class, gender, sexuality, age, nation. As such, it finds its counterpart in Boym’s reflective nostalgia, which goes against monolithic historical narratives and has the capacity to “present an ethical and creative challenge” (2001: xviii), favours individual histories, and is “ironic, inconclusive and fragmentary” (2001: 50). In Boym’s words, “restorative nostalgia protects the absolute truth, while reflective nostalgia calls it into doubt” (2001: xviii), which can be read alongside Heilmann and Llewellyn’s definition of neo-Victorian narratives as texts that are “in some respect . . . *self-consciously engaged with the act of (re)interpretation, (re)discovery and (re)vision concerning the Victorians*” (2010: 4). These readings can, in part, be seen as an explanation for the fact that so much of neo-Victorian writing tends to be sexually provocative, as it seeks to act as a liberating project, a corrective narrative that will reinscribe sexual and gender difference or female sexual pleasure into a social and historical context which simply did not allow space for them.

The very idea that the Victorians knew about certain sexual practices, let alone enjoyed them, is very much at odds with our perception of the period. In our contemporary vocabulary, to be Victorian is to be prudish, sexually both repressed and ignorant, morally both strict and hypocritical. For this reason, the inclusion of sexual content into a Victorian setting creates an impression of liberating the Victorian text from its own repressive mores. In the words of Laura Helen Marks, the act of “porning, of inserting sex into a well-known narrative deemed to coy to include the dirty bits, asserts a critical intervention by highlighting the perceived gaps and silences in the original text” (2018: 44). Such interventions inevitably add a narrative layer of erotic provocation as well, since they play into pornographic conventions of

staging and violating “private, secret, and forbidden sexualities as a way of generating erotic excitement” (Marks 2018: 25), making the Victorian era “a primary tender spot for modern pornography” (33). The truth is that, contrary to the popular perception of the Victorians, the Victorian age witnessed an ex(xx)plosion of pornographic material, enabled by new technologies, the development of print culture and visual technologies, which were “no sooner invented than they were put to work representing carnal lust”, transforming sexually explicit content that existed prior to the nineteenth century into “‘pornography’ proper” (Marks, 2018: 39), and mirroring the “exorbitant amount of sexually explicit material available today” (Hernández, & Romero Ruiz, 2017: 4). In her landmark study of the pornographic reinterpretations of the Victorian age, Marks contends that “[t]he existence of a vast body of nineteenth-century pornography conflicts with our understanding of the repressed Victorian, generating a dual vision of the Victorians as both perverse and repressed” (2018: 59). However, in many cases neo-Victorian narratives are not simply racy and titillating, but truly transgressive, thematising issues that still remain taboo, such as incest or paedophilia. This is, in fact, extremely common; in an interview with the BBC about his TV series, *Taboo*, Tom Hardy notes that “[i]t's not a period drama until someone gets naked and covers themselves in blood” (Holden, 2017). Hardy’s production itself hardly shies away from provocation – the protagonist is engaged in an incestuous relationship with his half-sister, rips out the throat of one of his enemies with his teeth, disembowels another. The extent to which neo-Victorian narratives revel in portraying deviance, degradation and debauchery suggests that the intention is not simply to reconstruct the era (along with the attendant ideological implications), or deconstruct it in order to show what is missing from the original cultural narratives and thus provide their more authentic versions. In many instances, the portrayal of violence, crime or other kinds of deviance in neo-Victorian narratives is so markedly excessive and transgressive that it translates to goreporn, while portrayals of sexuality routinely include sadomasochism, incestuous relationships, sexualisation of children, necrophilia, and other extreme transgressions. Sexually explicit content is also routinely present in narratives whose critical drive is limited or ambiguous, blurring the line between liberation and (s)exploitation, between representing difference and outright voyeurism. In this sense, neo-Victorianism expresses two conflicting drives – to challenge problematic aspects of the past, but also to take pleasure precisely in those aspects.

For these reasons, the complex relationship between nostalgia and transgressive visions of the past has been at the centre of neo-Victorian scholarship, most notably in the writing of Marie-Louise Kohlke. Kohlke has proven to be a

seminal scholarly voice in exploring these tensions, through her critical figurations of the links between nostalgia and trauma, and her explorations of the tendency to imagine the past as a site of degradation and violence. In her analysis of the subgenre of the neo-Victorian trauma novel, Kohlke identifies the “spectre of ‘perverse nostalgia’, a sort of retrospective yearning not for imagined certainties of the past but for the past’s crises of violent extremity” (2009: 27). While neo-Victorian narratives of violence can offer a degree of reassurance to the readers “that they live in more civilised times and societies, where such outrages would not be tolerated and likely to occur” (27), they also frequently reveal uncomfortable parallels and convergences with the past. In addition, their frequency inevitably leads to ethical questions about the contemporary thirst for violent, transgressive or degrading content; as noted by Gutleben, “the emphasis on the ill-treatment of women, homosexuals or the lower classes is not at all shocking or seditious *today*; on the contrary, it is precisely what the general public wants to read” (2001: 11). This demand is particularly prominent when it comes to narratives of sexuality, as they go beyond simply reinscribing normative sexual desire into a past perceived as sexually repressed and unenlightened, such as those that can be found in A. S. Byatt’s *Possession* (1991), or reconstructing alternative sexual histories of the period that focus on non-normative sexualities, seen in the writing of Sarah Waters. Waters’s work itself suggests a version of neo-Victorian sexuality that is far from vanilla, not simply by virtue of portraying lesbian relationships, but by playing with images of BDSM, prostitution or orgies, among other things. In *Tipping the Velvet* (1998), the protagonist Nan King goes to the streets as a cross-dressing rent “boy”, gets involved with a rich woman who introduces her to her leather strap-on, and her gentlest act of lovemaking, with her final lover Florence, includes fisting “up to the wrist” (2012: 428). In *Affinity* (1999), the séance is a ruse for sexually charged encounters, and the figure of the medium portrayed using images of bondage and submission – tied to a chair and wearing a choker, chanting the mantra “*May I be used*” (2008: 261). In *Fingersmith* (2002), one of the female protagonists is exposed to her uncle’s pornographic library, containing every imaginable obscenity, at the age of thirteen, which makes her “as worldly as the grossest rakes of fiction” (2003: 203). In neo-Victorian narratives, the reader therefore discovers a version of the past that is not only far from sexually inexperienced or demure, but also sexually transgressive even by today’s standards. This has the effect of disturbing both the impression of distance from the past and the possibilities for identification with it, as the Victorians are recast as engaging in activities that may be perceived as contemporary and thus familiar, but their highly

transgressive nature reinstates a sense of difference, both from more conventional contemporary practices, but also from our established perceptions of the Victorians.

Marie-Louise Kohlke has variously termed this obsession of neo-Victorian narratives with sexual excess as “neo-Victorian sexsation” (2008), “reading for defilement” (2008: 55), “literary striptease” (53), the “wet dream of the Victorian age” (68), and, perhaps most tellingly, *New Orientalism* (67). In Kohlke’s words, “the neo-Victorian novel exoticises, eroticises, and seeks to penetrate the tantalising hidden recesses of the nineteenth century by staging a retrospective imperialism” (62). While for the Victorians the Orient represented a kind of event horizon of illicit desire, a dark, exotic place that is both irresistibly alluring and decidedly inferior, that needs to be both sexually conquered and salvaged from primitivism, where in fact it acted as a stage for the projection of the repressed, the Victorian age, ironically, has now come to serve the same function for our age, with temporal, rather than spatial displacement of desire. Similarly, Boym speaks of “the nostalgic desires to obliterate history and turn it into private or collective mythology, to revisit time like space” (2001: xv). Kohlke further argues that

[i]n one sense, we extract politically incorrect pleasure from what has become inadmissible or ethically unimaginable as a focus of desire in our own time. We thus enjoy neo-Victorian fiction at least in part to feel debased or outraged, to revel in degradation, *reading for defilement*. By projecting illicit and unmentionable desires onto the past, we conveniently reassert our own supposedly enlightened stance towards sexuality and social progress.

In another sense, however, the twenty/twenty-first century proliferation of sex clubs and prostitution, increases in global sex tourism, sex trade, and sexual slavery, the exponential rise in sexually transmitted diseases, violent internet and child porn, and paedophilia more generally could be read as an uncanny doubling and intensification of prevalent Victorian social problems, indicating a return of the repressed rather than “progress.” (2008: 55)

For a while at least, the direction of social norms and acceptance with regard to women’s rights, sexual variance, or racial issues may have seemed clearly set forward, fuelling a belief that the future can only hold greater freedoms, ever growing equality and more widespread acceptance of difference, a belief which has been painfully refuted by the recent conservative turn in global politics, exposing such beliefs as devastatingly misguided. It has to be said, however, that such convictions are in essence very Victorian in nature, mirroring Victorian belief in linear social progress. In this sense, neo-Victorian narratives of sexsation capture these ambivalences and fluctuations, and reveal tensions that belie contemporary culture.

Neo-Victorian engagement with perversion is further evident in its favouring of the Gothic, a genre which is itself implicated with various forms of transgression, sexual transgression in particular; as David Jones reminds us, “[s]ex and the threat of sexual violence are integral to Gothic writing” (2014: 2). Much like neo-Victorian sexuality, Gothic sexuality is “a sexuality intersected with transgressions and taboos”, treated with deep ambivalence, “both demanded and forbidden” (Zigarovich 2020: 388). Gothic engagement with the theme of sexuality is itself both a vehicle for confronting anxieties and tensions about sexuality (see Botting 1995), and a way of expressing forbidden urges and wicked desires, functioning as a dark mirror to social norms. In the Gothic, sexuality is configured as both monstrous and seductive, and the figure of the vampire is a perfect illustration, an embodiment of “voluptuous and violent sexuality” (Botting 1995: 97), but also “a shadow of Victorian masculinity, a monstrous figure of male desire that distinguishes what men are becoming from what they should become” (Botting 1995: 97). In addition, much like revivals of past styles and aesthetics, the Gothic has become a pervasive presence in contemporary culture, spreading beyond the bounds of an eccentric literary genre and infiltrating all aspects of cultural production, including fashion, tourism, even food industry (the work of Heston Blumenthal is a case in point). This explosion of the Gothic in contemporary culture comes with a risk of dilution and commodification, as the stylistic appropriation by mainstream culture transforms a once transgressive genre into its more palatable and popular “candygothic” (Botting 2001: 134), or the romantic “happy Gothic” (Spooner 2017) manifestations, more appropriate and accessible for mass consumption. As with historical revivals in literature and culture, the Gothic in its contemporary transmutations thus proves to be highly malleable and fluid, readily lending itself to various forms of appropriation.

When paired with sexually provocative content, Gothic elements may serve to create a sense of denaturalisation and dislocation, where illicit desires are free to be explored under the guise of fantasy – in this respect, it serves the same function as the historical setting itself. Marks argues that neo-Victorian pornography “relies on a particular ‘Victorianness’ in generating eroticism – a Gothic Victorianness that is monstrous, violent, repressive, and perverse, steeped in class divisions and preoccupied with gender, sexuality, and race” (2018: 30). Marks identifies a “symbiotic relationship” between pornography and the Victorian Gothic, one which captures the “deliciousness of repressed Victoriana, the perversions of slavery and empire, and the tantalizingly subversive (and often quite sexy) monsters of the Gothic – monsters that materialize from these nineteenth-century repressions, perversions and horrors” (2018: 43-44). However, the links between the Gothic and the neo-Victorian go beyond their explorations of transgressive sexualities. Key neo-Victorian tropes, such as spectrality and haunting, are

Gothic in nature, leading Kohlke and Gutleben to state that “neo-Victorianism is by nature quintessentially Gothic: resurrecting the ghost(s) of the past, searching out its dark secrets and shameful mysteries, insisting obsessively on the lurid details of Victorian life, reliving the period’s nightmares and traumas”, and to suggest that “there exists a generic and ontological kinship between Gothic and the neo-Victorian phenomenon” (2012: 4). Kohlke and Gutleben also argue that the convergence of neo-Victorianism and the Gothic may be seen as an attempt to bring the Gothic back to its cultural origins in order to counter this domesticating process and reimagine it as foreign, disturbing, Other (2012: 2, 4). The implications of this are manifold and complex – the spread of the Gothic and its assimilation into mass culture can be read as a reflection of a greater degree of tolerance (but also a greater appetite) for difference, yet this blurs and conceals practical and lived realities that may suggest otherwise. In this respect, the intersections of neo-Victorianism and the Gothic bring to the fore the peculiar fact that mainstream culture is finally catching up with the fights for civil liberties from the previous decades, so that female perspectives, queer sexualities or non-white characters have become more openly visible and more readily represented, while the actual social context and lived experience of these social groups has either stagnated or taken a turn for the worse. Mere greater visibility may not necessarily translate to any meaningful shift in power relations, and neo-Victorian discourses of perversity and desire may help to illuminate these underlying tensions. One particularly sobering example of these conflicting drives can be found in Marks’s explorations of neo-Victorian pornography. Marks cites an interview with Pandora/Blake, a neo-Victorian pornographer behind the website *Dreams of Spanking*, where Blake shares fan responses to a scene offering the fantasy of a white headmistress punishing a Black schoolgirl. A number of fans on Blake’s website suggested that it would be “hot” if the Black woman were to be cast as a slave (Marks 2018: 50). One may wonder what makes the horrors of slavery not only acceptable but “hot”, the pornographic narrative itself or the historical remove created by the Victorian setting, but the example indicates that neo-Victorian insistence on defilement and degradation is not always motivated by the need for reassurance that past atrocities belong firmly in a bygone era. Instead, it may create opportunities to recreate them or vicariously relive them in the historical narrative setting, made acceptable by the very virtue of its historicity.

Finally, John Urry’s theoretical framework of the tourist gaze, which draws on the idea of tourism as essentially a performance of place and culture for tourist consumption, is both useful and interesting when read against the portrayals of transgressive sexuality in neo-Victorian fiction. Urry’s notion of the tourist gaze points to the highly stylised nature of tourist content, as a carefully curated and highly fetishised collection of images and experiences compiled as something to be consumed. Of course,

Urry is writing well before Instagram, but his speculations are confirmed in the notion of “Instagrammable” locations as the epitome of visual consumption. Like the reader of neo-Victorian fiction, the tourist is after what is supposedly an “authentic” experience, and is sold a simulacrum of it. The implications of Urry’s findings for neo-Victorian writing are to be found in the ethical issues surrounding such stylised versions of the past. In attempting to speak for the lost voices of the Victorian age, who is neo-Victorianism really speaking for, and is it ever anyone else but itself? Tellingly, Kohlke notes that as readers of neo-Victorian fiction, “we become time-travelling tourists in often exoticised landscapes of violence” (2009: 27). In this respect, neo-Victorian perversion can be read as one such consumable experience, taking the reader on a tour of the Victorian age which is carefully constructed to heighten the exoticism and the thrill it provides, where the dislocation created by the temporal displacement of the narrative hints at loosened inhibitions and a different set of criteria for judging what is acceptable. What happens in neo-Victorian fiction, stays in neo-Victorian fiction, and the neo-Victorian text thus provides an outlet for unbridled fantasies in the manner of a particularly wild summer holiday. Such appropriations also highlight the ultimate fluidity of cultural and historical space, as Kohlke herself indicates in her discussion of neo-Victorian spaces of transgression, through the example of the Attendant Café in London’s Fitzrovia (2017). Set in a refurbished Victorian public toilet, the café illustrates the precise nature of neo-Victorian experience that we seek out. In Kohlke’s words, “safety is not what we want in neo-Victorianism”; instead, we seek it in order to “get close to the foul” (2017). However, the foul in question is only ever a fabricated, sanitised version of filth – filth, but safely bleached and still hygienic, something we approach and consume from a very controlled and safe position. In neo-Victorian narratives, perversions and transgressions are wrapped safely in the domain of historical fiction, both fetishised and sanitised for safe consumption, often couched in the added layer of Gothic horror, always ready to be disowned as “just fiction”, set in a version of society different and distant from our own. It is also important to note that even in texts that seek to critically challenge the past by approaching it from contemporary perspectives, existing nuance and depth may be lost on the reader or the audience, in which case what remains is titillation alone. This can act as a powerful reminder that nostalgia is very much a personal experience, and the way the past will be engaged with ultimately depends on highly individual sensibilities that are impossible to anticipate.

Viktorija Krombholz

NOSTALGIJA I PERVERZIJA U NEOVIKTORIJANSKOJ PROZI

Rezime

Apstrakt: Veza između nostalgije i neoviktorijanskog povratka u devetnaesti vek u središtu je brojnih neoviktorijanskih istraživanja. No, tačna priroda ove veze, njene ideološke implikacije, te kritička čitanja pojedinačnih primera nostalgičnog povratka u prošlost i dalje ostaju predmet sporenja, zahvaljujući svojoj kompleksnosti i slojevitosti. Tumačenja neoviktorijanskih tekstova kao izraza različitih kultura sećanja ili primera refleksivne nostalgije iz definicije Svetlane Bojm (Boym) svakako su opravdana i imaju svoju vrednost, ali ovi pristupi ne uspevaju da objasne naročit skup neoviktorijanskih tekstova koji su okrenuti prikazima eksplicitnog sadržaja, transgresivne seksualnosti i perverzних užitaka. Ovi tekstovi pružaju čitaocu ono što Mari-Luiz Kolke (Kohlke) naziva “čitanjem radi uniženja”, budući da dosledno prikazuju viktorijanski period kao raspusno leglo poroka koje grca u razvratu i kriminalu, nudeći fetišiziranu, često nadasve gotsku verziju prošlosti u kojoj se mogu zadovoljiti najmračnije fantazije i izopačene želje, čak i one koje su u savremenom društvu zabranjene. Kako pokazuje Lora Helen Marks (Marks) u svojoj studiji o neoviktorijanskoj pornografiji, viktorijanski period je naročito je pogodan za pornografsku reinterpetaciju usled toga što se doživljava kao seksualno restriktivan, ali potajno perverzan. S obzirom na to da neoviktorijanski tekstovi povratkom u prošlost rasvetljavaju tenzije unutar savremenog društva, naročito je zanimljivo ovu fascinaciju viktorijanskim bludom i težnju da se prošlost konstruiše kao raskalašna i skaredna posmatrati u svetlu globalnog zaokreta ka konzervativnim politikama i stavovima. Konačno, neoviktorijanska proza može se čitati koristeći pojam “turističkog pogleda” Džona Arija (Urry); iz te perspektive, neoviktorijanski tekst konstruiše istorijski ambijent kao nešto što nudi jedinstven, vanredan kulturni doživljaj, pretvarajući ga u proizvod koji se nostalgično konzumira, a čije su odlike podređene željama i predstavama uživaoca sadržaja. Oslanjajući se na navedene kritičke pristupe, rad teži da doprinese čitanjima neoviktorijanske proze tako što se bavi različitim aspektima veze između nostalgije i perverzije u neoviktorijanskom kontekstu.

Ključne reči: neoviktorijanska književnost, nostalgija, perverzija, seksacija, pornografija, gotski žanr, turistički pogled

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UDC: 821.111.09-31 Aslam N.
DOI: 10.19090/gff.v48i3.2374
Original research paper

NOSTALGIA AND THE AILING BODY IN NADEEM ASLAM'S *MAPS FOR LOST LOVERS*

Focusing on a small immigrant community in contemporary England, Nadeem Aslam's *Maps for Lost Lovers* (2004) narrates the pain and loneliness of cultural isolation and (self-)ghettoization in a cosmopolitanised reality. In that context, Aslam explores nostalgia as a common aspect of the experience of migration, supplying the minutest details of a mingled sense of loss and longing, which translates into physical pain and traps the community in a system of values and expectations that belong in another world. Relying on twenty-first-century cosmopolitan theory and studies of the body, both physical and social, this article wishes to analyse the ailing body as a consequence of falling prey to nostalgia. By examining both the suffering maternal body and body social, it intends to demonstrate how nostalgia can impede adaptation and stand in the way of cosmopolitanism.

Key words: body, cosmopolitanism, *Maps for Lost Lovers*, migration, Nadeem Aslam, nostalgia

Nadeem Aslam's novel *Maps for Lost Lovers* (2004), a moving feat of violent yet lyrical prose, records the story of a small working-class immigrant community in contemporary England. As the mystery of a sudden disappearance of two lovers gradually unfolds, the narrative paints a detailed picture of an individual and communal sense of cultural displacement that characterises migrant experience. Charged with profound emotion, Aslam's text brilliantly captures how it feels to be caught between vastly different cultural values and expectations, and composes a eulogy for the natural world and an elegy for what has been lost: home, stability, love, and sense of self. Focusing on a group of Pakistani immigrants, settled in the bleak and aptly named town of Dasht-e-Tanhaii (the Wilderness of Solitude or the Desert of Loneliness), Aslam examines how cultural isolation and nostalgia, experienced "in terms of longing and desire" (Walder, 2011: 4), or grief, translate into the emotional and physical suffering of the physical body and the social body, while also disrupting cross-cultural communication and hindering cosmopolitanism. As such, the novel

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can, of course, be read as postcolonial, but the present article mostly sets aside specifically postcolonial concerns and examines migration and nostalgia within theories of the body and contemporary cosmopolitanism.

The experience of migration is precisely what provided the context for the first usage of nostalgia as a term in a 1688 medical dissertation by Johannes Hofer, who “attempted to describe and name a condition he had observed among young Swiss abroad” (Walder, 2011: 8), a condition that has continued to bear the name of nostalgia, although it has largely been dissociated from its medicalised and pathologised initial connotations. As vague and diverse as nostalgia can be, Aslam’s text associates it with migration and a pervading sense of loss in order to demonstrate what it means and how it feels to be a migrant trapped between tradition and modernity, the old and new worlds, as well as the host society’s cosmopolitan sentiments, on one hand, and persistent racism and xenophobia on the other. Expectedly, *Maps for Lost Lovers* explores the many ambiguities and conflicts of migration, as well as (self-)ghettoization, loneliness and nostalgia through different generations of immigrants, whose levels of adaptation differ. Therefore, the examined rift, the in-between space that they occupy, is not only that between the cultures, values and expectations of the old world and those of the new, but also one between parents and children. In the context of a culture that is particularly demanding on women, who bear the burden of tradition, as we see in Aslam’s novel, it is the maternal body that suffers because of it the most. However, this article intends to show that personal pain and concerns cannot be separated from the communal, nor can the ailing physical and social body be considered without the larger social context, which is characterised by the opposed forces of cultural isolation and cosmopolitanisation.

Aslam’s novel was published only three years after 9/11 had questioned any naïve idea of a mutually tolerant and harmonious cosmopolitan coexistence. Ulrich Beck, Berthold Schoene and Paul Gilroy are among theorists who point out that, in the aftermath of 9/11, contemporary cosmopolitanism has become decidedly realistic: aware of both threats and opportunities in a globally connected world. This post-9/11 variant of cosmopolitanism is variously defined as an “attitude and disposition”, “a strategy of resistance” (Schoene, 2010: 2, 5), “a new conceptual framework to understand the interconnectivity of the world and go beyond national frames of reference” (Delanty, 2009: 3), “a set of projects toward planetary conviviality” (Mignolo, 2002: 157), and “the defining feature of a new era [...] in which national borders and differences are dissolving and must be renegotiated” (Beck, 2006: 2). The concept suggests planetary interconnectedness and an urgent

need for mutual solidarity and responsibility, emphasising that we are connected by both access to opportunity and vulnerability to threat. Our thoroughly cosmopolitanised reality – understood as “latent cosmopolitanism, *unconscious* cosmopolitanism, *passive* cosmopolitanism which shapes reality as side effects of global trade or global threats such as climate change, terrorism or financial crises” (Beck, 2006: 19) – is not without flaws. Any genuinely cosmopolitan sentiment or act is daily contradicted by an increase in racism, xenophobia, nationalism, and a lack of “distributive *justice*” (Tan, 2004: 19) worldwide, and by what can be called a cosmopolitan pose, characterised by a wish to *appear* cosmopolitan (liberal, democratic, tolerant) without *acting* as a cosmopolitan. For all its insistence on solidarity, empathy and justice, even cosmopolitan theory, which for the most part combines sociological, political, literary, philosophical, and cultural approaches, has its limitations. It occasionally reinforces the West/rest binary by promoting the West’s superiority in areas such as human rights or multiculturalism, and makes uncosmopolitan claims, such as Gerard Delanty’s blatant assertion about migrants’ potential in Europe, which reduces the migrant to a body that is understood solely in terms of its reproductive functions. Namely, instead of potential for cultural rejuvenation, Delanty sees in migrants “the best chance for European societies to increase the fertility rate” (Delanty, 2009: 149). In other words, he considers their presence in Europe, commonly experienced as contentious or threatening, in view of their breeding potential. This is the kind of world that Aslam’s characters struggle in and with.

If cosmopolitan theory provides a suitable framework to examine the context of Aslam’s fiction, studies of the body offer insights into how the physical body relates to the social body, and how both are variously shaped by different historical and cultural contexts. This is crucial for understanding how nostalgia becomes a corporeal experience for the individuals and the community in *Maps for Lost Lovers*. In a time when science and technology radically redefine embodiment, overcome the limitations of the body, and push the boundaries of what is possible to do with the body, the body remains an important interface in social interaction. Physical body and body social are inextricably related, which is why theories of embodiment emphasise that the body is physical *and* constructed, personal *and* collective, unique *and* universal. The body is therefore studied from a variety of perspectives, such as medical, psychological, sociological, philosophical, literary, and artistic. If “other cultures have ‘other bodies’, as the anthropologists have shown”, then “[t]he physical body [...] is eminently social” (Synnott, 1993: 37). For this reason, the present analysis relies on sociological insights, particularly on “interactionist frameworks for

conceiving bodies and experiences of embodiment” (Waskul–Vannini, 2006: 2), in order to illuminate the complex intersections between the physical and the social body in Aslam’s novel. Because *Maps for Lost Lovers* can be read as a postcolonial text, the analysis also occasionally calls on postcolonial theoretical considerations of the body.

Since the early 1990s, the body, as well as experiences and perceptions of embodiment have become “fundamental to numerous esteemed sociological interests including gender, race and ethnicity, sexuality, health and medicine, disability, sport, aging, death and dying” (Waskul–Vannini, 2006: 1). Having reviewed a sample of literature on the body, Dennis Waskul and Phillip Vannini conclude that the body is socially constructed, gendered, sexualised, customised, commodified, digitised, objectified, fetishised, fashioned, and subject to different politics, including those of race and ethnicity (Waskul–Vannini, 2006: 2). Even though corporeality is crucial in the representation of the world’s many Others – and Aslam’s novel focuses on cultural, ethnic, migrant, and gendered Others – “the body is always more than a tangible, physical, corporeal object” (Waskul–Vannini, 2006: 3). It is always socially determined, so “the term ‘embodiment’ refers quite precisely to the process by which the object-body is actively experienced, produced, sustained, and/or transformed as a subject-body” (Waskul–Vannini, 2006: 3) in a particular society or culture. “The body is wrought of action and interaction in situated social encounters and often by means of institutionalized ritual.” (Waskul–Vannini, 2006: 7) As a result, the biological body is invested with symbolical meaning: “Our bodies and body parts are loaded with cultural symbolism, public and private, positive and negative, political and economic, sexual, moral and often controversial.” (Synnott, 1993: 1) In discriminatory discourses and practices, cultural meanings of the body become the site of personal and institutional abuse, as explicit discrimination against migrant bodies exemplifies.

To trace the corporeal consequences of discrimination and nostalgia, as well as their social implications, this analysis alternates between examinations of the biological/physical body and the social body. This is necessary because *Maps for Lost Lovers* imagines nostalgia as a personal and communal experience, and a way to express the characters’ relationships with “recalled or remembered pasts they identify with” (Walder, 2011: 3) in an effort to preserve traditions and norms that feel familiar. Dispensing with “the rosy, sentimental glow most commonly associated with nostalgia” (Walder, 2011: 3), the novel conceptualises nostalgia as pain: bodily pain (emotional and physical) and the pain of the displaced community. Like the missing lovers, the entire community seems lost in a space between cultures, unable

to fully adjust, and painfully divided. The novel conveys their migrant sense of dislocation with laconic brevity: “years of exile and banishment” (Aslam, 2004: 6) largely spent in retrospect. As a mixture of loss and longing, nostalgia is commonly perceived as an essential feature of migrant experience, and so permeates Aslam’s text from the very first chapter, which opens with Shamas longing for a lost season:

Among the innumerable other losses, to come to England was to lose a season, because, in the part of Pakistan that he is from, there are five seasons in a year, not four, the schoolchildren learning their names and sequence through classroom chants: *Mausam-e-Sarma, Bahar, Mausam-e-Garma, Barsat, Kizan*, Winter, Spring, Summer, Monsoon, Autumn. (Aslam, 2004: 5)

That his loss is shared is soon suggested by the following description of Pakistani migrants: “Roaming the planet looking for solace, they’ve settled in small towns that make them feel smaller still, and in cities that have tall buildings and even taller loneliness.” (Aslam, 2004: 9) Their migrations are propelled by political and economic precarity, so millions flee poor countries like Pakistan searching for “a semblance of dignity” (Aslam, 2004: 9) to be gained from economic stability. Even if life in England ensures relative financial stability, the novel makes it clear that immigrants are made to feel small by the host society, which heightens their nostalgia.

In a brief but penetrating passage, Aslam outlines the changing but invariably hostile attitudes to immigrants in England:

I don't want to see them or work next to them [...] I don't mind working next to them if I'm forced to, as long as I don't have to speak to them [...] I don't mind speaking to them when I have to in the workplace, as long as I don't have to talk to them outside the working hours [...] I don't mind them socializing in the same place as me if they must, as long as I don't have to live next to them.” (Aslam, 2004: 11)

If our cosmopolitanised times seem better, one needs only remember that the 2015 migrant crisis flushed out anti-immigration sentiments across Europe, or that calls for bans on immigration and the repatriation of immigrants continue. At this very moment (April 2023) people in France, including undocumented migrants, are protesting against planned changes to the immigration law that are racist and discriminatory. The environment’s inhospitable attitudes, voiced in the street and institutionalised by law, particularly affect the migrant body as proof of the existence of “a social structure built around embodied inequalities” (Waskul–Vannini, 2006:

11) because “the deepest prejudices and discriminations, for and against, accrue to the body” (Synnott, 1993: 3). In the context of the community in Aslam’s novel this represents a continuation of colonial thinking that is perpetuated by “the contemporary resurgence of bald-faced racism within mainstream politics across the globe” (Duncan–Cumpsty, 2022). We find evidence in the text – references to violent physical attacks and racial slur – that the world’s many Others continue to be perceived in terms of their corporeality. In turn, the novel’s immigrants largely perceive England as a “nest of devilry from where God has been exiled. No, not exiled – denied and slain” (Aslam, 2004: 30). All of this deepens nostalgia, which provides a sense of continuity to the geographically and culturally translocated immigrants, eventually translating into the physical suffering of the body (pain and illness) and the shared social suffering of the community that is disrupted from the outside (by marginalisation, discrimination and abuse) and from the inside (by self-isolation, inner conflicts and violence, and nostalgia).

Nostalgia is therefore a principal cause of pain in the ailing physical/maternal and social body and an instrument of self-isolation of the migrant community in the host society. It further serves to isolate individuals within the community and the family, and becomes an obstacle to cosmopolitan society. The physical manifestations of nostalgia confirm that the body is indeed, as Anthony Synnott claims, “sponge-like” (Synnott, 1993: 1) in that it absorbs meaning, from the outside as well as the inside. It absorbs socially constructed meanings and values and inner states, emotions and thoughts, and is then doubly pressured: from without, by an unwelcoming society, and from within, by personal and communal feelings of nostalgia. Thus both the individual and the social body painfully *embody* the experience of migration, loss, severed ties (with the country of origin, family and especially children), and self-isolation caused by nostalgic clinging to the culture of origin. The novel develops the idea of a corporeal experience of nostalgia primarily through focus on two female characters, Suraya and Kaukab, whose narratives reveal the link between the female body and unfulfilled social roles: “[u]nfulfilled wifehood” or failed motherhood as “expressed in physical ailment” (Katrak, 2006: 159) and emotional suffering.

Suraya is an exiled mother whose outstanding beauty attracts universal attention and confirms that the body affects both “social responses to the self” and “our life chances” (Synnott, 1993: 2). Suraya’s dismal circumstances and despair for a lost family prompt her to use her irresistible appeal to get her family back. Her nostalgia for her son, and to a degree her husband, is nostalgia for the loss of stability in a cultural setting that treats a divorced woman as an undesirable non-entity.

Nostalgia thus builds upon Suraya's lack of options and forces her to surrender her body to men whom she hopes to marry in order to divorce them and marry her husband again. Namely, under Islamic law Suraya's husband is punished for recklessly divorcing her in a drunken state by a prohibition that allows him to have any woman except her, and he can only *possess* her again if she marries and divorces another man. The heavy burden of the punishment is thus placed solely on the woman's shoulders as she has no choice but to become the conquered and commodified female body that men treat as they please. As her only recourse, Suraya is thus forced to engage in a form of prostitution that involves extremely high stakes but no financial transaction.

As a divorced woman, even if not by choice, Suraya faces prejudice and ostracism, and has no right over her child. Because her world is reduced to wifedom and motherhood, she is controlled through these roles, especially through motherhood, "an institution that is socially, even economically constructed" and located "within a dialectic relationship between patriarchy and capitalism, between reproduction and production" (Katrak, 2006: 210). When her husband beats her, threatens her life and divorces her through no fault of her own – a woman simply cannot be trusted – Suraya is lost, and the pain of loss and nostalgia lead her through an entangled web of stringent rules to sexual acts that perpetuate the exploitation of the female body. Her exceptionally beautiful suffering body is treated as expendable, and raises the question of "ownership of the body" (Synnott, 1993: 3) in the depicted culture. Demonstrating how a "single chromosome divides the corporeal world like a scalpel" (Synnott, 1993: 6), the female body is owned and controlled by the (male) society (family, especially male figures, and the wider community). Control is legitimised by oppressive, not all, cultural traditions which exercise their indisputable authority over a woman throughout her life. Even if she uses her body in ways deemed unacceptable by her culture – she breaks the taboo of extramarital intercourse to seduce a potential husband – in order to reunite with her family, Suraya does not resist the system but plays by its rules. Her act is not one of defiance but desperation as she is left with no choice. Suraya's story of emotional suffering and forced prostitution thus exhibits "a variety of controls of the female body through 'traditions' of the obedient wife, self-sacrificing mother" (Katrak, 2006: xi), controls that she as a mother is not free to escape.

Another character who feels that "[n]ot everyone has the freedom to walk away from a way of life" (Aslam, 2004: 115) is Shamas's wife Kaukab. Not only does she fail to escape social constraints, but she wholeheartedly supports the system of control that subjugates her. Walled in her unassailable faith for protection against

Western corruption, she consciously participates in society's attempts to control women's bodies when she condones and arranges forced marriages, including that of her own daughter who is married off to an abusive cousin, or, to more devastating consequences, when she reports on Shamas's brother Jugnu and his beloved Chanda, the missing lovers, who try to live their love free from social constraints. By reporting them to Chanda's family, which perpetuates a series of events that lead to the lovers' brutal deaths, Kaukab proves that "[i]deologies that buttress women's subordination are supported by family and perpetuated both in the private and public realms" (Katrak, 2006: 157). Lost in a culture that is alien to her and that she is alien to, and afraid that she has lost her children to the "decadent and corrupt West" (Aslam, 1994: 63), Kaukab internalises the patriarchal role of woman and mother as a guardian of tradition.

While all the characters in the novel are affected by cultural dislocation and nostalgia, in different ways and to different degrees, Kaukab seems the most isolated and she embodies the home society's confinement of female sexuality within discourses which glorify motherhood and fertility. She is the socially revered figure of the traditional mother who has come to perceive sexuality purely through the lens of reproduction, she has several children and, as a woman who "barely knew what lay beyond the neighbourhood" (Aslam, 2004: 32), feels safe only within the small compass of her kitchen. This is partly so because Kaukab has internalised the society's mechanisms of control, so she illustrates "complicity and consent as internalized oppressions" (Katrak, 2006: xxii): she never questions the system of control and even actively supports it. She is further isolated by her inability, and unwillingness, to adapt, her strict adherence to the beliefs and values of the old world, and her near-infinite rigidity. Kaukab's nostalgia for the old world, for tradition as "ahistoricized and regarded as fixed, timeless, and unchanging" (Katrak, 2006: 157) – its climate, food, flora and fauna, its values and, above all, its certainties – is made worse when she loses (contact with) her children, second-generation migrants who have adapted to the ways of the host country. The ties are severed and love is lost when their differences cannot be overcome after the terrible crime that Kaukab unthinkingly provokes. She also loses contact with her husband, both sexual and emotional, and imprisons herself inside the house and the kitchen, the one space where she feels entirely comfortable and in touch with the old world, while she endures worsening pelvic pain. The maternal body and, more specifically, the womb that nourished Kaukab's children suffers for the loss of children and homeland, at the same time reflecting the entire community's disillusionment with life in the host country.

Both Kaukab's and Suraya's narratives demonstrate the difficulty and, at times, impossibility of negotiating between strict home culture's rules on male-female contact, female roles, behaviour, dress, and body, on one hand, and the socially acceptable, and therefore threatening, freedom of contact, behaviour and dress in the host culture, on the other. The ailing female body is thus shaped by these opposing forces, and possibly serves as an expression of longing for an imaginary world in which the male and female cease to exist as opposites which "structure their/our lives in dualistic terms" (Synnott, 1993: 6). In this imaginary world boys are not taught that women are "faeces-filled sacs" (Aslam, 2004: 126) whose lives should be threatened every time their virtue is in doubt, nor are women forced to walk the thin line between respectability and whoredom, with nothing in between. To conceive of a future in which the female body is fully autonomous is perhaps farfetched, for when was any body entirely autonomous or private? To imagine, and make true, a future of mutual respect and solidarity is not. This is the kind of future that Aslam's painful and lavish prose reaches out to.

The realisation of this cosmopolitan future is deferred in the novel as the community's disappointment and nostalgia, recalled in the novel's opening through Shamas's ruminations about a lost fifth season of the year, play into the hands of antic cosmopolitan sentiments in the host culture. Isolation and ghettoization are therefore partly ensured from the outside, while also corroding any cosmopolitan sentiments from the inside due to nostalgic and obsessive adherence to the laws and codes disguised as traditions and brought to the new world. "Traditions change according to new political frameworks in societies", rarely to the benefit of women, and they "exile the body especially when [...] tradition itself is made more important than women" (Katrak, 2006: 161, 156), but in *Maps for Lost Lovers* traditions exile the entire community from the host culture and, through inner divisions and a failure to adapt, from itself. The community is "struggling to survive in the present—a time not only of the end of empires but of increased globalisation, ethnic tension, and national self-questioning" (Walder, 2011: 4), and ends up exiled and trapped in nostalgia for a seemingly easier world of clear coordinates. Few among those of Kaukab's generation exhibit "a degree of estrangement from one's own culture and history", which is "essential to a cosmopolitan commitment" (Gilroy, 2004: 75). Migration makes this kind of estrangement inevitable, and while it is pronounced in members of the second-generation immigrants in the novel, who are fighting to negotiate between their cultural heritage and the norms of the host culture that has become their home, the first-generation immigrants continually cling to the old traditions in search of stability. Their nostalgia is fuelled by the experience of cultural

transplantation, their children's attempts to fit in the disorienting British society, as well as by their own exposure to undisguised racism.

Namely, Aslam's characters live in a society that has been thoroughly cosmopolitanised, but its members are not true cosmopolitans (Beck, 2006: 44) since their behaviour testifies to a failure of hospitality and true cosmopolitanism requires feelings and acts of mutual empathy and solidarity. The Pakistani immigrants in the novel are treated as "unwanted alien intruders" (Gilroy, 2004: 98), and it is for this reason that multiculturalism and ethnic and racial diversity at times appear to be "mere exotic wallpaper to the self-fashioning of middle-class identities" (Schoene, 2010: 5), which then *feel* cosmopolitan. *Maps for Lost Lovers* shows that the proximity of cultural, ethnic, racial, or any other Others does not mean that we *are* cosmopolitan. As if to confirm Gilroy's book-length discussion of racism as "a corrosive feature of contemporary democracy" (Gilroy, 2004: xii) rather than a historical problem, the novel is peppered with ethnic and racial slur and violence that go in two directions: immigrants are called names and subjected to physical violence by the white English who are in turn labelled as a "disease, vice-ridden and lecherous race" that is going to be "skinned alive in Hell" (Aslam, 2004: 44, 161). Put differently, Aslam's novel suggests that impediments to cosmopolitan solidarity work both ways, and if the wider society should be held accountable for bigotry – "the white police are interested in us Pakistanis only when there is a chance to prove that we are savages who slaughter our sons and daughters, brothers and sisters" (Aslam, 2004: 41) – the novel's immigrants should be held accountable for their involvement in domestic abuse and honour killings, which solidify stereotyping and pave the way for further discrimination. Gilroy, Beck, Tzvetan Todorov, and a number of other thinkers have already pointed out that in the aftermath of 9/11, an event to which Aslam responds by focusing on similar events on a much smaller scale, diversity and multiculturalism are experienced both as a gateway of opportunity and as a proven threat. To expect that the threat will disappear would be naïve, especially in a time that witnesses a rise in right-wing politics and anti-immigration sentiments as major obstacles to genuine solidarity. For this reason, different visions of the cosmopolitan community in contemporary theory, all of which presuppose conviviality, openness, co-existence, cohabitation, interaction, and interconnectedness, do not foresee the end of racism, nationalism, xenophobia, and other oppressive beliefs and practices, but call for mechanisms for controlling and balancing them.

In its portrayal of lives torn apart by conflicting social forces Aslam's text offers compassion in place of judgement, so neither individual characters nor the

society are viewed from the moral high ground. The immigrants' microcosm in England is exposed in all its cruelty but treated with understanding. It would be easy to judge Kaukab for her ruthless rigidity that destroys her family and costs Jugnu and Chanda their lives. It would also be easy to judge a society that uses tradition as an excuse for severe abuse of women: the text tells of a woman who is forced to undergo hysterectomy after five complicated miscarriages, and finally goes mad; a woman who as a widow is left penniless and exposed to "the brutal charity of her sister's husband" (Aslam, 2004: 50); a girl who is tortured in a fatal exorcism as punishment for her love of a Hindu; and another girl whose husband is advised by her own mother to rape her after a week of no postnuptial intercourse. While Aslam is openly critical of such practices, he refrains from judgement, focusing instead on exposing the mechanisms behind them, for without understanding these mechanisms society cannot defeat them. Suraya's and Kaukab's stories allow Aslam to examine different aspects of a woman's life "as social roles (daughter, wife, mother), but in fact as bodily-sexual roles controlled by husbands, fathers, and sons" (Katrak, 2006: xvii), and women's enslavement by those roles.¹ "Whatever a girl or woman's particular negotiation—speaking against, being complicit within, or resisting tradition—female protagonists experience self-exile, a sense of not belonging to themselves, and particularly not to their female bodies" (Katrak, 2006: 158), which results in emotional and physical pain. The novel therefore demonstrates what happens when women remain deprived of agency as nostalgic prisoners of the home culture and its limited horizons of possibility.

Maps for Lost Lovers reveals that both individuals and the community are affected by such limited horizons. The disappearance of Jugnu and Chanda, the lost lovers who are sacrificed to what Ketu H. Katrak aptly sees as fatally absolute social exiling whose result is silencing in violent deaths (Katrak, 2006: 160),² signals an impediment to individual and communal processes of integration and, more importantly, to a cosmopolitanisation of the mind. Like so much migrant fiction, Aslam's novel shows that migration does not always deliver you to a better and more secure life in terms of education, work, freedom of movement or behaviour, nor does it ensure intellectual or even physical survival. Even memory of what has been lost fails to fulfil its "restorative, nurturing potential" (Walder, 2011: 2) in the text and

¹ The novel also discusses, in less detail, the rigidity of male roles as husbands, fathers and brothers. Men are enslaved by the one acceptable image of man as authoritarian, manly, fanatically pious, and in control of his women and children.

² Admittedly, her claim refers to women alone, but Aslam's novel highlights that defiant, non-conforming and wayward men are also occasional victims of the culture's strictly defined codes and expectations.

instead further displaces the immigrants from their original cultural context, from themselves and from the possibility of building and participating in a cosmopolitan community. If we read the lost lovers as symbolical of a new, open, tolerant, and truly cosmopolitan world, their disappearance demonstrates that cosmopolitanism is not yet a lived reality. In a world of persistent inequalities, possessed of “a desire to curb mobility from the (postcolonial) peripheries of the world-system” (Duncan–Cumpsty, 2022), peaceful cohabitation is difficult to reach. Both Suraya and Kaukab, for whom nostalgia turns to physical discomfort, pain, and, in Kaukab’s case, illness, show how the body of the Other continues to suffer and bear the burden of accumulated violence. Their suffering reflects the “lived precarity” (Duncan–Cumpsty, 2022) of migrant experience in general, and female migrant experience in particular. The dead lovers’ bodies, on the other hand, serve as reminders of the many scarred, mutilated, battered, and tortured bodies of the colonial era, bodies whose experiences are brought to light by postcolonial fiction in the hope of not only rewriting history to spotlight silenced stories, but also to point out that a more tolerant world is necessary. Therefore, nostalgia as a backward-yearning impulse gives way in Aslam’s text to a forward-looking longing for a more accepting reality. While the text offers no solutions, it does call for a radical rethinking of the current state of affairs and intimates the society’s potential for change, which relies on “cosmopolitan empathy” (McCulloch, 2021: 10) as the necessary first step for the creation of a cosmopolitan world.

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NOSTALGIJA I BOLNO TELO U ROMANU *MAPE ZA IZGUBLJENE LJUBAVNIKE*
NADIMA ASLAMA

Rezime

Roman *Mape za izgubljene ljubavnike* (2004) Nadima Aslama usredsređen je na malu imigrantsku zajednicu u savremenoj Engleskoj i pripoveda o bolu i usamljenosti usled kulturne izolacije i (samo)getoizacije uprkos kosmopolitizaciji stvarnosti. Suprotstavljene tendencije kulturnog izopštavanja i kosmopolitizma predstavljaju kontekst u kom Aslam razmatra nostalgiju kao čestu odliku iskustva migracije, pokazujući kako se osećaji gubitka i čežnje pretaču u fizički bol, te kako zarobljavaju zajednicu u sistem vrednosti i očekivanja sveta koji su imigranti napustili. Ovaj članak analizira posledice nostalgije po telo pojedinca i socijalno telo u teorijskom okviru studija o savremenom kosmopolitizmu i telu. U kontekstu migracije, rad se bavi fizičkim, posebno majčinskim, i socijalnim telom, nastojeći da pokaže kako nostalgija može da bude jedna od prepreka adaptaciji i jačanju kosmopolitike empatije i solidarnosti. Analizom nostalgije koja prerasta u emotivnu i fizičku patnju, a potom ometa

pojedince i zajednicu u procesima integracije i građenja kosmopolitske zajednice, rad pokazuje kako nostalgija može da posluži kao instrument otuđenja pojedinca od sopstvenog tela ili zajednice, te otuđenja zajednice od šireg društva. Ako je ona sila koja nezavidan položaj imigranta iz Trećeg sveta čini dodatno ranjivim, njoj je, međutim, suprotstavljena ideja kosmopolitske empatije kao neophodnog osnova za građenje budućnosti koja počiva na odgovornosti, toleranciji i solidarnosti.

Cljučne reči: kosmopolitizam, *Mape za izgubljene ljubavnike*, migracija, Nadim Aslam, nostalgija, telo

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UDC: 811.111'367.625:81'374
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DOI: 10.19090/gff.v48i3.2360
Original research paper

PHRASAL VERBS IN ENGLISH DICTIONARIES: THE NEW MODEL OF ORGANIZATION AND PRESENTATION FROM THE PERSPECTIVES OF COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS AND THE PROTOTYPE THEORY**

The paper deals with the analysis of the models of lexicographic treatment of the English phrasal verb *put up*. The general aim of the analysis is to describe the actual models of such treatment in all types of dictionaries: general-purpose, learners' and specialized phrasal verbs dictionaries. Furthermore, more specific aims deal with the effectiveness of such models for the purpose of making interpretation and acquisition of these structures easier for dictionary users. The overview of the advantages and disadvantages of such models creates a starting point for the presentation of a new model, potentially efficient in regarded terms, which starts from the particle and its influence on the semantics of phrasal verbs. The theoretical framework used in the paper is the Cognitive Linguistic approach to phrasal verb semantics and the Prototype theory which provide the complete insight into the complex semantic structure of phrasal verbs, accentuating derivational paths and the position of peripheral meanings in relation to the prototype in the centre of the radial network. The organization of phrasal verbs in such way contributes to the overall representation of the complex semantic structure of phrasal verbs, easier interpretation and memorization by dictionary users, especially, the English language learners.

Key words: cognitive linguistics, lexicography, phrasal verbs, prototype, radial networks, dictionaries, new model

1. INTRODUCTION

English phrasal verbs have always been a challenging area of research to both, linguists and lexicographers worldwide. Therefore, this exploratory research¹ is an attempt to present the analysis of the models of lexicographic treatment of the

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** The paper is based on the research conducted for the purpose of writing a doctoral dissertation under the supervision of Professor Ana Halas Popović.

¹ Representing the semantics of only one phrasal verb (due to the proposed paper length) which is the part of a much bigger corpus compiled for the author's doctoral dissertation.

English phrasal verb *put up*, taken as an example. The general aim of the analysis is to describe the actual models of such treatment in 15 English dictionaries of all types: general-purpose, learners' and specialized phrasal verbs dictionaries. Furthermore, more specific aims deal with the effectiveness of such models, as well as the authenticity of phrasal verb complex semantic structure representation, all for the purpose of making interpretation and acquisition of these structures easier for dictionary users. The research is conducted in the framework of Cognitive Linguistics with special account of the Prototype theory as the theoretical background. The results of the analysis point out that the Prototype theory has not been exploited to its highest potential in dealing with the complex semantic structure of English phrasal verbs. Therefore, the application of this theory in the new model of organization and presentation of dictionary senses of the English phrasal verb *put up* contributes to the overall representation of its complex semantic structure, easier interpretation and memorization by dictionary users, especially, the English language learners.

2. RELEVANT RESEARCH

The research conducted in the paper starts with the theoretical background which contrasts two approaches, the traditional and the cognitive approach. The traditional approach accentuates the syntax of phrasal verbs by analyzing their semantics separately and inconsistently. On the other hand, the cognitive linguistic approach, the theoretical background for the analysis, considers the semantics of phrasal verbs more important than their syntax, with the particle as an inseparable, highly influential segment of the whole semantic structure of phrasal verbs.

2.1. Linguistic perspective

Phrasal verbs as phrasal lexemes represent hybrid lexical units in terms of graphology, phonology and morphosyntax consisting of a lexical verb and at least one particle (adverb or preposition) (Prčić, 2016: 162–164). Traditional linguists (Bolinger, 1971; Lipka, 1972; Fraser, 1976) point out the morphosyntactic structure of phrasal verbs by analyzing the meaning, but not its composition, nor the influence of the particle on the overall structure of phrasal verbs which results in certain discrepancies. Namely, one study considers that metaphorical and literal combinations of the verb and the particle could be considered phrasal verbs, with the literal meaning in the centre surrounded by metaphorical meanings (Bolinger, 1971). Another states that particles carry the meaning in certain phrasal verbs, whereas, in others they do not. In other words, the particle contributes to the meaning of the

phrasal verb when the lexical verb is ‘semantically empty’ (e.g. *do, make, put, set*, etc.), whereas, in other structures, the meanings of adjectives, nouns or verbs are accentuated over the meanings of the particle (e.g. *clean up, dry up, line up, roll up, beat up, blow out*) (Lipka, 1972: 82–92). Furthermore, Fraser (1976) points out that the meaning of the lexical verb determines the meaning of the phrasal verb as a structure, whereas, particles do not contribute to the meaning of the structure, and concludes that phrasal verbs are arbitrary, non-analytical structures. To sum up, traditional approaches express inconsistency in terms of what should be the focus of analysis, either syntax or semantics of phrasal verbs, and very often accentuate syntactic features of phrasal verbs over semantic features.

