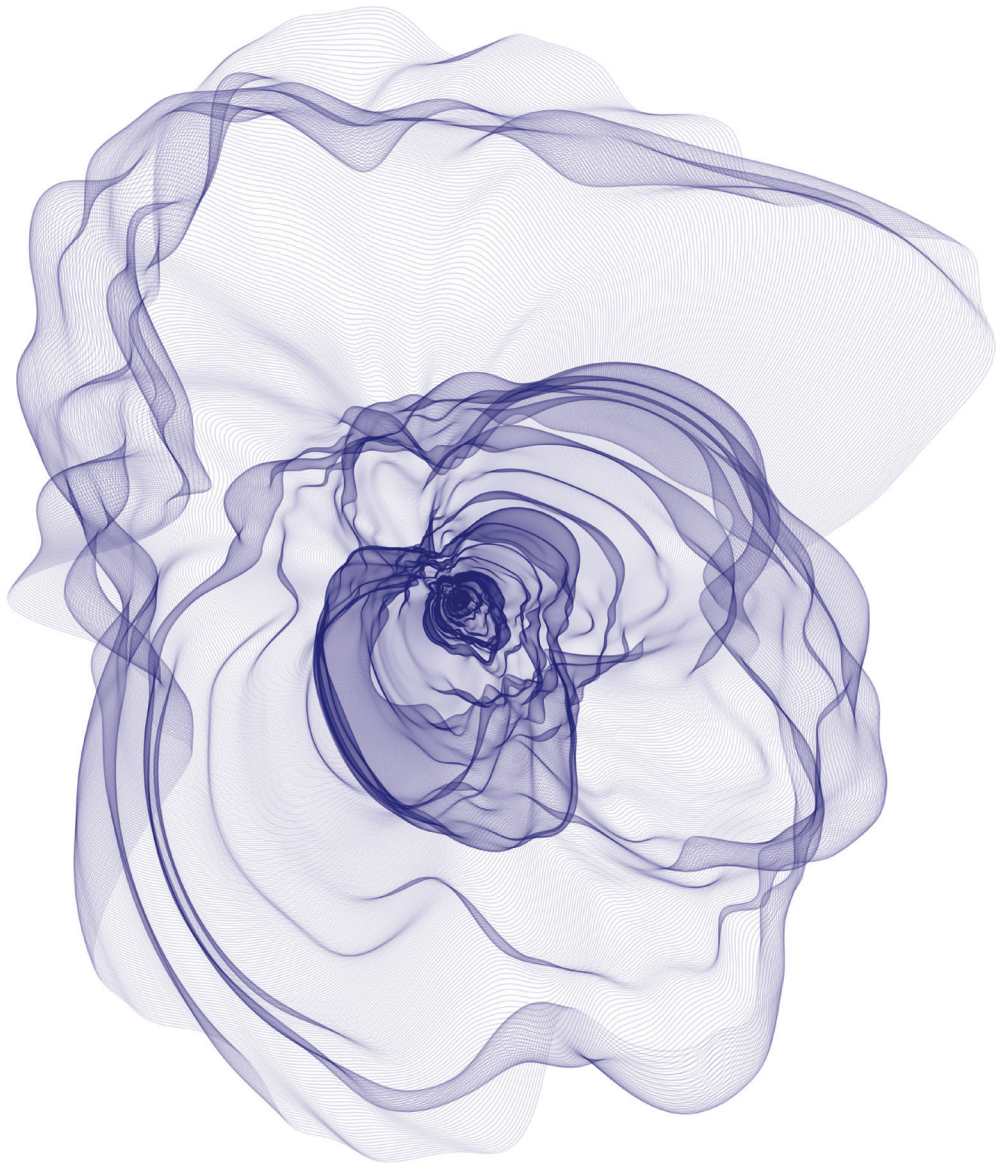


colloquium: new philologies



Colloquium: New Philologies is edited by the Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt.