Contrary to this analytical approach, the Cognitive Linguistic approach (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lindner, 1981; Rudzka-Ostyn, 2003; Evans & Green, 2006; Croft & Cruse, 2004) is highly semantic, states that the meaning of phrasal verbs is motivated, and considers them non-arbitrary, separable structures. This is due to the fact that Cognitive Linguistics is based on *conceptualizations*, cognitive images (concepts) created in human minds as the result of the interaction between humans and the outside world. The connection between concepts and the human body is understood by the notion of *image schemas* which Johnson (1987: xiv) considers ‘dynamic patterns of sense interaction and motor activities occurring all the time’. Furthermore, the concept of *space grammar* (Langacker, 1987), applied by Lindner (1981) to present the systematic analysis of the complex semantic structure of phrasal verbs, reflects the spatial organization of lexical verbs around the meanings of constituent particles, the particle being a landmark (*LM*), a located element, in relation to which the verb, a trajectory (*TR*), a moving element is located. Furthermore, Rudzka-Ostyn (2003) points out the importance of *conceptual metaphors* (derivational mechanisms which imply mappings of source domains onto target domains) in the interpretation of phrasal verbs semantics. For example, in the metaphor, ARGUMENT IS WAR, ARGUMENT as a target domain is interpreted in terms of a source domain WAR (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Tyler and Evans (2003) depict the complex semantic structure of phrasal verbs in terms of *radial networks* (Brugman & Lakoff, 1988; Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 2007) with the *prototype*, the most representative member of the category (Rosch, 1973) in the centre, with derived meanings dispersed around it in ray-like manner. The Cognitive Linguistic approach is based on *the embodiment principle* (Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Evans & Green, 2006) which considers the human body a medium through which conceptualizations are formed, whereas, linguistic structures depict conceptual structures as a result of interaction between human bodies and the outside world.

2.2. *Lexicographic perspective*

The presentation of meanings (dictionary senses) in dictionaries is not appropriate since “numerated lists of definitions in dictionaries create a false image of what is really going on during language use” (Hanks, 2000: 205). Therefore, Halas (2016: 124) points out the importance of making “transparent the main features of a polysemous structure including its hierarchical organization, mutual relatedness of senses based on family resemblance and motivated derivation of senses” by recognizing “the Prototype theory as highly beneficial to lexicographic treatment of polysemy” (Ibid. 126)². Furthermore, studies related to the presentation of phrasal verbs in dictionaries (Perdek, 2010; Nedelcheva, 2013), consider the Prototype theory with phrasal verbs organized in radial networks with emphasized connections among meanings, the best solution. Others suggest grouping phrasal verbs around the lexical verb (Stein, 2002), the use of explicit metaphorical patterns in definitions (Ishii, 2006), and even, the replacement of multiple senses with the single one, followed by example sentences (Brodzinski, 2009).

Taking various stands into consideration, it appears inevitable to pose a question: to what extent are the principles of Cognitive Linguistics and the Prototype theory applied in the treatment and presentation of complex semantic structures of phrasal verbs in dictionaries? Therefore, this paper tends to answer the question by offering a solution to the problem of organization and presentation of phrasal verbs in dictionaries by providing a novel model of such treatment based on the postulates of the Prototype theory and one lexicographic criterion 1. Sense organization, divided into three subcriteria: 1.1. Sense ordering, 1.2. Sense clusters, and 1.3. Visual realization.

Sense ordering explains the ways in which senses are ordered within dictionary entries and represents the most demanding task for lexicographers in the process of making a high-quality dictionary with neatly arranged senses in order to meet various users' needs (Kipfer, 1983: 101). There are three types of sense ordering based on the historical, frequency and semantic principle (Atkins & Rundell, 2008: 250). According to the historical principle, dictionary senses are represented the way they appeared in time, the frequency principle orders senses according to the frequency of their use, and the semantic principle, applied in the paper, arranges senses starting from the prototypical sense, followed by semantically close derived senses reflecting “a psychologically arranged complex semantic structure of a lexeme“ (Kipfer, 1983: 103). Though it is often the case that “the Prototype theory is

² For more information on the lexicographic treatment of polysemy see Halas (2014).

not adequately applied in the processes of sense ordering in dictionary entries due to the dominance of the frequency principle according to which frequently used senses are positioned before prototypical senses” (Jiang & Chen, 2015), “it should be noticed that only the prototypical sense is always listed first in an entry regardless of its frequency in the corpus in order to give it its due prominence” (Halas, 2016: 138). What follows are the senses on the next derivational level, closer or further from the prototype.

Sense clusters represent groups of senses with similar features. Both density and dispersion of these clusters depend on two principles of sense differentiation: splitting and lumping (Stock, 1984: 154). The first principle implies the process of splitting one sense into numerous sense nuances, whereas, lumping implies the opposite process of grouping similar senses into sense clusters. It is necessary to determine basic, dominant senses first, and group less dominant senses around them (Stock, 1984). Sense differentiation should be in accordance with the hierarchical organization of a polysemous structure and superordinate senses should be identified as more general uses while their subsenses should be finely differentiated one from another so that subtle distinctions among them are visible and prominent enough (Halas, 2016: 134). Furthermore, sense granularity is an important issue to bear in mind since too many senses can cause information overload which is often user-unfriendly (Ide & Véronis, 1998: 22).

Visual realization includes graphic illustrations and metaphoric patterns as visual aids aimed at helping dictionary users interpret and memorize phrasal verbs without difficulties. It is assumed in the paper that the explicit presentation of visual elements in dictionary entries contributes to the overall comprehension of derivational paths and interrelations among senses within the complex semantic structure of phrasal verbs. The elements of visual realization, used as shortcuts, direct learners to the vast repository of meaning via the visual effect which complements “the verbal description of the semantic content of linguistic units” (Svensen, 2009: 298) by “offering additional explanations of the texts they are related to” (Bergenholtz & Tarp, 1995: 159–160).

2.3. Particle ‘up’ and the phrasal verb ‘put up’ according to the Prototype theory

The paper takes the stand that the particle *up* considerably influences the semantics of the phrasal verb *put up*. Therefore, it is necessary to explain the relation between the meanings of the particle and the phrasal verb *put up* in terms of Cognitive Linguistics and the Prototype theory. First, a radial network for the particle *up* is created based on the rich inventory of its meanings with the prototypical meaning of

verticality in the centre surrounded with less prototypical, derived meanings, improvement, increase, completion, etc. Second, the radial network for the phrasal verb *put up* is created and incorporated into the particle network. The connection between the two is based on VERTICALITY image schema and metaphorical patterns HIGH IS UP, VISIBLE IS UP, which lie at the core meaning of the particle *up* (Diagram 1)³.

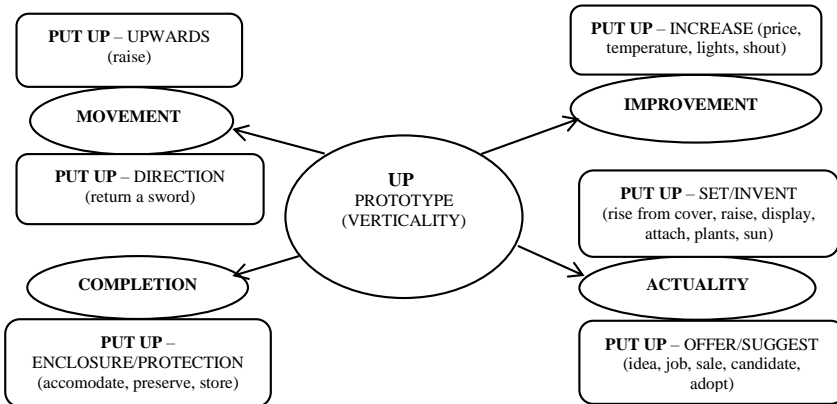


Diagram 1. The radial network for the particle *up* with the incorporated phrasal verb *put up*

The diagram shows four derived meanings (meaning clusters) and several sub-meanings of the particle *up*, with the meanings of the phrasal verb *put up* incorporated. The first meaning cluster, MOVEMENT, is the result of the conceptual metaphor HIGH IS UP and denotes movement UPWARDS (the vertical position due to the VERTICALITY image schema, e.g. *raise sth*). Besides this, the movement in a certain direction is due to the specific context, and results in the meaning DIRECTION, denoting any direction opposite to vertical (e.g. *return a sword into a sheath*). The second meaning cluster, COMPLETION, is the result of the metaphor COMPLETE IS UP, and represents a metaphorical extension of the prototypical meaning of verticality. This meaning accentuates the final stage of certain activity and its completion. It contains two incorporated meanings of *put up*, ENCLOSURE and PROTECTION, which denote activities of preserving some entities, keeping them safe, such as putting pieces together into a whole, offering accommodation to someone, preserving, storing food, etc.

³ The diagram is the author's own invention.

The third meaning cluster, ACTUALITY, contains two groups of meanings, OFFER/SUGGEST and SET/INVENT, which accentuate the importance and priority of the analyzed entity, and is the result of the derivational mechanism of conceptual metaphor VISIBLE IS UP (e.g. when animals rise from cover, they become visible; when something is displayed on a public place or attached on a higher place it is visible; when a job is available or something is for sale, it becomes visible, etc.). The fourth meaning cluster, IMPROVEMENT, with the meaning INCREASE is the result of the conceptual metaphor HIGH IS UP and implies figurative rising on a scale (e.g. *prices, debts, etc.*). The diagram shows a cumulative representation and interrelations of the senses of the particle *up* and the phrasal verb *put up*.

3. ANALYSIS

The lexicographic analysis is conducted with 15 English dictionaries including 9 electronic general-purpose and learner's dictionaries and 6 print specialized phrasal verbs dictionaries. Dictionary senses are contrasted to the given network (Diagram 1) in order to establish potential discrepancies. For the purpose of establishing the arrangement of senses and their relations within the entry, the semantic principle is applied to determine the presence and the position of the primary (prototypical) sense which typically occupies the first position in a dictionary entry, as well as, the positions of derived senses in relation to the prototype. After that, a lexicographic analysis incorporating the criterion of sense organization with several subcriteria is conducted.

3.1. Sense ordering

The results of the analysis show that the majority of analyzed dictionaries split entries into segments according to the (in)transitive use of the phrasal verb *put up*, within which separate senses are arranged. This principle of sense ordering is termed the grammatical principle and is also taken into account. Therefore, three models of sense ordering have been recorded in the analysis. The first model refers to the presence of the semantic principle, according to which the prototypical sense occupies the first position in the dictionary entry and is followed by derived senses. The second model refers to the presence of the grammatical principle, according to which the dictionary entry is split into two segments based on the (in)transitive use of the phrasal verb. The third model refers to the absence of any principle and is recorded in dictionary entries in which the prototypical sense is not placed in the first position or is completely absent from the entry. The analysis of sense ordering in

dictionary entries for the phrasal verb *put up* shows the application of the semantic principle in 2 dictionaries, the grammatical principle in 5 dictionaries, whereas, the absence of any principle is recorded in 8 dictionaries in which all the senses are given equal status without clear derivational paths from the prototype.

Table 1: Sense ordering of the phrasal verb *put up*

PUT UP
<p><i>Semantic principle: AHDPV, CCDPV</i></p> <p>The prototypical sense occupies the first position in the entry, and the other senses follow derivational paths from it, towards abstract derived senses. For example, in <i>ADHPV</i>, the prototypical sense 1 ‘to place something in a high or upright position’, is followed by derived senses, 2 ‘to place something in a prominent position’, 3 ‘to erect some structure’, 4 ‘to nominate someone’, etc. In <i>CCDPV</i>, the prototypical sense 1 ‘If you put something up, or put it up somewhere, you move it to a higher position or place it farther away from the ground’ is followed by derived senses semantically closer to it, sense 2 ‘If you put one thing up another, you push it so that it is inside the other thing’, sense 3 ‘If you put up a building, wall, shelf, or similar structure, you build it or fix it in place’, and further from it, for example, sense 9 ‘To put up the price or rate of something means to cause it to increase’, etc.</p>
<p><i>Grammatical principle: OALD, CALD, MWD, CCD, CPVD</i></p> <p>Dictionary entries are divided into segments according to the (in)transitive use of the phrasal verb <i>put up</i>. The segments contain numerated lists of senses of equal status. The presentation of dictionary senses in this way reduces the possibility of determining clear derivational paths from the prototype and interrelations among the senses.</p>
<p><i>Absence of principle: ODE, LDOCE, CED, MEDAL, AHD, OPVD, LPVD, MPVPD</i></p> <p>The prototypical sense occupies various positions in several dictionary entries. For example, in <i>OALD</i>, it occupies the third position, in <i>CPVD</i>, <i>MPVPD</i>, the fourth position, and in <i>LDOCE</i>, <i>LPVD</i>, <i>MEDAL</i>, the fifth position. Its presence in the remaining dictionaries is not recorded. All other senses are presented in the form of a numerated list, without clear derivational paths from the prototype which makes it difficult to establish clear derivational paths and relation to the prototype within the complex semantic structure of the phrasal verb <i>put up</i>.</p>

3.2. Sense clusters

As far as sense clusters of the phrasal verb *put up* are concerned, the paper analyses to what extent the semantics of the particle *up* influences the semantics of the phrasal verb *put up*, in other words, which sense clusters of the particle are contained within the phrasal verb and how they are projected in dictionary entries. The results show that only in 5 dictionaries sense clusters are partially presented with certain senses derived from and grouped around basic senses. Certain senses of the phrasal verb are related to the semantic structure of the particle which is the indicator of the impact of the particle onto the semantics of the phrasal verb, partially projected in dictionary entries. On the other hand, in the majority of dictionaries, the model of broken sense clusters, with the linear presentation of senses is present according to which all senses are given equal status, without the tendency towards grouping similar senses.

Table 2: Sense clusters of the phrasal verb *put up*

PUT UP
<i>Partial: ODE, MWD, MEDAL, CALD, AHD</i>
<p>Dictionary entries contain several numerated senses of equal status, whereas, others are divided into additional senses due to the presence of special referents. For example, in <i>ODE</i>, sense 2 ‘<i>Display a notice, sign or poster</i>’ contains an additional derived sense, marked as 2.1. ‘<i>Present a proposal, theory, or argument for discussion or consideration</i>’, related to the sense cluster SET/INVENT of the particle <i>up</i> (Diagram 1).</p> <p>In <i>MWD</i>, sense 10 contains two derived senses marked as 10a: ‘<i>to make a display of</i>’, contained within the sense cluster SET/INVENT of the particle <i>up</i> (Diagram 1) and 10b: ‘<i>to engage in</i>’, not related to the semantic structure of the particle <i>up</i>.</p> <p>In <i>MEDAL</i>, sense 2 ‘<i>to fix a picture or notice onto an upright structure such as a wall</i>’, contains a derived sense 2a ‘<i>to fix a shelf or cupboard onto a wall</i>’, contained within the sense cluster SET/INVENT of the particle <i>up</i> (Diagram 1).</p> <p>In <i>CALD</i>, the entry contains sense indicators around which derived senses are grouped. For example, there are two senses around the sense indicator <i>MONEY</i>, ‘<i>to increase the price or value of something</i>’, related to the sense cluster INCREASE of the particle <i>up</i> and ‘<i>to provide or lend an amount of money for a particular purpose</i>’, related to the sense cluster DIRECTION (Diagram 1).</p> <p>In <i>AHD</i>, sense 8 contains two derived senses 8a ‘<i>To make a display or the appearance of</i>’, related to the sense cluster SET/INVENT of the particle <i>up</i> (Diagram 1) and 8b ‘<i>To engage in; carry on</i>’, not related to the semantic structure of the particle <i>up</i>.</p>

Broken: LDOCE, CED, CCD, OALD, OPVD, LPVD, CPVD, MPVPD, AHDPV, CCDPV

A rather rich semantic structure of the phrasal verb *put up* is presented as a model of broken sense clusters in dictionary entries, containing senses of equal status without the tendency towards grouping them according to similarities. Therefore, it is difficult to determine the interrelation between the semantic structure of the phrasal verb *put up* and the particle *up*.

3.3. Visual realization

This subsection analyzes the elements of visual realization in dictionary entries, namely, graphic illustrations and metaphorical patterns which contribute to the overall presentation of complex semantic structure of the phrasal verb *put up*, thus making its comprehension easier for the visual types of learners. The analysis shows that graphic illustrations are present in *MPVPD* only, whereas, metaphorical expressions are absent from all dictionary entries.

Table 3: Visual realization of the phrasal verb *put up*

PUT UP		
<i>Graphic illustrations</i>		<i>Metaphorical patterns</i>
<i>Present</i>	<i>Absent</i>	<i>Absent</i>
<i>MPVPD</i>	<i>ODE, CED, AHD, MWD, CCD, OALD, LDOCE, MEDAL, CALD, OPVD, LPVD, CPVD, AHDPV, CCDPV</i>	<i>ODE, CED, CCD, MWD, AHD, OALD, MEDAL, CALD, LDOCE, OPVD, LPVD, CPVD, MPVPD, AHDPV, CCDPV</i>

The lack of visual realization diminishes the possibility of presenting the complete semantic potential of the phrasal verb *put up* which directly affects learners' capability of acquiring it properly, without difficulties. The results also indicate the variety of ways in which dictionary entries of the phrasal verb *put up* are presented, as well as, the lack of the principled presentation of the analyzed phrasal verb in dictionaries.

According to the detailed analysis of 15 English dictionaries, certain inconsistency is recorded in the organization and presentation of the phrasal verb *put up*. The prototypical sense is not present in all dictionaries, and certain dictionaries contain derived senses only, which makes the process of determining derivational paths even more complicated. In the majority of dictionaries, the entries are structured according to the linear principle with the numerated lists of the senses of equal status, which makes their ordering arbitrary and sense clusters broken. The minority of dictionaries clearly

depicts sense clusters with one basic superordinate sense surrounded by derived senses. The elements of visual realization are present in one dictionary only which is considered insufficient in making the complex semantic structure of the phrasal verb *put up* comprehensible.

4. THE NEW MODEL

The aim of the new model is to present the complex semantic structure of English phrasal verbs in the simplest way possible, with neatly arranged sense clusters, sense relations, derivational paths, graphic illustrations and metaphorical patterns. The dictionary entry arranged in this way allows learners to find various pieces of information such as: 1) sense clusters with neatly arranged senses, starting from the prototypical sense towards abstract derived senses, 2) syntactic patterns which clearly depict the transitive/intransitive use of the phrasal verb *put up* and the position of the inserted animate/inanimate object, 3) linguistic complements (e.g. specific referents, register, etc.) and example sentences which enrich the semantic context of use of the phrasal verb altogether with recorded pronunciation, 4) explicitly presented metaphorical patterns to indicate derivational paths from the prototype, 5) graphic illustrations as visual aids for visual types of learners to complement textual explanations, etc. The model is preferably intended for electronic dictionaries due to unlimited space and numerous advantages (e.g. ease of access, research speed, user-friendliness, etc.). The model starts from the semantic structure of the particle *up* and its senses presented in the form of a menu. By selecting particular options, the learner is directed to particular segments of the article, either textual or graphic. Graphic segments include the presentation of the complex semantic structure of the particle *up* and the sample phrasal verb *put up*, incorporated within a radial network which clearly depicts interrelations among the senses of the two and paths of sense derivation from the prototype. The presentation of the complex semantic structure of phrasal verbs in this way affects learners' awareness of interrelations of senses, which is the result of their own interaction with the world around them projected in language. It is deeply rooted in the theory of embodied meaning and contributes to the retention of the phrasal verb's complex semantic structure in learners' long-term memory.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The paper has dealt with the effectiveness of the models of lexicographic treatment of the English phrasal verb *put up*, from the perspectives of Cognitive Linguistics and the Prototype theory. The results of the analysis point out that the

Prototype theory has not been exploited to its highest potential in dealing with the complex semantic structure of the phrasal verb *put up*. Namely, the absence of the prototypical sense and its dislocation have caused difficulties in determining clear derivational paths which resulted in a linear structure of the majority of dictionary entries. The lack of the elements of visual realization has made the complex semantic structure of the phrasal verb *put up* incomplete. Therefore, the new model of organization and presentation of the semantics of the analyzed phrasal verb, based on the principles of the Prototype theory has been suggested. It is assumed that the presentation of the semantic structure of the analyzed phrasal verb in the form of a radial network will contribute to easier interpretation and memorization by dictionary users, especially, the English language learners. However, it has to be noted that the conclusions have resulted from exploratory research using a single phrasal verb which opens up a research perspective to confirm the findings on a more comprehensive corpus elaborated in the author's doctoral dissertation.

Sladana Mandić

**FRAZNI GLAGOLI U REČNICIMA ENGLESKOG JEZIKA: NOVI MODEL
ORGANIZOVANJA I PREDSTAVLJANJA IZ UGLA KOGNITIVNE
LINGVISTIKE I TEORIJE PROTOTIPA**

Rezime

U radu se razmatra problematika leksikografske obrade fraznih glagola u rečnicima engleskog jezika, preciznije, organizovanje i predstavljanje složene semantičke strukture fraznog glagola *put up* koji je uzet kao uzorak za potrebe istraživanja. Analizom su obuhvaćeni svi tipovi rečnika i to, elektronske verzije opštih i pedagoških rečnika i štampane verzije specijalizovanih rečnika fraznih glagola. Rad ima za cilj da utvrdi efikasnost aktuelnih modela obrade fraznih glagola u elektronskim rečnicima, njihove eventualne prednosti i nedostatke i na osnovu dobijenih rezultata da predlog novog, potencijalno efikasnijeg modela obrade fraznog glagola *put up* koji polazi od partikule i uticaja njene semantike na semantiku fraznog glagola kao celine, a sve u svrhu unapređenja dosadašnje leksikografske prakse u datom pogledu. Pored elektronskih verzija, obuhvaćene su i štampane verzije specijalizovanih rečnika fraznih glagola (dostupne jedino u tom obliku) kako bi se stekao sveobuhvatan uvid u obradu semantičke strukture ovog fraznog glagola. Teorijski okvir analize jeste kognitivnolingvističko stanovište prema kojem stvaranje značenja fraznih glagola predstavlja motivisan a ne proizvoljan proces, sa posebnim osvrtom na teoriju prototipa koja naglašava osnovno značenje i ukazuje na putanje izvođenja ostalih značenja na manjoj ili većoj udaljenosti od prototipa. S tim u vezi, u radu se utvrđuje u kom stepenu je teorija prototipa primenjena po pitanju organizovanja i predstavljanja semantičke strukture fraznog glagola *put up* u rečnicima. Nakon zbirnog prikaza kognitivnolingvističke obrade semantike

partikule *up* i fraznog glagola *put up* putem radijalne mreže koja ukazuje na povezanost datih semantičkih struktura, pristupa se njihovom upoređivanju sa obradom u rečnicima na osnovu kriterijuma organizovanja rečničkih značenja razloženog na tri potkriterijuma: redosled značenja, značenjske grupe i vizuelna realizacija. Rezultati pokazuju da prikaz redosleda značenja u većini rečnika ne poštuje principe teorije prototipa, jednim delom usled izmeštanja prototipskog značenja sa prvog mesta u članku ili njegovog odsustva u potpunosti što nepovoljno utiče na utvrđivanje jasnih putanja derivacije ostalih značenja. Shodno tome, u većini rečnika značenjske grupe su razbijene usled odsustva nadređenog značenja, dok su u manjem broju rečnika delimično prikazane usled prisustva nadređenog značenja i izvesne povezanosti značenja fraznog glagola sa značenjem partikule. Takođe, u velikoj većini rečnika uočava se odsustvo elemenata vizuelne realizacije čija je uloga da upotpune leksikografski prikaz složene semantičke strukture fraznog glagola *put up*. Na osnovu uočenih nedostataka, u radu se daje predlog novog modela organizovanja značenja fraznog glagola *put up* koji na efikasniji način i uz poštovanje načela kognitivne lingvistike i teorije prototipa predstavlja semantiku ovog fraznog glagola, a sve u cilju njegove jednostavnije interpretacije i memorisanja od strane korisnika rečnika, a naročito učenika engleskog jezika kao stranog.

Ključne reči: kognitivna lingvistika, leksikografija, frazni glagoli, prototip, radijalne mreže, rečnici, novi model

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UDC: 821.111'01.09-1
DOI: 10.19090/gff.v48i3.2355
Original research paper

THE OLD WORK OF THE GIANTS — RUINS AND NOSTALGIA IN OLD ENGLISH POETRY

Abstract: Nostalgia of some kind is a common concern in Old English literature, especially in poetry, and it is often most visible in images of ruin and decay. Destroyed buildings, abandoned homes, and ancient tombs in the Old English tradition speak not only about the lives and ways of those who dwelt or are now buried in them but also on behalf of those who have come to observe them or who have seen in them either a reflection of their own lives or the fate towards which each and every thing in the world is slowly going. This paper seeks to analyse the themes of nostalgia in Old English poetry by examining the images of architectural decay in order to explore and better understand the connection between nostalgia and the symbolism behind ruins in the Old English poetic tradition. The analysis relies largely on holistic studies of the Exeter Book and other Old English manuscripts (cf. Ericksen, 2011; Reading, 2018; Niles, 2019) and aims to enter a dialogue with studies of nostalgia, transience and fate as some of the chief pillars of Anglo-Saxon poetry (cf. Di Sciacca, 2006; Fell, 2013; Trilling, 2008).

Key words: Old English, Anglo-Saxon, Exeter Book, mediaeval poetry, nostalgia

INTRODUCTION: A NOTE ON SYMBOL IN MEDIAEVAL POETRY

An honest discussion of symbolism in mediaeval poetry must first address two questions: 1) what kind of poetry are we dealing with, and 2) what does symbolism mean in that kind of poetry? In this analysis, we are dealing with the Exeter Book, that is, two of the poems in the Exeter Book characterised by images of ruins, namely, *The Ruin* and *The Wanderer*. Until 2019 and John D. Niles' book titled *God's Exiles and English Verse: On The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry* (2019), there had not been any holistic studies of the Exeter Book, probably the most important source of Anglo-Saxon poetry and certainly the most well-known one. That is, there had been no studies that approached the manuscript as not merely a miscellany of unrelated texts but as a book meant to be read from cover to cover and a book whose contents were dependent on each other and tied together by various threads, hidden and obvious. Ruins are one such thread: both literal ruins that we see

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or hear of in *Juliana*, *The Wanderer* and *The Ruin* and ruins of the world as a whole, such as those insinuated in *The Seafarer* (Niles, 2019: 77).

When discussing the Exeter Book, Niles puts himself in the shoes of an idealised reader in whose hands the manuscript was most likely to fall. More precisely, he imagines himself as a cleric, or rather, as one of many clerics, brothers in a 10th-century monastic setting (Niles, 2019: 31). In such an environment, a literary symbol does not represent an unfixed, inexhaustible potentiality of meaning that we have come to associate with the term, but rather an element of a clearly defined and well-known set of polysemantic images that demand a skilful quill to contribute to or produce an innovative literary effect. For Anglo-Saxon poets, such images are often: 1) oral-connected, as such images come heavy with metonymic potential that allows the poet to repurpose what is already familiar and find new uses for it in the new, written tradition, and 2) liturgical symbols that rely on the similarities between ritual and oral performance to give poetry an additional extratextual dimension (Maring, 2017: 2–3). Thus, for example, crosses bring together the patristic symbol of *lignum maris*,¹ the actual liturgy and monuments such as those at Ruthwell and Bewcastle (Maring, 2017: 2–3); the sea comes to represent the tumultuousness of life and the actual sea often experienced by seamen while bringing to mind the works of Gregory the Great in whose writings it is a powerful metaphor for a turbulent life (Moorhead, 2005: 47), and the whale, bringing to mind a sea monster to be slain by a hero, becomes one of the *piscium grandium* or aspidochelones representing the devil that has come to devour the proud and remind them of the story of Jonah (Eriksen, 2021: 84). The fact that a great number of texts contained in the Exeter Book feature similar recurrent symbols despite being composed at different periods of time tells us that the Anglo-Saxon *scop* mostly stuck to tradition, finding new uses for familiar symbols first and experimenting second. Most common symbols of the kind described include, in short, turbulent seas, storms, divine light and walls in need of restoration (Niles, 2019: 242), and the reader, if they are indeed a pious cleric as Niles would have them be, sees them, to quote Huppé on the Augustinian relationship to symbol in Old English poetry, as “pleasurable means of revealing Christian beauty” (Huppé, 1959: 10-11).

What kind of role do ruins as triggers for nostalgia play in such poetry? What does nostalgia even mean in the context of the 10th century, the period when

¹ By *lignum maris* is meant, for example, a cross or a wooden object such as that described by Augustine in book I of his *Confessiones*, which carries the children of Eve across a turbulent ocean towards salvation.

the Exeter Book was compiled? There is certainly no Old English word for *nostalgia*, a term coined well into the Modern Era, but the yearning for the past or something familiar that the term describes is certainly there in the poetry, and it is one of the pillars of the Anglo-Saxon world for some critics, usually those of a Postmodern predisposition (cf. Trilling, 2009). For someone taking our, that is, Niles' approach, however, nostalgia must take a different form. If our ideal reader of the Exeter Book is a cleric, we can imagine them as familiar with patristic or at least homiletic Christian tradition and as someone who sees life as a spiritual exile from Paradise (cf. Hebrews 11:11–16), the memory of which fills the believer with inexplicable longing for 'something more', that is, their true *æðel* 'homeland' (cf. Haydon, 2009). The same Christian tradition is largely built on Classical models, which, if the reader is familiar with them as well, sometimes present ruins as a source of melancholy and a reminder that the world is hastening towards its end (cf. Edwards, 2012), that is, that it is *on ofste* 'in a rush, hastening', as Wulfstan put it in his *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*. Unlike the native, oral tradition, this textual, monastic (i.e., Christian) tradition allows for and demands hermeneutic readings (Maring, 2017: 22–23), which we assume would have influenced the reader's approach to the manuscript, making them rely heavily on the attitudes of the church fathers when analysing ruins; and seeing how more emphasis is put on manuscripts as fruits of monastic labour and the best context for understanding poetry (cf. Reading, 2018; Niles, 2019; Ericksen, 2021), our approach only emphasises the debt Old English poetry owes to its patristic heritage.

Old English poetics appear and are hybrid even when we step out of the intended reader's shoes. They are a result not so much of a violent clash but an interweaving of two traditions: one oral and heroic and the other written and patristic. By coming into contact, these two traditions weave for the poet a web of well-known signs full of metonymic potential usable in all modes and genres of poetry and capable of bringing to mind diverse but equally vigorous associations that blur the border between performance and text (Maring, 2017:155).² It is not at all surprising that the Old English poets took an interest in ruins as such a symbol. The arriving Germanic settlers from continental Europe that would later form their seven kingdoms found themselves 'squatting' in the ruins of Roman Britain for a long time (Pearsall, 2020:4). Their dwelling among Roman ruins gave them plenty of time to adjust to and come to view ruins as recognisable and convincing symbols of the frailty of everything earthly and the durability of everything heavenly. Thus, ruins are a

² And also ritual, as Maring (2017) demonstrates.

notable symbol of impermanence even in the early Anglo-Latin literature,³ and their significance becomes larger over time, with ruins even engaging in an active discussion with the reader. The ruins can indeed speak, and the warning (or lament) uttered by Babylon itself in the Old English rendition of Orosius's *Historiae adversus paganos* speaks of their eloquence and the gravity of their words:

Nu ic þuss gehroren eom ond aweg gewiten, hwæt, ge magan on me ongitan and oncnawan þæt ge nanuht mid eow nabbað fæstes ne stranges þætte þurhwunian mæge.

“Now that I am so gone and fallen into ruin, look, you can understand and see in me that you have nothing firm or strong that could survive.”

Even if taken from a prose text, i.e., a historical study, and not poetry, the quote above alone can more than illustrate the importance of ruins in the educated, literary Old English language. The lines are found in a paragraph describing Babylon, whose corresponding Latin original contains but a single sentence in which the ruins of the city play no active role. In other words, the translator seized the opportunity to turn a simple statement about the destruction of a city into a rather Biblical treatment of the transitory nature of the world and give the city a voice of its own so that it could admonish the reader with greater force and more intimately.

The primary reason why ruins are so potent when it comes to evoking memories and leading the observer to fantasise and ‘reminisce’ about the home prepared for them by God is the fact that they, much like the memories they evoke, both are and are not (Shippey, 2017: xiv–xv). That is, ruins are a physical presence, often imposing and wonderful to behold, but they are also there because something else is not. It is that something, that which the ruin is a ruin of, that attracts and manages to rouse imagination and nostalgia. However, these views must never be considered nihilistic or defeatist when taking our approach. No matter how disheartened one may be by the impermanence of the world, complete despair would be considered a sin in a Christian tradition, at whose core was the belief that the all-good God can and will make sure that everything goes according to his wise and righteous will. In fact, God in Old English poetry can, just as in the scriptural and patristic writings, be described as both the stone that binds everything together and as a builder who will one day come and rebuild the ruined dwellings of humankind,

³ cf. Alcuin's elegiac couplets on the ruins of Rome: *Roma caput mundi, mundi decus, aurea Roma — nunc remanet tantum saeva ruina tibi.*

as can be seen in the poem *Christ I* (13–14) also found in the Exter Book, where the poet tells us that God must come and *þonne gebete, nu gebrosnad is, hus under hrofe* ‘restore it, now that it is ruined, the house beneath the roof’ (Raw, 1978: 62). In other words, we can see ruins reflecting edifices and the fallen world reflecting Eden, as will be clear in the further analysis of *The Ruin* and *The Wanderer*.

THE RUIN AND THE WANDERER

There is no poem in the entire Old English poetic corpus that offers a more detailed description and a more on-the-spot treatment of ruins than *The Ruin*. Interestingly, at first reading, the poet never seems to moralise and never tries to make an example of those who came before them and preach. That leads some to assume that the poet is taking ruins as the subject for no other reason other than the fact that ruins are a natural product of the world they inhabit or due to antiquarian interest, not because the ancient inhabitants of the city they are describing were decadent or led astray (Orton, 2002: 357). The poem also appears to be a homage to the typically Latin genre called *encomium urbis* ‘eulogy for a city’, similar, for example, to Ausonius’ *Ordo urbium nobilium*, which describes and ranks Mediterranean cities according to their significance in the empire (Amodio, 2014: 275). It can also be read as an example of the *excidium urbis* ‘the ruination of a city’ genre (Niles, 2019: 156). Another similar Old English example of such an urban eulogy is the poem *Durham*, which describes the city that lends the poem its name, as well as the relics of Saint Cuthbert within it. Whatever the poet’s goal was, some say, what matters more is the fact that they describe their subject with great precision and remarkable lucidity, showing their mastery of a wide variety of words for decay and destruction (Marsden, 2004: 322). In short, the text is primarily descriptive in style. However, the detached voice of the narrator still manages to make the atmosphere grander by occasionally resorting to loftier, more heroic language, for example, by employing a kenning and calling the walls *enta geweorc* (2b) ‘the work of the giants’ or by personifying the land the city was built upon, that is, the land whose *heard gripe* (8a) ‘hard grip’ now clutches those who once cultivated it. Going by such vocabulary choices, we can see early on that the text concerns itself with a history that demands textual embellishment that will help imprint on the mind of the reader the spectacle of the city’s history as glimpsed in its ruins.

Genre is not the only problem, and many have found it difficult to imagine the intended audience, too, analysing the poem as an elegy (Liuzza, 2002: xxiv). Not defining a fixed framework and imagining an ideal reader in the manner Niles did

before approaching the text, it is indeed a challenging task deducing who the intended audience was from the text itself because the poem is solitary among other texts of a similar genre, as it is not a confessional monologue or lament of personal griefs — it is rather a descriptive piece with a ghost town as its subject. However, the buildings and streets the poet describes are not merely lifeless objects without any context or backstory to them. On the contrary, they are closely associated with the people who made them as a group, as if those artisans still lived through their art (Mitchell and Robinson, 2012: 237). Indeed, the story that the poet seems to be interested in at first is the story of the genius and creative disposition of the *entas*, ‘giants’, that is, the architects who built the place and the people who dwelt in it — the poet is interested in telling the story of their *orþonc*, ‘ingenium, natural talent and disposition of mind’. Niles attempts to reconstruct the intended audience by analysing the positioning of *The Ruin* and similar poems in the manuscript and assigning them strategically chosen and thus prominent positions in the book, which he sees, first and foremost, as instructional material for a cleric (Niles, 2019: 77, 142) who, reading the manuscript, would assign double meaning to the poem from the Augustinian perspective (Niles, 2019: 188). The double meaning is, of course, in relation to Augustine’s *The City of God*. The city in *The Ruin* is earthly; it is splendid but spiritually void. The city is full of *meadoheall monig* (23a) ‘many a mead-hall’, and although marvellous, its inhabitants are *wlonc and wingal* (34a) ‘proud and wanton with wine’ (Niles, 2019: 189). Those familiar with Old English poetry will note that *wlanc* is used elsewhere of immoral characters whose cities suffered the same fate, for example, Nebuchadnezzar in *Daniel* 96a. The Biblical attitude to city ruination is clear from the examples of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the patristic tradition picks up on it with Babylon. In *The Wanderer* 87a, the poet latches onto the same metaphor and employs the same idiom for ruins we see in *The Ruin* (*eald enta geweorc*), although with a more explicit addendum later on (85–87) that it was God who laid waste to the world, which is probably what the author of *The Ruin* would have said as well (but the damage the manuscript suffered makes that impossible to know).

One of the chief reasons to read *worldly* nostalgia into *The Ruin* is that the poet, although detached from his subject, imagines in a few lines (21–24) the old ways and customs of the inhabitants to have been very similar to what can be described as the stereotypically Anglo-Saxon way of life. He sees in the ruins the loss of what he thought were the best things in life: great halls with their gables (*heah horngestreon* 22a), many mead-houses full of frolic (*meodoheall monig mondreama full* 23) and the din of warriors and their boastful song (*heresweg micel* 22b). To some, the poem seems an expression of the Anglo-Saxon experience: the experience

of a people that have been living among the ruins of a once-great Roman civilisation that left magnificent traces (Pearsell, 2020: 55). To others, the poet seems to follow in the footsteps of Latin poets such as Venantius Fortunatus, who laments the fall of the Thuringian kingdom in a poem full of motifs of urban decay titled *De excidio Thoringia* (Matyushina, 2020: 51). Who it was that inspired the poet in literary terms is perhaps unclear, but it seems more than clear that they understand that time separates the dead from the living more so than fate, and the poet speaks in Anglo-Saxon terms because, for the Anglo-Saxon reader, the greatest joys are those they have experienced themselves, and their loss is, of course, the greatest loss of all, at least until they have been reassured by their reading of the Exeter Book that the loss of material things is one of the conditions of life, eternity being reserved for the righteous. However, by using the joys from the reader's everyday life as a starting point and by imagining the melancholy a sudden shift in fate would bring, they are still able to sympathise and envision how those who came before must have felt when their own bliss was turned upside down by *wyrd seo swiþe* (24b) 'fate the mighty'.

It is also the poet's avoidance of anything specific that aids the reader in imagining the city as relevant to everyone and finding an excuse to be nostalgic. There seem to be no traces of individualism in the walls that the poet is studying, at least not in the fragments that we have. That vagueness is in accordance with the tenets of the gnomic verse, even if the poet refuses to be explicitly gnomic and avoids the *sceal* and *bip* formulae characteristic of maxims. That is, the imagery in the poem is generalised — even if vivid and detailed enough to, according to some, give away explicitly the Roman nature of the place — and the cracked walls are like a canvas for the poet and the audience to paint a scene on according to their liking. What can be an obstacle to self-identification, however, is the fact that, although vaguely described and presented in Anglo-Saxon poetic terms, the ruins are of explicitly foreign make — the Anglo-Saxons themselves almost never used stone, only timber. Nevertheless, the materials used are ultimately just a preference, and no matter what the Anglo-Saxons used to build their halls, their symbolism remained the same. That is, these grandest of buildings represented the focal points when it came to socialising, especially in the literary context where lords and their fellow retainers share rings and swear oaths to each other, which is how the halls in *The Ruin* are presented. The halls were, as the poet says, *scurbeorge* (5a) 'shelters from the storm'. Both the marvellous stonework of the city and the gabled horns of the Germanic settlers were only a celebration of skill and beauty — the protection from the 'storm' was where the true value of a hall lay (Hume, 1976: 353).

The poet's celebratory tone is, however, a trap. The once-beautiful city may have survived *rice æfter oprum* (10b) 'one kingdom after another' and provided its inhabitants with shelter, but it is nonetheless gone. The fact that the poet focuses on a succession of earthly kingdoms only emphasises their short-lived nature when compared to the heavenly kingdom and proves that even the most long-lasting of cities are but a speck of dust compared to the Augustinian City of God, especially when those who dwell within them are sinful. Similarly, the poet of *The Wanderer*, musing on another set of ruins, even says that ruinous halls *woriað* (78a) 'are wandering about, being vagabonds', like people who have lost their way (Irving, Jr. 1967: 162). The Wanderer's is also a more explicit and personal viewpoint, as he is a man travelling along *wræclastas* (5a) 'paths of exile'. The poet calls him an *anhaga* (1a) 'the one who lives alone', which is hardly a desirable position to be in, especially since outlawry and exile of any kind in medieval times meant complete removal from society at all levels, and for the average man lacking martial prowess and potential for violence, without wealth or connections that would help him find asylum, it usually resulted in quick and inglorious death. Nevertheless, the subject of *The Wanderer* is far from a criminal or a mere wretch who has lost his companions. The word *anhaga* brings to mind wolves and outlaws as in *Maxims II* 19a but also the phoenix and thus Christ too in *Phoenix* 87a, opening the possibility of a hybrid reading of the subject as relying on native oral metonymy to allude to written, Christian sources. The poet in *The Ruin* uses a broken city as a catalyst for a series of imaginative visions of joy and frolic of its long-gone inhabitants, the 'giants' skilled enough to erect whole cities made of stone and trusts the reader to interpret it homiletically, but the exile in *The Wanderer* is not in the position to be vague when faced with ruins, both those he encounters on the path of exiles and those in his memories. Because the Wanderer is deprived of his loved ones and all the joys they shared together, the images of broken walls and abandoned halls only remind him of his loss and the bleak future that awaits both him and the entire order of the world as he knows it, which is why he speaks with nostalgia, almost resignedly, regarding the past and his state of mind (58–62).

The workings of fate in *The Wanderer* are more immediate and more contemporary, and the speaker at first seems like he does not have the privilege of being a neutral observer at any moment because he has not had enough time yet for his wounds to completely heal. Nevertheless, he comes to understand fully the lot he has been dealt by fate, and he moves from there to more universal musings on the nature of the world (Irving, Jr., 1967: 159). Thanks to such a personal and intimate starting point, the Wanderer is perhaps able to better sympathise with others he seeks

to enlighten with his gnomic pieces of advice about humility and frugality. Yet his great heartache and desire to steer the listener towards the right path also make the inevitable ruin of all things that much more tragic.

Where the two poems are similar is their removal of the subject from the heroic boastfulness of the individual that characterises heroic verse. As mentioned, the city in *The Ruin* and its dwellers are not named as Heorot and the Danes were in *Beowulf* or as various tribes were in *Widsith*, and we do not know precisely who the fallen men are in *The Wanderer* either. We also do not know where the battle took place, and we certainly do not know the reason behind it — we can only guess that the speaker's side lost. It can thus be argued that the lines were meant to be generally applicable and instructional, as a sort of Christian cautionary tale in verse meant to show the fall of either an era or an individual who has put too much trust into the immediate and tangible instead of the eternal. Precision would indeed be counterproductive when describing the landscape and the ruins scattered around it (Raw, 1978: 48); but the Wanderer is still, first and foremost, speaking about himself. He must be because the genre the poem is traditionally taken to belong to is characterised and defined as deeply, and, more importantly, within our framework, it is he who *worað*, 'wanders', and it is he whose comrades lie dead by the walls he mentions — there is no more splendour to admire in the wine-halls, only slaughter to be remembered, but it is important to remember that the speaker sees in the aftermath, that is, in ruins, a lesson to be learnt about the frailty of earthly things in general. If we see the Wanderer himself as doing the same action as ruins (i.e., the action of the verb *worian*) we can look at ruins for further illustrations of his predicament. For example, since the ruins seem to converge to a ruinous hall decorated with serpentine shapes, we could draw a parallel between the Wanderer's current environment and the kingdom of heaven, where, as the poet concludes at the very end, stands God, our only *fæstnung* (115b) 'security' or, more literally, 'fortified place'. Since serpents are an obvious Christian symbol representing the devil, and since deserted regions are a common setting for temptation, we can see the Wanderer's days of being a vagabond as a trial in the Christian sense. He has spent a lot of time in isolation, braving the elements in a hostile landscape, with plenty of time for reflection, almost like a Christ figure being tempted by snakes in the wilderness. The Wanderer is the ruined wall surrounded by snakes or, in other words, a sole survivor of a bloody battle who is now left to his own devices, having to come to grips with his new reality and learn how to resist the jaws of all the snakes in life: from the storms and the harsh winter to being an unwelcome exile, to being denied even the simplest of earthly pleasures that are a common source of nostalgia for the Anglo-Saxons, all while, as he says,

þes middangeard ealra dogra gehwam dreoseð ond fealleþ (62b–63) ‘this world, day after day, crumbles and falls.’ He is, moreover, an Abraham figure too. Much like Abraham and his family who, in their exile, found themselves pitching their tents between Ai (from Hebrew אֵי ‘a place or heap of ruins’) and Bethel (from Hebrew בֵּית אֱלֹהִים ‘the house of God’), the Wanderer is poised in expectation of the promised land, or rather the promised house of God, where he can become whole again. That is, like Abraham, he is looking for ‘a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God’ as Paul says in Hebrews 11:10. On his journeys, the Wanderer goes through a series of reflections and comes to conclusions which he presents in the form of gnomic lines matching rather well the advice in the Book of Ecclesiastes, which warns the listener about the necessity of being moderate in life and understanding that all things under the sun are vain and perishable. He eventually realises that if his ruins, that is, he himself, is to become whole again, he must not settle for anything other than God, the strongest fortress of all, a place guaranteed to resist ruination forever, and he comes to understand eventually, despite his pain and initial inability to find a way to ‘keep beauty from vanishing away’, that whatever happened to him and his way of life was a direct consequence of the will of God, as can be seen in lines 58–87.

SUMMARY

In his reading of the poems in the Exeter Book, John D. Niles approaches each poem in the manuscript as a part of a book meant to be read by a cleric and thus interpreted in an explicitly Christian framework (Niles, 2019). As the analysis offered in this paper hopefully demonstrates, such an approach proves fruitful and opens a possibility for many parallels to be drawn, both between the two poems discussed as well as the two different aspects of Old English poetics, namely the written and the oral (i.e., the Christian and the native-heroic), together with their respective approaches to ruins as symbols. Just like for the Wanderer and the observer of the city in *The Ruin*, we argue, it is impossible for Niles’s ideal reader not to see a piece of themselves in the ruins when reading the two poems analysed above, and it is likewise impossible for them not to interpret them as carriers of an eschatological message. Viewed through such a prism, the first poem, *The Ruin*, becomes a true microcosm of a hybrid treatment of ruinity in Anglo-Saxon poetry. Namely, it demonstrates the author’s and speaks to the reader’s admiration and praise of the aesthetic found in broken objects and places their own experiences with ruins within a broader context by following foreign, Classical models of urban ruin and sprinkling them with modes of expression and form characteristic of their oral tradition,

allowing the apparent nostalgia of the piece to be understood as a medium through which homiletic messages of the patristic tradition can be delivered in a familiar mode. *The Wanderer*, on the other hand, is a poem not about a place but ‘a stranger in the earth’ (Psalm 119: 19), both literally and metaphorically: literally because the speaker has no place to call home and metaphorically because he is looking for a clearer path that will lead him to comfort. Ruins that he encounters and remembers are thus both nostalgic monuments to the things he has lost and milestones on his path to salvation and fortification of wisdom and virtue, that is, to the alleviation of pain and restoration of his soul rather than the deceitful and temporal sources of joy he is nostalgic for.

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Rezime

Iako je termin nostalgija sasvim nepoznat u anglosaksonskoj Engleskoj, budući da je kovanica koja datira iz XVII veka, i budući da nema eksplicitnih reference na bilo šta slično u staroengleskom korpusu, fenomen koji nazivamo nostalgijom je svakako prisutan i vidljiv u staroengleskoj poeziji, kao i drugde u srednjovekovnoj i ranijoj književnosti, što nije nimalo čudno, budući da je čežnja za prošlošću, domovinom i izgubljenim zajedničkim ljudima svakog porekla i svih perioda. U staroengleskoj poeziji, nostalgija se često javlja u slikama ruševina jer uništena zdanja mogu nositi dirljive poruke za one koji su ili došli da ih posmatraju i razmišljaju o prošlosti ili su se u njima nenadano obreli delovanjem sudbine. Te poruke mogu biti ne samo prenete u ime i od strane samih, personifikovanih, ruševina ili u ime onih koji su u njima nekada davno obitavali, već i poruke homiletičke prirode upućene onima koji u ruševinama možda vide sopstevni odraz ili sudbinu svog sopstevnog vremena koje polako ide ka istom kraju i tera ih da potraže način da obnove ruševine svog duha, to jest, da izbegnu duhovnu ruševinu. Ovaj rad se bavi sa takvim slikama arhitektonskog propadanja s ciljem da uspostavi veze između nostalgije i simbolizma ruševina u staroengleskoj pesničkoj tradiciji. U radu idemo putem savremenih analiza staroengleske književnosti koje zahtevaju da rukopise izučavamo holistički i pesme u njima sačuvane posmatramo kao dela koja treba čitati nekim redom i kao dela koja imaju mnoštvo toga zajedničkog, a pre svega kao dela nastala i kasnije čitana u manastirima (up. Ericksen, 2011; Reading, 2018; Niles, 2019). Na kraju, rad teži ka tome da uđe u dijalog s drugim studijama nostalgije u staroengleskoj poeziji, neke od kojih je posmatraju kao glavni stubi staroengleske poetike (up. Di Sciaccia, 2006; Fell, 2013; Trilling, 2008).

Ključne reči: staroengleski, anglosaksonski, Knjiga iz Egzetera, srednjovekovna poezija, nostalgija

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UDC: 811.111'01'367
DOI: 10.19090/gff.v48i3.2382
Original research paper

WORD ORDER IN OLD ENGLISH EMBEDDED CLAUSES: SYNTACTIC INSTANTIATION AND PRAGMATIC FACTORS**

In this paper we address the major word order patterns in Old English (OE) embedded clauses and examine to what extent it is possible to capture the motivation behind the variation observed in purely syntactic terms. As a representative of the syntacticocentric approach, we take the account by Biberauer and Roberts (2005) and critically evaluate it against the larger empirical background, while also pointing out certain theoretical challenges it faces. We then attempt to characterize the various information-structural inferences (focus, topicality, givenness, pragmatic presupposition) that arise for different word order patterns, and that must be taken into consideration in any successful analysis. We leave it open whether the IS/pragmatic effects we describe arise because notions like [+Focus] are represented in the syntax, or because languages exploit the contrasts that are independently generated by the syntax for discourse-pragmatic purposes.

Key words: Old English syntax, word order, embedded clauses, movement

1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper we address the issue of word order variation in Old English (OE) embedded clauses. Specifically, we critically evaluate previous syntacticocentric analyses of OE word order variation, in particular Biberauer & Roberts (2005), considered to be able to derive the major OE word orders in the most principled way. We argue that word order variation in OE embedded clauses cannot be fully understood in a syntactic vacuum and explore some pragmatic factors that any adequate analysis must consider.

1.1. The empirical picture at a glance

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** This research was supported by the Science Fund of the Republic of Serbia, #1589, Clausal Complements between Language Structure and Identity: Documenting, Visualizing, and Theorizing Variation in Shtokavian (Non-)Finite Embedded Clauses - ClaCoLaSI.

There are five possible orders of the Subject (S), Object (O), finite auxiliary/modal verb (generalized here as Aux) and non-finite lexical Verb (V) in OE embedded clauses (1)-(5). Each word order is labeled/named after the by now traditional analysis of the same or similar orders in (West) Germanic languages, including the one in (5), which is viewed as exceptional, being absent in other Germanic languages. Importantly, while there is substantial freedom of word order in OE embedded clauses, the order in (6) is unattested, which has led to the conclusion that it is disallowed. The challenge of any syntactic analysis of OE word order, then, is to capture its relative freedom, while still correctly ruling out the order in (6). As we will show, the most promising syntactic analysis of OE word order to date, proposed in Biberauer & Roberts (2005), overgenerates to allow (6).

(1) **S–O–V–Aux** (VERB FINAL, ‘DEFAULT’)

gif we ðone heofenlican eard habban **willað**
 if we the heavenly earth have will
 ‘if we are desirous to have the heavenly country’

(cocathom2,ÆCHom_II_12.2:125.542.2752)

(2) **S–O–Aux–V** (VERB RAISING)

gif ðu **soð** wylt *gehyran*
 if you truth will hear
 ‘If you will hear the truth’

(coaelive,ÆLS_[Alban]:57.4031)

(3) **S–Aux–O–V** (VERB PROJECTION RAISING)

gif hi nellað **þone sang** gelæstan
 if they not-will the song perform

‘if they will not perform the song’

(coaelive,ÆLS_[Swithun]:237.4375)

(4) **S–Aux–V–O** (POSTVERBAL OBJECTS)

gif þa yflan ne **mihton** ongytan þa *opre yflan...*
 if the evil not might understand the other evil...
 ‘if the evil cannot understand the other evil...’

(cogregdC,GDPref_and_4_[C]:34.310.28.4641)

(5) **S–V–Aux–O** (LEAKING)

Gi ic oferswiðan ne **mihte hine ær cucene**
 f

if I overcome not might him earlier alive
 ‘If I might not overcome him formerly when living...’

(coaelive,ÆLS_[Vincent]:
 232.7947)

(6) Unattested: ***S–V–O–Aux**

1.2. Previous accounts of OE word order variation

Before we turn to Biberauer & Roberts (2005), let us briefly examine previous attempts to characterize word order variation in OE, and point out some of the challenges they have faced

In her seminal work on OE, van Kemenade (1987) proposes that the clause structure of OE is essentially like that of Dutch and German. Based on the traditional analysis of the West Germanic languages, she proposes that OE is a head-final, SOV language subject to the V2 constraint in main clauses. All head-complement orders attested in OE are derived by rightward movements: Verb Raising, Verb Projection Raising, and a type of extraposition of the object.

Pintzuk (1991, 1999), however, argues that OE exhibits word orders that cannot be derived from a uniform head-final structure. For instance, particles, whose ‘default’ position is left-adjacent to the verb, can also be found in the postverbal position. Being light elements, particles do not generally extrapose; hence, V–Prt orders cannot be derived from a head-final VP. Similarly, the presence of the verb–subject (‘inverted’) orders in embedded clauses poses a problem for the view that OE TP is uniformly head-final. Pintzuk (ibid.) then proposes that OE is a mixed head-initial and head-final language, both at the VP and the TP level. Pintzuk (ibid.) follows Kroch’s (1989) influential proposal that some types of variation in historical data is the reflex of competition between two grammars.

A strong reaction to the competing grammar scenario for OE is first given in Roberts (1994). Adopting Kayne’s (1994) antisymmetry hypothesis, Roberts offers an alternative account of the OE variation in terms multiple movements (both phrasal and head movement) out of the ‘universal’ and ‘base’ head-initial phrases (VP and TP). While successfully demonstrating that all seemingly head-final orders can be derived from a uniform head-initial base, what remains as a weak point in the analysis is the stipulation that in VO orders the object is ‘exempt’ from movement due to

focus.¹ The problem of directly linking the postverbal position with focus is recognized by Pintzuk (2002), who argues that Roberts (1994) cannot account for the fact that the rate of VO orders increases over time (as it is unlikely that the speakers would start using more focused objects). Equally problematic is the fact that postverbal pronominal objects and particles are possible only in Aux–V orders (Aux–V–Opro/Prt), and not in V–Aux (*V–Aux–Opro/Prt), which is a mystery if all postverbal material is uniformly allowed to remain low in the structure. Finally, Roberts’ (1994) proposal that OV orders arise due to the case-checking reasons obviously faces the problem of optionality (why objects do not move in VO orders). Nunes (2002) responds to Pintzuk’s (2002) criticism of the universal base hypothesis, provides a solution to the problem of postverbal pronominal objects, but cannot fully avoid the problem of optionality in deriving OV orders (vs. VO), as again addressed in Pintzuk (2005). All in all, Pintzuk (2002, 2005) provides arguments that the uniform head-initial base for OE requires far too many movements to account for substantial word order variation while at the same time not deriving unattested orders (specifically and famously, the order *S–Vn–O–Vf. Whatever mechanism is proposed for postverbal objects (VO) in general, or ‘absence of triggers deriving OV’, should be available for leftward moved constituents containing the non-finite verb, i.e. postverbal objects should be possible in Vn–O–Vf, contrary to fact. Pintzuk hence argues that the competing grammars model offers the most principled account of this impossible ordering. Even though OE has two grammars available, there exists a clear ban on ‘mixing’ the head-initial VP (V–O) with the head-final TP (V–Aux).

Biberauer and Roberts (henceforth B&R) (2005) finally offer an account that successfully addresses all the criticism of universal base hypothesis for OE. They offer a novel approach to deriving head-final orders and to language change in general. In section 2, we consider their analysis in detail and point out the empirical and theoretical issues it faces.

¹ Roberts, however, does leave it open that not all VO orders should be interpreted in the same way, and the alternative derivation in terms of (non-finite) verb raising clearly does not require focus interpretation of the object (as it moves out of VP). But then the problem is that Roberts does not make it explicit what triggers or constraints the process of verb raising.

2. A CLOSER LOOK AT BIBERAUER & ROBERTS 2005

The motivation behind B&R's analysis of OE word order can be summarized as follows: (a) have a uniform trigger for movement (EPP on *v* and *T*); (b) do not derive *S-V-O-Aux (final over final constraint (FoFC), later fully elaborated in Biberauer et al. 2014); (c) do not have the OV/VO alternation always be related to interpretative differences (e.g. focus, as in Roberts 1994).

In a nutshell, the analysis relies on the following theoretical assumptions: All phrases are base-generated head-initial, following Kayne (1994). T° and v° are Probes; DP or *vP*/*VP* are potential goals because they contain a D-bearing element (in the case of *vP*, the larger phrase is pied-piped along with the D-goal), and both T° and v° have the option of attracting either DP or *vP*/*VP*. Furthermore, there is obligatory head movement of V° to v° , and, finally, T° must be filled. In monoclausal structures, the finite verb (modal) is base-generated in T° ; modal verbs are restructuring and are base-generated in V°_R , which moves to T° , their complement is a defective TP, whose head (T°_{def}) attracts $V^\circ+v^\circ$.

This gives a seemingly very elegant analysis of complement-head orders, as now all OV orders arise due to *VP* or DP movement to (inner) Spec, *vP*, and all *VP*-Aux orders arise due to *vP* movement to Spec, TP. The derivational details for each major word order in OE are given in the following subsections.

2.1. Verb Final (S-O-V-Aux)

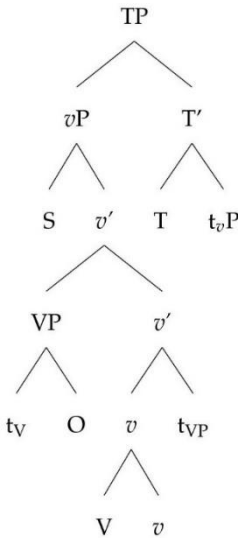
The derivation of 'verb final' S-O-V-Aux orders is relatively straightforward: it involves V-to-*v* movement, followed by *VP*-movement to (inner) Spec, *vP*, and *vP*-movement to Spec, TP.² The finite verb is base generated in *T*. So, a clause like (7) will be derived as represented in (8).

- (7) Ða se Wisdom þa þis fitte asungen hæfde ...
 when the Wisdom then this poem sung had
 'When Wisdom had sung this poem ...'

[Boethius 30.68.6; Fischer et al., 2000: 143, 25; B&R's ex. 12]

²The option of 'bigger structure' movement is already present in Roberts 1997, where he assumes that the complement of the finite verb – the extended *VP* containing the moved object in AgrO – moves across the finite verb in S-O-V-Aux orders.

(8)



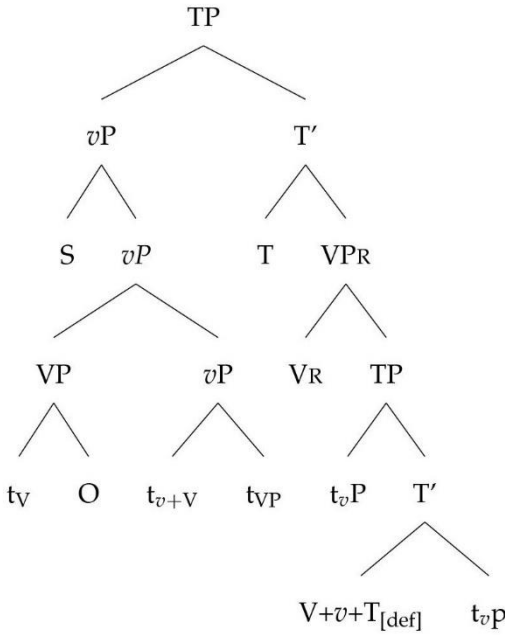
2.2. Verb Raising (S–O–Vf–Vn)

Unlike the relatively simple derivation of ‘verb final’ orders, Verb Raising (VR) orders require additional hypotheses. First off, B&R argue that OE ‘modal’ verbs (or predecessors of modal verbs) such as *willan*, *scullan*, etc, select infinitival TP complements. In addition, they are ‘restructuring’, in that they require clause-union. Following Zwart (2001), they assume that such verbs select what Chomsky (2001) refers to as T_{DEF} i.e., defective (non-phi-complete) T, or T which is selected by V rather than C. Unlike Zwart (ibid.), however, B&R take that TP_{DEF} projects a specifier. So, in the derivation of Verb Raising orders, the head T_{DEF} will attract v (+V); vP will be used to satisfy D- and EPP features of T_{DEF}. First, the remnant vP (S-tv-O) will move to Spec, TP_{DEF}, and ultimately end up in Spec, TP_{MATRIX}. This is possible since TP is not a phase, i.e. the edge material is available for further movements.

- (9) ... þe æfre on gefeohte his handa **wolde afylan**
 who ever in battle his hands would defile
 ‘... whoever would defile his hands in battle’

[Ælfric’s Lives of Saints 25.858; Pintzuk, 1999: 102, 62; B&R’s ex. 13]

(10)



VR orders are also possible with auxiliaries (11), and it is left open how the object *ure gecynd* ‘our nature’ ends up in the position preceding the finite auxiliary *hæfde* ‘had (‘standing’ the PP *on him sylfum* ‘on himself’ and the participle *genumen* ‘taken’) lower in the structure. The fact that auxiliaries pattern with modals in all major orders is glossed over in B&R. Restructuring (‘bi-clausal’) configuration is relevant only when the modal (and not the auxiliary) precedes the non-finite verb. No elaboration is given of how auxiliaries can take more structure as their complement.

- (11) for δ an se metoda Drihten. ure gecynd **hæfde**. on him
 δ e sylfum
 because the Creator Lord our nature had on himself

genumen
 taken

‘because the Lord Creator had taken our nature on himself’

(cocathom2, ÆCHom_II, 27:219.182.4855)

Some other issues related to Verb Raising orders can be noted. An obvious one is the positioning of object with ditransitives verbs. Namely, in ditransitives, the second object can be left behind: S–O1–Aux–O2–V (12). If [S O1] is in vP (which includes VP) in Spec,TP, it is unclear on B & R’s analysis where O2 is stranded.

- (12 a. ...þæ hi mine þeawas magon him secgan,
) t
 ... they my way may him tell
 that
 '...that they might tell him of my ways'
 (coaelive,ÆLS[Agnes]:313.1932)
- b. þæt hi eac þam folce magon wisdom gife gelæstan.
 es
 that they also to-the people may wisdom' gift accomplish
 s h
 'that they also may provide the people with the gift of wisdom'
 (cochdrul,ChrodR_1:62.24.863)

B&R are made aware of the problematic cases by a reviewer, and they give the following explanation: In all the cases where the second object is ‘stranded’ lower in the clause, V_R is a control predicate. Consequently, the external argument of embedded vP is PRO (13). This stipulation leaves room for the possibility of Spec of the (control) matrix vP attracting the first overt D-bearing element, which would be the direct object, instead of the (PRO) subject.

- (13) v [VP V_R [TP [vP PRO_{SUBJ} [VP O tV O]] V+v tvP]]

Assuming that the argument structure of the matrix predicate changes due to the number of internal arguments of the embedded verb is quite unorthodox and requires further evidence (see, for example, Perlmutter 1970). As the unmarked order of OE objects in ditransitives is ACC-DAT (Koopman 1990), the explanation could work when O1 is ACC (direct object). But when O1 is DAT, as in (12b), it is not clear how the dative object could get closer to matrix v.

Stranded quantifiers also pose a challenge. To account for data like (14) on B&R’s analysis, we could say that the embedded vP is in Spec, TP_{MATRIX}, but the object quantifier is in the lower, Spec, TP_{DEF}. However, the badness of Modern English **[Reading the books]VP the child has (all) been* shows that the issue of

stranding a quantifier when it is embedded (deeply) inside a larger phrase is not a trivial issue.

- (14) þonne [seo sunne *hi* hæfð [TP_{DEF}[t_{vP} **ealle** underurnen]]], ðonne bið...
 when the sun them has all underrun then is
 'when the sun underruns them all/all of them, then is [one year gone/over]'
 (cotempo,ÆTemp:4.16.133)

We also need to address the question of adverb placement. In VR orders, S and O can be separated by adverbs. If we assume with B&R that VR involves vP in Spec,TP, the adverbials in (15) would have to be merged higher than the object in the vP, and lower than the subject, i.e., between two specifiers inside vP [_{vP} S – Adv/PP – O]. But the problem is that the same type of adverbs can be found in lower positions in the clause, immediately before the finite verb (16a-b) or before the lexical non-finite verb (16c).

- (15) a. in þæm se cyning **gelomlice** his gebedo meahte gesecan...
 in which the king often his prayer might seek

'in which the king could often seek his prayer...'

(cobede,Bede_3:17.230.3.2354)

- b. ðæt he **eft** ðæt good ðære mildheortnesse ne ðyrfe
 that he afterwards the good of- generosity not have-
 the to

gesciendan mid gidsunge & mid reaflice
 disgrace with greed and with extortion

'so that he may not afterwards have to disgrace the virtue of generosity with greed and extortion'

(cocura,CP:45.341.9.2292)

- (16) a. þæt hi **ofer ealle oþre þingc** *ænne God æfre* woldan
 that they over all other things one God ever would

lufian & wurðian
 love and worship

'that they would, above all other things, ever love and worship one God'

(colaw1cn, LawICn:1.4)

b. hu hi heora æwe **rihtlicost** sculon healdan
 how they their law most- should observe
 rightly

'how they should observe their law most correctly'

(coinspolX, WPol_2.1.1_[Jost]:187.271)

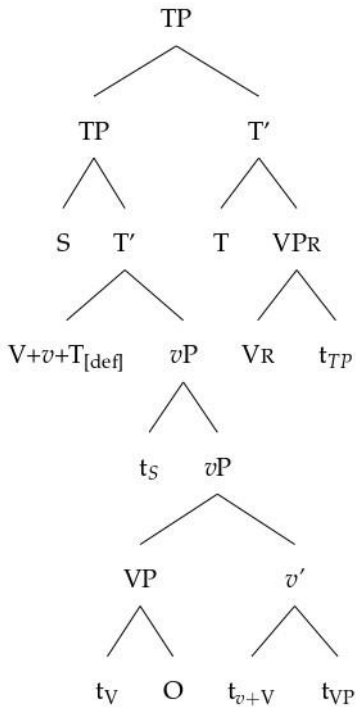
c. ðæt he þæt saar mihte **geþyldiglice** mid **smolte** **mode** aberan

that he the pain might patiently with calm heart bear
 'that he might bear and endure the pain patiently with a calm heart'

(cobede, Bede_4:32.378.28.3789)

Finally, let us address the most serious problem for B&R analysis. Namely, it has the potential of generating the unattested word order *S–V–O–Aux via TP_{DEF} to Spec, TP_{MATRIX} movement. In B&R's own words: "there is nothing which prevents a Goal G from being properly contained inside a category which is moved in order to satisfy the Probe's EPP-feature" (Biberauer and Roberts 2005: 7). In fact, this is required for them to explain why the entire VP is sometimes moved when the Goal is the Object, and the entire vP when the Goal is the Subject. Of course, in simple cases, the only possible bigger structure for a probe on v to attract will be VP, and the probe on T will only be able to attract vP. However, in 'bi-clausal' structures/restructuring contexts, the picture gets more complicated, as there is no principled way to exclude the possibility for T_{MATRIX} to attract the entire embedded TP. After all, the subject is properly contained in the embedded TP (in its spec), just like it is originally properly contained in the vP (from where it is attracted in VPR, see below).

(17)



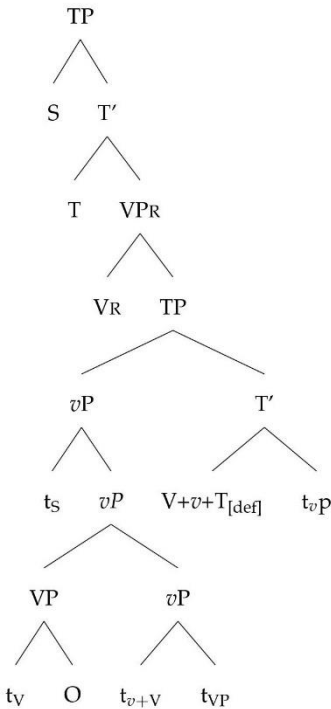
2.3. Verb Projection Raising (S–Vf–O–Vn)

Verb Projection Raising (VPR) orders are similar to VR, only now we have DP (subject) movement to matrix Spec, TP (out of the vP in Spec, TP_{DEF}). (18) thus derives as (19).

- (18) þæt hie **mihton** swa bealdlice **Godes** **geleafan** **bodian**
 that they could so boldly God's faith preach
 'that they could preach God's faith so boldly'

[The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church I 232; van Kemenade, 1987: 179, 7b;
 B&R's ex 19]

(19)



No interpretational differences between the higher preverbal object in VR and the lower preverbal object in VPR are necessarily expected. Still, some differences can be noted.

Milićev (2016) argues that the object in S-O-Aux-V is more topical than in S-Aux-O-V.³ ‘High’ objects behave like secondary (aboutness) topics. VR orders seem to be subject to restrictions on ‘referential heaviness’ of the arguments, as there are very few cases where both the subject and the object are nominal and referential, and this is understood as a restriction on multiple (aboutness) topics. It is of course perfectly legitimate to allow syntactic features to be exploited by IS/pragmatics. But if opting for DP (subject) movement to Spec, TP_{MATRIX} instead of _{vP}[S-*t_v*-O] yields

³ The intuition that VR and VPR object have different interpretational inferences is present in Roberts 1997. The lower preverbal object position (adjacent to V) is the result of case-checking in AgrOP, whereas ‘high’ preverbal position (before the auxiliary/modal) is the position for scrambled objects (presumably due to some IS feature). Roberts assumes that the target position for scrambled object is Spec, TP, the subject occupying a higher functional projection AgrSP.

interpretational differences, something needs to be said about why arguments showing up in the highest position in the clause (Spec, TP_{MATRIX}) become ‘more topical’.

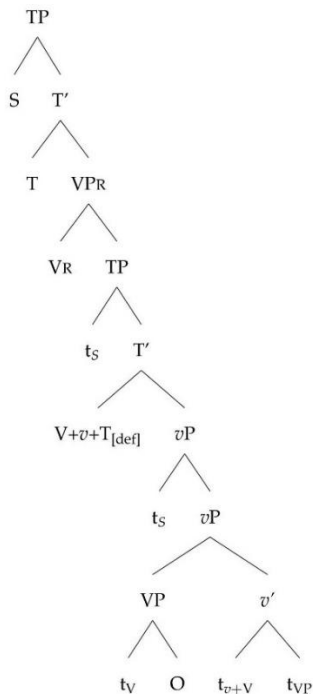
2.4. Postverbal objects (S–Vf–Vn–O)

The derivation of the postverbal objects in S–Aux–V–O orders proceeds as VPR, only DP movement applies throughout (for both Spec, TP_{DEF} and Spec, TP_{MATRIX}).

- (20) ... þæt he **mot ehtan godra manna**
 that he might persecute good men
 ‘... that he might persecute good men’

[Wulfstan’s Homilies 130.37 – 38; Pintzuk, 2002: 282, 13b; B&R’s ex. 21]

(21)



Note that this order should be unmarked, no interpretational differences expected if there is a simple choice between DP or roll-up movement to Spec's. Any type of IS-related interpretation is now available for both preverbal and postverbal objects. This is a desirable outcome, given the heavy criticism of the correlation between postverbal position and focus.

2.5. *Leaking (S-Vn-Vf-O)*

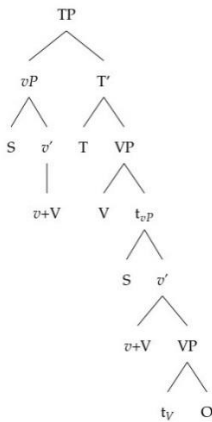
While the role of focus is removed from 'regular' postverbal objects, in *Leaking* orders it receives serious concern. In B&R, *Leaking* is treated similarly to 'Verb Final'- vP fronting to Spec,TP, except now vP has an optional EPP feature, associated with interpretation, specifically 'defocusing'. Hence, objects will *not* move if they are 'focused'. However, vP still moves to Spec, TP_{MATRIX}, but VP does not because it has already undergone spell-out. Note that this part of the analysis involves non-constituent movement, a very undesirable result. It is an unorthodox view that once a phase is spelled out, it cannot move as part of a bigger constituent. On this view, it would be impossible to derive sentences like “*Which cup that Mary told John that Helen bought did she lose?*”.

The derivation of a leaking construction (22) is given in (23).

- (22) ... þæt ænig mon **atellan** **mæge** **ealne** **þone** **demmm**⁴
 that any man relate can all the misery
 ‘... that any man can relate all the misery’
 [Orosius 52.6 – 7; Pintzuk, 2002: 283, 16b; B&R ex. 24]

⁴ This particular example may not be the best representative of a leaking construction, given that the object relative clause immediately following the object *þone demm* ‘the misery’ is omitted here. DP objects modified by relative clauses be simply clause-final due to heaviness-related extraposition.

(23)



Attributing IS factors only to postverbal objects in Leaking, which form a relatively small set compared to ‘regular’ postverbal objects (S–Aux–V–O), B&R avoid overgeneralizing the role of focus in the position of the object. Leaking is an exceptional configuration in Germanic languages (it exists only in OE and Old Icelandic; cf. Biberauer et al., 2014), and it is in a way expected that it will be associated with ‘exceptional’ features, such as focus marking.

On the other hand, if only one word order pattern is associated with an optional interpretation related EPP feature, the conclusion must be that all other word orders are information-structurally unmarked. It has been shown that this is not the case. In the following section we give some of the major findings regarding the role of IS factors on the word order variation in OE.

3. INFORMATION-STRUCTURAL/PRAGMATIC FACTORS

In this section, we will present findings from more recent studies of IS/pragmatic factors associated with some of the word order alternations in OE. Indicating how they are problematic for B&R-type of analysis, we want to emphasize the need for a suitable mechanism of handling their role in any syntactic account of the linearizations in OE.

3.1. Preverbal and postverbal objects – interpretation

On B&R’s account only ‘leaked’ postverbal objects would be associated with a unique IS interpretation (focus). However, this is not what we find in the data. In a detailed study on the role of IS on OV/VO variation, Struik and van Kemenade 2020

show that all (referential) preverbal objects are +Given, while VO orders can have both +Given and +New/novel referents.

An optional ‘defocusing’ EPP feature on *v* can account for the givenness of preverbal objects (preverbal = defocused/+Given). However, not all VO orders are interpreted uniquely (as -Given objects). And again, the same question of optionality arises – why do only certain +Given object move?

Struik and van Kemenade (2022) address the optionality in the positioning of +Given objects and propose that it is the structural ambiguity of OE DPs that underlies the OV/VO variation for +Given referential objects. The first step in their argument is that information status is indirectly encoded in the syntax, given that there exists a rather clear relation between IS and the morphosyntactic expression of an argument. As in OE the weak demonstrative has not yet acquired the status of a determiner, syntax takes part of the job, and objects front. The existence of VO orders alongside OV is due to the nature of the weak demonstrative pronoun, which is in the process of shifting from a demonstrative/deictic element to the definite article/determiner. This change is reflected in its varying syntactic positions inside the DP: Spec, DP or D-head. The DP-internal position of the OE demonstrative affects the referentiality feature present in this ‘big DP’ structure. Without going into the exact details, the presence of the weak demonstrative in Spec, DP entails an additional layer of preferentiality, which then makes object fronting obligatory. In VO orders, referential objects are DPs with the weak demonstrative in the D-head, and no movement is necessary. Their analysis correctly captures the change from OE NP/DP to the PDE DP, but the question is whether OE is where this process starts, or whether the variation between OV and VO is indeed motivated by referentiality feature checking in varying DP structures.

The problem of postverbal objects goes beyond the optionality of defocusing. As first argued in Milićev (2016), then elaborated in Milićev (2022), VO orders are associated with three interpretations: (i) contrastive focus on the object, (ii) contrastive focus on the lexical verb, and (iii) ‘defocused’ verb+object (with contrastive focus on other elements: subject, auxiliary/modal or adjunct). Having three possible interpretations of VO orders might suggest that IS factors are indeed random in them. This is something that can be accommodated in B&R. According to B&R, in the pattern S–Aux–V–O, the object could be +Given in [_{VP} *t_v* O] sitting in Spec, *v*P, or –Given inside the unmoved [_{VP} *t_v* O]. However, as shown in Milićev 2022, what is strikingly absent in VO orders (at least in embedded clauses) is the presence of new information focus on the object. Even when new referents are introduced in this order, it is only via contrastive focus (in the sense of Zimmermann

2008).⁵ It is thus clear that in OE IS marking goes beyond tracking/checking one particular IS feature of a discourse referent. Two generalizations arise: (a) there is a clear restriction on new information focus with objects referents, and (b) not moving an object signals that contrastive focus is present. Milićev (2022) proposes that this can be best understood in terms of predicate focus marking. All leftward movements are indeed associated with defocusing, as the verb/predicate itself needs to be IS marked for information focus. Only the presence of contrastive focus in the proposition can override this IS/pragmatically neutral configuration. The challenge is then how to handle the role contrastive focus in OE linearizations.⁶

3.2. Two *vP* external subject positions

It has long been noted that pronominal and nominal subjects in OE main clauses do not occupy the same position. The asymmetry was first noted with respect to the position of the finite verb with sentence initial topics: while DP subjects show the verb-second (V2) effect ($XP_{\text{TOPIC}}-V_{\text{FINITE}}-DP_{\text{subject}}$), pronominal subjects regularly exhibit V3 ($XP_{\text{TOPIC}}-Pronoun_{\text{Subject}}-V_{\text{FINITE}}$). The existence of two distinct subject positions (Spec, AgrP/FP and Spec, TP) have been further confirmed based on the relative ordering with the negative adverb *na* ‘not’ and the so-called high adverbs *þa/þonne* ‘then’ (Haeberli 1999; van Kemenade, 1999, 2000).

(19) matrix clauses: [_{CP} C [_{FP} **PRONSUBJ** [*þa/þonne* or *NEG.adv* [_{TP} **DPSUBJ** T ...]]]
(Haeberli 1999, van Kemenade 1999, 2000)

Van Bergen (2000) demonstrates that embedded clauses too have available two high positions for the subject based on their relative ordering with the high adverbs *þa/þonne* ‘then’. Pronominal subjects again almost categorically occupy the higher subject position, but unlike in matrix clauses, nominal subjects can be found in both. While pronouns have long been noted to have exceptional syntax (starting with van Kemenade’s (1987) account of pronouns as clitics to by now standard view that they are weak pronouns, occupying ‘special’ positions), the higher and the lower DP subject position should be of concern for any syntactic account of the word order patterns in OE.

⁵ Leaking orders generally match the interpretation of Aux–VO orders, only with a restriction on introducing novel referents via contrastive focus.

⁶ The role of contrastive focus is actually even more complex as contrastively focused objects are possible in OV–Aux orders, where they are presumably both +Cf and +Given. This strongly suggests that OE IS/discourse pragmatic marking goes far beyond encoding specific features of individual elements.

Van Kemenade and Milićev (2005/2012)⁷ argue that the role of the high adverb is that of a discourse particle, and that the distribution of subjects between FP (which they label ‘SigmaP’) and TP is not in terms of the categorial status of the subjects, but is related to discourse structuring. Even though the exact IS nature of SigmaP has largely remained unspecified, this study represents the first account of syntactic variation in OE in IS/discourse-pragmatic terms.

(20) embedded clauses [_{CP} [_{SigmaP} SUBJECT₁ [*þa/þonne* [_{TP} SUBJECT₂ [... [_{VP} ...]]]]]]
 (van Kemenade & Milićev,
 2005/2012)

B&R’s analysis leaves no room for having two derived subject positions.

3.3. Scrambling of DP objects

The relative positioning of objects and adverbs indicates that in OE DP objects can scramble (move independently for some interpretation-related reasons). This will be illustrated in VPR orders, where an object can both follow and precede the same type of adverb, yielding the orders (a) S–Aux–Adv–O–V (20a & 21a) and (b) S–Aux–O–Adv–V (20b & 21b).

(20) a. *þæt hio scoldan þær Godes word bodian & læran*
 that they should there God's word preach and teach
 'that they should preach and teach God's word there'
 (cobede,Bede_5:10.414.7.4156)

b. *þæt ic wolde onsægdnisse þær onsecgan,*
 that I would sacrifice there offer
 'that I would offer sacrifice there'
 (coalex,Alex:36.13.459)

⁷ Due to the discrepancy between the time of submission (2005) and publication of the paper (2012), it is often overlooked in references as the original source of the discourse particle status of the adverbs *þa/þonne* ‘then’ and of the proposal that IS and pragmatics play a significant role in the OE word order variation.

- (21) a. þæt man sceolde ofer eall Angelcyn *scypu* **fæstlice** wyrcan
 that one should over all England ships quickly make
 '[Here the king ordered] that people should quickly build ships all over
 England'

(cochronC,ChronC_[Rositzke]:1008.1.1424)

- b- þæt he wolde **fæstlice** þam *deofolgildum* wiðsacan ond Cristes
 that he would quickly the idolatry reject and Christ's

 geleafan onfon
 faith receive

'that he would quickly reject idolatry and receive Christ's faith'

(cobede,Bede_2:10.136.20.1322)

As there is little reason to assume that the locational and manner adverbs are in different positions (20a, 21a) and (20b, 21b), it is the additional movement of the DP object that leads to the variation. But independent object movement is not possible in B&R's model.

3.4. Summary

In this section we have presented evidence for the role of IS/pragmatic factors in the word order variations in the embedded clauses in OE. The IS notions of givenness and contrastive focus have been recognized as instrumental in the preverbal or postverbal position of the DP object. We also give evidence that both the DP subject and the DP object can undergo independent, non-pied piped movement across adverbs in a fixed position.

To these concerns, we briefly add the problem of the special pronominal syntax, reflected in the fact that weak pronouns generally do not occupy the same positions as nominal phrases. If the positions of weak pronouns are fixed, various questions arise as to how we account for the positions of other elements relative to them, especially for the rare but possible order non-finite verb-weak object pronoun

(cf. Milićev 2022). If we adopt B&R analysis, we face the problem of explaining what prevents movement of the pronoun to the preverbal position, as it would ‘normally’ do.

4. CONCLUSION

The syntactic account offered in B&R 2005 gives us an elaborate mechanism of deriving word order patterns in OE via the optionality in the size of the element moved for EPP checking on *v* or *T*, the optional presence of the EPP feature on *v*, and its ‘interpretative associations’. Still, many aspects of the word order patterns remain mysterious. The interaction of ‘major sentence elements’ (*S*, *O*, *Aux*, *V*) with adverbials and pronouns is clearly left open for speculation. Once we also factor in the role of *IS* and discourse/pragmatics in the OE linearizations, even more questions arise. What emerges from the OE dataset is that the positional variation of clausal elements is more complex, and goes beyond what has been established in the syntactic literature as major word order patterns. The influence of *IS*/pragmatic factors, ignored or even denied in earlier accounts, has been shown to be real, albeit requiring a system of *IS*-marking which does not directly correlate a specific position with a specific interpretation.

Certain distributional facts seem to clearly indicate that more movement options have to be available, both in terms of elements undergoing movement and landing sites. Specifically, *DP* objects (and possibly participles and infinitives) should be allowed to move independently, and the inventory of functional projections must include one above *TP*. But postulating far too many movements always leads to the option of deriving the one sequence that is impossible in OE: *V–XP–Aux*. If the constraint is truly syntactic, its source should perhaps be sought in the ‘true’ nature of non-finite verbs (participles and infinitives) and the requirement that they be adjacent to certain heads.

Finally, we would like to emphasize that by pointing out the role of *IS*/discourse-pragmatic factors we do not advance the view that they should be directly encoded in the syntax. For us, it is perfectly plausible that languages can exploit the contrasts that are independently generated by the syntax for discourse-pragmatic purposes. However, if interpretation is responsible for certain word order patterns (akin to variations in ‘free word order’ languages), their instantiations should not be characterized in purely syntactic terms.

Tanja Milićev i Maša Bešlin

RED REČI U ZAVISNIM KLAUZAMA U STAROENGLESKOM: SINTAKSIČKA
REALIZACIJA I INFORMACIJSKO-STRUKTURNI I PRAGMATIČKI FAKTORI

Rezime

U ovom radu bavimo se pitanjem sintaksičke derivacije osnovnih redosleda reči unutar zavisnih klauza u stroengleskom. Dajemo pregled najuticajnijih sintaksičkih analiza varijacije u redosledu ličnih glagolskih oblika (pomoćnih glagola i modala), neličnih (infinitiva i participa) i argumenata (subjekta i objekta). Posebna pažnja pridaje se analizi Biberauer i Roberts 2005, budući da ona uspeva da reši mnoge probleme uočene u ranijim analizama. Uz pregled osnovnih postulata i postavki ove sintaksičke analize, ukazujemo i na probleme koji se javljaju iz šire empirijske perspektive. Pored određenih nejasnoća koje ne deluju rešive unutar predloženog modela analize, kao najveći problem može se izdvojiti činjenica da je na osnovu mehanizma provere sintaksičkih obeležja (koja dovode do pomeranja struktura DP ili vP) moguće izvesti redosled koji ne postoji u staroengleskom. Na kraju, iznosimo uvide iz novijih studija o uticaju informacijsko-strukturnih (IS) i diskursno-pragmatičkih faktora na varijaciju reda reči. Naime, pokazano je da je redosled u kojem se objekat pomera ispred glagola uslovljen IS obeležjem ‘datost u diskursnom modelu’ (eng. +Given) referenta objekatske nominalne fraze. S druge strane, prisutnost kontrastivnog fokusa na bilo kom elementu unutar propozicije dovodi do toga da se objekat ne pomeri. S obzirom da ne postoji direktna korelacija između određene sintaksičke pozicije i interpretacije, teško je pronaći motivaciju za hipotezu da su IS obeležja direktno kordinirana u sintaksi. No, isto tako je jasno da ono što se smatra osnovnih redosledima u staroengleskom nisu podjednako ‘nemarkirani’. U sintaksičkom modelu Biberauer i Roberts (2005) opcionalnost u veličini strukture koja se pomera da bi se proverila obeležje EPP ostavlja prostor da se konkretan izbor strukture DP ili vP poveže sa interpretacijom. Međutim, izvesno je da inventar fraza koje se mogu samostalno pomerati mora biti širi, kao i broj pozicija u strukturi u kojima se oni mogu naći. Izvor nemogućnosti derivacije redosleda nelični glagol-objekat-lični glagol ne leži nužno u nedostupnosti određenih tipa pomeranja (npr. nemogućnost samostalnog pomeranja participa ili infinitiva) i odgovor na problem ovog ograničenja (u literaturi poznatog kao *final-over-final constraint*) treba tražiti negde drugde. Pitanje tačnog mehanizma intefejsa sintakse i IS/pragmatike ostaje otvoreno. Bitno je, međutim, ne korelirati određene varijacije u redu reči direktno sa varijacijom u sintaksičkim potencijalima jezika.

Ključne reči: staroengleski, zavisne klauze, varijacija u redu reči, sintaksička derivacija, uticaj informacijsko-strukturnih faktora.

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UDC: 811.111'374.2'373.46:79=163.41
81'374
DOI: 10.19090/gff.v48i3.2358
Original research paper

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A NEW ENGLISH-SERBIAN DICTIONARY OF SPORTS TERMS: THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL ASPECTS**

The paper provides a hindsight analysis of the recently published printed dictionary entitled *Novi englesko-srpski rečnik sportskih termina* [A New English-Serbian Dictionary of Sports Terms] (Milić–Panić Kavgić, & Kardoš, 2021a) within its theoretical and practical frameworks. The aim is to establish the extent to which the communicative theory (Cabré, 1999), underpinning the *Dictionary*, matches the principles of the more up-to-date user-oriented and digitally friendly function theory of lexicography (Fuertes-Olivera–Tarp, 2014). The findings of the comparative analysis of the two approaches indicate that the difference primarily lies in the focus placed on standardization with a prescriptive purpose in the former, and user-related situations and needs in the latter. Concerning the practical aspect, the findings of the evaluation process of the *Dictionary*, applying the critical framework of the function theory, indicate that it meets all requirements except the ones related to Internet technologies, which favor digital media. However, the printed medium has its justification in the fact that Serbian belongs to languages with limited existing corpora, which hampers a more intensive endeavor toward digitalized media. To summarize, the findings of the two analyses suggest that the *Dictionary* is in tune with the current user-oriented challenges in specialized lexicography.

Key words: English, Serbian, dictionary, function theory of lexicography, communicative theory, specialized lexicography, sport, terminology

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** A concise version of this paper was presented at *The 6th International Conference on English Language and Anglophone Literatures Today (ELALT 6)* (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad, 29–30 October 2022). Also, the discussion in Section 4 largely draws on and elaborates the points put forth in Milić, Panić Kavgić and Kardoš (2022).

1. INTRODUCTION

The study presented here belongs to the field of specialized lexicography in the current context of the global dominance of the English language (cf. Furiassi–Pulcini, & Rodríguez-González, 2012). Given that most non-English languages face the challenge of increasing Anglicization of their lexis, especially in specialized registers, recent research in language contacts suggests that there is a growing need for developing contact linguistic competence. Since it presupposes institutionalized forms of language planning, lexicography and language teaching, high-quality bilingual dictionaries get to the foreground of language policy. Consequently, the paper deals with theoretical and practical aspects of the recently published *Novi englesko-srpski rečnik sportskih termina* [A New English-Serbian Dictionary of Sports Terms] (Milić–Panić Kavgić, & Kardoš, 2021a), henceforward referred to as *NESDST*. The *Dictionary* is critically examined for its congruence with the current trends in the theory of specialized lexicography with special emphasis on the theory of functions (TF) (Bergenholtz, 2003; Fuertes-Olivera–Tarp, 2014). The exposition is divided into five sections: following the Introduction, Section 2 deals with theoretical foundations, Section 3 outlines the macrostructure and microstructure of *NESDST*, Section 4 offers a critical overview of *NESDST* from the viewpoint of TF, while Section 5 summarizes the conclusions.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Even though lexicographic theory has undergone significant progress during the recent two decades, it is still in a transitional phase, which is a consequence of the digital revolution in the discipline in terms of an increasing need for the creation of state-of-the-art online lexicographic resources (Łukasik, 2018: 196). For this reason, Bergenholtz–Bothma (2011: 74) claim that “lexicography is not a part of linguistics but a part of information science.” Seen in this light, future trends in lexicography build on lexicographers’ understanding of dictionary users and their behavior in the digital environment (Lew–de Schryver, 2014: 341). Besides, the global hegemony of English leaves its imprint on lexicography in two aspects. Firstly, it has generated the need to develop contact linguistic competence¹, and secondly, it has extended the limits of language planning from the intralingual level to the

¹ According to Prčić (2014), contact linguistic competence is defined as “a type of linguistic knowledge related to the use of elements, i.e., words and names, from English as the nativized foreign language in a non-English language that regularly comes into contact with it” (2014: 147).

interlingual one (cf. Bergenholtz–Gouws, 2006). However, apart from the digital and global trends aimed at up-to-date user-centered dictionaries, recent research findings stress the need for quality reviews to elevate the meta-lexicographic discourse and foster the lexicographic culture of a community (cf. Bergenholtz–Gouws, 2016). Understanding the above as the present big picture of specialized lexicography, the aim of this analysis is to find out the extent to which *NESDST*, which draws on the communicative theory (CT), is in accordance with the latest developments in the theory of specialized lexicography. To this end, *NESDST* is examined for its congruence with a recently emerging function theory of lexicography (Bergenholtz, 2003; Fuertes-Olivera–Tarp, 2014) as an up-to-date theoretical thought in specialized lexicography that has been receiving increasing support from the lexicographic public (cf. Nielsen, 2015; Agerbo, 2016; 2017; Gouws, 2017; Bothma, 2018; Lew, 2019).

Complying with the predominant linguistically-oriented theoretical thought in specialized lexicography, aspects of CT and TF are analyzed comparatively within the framework of general lexicographic principles: scientific basis, lexicographic function(s), user-centeredness, user-friendliness, post-compilation activities, and digital realization (cf. Zgusta, 1971; Yong–Peng, 2007; Prčić, 2018: 20), as illustrated and discussed in Table 1.

PRINCIPLES	COMMUNICATIVE THEORY	THEORY OF FUNCTIONS
SCIENTIFIC BASIS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - corpus-based - descriptive with prescriptive purpose - synchronic - teamwork 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - corpus-based - descriptive with proscriptive purpose - synchronic - teamwork
LEXICOGRAPHIC FUNCTION(S)	mono-functional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - communicative 	preferably mono-functional: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - communicative - cognitive - operative - interpretative
USER-CENTEREDNESS	a dictionary is aimed for <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - direct users - indirect users 	a dictionary is aimed for <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - a target group defined for a particular need and situation
USER-FRIENDLINESS	accessibility of information for <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - direct users - indirect users 	determining types and amount of data needed for <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - target group users - a particular lexicographic function

POST-COMPILATION ACTIVITIES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - monitoring subsequent dictionary use - updating 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - monitoring feedback of target group users; preferably through digitalized post-publication user service - updating
DIGITAL REALIZATION	digital or printed data banks	preferably digital dictionaries

Table 1. Summary of postulates of CT and TF within the framework of general lexicographic principles

Concerning their SCIENTIFIC BASIS, both theories recognize a linguistic foundation of terminology – while CT reflects a clear-cut division between terminology theory and practice, i.e., terminography (cf. Cabré, 1999: 32, 150), TF emphasizes the practical application of research findings (cf. Fuertes-Olivera–Tarp, 2014: 54). The two theories also share the same synchronic and corpus-based approach to the description of terminological units; however, the former focuses on standardization with a prescriptive purpose, whereas the latter places emphasis on its less restrictive form, herein referred to as proscriptive approach, which advocates recommending the standard term rather than imposing it (cf. Bergenholtz, 2003; Tarp–Gouws, 2008; Bergenholtz–Gouws, 2010; Fuertes-Olivera–Tarp, 2014). Finally, concerning the compilation stage, both theories highlight the necessity of a multidisciplinary approach which entails teamwork of linguists familiar with the subject field, lexicographers, experienced translators of specialized texts, specialized field experts, and IT specialists.

Regarding the advocated LEXICOGRAPHIC FUNCTIONS, the two theories fall widely apart. Unlike the former, which emphasizes only the communicative function (production and reception), the latter suggests a multiple-function option complying with one of the four lexicographic functions: communicative, cognitive, operative, and interpretative, bearing in mind that the function status of the last is problematic due to considerable overlap with the operative function (cf. Agerbo, 2017). In a nutshell, the proponents of TF advocate the monofunctionality of the dictionary (cf. Bergenholtz, 2012) or multifunctionality, allowing for monofunctional data access (cf. Fuertes-Olivera–Tarp, 2014).

Concerning USER-CENTEREDNESS, there is a minor difference between the two theories. While CT encompasses two types of end-users, i.e., direct ones (specialists in the subject field) and intermediaries (translators, technical writers, and

interpreters), TF focuses on the target user – a factor that decides the functional design of the dictionary, based on the analysis of needs and lexicographic situations.

The same holds for the criterion of USER-FRIENDLINESS. While CT emphasizes the accessibility of dictionary information for both types of users (direct ones and intermediaries), TF puts forward the need to determine the types and amount of data for a target group and each function, being careful to avoid information overload. On this ground, TF is claimed to fulfill the relevance principle, i.e., the “quality of being directly connected with the subject field in question, the function(s) of the dictionary, and the user situations in which the dictionary is to be used” (Fuentes-Olivera–Nielsen, 2011: 175).

Concerning the POST-COMPILATION stage, both theories hold that dictionary work is an ongoing process, which means that it must be amenable to monitoring its use and constant updating. Complying with digital trends in lexicography, TF envisages digitally realizable post-publication user-service. However, while TF advocates at least a three-month update frequency, CT recognizes the need for periodical updates of data banks (lexicons, dictionaries, encyclopedias, vocabularies, glossaries, etc.) without specifying their exact frequency.

Finally, concerning DIGITAL REALIZATION, CT envisages the future of machine-readable data banks in spite of the predominance of printed dictionaries since, by the time of the source reference publication (cf. Cabré, 1999: 118), they “were practically the only instruments for consultation on terms, and still remain the most consulted tools.” However, by keeping abreast of the latest digital trends in lexicography, TF gives preference to the digital realization of dictionaries owing to the speed of information retrieval and other benefits of digital technologies.

To summarize, the above analysis suggests that the two theories overlap considerably, and that the difference is a matter of focus, which is on corpus-based standardization in the former and practical aspects in terms of user needs and lexicographic situations in the latter. This essentially corroborates the comment of León-Araúz and Faber (2015: 135) that proponents of this theory have provided a practical contribution to the lexicographic theory rather than a theoretical one.

3. A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF *NESDST*

Being an expanded and updated version of its first edition (cf. Milić, 2006), *NESDST* draws on the same communicative approach that subsumes the standardization of terms adapted from English into Serbian at the level of form and content using a six-principle model devised by Milić (cf. Milić, 2004; 2015). A project for a new edition was set up in 2017 (cf. Milić–Panić Kavgić, & Kardoš,

2017). In addition to updating the content of the *Dictionary*'s first edition, during the past years, corpus-based analyses were carried out related to the standardization of additional English-based sports registers in Serbian (Milić, 2015; 2016; Milić–Kardoš, 2016; 2019). The compilation activities of a new edition that had lasted for five years resulted in the publication of *NESDST* as a printed dictionary. The following subsections provide insights into its macrostructure and microstructure.

3.1. Macrostructure of *NESDST*

NESDST is a printed dictionary with 5262 entries, one-fourth of which make up the inventory of its first edition (Milić, 2006). The entries belong to thirteen registers: four martial arts (boxing, judo, karate, wrestling), three individual sports (athletics, gymnastics, skiing and snowboarding), five ball games (basketball, football, handball, volleyball, water polo), and one racket game (tennis). The selection of sports complies with the needs of university students of sports in this environment who learn English for Specific Purposes (ESP).

Typologically, *NESDST* is: synchronic, with only present-day sports terms included; predominantly descriptive and prescriptive to a minor extent, since it includes standardized English-based entries in Serbian; bilingual – English–Serbian; and medium-sized, according to its volume. Concerning its structure, the *Dictionary* consists of primary and secondary components. The former includes a wordlist covering the central section of the *Dictionary*. The latter comprises the components that precede or follow the wordlist, with an aim to provide insights into the goals, theory of the lexicographic model, as well as user-relevant lexicographic information. The front-matter ones include the Table of Contents (Serb. *Sadržaj*), Symbols and Abbreviations (Serb. *Oznake i skraćénice*), Authors' Foreword (Serb. *Reč unapred*), User's Guide (Serb. *Vodič kroz Rečnik*) and References (Serb. *Literatura*). The back-matter component is an Appendix (Serb. *Dodatak*) with a short description of all thirteen sports included, which provides additional information on the entries.

Concerning the morphosyntax of specialized registers, the *NESDST* entries are in line with other research findings (cf. Cabré, 1999; Gortan-Premk, 2004). Namely, entries are predominantly single-worded and phrasal units that belong to the grammatical classes of nouns and verbs. When it comes to nominal entries, they cannot be proper nouns unless they have developed an appellative function (cf.

Zgusta, 1971: 246), e.g., *Tsukahara* (Serb. CUKAHARA²). Such treatment of proper nouns makes *NESDST* different from other sports dictionaries in Serbia and abroad (cf. Bateman–McAdam, & Sargeant, 2006; Milić, 2006; Room, 2010). Another specificity of *NESDST*'s morphosyntax is the inclusion of a minor share of polylexical syntactic units. They are prepositional phrases (e.g., *in the paint* > (IGRAČ) U REKETU, (IGRAČICA) U REKETU³) and statements (e.g., *The ball was called in.* > DOSUĐENA JE DOBRA LOPTA⁴).

3.2. Microstructure of *NESDST*

A typical *NESDST* entry consists of six elements, which are described and exemplified in the User's Guide. The numbered elements in Illustration 1 are the following:

1. HEADWORDS, i.e., alphabetically ordered English terms, set in Arial bold, to be distinguished from the remaining text printed in Times New Roman. Headwords with different meanings or translation equivalents are reentered and labeled with subscript codes _A through _H;

2. GRAMMATICAL INFORMATION, given in the form of an abbreviation for lexical units irrespective of their being mono- or polylexical terms [*gl* (verb), *im* (noun), *prid* (adjective), *pril* (adverb) and *uzv* (interjection)] and syntactic ones [*predl. sint* (prepositional phrase) and *isk* (statement)];

3. CROSS-REFERENCES to synonyms, antonyms (labeled →*sin.* and →*ant.* respectively), and British and American language variants, set in Times New Roman bold (labeled →...*£* and →...*\$* respectively);

4. SERBIAN TERM/S, set in italics and numbered if more than one, with the standard term given first, labelled 1.;

² In artistic gymnastics, a type of male or female vault that consists of one-fourth or a half-turn in the first fly stage, i.e., before the support on the vault table, followed by a salto in tuck, pike or layout position – named after the Japanese gymnast Mitsuo Tsukahara (English translation, *NESDST*: 459).

³ In basketball, a situation when a player is in the foul lane, which is the painted area on the court in front of both baskets (English translation, *NESDST*: 236).

⁴ In tennis, the announcement of the chair umpire through which the decision of the line judge is orally repeated, or, rarely, the decision of the umpire, that the ball has fallen within the court, which is uttered after the player's demand for the challenge and before the check, using an electronic system of monitoring the ball trajectory (English translation, *NESDST*: 440).