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2017 by Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.23963/cnp.2017.2.2>

ISSN 2520-3355

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DIANA RADMANN

Synthetic and Analytic Present and Past Verb Forms in English, German and Czech

Dagmar Masár Machová*, Petra Charvátová**, Petra Bačuvčíková***

Abstract

The paper compares three languages – English, German, and Czech in terms of the verbal subcategories that denote present and past states and actions. It shows that all three languages use precisely two tenses – present and preterite, and they can be expressed either synthetically (English, German) or analytically (Czech). Furthermore, the paper studies the issue of grammatical aspect, comparing English, which has perfect and progressive aspect, with German, which has perfect aspect, and Czech, which also expresses perfect aspect grammatically – this is frequently labelled as Slavic perfect. This structure in Czech is, however, not regarded as a purely grammaticalized category of aspect by many scholars, such as Karlík and Migdalski (2017).

Key words: tense, aspect, perfect, preterite, preterite perfect

* Tomas Bata University in Zlín, Czech Republic

** Palacký University Olomouc, Czech Republic

*** Tomas Bata University in Zlín, Czech Republic

phemes that “fuse” several morphosyntactic features, i.e. there is a correspondence of one morpheme to several features correspondence – see (4).

- (3) *adam- lar- in* Turkish
 man PL GEN
 “man’s”
- (4) *stol- ů* Czech
 table GEN.PL
 “of tables”

In example (3), each hyphenated morpheme carries one grammatical feature (namely number and case). On the other hand, the example from Czech (4) demonstrates that a single morpheme carries both number and case features.

Natural languages are not perfect representatives of the morphological typologies, i.e. no language is completely isolating or agglutinative (see for instance Sapir (1921) or Skalička (1966)). Therefore, the typology is traditionally represented by two scales indicating the degree of synthesis and fusion in a language (Sapir 1921), as presented in Figure 1 below.

Index of synthesis:	analytic	↔	synthetic
Index of fusion:	agglutinative	↔	fusional

Figure 1: Morphological Typology

The two indexes represent relative scales, not absolute ones, and they work well for a comparison of languages. More interestingly, a single language can realize different grammatical phenomena variably with respect to the morphological typology. That is, in English the subcategory of number is productively expressed using a bound morpheme *-s*, but determination is expressed analytically, i.e. by a free morpheme *the* or *a*. The following section attempts to state the morphological tendencies observed in the three languages, especially from the perspective of the index of synthesis – more precisely, it poses the question whether the languages are more analytic or synthetic.

2.1 English

Referring to the typology presented above, English is frequently described as an analytic, rather than synthetic language, with respect to the degree of synthesis. This can be illustrated by modality or aspect features, see (5). The modal and aspect are realized by free morphemes, not by bound morphology on the lexical verb.

- (5) *He must have been examined.*

However, it is by far not an extreme example of an analytic language (such as Chinese), since it does possess a (relatively limited) inventory of bound morphemes, such as the plural –s or 3rd person singular present morpheme –s. Bound morphemes can be both of a fusional and an agglutinative type. Agglutination can be found in word-formation, i.e. with derivational morphology, see (6) where every morpheme derives a different part of speech.

- (6) *depart- ment- al*
 noun adjective

On the other hand, certain morphemes are of a fusional character – see (7).

- (7) *He work- s in Prague.*

In (7), the morpheme –s expresses present tense, 3rd person singular number.

2.2 German

On the other hand, German, as another representative of Germanic languages, is an inflectional language. In terms of the index of synthesis, it can be positioned between English and Czech. As Finck (2010) or Roelcke (1997) point out, German combines the characteristics of a synthetic and analytic language. For example, verbal inflection is both analytic and synthetic, as shown below in (8) and (9) demonstrating the present active and passive, respectively.

- (8) *Sie durchsuch- en die Wohnung.*
 they search 3.PL.PRES the flat
 “They are searching the flat.”

- (9) *Die Wohnung wird durchsucht.*
 the flat PASS.AUX.3.SG.PRES search.PASS.PART
 “The flat is being searched.”

In terms of the index of fusion, German demonstrates features of fusion, as shown in (8) above, where –en carries tense, person and number features. On the other hand, agglutination is extremely productive with derivational morphology, see (10).

- (10) *un- fass- bar*
 not comprehend able
 “incomprehensible”

2.3 Czech

As Vachek (1961, 17) and Skalička (1951) observe, Czech is a highly synthetic language. Features such as case and number with nouns, or grading with adjectives are expressed by bound morphemes (11).

- (11) *mlad- ší muž*
 young COMP.NOM.M man.SG.NOM
 “younger man”

Analytic characteristics can be observed with prepositions (12), which are expressed as free morphemes, unlike in many other synthetic languages.