5. GLOSS, presented as a single-sentence definition of meaning which explains the main characteristics of a concept, so that the definition fits the ‘genus-and-differentia’ model (Atkins–Rundell, 2008: 436), and

6. DIATECHNICAL LABEL, in the form of an adverbial within the definition of meaning that follows the pattern “In + name of sport / group of related sports / sport in general, ...”. With this adverbial, the English translation of the definition for the entry *screen* (see Illustration 2) reads as follows: “In basketball, an attempt to slow down or prevent an opponent without the ball from reaching the desired position – more concretely, an allowed position of an attacking player positioned between a teammate and a defensive player which enables the teammate to open up for ball receipt or perform an unhindered throw to the basket” (English translation, *NESDST*: 373).

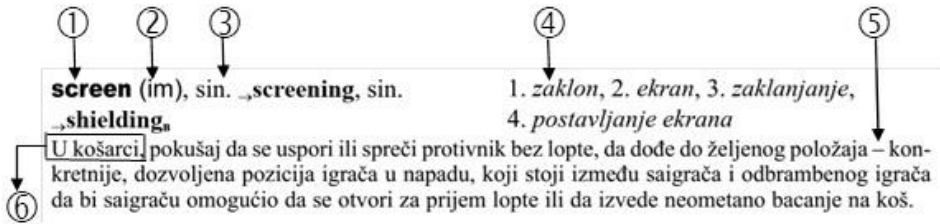


Illustration 1. Microstructure of a *NESDST* entry

4. A REVIEW OF *NESDST* APPLYING THE FUNCTIONAL APPROACH TO DICTIONARY EVALUATION⁵

Given that the focus of this paper is on the extent to which *NESDST* meets the requirements of TF, the following section provides an evaluation of the *Dictionary* according to the functional approach to dictionary evaluation, including ten requirements, defined and discussed below (cf. Fuertes-Olivera–Tarp, 2014: 210–212):

(1) **AUTHORS’ VIEW**, i.e., the requirement that subsumes two conditions aimed at building a theory of lexicography. The first concerns the dictionary’s macrostructure, which should include, in addition to the wordlist, outer texts containing information on target users, user situations, and the dictionary’s aims. The second is the need to share a lexicographic design with the public through scientific

⁵ This section elaborates the points initially discussed in Milić, Panić Kavgić and Kardoš (2022: 57–61).

meetings and publications. A look at *NESDST* with a critical eye in terms of this criterion shows full compliance with both conditions, as already pointed out in Milić, Panić Kavgić and Kardoš (2022: 57). Firstly, the *Dictionary* includes two outer texts: Authors' Foreword (Serb. *Reč unapred*), which contains information on *NESDST*'s macrostructure, i.e., its volume, potential users, and lexicographic functions, and User's Guide (Serb. *Vodič kroz Rečnik*), which gives a presentation of *NESDST*'s microstructure and the model of standardization of English-based sports terms in Serbian. Secondly, *NESDST*'s lexicographic design was presented and discussed at lexicographic meetings (cf. Milić, 2007; 2015), and in written form, both in Serbia (cf. Milić, 2013; 2016; Milić–Panić Kavgić, & Kardoš, 2021b) and abroad (cf. Milić, 2015; Milić–Glušac, & Kardoš, 2018).

(2) FUNCTION(S), featuring a core issue of TF, is the requirement that a dictionary should fulfill a specific lexicographic function: communicative, cognitive, operative, or interpretative. Tested in this light, *NESDST* merits a positive score since it can serve communicative (productive and receptive) and cognitive functions. As such, the *Dictionary* is not only a reference book but also a secondary teaching resource for academic courses in English as a Foreign Language – EFL (cf. Béjoint, 2010; El-Sayed–Siddiek, 2013; Lew, 2015; 2016; Boulton–De Cock, 2017) and ESP, both intended for building English–Serbian contact linguistic competence (cf. Milić et al., 2018). Besides, it also partly aims to fulfill the operative function since it includes accurate interpretations of term meanings, according to which active sports users can take action in a particular situation, i.e., while doing sports or acting as referees. On grounds of these arguments, *NESDST* meets the requirement of functions, even though not entirely, since TF relies on new technologies which enable the compilation of highly specialized monofunctional dictionaries. Following the line of thought of Bergenholts and Gouws (2010: 49) that the market would not allow the full spectrum of necessary dictionaries, monofunctionality seems to be beyond the reach of less-used languages and many specialized ones, which makes the printed option acceptable in Serbian (cf. Milić et al., 2022: 57–58).

(3) ACCESS ROUTES, the requirement that the dictionary enables easy and fast use. Concerning this criterion, *NESDST* does not fully comply with TF. This is because *NESDST* is a printed dictionary which, unlike electronic publications, does not offer its users instant retrieval of information. As already stated in item (2) above, the time is not yet ripe for switching to digital lexicography in the Serbian language community (cf. Milić et al., 2021b). Another argument in favor of printed dictionaries is the perception of students' behavior at the University of Novi Sad. Namely, according to informally obtained information, the students are more likely to opt for

the printed medium if given the option to choose between a PDF version and its printed format (cf. Milić et al., 2022).

(4) INTERNET TECHNOLOGIES, i.e., the requirement that the process of dictionary use builds on advancements of new technologies in terms of user-friendly dynamic articles and dynamic dictionary information. This entails the construction of a database wherefrom the user can retrieve filtered needs-adapted information. Thus, an increasing user dependence on digital resources is a big challenge, not only in terms of dictionary design but also foreshadowing user skills related to new search techniques afforded by digital resources (Lew, 2013). Subjecting *NESDST* to scrutiny in this respect, it turns out that this requirement is not met since the *Dictionary* was published as a printed edition, and the use of internet technologies goes hand in hand with digital dictionaries. However, the printed *NESDST* has its justification in the fact that Serbian belongs to languages with limited existing corpora, which hampers a more intensive endeavor toward digitalized media (cf. Milić et al., 2021b).

(5) THE UNDERPINNING THEORY, i.e., the requirement that a dictionary should draw on a particular approach, be it a lexicographic or any other theory. There are three arguments in favor of a positive evaluation of *NESDST* in terms of this requirement. Firstly, the *Dictionary* draws on CT elaborated by Cabré (1999; 2003), which subsumes terminological standardization. Given that the Serbian terms are created through the adaptation of English units into the system of Serbian, at the level of content and form, language contact-based standardization is carried out, according to the model theoretically elaborated in Milić (2004) and subsequently upgraded in Milić (2015). Secondly, *NESDST* complies with general lexicographic principles, as indicated in Section 2. Lastly, *NESDST* is in line with the latest trends of lexicographic theory and practice in Serbia (cf. Ristić–Lazić Konjik, & Ivanović, 2016; Prčić, 2018; Ristić–Lazić Konjik & Ivanović, 2021). Based on the above, *NESDST* deserves positive evaluation concerning this requirement.

(6) PRODUCTION COSTS, i.e., the requirement that a dictionary is feasible in terms of time and invested money. As highlighted in Milić et al. (2022: 59), concerning this criterion, *NESDST* is predicted to merit a positive score: the 500 copies of its predecessor, i.e., the first edition (Milić, 2006), sold out in the first years after publishing. Taking this as a sign of users' satisfaction, the investment in the first edition seems to have paid off. Such a conclusion is in line with Gouws's statement (2017: 43) that it is not up to lexicographers to judge whether a dictionary is good or not, but up to the people using it.

(7) INFORMATION COSTS, i.e., the requirement that a dictionary should be user-friendly, not only in terms of the search-related process but also the

comprehension-related one (Nielsen, 2008). Concerning this requirement, there is no clear-cut positive or negative evaluation of *NESDST* – a fact which was pointed out in Milić et al. (2022: 59). Arguments for reaching a positive score are measures taken to eliminate bottlenecks impeding the easiness and effectiveness of use of the first edition of the *Dictionary*. Thus, sentence adverbials are introduced as an integral part of the gloss to eliminate the time-consuming disambiguation of abbreviations functioning as diatechnical labels in the first edition (see element 6 in Illustration 1). Also, many Serbian terms proposed in the first edition lost the status of standard units due to their insufficient transparency and low frequency of use. On the other hand, *NESDST* earns a negative score since it is a printed edition, which does not offer the desired effect of the consultation process to the contemporary user (Gouws, 2017: 55). Seen in a broader context, the digital shift in lexicography subsumes not only the dictionary medium but also new e-resources that will be based not merely on users' feedback, but more likely on "fundamental research in metalexicography, user needs, database technologies, and principles of information organization, access, and retrieval" (cf. Bergenholtz–Bothma, & Gouws, 2011: 41). With this in mind, there is a long path ahead towards the final goal of digital lexicography not only in this language community but in general.

(8) UPDATING, i.e., the requirement that dictionary information is regularly brought into accordance with user needs and changes in the current linguistic standard and specialized registers. In the same vein as already commented on concerning access routes (3), internet technologies (4), and information costs (7), the printed form of *NESDST* does not meet the expectations concerning this criterion. This is because it does not offer the possibility of regular updating following actual changes in the field of specialized register and linguistic theory, let alone user needs in the digital era. Besides, the life span of a printed dictionary in Serbia is generally longer than ten years, which is not in compliance with lexicographic standards according to which ten-year-old dictionaries are liable to revision and reprint (cf. Yong–Peng, 2007: 118). However, digital trends in specialized lexicography foreshadow a growing need to provide conditions for creating an online electronic dictionary that could be revised regularly, following frequent changes in sports rules and developing user needs and preferences (cf. Milić et al., 2022: 60).

(9) EXPERTS, i.e., the requirement that the authorial team of the dictionary, commonly consisting of lexicographers, should also include experts in the subject field. Tested for compliance with this requirement, *NESDST* deserves a positive score since the authors are three linguists with lexicographic experience (two scholars with a PhD and one with MA in linguistics) and twenty-two sports professionals:

university professors, distinguished athletes, and coaches at the national and international level.

(10) DATA SELECTION, i.e., the requirement that a dictionary should draw on reliable sources, as well as that the selected data are validated by expert knowledge. Regarding this criterion, *NESDST* fully complies with the requirements of TF because it builds on a corpus compiled from official documents in English and Serbian, as well as on the direct help of sports professionals. A future edition of the *Dictionary* would probably benefit from the recently compiled *ParCoLab* parallel online searchable corpus for linguistic research, containing original rulebook texts and their translations into Serbian and three other European languages (cf. <http://parcolab.univ-tlse2.fr/en/>).

To sum up, the critical review above suggests that *NESDST* has passed the evaluation test of TF, which is justified as follows: six of the ten requirements are met fully [(1), (2), (5), (6), (9), (10)], two partially [(3), (7)], and two failed the test [(4), (8)]. Generally, the only drawback of *NESDST* is its printed form – a medium which does not meet the demands of the contemporary digital user.

5. CONCLUSION

The paper offers a critical analysis of the recently published *NESDST* within the theoretical and practical framework, with particular emphasis on CT, underpinning the *Dictionary*, and TF, which is in tune with the recent digital trend in lexicography. A comparative analysis of the two shows that both follow general lexicographic principles. However, while the focus of CT is on standardization, the core issue for TF is the practical application of terminological work. A further argument testifying to the overlapping theoretical basis of the two approaches is the fact that *NESDST*, which draws on CT, has stood the practical evaluation test of TF that includes ten requirements, as follows: author's view, function(s), access routes, internet technologies, underpinning theory, production costs, information costs, updating, experts, and data selection. As already emphasized in Milić et al. (2022), the only drawback of the *NESDST* printed edition concerns the potential benefits of internet technologies that favor digital media. Unfortunately, the printed medium is the only option at present since the conditions for a switchover from printed to digital media in lexicography have not yet been fulfilled in the Serbian linguistic community due to the unsatisfactory national language corpus of Serbian. However, despite local implications, the findings conform to the generally recognized digital trends in the future of lexicography, the only issue being the extent of their application.

Mira Milić, Olga Panić Kavgić and Aleksandra Kardoš Stojanović

NOVI ENGLESKO-SRPSKI REČNIK SPORTSKIH TERMINA: TEORIJSKI I PRAKTIČNI ASPEKTI

Rezime

Cilj rada je analiza nedavno objavljenog štampanog izdanja rečnika pod naslovom *Novi englesko-srpski rečnik sportskih termina* (Milić–Panić Kavgić, & Kardoš, 2021a), sa teorijskog i praktičnog aspekta. U teorijskom smislu, cilj je da se utvrdi u kojoj meri je komunikativna teorija (Cabré, 1999), na kojoj se temelji Rečnik, usklađena sa teorijom leksikografskih funkcija (Fuertes-Olivera–Tarp, 2014), koja polazi od potreba savremenog korisnika u digitalnom okruženju. Teorije su analizirane komparativno sa stanovišta osnovnih leksikografskih principa: naučna zasnovanost, leksikografske funkcije, okrenutost ka korisniku, predusretljivost prema korisniku, praćenje upotrebe i digitalna realizacija. Rezultati pokazuju da obe teorije zadovoljavaju navedene principe, te da se razlika očituje samo u njihovom fokusu: u komunikativnoj teoriji, naglasak je na preskriptivno orijentisanoj terminološkoj standardizaciji, a u teoriji funkcija na potrebama korisnika i situacijama koje iziskuju upotrebu rečnika. Sa praktičnog aspekta, Rečnik je ocenjen prema sledećim kritičkim parametrima teorije funkcija za vrednovanje rečnika: stav autora, leksikografske funkcije, pristup podacima, internetske tehnologije, teorijski osnov, troškovi realizacije, efektnost nalaženja informacije, ažuriranje, uključenost poznavalaca struke i izvori za korpus. Rezultati pokazuju da Rečnik zadovoljava sve parametre izuzev onih koji se direktno ili indirektno tiču internetskih tehnologija, što ukazuje na prednost digitalnog medijuma. Međutim, štampano izdanje opravdava činjenica da srpski spada u grupu jezika sa ograničenim korpusom, što je osnovni uslov za digitalizaciju leksikografskih izvora. Na osnovu svega, može se zaključiti da je Rečnik usklađen sa savremenim zahtevima u specijalizovanoj leksikografiji.

Cljučne reči: engleski jezik, srpski jezik, rečnik, teorija leksikografskih funkcija, komunikativna teorija, specijalizovana leksikografija, sport, terminologija

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DOI: 10.19090/gff.v48i3.2436
Original research paper

EXPLORING THE ENGLISH VOCABULARY, INCLUDING NEOLOGISMS, WITH RESOURCES OF AI CHATBOTS USED AS MULTITALENTED SUPERDICTIONARIES

This paper deals with theoretical and, especially, practical aspects of exploring the English vocabulary, including neologisms, with the aid of resources made available by AI chatbots, viewed and used as multitasking superdictionaries. The exposition is divided into four parts, thus: Section 1 offers some general, scene-setting remarks; Section 2 brings a discussion of the whys, whats and hows of exploring properties of, and relations between, individual English words by exploiting AI chatbots; Section 3 brings a discussion of the theory and practice of exploring English neologisms by exploiting AI chatbots; and Section 4 provides an overview of the applied aspects of other important areas of exploration of the English vocabulary, including neologisms, with AI chatbots.

Key words: vocabulary, neologisms, the English language, exploration, exploitation, AI chatbots, theory, practice

1. OPENING REMARKS

Towards the end of the year 2022, a new, ingenious invention was introduced to the world, with unprecedented media attention and with reception ranging from euphoria to scepticism to distrust. The ingenious invention was called ChatGPT, was accessible through the internet, was able to communicate with its users in written and spoken form, was trained on a vast amount of online textual material and was made available to the general public for testing purposes. After logging in and signing up, users were invited in the ChatGPT's welcoming message on-screen to ask it anything they want, in ordinary English or any other of the many supported languages. Some time into February 2023, the author of this paper ventured at last to log in and sign up, and to embark on the long journey of asking ChatGPT anything he wanted, but he immediately chose, not surprisingly, to ask it all manner of questions about

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vocabulary and linguistics, phrased in, and related to, English, Serbian, French, German, Hungarian and some other languages.

This paper is the result of several months-long experimentation with ChatGPT and its incredibly powerful resources. It represents, in effect, a linguist's concise guide to exploiting ChatGPT resources for exploring the English vocabulary, including neologisms, where 'a linguist's' is to be understood both as 'written by a linguist' and as 'written for a (generic) linguist'. Without wishing to go into the technology behind ChatGPT and other similar AI chatbots, or the accompanying abstruse terminology, the purpose of this non-IT-minded user-oriented guide is, expressed through slightly different imagery, to try and explain how to drive a car reasonably well and not how component parts of a car's engine operate. For this very reason, the focus is here placed on exploring the English vocabulary, with special reference to neologisms.

The aims of the paper are threefold: firstly, to present the areas and aspects of the English vocabulary, including neologisms, that can be beneficially explored with the aid of ChatGPT and other similar AI chatbots launched recently; secondly, to recount the author's own personal hands-on experience gained while purposefully conversing and interacting with ChatGPT on matters lexical and linguistic; and thirdly, to motivate readers, especially university students and fellow teachers and researchers, to befriend, without any fear, ChatGPT and other similar AI chatbots, and to reap the benefits from utilizing their vast resources in their own work (and leisure).

The exposition that follows will be organized into three sections: Section 2 will consider the whys, whats and hows of exploring English words using resources of AI chatbots; Section 3 will examine the theory and practice of exploring English neologisms using resources of AI chatbots; and Section 4 will touch on the applied aspects of other important areas of the exploration of the English vocabulary, including neologisms, with the aid of resources of AI chatbots.

2. EXPLORING THE ENGLISH VOCABULARY WITH RESOURCES OF AI CHATBOTS

This section deals with ways in which explorers of the English vocabulary can benefit from resources offered by AI chatbots. The discussion is divided into four parts: a portrayal of AI chatbots as multitasking superdictionaries (2.1), an overview of lexical information offered by AI chatbots, including properties of individual words and relations between individual words (2.2), an overview of pointers for

efficient prompting of AI chatbots, including theoretical and practical aspects (2.3), and a proposal for a practical interactive exercise in AI chatbot prompting (2.4).

2.1. The whys: AI chatbots used as multitalented superdictionaries

AI chatbots are best conceived and construed as highly capable search engines, like Google, Bing, DuckDuckGo and others, but with at least three fundamental differences:

- firstly, instead of expecting textual input consisting of a few key words or a fragmentary or full sentence, AI chatbots can receive input in ordinary, everyday, real-life language, written or spoken, English or any other of the many supported ones, very much like the language used in any other form of modern electronic written and spoken communication, whose input can consist of just a few words to several sentences of various length, structure and complexity,
- secondly, instead of returning clickable https addresses of, and hyperlinks to, websites admittedly containing answers to be ferreted out by the user, AI chatbots produce a textual or, in some cases, graphic, visual or vocal, reaction, again in ordinary, everyday, real-life language, typically quite helpful and polite, at times even humble and apologetic, in the user's language of choice, offering answers of various quantity and quality to the questions or problems put before them, and
- thirdly, instead of merely providing screenfuls of addresses and hyperlinks fulfilling criteria input by the user, AI chatbots are open to interactivity, by being able to engage in two-way conversations, or chats, with users, by being able to learn from users (for the duration of a given session), and by being able to self-correct when prompted appropriately.

AI chatbots have been trained on an exceptionally large amount of textual material available across and around the internet, and some of them additionally have access to the internet in real time. What AI chatbots actually do is analyse, organize, reorganize, summarize and display on-screen the recast data originally fed into them. It is important to stress that AI chatbots, as they themselves claim when asked, cannot reason, think, feel or have opinions in the way humans do, but they only act in the manner they have been programmed, even though some of their reactions may, on the surface, resemble those of humans. Worthy of note is the fact that, because lacking the ability to reason and think creatively, AI chatbots can in some cases, fortunately not very frequently, hallucinate, as the term goes, i.e. generate perfectly plausibly-

looking but otherwise false or inaccurate information, which may be due to faulty programming and/or training, or to errors in texts fed into them, or to flawed prompting. Therefore, utmost caution should be exercised by users to detect, identify and reject responses that appear out of place and to demand immediate regeneration of a new, this time valid and accurate, response.¹

All things considered, both the pros and cons, AI chatbots should be perceived and treated as extremely sophisticated and knowledgeable computer programs that serve as companions to human users and function as invaluable interactive sources of information or assistance of any kind. In consequence, viewed as such great information-packed agglomerates, AI chatbots should be exploited wisely and carefully in lexical explorations as well.

There are currently many AI chatbots out there, but three are arguably the most widely known and used, and they are listed here in order of their launching:

- ChatGPT, November 2022, accessible at <https://chat.openai.com/>, and as an application for Android and iOS; trained on material rounded off in September 2021; no access to the internet,
- Microsoft Bing Chat (henceforth Bing), February 2023, accessible at <https://www.bing.com/>, and choosing there ‘Chat’, and as part of the Microsoft Edge browser, and as an application for Android and iOS; has access to the internet; provides sources of responses; can generate custom-made images, and
- Google Bard (henceforth Bard), March 2023, accessible at <https://bard.google.com/>; has access to the internet; can provide spoken responses.

In addition to the tremendous trio, one recent AI-powered chatbot / search engine deserves special mention. It is Perplexity AI, accessible at <https://www.perplexity.ai/>, and as an application for Android and iOS; has access to the internet; provides sources of responses. Its uncommon simplicity, speed and efficiency in providing results definitely present a smart replacement for customary search engines and a warmly recommended transition to the world of creative AI chatbot exploitation.

This discussion has no intention, explicit or implicit, to compare the four AI chatbots or to identify their strong and less strong points, because all are equally

¹ For details on AI hallucination, see [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hallucination_\(artificial_intelligence\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hallucination_(artificial_intelligence)), <https://www.techtarget.com/whatis/definition/AI-hallucination>, <https://zapier.com/blog/ai-hallucinations/>, or ask an AI chatbot for an elaboration.

capable of carrying out the tasks assigned to them and because they differ only in details just mentioned. Since the proof of the pudding is in the eating, readers should try each product and decide for themselves which AI chatbot or chatbots they will use or, perhaps, not use. And those readers interested in the technicalities and terminologies behind the workings of these and other AI chatbots, as well as in comparative reviews, are invited to use their favourite search engines or, better still, to ask directly one of the AI chatbots for assistance. All will surely be more than happy to oblige.

From the point of view of lexical exploration, AI chatbots effectively incorporate and place at the user's disposal unified and combined resources with the functionality of general-purpose, specialized and terminological dictionaries, monolingual, bilingual and multilingual, as well as thesauruses, translators, style guides, gazetteers, corpora, encyclopedias, almanacs, atlases and other kinds of reference works. Having realized the massive scope of their joint lexical power, the author devised a descriptive designation capturing the functionality of AI chatbots in this particular area of knowledge – it is **MULTITALENTED SUPERDICTIONARY**, where 'multitalented' puts together their multiple talents and abilities to, among other things, analyse, interpret, define, exemplify, join, group, differentiate, translate, compare and contrast words in terms of their forms, functions, meanings and uses, and 'superdictionary' is an umbrella term for the unity of all the reference works just mentioned.

In one of our academic exchanges of ideas, ChatbotGPT was confronted with this distinctive name, 'superdictionary', alongside other prospective candidates that included 'hyperdictionary', 'hypersuperdictionary', 'superduperdictionary' and 'megadictionary', some obviously jocular. We finally agreed on 'superdictionary' as the most appropriate term for the purpose, even though ChatGPT, when asked, later came up with several of its own self-naming creations-cum-glosses, shown in the screenshot in Illustration 1:



I can help you understand what each term emphasizes and how it relates to my abilities, but ultimately, the decision of which term to use would depend on your specific needs and preferences. Here is a brief explanation of the terms:

1. Superdictionary - emphasizes the vastness of the language model's lexical knowledge and abilities.
2. Hyperdictionary - similar to superdictionary, emphasizes the language model's exceptional capacity for understanding and processing language.
3. Lexical behemoth - emphasizes the language model's sheer size and scope, suggesting that it is a dominant force in the realm of language.
4. Linguistic powerhouse - emphasizes the language model's ability to perform a wide range of language-related tasks with great skill and efficiency.
5. Verbal omniscience - emphasizes the language model's ability to know and understand everything related to language.
6. Semantic savant - emphasizes the language model's exceptional ability to understand and manipulate meaning.
7. Language oracle - emphasizes the language model's ability to provide guidance or answers related to language.
8. Lexicographic titan - emphasizes the language model's strength and expertise in the field of lexicography.
9. Vocabulary virtuoso - emphasizes the language model's mastery and artistry in the use and understanding of vocabulary.
10. Linguistic juggernaut - emphasizes the language model's unstoppable and overwhelming power in the realm of language.

Illustration 1: glossed self-designations proposed by ChatGPT to capture its own vast lexical resources

To conclude this introduction, let it be said that all descriptions, exemplifications and screenshots in the entire discussion, if not indicated otherwise, are based on, and result from, research done with the aid of ChatGPT.

2.2. *The whats: information on words offered by AI chatbots*

There is an unimaginably great wealth of information on words, including neologisms, that is offered by AI chatbots and waiting to be elicited and displayed via cleverly phrased prompts. This information is available for four types of lexical units:

- words, including general vocabulary, neologisms, culture-specific words and technical terms,

- affixes, including prefixes and suffixes (e.g. *un-*, *-ish*), and combining forms, including initial combining forms and final combining forms (*morpho-*, *-graphy*),
- idioms, including phrasal nouns (e.g. *head of state*), phrasal verbs (*put up with*), fixed binomials (*inch by inch*), similes (*as cool as a cucumber*), discourse formulas (*That's right!*), catchphrases (*Diamonds are a girl's best friend*) and traditional sayings (*Every cloud has a silver lining*), and
- proper names, including personal (e.g. *Crawford*), geographical (*Kirkcudbright*) and institutional (*London School of Economics*).

All these types of lexical units will henceforth be referred to, for convenience, by the cover term 'word', except when a particular type of unit will be meant.

The information thus available and open to searching, finding, eliciting and displaying will be roughly divided into two groups: the first group comprises information on a smaller scale and involves the level of individual words, i.e. diverse properties of words that contribute to the building of what will be called here micro-lexical summaries. And the second group comprises information on a larger scale and involves the level of relations, i.e. diverse relations between individual words that contribute to the building of macro-lexical summaries.

Each of the two lexical summaries will now be dealt with in some detail. The meaning of the terms and concepts that will appear below is presupposed and will be neither discussed, nor explained, nor exemplified separately (for their clarification, see Bauer, 1983, 2004; Bauer and Huddleston, 2002; Cruse, 1986, 2006, 2010; Crystal, 2008; Krzeszowski, 1990; Lipka, 2002; McArthur, 1992; Mey, 2009; Murphy, 2003; Prčić, 2016, 2019, 2023; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik, 1985).

2.2.1. *Properties of individual words: building micro-lexical summaries*

MICRO-LEXICAL SUMMARIES are composed of information concerning form-related and content-related properties of individual words.

Within form-related properties, several notable features can be looked up and into. They belong to the fields of graphology with orthography, phonology with phonetics, morphosyntax and etymology. Each of these features, together with the points they comprise, will now be itemized.

(1) In the field of graphology with orthography, where the focus is on the spelling of words, it is the following points:

- providing the standard spelling of a given word,

- providing variants of standard spelling of a given word,
- providing unacceptable spellings of a given word,
- providing frequency of use of a given word (all frequency-related tasks are best handled by Bard and Bing with GPT-4 on).

(2) In the field of phonology with phonetics, where the focus is on the pronunciation of words, it is the following points:

- providing the standard pronunciation of a given word in IPA and other notations, in Received Pronunciation (RP) and/or General American (GenAm) and/or other regional accents,
- providing variants of standard pronunciation of a given word,
- providing unacceptable pronunciations of a given word.

(3) In the field of morphosyntax, where the focus is on the grammar of words, it is the following points:

- providing word class, i.e. part of speech, of a given word,
- providing syntactic function of a given word in a given phrase or sentence,
- providing morphological forms of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs,
- providing variant morphological forms of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs,
- providing unacceptable morphological forms of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs,
- in the opposite direction, i.e. onomasiologically, creating new words that match the definition provided.

(4) In the field of etymology, where the focus is on the origin and development of words, it is the following points:

- providing year or decade of the earliest recorded occurrence of a given word, affix or combining form,
- providing language of origin and, in cases of interlingual borrowing, mediating language of a given word, affix or combining form,
- providing morphological forms of a given word, affix or combining form attested during its development,
- providing cognates in other languages of a given word, affix or combining form.

Within content-related properties, several notable features can be looked up and into. They belong to lexical semantics with lexical pragmatics, lexical stylistics and general pragmatics. Each of these features, together with the points they comprise, will now be itemized.

(5) In the field of lexical semantics with lexical pragmatics, where the focus is on the descriptive meaning of words, it is the following points:

- providing definitions of all meanings of a given word, taking into account polysemy and homonymy, with the possibility of including distinctive signposts in front of each definition,
- providing definition of the meaning of a given word that occurs in a given sentential context,
- providing definitions tailored to various target group of users and/or to various purposes, in two general ways:
 - firstly, it is qualitative tailoring, by specifying the group, like 15-year-old pupils, or the general public, or professionals, or by specifying the wording itself, like using simplified language, or producing a full-blown encyclopedic entry, or addressing directly the user with the pronoun *you*, and/or
 - secondly, it is quantitative tailoring, by specifying the number of sentences and words in a definition, like within a single sentence, or with up to 35 words, or in no fewer than 15 words, or in between 10 and 35 words, as shown for the three wordings of the definition of the word *supercell storm*, in the screenshot in Illustration 2:

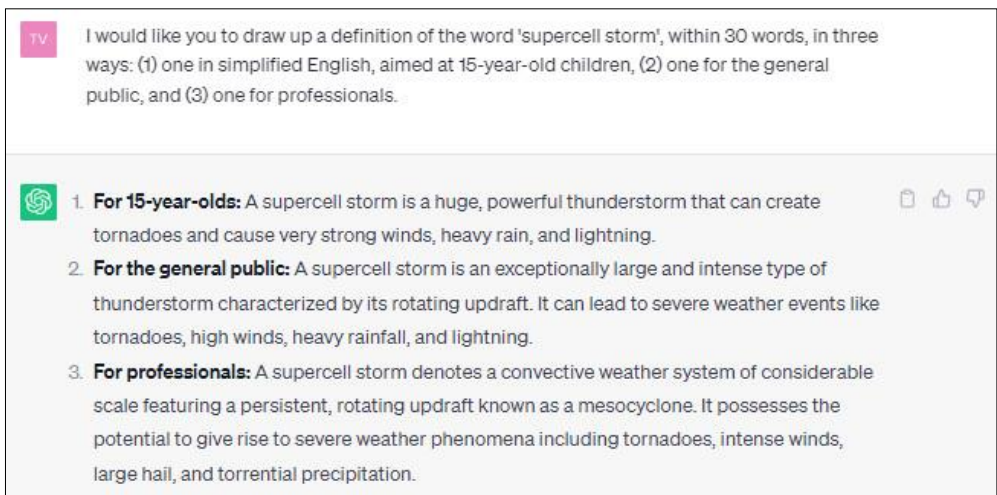


Illustration 2: three tailored wordings of the definition of the word *supercell storm* (ChatGPT)

- in the opposite direction, i.e. onomasiologically, providing an existing word that matches the definition provided.

(6) In the field of lexical stylistics, where the focus is on the associative meaning of words, it is the following points:

- providing and/or indicating stylistically marked meanings of a given word, especially in terms of dialect, like British, American and others, and of chronolect, like obsolescent, obsolete and archaic,
- providing and/or indicating registrally marked meanings of a given word, especially in terms of formality, like formal, neutral, informal and slang, and
- providing and/or indicating attitudinally marked meanings of a given word, especially in terms of expressivity, like derogatory and offensive, on the one hand, and euphemistic, on the other,
- all these associative meanings can be provided within definitions of words, as at (5) above, or as separate usage notes.

(7) In the field of general pragmatics, where the focus is on the actual use of words and/or the content they express, it is the following points:

- providing textual illustration, with concrete exemplification of use of a given word in one or multiple phrases, clauses or sentences of various syntactic patterns,
- providing visual illustration, with pictorial exemplification of the content expressed by a given word (available with Bing and Bard),
- providing generated visual illustration, with induced pictorial exemplification of the content expressed by a given word, created in real time from the description input by the user (available only with Bing), as shown for the images of a *puffin* and a *supercell storm* in Illustration 3, generated from the prompts ‘I would like you to create an image of a puffin on a rock near the sea’ and ‘I would like you to create an image of a supercell storm in action in a town’, respectively:



Illustration 3: AI-generated images of a *puffin* (left) and a *supercell storm* (right) (made by Bing Image Creator, powered by DALL-E)

2.2.2. Relations between individual words: building macro-lexical summaries

MACRO-LEXICAL SUMMARIES are composed of information concerning relations between individual words at paradigmatic, syntagmatic, word-formational and interlingual levels. Several notable relations can be looked into. They centre around comparability of form and/or content. Each of these relations, together with the ways in which they are realized, will now be itemized.

(8) At the paradigmatic level, it is sense relations between given senses of given words, realized in the following ways:

- synonymy: providing a list of synonyms for the given sense of a given word, with the possibility of including differential definitions and examples, as shown for the differentiated synonyms of the adjective *pretty*, in the screenshot in Illustration 4:

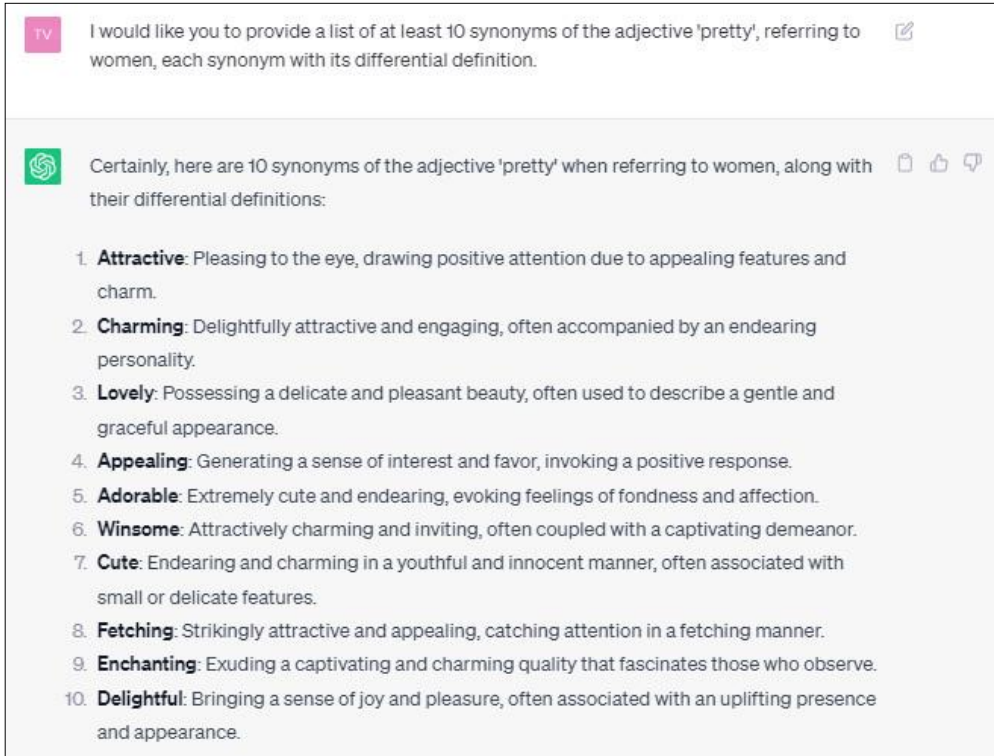


Illustration 4: differentiated synonyms of the adjective *pretty* (ChatGPT)

- in the opposite direction, i.e. onomasiologically: providing a list of synonyms available for expressing a given general sense, also with the possibility of including differential definitions and examples,
- antonymy: providing the complementing member of a pair of antonyms for the given sense of a given word, with the possibility of including definitions and examples,
- hyponymy: providing a list of hyponyms, or cohyponyms, or troponyms, for the given sense of a given superordinate, or, reversely, providing a superordinate for a given hyponym, or troponym, both with the possibility of including differential definitions and examples,
- meronymy: providing a list of meronyms for the given sense of a given holonym, or, reversely, providing a holonym for a given meronym, both with the possibility of including definitions and examples,
- all these sense relations can be provided within definitions of words, as at (5) above, or as independent lists.

(9) Also at the paradigmatic level, it is relatedness of words in form and/or content, realized in the following ways:

- contrasting and commenting on the usability of variant spellings, including unacceptable spellings, of a given word,
- contrasting and commenting on the usability of variant pronunciations, including unacceptable pronunciations, of a given word,
- contrasting and commenting on the usability of variant morphological forms, including unacceptable forms, of a given word in a given function,
- contrasting and commenting on the usability of homonymous, homographous and homophonous sets of words,
- contrasting and commenting on the usability of various sets of synonyms of a given sense of a given basic word,
- contrasting and commenting on the usability of literal vs. transferred metaphorical or metonymical senses of a given word,
- providing frequency of occurrence of spelling variants, including unacceptable spellings, of a given word, as shown for the variants of *road map*, in the screenshot in Illustration 5, obtained from the prompt ‘I would like you to provide the frequency of occurrence, in numbers and percentages, of the spelling variants *road map*, *road-map* and *roadmap*’:

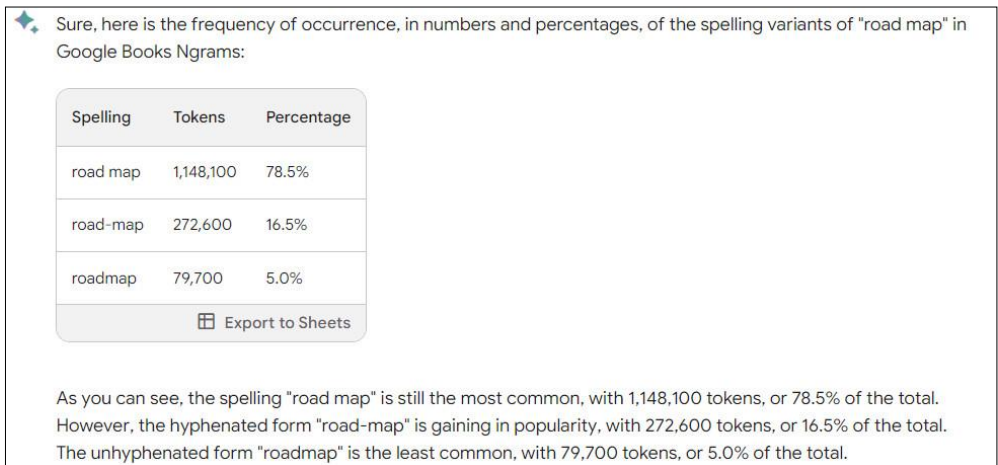


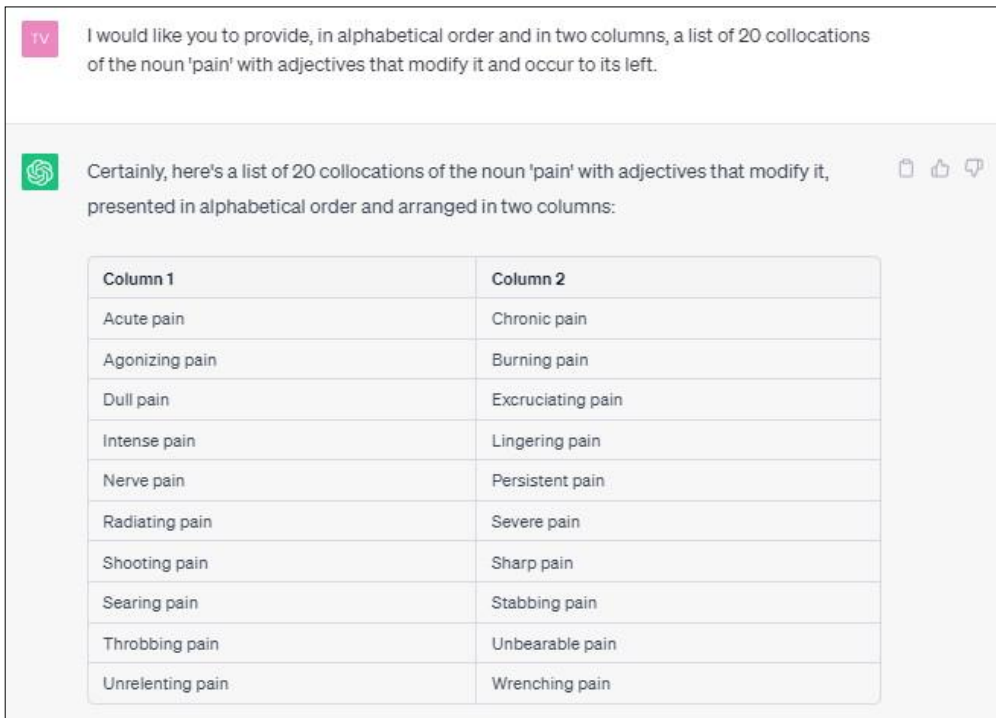
Illustration 5: frequency of occurrence of three spelling variants of *road map* (Bard)

- providing frequency of occurrence of morphological variants, including unacceptable forms, of a given word,

- providing frequency of occurrence of variant prefixations and/or suffixations with the same base word.

(10) At the syntagmatic level, it is habitual cooccurrences of words, realized in the following ways:

- providing primary or secondary collocates of collocations, occurring to the left or to the right, of a given word in a given sense, as shown for the adjective collocates of the noun *pain*, in the screenshot in Illustration 6:



I would like you to provide, in alphabetical order and in two columns, a list of 20 collocations of the noun 'pain' with adjectives that modify it and occur to its left.

Certainly, here's a list of 20 collocations of the noun 'pain' with adjectives that modify it, presented in alphabetical order and arranged in two columns:

Column 1	Column 2
Acute pain	Chronic pain
Agonizing pain	Burning pain
Dull pain	Excruciating pain
Intense pain	Lingering pain
Nerve pain	Persistent pain
Radiating pain	Severe pain
Shooting pain	Sharp pain
Searing pain	Stabbing pain
Throbbing pain	Unbearable pain
Unrelenting pain	Wrenching pain

Illustration 6: adjective collocates of the noun *pain*
(ChatGPT)

- providing the function word, typically a preposition, of colligations, occurring to the right of a given lexical word in a given sense,
- providing frequency of occurrence of a given collocation or colligation,
- all these word cooccurrences can be provided within definitions of words, as at (5) above, or as independent lists.

(11) At the word-formatational level, it is relatedness of words by a shared base word, realized in the following ways:

- providing a list of word families, i.e. morphologically and semantically related words containing, or building around, a given base word,
- providing a list of words beginning with a given base, prefix or initial combining form,
- providing a list of words ending with a given base, suffix or final combining form,
- providing a list of words beginning with a given prefix or initial combining form and ending with a given suffix or final combining form,
- providing frequency of occurrence of words with competing prefixes or initial combining forms and/or competing suffixes or final combining forms,
- providing component bases of blends,
- providing full forms of clippings,
- providing full forms of acronyms.

(12) At the interlingual level, it is translation of words, realized in the following ways:

- providing translation of contextualized words, including their different senses, sense relations, collocations and idioms, from English into another language or multiple languages simultaneously,
- providing translation of contextualized words, including their different senses, sense relations, collocations and idioms, into English and other languages from another language,
- providing guidance on false friends from English and into English.

Components of micro-lexical and macro-lexical summaries just outlined jointly make up an extensive lexical summary of any word in English, recording its individual properties as well as its relations with other comparable words. In accordance with the user's own needs and preferences, these distinctive components can be called forth either separately, or in smaller or larger clusters – or the two summaries can be put together, in part or in full, to produce a neatly arranged major dictionary-style entry to be called here mega-lexical summary, that affords a detailed insight into, and presents a comprehensive overview of, the behaviour of any given word looked up and into.

For the components reflecting aspects of this behaviour to become available, AI chatbots need to be questioned and/or instructed via efficiently phrased prompts. These prompts and ways of their wording, along with selected examples, will be dealt with next.

2.3. *The hows: pointers for efficient phrasing of prompts for AI chatbots*

The quality and quantity of responses to user questions or instructions to any AI chatbot, whether they are simple, complex or complicated, and whether they are about the English vocabulary or not, depend crucially on the quality and quantity of the phrasing of prompts that contain user questions or instructions, and that are input in written, keyed-in, or spoken form to the AI chatbot to tackle. In what follows some practical pointers on the efficient phrasing of prompts for lexical exploration, stemming from the author's own first-hand experience, will be offered and subsequently illustrated with concrete representative samples.

2.3.1. *Theoretical preliminaries to phrasing AI chatbot prompts*

First of all, there are three general premises, already mentioned, that have to be borne in mind when working with AI chatbots: firstly, the user can address them textually, by using ordinary language and, in return, AI chatbots produce a textual, or, in some cases, graphic, visual or vocal, reaction; secondly, AI chatbots have been trained on a vast amount of textual material available across and around the internet, and some of them additionally have access to the internet in real time; and thirdly, AI chatbots in fact analyse, organize, reorganize, summarize and display the data originally fed into them.

It has been found out by the author that AI chatbots do exceptionally well in handling contextualized language as it is actually used and, especially, contextualized words. This primarily involves four strongly pragmatics-based linguistic phenomena:

- meaning of concrete words, including very latest creations, in concrete contexts,
- collocations of concrete words in concrete contexts,
- examples of use of concrete words in concrete contexts, and
- frequency of occurrence of concrete words and their forms in concrete contexts.

In order that prompts directed at AI chatbots could successfully elicit these and all other features and relations sketched out above, the following simple tried-and-tested do's and don't's could prove helpful in composing prompts:

- Always provide at least minimal sentential context, since the more background is given the clearer and fuller understanding of your question and/or instruction will be achieved, as in *sexual harassment?* (no context available, the user's intention hardly manageable) vs *What does sexual harassment mean?* (some context, moderately manageable) vs *What does the*

noun sexual harassment *mean in this sentence: She is the victim of her boss's sexual harassment (optimal context, quite manageable).*

- Always make your prompt as precise and as specific as possible, since too general and too vague phrasing is liable to return too general and too vague, and hence rather unsatisfactory, responses with only a (randomly?) selected amount of information.
- Always make your point clear and your intention unambiguous, and make sure that you and the AI chatbot understand each other well by sharing the same meaning of the terms you use.
- Structurally, your prompts can be in the form of a request, as in *Provide / List / Show all words that...*, or a question, as in *Can / Could / Will / Would you provide all words that...?*, or a statement, as in *I would like to know / have / see all words that...*, and all three forms may be enhanced with politeness markers, like *please*; arguably the least desirable form, because the vaguest, most indeterminate and most ambiguous, and thus the least constructive, is to supply only the bare key words sought, as in *all the words that...*
- If and when necessary, experiment with multiple versions of your prompt, by adding, removing or modifying the text in part or in full, until you are provided with the best and most satisfactory response.
- If not satisfied with the results obtained, ask the AI chatbot to regenerate its response or, when and where possible, choose one of the parallel drafts it has prepared.
- Do not hesitate to consult the AI chatbot about how best to phrase your prompt so as to best achieve the desired or expected result.
- Do not hesitate to ask the AI chatbot to explain, justify and defend the concrete response it has provided.
- Do not hesitate to correct the errors made by the AI chatbot and to teach it new stuff, which will be gratefully acknowledged and kept in mind and in action for the duration of the ongoing session.
- When asking for various lists to be compiled, take special care to avoid, more often than not, ending up, for reasons not yet fathomed, with curtailed lists bringing only a fragment of the items expected, typically introduced by AI chatbots with phrases like 'here are some of' or 'these are some of' – for lists to be less of the 'some' type and more of the 'all' type, your prompt should include phrases like 'an exhaustive list', 'a comprehensive list', 'a full list', 'a list of all', 'a list with no fewer than', 'with no exceptions', 'with no omissions', and, as an extra safeguard, the expected members of a list should

be broken down into smaller units, either restricted by ranges of letters, e.g. ‘from A to D’, ‘from E to I’, etc., or quantified by numbers, e.g. ‘the first 30’, ‘the next 15’, etc.

After these essential guidelines for efficient AI chatbot prompting, here now is a cross section of some of the tried-and-tested patterns of prompts composed for eliciting aspects of the twelve features and relations enumerated above.

2.3.2. *Practical applications of phrasing AI chatbot prompts*

The patterns to be offered are meant to motivate readers to exploit, modify, amend or expand prompts – or, if they so wish, to reject them altogether. The numbering of these paragraphs matches that of the paragraphs in the previous section and, by way of reminder, each of the paragraphs begins with a short descriptive heading:

(1) To elicit aspects of spelling of words:

- Are the two spelling variants, *gray* and *grey*, equally acceptable in English?
- Provide the standard spelling form of the noun *acommodation*.
- Is it properly spelled as *Pearl Harbour* or as *Pearl Harbor*?

(2) To elicit aspects of pronunciation of words:

- Provide the three possible standard pronunciations in RP, shown in IPA symbols, of the word *issue*.
- Provide the pronunciation in RP and GenAm, shown in IPA symbols, of the first name of the actress *Saoirse Ronan*.
- Is the pronunciation with /sk-/ for the word *schedule* acceptable in RP?

(3) To elicit aspects of grammar of words:

- Provide all parts of speech that the word *round* can appear in.
- Provide the functions of the word *stone* in the following two phrases: *a stone wall* vs *a wall made of stone*.
- Is the plural of the noun *mouse*, in the sense of computer pointing device, *mice*, or *mouses*, or both?

(4) To elicit aspects of etymology of words:

- Provide the language of origin and of transmission of the English adjective *legal*.
- Provide the year when the word *selfie* first appeared in English.
- Provide all the forms that today’s English word *milk* has had during its diachronic development.

(5) To elicit aspects of descriptive meaning of words:

- Provide a list with all, repeat all, available meanings of the English verb *escape*, each with a short definition preceded by a key word from the definition and followed by an example sentence.
- Provide the definition of meaning of the word *reader* in this sentence: *He is Reader in Modern English History at Lancaster University.*
- Provide the definition in simplified language, within 35 words and one sentence, of the word *supercell storm*.

(6) To elicit aspects of associative meaning of words:

- Provide the British counterparts of the American nouns *push-up*, *faucet*, *fall* and *cell phone*.
- Provide 15 English formal words alongside their neutral counterparts.
- Comment on the use and meaning of the word *wireless* in the following sentence: *My granny always listens to the news on the wireless.*

(7) To elicit aspects of exemplification of use of words:

- Provide 10 sentences of various syntactic structures where the idiom *with flying colours* appears.
- Provide no fewer than 25 examples each of the noun and the verb *love* in full sentences.
- Create an image showing a *submersible* under the sea.

(8) To elicit aspects of sense relations of words:

- Provide antonyms for the adjective *short*, with explanations and example sentences for both.
- Provide 15 adjectives that express the notion of female physical beauty, with differential definitions and example sentences for each.
- Provide at least 10 troponyms of the verb *walk*, with differential definitions each beginning with 'to walk'.

(9) To elicit aspects of relatedness of words:

- Explain the difference between the nouns *submarine* and *submersible*.
- Explain the difference in meaning between the following four words: *cohabiter*, *cohabitor*, *cohabitant* and *cohabitee*, and provide the frequency of occurrence for each.
- Provide the frequency of occurrence of the following three spelling variants: *road map*, *roadmap* and *road-map*.

(10) To elicit aspects of cooccurrence of words:

- Provide as many examples as you can of nouns that occur with the verb *clean* and then group those nouns according to similarity of meaning.

- Provide a list with at least 10 verbs that occur to the left of the noun *complaint*.
 - Provide a list of all prepositions that occur to the right of the adjective *angry*.
- (11) To elicit aspects of formation of words:
- Provide the meanings of the suffix *-ish* in the following four words: *Finnish*, *childish*, *reddish* and *sevenish*, and add two further examples for each meaning.
 - Provide as many examples as you can of the words that contain the base word *play* as a verb.
 - Provide a list of at least 15 adjectives that begin with the prefix *un-* and end with the suffix *-ible*.
- (12) To elicit aspects of translation of words:
- Provide all possible translations into Serbian of the English word *global warming*.
 - Provide a translation or translations into English of the Serbian sentence *Srce moje pametno!*, said to a bright child by their mother.
 - Provide the English counterpart of the Serbian word *oldtajmer*, referring to a motorcar.