- (12) *ve vod- ě*
 in water LOC.SG
 “in the water”

With respect to the index of fusion, Czech is a rather fusional language. One morpheme can realize several features, such as number and case, and these cannot be separated – see (13).

- (13) *kočk- ám*
 cat DAT.PL
 “(to/for) cats”

Agglutination can be found in the word formation process (14a–c). In many cases, agglutination and inflection are combined.

- (14) a. *píš- u*
 write 1.SG.PRES
 “I am writing.”
 b. *do- píš- u*
 finish write 1.SG.PRES
 “I will finish writing.”
 c. *ne- do- píš- u*
 not finish write 1.SG.PRES
 “I will not finish writing.”

Referring to Figure 1, the three languages can be classified as follows, Figure 2.

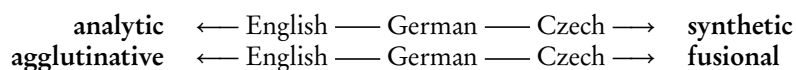


Figure 2: Typology of English, German and Czech

However, as mentioned above, such a comparison is rather approximate, since one language can combine all tendencies, i.e. in English, grading of adjectives can be analytic or synthetic, verbal morphology tends to be fusional, but derivation is often realized in an agglutinative manner.

3 Terminological Issues

3.1 Tense and Aspect

The terms *tense* and *aspect* are far from being trivial ones, and linguistic literature abounds in sources addressing these concepts from various perspectives. This paper will use Comrie's definition (1985, 9) that views tense as a grammaticalized expression of location in time. More precisely, a different set of *morphological forms* related to the same verb refers to present time (15a) or past time (15b) events.

- (15) a. *He works in Prague.*
 b. *He worked in Prague.*

Another verbal subcategory in question is aspect. Unlike tense, aspect denotes how the action is viewed, rather than when. Hewson and Bubenik (1997, 12), quoting Comrie (1976, 5) define aspect as “internal temporal constituency of the one situation”.

- (16) a. *She planted flowers yesterday.*
 b. *She was planting flowers yesterday.*

While both refer to past time, and are morphologically past tenses, (16a) refers to a completed event, whereas (16b) denotes the same process as ongoing. There are several linguistic means that can contribute to the aspectual meaning of a verb phrase in each language. One of them, *Aktionsart*, can be encoded in a verb lexically: *to study* vs. *to pass the test*, by a prefix or suffix in Slavic languages, such as in *psát* (imp.) – *napsat* (perf.), as discussed in detail in Nübler (2017). This paper will, however, deal with *grammatical aspect* only, as illustrated in (16b) above.

3.2 Formal vs. Functional Analysis of Verb forms

Due to different grammatical traditions in the studies of English, German, and Czech languages, a crosslinguistic analysis of verbal forms used in the referred languages may not be straightforward. More precisely, various traditions may use divergent terminology for the same concepts, and such differences may render the analyses mutually incomparable. Generally, the verb forms can be either based on their *formal* structure, i.e. morphemes that they demonstrate, or *functionally*, referring to the time they denote. In most cases, the two approaches will lead to the same conclusions, but there are

many cases, where applying formal or functional criteria lead to different results, as in (17).

- (17) a. *The seminar start-s tomorrow.*
 b. *She ha-s read the book.*

From the functional perspective, (17a) refers to the future time, whereas (17b) refers to the past time. Formally, however, (17a) is a present tense, demonstrating –s inflectional morpheme. Similarly (17b) is analysed as a present tense (in combination with a perfect aspect), again demonstrating the –s morpheme. This paper will analyze the tenses and aspects used in the three languages solely from the *formal perspective*. In other words, we will analyze the inventory of morphemes available in English, German, and Czech, categorize them in terms of tense/aspect categories and compare them in the three languages. The paper will focus on verb forms referring to the present and the past, i.e. forms expressing future will not be discussed in detail.

4 English Tense and Aspect Inventory

The English language uses the combination of two grammatical tenses and two aspects. Tenses are expressed synthetically by –s and –ed morphemes for the *present* and *past* tense, respectively.³ The two tenses can be modified for analytic aspects – namely *perfect* and *progressive*. Perfect morphology includes *have* and –en morphology (past participle verb form). The progressive aspect is formed by the auxiliary *be* and –ing morpheme (present participle verb form), as shown in Table 1.