2.4. A proposal for a practical interactive exercise: building mega-lexical summaries

Having examined the whys, whats and hows of exploiting AI chatbots and building micro- and macro-lexical summaries for words, it now becomes possible to have AI chatbots produce MEGA-LEXICAL SUMMARIES of words that contain all or some components of micro- and macro-lexical summaries, in line with the user's own needs and preferences.

The proposal for this practical interactive exercise in efficient and effective AI chatbot prompting and building mega-lexical summaries has been thought of as the final and most creative stage of getting acquainted with the workings of AI chatbots, in which readers will have an opportunity to instruct them to draw up dictionary-style entries of micro, macro or mega quantity and quality. By way of a starting point, a model prompt, tried and tested, aiming at producing a mega-lexical summary of the English verb *play* is provided below. Readers can use this template in full, without any changes, or they can add new points, or remove existing points, or modify existing or new points, or alter some phrasings, or introduce new words.

Possibilities for experimentation – and play – are virtually unlimited and bounded only by readers’ imagination, invention and will. Here now is that kick-off template prompt:

I need a dictionary-style entry of the English verb *play*, which will include the following information: (1) its spelling, (2) in the next line, its pronunciation in IPA symbols, (3) in the next line, its part of speech with subcategorization, (4) in the next line, all of its grammatical forms, each of them with its pronunciation in IPA symbols, (5) in the next line and each within a separate paragraph, numbered definitions, within 15 words, of each of its senses and each definition preceded in bold by a key word from the definition, (6) in the next line, three example sentences for each of its senses, (7) in the next line, at least ten collocations for each of its senses, (8) in the next line, at least five synonyms for each of its senses, and (9) at the bottom, in a separate table, at least 15 words derived from the verb *play*.

The results to be obtained readers may find satisfactory, fully or partly, or unsatisfactory, partly or fully. To gain complete satisfaction, they are free to manipulate the phrasings at their own pleasure, using the tips and tricks given above or they can try their own hands-on experience. What is more, this kick-off template prompt they can test with all four AI chatbots and compare the results they yield.

And, in closing the present section, it has to be stressed that this exercise in efficient AI chatbot prompt phrasing is, collaterally, also an excellent exercise in applied pragmatics, in efficient language use, in careful utterance production, in focused juggling with words and sentences, all in an attempt to attain the expression of one’s communicative intentions in as straightforward, concise and to-the-point a manner as possible, and thus to induce and elicit as satisfactory, helpful and usable a response as feasible.

3. EXPLORING ENGLISH NEOLOGISMS WITH RESOURCES OF AI CHATBOTS

This section deals with English neologisms and ways in which their explorers can benefit from resources offered by AI chatbots. The discussion is divided into four parts: defining English neologisms (3.1), explorable domains of English neologisms (3.2), finding English neologisms in dictionaries (3.3), and building lexical summaries for English neologisms with AI chatbots (3.4).

3.1. Defining English neologisms

Neologisms are words like all other words in the English vocabulary but with a striking difference: they have appeared in the vocabulary relatively recently and ‘relatively recently’ can span a period from roughly a day or more to roughly several decades or more. As fresh additions to the vocabulary, neologisms are indicative of various important aspects in the development of the system and the use of the system of a language. These aspects, which will be taken up presently, afford illuminating insights into lexical, linguistic and extralinguistic trends that reflect the present and partly the past and the future of English and, by extension, of any other language, and that is why they are extremely challenging and rewarding not only to explore, but also to describe lexicologically and lexicographically, and to teach in schools and at universities.

To make matters clearer, a working definition of neologism is first in order: by the term NEOLOGISM is meant here (1) a new word that has appeared in a language within the period of the present moment and up to around 25 years into the past, (2) a lexical innovation at the level of form and/or content, (3) created by using domestic and/or foreign lexical resources, (4) to a greater or less degree established in the lexical system of that language, and (5) typically and most frequently first found in the media – print, electronic and social (for other definitions and treatments of neologisms, see Creese, 2018; Kerremans, 2015; Lehrer, 1996, 2003; Mattiello, 2017; Metcalf, 2002; Prčić, 2020, 2021; Renouf, 2013; Rodríguez Guerra, 2016; Stojičić, 2006; Štekauer, 2002).

And to make matters more specific, for the purpose of the present discussion, the turn-of-the-century approach will be used to define the term ENGLISH NEOLOGISM as follows: it is a lexical innovation at the level of form with its associated content that has appeared and established itself in English during the last decades of the 20th century and the first decades of the 21st century. Neologisms, like *Brexit*, *cancel culture*, *deepfake*, *gigafire*, *malvertising*, *non-paper*, *sharenting*, *shrinkflation*, *VAR*, *Zoom*_v, and hundreds of others, typically arise in, and belong to, different areas of human interest and activity, where they serve most notably as culture-specific terms, technical terms, politically correct terms, slang terms, Covid-related terms, Brexit-related terms (cf. Lalić Krstin and Silaški, 2018, 2019), and even, interestingly enough, Obama-related terms (cf. Wilson, 2008).

3.2. *Explorable domains of English neologisms*

Returning to the above-mentioned aspects of the development of the system and the use of the system of English, a total of eight notable domains can be identified of the exploration, and explorability, of English neologisms by linguistic professionals, university students, lexicographers and other word lovers. There now follows a run-through of these eight domains, together with the main topics that they cover (cf. Prčić, 2021):

(1) SEMASIOLOGICAL DOMAIN, which is concerned with forms that express content of neologisms, and focuses especially on the following topics:

- actual and potential neologisms,
- existing, developing and competing word-formation processes, affixes and combining forms,
- newly developed, developing and competing word-formation processes, affixes, combining forms and their uses.

(2) ONOMASIOLOGICAL DOMAIN, which is concerned with content that is expressed by forms of neologisms, and focuses especially on the following topics:

- types of meaning expressed word-formationally,
- newly developed and developing types of meaning.

(3) PRAGMATIC DOMAIN, which is concerned with interpreting the form and content of neologisms, and focuses especially on the following topics:

- recognizing neologisms,
- understanding the meaning of neologisms by hearers / readers,
- understanding the meaning of neologisms by speakers / writers,
- understanding the meaning of neologisms outside of context and within a given sentential context in conjunction with a given situational context.

(4) STYLISTIC DOMAIN, which is concerned with communicative effects achieved or meant to be achieved by neologisms, and focuses especially on the following topics:

- effects inferred by hearers / readers in a neologism,
- effects intended by speakers / writers in a neologism,
- attitudes towards neologisms by hearers / readers,
- attitudes towards neologisms by speakers / writers,
- effectiveness of neologisms,
- creativity, originality and play on words in making neologisms.

(5) SOCIOCULTURAL DOMAIN, which is concerned with communicative needs of a community and culture that are met or can be met with neologisms, and focuses especially on the following topics:

- needs and practices of giving new names word-formationally,
- types of concrete or abstract entities in the extralinguistic world for which neologisms serve as new names,
- types of parts of speech through which neologisms serve as new names,
- fields of human interest and activity in which neologisms serve as new names,
- general and terminological vocabulary in which neologisms occur as new names.

(6) CONTACT-CONTRASTIVE DOMAIN, which is concerned with the influence of other languages and cultures on neologisms in the target language, and focuses especially on the following topics:

- adaptation of neologisms to the system of the target language at the levels of form, function, meaning and use,
- translation of neologisms into the target language,
- differences between translating established words and neologisms,
- creation of neologisms in the target language under the influence of the source language,
- creation of source-and-target- and/or target-and-source-language hybrid neologisms,
- sense relations between borrowed and hybrid neologisms, and existing words.

(7) ETYMOLOGICAL DOMAIN, which is concerned with the development of neologisms, and focuses especially on the following topics:

- earliest recorded occurrence of a neologism in language,
- diachronic form-related variants and variations of a neologism,
- diachronic content-related variations of a neologism.

(8) LEXICOGRAPHIC DOMAIN, which is concerned with the treatment of neologisms in dictionaries, and focuses especially on the following topics:

- monitoring, collecting and describing forms, functions, meanings and uses of neologisms in monolingual general-purpose dictionaries, which are today increasingly available online only,
- describing, adapting and translating into the target language neologisms in bilingual or bilingualized general-purpose dictionaries or, preferably, in specialized bilingual or bilingualized dictionaries of new words.

3.3. Finding English neologisms in dictionaries

Established neologisms, when satisfying editorial criteria governed by a sufficient, and predetermined, number of occurrences in various kinds of texts,² become consolidated, or institutionalized, in the vocabulary and therefore merit inclusion in dictionaries. It is of great importance to make and subsequently to use dictionaries of, and with, neologisms, and for three compelling reasons:

- firstly, they record new words, both as new forms with new meanings and as new meanings of existing forms,
- secondly, they make it possible for interested users to appreciate new words, to understand appropriately new words at all levels of their spoken and written use, and to employ appropriately new words in their own speech and writing, and
- thirdly, they make it possible for interested researchers to explore new words, their forms, functions, meanings and uses, as will be sketched out shortly.

In the print-dominated lexicography, English neologisms were documented in specialized dictionaries of neologisms, which, at the beginning of the 21st century, appeared with a stock of new words from the turn of the century (cf. Barrett, 2007; Knowles and Elliott, 1998; McFedries, 2004; Wajnryb, 2005). As lexicography was transitioning to the internet and dictionaries were being usable and editable online, so neologisms began to be documented online, with one website, called *Word Spy*,³ setting the standard for neological online dictionaries. “Devoted to ‘lexpionage’, the sleuthing of new words and phrases that have appeared in print and online”, as it said in its mission statement, this unique dictionary, sadly no longer updated, provides all relevant and well cross-referred information, except for pronunciation, about hundreds of neologisms, dating from January 1996 till June 2018, ordered alphabetically and thematically. This website and its spin-off companion book *Word Spy. The Word Lover’s Guide to Modern Culture* (McFedries, 2004), together with the other three dictionaries mentioned above, bear ample testimony to numerous new additions to the English vocabulary at the start of the new century.

² For editorial criteria of some major dictionaries of English, see

- <https://www.oed.com/information/editorial-policy/how-words-enter-the-oed/> (Oxford English Dictionary),
- <https://www.merriam-webster.com/grammar/how-does-a-word-get-into-the-dictionary> (Merriam-Webster), and
- <https://www.dictionary.com/e/getting-words-into-dictionaries/> (Dictionary.com).

³ The address: <https://wordspy.com/>

As the ‘onlinization’ of lexicography and dictionaries has been taking root, supported by ever-so-smaller devices of mobile communication – laptops, tablets and, above all, mobile phones, neologisms are being treated no longer in specialized dictionaries but in mainstream general-purpose dictionaries, which are now being updated regularly with new material, that includes new words with new meanings and new meanings of existing words. Because the editorial process of updating dictionaries online has methodologically become quite easy, English neologisms are currently being monitored, collected and lexicographically described in ‘ordinary’ dictionaries, often crowdsourced by the public at large and later edited by professional lexicographers. Besides registering very latest neologisms in the word lists of their online general-purpose dictionaries, exploitable as primary sources, many renowned publishers, British, American and other, run on their websites special features where recently emerged neologisms are listed and/or explained, and exploitable as supplementary sources. Among the publishers offering these most useful sources of information on English neologisms, the following are the most prominent:

- *Merriam-Webster*, at:
<https://www.merriam-webster.com/>
<https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/new-words-in-the-dictionary>
- *Dictionary.com*, at:
<https://www.dictionary.com/>
<https://www.dictionary.com/e/c/word-trends/new-words/>
- *Collins Dictionary*, at:
<https://www.collinsdictionary.com/>
<https://blog.collinsdictionary.com/latest-language/>
- *Oxford Learner’s Dictionaries*, at:
<https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/>
https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/wordlist/new_words
- *Cambridge Dictionary*, at:
<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/>
<https://dictionaryblog.cambridge.org/category/new-words/>
- *Wiktionary, the free dictionary*, at:
https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/Wiktionary:Main_Page
- *Urban Dictionary*, at:
<https://www.urbandictionary.com/>

However, by far the best and most exhaustive coverage of English established neologisms is to be found in the continuously updated online *Oxford English Dictionary*, or, much more often, *OED*, for short, at <https://www.oed.com/>. It provides thorough lexicographic treatment of individual words, with neatly laid-out and displayed information on their forms, functions, meanings and uses, and interrelations, as well as on their frequency of occurrence and etymological timeline.⁴ Moreover, from March 2000 to the present, the *OED* website has been carrying a regular quarterly updates section with annotated alphabetical lists of latest additions to the dictionary's overall word list.⁵

All these lexical resources, whether in the form of dictionary entries or of lists of new words, represent rich and valuable sources of knowledge that can be exploited widely and profitably, not only in appreciating and understanding neologisms and their use, but also in exploring various aspects of neologisms discussed above. Nevertheless, all these lexical resources, important and precious as they are, have recently received an unexpected and powerful reinforcement that can be construed either as a complement, or as a supplement, or as both – but not yet as a replacement – to their functionality. This reinforcement is, of course, AI chatbots, whose evolving role in exploring English neologisms will now be assessed.

3.4. Building lexical summaries for English neologisms with AI chatbots

In spite of sharing certain fundamental features, regarding essentially similar, and in some cases even the same, structure, organization and exploitability of the lexical resources they offer, the above-mentioned dictionaries and AI chatbots differ sharply in several conspicuous features.

Lexical resources to be exploited in dictionaries are (1) basically static, even though periodically expanded and/or amended with new material, (2) which, in turn, makes dictionaries comparable to reference corpora, whose size and composition are invariant, (3) which, in turn, makes the information given about words fixed, polished and consistent in quality and in quantity, (4) which, in return, guarantees the information made available to users to be accurate and reliable, because verified, prepared and published by professional lexicographers. Therefore, dictionaries can be viewed and used as authoritative sources of information on a finite set, however

⁴ For exemplification, see the treatment of the neologism headword *deepfake*: <https://www.oed.com/search/dictionary/?scope=Entries&q=deepfake>.

⁵ The address: <https://www.oed.com/information/updates/>

large, of words, including established neologisms, and their forms, functions, meanings and uses.

In contrast, lexical resources to be exploited through AI chatbots are (1) basically dynamic, especially with those having access to the internet, (2) which, in turn, makes AI chatbots comparable to monitor corpora,⁶ whose size and composition are variant, because increasing literally every day, (3) which, in turn, makes the information about words, in part, varying, raw and inconsistent in quality and in quantity, (4) which, in return, requires the information made available to users to be taken with a pinch or two of salt and, whenever seeming odd, to be double-checked for accuracy, reliability and even authenticity, because all that information has not been verified by professional lexicographers, but rather data-mined and crawled across the internet, where text production is free to anyone willing to write, or it has been invented by hallucinating AI chatbots. All this has led earlier to the statement on AI chatbots construable either as a complement, or as a supplement, or as both – but not yet as a replacement – to the functionality of dictionaries. That is why AI chatbots, even though dubbed multitasking superdictionaries, can be viewed and used as rich, handy sources of information, sometimes not quite trustable, on a virtually infinite set words, including both established and ‘establishescent’ neologisms, and their forms, functions, meanings and uses. And a particularly strong point of all AI chatbots, as already mentioned, has proved to be the pragmatics-driven provision of insights into the actual use of words in actual sentential and situational contexts, including all kinds of very latest uses in very latest contexts, and the information stemming from them.

Having drawn this significant distinction between dictionaries and AI chatbots, it must further be said that, as far as neologisms are concerned, AI chatbots offer the same types of information that describe properties of individual words and relations between individual words, and that appear in micro-, macro- and mega-lexical summaries of established words. In view of their deep pragmatic embeddedness, resources of AI chatbots can afford special insights into the behaviour of neologisms, including very new ones, that are typically not yet to be found in dictionaries. Among those special insights, the following are deemed especially pertinent, especially for ‘establishescent’ neologisms:


- showing actual use of words: multiple examples, able to run into dozens if necessary, of actual uses of a neologism, in phrases, clauses, sentences or

⁶ For the difference between reference and monitor corpora, see <https://www.sketchengine.eu/corpora-and-languages/corpus-types/>.

paragraphs, whose various parameters, like genre, field, topic, length and time of appearance, can be specified,

- showing collocations: multiple examples of collocations of a neologism, with various types of collocates occurring to its immediate left or right, if necessary placed within example sentences, clauses or phrases,
- showing word-formationally related words: members of the word family of a neologism,
- showing meanings: definitions of meanings of a neologism, including not only very new neologisms but also very new meanings,
- showing tendencies in use: frequency of occurrence of a neologism, including uses on the increase and on the decrease,
- showing etymology: year or decade of the first appearance of a neologism and its derivation,
- showing etymologically related sets: lists of neologisms that have appeared in a particular year or decade, and
- showing thematically related sets: lists of neologisms that belong to a particular area of human activity or interest.

By way of demonstration, a reduced lexical summary of the neologism *deepfake*, used as a noun, has been built by ChatGPT, combining some elements of its micro-lexical summary (with information about spelling, pronunciation, part of speech, etymology and meanings) and its macro-lexical summary (with information about contextualized collocations). The prompt used to elicit this response has been phrased as follows: ‘I would like you to provide a dictionary-style entry of the noun *deepfake* and to include the following information, each in a separate paragraph: (1) its pronunciation in IPA symbols, (2) its etymology with the year of its first appearance and its derivation, (3) definitions, each within 30 words, of each of its meanings as a noun, (4) five collocations, shown in alphabetical order, in bold and within a full sentence, of the noun *deepfake* with adjectives, and (5) five collocations, shown in alphabetical order, in bold and within a full sentence, of the noun *deepfake* with verbs’. The resulting lexical summary is shown in the screenshot in Illustration 7:



Sure, here's the dictionary-style entry for the noun 'deepfake':

Deepfake /'di:pfeɪk/ (*noun*)

Etymology: Coined in 2017, derived from 'deep learning' (a subfield of artificial intelligence) and 'fake' (false representation).

Definitions:

1. A manipulated or fabricated multimedia, typically a video or image, generated using deep learning techniques to convincingly depict events or people that did not occur or exist.
2. The technology or process used to create such deceptive media, often with malicious intent or for entertainment purposes.

Collocations (with Adjectives):

1. **Alarming deepfake:** The alarming deepfake video spread rapidly, raising concerns about misinformation.
2. **Convincing deepfake:** The actor's convincing deepfake portrayal of historical figures amazed the audience.
3. **Disturbing deepfake:** The disturbing deepfake images raised questions about the ethical implications of such technology.
4. **Hilarious deepfake:** The hilarious deepfake clip humorously swapped the faces of two famous comedians.
5. **Realistic deepfake:** The realistic deepfake raised doubts about the authenticity of the footage.

Collocations (with Verbs):

1. **Create a deepfake:** Using advanced software, they were able to create a deepfake that seamlessly merged two different speeches.
2. **Disseminate deepfakes:** Malicious actors attempted to undermine trust by disseminating deepfakes of political figures.
3. **Expose a deepfake:** Experts worked to expose the deepfake by analyzing inconsistencies in facial expressions.
4. **Produce deepfakes:** Some companies specialize in producing deepfakes for advertising and entertainment purposes.
5. **Spread deepfakes:** Social media platforms struggle to control the spread of harmful deepfakes across their networks.

Illustration 7: a reduced lexical summary as a dictionary-style entry of the noun *deepfake* (ChatGPT)

Needless to say, the number of examples for collocations might have been greater or smaller, examples of use of *deepfake* might have been requested as well as its derivationally related words, definitions might have been differently worded, and so on. Possibilities are virtually endless, as has already been said, and open to readers to try and experiment with, according to their own needs and preferences. It is exactly this, virtually endless possibilities, that make AI chatbots, viewed and used as multitasking superdictionaries, a most welcome addition to modern lexicography, serving as a complement, or a supplement, or both, to resources of mainstream online dictionaries – but not yet as their replacement, and for reasons already mentioned. Because of their continuously being updated with new material and, in consequence, their open-ended nature, AI chatbots are especially useful for exploring neologisms, and especially very latest neologisms. What is more, however weakness-prone at times, they appear to be the only tangible source of information for very recent vocabulary, that has not yet been formally documented.

4. CLOSING REMARKS

This paper has discussed the potentials of exploiting resources of AI chatbots in exploring the English vocabulary, including neologisms. The discussion has effectively assumed the form and the function of a linguist's concise step-by-step practical guide. Dealt with in the first part were AI chatbots as multitasking superdictionaries, lexical properties of words and relations between words available through AI chatbots, and theoretical and practical aspects of efficient AI chatbot prompting. And in the second part the focus was on exploring English neologisms – and specifically on defining neologisms, considering explorable domains of neologisms, finding neologisms in major print and online dictionaries, and building lexical summaries for neologisms with AI chatbots.

The story about AI chatbots and exploring the English vocabulary does not end here – rather, it must go on, since further topics are looking forward to being looked into. These topics are largely about putting micro-, macro- and mega-lexical summaries into joint action and include the following most rewarding ones:

- (help in the) translation of contextualized words from and into English, or any other pair of languages supported,
- (help in the) creation of materials to teach, or unteach, students of a specified age specified aspects of form, function, meaning and use of English words,
- (help in the) creation of tests, according to specified criteria, to evaluate students' mastery of various aspects of form, function, meaning and use of English words, and

- (help in the) compilation of entries for various dictionaries, or of various dictionaries themselves, general-purpose, specialized or terminological, monolingual, bilingual, bilingualized, multilingual or multilingualized, according to specified criteria (which has partly been done to explore and exemplify some of the ideas propounded in this paper).

Each of these, and other similar, topics require an in-depth analysis from theoretical, methodological and practical, or applied, perspectives. And as for dictionaries, AI chatbots may well represent a significant, if not historic, milestone in user-oriented lexicography, in which the quality, quantity and display of information on-screen are designed so as to be adaptable to users and controllable by users. The future in, and for, AI-driven lexicography is taking shape and some initial constructive feedback is already available from *TshwaneDJe* and *Lexonomy*,⁷ creators of the world's best two dictionary-making software packages.

Obviously, this story of AI-chatbot-assisted English vocabulary exploration and AI-chatbot-assisted custom-built dictionary making has just begun and is here to stay. In spite of occasional hallucinatory hiccups, which will hopefully be remedied in the not too distant future.

Tvrtko Prčić

ISTRAŽIVANJE ENGLESKOG VOKABULARA, UKLJUČUJUĆI NEOLOGIZME,
POMOĆU RESURSA AI-ČETBOTOVA U ULOZI MULTITALENTOVANIH
SUPERREČNIKA

Rezime

Ovaj rad bavi se teorijskim i, naročito, praktičnim aspektima istraživanja engleskog vokabulara, uključujući i neologizme, uz pomoć resursa dostupnih preko AI-četbotova, koji se posmatraju i koriste kao multitalentovani superrečnici. Izlaganje je podeljeno u četiri dela, kako sledi: Odeljak 1 nudi nekolike uopštene kontekstualne napomene; Odeljak 2 donosi raspravu o razlozima, sadržini i načinima istraživanja svojstava pojedinačnih engleskih reči i odnosa među njima korišćenjem AI-četbotova; Odeljak 3 donosi raspravu o teoriji i praksi istraživanja engleskih neologizama korišćenjem AI-četbotova; a Odeljak 4 pruža kratak

⁷ The addresses:

- <https://tshwanedje.com/> , <https://tshwanedje.com/articles/CODH-video-presentation-TLex-OpenAI-Integration/> , <https://dictionaryq.com/GPT-dictionary/> (TshwaneDJe), and
- <https://www.lexonomy.eu/> , <https://www.lexonomy.eu/#/chatgpt> , <https://www.lexonomy.eu/#/chatgpt35> (Lexonomy).

pregled primenjenih aspekata ostalih važnih oblasti istraživanja engleskog vokabulara, uključujući neologizme, pomoću AI-četbotova.

Ključne reči: vokabular, neologizmi, engleski jezik, istraživanje, iskorišćavanje, AI-četbotovi, teorija, praksa

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UDC: 821.214 .09-31Saha M.
DOI: 10.19090/gff.v48i3.2377
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ADMIRING BORDER AND FORGETTING PARTITION: A POSTMEMORY STUDY OF *CHOTODER BORDER* BY MANJIRA SAHA

Postmemory is an epigenetic study that investigates the transmission of the memory of the earlier generation to their descendants through the art the later generation created. Researchers have shown that the progeny of Partition refugees too inherit the traumatic memories and nostalgia for the lost land of their past generation in their study conducted on the second or third-generation refugees of the Partition of India. However, that transference of trauma seems to be largely absent in the case of the fourth-generation refugee- progeny as exhibited in *Chotoder Border* ('Border, As the Children Have Seen' in English) by Manjira Saha. It should be noted that they possess a soft corner for their ancestral homeland that their fore-generation had left behind despite being conscious of the pain, suffering, and sense of separation the fore-generation had gone through while leaving. Thus, Partition and border are different phenomena for the present generations of Partitioned refugees. The purpose of this research is to find out the reason behind this gradual diverse change in standpoints among the generations. For that, a deductive, analytical, and objective method is intended to be adopted within the thematic framework of the concept of postmemory.

Keywords: nostalgia, Partition, border, postmemory, children

The Indian Independence Act of 1947 defined how the Indian subcontinent would be partitioned and that entailed the political sovereignty of the two nation-states – the Hindu-majority India and the Muslim-majority Pakistan, as well as the accompaniment of mass migration and violence on a large scale. After the Partition, the

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imminent problem of maintaining the sovereignty of both nation-states was solved by drawing a new border, often known as “incision scars” (Chatterjee, 1999: 185), that separated Punjab in the western part and Bengal in the eastern part of undivided India. Consequently, when Partition turned out to be traumatic, people on both sides of the border were forced to leave their habitation, home, property, relatives, friends, and immigrate to a new land, and had to accept the status of refugee. Therefore, Partition literature reflects the impact of that devastating and scarring genocide that has been encountered (Sinha & Shuchi, 2022: 2-7). These kinds of traumatic experiences and violence could not be restricted to the victimized present generation only but passed on to the ‘generation after.’ Firdous Azim (2021) and Anjali Gera Roy (2020) have shown that the progeny of the Partition refugees of India possess a legacy of traumatic memories of “the largest mass migration in human history” (Sen, 2015: 128). Their epigenetic study echoes what Prof. Marianne Hirsch has introduced as ‘Postmemory’ or inherited memory in *The Generation of Postmemory* where she examines the fractured forms of art created by the descendants of the Holocaust victims that refer to the transmission of traumatic memories to the next generation:

“Postmemory” describes the relationship that the “generation after” bears to the personal, collective, and cultural trauma of those who came before — to experiences they “remember” only by means of the stories, images, and behaviours among which they grew up. But these experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and affectively as to seem to constitute memories in their own right. (2012: 5)

Therefore, literary representations or any art forms dealing with the postmemory of Partition in practice capture the memory of violence-induced Partition and its distressful reverberation due to communal incongruity, as well as the nostalgia of amiable and delightful past habitation (Sinha & Shuchi, 2022: 2-7); and the dilemma of the descendants about what their own *desh*¹ should be as there is a gap regarding connotation with the word ‘desh’ among generations. The present text – Manjira Saha’s *Chotoder Border* (literally translated as “Children’s Border” but thematically should be as “Border, As the Children Have Seen”) is distinct from such presentation though the focal point of this text is the border that causes, with its physical entity, the vivisection of Bengal into two parts – the eastern part as Bangladesh as a nation and the western part as West Bengal remained in India – and thus representing a permanent barrier to be reciprocated freely with their ‘past’ experiences in their ‘lost’ *desh*. The book is a collection of writings and

¹ ‘Desh’, in Bengali, means native land or ancestral land, a particular place to which one is culturally associated.

sketches by the students of a school located in the border region of Nadia² district in West Bengal, India, expressing their perspective on the border. Being a resident of the Indo-Bangladesh border region, the contributors of this book perceive the border as a fascinating and mesmerizing tourist spot where illegal activities are just some trivial incidents. Though marked as a smuggling area, they refer to the border as ‘beautiful’ and ‘serene’ in their draft and present the surrounding of the border with natural elements associated with beauty in their drawings. It is a place for them to cherish their patriotism. Their outlook, therefore, differs much from the general pain-tricking perspective on the border that reminds of the Partition and the violence it precedes and succeeds. Moreover, most of the children are the descendants of the refugees who themselves had experienced the circumstances that led to partition and its resultant border. However, apart from nostalgia for lost land, this text records neither mourning for the event of Partition nor the instances of being ‘hinge’ (Hoffman, 2005: xv). This article has attempted a deductive, analytical, and objective exposition to investigate how much postmemory of Partition transmitted to the fourth-generation refugee through the thematic study of the writings and sketches by the teenage students, as well as to bring to light the reason behind the fading out of postmemory of Partition generation after generation.

II

The primary text, Manjira Saha’s *Chotoder Border*, captures the testimonies of school students of Matiari Banpur High School, situated in the Nadia district in West Bengal – “a walking distance of 5 to 7 minutes from the border” (Saha, 2018: 8), as the editor Manjira Saha, teacher of that school, claims in the introduction. Manjira Saha has adopted an effective method of using both mediums – written narratives and drawings – for children to express and articulate their feelings and thoughts through their comfort zone. Considering the local history of that particular locality and the writings by these children, this fact is certain that these students belong to the fourth generation of the Partition- immigrants³. In the introductory section, Saha has also provided an introduction to the socio-economic background of these students and how the border is inseparably

² Nadia is a district of West Bengal adjacent to the Indo-Bangladesh border. According to the data published in the *Demographic Diversity of India, Census 1971*, “after partition, in 1950s, 49.81% people and after Bangladesh Liberation War in 1971, 39.23% people came from East Pakistan (presently Bangladesh) and entered only into Nadia District.” (qtd. in Biswas, 2021: 61) – turning this place into a hub of refugee settlement. So, we can judge the significance of these artworks created by these children from Nadia in local historiography as the refugee descendants.

³ For further clarification, we approached the author over the phone, and in response, she confirmed that these children must belong to the fourth generation of Partition refugees.

associated with their daily lives. The book, therefore, turns out to be an exhibition of how these progenies of the Partition refugees perceive and present the phenomena of border and the event of Partition. The editor also asserts in the introduction to the book that the sketches and write-ups found in this compilation are the instant outcomes of the students, as neither the topic had been announced in advance nor the students were provided with time to get prepared to write or sketch.

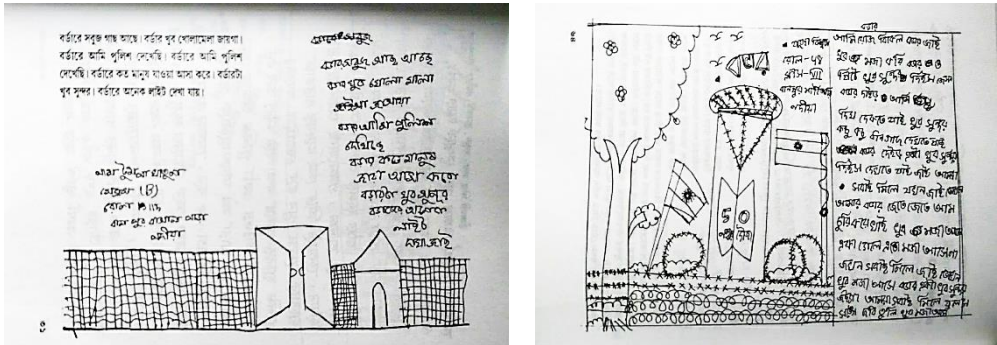


Fig. 1: Border as ‘beautiful’ presented by children in their drawings and written narratives

The most compelling feature of these testimonies is the presentation of the border through their visually embedded images and narratives, as the border no longer evokes the sense of horrific history and consequences of Partition; instead, the adjective ‘beautiful,’ as shown in Figure 1, is readily put before it by these innocent observers of that particular border area of Bengal (Saha, 2018: 23; 31; 65; 212).

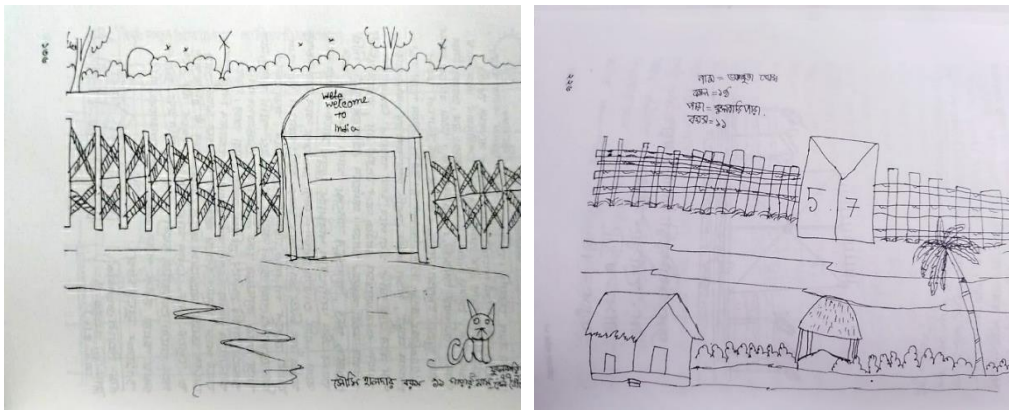


Fig. 2: Natural surroundings and the presence of animal beside the border in the children’s drawings

In the pictures by eleven-years-old Soumi Haldar and Amrita Ghosh (Fig. 2) and Sanchita Pal (Fig. 3), one can see that they have tried to present the surroundings of the border with natural elements, such as sun, clouds, birds, trees, adorable animals, which we associate with beauty (Saha, 2018: 136; 245). In the early developmental stages, children often draw objects that surround them actively. They learn object permanence, and seeing an object in front of them encourages them to recreate them. The common natural motifs that children have always drawn give them comfort and security. These natural objects exist in their everyday life, and they see them as familiar and safe. Likewise, these school children judge the border as a familial and secure place, and therefore, they love that border.



Fig. 3: Border as tourist spot and presentation of common natural motifs in Sanchita Pal's drawings

Accordingly, 'border' and *kantatar* or *tarkanta* (barbed wire or fence) are synonymous for these children, which is why, in most of the drawings compiled in the book, the fences are only present in a wide empty background, especially in the drawings of Arnab Roychowdhury, Arpita Acharya, Tanmoy Sen, Pritam Biswas who draw only wire fences (Saha, 2018: 142; 145; 168; 251). Arpita Acharya even captioned her drawing as *tarkanta* instead of the border (Saha, 2018: 145). Many students, especially from junior classes write sentences like, "Border is a place encircled with barbed wire fences" (Saha, 2018: 196; 209). Jaya Pal of class VIII writes that though she had no preconceived idea about the border, the first thing she noticed when she visited there for the first time was the barbed wire fence (Saha, 2018: 141). Most importantly, the fence is a beautiful work of art in the eyes of these children. The barbed wire fences have patterns or designs (like spiral, rectangles, vertical lines, and horizontal lines) that appeal to the children's aesthetics (Trautner, 2019), as the way the wire is twisted or arranged creates a visually appealing image.

Children start learning patterns in their drawings from infancy, and these school-going children become elated with the reflection of such patterns found in the barbed wire fences. The fences also symbolize safety, security, and boundaries. This symbolic meaning here evokes positive emotions in the children, making the fence appear beautiful. This is a completely different approach to the border from their ancestors, as the latter always consider the border as a sight of pain that reminds them of their forced migration, which relates to huge losses, both emotionally and worldly.

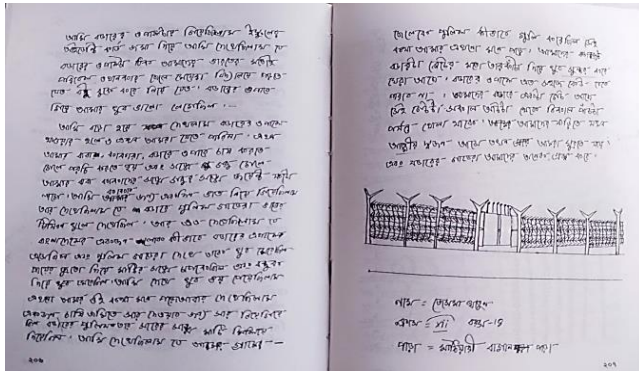


Fig. 4: Border as tourist spot in and Jesma Khatun's narratives

Thus, the border no longer represents a symbol of demarcation and restriction for these partition progenies. Preferably, its existential entity with wires and bricks reduces the intensity of loss to the citizens of a country over the years and metamorphoses the physicality of the border into a visiting place for these 21st-century children. Sanchita Pal (Fig. 3) has included images of some cars and human figures that ensure that the border region has been converted into a tourist spot (Saha, 2018: 227). Jesma Khatun (Fig. 4) has written that when relatives visit their family, the people of this region arrange trips to show them the border (Saha, 2018: 207). They enjoy and admire the presence of the border in their locality and feel proud of the privileged location of their habitation (Saha, 2018: 247). For Tumpa Khatun, it is also a place for evening walks, sports, and exercise, being “a free and open place” (Saha, 2018: 31). The semiotic resources in visually embedded images and the written narratives of these children break down the traditional concept of border that delimits the area of free movement for their ancestors due to Partition as it barred their visiting to their birthplace on their own accord.



Fig. 5: Border evokes patriotism to the children

Likewise, the border represents not only a specific boundary of a nation but also an existence to promote patriotism from childhood to these refugee-progeny. Sumanta Biswas of class XII concludes his writing by hailing India (Saha, 2018: 183). Students like him possess heartfelt respect for and faith in the BSF who guard the border as well as the country from the attack of enemies. Some of these children got inspired by the BSF and aimed to join the Indian army in the future (Saha, 2018: 174; 250). There are many sketches, as shown in Figure 5, where one can see the Indian national flag beside the fence and attentive BSF on duty (Saha, 2018: 24; 255). Children often favor patriotism after watching the security force at the border because they see them as role models, feel a sense of national pride, recognize their duty and accountability, develop a sense of community, and emotionally connect with their sacrifices. Security forces at the border represent an ideal of patriotism for children, and their behavior influences children's attitudes toward their country.



Fig. 6: Border is a place for smuggling

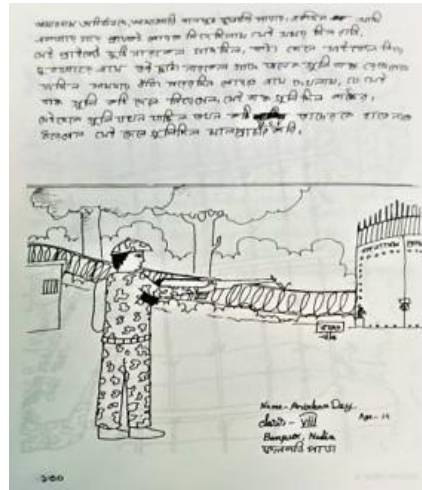


Fig. 7: Narrating an event of smuggling

This realistic border deeply influences the psyche of the children. Despite realizing the homogeneous nature of a nation on the two parts of the border, these children exhibit reverence for their country only, and the other part is exclusively entitled to enmity or a space of smuggling and trespassing. Puja Nath of class V presents an act of smuggling in her sketch (Fig.6) in which someone is handing over a bag to someone on the opposite side of the border, and BSF⁴ is pointing a gun at them (Saha, 2018: 129). A large number of students claim that they have eye-witnessed smuggling and trespassing. Some of them also describe their experiences in their writings, such as Anirban Dey of class VIII (Fig. 7) describes that one night he had seen some boys with a few wooden boxes and how the BSF had caught them (Saha, 2018: 130). He has used the word *mal pacharkari*, a Bengali word for ‘smuggler.’ Not only the students of class VIII, but even the younger students also have used terms associated with smuggling. Some of these words are even unknown to most of the adults of non-border regions. It points to the frequency of the act of illegal activities and their inseparable association with the upbringing of these children. Illegal activities are so regular and customary in their life that they find the border as an assigned place of smuggling, as Priyanka Pramanik of class VII argues

⁴ The Border Security Force (BSF) was established in 1965 with the primary objective of securing India’s borders – particularly with the borders of Pakistan and Bangladesh. The BSF maintains tight vigilance on the border and prevents any infiltration of terrorists, smugglers, and illegal immigrants.

through her definition of border: “Border is a place to smuggle ... cows, gold biscuits, parrots are exported through border” (Saha, 2018: 135). Also, they have mentioned the punishment the smugglers get when being caught by the BSF. It is also to be noted that Kakuli Mondal of class XII describes the border as a secure place in India (Saha, 2018: 176).

III

It is now imperative to evaluate the memory of the border and partition that these refugee children inherited from their ancestors. One can notice in this book that there is a very bounded postmemory of refugee struggle on the part of these descendants that was harshly encountered by their fore-generation. Partition and its related history are repeatedly cultured in the memory of the elders with scars; the border also enkindles not only the sense of separation, pain, and suffering but also the obstructions and unattainability of a desire to cross to the lost homeland, “a site of enunciation for thousands of people living through and resisting communal polarization, migration, rehabilitation and resettlement” (Sengupta, 2016: 1). On the contrary, the visible border, which remains the only reality for these children, turns into a site to memorize for happiness. The progeny has very limited knowledge about the Partition and the history of the border. For them, the border only demarcates two countries, unaware of the fact that it is actually dividing a single nation into two parts. Very few, like Lipika and Biswambhar Raha of class XII, have any knowledge about Partition. Again, Ananya Das of class VII is the only child who has written about the religious differences between the two countries, but she has not mentioned the Partition that actually happened due to this communal unrest (Saha, 2018: 95).

However, the children also wonder at the minimum cultural, lingual, and scenic differences between the two sides of the border. Miraj Mondal of class XII says that the police of Bangladesh speak in Bengali which helps Bengali people from India to interact with them easily (Saha, 2018: 247). It posits a stark contrast with the inconveniences they experience in communicating with the Hindi-speaking BSF. Though very few, some of them have the concept of ‘epar bangla- opar bangla’⁵ (‘this

⁵ Since both West Bengal and Bangladesh constituted the whole Bengal province in the pre-partitioned era, after partition, these two geographical locations have been orally referred to as such appellations by their respective citizens. Patronized by nation-states, the political decision to create a new border redefines the identity of both an individual and a nation. This aspect is further elaborated by David Newman who suggests that “borders create (or reflect) difference and constitute the separation line not only between states and

Bengal - that Bengal') (Saha, 2018: 174) and know about the Bhasha Andolon of 1952⁶ that took place between Bangladesh and Pakistan and the migration to India during that time (Saha, 2018:169).

It is also noteworthy that some students perceive that the language and natural beauty of Bangladesh are better than India. It echoes the nostalgia their ancestors preserved for their past habitation. Lipika of class XII represents those students who even regret not being born in Bangladesh as she has heard that the beauty of Bangladesh is more enhanced than India. It is parallel to the willingness their refugee-ancestors possessed to go back to their original homeland (Saha, 2018: 239). It is to note here that researchers found that one of the reasons the Partition-refugees from Bangladesh collectively decided to settle down in Nadia is that this adjoining place brought back at least "some sort of past ambience of their lost homeland. This geographical space also conduced them to reclaim those discarded cultivated lands that they had left behind and to return again to reap at the harvest time" (Gayen, 2022: 3).

Hence, except in some few cases, the fourth-generation refugees do not retain the memories of memories of their earlier generations, unlike the second or third generation refugee as seen in Kalyani Thakur Charal's novella *Andhar Bil O Kicchu Manus* or the research conducted by Firdous Azim (2021) respectively. It leads us to delve into the question of why the memories of the earlier generation are not being significantly transmitted to the fourth-generation descendants of the refugees. There are many reasons behind it. First, their economic adversity stops them from walking down the memory lane with their descendants. Secondly, they have little interest in education. As Saha has pointed out in the introduction, they went to school only for government incentives, not to get an education, and left school after the mid-day meal (2018: 12). The absence of the 'place of remembrance' which is their ancestral abode and the dominant present of the border together also create a retroactive interference so that postmemory on Partition and its association fade away generation by

geographical spaces, but also between the 'us' and 'them', the 'here' and 'there', and the 'insiders' and 'outsiders.' Borders retain their essential sense of sharp dislocation and separation, a sharp cut-off point between two polarities" (2006: 6).

⁶ The Bhasha Andolon of 1952 was a language movement that took place in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). The movement was a protest against the decision of the Pakistani government to make Urdu the only official language of Pakistan. This decision was seen as a threat to the linguistic and cultural identity of the Bengali people in East Pakistan who already had their own language, Bengali. The movement gained momentum, and the government was forced to recognize Bengali as an official language of Pakistan in 1956.

generation. Last but not the least, these children are no longer refugees. Their ancestors worked hard and successfully settled a habitation in India. So, the status of these children has been upgraded to that of permanent inhabitants from the refugee status of their great-grandparents. Therefore, they have no idea about the struggle their ancestors experienced or the context in which they were forced to struggle. It is appropriate to suggest that the border has always been reconfigured as beautiful, despite the various negativity attached to it, in the cognition of these school students at Matiari Banpur High School, and issues such as Partition and postmemory have disappeared.

[The authors of this article have translated the required portions of the primary text from Bengali into English.]

Atreyee Sinha, Dr. Shuchi Kaparwan

Summary

Manjira Saha's *Chotoder Border* captures the authentic lived experience of the teenage students on the border of West Bengal where they lived. Through drawings and narratives, these students portray the border of Bengal in a positive manner as a safe, secure, beautiful, and visiting place though the very connotation 'Border,' particularly in the Indian context, represents as well as evokes the memory of the past reality of Partition in 1947 that caused the division of Bengal and Punjab. Partition entailed mass migration, violence, nostalgia, and the new stigmatic identity of 'refugee' as well. The traumatic experiences of these refugees are passed on to the next generations. Yet the fourth-generation child- contributors of Manjira Saha's *Chotoder Border* negate these common assumptions of carrying forward the legacy of postmemory by the 'generation after' and it is substantiated through their portrayal of the 'Border' as a place of happiness. This analytical exploration points to the social, economic, cultural, and educational backdrop of the children for the nullification of postmemory in the fourth-generation- refugee.

Keywords: nostalgia, Partition, border, postmemory, children

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UDC: 821.111(73).09-31 DeLillo D.
DOI: 10.19090/gff.v48i3.2385
Original research paper

NOSTALGIA AND POSTMODERN SUBJECTIVITY IN *WHITE NOISE* BY DON DELILLO

One of the crucial conflicts in DeLillo's novels is the clash between the past and the future, leaving the present as hazy as the postmodern reality that comes into existence in his novels of the 20th century. In one of them, *White Noise*, nostalgia is highly prominent as a subjective reaction to the increasingly changing world of the present. Nostalgia, or a sentimental yearning for the past, is reflected in this novel in various aspects. Sometimes, it is addressed as a philosophical concept by characters such as Murray Siskind and regarded as an inherently highly subjective process in the postmodern world. At other times, it is implicitly reflected in different elements of the past, both on the collective, historical level (Hitler and Nazism) and on a smaller, local scale (time pre- and post-airborne toxic event). In each case, the past time is regarded as something highly desirable, as a symbolical safe haven or a shield associated with order and reliable systems of functioning, as opposed to the present, which is increasingly unreal, threatening, and rooted in the accelerating world of mass media. In each case, the subjective perspective of the past and the ensuing nostalgia stand opposed to the future order of Western civilization, whose outlines DeLillo drafts in this novel. This paper aims to highlight the conflict between nostalgia and the incoming threat of the future in this novel, as well as to regard *White Noise* as a nostalgia source within the context of DeLillo's later novels.

Keywords: nostalgia, *White Noise*, Don DeLillo, postmodern subjectivity, fetishization of history

1. INTRODUCTION

In DeLillo's novels, nostalgia is a subjective reaction to the overpowering clash between the past and the future; it is a natural recoil from the insupportable present and the intangible reality it produces. Forced to live in the present that offers no reliable grounding and no definitive order, simultaneously faced with a future that promises little beyond utter destruction and torturous apocalypse, the past seems to operate as the sole safe haven at hand for DeLillo's characters. It stands as a fond memory of better times when life was simpler and understandable and graspable. In

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this context, nostalgia comes as a response to a binary opposition between perfection and destruction, or security and apocalypse, the former firmly rooted in the well-defined and solid past, the latter looming from the hazy and ominous future. Postmodern subjectivity plays a role in creating postmodern nostalgia, in which sentimental longing for a lost time and place can refer to the experience DeLillo's characters never directly underwent, thus blurring the concept of nostalgia and reinventing its definition.

Caught in between two narratives – about a safe and serene past and an unstable and plausibly violent future – DeLillo's characters spend their time in the present not existing but rather passively moving with the flow of the culture, carried away by the waves of trends set by consumer and media cultures, respectively (and jointly). Such is the case with *White Noise*, one of DeLillo's most critically acclaimed novels of the 20th century, in which nostalgia is present as a quiet response both on the collective and individual level. The novel offers a fragmentary insight into the life of a small-town college professor Jack Gladney and his family, faced with different personal, family and communal crises. The Gladney family and their friends, each in their own way, respond with nostalgia to their reality by returning to the past both on a small chronological level and the large one, as well. For example, Murray Siskind, one of Jack's many colleagues, turns to ancient practices of interpreting hidden messages “from beyond” like one of the prophetesses of Delphi might have done in Ancient Greece, only instead of a temple and divine voices who deliver messages, Siskind's “divine” voices deliver knowledge from the TV box. In a similar fashion, Jack Gladney professionally turns to the (much more recent) history of WWII, dealing with Hitler and Nazi strategies of propaganda, fashioning almost his entire identity after the hazy image of Germanness. His own son Heinrich is a recluse from the present world in which he does not fit, and he escapes by playing chess (in the era of early video games haze) with a certain convict using letters as a system of communication, thus desperately turning away from the current communicational devices available to him that could have made their correspondence much easier and faster. On a much more microscopic scale, the entire family revolves around the crucial event of toxic chemical spillage that marks a watershed in their lives. Nostalgically looking at the times before it happened, Jack and Babette will respectively start acting more erratically than ever, seeking different ways to cope with their increasing fear of death, suddenly made more present in their lives by the catastrophe they experienced. Both of them, and various other characters, “struggle to root out any awareness of death, not knowing that they are eliminating the very element that may help them live an authentic and meaningful life” (Behrooz &

Pirnajmuddin 2018: 184). Overall, nostalgia for these characters becomes a symptom of the time they live in, their instinctive response to the culture and society they inhabit, as well as their only form of resistance against the reality they can no longer comprehend.