	∅ aspect	perfect aspect	progressive aspect	perfect aspect progressive aspect
present tense	<i>work-s</i>	<i>ha-s work-ed</i>	<i>is work-ing</i>	<i>ha-s be-en work-ing</i>
past tense	<i>work-ed</i>	<i>ha-d work-ed</i>	<i>was work-ing</i>	<i>ha-d be-en work-ing</i>

Table 1: English tense and aspect inventory

Notice that all verb forms in Table 1 are fully constitutional. In other words, each verb form can be decomposed into a verbal root and respective tense/aspect morphology.

³ Although many grammar manuals regard future as another tense, this paper will not consider English will to be a tense. The authors regard will as a modal, as argued, for example, in Machová (2015, 50), which inherently refers to the future as any other modal, and thus is replaceable by any member from the category – see (i).

(i) *The project will/must have been finished by Monday.*

In terms of semantics of the verb forms, their temporal (present, past) and aspectual meaning (perfect, progressive) is based on their tense and aspect elements. As a result, the present perfect denotes states and actions that are completed (aspect) with respect to the present time (tense), and the past perfect denotes actions that are completed (aspect) with respect to the past time (tense). Thus, the use of the present perfect for finished past events yields ungrammatical sentences – see (18).

(18) **I have seen him yesterday.*

As has been illustrated, English uses two tenses, which are *synthetic*, and two aspects, which are *analytic*. Their combinations form eight verb forms in total that can be used for expressing present and past states and events.

5 German Tense and Aspect Inventory

Traditionally, the German tense inventory is presented as follows: *Präsens* (present), *Präteritum* (preterite), *Perfekt* (perfect), *Plusquamperfekt* (past perfect), and *Futur I* and *Futur II* (future I and II), as described, for example, in Helbig and Buscha (2001, 122). Due to their time references, there is a tendency to group them as follows:

- present – *Präsens*
- past – *Perfekt, Präteritum, Plusquamperfekt*
- future – *Futur I, Futur II*⁴

Such analysis is based on a functional approach. This paper, however, focuses on a *formal* analysis of the verb forms and, therefore, we will analyse them based on their subcategories – tense and aspect. Under this approach, German has two tenses, namely *Präsens*/present and *Präteritum*/preterite. These are expressed, similarly to English, by bound morphology (suffix or Ablaut with strong verbs), see (19a) and (19b), showing present and preterite morphology.

- (19) a. *Ich arbeit- e jede- n Tag.*
 I work 1.SG.PRES every SG.M.ACC day
 “I work every day.”
- b. *Ich arbeit- et- e jede- n Tag.*
 I work PAST 1.SG.PRES every SG.M.ACC day
 “I worked every day.”

⁴ The authors of this paper challenge the idea of *Futur I* and *Futur II* as tenses, for the same reasons as in English. More precisely, *werden* is a modal verb, as argued in Machová (2015, 144), and future reference is an inherent property of modals. Also, Duden (2009, 508) stresses the modal meaning of future, stating that it stands in between the categories of tense and mood.

Similarly to English, these two tenses can be modified by a perfect aspect, consisting of auxiliary *haben* “have” or *sein* “be” in combination with past participle, thus verb + *-en*. As a result, the perfect aspect can be combined with Präsens into Perfekt (present perfect), and Präteritum into Plusquamperfekt (past perfect) – see (20a) and (20b) respectively.⁵

- (20) a. *Ich hab- e das ge-mach-t.*
 I have 1.SG.PRES it do.PAST.PART
 “I have done that.”
- b. *Ich hab- t- e das ge-mach-t.*
 I have PAST 1.SG.PRES it do.PAST.PART
 “I had done that.”

When such a viewpoint is adopted, the German temporal system demonstrates a well-structured layout, not very different from the English one, as shown in Table 2.

	Ø aspect	perfect aspect
Präsens/present tense	<i>mach-e</i>	<i>ha-t ge-mach-t</i>
Präteritum/past tense	<i>mach-t-e</i>	<i>hat-t-e ge-mach-t</i>

Table 2: German tense and aspect inventory

Despite the fact that the German system overlaps with the English one to a great extent, the verbal complexes do not have identical semantics, and they are not used in exactly the same contexts. To mention one example, German Perfekt is used in a different way than English present perfect. In particular, German Perfekt can be interchanged with simple Präteritum in situations when the aspect of anteriority is not stressed – compare (21a) for German and (21b) for English.

- (21) a. *Wir blieben letzten Sommer hier.* = *Wir sind letzten Sommer hier geblieben.*
 b. We stayed here last summer. ≠ *We have stayed here last summer.

Whereas in English, the difference between past and present perfect is grammatical, the difference in German is rather a stylistic or regional one.

⁵ This analysis is also implied in Engel (1996, 494ff.), who states that “das Perfekt is primär eine Präsensform, ein präsensischer Komplex,” [*transl.*: Perfekt is primarily a present form, a present complex]. Präteritum is defined as „einzige reine Vergangenheitstempus,” [*transl.*: the only pure past form]. In the same vein, Duden (2009) uses even more transparent terminology, namely Präsensperfekt and Präteritumperfekt.

6 Czech Tense and Aspect Inventory

Traditionally, Czech is claimed to have three tenses, namely synthetic present (22a), analytic preterite (22b), and analytic future (22c)⁶, as for example in Komárek and Kořen-
ský (1986, 163ff.) or Štícha et. al (2017).⁷

- (22) a. *(Já) vař- ím.*
I cook 1.SG.PRES
“I cook/I am cooking.”
- b. *Já js- em textitvaři- textitl- textita.*
I be.AUX 1.SG.PRES cook PAST FEM
“I cooked/I was cooking.”
- c. *(Já) bud- u textitvařit.*
I be.AUX.FUT 1.SG.PRES cook
“I will cook/I will be cooking.”

Despite the fact that Czech is a synthetic language, preterite is expressed analytically – more precisely by auxiliary *být* “to be” + *-l* participle, as shown in (22b).⁸ However, 3rd person singular and plural are synthetic, i.e. the auxiliary *být* “to be” is ungrammatical in this case – see the singular paradigm for the verb “cook” in (23).

- (23) PRON.PERS AUX cook.PART
- a. *Já jsem vařil.*
- b. *Ty jsi vařil.*
- c. *On Ø/*je vařil.*

Moreover, there is a strong tendency for cliticization of the auxiliary into *-s*(23), or a complete erosion of the auxiliary in spoken language (similarly to Russian or Polish); compare (24) with (22b).

⁶ The authors of this paper challenge the idea of future being a tense for the same reasons as in English and German.

⁷ Komárek and Kořen-
ský (1986, 163ff.) as well as Štícha et. al (2017) point to the existence of Czech an-
tepreterite (pluperfect), as exemplified below in (i). This verb form is, however, archaic and ungrammatical
in present-day Czech.

- (i) *Byl js- em šel.*
be.AUX.PAST be.AUX 1.SG.PRES go.PAST
“I had gone.”

⁸ Despite the fact that the structure auxiliary + participle resembles the structure of the grammatical aspect in English or German, this Czech verb form functions in present-day Czech as a pure tense category, e.g. it is non-existent in non-finite contexts. Furthermore, as Karlík and Migdalski (2017) point out, morphosyntactic properties of lexical *být* “to be” and preterital *být* “to be” are significantly different.

- (23) a. *Ty js- i vařil.*
 You be.AUX 2.SG.PRES cook.PART
 “You cooked.”
 b. *Ty-s vařil./Ty vařil-s.*

- (24) *Já (jsem) vařil.*
 “I was cooking.”

Besides the category of tense, Czech also demonstrates a trace of a grammatical aspect, frequently labelled as Slavic perfect. Its structure consists of the auxiliary mít “to have” and present participles, as exemplified in (25).

- (25) *M- ám u- vař- en- o.*
 have 1.SG.PRES PERF cook PRES.PART NEUTR.
 “I have cooked.”

In (25), the perfect aspect is combined with the present tense -ám morpheme. But as expected, the aspect can be used also in combination with a past tense (26), or even with a future tense.

- (26) *M- ěl js- em u- vař- en- o.*
 have PAST.PART be.AUX 1.SG.PRES PERF cook PRES.PART NEUTR.
 “I had cooked.”