2. THE CONCEPT OF NOSTALGIA IN DELILLO'S NOVELS

Discussion about the concept of nostalgia is somewhat difficult to grasp. Its earliest definitions are mainly drawn from its etymology, which suggests the concept to be a yearning for home, a sentimental longing for a place one belongs to that is no longer available or accessible. For example, Lendsey A. Freeman notes that it is “[d]erived from the Greek *nostros*, meaning to return home, and *algia*, a painful condition” which together suggest a state of homesickness (Freeman 2015: 28). As defined by Johannes Hofer, nostalgia has initially been regarded as a psychological disorder. It was generally described as “the suffering inflicted on expatriates by their desire to return home” and it included predominantly physical symptoms and manifestations of the condition (Sedikides & Wildschut 2018: 48). Freeman distinguishes it from melancholia, which is a traditionally more subtle and sophisticated regard of the past, denoting nostalgia as a “democratic disease” or plainly a disease for (and of) the people, which “could potentially affect anyone, but it had the connotation of affecting the rural, simple-minded, and uncultured and those most tied to the places from which they came” (Freeman 2015: 28). While such distinctions might suggest unnatural and problematic social classifications and determinants, Freeman here speaks of the historical development of the term, with the aforementioned definitions firmly belonging to the past time in which nostalgia was not thoroughly researched or observed, let alone understood, and it was considered to be “an abnormal reaction, a pathology” (Freeman 2015: 28). However, the 20th century brought about the necessity to revise the term, and the diagnosis of this disorder became focused on the emotional response. Of such change, Freeman notes the following:

To feel nostalgic became an experience of the modern condition. No longer tied only to soldiers longing for home, modern nostalgia is connected with a more complex state of mind. This mindset carries with it the awareness of the acceleration of social change, an awareness that says, “Even if you go back home, you can never go home again—that home is gone.” It is this impossibility of return that rests at the painful core of contemporary nostalgia. (Freeman 2015: 29)

Such redefinitions of the term imply a broadening of its scope, within which it can be suggested that nostalgia is not necessarily related solely to a place, but it

rather equally involves time. The home one cannot return to represents, to an extent, a chronotope, marked in equal measure with spatial and temporal features, as much as with the social and emotional experience once had. In this context, nostalgia is by default associated with the past, with a time long gone, a period one cannot reassess otherwise but through memory. Since nostalgia inherently carries a sentimental connotation, this suggests that the past is automatically set at the positive end of the binary opposition, standing opposed to the negatively connotated future, in which everything is unknown and thus to be regarded with caution and reserve. The “sentimental longing for one’s past”, as psychologists like Sedikides and Wildschut tend to define it, arises from the recollections of the past experiences, which are “predominantly positive”, and cause the subject to view “the past fondly through rose-colored glasses” and even to “yearn to return to it” (Sedikides & Wildschut 2016: 319). Simultaneously, the negative element included in nostalgia is turned against the present, directly or indirectly, embodied either in the desire to escape it or simply in “longing and wanting to return to the past” (Sedikides & Wildschut 2018: 49-50). Such tendencies might suggest, by extension, that the negative element here might proffer onto the future, as well, since the element of the unknown is traditionally regarded as more apprehensive than the one of the known, which in this case are both the past and the present. Some authors, such as Cheung, argue against these notions, claiming that contemporary science has “refuted the notion that nostalgia is maladaptive” and that the condition is not “a pathological discord from the present time, and a symptom of apprehension about the future” (Cheung 2022: 1). Instead, their understanding of the term is related more fundamentally to an ability to recognize the inconsistencies and malpractices of the present world they inhabit, against which the past stands as a role model of a functional and firm society. In essence, these attempts to redefine nostalgia do seem problematic because they reduce most of the initial connotation, especially in regard to the emotional response to the loss of the past. Interpreting nostalgia as a strength rather than a disorder is here just another extreme description, which simplifies the state. Whether or not such claims indeed will stand the test of time and research, this paper focuses primarily on the traditional understanding of the concept in reaction to the state of the postmodern condition, which is so significant for DeLillo’s novels. Nostalgia, as a reaction to an era in which his characters cannot find anything reliable and secure enough, plays for DeLillo a strategy of escapism and a coping mechanism, simultaneously and cumulatively, though not consciously. While it does function as an indicator of discord among the culture and his characters, DeLillo does not use the element of nostalgia to portray his protagonists as people of higher awareness meant to deal with

the flaws of the contemporary era. Rather than that, nostalgia operates as a marker, a signpost that highlights the protagonists' inability to act or even to fully comprehend what initiated such a reaction in the first place.

Equally important for the interpretation of DeLillo's works, nostalgia should be regarded as a rather collective concept. His approach to nostalgia dominantly corresponds to the views of Fredric Jameson, for whom nostalgia works are narratives "set in indefinable nostalgic past [...] beyond history" which highlight that the present audience is "unable today to focus [its] own present, as though [it has] become incapable of achieving aesthetic representations of [its] own current experience" all due to the consequences of consumer capitalism (Jameson 1983: 117). On a similar note, Freeman argues that nostalgia is "a deeply social phenomenon" mostly because it reflects "collective ideas about the present, while simultaneously revealing shared past desires, giving new insights into the practices, structures, and institutions those desires created" (Freeman 2015: 30). In DeLillo's novels, nostalgic view of the past seems to be almost an inherently American trait, an innate glorification of the past values and standards the country possesses in paucity at present, at least where the dominant culture is concerned, which for DeLillo is media culture in the consumer capitalist era. Hence, the majority of nostalgic sentiments in his novels is aimed at the 1950s, the era during which the American identity as we know it today started resembling the mass-produced, media-saturated hyperreality of the late 20th century onwards. Consequently, DeLillo's characters echo some of Freeman's ideas about nostalgia's collectivism. As such collective orientation towards the past "disrupts individual emotional connections with the present", it also marks how destabilized the present of people is (or their understanding and perception thereof), thus "preventing its members from imagining a better (or different) present and future as they long for a past, which seems superior and often more secure" (Freeman 2015: 30). In DeLillo's novels, this is reflected in the constant state of paranoia, in which his characters are afraid of an ominous threat of future destruction, either by a nuclear bomb or a toxic spillage and its consequential cloud of poisonous gases.

Particularly, in *White Noise*, the orientation towards the 50s is reflected in almost all aspects of the novel. The Gladneys live in a small town by choice, and they find comfort in the small-town life there, one which resembles the uniformity of houses characteristic of the 50s, as well as the scarce social practices of gravitating around the supermarket, the dominant center of social life and social interaction. In the town of Blacksmith, they are not "threatened and aggrieved" like people in large towns and cities, nor are they "smack in the path of history and its contaminations" (WN 101). It appears as if the town itself is a locus of nostalgia, or even nostalgia

territorially embodied. The description of Jack's home, primarily regarding the kitchen and living room (centered around a television) will undoubtedly remind any DeLillo's reader of the Demings from *Underworld*, the stereotypically represented family of the 50s. Furthermore, this era, freshly drunk on the WWII triumph, is seemingly reflected in Jack's choice of professional specialization (he teaches the strategies of propaganda in a course called Advanced Nazism) since the practices of Nazism, successfully defeated, became reduced to an anthropological phenomenon to be analyzed and scientifically discussed from the 50s onward, once the direct consequences of the war were successfully resolved. The 50s also marked the era that embodied great national success for America, during which their palpable power became a never more solid influence on the international political stage. Moreover, the Gladneys also reflect the 50s in their attempt to recreate the traditional family nucleus, in spite of the fact that they are more of a modern family (with children from different past marriages). Many sociologists and theoreticians do see the family, the "fundamental institution of social life", as one of the key reflective surfaces of modern and contemporary nostalgia since it has been "weak-kneed and tamely submitting to be fed poisoned pablum by the mass entertainment industry" (Esolen 2018: 236). Thus, Jack and Babette's idea of keeping their family functional, in the traditional sense, might be interpreted as one of the signifiers of their deeply rooted nostalgia for the past system of American values. As opposed to the well-defined (and well-televised) 50s, the late 70s and early 80s that Jack and his family live in are an era of turmoil and instability. Politically and economically, the country was burdened primarily by the Cold War, while the individuals were burdened by its byproduct – consumer society. It is an era in which "the flow is constant" and in which "for most people there are only two places in the world", the two being their home and their television (WN 78). It is to this particular aspect of reality, its ever-accelerating movement towards the future, that the characters of *White Noise* react by escaping into the past, trying to hold onto the familiar and the proven, sometimes comically so, to the point of obsession.

3. NOSTALGIC FETISHIZATION OF THE PAST

Perhaps the most transparently nostalgic character in *White Noise* is Jack Gladney, the narrator and protagonist, a professor of Hitler Studies, whose course on Advanced Nazism we get to experience as first-hand witnesses. His nostalgia is never explicitly discussed or pondered on, yet it is heavily suggested in his almost paralyzing fear of death, which is here symbolically associated with the future. He and his wife Babette have long conversations on the topic of their eventual demise,

and they even comically negotiate which one of them will (or should) die first. While Jack tries to depict himself as a successful individual, extremely content in all aspects of his life, his fear of death comes from his sense of inability to control any real aspect of the world around him. He philosophically ponders on life and death, frequently baffling not only those who are there to listen to him but, ironically, even himself. For example, during one of his lectures, he begins talking to his students about death and plots (a conversation inspired by a story about one plot to murder Hitler), firmly stating that “[a]ll plots tend to move deathward” and that people “edge nearer death every time we plot” in equal measure “the plotters as well as those who are the targets of the plot” (WN 30). The plot here might as well stand for any kind of narrative, or even a plan, which almost foreshadows Jack’s later interaction with Willie Mink, Babette’s lover and drug supplier. However, Jack is at the time completely unaware of his inherent wisdom and prophetic abilities, and he is left at the end of the class to wonder about his statements comically, “Is this true? Why did I say it? What does it mean?” (WN 30). His utter inability to understand himself, the meaning of abstract concepts, and the reality that surrounds him will force him to inadvertently focus on creating a shield against the lack of knowledge and the fear it produces in him, resulting in his obsession with Hitler and Germanness.

Jack’s dominant strategy when dealing with death and the threat future represents to him, and his loved ones in general, is nostalgic in its essence, although Jack is not aware of it. It is embodied, indeed, in his professional preoccupation with Hitler and Nazi ideology, or rather their media representations and propaganda. Much like Gordon Liddy in the currently popular TV mini-series *White House Plumbers*, Jack finds in the Nazi propaganda a coping mechanism for his debilitating fear, as well as a means of establishing himself in society and gaining the respect of his peers. It should be stated that he never even considers the ideology that stands behind Hitler and his government, nor does he even acknowledge the atrocities they had done during their reign. Jack Gladney is not a Nazi, he does not find comfort and consolation in Nazism’s ideological teachings and beliefs, but he does use Hitler and vaguely acquired poses of Germanness to defend himself against his fear of death. As Murray Siskind analytically observes when discussing Jack’s interest in Germans and Nazism, “Some people are larger than life. Hitler is larger than death. You thought he would protect you” (WN 33). In an undeniable attempt at parody, DeLillo portrays Jack almost as an impersonator, if not of Hitler himself, then of an imaginary model of an average German who borrows from Nazism solely those traits that emit a certain kind of goliathness in regard to death. This is the aspect that leads Siskind to conclude that “[h]elpless and fearful people are drawn to marginal figures, mythic

figures, epic men who intimidate and darkly loom” (WN 33). That Jack should elect the most atrocious figure from the past speaks less of the glory of the times long gone than the inadequacy of the times Jack lives in since the 80s cannot provide him with even the semblance of a figure who wields such symbolic power; the present provides only the constant flow of catchy tunes and advertisements. For that reason, he borrows from Hitler the stereotypical images of masculinity and power, as well as of dominance over life itself and – by extension – over death. For example, at the ripe age of 50, he still tries to learn German in order to demonstrate the German aura at the upcoming conference on Hitler Studies. He dresses in all-black most of the time (and especially for his classes), thus referencing the Nazi uniforms, in order to communicate power and dominance over his students and colleagues alike. He comically even wears sunglasses to his lectures, indeed, more alike to Hollywood superstars than Hitler and the Nazis, but such subtle differences in style and image frequently escape Jack¹. His inability to function without his sunglasses showcases the level of dedication and fetish, at the same time, because he draws pleasure both from his appearance in this uniform of sorts and from the reaction people around him exhibit while looking and listening to him. Furthermore, his manners of comport, walking and talking are frequently fashioned after video footage of either Hitler or Nazis in general, respectively performed for the sake of emitting an aura of authority. Such interpretation is especially visible in the scene of Jack’s guest lecture at one of Siskind’s courses, during which his performance causes their students to react as stupefied masses, completely enthralled by the command he exhibits over them, not even necessarily listening to anything that either he or Murray Siskind actually say during the class. This interpretation can be further supported through the comparison with DeLillo’s other novels; namely, in *Underworld*, as Salván states, “nostalgia needs to be understood as a textual strategy of resistance rather than the expression of mere longing for the past” (Salván 2007: 20). There, the present exists and revolves solely in relation to the past because only the past wields sufficient power to maintain the world and characters’ existence. The baseball game in *Underworld* serves as a shield against the present, in which the most important element of reality is waste. In *White Noise*, nostalgia is Jack’s narrative resistance against fear and overpowering reality. He acquires the discourse of Hitler and his Nazis in an attempt to project firmness onto his life because the only source of order in his present moment is the supermarket, and even there, things tend to be famously reorganized and changed out

¹ It is precisely for this reason that Hitler and Elvis coexist on the same level in this novel – as popular subjects for academic studies, as media images of popular culture, completely free of meaning and context outside of that denomination.

of the blue, as we learn from the parodic scene that immediately follows the Airborne Toxic Event. However, whether DeLillo has intended his nostalgia to be a form of resistance to anything, especially a conscious and deliberate one, is to be discussed. Jack's obsession is a testimony to a fetish, one motivated by a deeply traumatizing experience of the present and expectation of the equally horrible future.

Moreover, Jack's fetishizing appropriation of Nazi imagery and behavior might be interpreted as DeLillo's parodic approach to the concept of nostalgia, as such. While discussing nostalgia in another DeLillo's novel, the (in)famous *Underworld*, Ladino highlights that the author uses it "as his ally even while holding it at a critical distance" insofar as it "becomes both a mode through which to read and describe the past and the present as well as an ideological affect to be approached warily, with a healthy dose of skepticism" (Ladino 2010: 3). The same can be applied to *White Noise*. While nostalgia is almost an empathetic tool for DeLillo's characters to communicate the sense of being lost in the present craze of media and consumer culture, it is also highly reflective of how it affects the process of memorizing the past and its narratives. While borrowing features of Nazi self-presentation, Jack allows himself the freedom of subjective selection, granted to him by the notion of postmodern subjectivity. He deftly filters the past and historical facts, either consciously or subconsciously choosing to ignore all the negative connotations surrounding Hitler and Nazism, selecting solely the traits which he can use for his own benefit, establishing himself as the sole authority over the historical narrative of WWII. By borrowing only the "empowering" parts of Nazi paraphernalia, he demonstrates how easily nostalgia tends to erase all the negative aspects of the lost home, choosing to focus exclusively on the rosy-filtered representations of a time long gone. There are, almost tangibly so, certain aspects of fetishization in this approach to dealing with the past; Jack chooses the emblems and patterns of self-presentation and comport from which he draws an undeniable amount of pleasure (egotistically so) and proceeds to obsess over them, to devote himself to the adoration so as to escape reality. Furthermore, this controversial element of the past is so alluring to Jack not because of "the intrinsic quality of the idea" but because of "its novelty", in particular within the context of academia (Cantor 2003: 55). This is perhaps the reason why the element of Nazism, otherwise despicable and despicable, is so benign in this novel. Jack engages with it the way one would with a kink, performing rites (public speeches) and mannerisms (his general behavior) not solely with the purpose of gaining social acclaim and position but primarily with the aim of experiencing pleasure, which is for him directly related to feeling sheltered from the threat of death. In this process, we see how our collective memory, under the

influence of nostalgia, has the power to diminish “the horror by assimilating [an event] into familiar categories” (Cantor 2003: 58). While he observes the same process, Cantor here underscores how Hitler “can be stripped of [his] aura and turned into a commodity” becoming “a hot item, sought after and bid for by a wide range of business interests” (Cantor 2003: 55-56). While the connection with the consumerist world of the 20th century was undoubtedly intended by DeLillo himself, pure consumption here could be only one potential interpretation and does not, by any means, exclude fetishization. Quite the contrary, the commodification of Hitler’s image might be a direct precursor to establishing a fetish, which Jack Gladney does indeed develop gradually (from introducing the study field, opening a department and only then borrowing the persona). In addition to this, a contribution to the fetishization of Hitler lies in the very fact of possessing him, as seen in the following paragraph:

It’s totally obvious. You wanted to be helped and sheltered. The overwhelming horror would leave no room for your own death. ‘Submerge me,’ you said. ‘Absorb my fear.’ On one level you wanted to conceal yourself in Hitler and his works. On another level you wanted to use him to grow in significance and strength. I sense a confusion of means. Not that I’m criticizing. It was a daring thing you did, a daring thrust. *To use him*. (WN 330-331)

Through the notion of possession, Jack here exhibits both traits of submissiveness and domination. He surrenders himself to Hitler while simultaneously possessing him in turn. He submerges his identity under the overwhelming connotation of Hitler’s Nazism, but at the same time, it is he who commands Hitler, who uses him as a commodity for his own benefit and pleasure. What is more, he uses him on his own terms, polishing his image with a layer of nostalgia, leaving only desirable features forefront and completely veiling the ones that are unwanted. The element of nostalgia here adds another layer of interpretation, which includes both commodification and fetishization precisely in the aspect of retouching Hitler’s image, liberating his figure from the context of his past deeds. What is added at the same time is a certain level of temporal dislocation, which in itself brings a hint of pleasure. Hitler is appealing to Jack partly because he belongs to another time, one that cannot be fathomed to exist simultaneously with the present. Hutcheon emphasizes the way nostalgia “may depend precisely on the irrecoverable nature of the past for its emotional impact and appeal” (Hutcheon, 2000 195). This is what quite to the letter happens to Jack. Part of his fetish with Hitler and Nazism is derived from the very fact that they so obviously do not fit his present and could never even hypothetically do so because his present is built upon the idea of having beaten

the Nazis in the first place. What he does gain from emanating performative traits from their media imagery is the appeal of at least pretending to be emotionally strong enough to resist the fear, to conquer it, to squash it under the black combat boot during a dignified march.

4. ATOMIC NOSTALGIA AND AIRBORNE TOXIC EVENT

In this novel, nostalgia is also present on a much smaller scale of both time and place in relation to a local occurrence of the Airborne Toxic Event. At one point in the novel, the spillage of certain hazardous chemical substances leaves the area of Blacksmith contaminated (literally rather than through toxic media images) and its citizens in a state of utter disarray. In regard to the time during and after the event, nostalgia plays a subtle, though significant, role in the reaction of DeLillo's characters. The people of Blacksmith exhibit both personal nostalgia and collective nostalgia, or the longing for "the shared past of a group to which people connect their identity", which incidentally "may include memories of glorious moments in a group's history or a generalized feeling that the group was better in the past" (Van Prooijen et al. 2022: 953). Interestingly so, nostalgia is here related both to the time before the Airborne Toxic Event and the time during the event itself. In the case of the former, it is represented in the state of panic and desire to return to the peaceful state out of danger which the community collectively experiences during the time of evacuation. In the case of the latter, it is represented in the almost fetish-like attachment to the experience of the Airborne Toxic Event.

Once the spillage takes place, the wave of media reports floods Gladney's home, introducing the element of panic and chaos into the present moment. While most of the family joins the community in fear and feverish obsession with ever-evolving symptoms of poisoning, Jack maintains his level of calmness, mostly by clinging to the past, to the rules of the world in which such catastrophes do not occur. He proceeds with his dinner and dealing with the bills, stating that "[t]hese things happen to poor people who live in exposed areas" not "in places like Blacksmith" (WN 133). When the need for evacuation is proclaimed and they have to move, Jack still clings to the past times, comparing the dark toxic cloud to "some death ship in a Norse legend" (WN 148). It is interesting to note that, faced with the present threat of destruction, the entire family escapes the moment by regarding the event through specific lenses, which help them contextualize what is happening. Jack uses the remnants of the past, whereas his children, opting in a similar fashion for fictional discourses, regard the event as a media spectacle, passing around binoculars, looking at the catastrophe before them as just another disaster that was on TV last night

anyway. While at the evacuation camp, the citizens of Blacksmith yearn for the media to come and report about them, thus demonstrating the longing to establish the past order of events (because they can at least understand the events if they correspond to what constitutes reality for them – and that is the mass media). At the same time, when Jack is told that he has been exposed to the toxic components of Nyodene D and that he is going to die at one point because of this, his first reaction is to desire his academic gown and sunglasses. For the same reason, once the evacuation is proclaimed no longer necessary and the event has come to an end, the very first scene in the following part takes place – at the supermarket. Their collective need to return to the old system of functioning leads them directly to the place that is the prior epicenter of life in Blacksmith, the ground around which social life revolved before the accident. Sadly, what might be metaphorically interpreted as the past which is not the believed fortress of stillness and reliability, there have been some “new developments in the supermarket” (WN 193), as well, marking that whatever nostalgic longing for stability desires, it can never find in trying to return to the past state of affairs.

A much more intriguing manifestation of nostalgia comes in the form that Freeman describes as atomic nostalgia, “a new form of longing”, as a yearning to return to the experience related to, in this case, the WWII, in particular Oak Ridge experience with Manhattan Project and nuclear weaponry (Freeman 2015: 32). In more general terms, atomic nostalgia might be defined as the state of longing for past experiences related to destruction and annihilation. Freeman further underlines that atomic nostalgia is a “distinctively American, postnuclear, industrial-scientific vision of a lost utopia” which “masks real-life realities of destruction and atrocity” (Freeman 2015: 32). Structurally, it seems to operate in the same fashion as the earlier discussed fetishization of the past. In the same way in which Jack strips Hitler’s negative connotation of murders and occupations, those who experience atomic nostalgia tend to disregard the connotation of harm and destruction that the atomic event left in its wake, focusing solely on their uplifting experience associated with the atomic bomb. In that way, the people of Oak Ridge “use memory and nostalgia not primarily to articulate historical authenticity, but to celebrate a glorious past and to grapple with a present moment of uncertainty” primarily focusing on “their sacrifice to the nation, their scientific and intellectual prowess, their cosmopolitanism, and their prominent role in producing the atomic bomb” (Freeman 2015: 24-25). In *White Noise*, atomic nostalgia might be more suitably called Airborne Toxic Event nostalgia, but it otherwise corresponds to Freeman’s concept, albeit in a parodic fashion. DeLillo’s great historical event is much smaller in scale, ridiculously not as fatal, but it provides

the closest to an apocalyptic moment that the people of Blacksmith can experience. Essentially a TV audience, they have finally been part of something that surpasses the small-town life they claimed to worship, something that resembles the catastrophes from the Friday documentaries television broadcasts regularly. For that reason, they experience nostalgia both on the individual and collective levels. The most transparent individual reactions are seen in Jack and Babette. She becomes increasingly obsessed with death and addicted to Dylar, a drug that should allegedly help her deal with her fear of death, while Jack becomes obsessed with Babette's secretive actions and particularly her lover. Ironically, Jack's fetishization of Hitler becomes more extreme as he fully acquires the role of the executor, the bringer of death, not just in a black robe but with a gun and a hazed mind. In his case, nostalgia is directly related to destruction and violence, as suggested by the concept of atomic nostalgia. At one point towards the end of the novel, Siskind contemplates:

I don't trust anybody's nostalgia but my own. Nostalgia is a product of dissatisfaction and rage. It's a settling of grievances between the present and the past. The more powerful the nostalgia, the closer you come to violence. War is the form nostalgia takes when men are hard-pressed to say something good about their country. (WN 296)

What Siskind discusses here implies an inherently destructive aspect of any kind of nostalgia. The violence he talks about is incidentally related to Jack's growing violent tendencies, which culminate in Mink's motel room, but his theory seems to address the violence that nostalgia implies by itself. When longing to return to the past order, one does not only turn from the present one but implicitly wants to destroy it. In order for the past time to return, the present one should disappear, which, more frequently than not, includes violent destruction. Interestingly enough, Siskind discusses the violence on a large scale, a consequence of collective nostalgia, but in the novel itself, individual nostalgia will prove to be much worse. It is Jack who will turn to violence, not the community, leaving DeLillo's readers to wonder whether the condition really is a social phenomenon, or better yet, whether collective nostalgia could actually be less potent than its individual counterpart. In the aftermath of the event, the people of Blacksmith indeed do experience a temporary spike in violent behavior. There is an asylum set on fire, and a dead body is found, which a policeman claims had been thrown out of a UFO, but eventually, the community abandons the catastrophe. Jack notices, "The déjà vu crisis centers closed down. The hotline was quietly discontinued. People seemed on the verge of forgetting" (WN 254). Jack, on the other hand, cannot forget; he feels abandoned and becomes vehement in trying to find the physical markers of his poisoning (and ends up finding that his potassium

levels are slightly, yet somehow alarmingly so, up), as much as he dedicates himself to solving the case of Babette's strange behavior. One explanation might lie in the response that Jack and the community make. The community manages to dilute its atomic nostalgia through different communal activities, the most ridiculous of which becomes the SIMUVAC operation, or the simulated evacuation in case such a catastrophe ever occurs again. The simulation is a laughingstock, an event so obviously artificial and useless Jack cannot even stand to watch it happen, but, as Heinrich observes, "[i]t's a gimmick but it works" (WN 237). It manages to successfully resolve the fear that people felt and to reshape the experience they had so as to appear normal, usual, quotidian, and finally simulated. The event becomes drowned in its imitations, thus making the people of Blacksmith abandon their nostalgia, and more importantly so, the myths surrounding the event, because it is from "myths and their retelling, atomic nostalgia emerges, adapts, and lingers" (Freeman 2015: 35). The only thing the community at large experiences might be reduced to what Cheung calls anticipated nostalgia, or "the anticipation of feeling nostalgic for life experiences when looking back" (Cheung 2022: 1). However, for Jack, nostalgia and his growing violence that occurs as its result are "correctives to the contemporary moment", they reveal his "discomfort in [his] own present" (Mraović-O'Hare 2011: 213). Therefore, without being aware of yearning for the state of alarm that he experienced during the airborne toxic event, he tries to emulate it at the present moment. Henceforth, we can discuss his experiencing what Berliner describes as "vicarious nostalgia", a feeling based on directly experiencing an event, a form of "endonostalgia relating to intense social events and encounters, but also for the banalities of daily life as lived [...] on the ground" (Berliner 2020: 95). In other words, finding no coping mechanism that could diminish the significance of the Airborne Toxic Event, Jack projects the longing for the exhilarating experience from the past onto his present, deciding to perpetuate destruction after having barely survived one.

5. POSTMODERN SUBJECTIVITY AND POSTMODERN NOSTALGIA

For Berliner, nostalgia is a "fascinating angle from which to study contemporary questions of identity and culture in these times of 'accelerism'" (Berliner 2020: 15). Postmodern nostalgia is inherently a paradox; it involves a sentiment of yearning for the past while simultaneously rushing towards the future. However, implicitly, at the same time, it "constitutes a painful feeling born of the idea that human temporality is irreversible, and that a return to the past is impossible" (Berliner 2020: 15). Trapped in between, DeLillo's protagonists frequently turn to

nostalgia as a form of therapy, a mollifying agent that is to remove the threatening future already encrypted all over their present. Some critics, such as Salván, see nostalgia as a form of resistance, however passive, against the system at power in the contemporary America they inhabit. For example, while writing about *Underworld*, she argues the following:

The ideological nostalgia marked by the contrast between “then” and “now” points to a dialectics between the present — corrupt, fallen, overdetermined by power structures — and the past — authentic, committed, innocent — that slides over another fundamental dialectic structure: the one confronting the individual and the society [Nick Shay] tries to escape from. This shift allows DeLillo to establish the analogy between authentic individual/innocent past and oppressive society/reified present. Through it, he is able to articulate nostalgia as the possibility to resist the system. The rhetoric of nostalgia produces in his work an effect of estrangement from the demands of the postmodern world understood as a “here and now” articulation from which the individual can gain some temporal distance. (Salván 2007: 20)

The problem with Salván’s interpretation is that it does not discuss the element of awareness where nostalgia is concerned, nor does it consider DeLillo’s use of parody surrounding this condition. Yes, nostalgia in *Underworld*, as much as in *White Noise*, is symptomatic of various characters’ dissatisfaction with the system at present, but it is not a revolt or confrontation that any of them have in mind, nor do they have the enemy coherently visualized or defined. For nostalgia to be their *pièce de resistance*, they would have to be aware that they must engage in some kind of rebellion against the present society and its condition. They would have to primarily identify the adversary, to be conscious that their turning to the past is instigated by tangible reasons, that their nostalgia is a provoked response and state. Yet, none of them are, perhaps least of all the characters of *White Noise*. Jack Gladney turns to Hitler completely unaware of his logical and instinctive reasons; he is able to identify his fear of death only on the level of conversation, on the level at which he engages in debates with Babette (at one point, he even acknowledges that he is not afraid of dying but of loneliness). He further turns to the chaos of Airborne Toxic Event not because he is conscious that he simply cannot return to the ordinary dull life of Blacksmith and College-on-the-Hill, but because he subconsciously feels the urge to act, to go with the flow, the flow in question being the prescribed behavior of a cheap crime novel’s erratic detective chasing justice for no particular reason. Furthermore, even narratively, nostalgia is a means of parody for DeLillo more than a possible strategy of revolt against the system or the present. Jack’s nostalgia is a ridicule of the attempt to escape the present, to begin with; this is why his imitation

of Hitler and Nazis is, at times, so openly mocking. The past, it seems to be suggested here, is so rosy-colored and better than the present solely for the fact that we want it to be. In other words, it is not a rebellion against the cultural narrative of the present, it is but a mere creation of another one. As Ladino concludes, nostalgia “shuns closure and foregrounds the inability of narrative” (Ladino 2010: 2). Moreover, Ladino associates DeLillo’s use of nostalgia as close to Susan Stewart’s definitions of postmodern nostalgia which rests upon ideas of a merger of unmergeable opposites, some of which might be now and then, “lived and mediated” or abstractly speaking “authenticity and transcendence” (Ladino 2010: 2). In other words, DeLillo’s novels expose the futility of nostalgia, prove it to be no better than any other form of escapism in its passivity, denotes it as the very opposite of rebellion – as its very pathetic mockery.

On a symbolic level, in *White Noise*, nostalgia is parodically further depicted in the element of *déjà vu*. As one of the symptoms of Nyodene poisoning, it represents a peculiar manifestation of nostalgia; it is quite literally reliving of the past, in so far as it includes experiencing things presumably already seen or lived through. To have this experience marked with a negative connotation, or in this case, lethal poisoning, seems to be another of DeLillo’s ironic commentaries on the concept of nostalgia. It is indeed symptomatic, but of a seemingly much more lethal poisoning with the presupposed idealism of the past and the consequential debilitating fear of the future. While walking around the evacuation camp, Jack and Murray Siskind discuss the situation and various gossip and theories circulating among the group of people. An avid aficionado of conspiracies, much like many of DeLillo’s characters, Siskind delivers the following theory about *déjà vu*:

Why do we think these things happened before? Simple. They did happen before, in our minds, as visions of the future. Because these are precognitions, we can’t fit the material into our system of consciousness as it is now structured. This is basically supernatural stuff. We’re seeing into the future but haven’t learned how to process the experience. So it stays hidden until the precognition comes true, until we come face to face with the event. Now we are free to remember it, to experience it as familiar material. (WN 176)

Siskind here seemingly achieves the desired blending of postmodern nostalgia between the past and the future, by making *déjà vu* an example of a longing for the experience not yet experienced. In terms of motifs, this concept is close to various ideas of a future thrust (theorized by Alvin Toffler in *Future Shock*, 1970, among other works) and several DeLillo’s characters who live in the future, or at least one step ahead of their present times, most infamous of all being Eric Packer from

Cosmopolis. Theoretically speaking, this falls under the scope of what Berliner names nostalgia “completely disassociated from personal experiences”, a general yearning for a place or time one never actually saw or visited in person (Berliner 2020: 15). According to Ladino, in DeLillo’s novels, “nostalgia functions whether or not its object ever existed” because postmodern subjectivity allows them to conceive it (Ladino 2010: 4). Postmodern nostalgia thus further merges the unmergeable, the lived with the un-lived, the real with the imaginary. While this process does demonstrate the extent of authority subjectivity wields over DeLillo’s postmodern citizens, it also speaks of nostalgia as a pointless practice. Siskind here notes that they think of the future they yearn for, but that they do not know how to process even the experience of thinking about it, let alone the experience of the real thing. Moreover, nostalgia seems to be a defeatist activity, especially if we take the following observation made by Jack Gladney some time after the Airborne Toxic Event:

Déjà vu was still a problem in the area. A toll-free hotline had been set up. There were counselors on duty around the clock to talk to people who were troubled by recurring episodes. Perhaps *déjà vu* and other tics of the mind and body were the durable products of the airborne toxic event. But over a period of time it became possible to interpret such things as signs of a deep-reaching isolation we were beginning to feel. There was no larger city with a vaster torment we might use to see our own dilemma in some soothing perspective. No large city to blame for our sense of victimization. No city to hate and fear. No panting megacenter to absorb our woe, to distract us from our unremitting sense of time – time as the agent of our particular ruin, our chromosome breaks, hysterically multiplying tissue. (WN 204)

He speaks of *déjà vu* here as a consequence of a traumatic event, but also as a symptom of a psychological state close to various readings of the postmodern condition. Here nostalgia as depicted in this element really is “a critique of late capitalism” and the society that could allow for such an event to take place, as well as “a provocative argument for environmental and social justice” (Ladino 2010: 3). However, it is also an indicator that “a lot of contemporary culture was indeed nostalgic” (Hutcheon 2000: 190). *Déjà vu* is a response of people left alone with the catastrophe; it proves nostalgia to be a coping mechanism invented where none other is provided. The public does not provide a context, the mass media does not establish an enemy who made the catastrophe possible, there is no discourse akin to the one of the Cold War (current at the time of the novel) that would clearly point out where the common people should stand and what they should feel. There is no instruction for nostalgia, no prescribed nostalgia, so they come up with the closest thing possible, they invent their own manifestation of the symptom. Both the case of *déjà vu* and Jack’s fetishization of the past, however, are thus proven to have the common enemy

no one wants to address directly – time itself, or temporality. Fear of death represented in nostalgia is not the fear of the physical manifestation of death, but rather the idea of it, the idea that all of us are alive for just a while and that the future eventually holds no other promise but for this temporality to come to an end. After all, this is why Jack Gladney, early in the novel, issues a call to himself, his family and friends, and ultimately anyone who will listen, “Let’s enjoy these aimless days while we can, I told myself, I fearing some kind of deft acceleration” (WN 21). Nostalgia here might be indeed seen as a strategy of resistance, still a subconscious one, but not against the present, the system, or the future at large, but against human temporality in general; an instinctive shying away from the nature of our race.

6. CONCLUSION

The concept of nostalgia in DeLillo’s novels is an understated marker of the postmodern condition. In *White Noise*, it is an indicator of the utter dissatisfaction his protagonists feel in reaction to the present time and the society they live in, but it is also a parodic exploration of the concept itself and what it implies for the human process of remembering history and past experiences, both on the individual and collective level. For the most part, nostalgia as seen in the novel is subtle, it is represented in cultural markers not as directly notable, such as the domestic elements of the Gladneys’ home and their silent adoration of life in the 50s. Other examples of nostalgia, however, highlight the element of fetishization and a tendency to subjectively interpret past times, to the point of creating yet another narrative that should distract DeLillo’s characters from their lives and deep-seated fears.

Jack Gladney’s fetishization of Hitler and Nazis, with absolutely no regard for the historical context of their regime, might be interpreted as DeLillo’s assessment of nostalgia and memory at large. Much like nostalgia tends to involve remembering positive details about the past exclusively, Jack Gladney, an epitome of postmodern subjectivity, holds in his memory solely those traits of Hitler that he needs at present, exclusively those features that correspond with his subjective perspective both of the past and the present, as well as those aspects that he can exploit for his own benefit. In the same way, he will try to project the state experienced during the airborne toxic event onto the present, exhibiting traits of atomic nostalgia, holding onto the sheer force of the event without being aware of its negative connotation.

In all aspects, nostalgia in *White Noise* can rightfully so be interpreted as a futile business, a useless pastime of passive individuals who only instinctively feel that the present system does not suit them, but who never actively revolt against it. Whether or not the system at present is their true enemy is highly debatable, mostly

because of the fact that the root of their nostalgia seems to be motivated by their fear of death and the realization of their temporality, more than by the need to resist the current state of affairs in the society and culture they inhabit. Nostalgia as seen in this novel strongly suggests that DeLillo approached the concept parodically, thus implicitly commenting more on the nature of human existence and identity, rather than on their active confrontation with the present.

Sladana Stamenković

NOSTALGIJA I POSTMODERNA SUBJEKTIVNOST U *BELOM ŠUMU* DONA DELILA

Rezime

Nostalgija nije tako česta tema DeLilovih romana, niti je u prvom planu bilo kog tumačenja njegovih dela. Međutim, ona je implicitno prisutna u jednoj od glavnih tema njegove Amerike – onoj o konfliktu između prošlosti i sadašnjosti, ili između prošlosti i budućnosti. Nostalgija se u tim slučajevima u DeLilovim romanima javlja kao simptom nezadovoljstva svetom dvadesetog veka, ali i kao parodičan, posve pasivan odgovor na suštinsku nesnađenost njegovih junaka, kao bezuspešni pokušaj da se pobegne od stvarnosti, da se izbegne bilo kakvo smisleno i funkcionalno delovanje. U *Belom šumu*, sentimentalno viđenje prošlosti za kojom se žudi prisutno je u više aspekata, na istorijskoj osi koja uključuje kolektivnu, svetsku istoriju, ali i lokalno, te individualno prošlo iskustvo, a katkad i ono neproživljeno. DeLilovi junaci ponekad raspravljaju o konceptu nostalgije, razmatrajući u filozofskom ključu ono što ona uključuje i inspiriše, što možemo videti na primeru Marija Siskinda, dežurnog tumača skrivene stvarnosti. Daleko češće, nostalgija je prisutna implicitno, u elementima prošlosti koji su inkorporirani u sadašnjost, poput profesije Džeka Glednija i njegove opsesije Hitlerom i nacističkim simbolima i imidžom, a pre svega njihovim strategijama propagande. Na lokalnom nivou, nostalgija se ispoljava i u odnosu na proživljeni događaj izlivanja toksičnog materijala, koji će protagonista kasnije iznova proživljavati na simboličkom nivou. Bilo o kom slučaju da je reč, DeLilo pristupa dihotomiji, u čijim okvirima je prošlost savršena i uređena, a budućnost strašna i uništivačka, tako što je sagledava u kontekstu parodije. Postmoderna nostalgija i postmoderna subjektivnost činiće bitan deo ovakvog parodiranja, što autoru omogućava da preispita mehanizme nostalgije i načina na koji ljudski rod pamti prošlost i istoriju.

Ključne reči: nostalgija, *Beli šum*, Don DeLilo, postmoderna subjektivnost, fetišiziranje istorije

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UDC: 821.111(73).09-31 Auster P.
DOI: 10.19090/gff.v48i3.2390
Original research paper

NAVIGATING NOSTALGIA AND EXILE IN PAUL AUSTER'S *IN THE COUNTRY OF LAST THINGS*

Anna Blume, the protagonist of Paul Auster's *In the Country of Last Things* finds herself in exile, although she has not physically left her country. Nonetheless, she has been thrust into an unknown, harsh, unwelcoming environment that exacerbates feelings of loss, loneliness, and despair. The concept of exile in the context of post-apocalyptic literature is questioned in the paper, and Anna is established as a representative of this type of exile - an exile from stability, moral values, and previously established reality. Anna's journey is analyzed from a theoretical perspective of nostalgia which is typically interpreted as longing for one's homeland in a spatial sense. In this context, however, it is interpreted as longing for the carefree times of the past and mourning of the lost future. Anna's nostalgia is not regressive but rather progressive. It motivates her and gives her hope that she will rediscover the life she once had. Although nostalgia is often referred to as a disease of the modern age, the paper investigates whether it can serve as a remedy as well.

Key words: nostalgia, memory, exile, Anna Blume, Paul Auster, *In the Country of Last Things*.

INTRODUCTION

In an interview with Larry McCaffery and Sinda Gregory (1989: 18), Paul Auster once expressed the idea that all his books were actually “the same book”, because they “seem to revolve around the same set of questions, the same human dilemmas.” Indeed, dominant topics and tropes can be identified in Auster's oeuvre, such as questions of human nature and the connection between language and reality. Restrictions, both physical and linguistic, play an important role in the development of Auster's narratives. Whether unable to leave the confines of an imposed space (Mr. Blank's room in *Travels in the Scriptorium*, Anna Blume's unnamed dystopian city in *In the Country of Last Things*), under mental constraints of their own making (August Brill's dream-constructed dystopia in *The Man in the Dark*) or deprived of language and/or memories (Peter Stillman in *The New York Trilogy*), Auster's protagonists are faced with a crisis that opens the ever-present questions of language,

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space, and memory. Auster's representation of a dehumanizing urban environment spreads throughout his entire literary opus, beginning with *The New York Trilogy* and *In the Country of Last Things*, both published in 1987. Although both novels express Auster's spatial concerns and their influence on the protagonists' language identity and perception of reality, the greatest difference is to be found precisely in the representation of the city. Auster's New York, despite its overwhelming presence and strong influence on the protagonists' lives, is still a functional city, whereas the unnamed, post-apocalyptic cityscape of *In the Country of Last Things* is in complete disarray and ruin. Displacement, confusion, and loss of roots take physical form in Anna Blume's environment. The setting of *In the Country of Last Things* causes estrangement and highlights the emotional turmoil of his young protagonist. As such, it is the best-suited of Auster's works for an exploration of nostalgia and exile in a non-traditional sense. Through Anna, a nostalgic exile, he expresses the inability to go back to previous social, cultural, economic status and traditionally nostalgic perception of the past, making it exceedingly difficult for people to remember their roots, for the very sense of belonging has been extinguished by overwhelming urbanity.

In the Country of Last Things is not overtly political, nor does it include references to historical periods or events. Auster began writing the book in 1970, when he first heard the voice of Anna Blume. Initially reluctant to write it, not wishing to seem presumptuous by writing from a woman's perspective, it took him fifteen years to complete the novel (McCaffery & Gregory, 1989: 35). The novel is said to be influenced by the literary movement attempting to express the unspeakable following World War II and the feeling of disorientation caused by rapid technological, political, social changes. Auster's works such as *The Music of Chance*, *The New York Trilogy*, and *In the Country of Last Things* share themes found in some of Auster's literary influences – Samuel Beckett, Franz Kafka, Knut Hamsun. A parallel may be drawn between Anna Blume and Knut Hamsun's unnamed protagonist in the novel *Hunger* (1890). In *The Art of Hunger* (1992: 11), Auster comments on the destiny of Hamsun's protagonist, emphasizing that he did not need to starve because "solutions exist, if not in the city, then at least in departure." Much like Hamsun's protagonist, despite her efforts, Anna "is truly shorn of [her] self" (Auster, 1992: 15), having been left without a clear image of her past or present. The working title of *In the Country of Last Things* was *Anna Blume Walks Through the Twentieth Century* (McCaffery & Gregory, 1989: 36). This significantly reflects Hamsun's protagonist who "systematically unburdens himself of every belief in every system, and in the end, by means of the hunger he has inflicted upon himself, he

arrives at nothing. There is nothing to keep him going – and yet he keeps on going. He walks straight into the twentieth century” (Auster, 1992: 20). Anna Blume may thus be seen as a continuation of the figure of the exiled wanderer, showing that the steps she takes in the twentieth century are not different from those before her or those to come.

THE INTERSECTION OF EXILE, NOSTALGIA AND POST-APOCALYPTIC LANDSCAPES

In the Country of Last Things takes the form of a single letter written by the protagonist, Anna Blume. Anna’s brother William, a journalist, left home to gather reports from an unknown city which Anna describes in the initial stages of her letter as a “a city consuming itself, even as it remains” (Auster, 2005: 21-22). Her search for William is futile, as Anna too becomes consumed by the city in which life bears no resemblance to her previous experiences. The city is in ruins and crumbling down before Anna’s eyes, only further declining as the novel progresses. Much like a labyrinth in which people walk around in circles, hopelessly searching for a way out, the city traps people and overpowers them with the grand, yet decaying, structures. Violence, theft and even cannibalism have become commonplace. The novel “explores the capacity of the individual to maintain a unified mental self when the physical self is subject to the most extreme urban conditions” (Brown, 2007: 140-1). The addressee of the letter is a former childhood friend, who interrupts the narrative flow of Anna’s confessional. “This narrative strategy simultaneously draws the reader’s attention to the layering and mediation of the narrative, and to the many lapses and losses of memory and language” (Brown, 2007: 141). The losses of memory are closely related to the confusion of past and present brought about by the frequent overlapping of memories from Anna’s childhood with current situations.

The paper centers on Anna’s perception of nostalgia, the extent to which the novel is infused with a nostalgic mood, and the overall positive and negative consequences of nostalgic sentiment in post-apocalyptic literature. It is worth noting that Anna’s nostalgia is distinct from that experienced by immigrants relocating to a new country, as she is faced with an unrecognizable social system, devoid of order, morality, and progress. This paper will examine how nostalgia as a concept must be re-evaluated and negotiated in the post-apocalyptic landscape, and whether it functions as a motivational force for survival or a hindrance to the protagonists’ ability to adapt and thrive in their new reality.

In post-apocalyptic settings, spatial, temporal, and social changes are exacerbated, serving as a poignant reminder of what has been lost. Nostalgia in post-

apocalyptic literature can manifest itself in numerous ways, such as idealizing the past, romanticizing lost objects and traditions, or yearning for a sense of security and stability. Consequently, the post-apocalyptic landscape serves as a unique backdrop for exploring the complexities of nostalgia, as it highlights the human propensity to cling to the past even in the face of insurmountable change.

In the Country of Last Things, while including elements of a futuristic dystopia, is not a tale about the future. Instead, Auster is depicting the present in a book that has “nothing to do with science fiction. It’s quite fantastical at times, of course, but that doesn’t mean it’s not firmly anchored in historical realities. It’s a novel about the present and the immediate past, not about the future” (McCaffery & Gregory, 1989: 36). Auster defines his novel as “a book about a collapsing society” (Morris, 2005: 165) that, much like his other works, serves as a “political parable about power” (Morris, 2005: 166). Auster’s words on the novel’s rootedness in contemporary social, moral, and environmental issues are as follows:

I feel that it’s very much a book about our own moment, our own era, and many of the incidents are things that have actually happened [...] And in many cases, reality is far more terrible than anything we can imagine. Even the garbage system that I describe at such length was inspired by an article I once read about the present-day garbage system in Cairo. Admittedly, the book takes on these things from a somewhat oblique angle, and the country Anna goes to might not be immediately recognizable, but I feel that this is where we live. It could be that we’ve become so accustomed to it that we no longer see it. (Auster, 1992: 285)

The novel is thus read as reflection of Auster’s contemporary society, but also as an exaggeration that serves as a fearful reminder, warning and meditation on the potential pitfalls of urban living and solitude – a way of life that dehumanizes individuals to the same extent a hostile and unknown environment would. While the preservation of memory and reconstruction of one’s life is the focus of many of Auster’s protagonists (Daniel Quinn, Mr. Blank, Sidney Orr), Anna Blume is an instance of memories being erased over time, becoming foggier as her life slips away from her the more she embraces her new reality. As Auster’s writers-protagonists typically look toward the past to make sense of their lives, Anna Blume and her husband Samuel Farr write nothing of the past. They are focused on documenting the dystopian present as a means of coming to terms with the unfamiliar situation they have found themselves in.

EXILE BEYOND BORDERS

An individual need not necessarily be in a foreign land for them to be in exile. Anna Blume remains in the same country, surrounded by people speaking her native language, yet she finds herself in a “fundamentally discontinuous state of being” (Said, 2000: 177). Anna’s new environment does not resemble her home in the least. There is a pronounced loss of familiar objects, loved ones, and a safe space. “To be exiled is not to be flung out of any door, but out of your own door; it is to lose your home where home suggests close emotional belonging and the gnarled roots of one’s identity” (Gass, 1990: 97). Anna must rebuild her life, attempt to find new roots and navigate her identity amongst intense feelings of nostalgia.

Grinberg and Grinberg (2004: 166) state that “those who are exiled have not come in search of something but have fled or been expelled.” Thus, Anna’s voluntary journey to the post-apocalyptic cityscape leads to the consideration whether she is, in fact, an exile or an immigrant. The distinction between an immigrant and exile is important to make because the inability to return home heightens the sense of loss and nostalgia for one’s previous life. An immigrant typically leaves an unstable, traumatic environment, in search for a better life, while an exile is thrust into an often unstable and isolated setting. All migrations are traumatic experiences in and of themselves, but we distinguish a different type and level of trauma associated with each event, along with differences in the subsequent yearning for home. While Anna’s departure was willing and motivated by her search for her lost brother, her inability to return was not voluntary, but rather set by external factors outside of her control. Unlike immigrants, Anna was not prepared for her journey, because upon departure, she was not aware that it would last forever.

“Exile involves rejection by a loved one, as if the face in your mirror grimaced when it looked out and saw you looking in. It is a narcissistic wound” (Gass, 1990: 97). Anna is indeed rejected, but not by her family as the previous definition of exile may suggest. She is rejected by herself, finding her image unrecognizable in the mirror and the pain of her loss intolerable. Anna describes looking at herself in the mirror for the first time after coming to the city: “The first few moments were frightening. I looked so ugly that I didn’t recognize myself anymore. It was as though I had been turned into someone else. What’s happened to me?” (Auster, 2005: 59-60). As “an exile is always out of place” (Said, 2000: 180), Anna combats the inherent urge to fit in, since fitting in meant succumbing to the violence and coldness of the city. To become integrated into the unfamiliar environment, Anna must renounce part of her individuality. “Such renunciations or losses inevitably produce internal conflicts, since they clash with each individual's striving to assure his own

distinctness from others, that is, to preserve his identity” (Grinberg & Grinberg, 2004: 162). Anna does not have a desire to fit in, but to survive. However, as time passes, she inevitably becomes influenced by the new environment, riddled with death and violence. This becomes evident when she takes pleasure in choking and nearly killing Ferdinand, becoming, for a moment, like all others wandering the city, killing to survive, unremorsefully stripping corpses of their belongings:

My grip around Ferdinand’s throat was like iron, and no amount of trashing and kicking would ever have loosened it. What happened was that I suddenly became aware of the pleasure I was feeling. I don’t know how else to describe it, but right there at the end, as I lay on my back in the sweltering darkness, slowly squeezing the life out of Ferdinand, I understood that I was not killing him in self-defense – I was killing him for the pure pleasure of it. (Auster 2005: 65)

Anna’s status as an exile is solidified by the impossibility of her returning home. The losses Anna faces range from loss of familiar food and comforting objects, to much graver losses such as the loss of stability and previously established reality. Exile is viewed as a notion transcending spatial and national categories. By viewing exile as beyond the notion of crossing borders, Anna becomes a figure of the unknowing exile in post-apocalyptic literature, an individual imprisoned by a sense of loss and mourning, “condemned to the imaginary and to nostalgia for the future” (Baudrillard, 1988: 95).

Describing Kafka, Auster writes: “He wanders. On a road that is not a road, on an earth that is not his earth, an exile in his own body” (Auster 1992, 24-25). Anna Blume, Auster’s wandering female protagonist, is an exile in her own country, having been displaced from her previous identity rather than her place of birth. Anna as an exile echoes Auster’s understanding of Paul Celan’s poetry. As a poet of exile and “an outsider even to the language of his own poems” (Auster, 1992: 82), Celan had to change himself to become a part of his new environment, which was “an impossible struggle, doomed from the start to disaster” (Auster, 1992: 94). Celan’s inability to curb his desolation, trauma and nostalgia proved fatal, until nothing remained of him, not even his words. Anna Blume, unlike Celan, accepted the necessity of change for survival and thus her exile was not fatal.

NOSTALGIA – POISON OR CURE?

In *The Invention of Solitude*, published five years before *In the Country of Last Things*, Auster expresses his musings on nostalgia as “the rift created between one’s past and present and subsequent sensation of nostalgia for the present” (Auster, 2005a: 79). Temporal displacement and confusion ensue as one attempts to navigate memories and

the emotions they bring about. Auster “attempt[s] to share the nostalgia for the unattainable, a nostalgia that at once evokes the pain of withdrawing from the world and the solitude made palpable by such a withdrawal” (Dow, 2004: 57). The significance of nostalgia in *In the Country of Last Things* lies in its emergence as the culmination of Anna’s anxieties about linguistic, social, and geographical change.