Tense morphology is expressed in (26) by the auxiliary být “to be” + -l participle of mít “to have”. On the other hand, aspect morphology is expressed by mít “to be” and present participle uvařeno. As Karlík and Migdalski (2017) point out, semantically, the form mít + participle carries the meaning of anteriority, similarly to English perfect aspect; see the example of the parallel sentences in (27), where (27a) shows Czech preterite, whereas (27b) demonstrates past perfect.

- (27) a. *Když jsem přišel, Petr uvařil oběd.*
 “When I came, Peter cooked lunch.”
 b. *Když jsem přišel, Petr měl uvařen oběd.⁹*
 “When I came, Peter had cooked lunch.”

Despite the fact that the Czech perfect seems to be a counterpart of the English perfect aspect, it is generally not listed as a grammatical category. Karlík and Migdalski (2017) point out that Slavic perfect makes the verb action become static, and therefore, they find it problematic to categorize it as a true perfect. Slavic perfect is also incompati-

⁹ This example also has an alternative interpretation, namely “When I came, lunch had been cooked for/by Peter.”

ble with imperfective verbs due to semantic reasons (this is similar to future). Clancy (2010, 185ff.), despite labelling this construction as a *new perfect*, states that the verbal complex stands in between a true perfect and a resultative construction (28a–b), and as a grammatical construction, it is still subject to grammaticalization.

- (28) a. *I have done my homework.* perfect aspect
 b. *I have my homework done.* resultative construction

The following table summarizes the verbal forms of Czech.

	∅ aspect	? perfect aspect
present tense	<i>vař-ím</i>	<i>m-ám u-vař-eno</i>
preterite/past tense	<i>vař-il js-em</i>	<i>m-ěl js-em u-vař-eno</i>

Table 3: Czech tense and aspect inventory

Slavic perfect is marked with a question mark. Taking this into consideration, the Czech language possesses the poorest tense and (grammatical) aspect inventory of the three languages.

7 Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to investigate verbal forms used for denoting present and past states and actions in English, German, and Czech. In this regard, all languages have the same inventory of tenses – namely present and preterite. In English and German, these are expressed synthetically, whereas in Czech, which is regarded the most synthetic of all three, preterite is expressed analytically. As for the aspect, all three languages demonstrate the morphology of a perfect aspect. As concerns the progressive aspect, English is the only language, in which the progressive aspect is a part of the verbal category, i.e. is fully grammaticalized – see the following table.

	English	German	Czech
present tense + Ø aspect	✓	✓	✓
present tense + perfect aspect	✓	✓	?
present tense + progressive aspect	✓		
present tense + perfect aspect + progressive aspect	✓		
past tense + Ø aspect	✓	✓	✓
past tense + perfect aspect	✓	✓	?
past tense + progressive aspect	✓		
past tense + perfect aspect + progressive aspect	✓		

Table 4: English, German and Czech compared

Despite the fact that all languages use the perfect aspect, its function differs significantly in English, German, and Czech. In English, the perfect aspect has a grammatical function, which means that it obligatorily expresses anteriority and completeness. Despite the fact that the German perfect aspect can express the same meanings, its distribution is related rather to the stylistic properties of a text. In Czech, on the other hand, perfect morphology does exist – it is however, not fully grammaticalized.

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Appendix: Glossing

Abbreviation	Explanation
1	First person
1.SG	First-person singular
3.PL	Third-person plural
ACC	Accusative
AUX	Auxiliary
COMP	Comparative
DAT	Dative
FEM	Feminine
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
LOC	Locative
M	Masculine
NEUTR	Neuter
NOM	Nominative
PART	Participle
PASS	Passive
PAST	Past
PERF	Perfect
PERS	Personal
PL	Plural
PRES	Present
PRON	Pronoun
SG	Singular

On the Importance of History and Historicity in the (Socio-)Linguistic Reconstruction of Pidgins and Creoles: The Case of the Original Lingua Franca

Manuel Sedlaczek*

Abstract

The term “lingua franca” originally derives from an ancient Mediterranean language which was indeed called the Lingua Franca. The Lingua Franca was a commercial or trading language used at sea and in the ports of the Mediterranean basin ever since the 16th century. The paper outlines its history, deliberates the available sources of insight, and discusses the importance of historicity in sociolinguistic studies.