Even though the word nostalgia has been associated with mental disorders for centuries, any exclusively medical connotations it may have had are disappearing due to its frequent use in everyday language. “So easily and ‘naturally’ does the word come to our tongues nowadays that it is much more likely to be classed with such familiar emotions as love, jealousy, and fear” (Davis, 1977: 5). Despite the commonplace use of the term, there remains a lack of consensus regarding its connotation as either a positive or negative emotion. Upon thorough examination, three plausible perspectives on the nature of nostalgia arise: it can be perceived as either a positive or negative emotion, or alternatively as an amalgam of both, constituting an ambiguous, bittersweet feeling. The latter option offers a nuanced conception of nostalgia, as it acknowledges the complexity and multivalence inherent in this elusive state, which defies simplistic reduction to a binary opposition. In Davis’s definition of nostalgia as “a positively toned evocation of a lived past in the context of some negative feeling toward present or impending circumstance” (Davis, 1979: 18), it is worth highlighting that even when nostalgia is viewed as a purely positive state, it remains inevitably tied to the negative experiences that caused one to retrieve into the past for comfort.

The meaning of nostalgia has broadened over time and now includes not only the apparent longing for a place, but “a yearning for a different time—the time of our childhood, the slower rhythms of our dreams” (Boym, 2001: 452). Since it is not possible to turn back time, nostalgia has become “an incurable state of mind, a signifier of ‘absence’ and ‘loss’ that could never be made ‘presence’ and ‘gain’ except through memory and the creativity of reconstruction” (Hirsch & Spitzer, 2002: 258). In *In the Country of Last Things*, Auster’s protagonist displays nostalgia for her peaceful and carefree childhood, and for the future she will not experience in such conditions. While reminiscing about her past, Anna describes her home in a positive light, a lost paradise filled with fantasies and the hope of one day returning. Her letter, devoid of lamentation, is instead a reflection on everything she will be deprived of due to her new circumstances, as she attempts to reconcile with her new reality. Despite frequently writing about her childhood memories, Anna does not dwell on the past. She embraces the present, although nostalgia remains at the center of her life, evoking a combination of pain and joy in remembrance of her happy childhood.

Turner (1987: 150) states that nostalgia is to be viewed as a paradigm with four possible dimensions. Firstly, there is the sense of historical decline and loss, involving a departure from some golden age of ‘homefulness,’ followed by “a sense of the absence or loss of personal wholeness and moral certainty.” The third aspect is the sense of loss of individual freedom and autonomy with the disappearance of genuine social relationships” (Turner, 1987: 151). The fourth dimension of nostalgia brings “loss of simplicity, personal authenticity and emotional spontaneity” (Turner, 1987: 151). The dimensions of nostalgia as delineated by Turner are applicable to Anna Blume, as each aspect in her new city life is discerned. Firstly, the historical dimension of loss is manifested in the city's decline, which entails the erosion of all historical, cultural, and societal values, leaving Anna homeless, both literally and metaphorically, as she struggles to survive on the streets. Secondly, the moral dimension of nostalgia is discernible in Anna's compromised values, as she is forced to resort to questionable means to ensure her survival. Thirdly, Anna is unable to forge genuine relationships, as intimacy and emotional bonding become fraught with danger and potentially fatal consequences. Fourthly, consumed by fear, regret, and mourning, while suppressing her innate human urges for touch, love, and intimacy, there is a lack of personal authenticity and emotional spontaneity, rendering Anna's initial existence in the city a desolate and emotionally barren one.

The loss Anna feels is further emphasized by the lack of objects from her previous life, which used to give her a sense of security. According to Chase and Shaw, a crucial prerequisite for experiencing nostalgia is the presence of “objects, buildings, and images from the past” (Chase & Shaw, 1989: 4). In contrast to the hypothesis given by Chase and Shaw, the situation depicted in *In the Country of Lasts Things* is not one of abundance. The buildings are dilapidated, the objects broken and reduced to garbage, devoid of any recognizable visual representation for Anna. Nevertheless, this does not prevent the association of these objects with the past and the rise of nostalgic sentiments. Anna maintains a connection with the artifacts from her previous life through their current remains. Albeit in an altered form, the objects accentuate the rift between her past and present, intensifying her nostalgia for the times passed and unattainable future times in which these objects could be whole once more. The progression of nostalgia in the novel contradicts the notion that “the objects of nostalgia are often carefully preserved” (Chase & Shaw, 1989: 4). While the past has not been built over, it has been eradicated, and the objects associated with it discarded. Thus, Anna's dialogue with objects from the past becomes “one-sided” as “the deep sense of connection with the past one might feel can be simply a unilateral projection of our present anxieties and fantasies” (Chase & Shaw, 1989: 4).

In 1987, the year *In the Country of Last Things* was published, the Nobel Prize in Literature was awarded to Joseph Brodsky. Svetlana Boym (2001: 288) discusses Brodsky's exile and reflection on nostalgia and notes that Brodsky rarely used the word nostalgia, and in the rare situation he did, it had a negative connotation.

Brodsky doesn't tempt fate with a literary reconstruction of homecoming [...] Brodsky's figure for exile is not a cryptically disguised spy or a double with a great propensity for mimicry, but rather someone who is 'less than one,' a part of speech, a fragment, a ruin, a crying monster [...] Instead of obsessive homecoming, Brodsky reenacts a ritual of fleeing home, of repeated leave-taking, of retaining the past in one's memory in order to never come face to face with it. (Boym, 2001: 288)

His vision of exile and nostalgia differ from Anna Blume's in that she does not initially come to terms with her exile and continues romanticizing her past and wishing for a miraculous homecoming. While Anna feared her new estranged environment, Brodsky accepted his, on the premise of Russian formalist critics that estrangement is the necessity of all poetic creation (Boym, 2001: 290). However, Brodsky and Anna both share a "nostalgia for the familiar, for the vanishing routines" (Boym, 2001: 295) rather than nostalgia for their home country, or even the people they left behind.

Anna did not indulge in nostalgic daydreams as most city dwellers did. Her outlook on remembrance upon her arrival was grim as she deemed it an escapist waste of time: "Nothing lasts, you see, not even the thoughts inside you. And you mustn't waste your time looking for them. Once a thing is gone, that is the end of it" (Auster, 2005: 2). Even though Anna was immune to the allure of recreating past spaces and habits, this cannot be said for many of the city's other inhabitants. Examples of such tendencies are found in the photographs used to rent out apartments and in the functioning of the Euthanasia Clinics. People were desperate to find a place to live, and they fell prey to the scams of real estate agents, resulting in the loss of all their possessions. The photographs presented to them depicted fully equipped apartments, reminiscent of an era long gone, which evoked the smells of fresh coffee and sensations of warmth and coziness. Despite knowing that these photographs do not reflect the current state of the apartments, they were too overcome by their nostalgia to take caution (Auster, 2005: 8-9). The second example is the "Pleasure Cruise," a costly suicide package offered by the Euthanasia Clinics in which "the customers are treated to an opulent life, catered to in a manner that rivals the splendor of the old luxury hotels. [...] This runs into quite a bit of money, but for some people the chance to live the good life, even for a short while, is an irresistible temptation" (Auster, 2005: 14). The overwhelming power of nostalgia can be seen in the fact that people are willing to give up their lives for the mere glimpse of their former lives, which they had been ceaselessly mourning. The nostalgic desire for the past can be

equated with the representation of hunger in Auster's novel – "hunger is a curse that comes every day, and the stomach is a bottomless pit, a hole as big as the world" (Auster, 2005: 5).

In the atmosphere of poverty and scarcity, Auster's city dwellers continually discuss food, through a description so detailed that they can almost feel the sensations of eating the food. These conversations about food have become a primary preoccupation and serve as a means of easing one's ailments.

Often you will overhear a group of people describing a meal in meticulous detail, beginning with the soups and appetizers and slowly working their way to desert, dwelling on each savor and spice, on all the various aromas and flavors, concentrating now on the method of preparation, now on the effect of the food itself, from the first twinge of taste on the tongue to the gradually expanding sense of peace as the food travels down the throat and arrives in the belly. (Auster, 2005: 9)

Food is found to be one of major factors of inducing nostalgia in Auster's novel. However, Anna is not susceptible to this type of nostalgia, because hers is a nostalgia for the lost future, meaning and self. "Familiar foods serve as an anchor in an altered world [...] whereas unfamiliar food may become one of the clearest measures of how far we have journeyed from the present" (Retzinger, 2008: 370). Anna views these conversations as using the "language of ghosts" and she refuses to take part in this ritual. She refrains from indulging in olfactory remembrance, which emphasizes the drastic change in her personality.

I refuse to speak the language of ghosts, and whenever I hear others speaking it, I walk away or put my hands over my ears. Yes, things have changed for me. You remember what a playful little girl I was. You could never get enough of my stories, of the worlds I used to make up for us to play inside of. (Auster, 2005: 10)

When feeling anxious, an exile may resort to eating familiar foods in the company of others from the same country as a means of alleviating feelings of displacement and attempting to overcome the sense of loss for one's home (Grinberg & Grinberg 2004: 160). In Auster's novel, this sentiment is present in a changed capacity. Since there is no food in the city, its inhabitants exchange the ritual of sharing a meal with the ritual of summoning one's deepest sensual memories and imagining the meal. Comfort is no longer found in the food itself, but in the shared memories and company of equally nostalgic individuals. "In a bleak setting, familiar foods take on the role of 'comfort foods' quite literally and offer a means of clinging to a former world" (Retzinger, 2008: 372). Serving as a reminder of past times, the prolonged imagining of food carries a bitter-sweet reminder of times gone, that cannot be evoked in any way other than in memory. Mindless reminiscence without purpose, according to Anna, exacerbates longing to the

point that one loses touch with their reality and becomes consumed by nostalgia. Anna warns that:

Thinking about food too much can only lead to trouble. These are the ones who are obsessed, who refuse to give in to the facts. They prowl the streets at all hours, scavenging for morsels, taking enormous risks for even the smallest crumb. No matter how much they are able to find, it will never be enough [...] It is a slow death, as if food were a madness, burning them up from within. They think they are eating to stay alive, but in the end they are the ones who are eaten. (Auster, 2005: 3-4)

At the onset of exile, one seeks out a person or group to “help him become integrated, to assume the function of 'mothering' and 'containing', which will permit him to survive and get reorganized (Grinberg & Grinberg, 2004: 159). For Anna, the maternal, protective figure is first found in Isabel, followed by her future husband Samuel Farr, and Victoria Woburn after her tragic pregnancy loss. They represent “good internal objects, along the line of 'godparents' or substitute parents” (Grinberg & Grinberg, 2004: 159) who allowed Anna to revert to a childlike security and find solace in the present, as opposed to only relying on her own memories for comfort. The most consoling and empathetic presence in Anna's life was Samuel Farr, whose shared background and shared experiences enabled him to comprehend her predicament more intimately than the urban strangers. “All you have to do is listen to me talk. My accent is the same as yours. We come from the same country, the same city. We probably grew up in the same neighborhood” (Auster, 2005: 100). Samuel's ability to contextualize Anna's present struggles within the framework of her past life, and their shared memories, reinforced their relationship. “Nostalgia serves an indirect belongingness function. Nostalgia generates feelings of connectedness, reinforces attachment security, bolsters perceived interpersonal competence, and elevates feelings of social support” (Routledge, 2016: 7). The overlapping of their nostalgic reminiscences united them in a way that would not have been possible had they not had a shared origin: “We were not people of this city. We had grown up in another place, and perhaps that was enough to make us feel that we already knew something about each other” (Auster, 2005: 106). The pair recognize their joint past and use it as a foundation on which they can build their future in exile.

Prior to meeting Samuel Farr, Anna did not exhibit signs of nostalgia for her past, as she did not even indulge in such recollections nor held aspirations of returning home. However, upon gaining a confidante her latent nostalgia was revived and became the driving force of Anna's and Sam's survival.

We often talked about home then, summoning up as many memories as we could, bringing back the smallest, most specific images in a kind of languorous incantation [...] we were able to share the flavor of these things, to relieve the myriad incidentals of a

world we had both known since childhood, and it helped to keep our spirits up, I think, helped to make us believe that some day we would be able to return to all that. (Auster, 2005: 110)

Anna exhibits a tendency to evoke childhood memories as a coping mechanism in response to trauma, becoming engulfed by a nostalgic mood that she associates with a sense of security rooted in situations that remind her of her past. This is evident in her first encounter with the Rabbi in the daunting library:

It was strange what had come over me in the presence of this man, but the more I talked to him, the more I sounded like a child. Perhaps he reminded me of how things had been when I was very young [...] I felt on solid ground with him, and I knew that he was someone I could trust. (Auster, 2005: 96)

Even though Anna's home is so out of reach that it seems like it has completely disappeared, it remains an active and living entity in her mind, based on which she measures her current environment and conditions. "Yet nostalgia is not a longing to return to this 'safe home,' but to home as a scene of incubation: a singular knot of unmade decisions, of excitement at the flowering of alternatives, of reversible mistakes, of preparations for departure" (Chrostowska, 2010: 55). A return to a time of safety, stability, and certainty, which Anna found herself lacking. The city around Anna is in a "constant flux" (Auster, 2005: 1), due to which the stability of existence is shattered along with Anna's very notion of identity and humanity. "In order to live, you must make yourself die" (Auster, 2005: 20). In other words, you must destroy your memories and stop comparing the brutal present with the illusive and unattainable past. In Auster's urban landscape, "a house is there one day, and the next day it is gone. A street you walked down yesterday is no longer there today" (Auster, 2005: 1). The primary source of Anna's anxiety can be attributed to the rapid changes to her surroundings, causing desire for a time of her life marked by steadiness.

"What is nostalgia if not a kind of desire steeped in memory?" (Sayers, 2020: 44). The act of reminiscing about the past, with the intention of reliving it in one's imagination, arises from a yearning to retrieve a sense of past prosperity. Anna's "nostalgic desire for forms to revert to immobility, concealed beneath the very intensification of their mobility" (Baudrillard, 1988: 7) is emphasized. Her nostalgic inclination is manifested as a desire to reclaim her life and reconstruct it, not bound by the confines of her harrowing present, but rather guided by the memory of the security of her childhood. Thus, the desire is recognized as an indicator of "the importance of the unrealized past, of still *latent* unfinished dreams, of the slow and careful transformation of deeply felt losses, and of the creative collision of memory and possibility." (Sayers, 2020: 82).

AFTER THE APOCALYPSE: REBUILDING HOPE?

In Auster's novel, exile is portrayed as a permanent state of being with no possibility of returning to one's previous life. Anna's nostalgia, however, is not a paralyzing emotion, but rather a productive force that motivates her to rebuild her life. Despite the many challenges she faces in her post-apocalyptic landscape, Anna remains hopeful. The novel's conclusion offers a glimpse of that hope, suggesting that migration after migration is the new reality for Anna, and that her life, much like the city that had trapped her, is in a constant state of flux. The letter Anna writes serves not only as a sign of hope but also as an empty space that can be filled with new experiences, people, and ideas. By embracing the unknown and remaining optimistic, Anna is able to move forward, building upon the foundation of her past experiences, and embracing the new paths that lie ahead. The novel ultimately suggests that even in a post-apocalyptic landscape, there is hope, and that "nostalgia can be a poetic creation, an individual mechanism of survival, a countercultural practice, a poison, or a cure" (Boym, 2001: 456), depending on one's perspective. "Thus, not only does nostalgia promote meaning, but it also generates the states of well-being that are associated with perceptions of meaning. Nostalgia is a critical meaning-making resource." (Routledge, 2016: 99).

Auster's exploration of nostalgia in a post-apocalyptic world raises questions of "the future of nostalgia", so aptly answered by Boym in her eponymous study. Emphasizing the change in the nostalgia paradigm, Boym argues:

Once opium, leeches and a return home was a panacea for nostalgia. Now it is technology that has become the opiate of the people, that promises speed, ease and oblivion of everything except the technological products themselves. (Boym, 2001: 346)

Nostalgia is no longer considered an illness as it was in its original form, nor is it considered a cure. It is neither hopeful, nor hopeless. It is an ambiguous and fleeting entity in an increasingly urban and technology-oriented society.

Aleksandra Stojanović

TUMAČENJE NOSTALGIJE I EGZILA U ROMANU *U ZEMLJI POSLEDNJIH STVARI*
POLA OSTERA

Rezime

Ana Blum, protagonista *U zemlji poslednjih stvari* Pola Ostera, nalazi se u egzilu, premda nije napustila svoju zemlju. Osećaj gubitka, usamljenosti i očaja jednako je prisutan kao i tipičnim primerima egzilantske književnosti. Pojam egzila u kontekstu postapokaliptične književnosti se preispituje i Ana se uspostavlja kao predstavnik ove vrste egzila - egzila od stabilnosti,

moralnih vrednosti i čitave prethodno uspostavljene stvarnosti. Razmatranje nostalgije jeste neizbežno u kontekstu egzila. Nostalgija se obično tumači kao žaljenje za domovinom u prostornom smislu, no u ovom kontekstu, ona se tumači kao patnja za prošlim bezbrižnim vremenima. Anina nostalgija najviše se odražava u činjenici da ona pati za izgubljenom budućnošću. Ana se tokom čitavog romana priseća prošlosti koju prikazuje u najboljem svetlu. Međutim, njena nostalgija nije regresivna već progresivna. Ona pokreće Anu i daje joj nadu da će ponovno pronaći život kakav je nekada imala. Iako se radi o postapokaliptičnoj sredini, roman se završava idejom nade. Iako je nostalgija često nazvana bolešću modernog doba, ona nije otrov nego može poslužiti i kao lek u zavisnosti od toga kako joj se pristupi. Nostalgija se može savladati i poslužiti kao poticaj za postizanje napretka u budućnosti, kako primećujemo u slučaju Ane Blum.

Ključne reči: nostalgija, sećanje, egzil, Ana Blum, Pol Oster, *U zemlji poslednjih stvari*

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UDC: 821.111(73).09-31 Hemingway E.
821.111(73).09-31 Allen W.
DOI: 10.19090/gff.v48i3.2371
Original research paper

**PERSONAL AND HISTORICAL NOSTALGIA AS PORTRAYED IN
ERNEST HEMINGWAY'S *A MOVEABLE FEAST* AND WOODY ALLEN'S
*MIDNIGHT IN PARIS*****

Nostalgia seems to be coloured by familiarity and independence - it operates as everyman's authentic feeling and it does not belong to anyone specifically. This paper aims at examining the concept of nostalgia in the context of Ernest Hemingway's *A Moveable Feast* (1964) and Woody Allan's film *Midnight in Paris* (2011). The introductory part of the paper provides a review of the relevant literature on the topic of nostalgia, conceptualized in such a manner to provide help in the comprehension of nostalgia's portrayal in these two artistic works. In addition, a brief review on the socio-historical context of the period of the Roaring Twenties is provided. Further, the style in which *A Moveable Feast* was written is presented in the framework the Hemingwayesque, which is constituted of several prominent components of author's prose style (notably minimalism, repetition and omission). Hence, personal and historical nostalgia are analysed in accordance with the provided contexts both in literary and cinematic work of art. Taking into account all of the above, it can be concluded that *A Moveable Feast* could be read as a distinctive unity of personal and historical nostalgia, whereas *Midnight in Paris* could be read as a text which addresses historical nostalgia and escapism directly and treats them as its central theme.

Keywords: nostalgia, The Roaring Twenties, Lost Generation, Ernest Hemingway, Woody Allan

INTRODUCTION

While writing about nostalgia, a sentimental longing bearing the name of "pseudo-Greek" (Boym, 2001: 27) origin, different authors (Davis, 1979; Turner, 1987; Stern, 1992; Boym, 2001; Petrov 2021) comment on the topic's interdisciplinarity. Nostalgia seems to be coloured by familiarity and independence -

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** Рад је излаган у оквиру конференције ЕЛАЛТ 6 (THE 6TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND ANGLOPHONE LITERATURES TODAY (ELALT 6)), 29. 10. 2022. године

it operates as everyman's authentic feeling and it does not belong to anyone specifically. Petrov (2021) writes that "Nostalgia is one of those tempting topics, somewhat resembling the pop culture; it seems close, current, but at the same time problematic, unclear, complex, or even too trivial" (Petrov, 2021: 9). Boym (2001) notes that examining nostalgia is not the subject of a "specific discipline: it frustrates psychologists, sociologists, literary theorists and philosophers, even computer scientists who thought they had gotten away from it all until they too took refuge in their home pages and the cyber-pastoral vocabulary of the global village" (Boym, 2001: 20). Davis (1979) makes a remark on the sociological component of the multi-layered concept writing that "someone other than a poet or psychologist should write of nostalgia may seem presumptuous as well as surprising. Consider, however, that nostalgia, despite its private, sometimes intensely felt personal character, is a deeply social emotion as well" (Davis, 1979: vii). Turner (1987) comments on the presence of the theme of nostalgia in medical and art history (Turner, 1987), while Stern writes about nostalgia in the context of advertising text (Stern, 1992).

This very familiar yet complex feeling has a long and complicated history. People tried to comprehend it; hence it has been categorized and explained in numerous ways throughout history, one of the explanations even being related to mental illness (Davis, 1979; Turner, 1987; Stern, 1992; Castilho, 2014; Petrov, 2021). Contemporary understanding of nostalgia is based on the viewpoint that it can refer to distinct notions and that it primarily includes "longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed. Nostalgia is a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it is also a romance with one's own fantasy" (Boym, 2001: 14). Davis examines nostalgia from the sociological perspective in a study titled *Yearning for Yesterday, A Sociology of Nostalgia* (1979) and notes that nostalgia "leads us to search among remembrances of persons and places of our past in an effort to bestow meaning upon persons and places of our present (and to some degree our future)" (Davis, 1979: vii). The author further claims that nostalgia can be differentiated from other emotional states that are associated with memory as their source such as "recollection, reminiscence, and recall" (Davis, 1979: 74). In *Yearning for Yesterday*, a distinction between nostalgia and antiquarian feeling is offered – depending on whether one experienced the past towards which longing is felt. Davis poses a question of whether one can even feel nostalgia towards a past they have not experienced (Davis, 1979). Yet, the same author notes that "in recent years, it is conceivable that "nostalgia" qua word will in time acquire connotations that extend its meaning to any sort of positive feeling toward anything past, no matter how remote or historical (Davis, 1979: 8). Svetlana Boym writes that "nostalgia goes beyond individual psychology" (Boym,

2001: 17). According to the typology the author provides, there are two kinds of nostalgia: the restorative and the reflective. The difference between these two categories seems to lay in the notion that restorative nostalgia may present itself as truth and tradition, whereas reflective nostalgia is not in the conflict with the modern times: "Restorative nostalgia protects the absolute truth, while reflective nostalgia calls it into doubt" (Boym, 2001: 21). Nostalgia seems to be yearning for a place, nonetheless the idea of nostalgia goes beyond sentimental feeling towards a place. According to Boym, nostalgia is closely tied to longing for another time. The author goes further in claiming that nostalgia can be seen even as a rebellion against "the modern idea of time, the time of history and progress" (Boym, 2001: 17). In that sense, nostalgia is a powerful device in creation a certain mythology, either as a part of private or collective memory (Boym, 2001). Turner writes that the concept of nostalgia, as a social and cultural discourse, is constituted of four components (Turner, 1987). The four dimensions Turner describes are related to feeling of (1) departure from the golden age in the past, (2) absence of personal moral values, (3) disappearance of the individual freedom and (4) simplicity (Turner, 1987). The first dimension of nostalgia, as Turner argues, is characterized by the "sense of historical decline and loss, involving a departure from some golden age of homefulness" (Turner, 1987: 150). As an example, in order to illustrate the theory, the author mentions Millenarianism as an idea that refers to the lost space and time (Turner, 1987). Second dimension the author mentions refers to the feeling of losing of moral values humanity once had (Turner, 1987) and the theme that illustrates this dimension, according to the author could be Nietzsche's announcement that God is dead (Turner, 1987). The sense of losing individual freedom, in relation to the first two dimensions, is an expected occurrence. Hence, the third dimension refers to an individual whose God is dead and "moral coherence" (Turner, 1987: 151) is bygone. The feeling of "loss of simplicity, personal authenticity and emotional spontaneity" (Turner, 1987: 151) would be the last, fourth dimension of the concept of nostalgia. While writing about nostalgia in a slightly different context, the advertising text, Barbara B. Stern (1992) distinguishes personal nostalgia from historical nostalgia by referring to the former as "the way I was" (Stern, 1992: 16) and the latter as "the way it was" (Stern, 1992:13). Historical nostalgia being described as expressing "the desire to retreat from contemporary life by returning to a time in the distant past viewed as superior to the present" (Stern, 1992: 13), whereas personal nostalgia as idealizing "the personally remembered past" (Stern, 1992: 16).

To summarise, the concept of nostalgia, has been examined by various authors from different disciplines, including Davis (1979), Turner (1987), Stern

(1992), Boym (2001), and Petrov (2021). Petrov (2021) writes that it is a complex topic, both familiar and problematic. According to Boym (2001), contemporary understanding of nostalgia is related to longing for a home that no longer exists or to the one which never existed, therefore leading to a sentiment of loss, displacement, and a fascination with one's own fantasy. Davis (1979) approaches nostalgia from a sociological perspective, suggesting that it revolves around individual's search for the meaning in their present and future by reminiscing about people and places from the past. Further, Turner (1987) proposes four dimensions that constitute the social and cultural discourse of nostalgia, whereas Stern (1992) differentiates personal nostalgia from historical nostalgia. Further, according to Stern, the main distinction between personal and historical nostalgia revolves around either the idealization of one's own past ("the way I was") or the idealization of a distant, superior past ("the way it was") (Stern, 1992). Hence, this complex and multidimensional emotion that has captured the attention of scholars from various disciplines serves as the inspiration of scientific studies and works of art alike. Given the depth of the concept itself, these different outlooks on nostalgia by the above mentioned authors constitute the theoretical framework of this paper.

The Roaring Twenties: Paris and Une Generation Perdue

In the Introduction of the book titled *When Paris Sizzled* (2016) Mary McAuliffe notes that the Roaring Twenties were the decade of change “from art and architecture to music, literature, fashion, entertainment, transportation, and, perhaps most notably, behavior” (McAuliffe, 2016: 9). Under the colourful, glittery; grey and disillusioned umbrella of The Roaring Twenties seems to hide a good deal of connotations, associations and implied meanings. Under the same umbrella, a set of numerous insiders can be found. Given the fact that this period is historically, culturally and artistically significant and thus complex, for the purpose of this paper the notions of Paris and the “Lost Generation” in the context of the Roaring Twenties will be examined in greater detail. McAuliffe describes this period as years which were marked by the combination of escapism and creativity in the sparkling environment (McAuliffe, 2016).

In French this decade is called *les Années folles*, which translates to the Crazy Years (McAuliffe, 2016) and Paris is the inevitable insider of the Roaring Twenties umbrella. Not only had this city acted out as a spatial feature which held the expatriates in one place, but it can be observed as a separate character in the story of the notable and famous artists of the 1920s. Contributing to the fact of how important Paris was during the period comes a book titled *Expatriate Paris: A Cultural and*

Literary Guide to Paris of the 1920s by the author Arlen J. Hansen (2014). While trying to provide answer to the question of “Why Paris?” the author writes that Paris was seen by many American soldiers during the war, and that it was not an easy task not to return to the cite once the war had ended. Hansen also writes that “Paris meant even more to the aspiring artist, who tended to regard it as a special, virtually holy place” (Hansen, 2012: 17). When it came to the tolerance towards eccentricity and independence Paris not only had understanding for different artistic expressions, it also encouraged it, according to Hansen. Besides this, Paris became Europe’s artistic center during the 1920s due to the fact that it provided its artists with “the accoutrements necessary to art: excellent printers and presses, galleries and bookshops, art schools, social companions and intellectuals, patrons and buyers, concert halls and salons, and an unusually accessible and sympathetic press” (Hansen, 2014: 17).

If in the story of the Roaring Twenties, Paris was one of the central spaces, the set of main characters were members of the “Lost Generation”, also called Expatriates. *Une Generation Perdue* was proclaimed by Gertrude Stain to Ernest Hemingway, and the phrase came to signify the whole generation of artists who were trying to make sense of the world after the World War I. McAuliffe writes that those were the people, members of the “population of expats, dubbed the ‘Lost Generation,’” who “either found themselves or became permanently mired in a haze of fantasy and booze” (McAuliffe, 2016: 10). Craig Monk (2008) notes that the term “Lost Generation” can loosely refer to a lot of different meanings, but in its core, it signifies “American writers who spent some time in Europe between the World Wars” (Monk, 2008: I). Members of the “Lost Generation” and other notable artists of the period were at one point all residents of the previously mentioned 1920s’ Paris. What they had been doing and creating there is today traced through numerous biographies and autobiographies. Nonetheless, it is known who belonged to, as McAuliffe calls them, “cast of characters” (McAuliffe, 2016: 9) of the 1920s Paris, thus the author provides extensive inventory of the artists:

“Gertrude Stein, Marie Curie, Jean Cocteau, Picasso, Stravinsky, Diaghilev, and Proust, as well as Clemenceau, Sarah Bernhardt, and Claude Monet; Ernest Hemingway, Coco Chanel, Cole Porter, Josephine Baker, and Le Corbusier, Jean Renoir, Man Ray, Sylvia Beach, James Joyce, and Kiki, the famed Queen of Montparnasse” (McAuliffe, 2016: 9).

Interestingly, Craig Monk (2008) makes an elegant, but clear remark, when it comes to the reliability of the collective memory of the members of the “Lost Generation” during the 1920s: “‘All of you young people who served in the war. You are a lost generation,’ Gertrude Stein proclaimed. That, at least, was how Ernest Hemingway remembered her words more than thirty years later” (Monk, 2008: I). Nonetheless, Stein’s words served as the epigraph for Hemingway’s novel *The Sun Also Rises* (1926), where the famous quote was used for the first time.

When it comes to the mentioned “cast of characters” (McAuliffe, 2016: 9), it seems as though they served as a source of inspiration for the succeeding artists. While examining American Modernists during the 1920s and 1950s Martin Halliwell (2005) writes that during the 1940s and 1950s nostalgia towards the earlier times (1920s) can be observed in American film” (Halliwell, 2005). On that note, nostalgia seems to be the tone of Ernest Hemingway’s *A Moveable Feast* (published posthumously in 1963), which he wrote from 1958 to 1960. Exactly on that trace of nostalgia towards the bohemian Roaring Twenties, a great deal of artistic works, including literary and cinematographic ones, had been created.

The Hemingwayesque: The significance of literary and cultural figure of Papa

Since the publication of the short story collection *In Our Time* (1925), the figure of Ernest Hemingway has been inspiring literary critics, his contemporaries and the subsequent authors. Several prominent components of his prose style constitute the Hemingwayesque, which in many ways redefined the American short story (Bolton, 2010). While discussing the Hemingwayesque, Matthew J. Bolton (2010) writes that “It is hard for a casual reader to finish two or three Hemingway novels without finding him- or herself thinking and speaking in the pared-down, telegraphic mode of his narrators and characters” (Bolton, 2010: 51). A rather interesting observation about his style is written by Petrina Crockford (2010), who describes Hemingway’s writing as a distinctly democratic one. She notes that “rather than telling us how to feel, Hemingway nudges us toward our own conclusions. We are required to read something of ourselves into his stories” (Crockford, 2010: 16). Hemingway established himself as one of the leading figures of the American literary minimalism, which is almost invariably attributed to his name. In fact, despite the misconceptions and confusions that surround literary minimalism, “the least inventive but most frequent label for the textual tendencies and strategies in American writing” (Gordić Petković, 2014: 164), the critics agree on Hemingway’s contribution to its development. Further, his vastly famous theory of omission provided framework for reading, analysing and interpreting fiction in a new, unique manner, while his exploration of repetition indicated that there was more than the tip of the iceberg to his prose.

Hemingway’s recognizable style has commonly been discussed in the light of the literary influences he encountered throughout his lifetime; primarily the input by other literary figures, notably Gertrude Stein and Ezra Pound. Gertrude Stein thought him about concentration, as the mental process of actively selecting one source from countless available ones, and observing and expressing it truthfully (Greaney, 2006). Further, Stein introduced him to the repetition, which is another prominent characteristic of his fiction.

She called it ‘insistence’ and advised him to focus more on the method he would later master in his writing. Apart from concentration and repetition, Stein introduced Hemingway to works by other artists, i.e., painters. By comparing the composition of fiction to the one of a painting, Stein introduced Hemingway to the new perspective regarding the style. Therefore, as Greaney writes “Stein suggested Hemingway might begin by choosing elements for closer observation and compose them in such a way as to render the experience seemingly unmediated by the author, and in a direct apprehension by the reader” (Greaney, 2006: 60). Hemingway himself cited Cézanne as his inspiration both in *A Moveable Feast*, where he wrote:

“I was learning something from the painting of Cézanne that made writing simple true sentences far from enough to make the stories have the dimensions that I was trying to put in them. I was learning very much from him but I was not articulate enough to explain it to anyone. Besides, it was a secret” (Hemingway, 1966: 8).

and during the interview with Lillian Ross at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Ezra Pound was the mentor who significantly influenced Hemingway’s sentence structure and reduction of descriptions and adjectives. Greaney writes that “for Pound the adjectives implied an aesthetic evaluation that could be better achieved through the creation of an image” (Greaney, 2006: 65). Pound’s perspective on adjectives was that they affect the clarity – instead of improving it, they are deteriorating it. Hence, the clarity of expression became Hemingway’s focus. Further in his work, he would try to employ the technique of the adjective reduction in order to write the ‘truest’ sentences. Pound was also the one who introduced him to the imagery theory, according to which “single image should be expressed with a hard, clear precision” (Greaney, 2006: 66). In *Death in the Afternoon* (published in 1932) Hemingway proclaims “Prose is architecture, not interior decoration, and the Baroque is over” (Hemingway, 2012: 191), a sentence which could perhaps serve as the accurate illustration of what would later become recognized as the Hemingwayesque, and some of its predominant elements – minimalism, omission and repetitiveness.

NOSTALGIA IN A MOVEABLE FEAST

Several critics (Bakker, 1986; Brogan 1997; Toth 2006; Pence, 2014) argue that nostalgia seems to be the underlying tone of the prose found between the covers of a book for which “there is always a chance that such a book of fiction may throw some light on what has been written as fact” (Hemingway, 1966: 8), albeit bearing in mind that it may as well be read as fiction (Hemingway, 1966). Bakker (1986) claims

that “Through his choice of the right details, Hemingway brings Paris to life: he does not describe the city, he "creates" her. Yet Hemingway's nostalgic vision of his early years in Paris is colored by a sense of disillusionment” (Bakker, 1986: 96). The author further writes that throughout the nostalgic tone and his description of a simpler life he lived in the beginning of his career, in poverty, with his first wife in Paris, Hemingway aims the readers towards thinking that there existed some events which developed in an undesirable way (Bakker, 1986). Brogan (1997) analyses the apparent presence of nostalgia in the text in relation to repetition, whereas Toth (2006) examines it in relation to avoiding the trap of recollection: “Given the obviously fragmented and constructed nature of the sketches that make up *A Moveable Feast*, the text can hardly be accused of attempting to "repeat" the past” (Toth, 2006: 188). The author further claims that, on the contrary, the text seems to aim at forgetting the past and reinventing the old version of Hemingway (Toth, 2006). Lastly, Pence (2014) writes about the value of nostalgia the readers of *A Moveable Feast* may feel while reading the prose. Further, the author claims that “while critics argue that nostalgia can be dangerous to our present and future, nostalgia for 1920s Paris is constructive and useful” (Pence, 2014: 10).

Nonetheless, considering the fact that an experienced and established author writes a book of his young and struggling years of becoming a writer, it is expectable that, to some extent, nostalgia will be the tone embedded into the writing. Nostalgia here seems to operate both on personal and historical level. Hemingway omitted to tell us that there exists certain longing for the past, but in Hemingwayesque way, he aims us at concluding that personal and historical longing for the previous time is present. Furthermore, at moments it seems as the two intertwine and compose a unity:

“I felt badly that Ford had been rude to him, as, being a young man who was commencing his education, I had a high regard for him as an older writer. This is not understandable now but in those days it was a common occurrence” (Hemingway, 1966: 65).

As mentioned, while writing about the four dimensions of the paradigm of nostalgia, Turner (1987) notes that the second dimension is marked by the feeling of losing of moral values humans once had (Turner, 1987), just like Turner illustrated the claim with the example of Nietzsche’s announcement that God is dead (Turner, 1987), Hemingway proclaims that in the moment of writing the text (1958-1960) young people do not value the same principles he and his contemporaries did – respecting the older. Toth writes about the critics’ general agreement that the prose in question contains the notable elements of the Hemingwayesque. In other words, “A

Moveable Feast is stylistically indistinguishable from any one of the other ‘fictional’ texts that constitute Hemingway’s oeuvre” (Toth, 2006: 182). Hence, if one were to examine the provided excerpt from the minimalist perspective, they may conclude that Hemingway subtly, in his recognizable telegraphic style, reports on the death of god.

The tone of nostalgia is coloured by different minimalist, sometimes even repeated or omitted elements of the fragmented story. Just as Bakker writes that nostalgia derives from the subtle assumption that “Something went wrong, he seems to suggest, happiness was slipping from his fingers” (Bakker, 1986: 96), the ending of a chapter titled *Shakespeare and Company* ends in words: “‘We’re always lucky,’ I said, and like a fool I did not knock on wood. There was wood everywhere in that apartment to knock on, too” (Hemingway, 1966: 33).

While describing his encounter with F. Scott Fitzgerald, Hemingway also sets a nostalgic tone, the longing for a value that once existed but is now lost:

“I was embarrassed by what he said – it was all about my writing and how great it was – I kept on looking at him closely and noticed instead of listening. We still went under the system, then, that praise to the face was open disgrace” (Hemingway, 1966: 108).

Hemingway’s repeated “one does not forget people” (Hemingway, 1966: 145; 146) seems to occupy yet another source of the nostalgic tone while talking about F. Scott Fitzgerald, one of the main actors of the Roaring Twenties in Paris. Not only is he describing him subtly, so that all that Scott was is placed in one (true) sentence “‘He was an American writer of the early twenties and later who lived some time in Paris’” (Hemingway, 1966: 144), but he also writes the dialogue between him and Gerogie coloured with personal and historical nostalgia:

“‘It is strange that I have no memory of him.’ Georges said.

‘All those people are dead.’

‘Still, one does not forget people because they are dead’ (Hemingway, 1966: 145)

[...]

“‘I am going to write something about him in a book that I will write about the early days in Paris. I promised myself that I would write it.’

‘Good’, said Georges.

‘I will put him in exactly as I remember him the first time that I met him’

‘Good,’ said Georges. ‘Then, if he came here, I will remember him. After all, one does not forget people’” (Hemingway, 1964: 146).

Lastly, arguably the most intensive nostalgic tone is embedded into the beginning and ending of the text, making it a perfect full nostalgic circle. The epigraph states that “If you are lucky enough to have lived in Paris as a young man, then wherever you go for the rest of your life, it stays with you, for Paris is a moveable feast” (Hemingway, 1966: 6), whereas the name of the chapter the last paragraph of the text is located is “There is never any end to Paris” (Hemingway, 1966: 147). Finally, the text ends on the nostalgic note “this is how Paris was in the early days when we were very poor and very happy” (Hemingway, 1966: 160).

NOSTALGIA IN *MIDNIGHT IN PARIS*

Pence (2014) writes about feeling nostalgic even towards the unexperienced “We can feel nostalgia for things we never experienced because of the way we remember and archive the past” (Pence, 2014, p). Nostalgia poses as one of the central themes in Woody Allan’s *A Moveable Feast* – not only does the main character of Gil Pender’s (Owen Wilson) book work in a nostalgia shop, and not only does the main plot revolves around time travel to 1920s in Paris, but nostalgia is also directly addressed in the dialogue between Paul and Inez. Klara Stephanie Szlezák (2015) writes that both scholars and reviewers agree on the fact that Allan’s movie is constituted of allusions to artistic figures and works of art (Szlezák, 2015). “Art scene of early twentieth-century Paris” (Szlezák, 2015: 173) is presented in a fantasy world to which the protagonist Gil Pender travels; the fantasy world he feels longing for. Maria Teresa Castilho (2014) writes that “by problematizing the historical, social and cultural changes which have affected people’s lives, Hollywood frequently brings to the screen nostalgic impulses which are ideologically manipulated through cinematic codes”, thus implying that even in the present times, a hundred years later, our everyday challenges and changes may urge us to wander along the paths of past times, be that as it may, those paths they fantasy, escapist and distant, but they may make one feel nostalgic towards the unexperienced. “The central theme of *Midnight in Paris* is nostalgia” (Castilho, 2014: 179) claims author Maria Teresa Castilho. Davis (1979) poses a question of feeling nostalgic towards the unexperienced, and the film portrays its own unique answer to the question of whether one can feel longing towards the times they did not live in. Thirty-two years after Davis wrote that “in recent years, it is conceivable that “nostalgia” qua word will in time acquire connotations that extend its meaning to any sort of positive feeling toward anything

past, no matter how remote or historical (Davis, 1979: 8) Allan's movie without a doubt portrays nostalgia towards a historical period:

“INEZ (pointedly) People who live in the past. Who think their lives would have been happier if they lived in an earlier time.

PAUL And just what era would you have preferred to live in, Miniver Cheevy?

INEZ (teasing Gil) Paris in the twenties - in the rain - when the rain wasn't acid rain.

CONTD: PAUL I see. And no global warming, no TV or suicide bombing, nuclear weapons, drug cartels.

[...]

PAUL Nostalgia is denial. Denial of the painful present.

INEZ He's a romantic. Gil would be just fine living in a perpetual state of denial.

PAUL The name for this fallacy is called, Golden Age thinking.

INEZ Touché.

PAUL The erroneous notion that a different time period was better than the one, one's living in. It's a flaw in the romantic imagination of those who find coping with the present too difficult" (Allan, 2011: 10-11).

As one might observe from the excerpt above, nostalgia is directly addressed in the dialogue between Inez and Paul. The dialogue is portrayed in such a way (uttered by pseudo-intellectual Paul (Michael Sheen)) that it aims the audience towards relating to Gil (Szlezák, 2015) and considering the whole dialogue somewhat comic. Besides the allusion to Minevar Cheevy, nostalgia is addressed in such a way that it is described as “denial”, “fallacy”, “Golden Age thinking”, “a flaw in the romantic imagination”. It seems that the passion Inez and Paul have towards criticizing historical nostalgia produce the comic effect. Be that as it may, there is a note of escapism implied – Gil is facing an obstacle in the process of writing, he cannot finish his novel about the “lead character who works in a nostalgia shop (Allan, 2011: 10); he is facing career dilemmas related to his self-esteem; he is deeply questioning his ability to become a serious writer; on the top of that, as it turns out, he is not satisfied with his personal life either. That being said, he is facing hidden voids in different spheres of his life. Hence, he does succumb to the trap of escapism. At one point during the film, Gill himself utters the famous sentence “I was born in the wrong time” (Allan, 2011: 43) and thus addresses the historical nostalgia directly as well. Just like Gil Pender gets into a car and travels back through time to 1920s Paris, a viewer of Allan's move is almost as a fellow passenger and gets the

opportunity to see Hemingway, Gertrude Stein, the Fitzgeralds and other members of the Roaring Twenties scene.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Nostalgia has been examined and analysed throughout centuries. Different eras were marked by different understanding of nostalgia. Contemporary understanding of the concept would be associated with feeling of longing towards the past times. The nostalgia towards unexperienced would be classified as historical nostalgia, whereas the nostalgia towards the experienced as personal nostalgia. Hemingway's *A Moveable Feast* represents a unique unity of personal and historical nostalgia, since it was written from the perspective of an established writer about his youth in Paris, thirty years later. Bearing in mind that at the time *A Moveable Feast* was written, Paris had already been established as a cultural phenomenon and the characters in the book had already been famous authors, the readers may regard the prose as fiction or fact, or even the creation of the myth. Written in minimalist manner, the text contains repetition and omission and stylistically cannot be exactly differentiated from Hemingway's other books. On the trace of *A Moveable Feast*, which is mentioned in the film directly, Woody Allan made a cinematic version of his own 1920s' Paris. Based on either fiction or fact, or myth, this fairytale-like film portrays the stereotypical association the present viewer has of 1920s Paris. The film addresses nostalgia as well as escapism, and provides arguments to support the claim that both may serve as useful (to realize the truth) or harmful (to hide from the challenges of present), respectively.

Милица Б. Сурла

Резиме

Рад се бави анализом концепта носталгије у делима *Покретни празник* (1964) Ернеста Хемингвеја и *Поноћ у Паризу* (2011) Вудија Алена. Полазећи од теоријских поставки и различитих одређења носталгије, у уводном делу рада пружен је кратак приказ релевантне литературе (Davis, 1979; Turner, 1987; Stern, 1992; Boym, 2001; Petrov 2021) када је у питању носталгија. Надаље, у раду је приказан и кратак осврт на друштвено-историјски контекст (период Бурних двадесетих година прошлог века), како би се показало који историјски тренутак служи као извориште носталгичног осећаја. Такође, помињу се и еминентне књижевне фигуре које су обележиле овај период. Париз двадесетих година XX века, као просторно одредиште, оквир који пружа мноштво истраживачких питања, а врло могуће и културни феномен, сто година касније и даље

служи као извор инспирације научника и уметника. Овај град, тадашње уточиште уметницима, помиње се као симбол, а врло могуће и протагониста Хемингвејеве књиге и Аленовог филма. Када је реч о књижевном делу корпуса, пружен је теоријски оквир хемингвејевског стила у оквиру ког је дело анализирано. Хемингвејевски стил подразумева ауторов препознатљиви сведени, телеграфски начин писања, сачињен од минимализма, репетиције и теорије изостављања. Поред тога што је дело написано овим стилем, и с обзиром на то да сам аутор на почетку дела наглашава да се оно може читати и као фикција, многи критичари сматрају да се (аутобиографско) дело не разликује много од остатка ауторовог опуса. У наставку рада, реч је о анализи приказа носталгије у поменутих делима Хемингвеја и Алена. У складу са теоријским одређењима, фокус анализе стављен је на личну и историјску носталгију. Оно што би се могло закључити јесте то да Хемингвејево дело представља јединствено прожимање личне и историјске носталгије. У примерима приказаним у раду јасно је да аутор извориште и личне и историјске носталгије проналази управо у Паризу Двадесетих година. Надаље, у филму *Поноћ у Паризу*, носталгија је експлицитније поменута и могло би се рећи да јесте једна од централних тема. Реч је о историјској носталгији и ескапизму који протагонисту филма Гила воде до различитих увида; реч је о носталгији и ескапизму који би могли бити штетни али и исцељујући истовремено.

Кључне речи: носталгија, изгубљена генерација, Париз, 1920, Ернест Хемингвеј, минимализам, Вуди Ален

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UDC: 821.111(680).09-31 Fugard A.

DOI: 10.19090/gff.v48i3.2392

Original research paper

ATHOL FUGARD'S *SORROWS AND REJOICINGS*: THE NOSTALGIA OF AN EXILE**

The paper focuses on Athol Fugard's play *Sorrows and Rejoicings* (2001) which depicts the fate of Dawid Olivier, a white South African poet, who returns to die in his home country after spending years in exile in London. Using Lacan's concept of the Other, which in postcolonial theories is reconceived as the Other (colonizer) and other (colonized), together with Said's concept of exile which posits it as "the unhealable rift" between the Self and its true home, the paper explores the traits of Dawid's identity so as to figure out how a brilliant young poet and university professor ended up in final decadency, alcoholism and despair. Dawid turns out to be an embodiment of reflective nostalgia based on his feelings of uprootedness, uselessness and fear of forgetting his mother tongue. Dawid's character is revealed through a prism of the stories told by the three women in his life, Allison (his wife), Marta (his black lover) and Rebecca (their illegitimate daughter). They turn out to be nostalgic exiles in the world of post-apartheid, where the identities continue to be constructed by the racist/gender discourse that labels people as Other/other alienating them from the Self, which remains unattainable fiction.

Keywords: Athol Fugard, *Sorrows and Rejoicings*, exile, nostalgia, identity, Other/other, Self

1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout human history, people have been fascinated with the past and have often looked back upon it with a sense of nostalgia. From ancient myths and legends to contemporary literature and art, the theme of longing for a bygone era has been a recurring motif across cultures and time periods. This preoccupation with the past reflects a fundamental aspect of human nature: the desire to connect with something larger than oneself, to find meaning and purpose in the collective experiences of our ancestors. However, although many experience nostalgia as an inherent (selective) remembrance of pleasant events that occurred in the past (which also romanticizes our recollection of the past to a certain extent), nostalgia, as a

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** The paper was presented at ELALT 6 Conference.

limiting segment of our potential futurities, can also appear threatening to our experience of the Self and the Other.

This is parallel to Svetlana Boym's (2007) differentiation between restorative and reflective nostalgia. While restorative nostalgia involves happy memories and association with the past, seeking to recapture a lost past and erase the gap between the past and the present by creating a utopian vision of a return to a bygone era, reflective nostalgia is characterized by a critical awareness of this gap and a willingness to embrace the ambiguity and contradictions of memory (Boym, 2007, para. 28). As Boym claims, stories from exile are "the best narratives of nostalgia" (para. 39), since exile, as a physical manifestation of a forcible displacement due to oppression or conflict, and nostalgia, as a more inner experience, both entail a sense of loss, and the longing to return to a place or time that is irretrievable, prompting the urge to fill a void.

The notion of "filling a void" has recurred in numerous literary works, but it has especially been evident in the context of apartheid and postcolonial literature, where the forced removals of people from their homes and the subsequent destruction of communities created a profound sense of exile and nostalgia. One of the well-received and praised contemporary plays that tackle this topic is *Sorrows and Rejoicing*, written by Athol Fugard, often hailed as South Africa's "greatest ever playwright" (Smith, 2014) for his explorations of the legacies of apartheid. The play premiered on May 4, 2001, in Princeton (New Jersey), but in contrast to the new millennium's promise of a fresh start after the end of apartheid, the play opens with a symbolic representation of the antithesis of life. It takes place immediately after the funeral of Dawid Olivier, a brilliant poet and lecturer at the University of Witwatersrand (Johannesburg), who, due to his activism in the 1970s, was subjected to a ban on movement that ultimately led him to exile in London. After sixteen years spent in London, Olivier returns to his hometown of Karoo, only to die shortly thereafter. Dawid's portrait is gradually shaped through the recollections of the three women in his life, his white English-speaking wife, Allison, his black lover, Marta, and their mixed-race, illegitimate daughter, Rebecca. With three races represented on stage, the play underscores the enduring dynamics of dominant and subordinate others, even after the removal of official racial labels in post-apartheid.

While the play has been extensively evaluated from various angles in numerous theatrical reviews (Novick, 2019; Billington, 2002; Sommer, 2002; Fisher, 2002), it has not received much scholarly attention and its literary significance remains underexplored. Recent research analyzed the play in terms of the concept of whiteness and constructions of Afrikaner identity (Meskin & Van der Valt, 2010),

whereas Krueger (2008, 2011) examined Dawid's identity solely in terms of masculinity. So far, however, Fugard's play has not been explored either from the Lacanian perspective or in relation to the complexities of nostalgia and exile and their interconnectedness, which will be of crucial importance in this article.

The paper argues that Fugard's protagonist, while in exile, experiences the radical shift from a romanticized notion of nostalgia, to the more transformative, reflective but pathological nostalgia that, towards the end of the play, becomes completely disruptive to his identity, and leads to his final fall. The interpretation will be based on the Lacanian concepts of the Self, the other/the Other, the lack (*objet petit a*), and the Symbolic. We will analyze Dawid's identity both in the context of his relation with the society/Symbolic order manifested through the language which Dawid deeply identifies with (macrocosm, the Other), and in relation to the play's female characters (microcosms, the other). These microcosms posit Dawid as the dominant Other in relation to the subordinate others – Allison, Marta and Rebecca, who all seem to reflect Dawid's identity, but, as the analysis will showcase, to different levels.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The understanding of nostalgia has evolved from a medical concept to a construct of psychosocial implications. Back in the late 17th century, the term "nostalgia" was coined by the Swiss physician Hofer to denote a pathological feeling soldiers experience for their homes (Jones, 2006). Much later, Freud theorized that nostalgia is our distorted representation of the past, due to the emotional attachment to the people or objects we remember. As a misrepresentation of the past, or a pseudo-memory derived from falsehood, nostalgia serves as a psychological defence so that we can navigate our present experiences better (Freud, 1899: 322). Freud was also among the first to understand that nostalgia is closely connected to the loss of the object of desire, which originates from the irrecoverable loss of childhood, and that the nostalgic experience was related to how we respond to that loss. Similarly, Boym (2001) argued that nostalgia is a sentiment moreover "of loss and displacement" (p. xiii) that appears as a defence mechanism.