Key words: lingua franca, Lingua Franca, historicity, sociolinguistics, pidgins, creoles, historical linguistics

* Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt; msedlacz@edu.aau.at

1 Introduction

The study of Pidgins and Creoles offers a great variety of different topics and issues to be investigated in the field of linguistics. One such topic and issue is a linguistic entity designated as “lingua franca”, which was defined by the Pidgin and Creole specialist Hugo Schuchardt as “any widely-spread commercial argot” (Schuchardt 1979, 32). A lingua franca, therefore, is a language that is used by a considerable number of people for basic/everyday communication purposes only and therefore is not necessarily spoken with a traditional native-speaker competence. One may think of English as a global lingua franca, as English is widespread in the world and has also become a means of communication for people with different mother tongues. Fascinating as it is, the spoken form of English used as a lingua franca by such speakers may or may not be similar to the distinctive structure of Pidgins and Creoles themselves. However, the term “lingua franca” originally derives from an ancient Mediterranean language which was indeed called the *Lingua Franca*. The *Lingua Franca* was a commercial or trading language used at sea and in the ports of the Mediterranean basin ever since the 16th century. The *Lingua Franca* is also said in its turn to form the genesis of Pidgins and Creoles itself. Indeed, some theories suggest that the *Lingua Franca* is the Ur-Pidgin from which all Pidgins and Creoles derive (Hancock 1977; Thompson 1961; Whinnom 1984). Ur-Pidgin or not, the *Lingua Franca* plays an important role in the study of Pidgins and Creoles and a number of theories about the significance of the *Lingua Franca* for the formation of Pidgins and Creoles have evolved. In any case, the *Lingua Franca* deserves close attention in the study of contact-derived languages and should also be studied seriously when focusing on the analysis of Pidgins and Creoles as such, whether English-lexified or other language-lexified.

It will be the purpose of the following to give a reconstruction of the origin, spread, and development of the *Lingua Franca*. Since historical evidence is immanent in the reconstruction of the *Lingua Franca*, this article will start with a survey of the *Lingua Franca*. Furthermore, a sociohistorical description of the *Lingua Franca*, how it developed, what it was (a language used for commerce, slavery, and chancery) and how much importance and impact it had on Mediterranean trade will be included. One aim of this article then is to give a detailed description of the events that led to the creation and establishment of the *Lingua Franca*.

2 The Study of the *Lingua Franca*

The study of the *Lingua Franca* is not new. Schuchardt (1909) was the first to seriously study the *Lingua Franca*, but there still remains much detail to be discovered. One such detail is the question concerning its origin. Many scholars have undertaken different approaches to this question and have developed a variety of theses, but not much general

agreement has been reached concerning its origin. Many questions remain unanswered. Many opinions exist and scholars have wondered “how light could be thrown on the whole issue” (Le Page 1961, 126). One suggestion has been that detailed work still needs to be done which should be “descriptive and historical” and “every effort should be made” to cover not only the language itself “but also the history and structure of the society” in which it emerged in addition to its development by means of historical and comparative linguistics (*ibid.*, 126ff.). Unfortunately, historical aspects have been neglected even though in most cases the historical evidence is available.

Therefore, scholars like Arends demand “a historically realistic theory of creole formation” (2002, 56). Such a theory, according to him, should “be in agreement with the historical facts” (*ibid.*). Arends also mentions that historical evidence should play an essential role in the “evaluation of theories based on purely linguistic considerations” (*ibid.*). The erroneous belief that the evolution and development of a language is (“paradoxically”) regarded “as an ‘a-temporal’ process” (*ibid.*, 58), where time seems to be irrelevant and therefore completely ignored, is (according to Arends) not only “unwarranted to maintain” but also “hardly defensible at any time” (*ibid.*). His final statement is that “historical correctness is not a frequently found feature” (*ibid.*, 56).

Another scholar who asks for more historicity is John Wansbrough (1996), who states that linguistic models are still far too theoretical in this sense, as they are “methodologically useful but historically exiguous” (1996, 148). Wansbrough also states that the theoretical construct associated with historical linguistics, the comparative method, has indeed been in use “since this has never proved especially difficult” but it only serves “to provide regularity with a diachronic dimension” (*ibid.*, 156). So, in this sense it may only give (predetermined) answers to predetermined questions and the main theory still remains speculative, as this kind of “reconstruction can never be other than conjectural” (*ibid.*). Wansbrough therefore calls for the “historical reconstruction of contact” (*ibid.*, 151), as this can eliminate the speculative factor to a certain extent and unlikely possibilities of development can be ruled out. Among others who suggest an approach to Pidgins and Creoles dealing much more with history is, for example, Robert Le Page (1961) who claims that linguistic work should be both “descriptive and historical” as mentioned above, and should cover the “history and structure of the society in which it is spoken” (*ibid.*, 127).