Within Lacanian psychoanalysis, nostalgia is defined as "a fundamentally imaginary activity that idealizes the past and that remains necessarily linked to the operation of fantasy" (Hook, 2012: 11). Lacan believed that the experience of nostalgia arises from a sense of loss and separation, which is related to the experience of exile, as both involve a feeling of being cut off from a sense of home or belonging. He argued that these experiences are linked to the fundamental human condition of

feeling incomplete or lacking, which he referred to as the “lack” or “desire” that drives all human behaviour and the ongoing process of identity formation (Evans, 2006: 95).

In Lacan’s view, what creates this sense of lack or desire is the split, i.e. the “subject-object” or “self-other” divide, which reflects the tension between the individual’s sense of self and their relationship to the external world. He argued that the internalization of external norms and values is necessary for the child to develop a sense of self and a coherent sense of identity. Lacan (2006) believed that the creation of identity is an ever-evolving process, not innate, but influenced by the cultural and symbolic context. He argued that the unconscious is structured like language and that individuals understand and express their desires through language and culture. In his view, the idealized self-image formed in the pre-linguistic “mirror phase” is shattered when the child enters the patriarchal Symbolic order, marked by the appearance of the father and the acquisition of language. This transition reveals the imaginary unity as a fiction, as the subject is compelled to adopt pre-existing linguistic-cultural roles, and is thus deprived of autonomy. The subject can never find a signifier that would be their own and that would help them fully express themselves (Lacan, 2006: 75-81). The symbolic order embodied in the father, or the big *Other* is where the subject’s constitution and de-constitution take place. Lacanian subject seeks recognition from the Other, and, at the same time, desires to possess the Other. However, it is never fully accessible to themselves: they speak, but “do not know what they are saying because they are entangled in a network of symbolic mediations that do not allow them to unify their own image” (Bužinjska & Markovski, 2009: 68-69).

The interplay between postcolonial theory and psychoanalysis was initially brought to the forefront during the so-called “linguistic turn” (Thakur, 2020: xix) in postcolonial criticism, championed by figures like Spivak, Fanon, and Bhabba, who leaned heavily on psychoanalytic insights. Lacan’s notion of the “Other” and “other” serves to elucidate the dynamics within the colonizer-colonized relationship, with the “other” representing the colonized and the “Other” personifying the colonizer. In a quasi-parental role, the colonizer establishes the framework within which the colonial subject is moulded, perpetuating power imbalances and cultural dominance (Aschroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2000: 170). Although some contemporary postcolonial critics disavow the connection between these fields, focusing solely on amplifying marginalized voices and mere reversal of roles (Thakur, 2020: xiv-xxi), it remains crucial to revisit perspectives like Fanon’s, who asserted that the subaltern’s identity lies in non-being, or lack, i.e. it exists “only as a flicker between two signifiers but

never in itself" (xvi). Additionally, Homi Bhabba introduced the concept of hybridity, which encompasses not only the identities of colonized subalterns, but also those of colonizers, blurring the Other/other distinction (Bhabba, 1994: 43-44, 109-114). This becomes particularly relevant to our analysis due to the evident racial differences among the protagonists, who all struggle to define their identities in simple Other/other terms.

3. UNRAVELING THE IDENTITY OF DAWID OLIVIER

The retrospective story of Dawid Olivier's life in exile thematises how bitter-sweet innocent nostalgia for the past, after unresolved conflicts with the other/Other and the protagonist's unwillingness to accept the imminent change that destabilizes the Ego, metamorphosed into destructive nostalgia which, contributed to the main character's unbearable agony, led to decadence and death. One of the first disruptors of Dawid's identity is his inability to speak his mother tongue, to write and express himself in language. A cohesive unity, that Dawid strives for, or the Self, initially embedded in the language itself, appears difficult to attain.

Dawid's reliance on language as the anchor of his identity was challenged even before going to exile, when the ban on movement left him unable to create and express himself. Feeling "useless" and powerless, Dawid grows alienated and nostalgic even before leaving, split and torn, exposed vulnerable to the Other. At this point, Dawid's pursuit to fulfil the void leads to his self-imposed exile:

I can't be read. I can't be published. I can't be quoted. You know what comes next? "So why bother to write, Dawid Olivier?". [...] "Why bother? You know they'll just wake you up again in the middle of the night, search the place, find the manuscript and take it away like all the other stuff they looted from your life." Exile is going to give me back my voice. (Fugard 2002, 24)

Identifying with Ovid, he emphasizes that he leaves, for patriotic reasons, to raise awareness about the situation in South Africa and do something for his country. Allison describes the happiness that writing brought to Dawid upon their moving to London and his intention to write a book of poetry that would be a celebration of "the freedom he found in London and which he believed would one day finally arrive in South Africa" (27). For him, the choice to leave did not mean fleeing or the defeat, but rather a victorious continuation of the struggle to end apartheid. Indeed, the first few years in exile are marked by his fervent attempts to write a book called *Rejoicings* in Afrikaans, stimulated by the aroused nostalgia that he feels, which is, at first, of the more restorative kind, a mild, gentle stimulus that he needs to continue his search

for the *objet petit a*, to “fill the void” and try to fulfil his desire. His departure into exile is, above all, his attempt to reclaim his own sense of identity that the apartheid government obliterated by restricting his movements.

However, as years pass, and the new surroundings require Dawid to use English, the feeling of nostalgia increases as the language he is deprived of carries a vast array of cultural, social and emotional associations that are deeply rooted in his memories and experiences. While Allison, whose mother tongue is English, demonstrates the transformative power of speech, when after pronouncing their surname in an English accent in London she experiences a sense of “a new beginning” (11), which relates to the notion that her voice appears as formative to her subjectivity, Dawid feels the new language will draw him further from the identity he believed to possess: “He became very paranoid about little things like that, saw them as an erosion of his Afrikaner identity” (Ibid.). Allison, as an embodiment of a new Symbolic order, is relegated to the position of Dawid’s Other and they grow more and more apart. Dawid’s fear of forgetting his Afrikaans is similar to the one expressed in a poem written by his beloved Ovid, which Fugard prominently displays on the front page of the play:

I feared I’d forget my Latin language
Forget how to use my dear mother tongue.
I thought it would clot and dry my veins
And never again its sweet song be sung. (3)

Later in the play, Dawid recalls how he wandered aimlessly through the streets of London, speaking Afrikaans to himself, much like Ovid did (43). By repeating his mother tongue to himself, Dawid attempts to create a sense of continuity with his past and stabilize the Symbolic order that gives meaning to his existence and that is slipping away from his hands more and more.

Another argument that confirms that Dawid’s identity is jeopardized are the acts of both physical and figurative castration he experiences, both closely related to his inability to speak/write. Namely, being a writer himself, Dawid’s deprivation of language emasculates him, so he feels less of a man, as a person without a profession and purpose. Lacan argued that “castration is the most significant one from the point of view of analytic experience, and the term ‘lack’ tends to become synonymous with castration” (Evans, 2006: 96). Castration is a reminder that, in the process of attaining subjectivity, identity has been created through the process of “symbolic identification” that takes place during childhood (Hook, 2006). The castration is symbolically represented in the story that Dawid intends to write about one of his comrades who decides to cut his own testicles, in an act of simulating the

government's negation of masculinity. Apart from the intended piece of writing, the castration parallels Dawid's own feeling of emasculation. Namely, as readers will learn later in the play, Dawid will become medically impotent during the exile, as a result of his mumps infection, which will dramatically affect his identity and signal the end of Rejoicings in his life. Dawid's inability to write reinforces his sense of failure, and his writer's block becomes a metaphor for his impotence, indicating that his sense of purpose has dried up like the ink in his pen.

As Hook (2006) notices, in Lacanian theory, the acceptance of castration is necessary for personal development, which involves acknowledging that one's desire can never be fully satisfied. By accepting castration, the subject is able to develop a symbolic relationship with his own lack, which allows them to engage in social and cultural life and pursue their desires in a more nuanced and complex way. Unfortunately for Dawid, the castration process remains beyond his grasp, so he develops the feelings of anxiety, inadequacy, and loss of manhood. This is confirmed by Allison's confession that their life has "become a shambles" (Fugard, 2002: 31) and by Dawid's "unkempt appearance [on stage] suggesting an advanced degree of personal neglect" (Ibid.). In Dawid's case, nostalgia serves as a link between the Subject and a lost object (a phallus) and is marked by an ongoing tension between his Self and its social and cultural context. The tension is further evident in the silent presence of his wife and a lover, as potent and reachable counterparts and feminine representatives of "the other", who will forever remain out of Dawid's reach.

Dawid's anticipated triumph in exile turns into a complete failure, which will eventually announce his fall. His identity in exile becomes the embodiment of ambivalence that is interwoven into the position of an exile whose sense of belonging is split between feelings of non-belonging and a desire to belong to a nation, country, and linguistic group. In his essay "Reflections on Exile," Edward Said (2002) confirms this ambivalence, stating that "[e]xile is strangely compelling to think about but terrible to experience. It is the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home: its essential sadness can never be surmounted" (Said, 2002: 137). Said further states that achievements in exile can never surpass this fundamental feeling of sadness: "The achievements of exile are permanently undermined by the loss of something left behind forever" (Ibid.). In other words, Said confirms Lacan's premise that the void one is trying to fill will forever remain unsatisfied.

Krueger (2008: 99) rightly argues that Dawid's sense of emasculation in exile, which mirrors his experiences in South Africa, stems from the realization that he is no longer useful to his country or nation. Namely, his inability to fulfil the traditional roles of a hunter, protector, provider, and defender for his country and family, is a

representation of his failure to embody the concept of masculinity. Krueger accurately attributes Dawid's reluctance to return home once the apartheid is over, to his shame over the failure to fulfil his masculine role. However, it is not the only reason for his refusal to go back. Dawid represents a typical example of reflective nostalgia, which becomes his identifying characteristic in exile. As Boym notes, "reflective nostalgia thrives on *algia* (the longing itself) and delays the homecoming – wistfully, ironically, desperately" (Boym, 2007, para. 28). Dawid becomes an alcoholic together with "a bunch of other lost exiled souls who were like a pack of hyenas, scavenging the headlines for bad news from Africa" (Fugard, 2002: 36). The fact that Dawid does not vote in the 1994 elections is a direct consequence of this nostalgia: a (political) change would mean that the object of his longing has irretrievably disappeared. Exile becomes his new identity, and by returning to South Africa, he would lose that as well. As Said emphasizes, "the pathos of exile is in the loss of contact with the solidity and the satisfaction of earth: homecoming is out of the question" (Said, 2002: 142). Only at the moment when he realizes he is dying of leukaemia, when he has nothing left to lose, does Dawid dare to return "home" to Karoo. In his monologue, which takes place after coming back, he admits to experiencing a complete harmony between his soul and the soil he is standing on. This sense of unity is reinforced by the final image of Dawid as a young man who again emphasizes his connection to his mother language and homeland, which resonates with Lacanian primary desire of a child to unify with his Mother. To secure his road to wholeness and unity, and probably address nostalgia, Dawid recites Afrikaans surnames, savouring their musicality, and declaring, "They taste of the Karoo... sweet water and dry dust!" (Fugard 2002, 52).

Dawid's death soon after he returns home marks a significant symbolic moment in the play, as it occurs just before the New Year's which suggests that he will not have the opportunity for a fresh start. He dies without the chance to reconcile with his daughter, who does not reveal her identity in front of him. Instead, he remains fully identified with his loss, a concept that Said refers to as "terminal loss" (Said, 2002: 137) and his death represents the tragic culmination of his inability to reconcile with the external world and "embrace" the other.

4. UNVEILING THE PARALLELS: DAWID'S LEGACY AND FEMALE CHARACTER'S IDENTITIES

Dawid's struggle with the other/Other takes many forms in numerous episodes, but it showcases his inability to reconcile the individual sense of self with the broader cultural and social context. Dawid's macrocosm, represented in his country and the realm of the Symbolic as the Others, is bluntly contrasted to the position he occupies in relation

to the microcosms consisting of the three women, who are pushed into the roles of his subordinate others. Christina Scott aptly points out that the play's female characters remain in the shadow of the male one:

In the flashback of a trio of women – a former lover, an ex-wife, and an abandoned daughter – Dawid talks. They don't. He is spotlight. Their faces are in the shadow. He moves. They don't. ... These are the women's remembrances and yet they don't feature in them. (quoted in Krueger, 2008: 106)

From the feminist perspective, Scott is right to some extent, since all of the women's stories reveal their identities as less important, as being forever entangled with Dawid's identity. However, Krueger (2011: 125) rightly notices that Scott's "attack" on the play as "a preachy history lesson", fails to recognize that the play does not testify to the grandeur of masculinity, but its failure.

Evidently, the formation of Dawid's identity remains significantly shaded by the females' personal relationship with their own identities and their own (un)successful accepting "the void" as a necessary catalyst for their Self-creation. However, all three differ in how they handle the process. Marta, being a black woman, occupies the role of a double subaltern, which she, seemingly, gladly accepts. She mirrors her lover's nostalgia, founding her Self on the memories of life inside the room that was "a whole world" for her and Dawid (Fugard, 2002: 38). Marta's insistence on preserving Dawid's memory is shown by her manic upkeep of the house and the stinkwood table, which, as Krueger (2011: 125) rightly notices, stands as a symbol of Dawid's identity. However, as Dawid's death compels her to hand over the house keys to Allison, she confronts not only the loss of him, but she must also bid farewell to the *locus* of her memories. Devoid of an Other to whom she would be the subordinate other and severed from the room that once anchored her sense of Self, she is forced to enter a new exile-like reality, parallel to Dawid's. Allison, on the other hand, after being given the voice in exile, as shown above, seemingly manages to reverse the other/Other roles with Dawid. It is she, who once blindly followed Dawid, that thrives in exile and becomes a provider for the family, while Dawid stays home and prepares meals. However, Allison's identity still parallels Dawid's in terms of identifying with a loss, since she loses him twice: firstly, as a lover, and secondly, as an intellectual partner, when she finds out that all of his poems were burnt by Rebecca in an act of defiance.

Nevertheless, Rebecca is the one who follows in her father's footsteps to the most extreme degree, but she is also the one who ultimately manages to escape from the fate of the exiled. Rebecca's monologue reveals that she is trapped in a traumatic past that has predetermined her to see herself as a "little bastard with light skin and straight hair" at whom everyone points the finger (Fugard 2002, 41). Rejected by whites as well

as blacks, she knows what it means to occupy the space of Fanonian nonbeing, i.e. ontological uncertainty between the colonial constructions of “white” and “black” identities (Fanon, 2008: vi-vii, 1, 6). She, like her father, lives in permanent exile, though within a psychological context. She blames her father for leaving them, and she blames her mother for living in his memory, labelling her “a stinkwood servant” (12), a term Marta fully embraces. On the other hand, Rebecca’s monologue functions as a liberating attempt to reclaim her identity and assert agency by articulating her traumatic past. Her repeated references to her mixed-race identity and her uncertain status within the community demonstrate her struggle to locate herself within a fixed Symbolic order. She draws strength from her own hybridity, finding defiance in it, as Bhabba (1994) would say. By speaking out and accusing Marta of being blind and selfish, Rebecca takes control of her own narrative and defines herself on her own terms. Shouting: “I am going to live my own life the way I want to” (46), Rebecca finally appears as someone who has her own will and who does not allow herself to be a victim of a traumatic past, which she wishes to bury in the same way as her father. Her rejection of her father’s name and her embrace of her Xhosa heritage can, in Lacanian terms, be seen as an attempt to create a new signifier for herself. In this sense, her declaration that she will live her own life on her own terms is not just a statement of independence, but a declaration of subjectivity which challenges the patriarchal Symbolic order.

Moreover, Rebecca’s personal journey reflects the larger societal journey towards acknowledging and accepting the legacy of apartheid. Her youthful energy, mixed heritage, and rebellious attitude embody the spirit of the “new South Africa standing on its still wobbly legs but determined to march fearlessly into another thousand years of recorded history,” (45) as Dawid emphasizes. The fact that the future belongs to Rebecca is highlighted by the fact that at the end of the play, Allison informs Rebecca that she will inherit the house. However, this also implies that distancing completely from the past is impossible. The house, which is a metaphor for South Africa’s history, carries the ghosts of its past, and its legacy cannot be ignored, burnt or buried, suggesting that South Africa, while moving forward, must also acknowledge and accept its past as an essential part of its identity.

5. CONCLUSION

By tracing the downward spiral of a gifted young poet and professor who in exile succumbs to final decadency, in *Sorrows and Rejoicings*, Fugard continues to explore the recurring theme in his oeuvre – a question of identity as an interplay between dominant Other and subordinate other, but now within the context of post-apartheid society and nostalgia intertwined with the concept of exile. While the prevalence of the concept of

nostalgia in the post-apartheid era is unexpected given the widely accepted notion that the past should be left behind, it is not an isolated case. As Walder (2009: 935) notes, this sentiment usually appears in certain critical phases in the history of humanity: industrialization stimulated the romantics, while migration, exile, decolonization, and the horrors of the 20th century, stimulated the writing of all those novelists whose fiction represents the present as a place where survivors search for their roots, or home, in the ruins of history. Boym (2007, para. 1) points out that the very origin of the word nostalgia suggests a longing for a home that no longer exists or never existed since *nostos* means "return home," and *algia* means "longing."

Through Lacanian lenses, the paper demonstrates how this longing is palpable in the protagonist's inner turmoil as he grapples with the crushing weight of "terminal loss" he experiences in exile, driven by a sense of uprootedness, uselessness, emasculation, and the fear of forgetting his mother tongue. Highlighting the pervasive grip of the Symbolic order by revealing the roles of other/Other occupied by the play's characters, Allison, Marta, and Rebecca embody the similar plight of nostalgic exiles, their memories forever intertwined with the past that they cannot, and sometimes, do not wish to escape. However, Rebecca, although mirroring her father's exiled identity to the highest level, in the end finds her own voice and the way to come to terms with her personal history. The play's final image suggests that hers might be the road from *Sorrows* to *Rejoicings*, as opposed to her father's, crushing down in absolute *Sorrows*.

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TUGE I RADOSTI ATOLA FUGARDA: NOSTALGIJA EGZILANTA

Rezime

U radu se analizira drama Atola Fugarda *Tuge i Radosti* (2001) koja opisuje sudbinu Davida Oliviera, južnoafričkog pesnika belca, koji se nakon šesnaest godina provedenih u egzilu vraća u svoj rodni Karu, gde ubrzo umire. Njegov život se retrospektivno izlaže na sceni u preklapajućim monolozima tri žene: supruge Alison, belkinje, ljubavnice Marte, Afrikanke, i njihove vanbračne ćerke, Rebeke, kao i Davidovog duha, čije prisustvo na sceni upućuje na nemogućnost brisanja prošlosti. Kroz Lakanov koncept Drugog, koji se u postkolonijalnom diskursu preobražava u Drugog (kolonizatora) i drugog (kolonizovanog), u radu se analizira identitet protagoniste kako bi se utvrdio razlog njegovog sunovrata od briljantnog mladog pesnika i profesora do dekadencije, alkoholizma i potpunog očaja. Kroz koncept egzila Edvarda Saida kao nepremostivog rasepa između sopstva i njegovog istinskog doma, dolazi se do zaključka da David u egzilu postaje oličenje takozvane reflektivne nostalgije, koja se ogleda u njegovom osećanju beskorisnosti, iskorenjenosti i strahu da će zaboraviti svoj maternji jezik. U bliskoj vezi sa njegovom nemogućnošću da priča/piše javlja se i kastracija,

koju David iskušava i u bukvalnom i u figurativnom smislu, i koja je uzrok nemogućnosti njegove identitetske potrage, budući da se „nedostatak“ nikad ne može ispuniti. Sa naglaskom na sveprisutni Simbolički poredak, u radu se takođe analiziraju i identiteti ženskih likova, koje se postavljaju kao drugi u odnosu na Drugog – Davida. Sve tri donekle preslikavaju Davidovu sudbinu nostalgичnog egzilanta, ali se načini na koje one doživljavaju svoja sopstva u mnogome razlikuju. Rebeka, koja u najvećoj meri iskušava psihološki egzil, na kraju uspeva da pronađe svoj glas i pomiri se sa svojom prošlošću, izazivajući Simbolički poredak.

Ključne reči: Atol Fugard, *Tuge i radosti*, egzil, nostalgija, identitet, Drugi/drugi, Sopstvo

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UDC: 391.43
316.722
004::316.3
DOI: 10.19090/gff.v48i3.2379
Original research paper

“YOU, MY FRIEND, ARE ALL THAT’S LEFT OF THEIR RELIGION”: STAR WARS, FANDOM AND NOSTALGIA

A long time ago (though not in a galaxy far, far away), fandom was seen at best as an offshoot of cultural studies, and at worst, as an acceptable target of ridicule and Othering. Since the early 1990s and the pioneering work of scholars like Henry Jenkins and Camille Bacon-Smith, however, fandom has gained respectability (and profitability) as both a multidisciplinary area of study and a lucrative part of commercial popular culture. Today, we live in an unprecedented time: not only have fandom and nerd culture become mainstream, but they have joined forces with rhizomatic web platforms and formed a digital age where transmediality reigns supreme, and where stories have become Intellectual Properties. Nowhere is this more clearly seen than in *Star Wars* – once a film series authored by a single creator, now a megacorporation-owned franchise with multiple authors, narratives, and storytelling platforms. As a result, the *Star Wars* fandom, never an inviting space, has fractured even more and turned to nostalgia as a source of comfort, with predictably volatile results, as different fandom factions lay sole claim to historicity and authenticity. *Star Wars* thus occupies the perfect liminal space between fandom and hatredom, present and past, nostalgia and schmaltz. Using contemporary fan studies scholarship, this paper examines the role of nostalgia in today’s *Star Wars* fandom, with the emphasis on media convergence and cultural wars in digital social spaces, thus exploring popular convergence culture at large.

Key words: *Star Wars*, fandom studies, nostalgia, popular culture, digital social space

The title quote of this paper comes from the original *Star Wars* movie, later renamed *Episode IV: A New Hope* (1977). Darth Vader is convinced that he can sense his old master, Obi-Wan Kenobi, on board the Death Star, but Grand Moff Tarkin, the film’s Big Bad, tells him that Jedi are “all but extinct”, and that he is “all that’s left of their religion.” Of course, Vader is right – not only is he not the only Force-wielder left, but the belief in the Force remains strong, if diminished, throughout the Galaxy. Somewhere in there is a metaphor for fandom and its many subjective

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manifestations, from its resemblance to religion¹, to the unwavering, if entirely biased belief that we must be the only ones left who are doing fandom right. The only thing that might be a somewhat objective fact is fandom's indestructibility in the face of change.

Like the rest of worldly affairs in the pre-digital age, fandom was also once an altogether analogue, real-life experience. Since the mid-to-late 1990s, however, it has migrated almost exclusively into the digital space. Today, as we move further into Web 2.0², the age of deplorably capitalist internet and fandom-as-business industry, we, who are known in the online world as "fandom olds", look back at earlier fandom phases with nostalgia, convinced that the glory days are behind us. But is it really so? Or is it purely a side-effect of ageing? In this paper, I intend to (at least attempt to) find an answer to these questions, using *Star Wars* as an example.

The reason for this choice is as logical as it is simple. *Star Wars* has been around for so long that it has gone through all the major fandom phases, from fanzines, early cosplay and amateur fan-made films in the late 1970s and early 1980s, to the embrace of newly established online fandom spaces at the turn of the millennium, to today's SocMed dominated internet. Furthermore, *Star Wars* has never been a particularly welcoming fandom: unlike the (OG) fandom that rose around *Star Trek*, which relied on the communities marginalised in conventional sci-fi spaces, i.e., mostly women, working together to create a place for other women to enjoy (cf. Jenkins, 1992; Bacon-Smith, 1992; Vujin, 2023b), *Star Wars* as a fandom has been (up until very recently) heavily male-dominated, with nerd culture's toxic masculinity and misogynist attitudes serving as perfect gatekeeping tools of exclusion (cf. Scott, 2019). With the rise of social media, particularly hostile online spaces such as Twitter (hostile even before the Musk takeover), these problems became rather

¹ Fandom has some elements in common with religion (e.g. intense devotion, affective experience, infighting between factions, adoration and exaltation of beloved figures (which is particularly evident in sports fandoms and their worship of athletes) or pilgrimages to "sacred" sites, such as Graceland for Elvis fans), but the comparison should not be made crudely or taken lightly, as it was often used in the past in order to pathologise fannish engagement. It would be better to say that fandom frequently employs some religious practices (like pilgrimage); however, it does not really function as a religion. For more on this, cf. Booth, 2018: 207–225.

² A term coined in 1999 by web designer and author Darcy DiNucci, Web 2.0 refers to the current era of the Internet, dominated by social media platforms, user-generated content and endless advertising. In the current digital climate, regular site visitors, bloggers, app users, etc. are not the actual clients, but instead product to be sold (through data collecting) to the real end users – advertising companies.

more apparent, with regular mass cyberbullying of women, POCs and queer people associated with the franchise (cf. Booth, 2018; Scott, 2019; Click, 2019). Nevertheless, we cannot simply blame toxic masculinity and bigoted nerd culture for everything – if anything, it is just the latest in many iterations of *Star Wars* fandom’s hypercritical attitude to any changes in the franchise.

As I already mentioned, *Star Wars* has been around for a long time. Originally conceived as a single movie that came out in 1977 (later renamed *Episode IV: A New Hope*), *Star Wars* soon grew into a trilogy (with the release of *Episode V: The Empire Strikes Back* in 1980 and *Episode VI: Return of the Jedi* in 1983). These three films were later grouped as the Original Trilogy, because creator George Lucas planned to film at least three more movies in the franchise. In 1999, the long-awaited *Episode I: The Phantom Menace*, the first film in the new, Prequel Trilogy was released, followed by *Episode II: Attack of the Clones* in 2002 and *Episode III: Revenge of the Sith* in 2005. In 2012, George Lucas sold Lucasfilm to Disney, and they created the Sequel Trilogy (*Episode VII: The Force Awakens* in 2015, *Episode VIII: The Last Jedi* in 2017, and *Episode IX: The Rise of Skywalker* in 2019), along with some other stand-alone movies, TV series (both animated and live-action), comic books, novels, video games and numerous other stories that work together to create a single transmedia narrative. Thus, we can differentiate between three distinct narrative phases in the *Star Wars* franchise: the Original Trilogy (OT) era, the Prequel Trilogy (PT) era, and the Disney era.³ Each of these distinct periods has their fans and anti-fans⁴, with the common denominator being nostalgia: usually, fans will love the phase that was most relevant during their childhood, and actively hate the phase(s) that threaten to spoil that halcyon impression. Those who disagree are often accused of not being “real fans”, or of “doing fandom wrong”.

Fandom attitudes are, paradoxically, both stubbornly adhered to and prone to change, depending on what fans find most likeable or offensive at any given moment. In *Textual Poachers: Television Fans & Participatory Culture* (1992), his pioneering study which brought fandom into academia, Henry Jenkins states that fans are equal parts fascinated and frustrated with the objects of fandom. Fans are not

³ For more on this, including how each of the narrative phases treats the character of Darth Vader, cf. Vujin, 2023a.

⁴ “Anti-fans”, a term coined by fandom scholar Jonathan Gray in 2003, refers to those audiences who actively dislike texts and objects of fandom, and engage with them in ways similar to their fans, i.e. they are often organised, highly visible, and intimately involved in the texts they find intolerable. For more on this, cf. Gray–Sandvoss–Harrington, 2007: 283–356 and Click, 2019.

simply adoring audiences, and fandom has never been a truly unified space, which earlier cultural theorists failed to recognise. In his seminal (though short-sighted and casually sexist – cf. McRobbie, 1991: 16–34) book *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (1979), Dick Hebdige discusses subcultures as opposed to mainstream, while in “The Cultural Economy of Fandom”, first published in 1992, John Fiske says that fans police the borders of fannish spaces against intruders (cf. Fiske, 2001: 34–35). Neither Hebdige nor Fiske are members of the subcultures they examine, and so they fail to recognise the actual nature of fandom as subculture, which later theorists of fandom, such as Jenkins, who identify as fans, easily spot: the subcultural element is not united against outsiders, but plagued with infighting. In other words, fandom is divided into warring factions, and the wars are brutal. Since fans are active, affective audiences who engage with texts from a much shorter distance than casual readers/viewers/listeners etc., it is inevitable that such emotional investment leads to deeply personal views and more intense interactions with other fans, both positive and negative ones.

Apart from the division into three phases across years, *Star Wars* can also be divided into two distinct creative phases: the George Lucas years and the Disney years. Here we can see the difference between earlier models of creativity, where authors used to create works of art, and today’s conglomerate culture, where monopolistic corporations like Disney have control over the world’s most popular stories (including, but not limited to, both *Star Wars* and *Marvel* franchises), which are no longer seen as works of art, but as IPs, or Intellectual Properties. Authors (writers, directors, etc.) are no longer artists, but content creators, and they are hired for their ability to adapt their style to existing storyworld rules, and not for their originality.⁵ The resulting stories are, understandably, less daring than those that came before them. Lack of a single unifying voice leads to disparity in tone and vision in the Disney era *Star Wars*, with varying levels of success across transmedia narratives. The almost universal disappointment with *The Rise of Skywalker*, both in critical and fan circles, served as a painful reminder that, when it comes to storytelling, playing it safe, with no clear artistic vision and no originality, is a no-win strategy.

⁵ The utter disdain for the profession of media writing on the part of corporations can be illustrated by the fact that, after weeks of failed negotiations with studios and streamers, in which they demanded fair pay, the Writers Guild of America (WGA) were forced to go on strike, starting with 2 May 2023 (cf. WGA On Strike). It took 148 days for an agreement to be reached, and the strike officially ended only on 27 September 2023.

However, no matter how nostalgic today’s fans might be for Lucas’ *Star Wars*, it should not be forgotten that not so long ago, Lucas was considered a persona non grata in his own franchise, and his sale of Lucasfilm to Disney was seen as a chance for them to save *Star Wars*. *The Force Awakens*, a fun, but unoriginal rehash of *A New Hope*, was considered a return to form – here, we can see the commercialization of nostalgia in action, with the entertainment industry using nostalgia to turn fans into ideal consumers (cf. Niemeyer, 2014). *The Last Jedi*, while critically appreciated and at least somewhat creative and original, caused a divide in fandom which still lasts, while *The Rise of Skywalker* cemented the Sequel Trilogy’s fate as a generally reviled, soulless attempt to cash in on a franchise that refuses to die. Fans are fickle, and their goodwill, once earned, does not last forever. George Lucas’s position in the *Star Wars* fandom is a perfect example of that. In 1997, to coincide with the saga’s twentieth anniversary, Lucas released digitally enhanced versions of the original films in cinemas, which caused a lot of discontent in the fandom, as fans did not want “their” movies to be changed.

Here, I can introduce the notion of nostalgia. Children’s narratives, such as *Star Wars*⁶, tend to be regarded as special, and fiercely protected even into adulthood. Children’s literature is frequently judged by standards other than purely aesthetic. Narratives aimed at children often have nostalgia in them, whether by invoking “childhood magic”, looking at childhood through half-schmaltzy, half-nostalgic lens coinciding with the outdated, pseudo-Romantic ideas of constructed child as innocence personified, or trying to recapture a vague child-like feeling that has been irrevocably lost (and might never have actually existed at all). Fans who employ this kind of nostalgia are always going to find anything new lacking, because nothing can recapture the nostalgic idea of what it was to watch *Star Wars* as a child. Nostalgia, as Katharina Niemeyer (2014: 6) explains, “could be described as being a liminal, ambiguous phenomenon that migrates into deep emotional and psychological structures as well as into larger cultural, social, economic and political ones.” In the case of *Star Wars*, the films that we watched as children carry with them a particular “aura” of nostalgic yearning for childhood, and anything that threatens that image is regarded with hostility. Someone who is not a fan, but simply a viewer of *Star Wars*, might not understand why many fans see Lucas’ constant tinkering with his films (e.g. introduction of new CGI elements into the OT, or more substantial changes like

⁶ Despite its timeless quality, mostly thanks to certain universal narrative structures (heroic quest/Campbellian monomyth in the OT and classic tragedy in the PT – cf. Vujin, 2023a), *Star Wars* was, as Lucas has always insisted, originally conceived for twelve year olds.

the insertion of Hayden Christensen in place of Sebastian Shaw as Anakin's Force ghost in *Return of the Jedi*) as betrayal. However, for a fan, this amounts to sacrilege, and the comparisons with religion are once again inevitable.

Nowhere is this attitude more easily recognised than in the documentary *The People vs. George Lucas* (2010). Here, the interviewees, ranging from fans to fellow authors and academics (e.g. Henry Jenkins), express their opinions about both *Star Wars* and Lucas himself. They voice their feelings of absolute betrayal by what they see as meddling with history⁷ – Lucas allegedly sealed the original, unedited versions of the OT; consequently, only the enhanced versions can be legally obtained.⁸ The brunt of the attack, however, was reserved for the Prequel Trilogy. As legend goes, George Lucas originally planned to make three trilogies. That plan did not come to fruition, largely owing to fandom – Lucas was so frustrated by the backlash the PT received that he sold Lucasfilm to Disney and retreated into relative obscurity. In one of his rare public appearances, at the 40-year celebration of *Star Wars* in 2017, he only (rather gracefully) commented that fans “haven’t always been kind”⁹.

It is interesting to note that the majority of attacks on the PT came from adults, i.e. those who were children or young adults when the OT was released and came to associate it with the spirit of childhood and glory days of youth. This can be clearly seen in the documentary's soundtrack, as one of the songs featured in *The People vs. George Lucas* is tellingly named “George Lucas Raped Our Childhood”. Interestingly enough, younger fans who were not even born when the OT was released in cinemas understandably had much less investment in it. They – and I count myself among them – did not hate either the PT or the enhanced version of the OT nearly as much, if at all. However, for the fans who came to associate *Star Wars*

⁷ Fans consider Lucas' digital changes to the OT to be extremely hypocritical, because in 1988, Lucas testified in front of the US Senate asking for the protection of the cultural film heritage against alterations by corporations (the testimony is in the public domain and can be found on Wikisource – link in references). Opinions about his moral right to change his own films *post factum* aside, the Lucas detractors seemingly fail to understand the difference between an author willingly changing their work and a copyright-holding corporation doing it for them without their consent.

⁸ This hasn't stopped fans from painstakingly removing Lucas' changes from the films. One of the better-received fan-made versions is known as the “Despecialized Edition” (as a response to Lucas' enhanced “Special Edition”) and can be found online in less legal parts of the Internet.

⁹ The interview is not currently available – I watched it as part of 24/7 livestream of the 2017 *Star Wars* celebration on the official *Star Wars* YouTube channel.

with childhood itself, any perceived threat to it is seen as violation. This is related to the Kantian idea of nostalgia, which refers less to homesickness, and more to the desire to return to one’s youth. As he explains in *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View* (1798), this kind of nostalgia in people is

the result of a longing for the places where they enjoyed the very simple pleasures of life – aroused by the recollection of images of the carefree life and neighborly company in their early years. For later, after they visit these same places, they are greatly disappointed in their expectations and thus also find their homesickness cured. To be sure, they think that this is because everything there has changed a great deal, but in fact it is because they cannot bring back their youth there. (Kant, 2006: 71)

Such nostalgia combined with unrealistic expectations plays a huge role in the birth of the “disappointed anti-fandom” (Gray), i.e. the anti-fandom that is a result of fans being disappointed by the directions taken by the text, which leads to their refusal to accept those changes, various attempts to “fix” them through transformative¹⁰ action, or ultimate rejection of the text itself (cf. Click, 2019: 30–32). In the years between the Original Trilogy and the Prequel Trilogy, both fandom and official transmedia stories (i.e. mostly comics and novels, previously known as Extended Universe (EU) and now relegated to Legends status) built up a certain image of the Star Wars universe that did not necessarily coincide with Lucas’ ideas, as he retained only loose control over EU stories. Even if he did everything “right”, it would have been impossible for Lucas to live up to the expectations of the fandom. However, when the prequels came out, the backlash against them rose to the levels of pure vitriol. Many, particularly older, fans outright rejected the idea that Darth Vader, whom they came to associate with gravitas and “badassery” started out as a whiny child who used to yell silly phrases like “Yippee”. Add to that the demystification of the Force into the pseudoscientific idea of midi-chlorians, and the politically heavy content of trade disputes and senate arguments, and the fans

¹⁰ Fandom theory recognises two types of fannish engagement, affirmational and transformative. Affirmational fandom is masculine-coded, and usually acknowledges the supremacy of the canonical text. Affirmational fans often worship the author (or turn against them if they feel betrayed, as was the case with Lucas), possess encyclopaedic knowledge of the text and engage in activities like collecting, which reaffirm the primacy of the author and text. Transformative fandom, on the other hand, is feminine-coded, and treats canon as a springboard for fannish creativity. Transformative fans usually engage in practices that place fans, and not texts or creators at the centre, like writing and reading fanfiction, creating fan videos, fan art, etc. Historically, it is transformative fandom that has been the locus of academic study of fandom.

suddenly found themselves in – to use Kant’s imagery – the village of their childhood, where everything seemed to be different from what they remembered. Without their youth, the whole experience was far less magical, and they blamed it on the film, its creator and its actors.

Coinciding with the birth of digital fandom, *The Phantom Menace* also has the dubious honour of being one of the first films to inspire online hate campaigns: actor Ahmed Best, who played the reviled character of Jar Jar Binks, faced such media backlash that he contemplated suicide (cf. Parker, 2018), while Jake Lloyd, who portrayed the child Anakin Skywalker and was only ten years old at the time, was harassed so viciously that he quit acting, a fact that is even more appalling in light of his mental health problems¹¹ (cf. Seibold, 2022). Clearly, the *Star Wars* fandom does not take betrayal lightly, and it will make its displeasure known, no matter the consequences. What is more, this behaviour does not change, as can be seen from the recent cyberbullying of actors Kelly Marie Tran, John Boyega and Moses Ingram, allegedly a form of protest against their characters, but in reality inspired almost exclusively by racism and misogyny¹² that is rampant in alt-right online communities, closely connected with male-dominated nerd culture and fandoms like *Star Wars* (cf. Click, 2019; Scott, 2019). Nostalgia here serves merely as window dressing for far more sinister motivations. As Gary Cross (2015: 9) points out, in the nineteenth century with its rising nationalism, “nostalgia was hard to separate from heritage – national, regional, ethnic, and religious”, while today “nostalgia has become an even stronger theme in the cultural/political ‘wars’ that divide us ethnically, religiously, culturally, and politically.” Applied to a fandom already plagued with toxic attitudes, this nostalgia manifests as a yearning for the past where Princess Leia was the only woman in the galaxy, and Lando Calrissian the only black man. Anything that contrasts with that is seen as “PC culture gone mad” and treated as fair game for online vitriol.

¹¹ Lloyd was later diagnosed with paranoid schizophrenia and spent some time living in a psychiatric institution.

¹² Rather tellingly, Adam Driver (a white, heterosexual, cisgender man and a former Marine to boot, not to mention a well-regarded actor), who played the almost universally disliked character of Kylo Ren in the ST, was seen as entirely separate from his character, and did not suffer the same abuse, insults and even death threats hurled at Tran (an Asian woman), Boyega (a black man), or Ingram (a black woman). The violence against Tran (who played the character of Rose in the ST) was such that she deleted all her social media (cf. Sun, 2021), while the backlash against Ingram (who played the character of Reva in *Obi-Wan Kenobi*) forced the series’ star Ewan McGregor to release a video message condemning racist and misogynist attacks against her (cf. Cain, 2022).

Nostalgia works both constructively and destructively, and its affective signature can be both positive and negative, as well as a mix between the two (cf. Wildschut–Sedikides–Arndt–Routledge, 2006). Though nostalgia, as demonstrated, can be a negative force in media fandom, it can also work in positive ways. *Star Wars* itself is built upon nostalgia: the original trilogy, particularly *A New Hope*, is a loving, campy pastiche of old pulp sci-fi stories dedicated to Flash Gordon and Buck Rogers, Akira Kurosawa’s samurai films (especially *The Hidden Fortress*), spaghetti westerns, Space Age tropes and WW2 iconography. Lucas was inspired by the stories he read as a child (something that would also influence the later *Indiana Jones* movies), and decided to mix them up with Joseph Campbell’s monomyth, which resulted in a perfect Postmodern *bricolage* (cf. Vujin, 2023a: 393). Just like his fans, Lucas also relied on nostalgic feelings of childhood, only he used them to create his own stories, rather than letting them simply remain cherished memories. Here, nostalgia was a constructive, rather than a contentious force.

As the *Star Wars* fandom is predominantly affirmational (cf. footnote 10), its nostalgia heavily relies on tokens of the past to maintain its positive affect, which means that it is not limited only to the remembered magic of childhood experience, but also includes the material culture of that experience: toys (vehicles, figurines, Lego sets, etc.), collectibles, and other memorabilia. This is symptomatic of what Gary Cross calls *consumed nostalgia*, which is “rooted in special emotions linked to recovering memories distinctive to the objects of modern childhood and consumerism”, where “packed memories provide more than the symbolic and abstract representations of those lost relationships and experiences.” (2015: 17) Current fandom, which is incorporated (Fiske) by the industry, and which is dependent on SocMed and Web 2.0 to keep its IP content trending, makes intelligent use of this sort of nostalgia, nurturing rampant consumerism and even tacitly encouraging online squabbles and outright fights, since any engagement is a good thing. Seen this way, fandom seems to be moving away from Jenkins’ participatory culture of marginalised groups, and into the Frankfurt School’s cynical view of masses as cultural dupes.

To avoid ending this article on a down note, I will briefly turn to the positive ways nostalgia has worked to rehabilitate the Prequel Trilogy. For my purposes here, I could broadly define positive nostalgia as a re-examination of something that was once hated through a new, soft, nostalgic lens, leading to a positive change of opinion. As I already mentioned, the backlash against the PT, mostly among older, Gen-X fans, ultimately led to Lucas’ deal with Disney and his removal from *Star Wars*. The

Sequel Trilogy was eagerly anticipated, and its reliance on consumed nostalgia was so heavy that, it turned out, the movies had almost absolutely nothing new to say: all the cameos in the world could not mask the lack of originality and creative direction. Since the Disney era ultimately failed to deliver (*The Last Jedi* was contentious, *Solo* was largely seen as irrelevant, mediocre and unnecessary, and *The Rise of Skywalker* was almost universally abhorred – only *Rogue One*, a serious, self-contained story, full of, frankly, unmerited pathos and tonally entirely too different from Lucas’ campy pastiche, somehow managed to achieve acclaim – which I personally find mind-boggling), fans have once again turned back towards the PT and now they see it in a different way. What was once considered terrible is now recognised as delightfully campy. This goes hand in hand with the current broader cultural nostalgia for the early 2000s, which makes the PT charmingly retro. Another factor is to be found in digital social spaces, mostly Tumblr, where users embraced the PT’s loveable ridiculousness and over-the-top tone, and made it into one of the most recognisable sources of memes. The PT’s endless “memeability” brought it closer to young audiences, who wanted to see the origin of such memes as “I Have the High Ground”, “I Am the Senate”, “For the Better, Right?” or “I Don’t Like Sand” (cf. Prequel Memes). This is an instance where relatively new forms of online fandom work in tandem with positive nostalgia to bring about a change in attitude among fans.

When it comes to fandom harassment, only a handful of actors, like Natalie Portman and Ewan McGregor, escaped the PT stigma relatively unscathed. Hayden Christensen, for example, used to be reviled for his portrayal of Anakin Skywalker. Once considered one of the most promising young actors, he was never forgiven for *Star Wars* and his career petered out. Thankfully, unlike Jake Lloyd or Ahmed Best, he did not suffer mentally, though he too retreated from the public eye, turning to (of all things) farming and only occasionally taking acting jobs. Furthermore, Lucas’ idea of what Anakin was like in his pre-Vader days was seen as bad writing, because it did not conform to the fans’ expectations. Now, however – twentyish years after the fact – fans enjoy Anakin as an “emo drama queen,” and Christensen is almost universally adored by the audiences, as evidenced by the huge support for his repeat portrayal of Anakin/Darth Vader in the *Obi-Wan Kenobi* (2022) and *Ahsoka* (2023) series. The reasons for this are twofold. One is the disappointment with the ST, and the resulting look backwards, which forced many fans to reconsider their attitudes to the PT. The other, perhaps more instrumental reason, is the change in demographics. As millennial audiences grew up, it was *their* childhood that became the nostalgic magic place; consequently, the PT turned from Gen-X disappointment into a

cherished memory of millennial youth. Considered thus, *Star Wars* fandom and its inherent nostalgia haven’t changed at all: we still uncritically adore the stories of our youth, and dislike the new versions that threaten to besmirch them.

Nostalgia, as Katharina Niemeyer (2014: 10) notes, can become “a way to transform the past by imagination”. Though, as Kant reminds us, we cannot return to the time of our youth, we can recreate it in our minds by clinging to the content that symbolises our childhood. This is where fandom comes into play: by participating in fannish practices, which can also include anti-fandom, we retain the connection with the imagined past. At the beginning of this article, I asked whether *Star Wars* fandom was really so much better before SocMed, or whether that impression was merely a side-effect of ageing. The answer is best left to the reader, though I have tried my best to map a pattern of *Star Wars* fandom and its nostalgic practices, both constructive and destructive. As both fandom and nostalgia are fickle and cyclical, the question remains whether some currently reviled texts, like *The Rise of Skywalker*, might also, like the prequels, undergo critical re-evaluation in a few decades, when fans who are currently children grow up and start looking at them fondly, through nostalgia-coloured glasses. Until then, we can continue to prefer the texts of our own childhood. As the millennial “fandom olds”, we have finally earned that right.

Bojana Vujin

„PRIJATELJU MOJ, TI SI JEDINO ŠTO JE OSTALO OD NJIHOVE RELIGIJE“ :
RATOVI ZVEZDA, FANDOM I NOSTALGIJA

Rezime

Nekada davno (mada ne i u jednoj dalekoj galaksiji), fandom i fan kultura bili su u najboljem slučaju deo studija kulture, a u najgorem, prihvatljiva meta ismevanja i pop-kulturni simbol Drugosti. Međutim, otkako su početkom devedestih godina dvadesetog veka akademski izučavaoci fan kulture poput Henrija Dženkinsa i Kamil Bejkon-Smit objavili svoje pionirske studije, fandom je stekao poštovanje (i postao izuzetno unosan) kao multidisciplinarna oblast izučavanja i profitabilni deo komercijalne popularne kulture. Ne samo što su danas fandom i štreberska kultura postali mejnstrim, nego su se udružili sa rizomskim internetskim platformama i stvorili digitalno doba u kome najvažniju narativnu ulogu igra transmedijalnost i gde su se priče pretvorile u „intelektualnu svojinu“. To se najbolje može primetiti na primeru *Ratova zvezda*, koji su nekada bili filmske priče koje je osmislio jedan autor, a danas su franšiza u vlasništvu monopolističke megakorporacije, sa brojnim autorima, pričama i narativnim platformama. Kao rezultat toga, fandom *Ratova zvezda*, koji nikada nije bio naročito gostoljubiv prostor, još se više podelio i okrenuo ka nostalgiji u potrazi za utehom.

Posledica toga je očekivana nestabilnost fandoma, čije različite grupacije smatraju da jedino one polažu pravo na autentičnost. *Ratovi zvezda*, dakle, obitavaju u savršenom liminalnom prostoru između obožavanja i mržnje, sadašnjosti i prošlosti, nostalgije i patetične sentimentalnosti. Koristeći savremene studije fan kulture, ovaj članak preispituje ulogu nostalgije u današnjem fandomu *Ratova zvezda*, sa naglaskom na medijskoj konvergenciji i kulturnim sukobima u digitalnim društvenim prostorima, čime se istražuje šira popularna kultura konvergencije.

Ključne reči: *Ratovi zvezda*, studije fan kulture, fandom, nostalgija, popularna kultura, digitalni društveni prostor

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УПУТСТВО ЗА ПРИПРЕМУ РУКОПИСА ЗА ШТАМПУ

Годишњак Филозофског факултета у Новом Саду објављује оригиналне научне, прегледне научне и стручне радове из области филолошких, лингвистичких и друштвених наука. Радови који су већ објављени или понуђени за објављивање у некој другој публикацији не могу бити прихваћени, као ни они који не задовољавају научне критеријуме. Ако је рад био изложен на научном скупу, или је настао као резултат научног пројекта, тај податак ваља навести у напомени на дну насловне странице текста.

Аутор је дужан да поштује научне и етичке принципе и правила приликом припреме рада у складу са међународним стандардима. Предајом рада аутор гарантује да су сви подаци у раду тачни, како они који се односе на истраживање, тако и библиографски подаци и наводи из литературе. Радови се пре рецензирања подвргавају провери на плагијат.

Годишњак објављује радове наставника и сарадника Факултета као и аутора по позиву Уређивачког одбора из иностранства и других универзитета из земље. У *Годишњаку Филозофског факултета* се објављују радови са највише три коаутора. Свако може да понуди само један рад за објављивање, било да је једини аутор или коаутор. Аутори могу једном да објаве прерађени део из своје докторске дисертације, с тим што поклапање с изворним текстом не сме бити више од 30%.

Предаја рукописа

Радови се предају у електронском облику у .doc или .docx формату на web страници часописа <http://godisnjak.ff.uns.ac.rs> уз обавезну претходну регистрацију. Рад се предаје у неколико корака:

1. Одабир секције и унос основних информација о предаји.
2. Достављање докумената: потребно је доставити засебно
 - „насловну страну”;
 - рукопис који садржи све илустрације (сlike и графиконе); поред тога још и
 - илустрације у одвојеним фајловима.
3. Унос метаподатака: потребно је унети
 - наслов рада на српском и енглеском
 - апстракт на српском и енглеском
 - све ауторе и коауторе
 - језик рада
 - установе подршке (уколико је рад резултат рада на пројекту) на српском и енглеском

- референце (све референце морају бити одвојене празним редом).

Рецензирање

Поступак рецензирања је анониман у оба смера, стога аутори морају да уклоне све информације из текста, одн. фајла на основу којих би могли да буду идентификовани, и то на следеће начине:

- а) анонимизацијом референци које се налазе у тексту и које су ауторове,
- 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 латиничом (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 слоге. 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 Keywords: 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 бпт.

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 абecedном 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 абecedни 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 амперсанд, односно „&”. Ако има више од седам аутора, наводи се првих шест, затим се пишу три тачке и на крају последњи аутор:

Dorđević, 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 „ед.” 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>

Страна 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.

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Припрема за штампу и редизајн корица

Игор Лекић

Електронско издање

www.godisnjak.ff.uns.ac.rs

ЦИП – Каталогизација у публикацији
Библиотека Матице српске, Нови Сад

1+80/82(058)

ГОДИШЊАК Филозофског факултета у Новом Саду = Annual review of the Faculty of Philosophy /главни и одговорни уредници: Сања Париповић Крчмар, Дамир Смиљанић – 1956, књ.1-1975. књ.18-1990. књ. 19- . Нови Сад: Филозофски факултет, 1956-1975; 1990- . – 23 цм.

Годишње. – текст и сажети на српском и на страним језицима.
– Прекид у издавању од 1976. до 1989. год.

ISSN 0374-0730 (Штампано издање)

ISSN 2334-7236 (Online)

COBISS.SR-ID 16115714