A substantial history of the origin and development of the *Lingua Franca* is therefore lacking, and if it is dealt with at all in the literature, it is only considered briefly. Because of this “lack of history” in linguistic approaches to the problem, the starting point of the present discussion will be the classical anthropological approach (to history).

Anthropology has developed from many sciences, but one of the major elements is natural history. An anthropological approach draws on many fields such as history, linguistics, sociology and others. Furthermore, as much as anthropology developed out of, and draws on, many sciences it has also developed further to itself influence fields including sociolinguistics and historical linguistics. These sciences may be seen, therefore,

as a combination of anthropology and linguistics, as, for instance, seen with traditional Anthropological Linguistics (cf., e.g. Sapir 1921) and even more so with modern Linguistic Anthropology (cf, e.g. Agha 2006). The impact of linguistics on anthropology and vice versa shows that both share common interests, since “in linguistics and in social sciences the role of language is assumed and asserted” (Hymes 1971, 49).

However, there does not seem to be a close cooperation of sociolinguistics and historical linguistics “although there is a great need for that” (ibid., 50). Such cooperation would lead us to insightful conclusions on the development of languages. The historical linguistic approach is important to gain insights into a (past) society as it considers changes which, as a result, also explain changes in language. Ironically, neither natural history nor anthropology nor its subgroups take the actual history itself of its objective of study into consideration even though anthropology originally developed in part from the field of history.

This paradox can be ascribed to the state of anthropology in the 19th century. The concept of “history”, as well as “historicity” was rejected by many anthropologists, and consequently by historical linguists and sociolinguists because of a misunderstanding. This misunderstanding which was meant to reject models that offered fake historicity actually caused the rejection of history itself. The models that were created out of this misunderstanding rather “created” history than actually reconstructing it. The most prominent model, the Neogrammarian model, failed to predict history and instead created “a ‘possible’ past within historical linguistics but not a ‘real’ past” (Ardener 1971, 211). Linguists, then, turned their back on true history also because it could not offer them any theoretical insights, so the argument went, as a consequence of the lack of relevant competent models. There was indeed a problem with history (and historicity). The Neogrammarian model, for example, was not a model of history, as it does not offer actual history but generates it from forms that were not previously attested. These were a kind of guess, historically speaking, i.e. a theory of history without attested facts about history and therefore “the Neogrammarian model generates more ‘history’ than it puts in” (ibid., 215). A historical explanation to linguistic genesis, the most obvious solution, however, was not sought. This, by contrast, will be the main intention of this article, i.e. to give a historical explanation of the origin, development, and spread of the *Lingua Franca*.

3 Problems Specifically Concerning the *Lingua Franca*

The *Lingua Franca* is quite an old language that has existed for (almost) half a millennium. However, very little is known about its origin, development, and spread and therefore many views concerning the origin of the *Lingua Franca* exist. One view is that “the *Lingua Franca* originated at the time of the Crusades (A.D. 1095ff.) on the Jerusalem battlefields” and continuously spread westward “along the shores of the

Mediterranean” (Hancock 1977, 283) through military and merchant activity as well as piracy and slavery later on in the 16th century. According to Wansbrough (1996), the Lingua Franca established itself as a language of commerce ensuring communication between the cultures of the Mediterranean. However, despite continuous contact and establishment of the language, very few documents of and linguistic evidence about the Lingua Franca have survived.

Although the history of the Lingua Franca itself is quite obscure, the probability that such a language was spoken throughout the Mediterranean is quite high, but there is hardly anything concrete to confirm this. The Lingua Franca shares the fate of many Pidgins and Creoles that are known today but which were never “adequately recorded” (Hancock 1977, 279) or described. It seems the Lingua Franca and its use in the Mediterranean was such a matter of course on the one hand that no one felt the need to write about it or even to just mention it, and it was at the same time efficient enough on the other hand that people used it without hesitation. Presumably, the Lingua Franca was not a language of prestige, i.e. not used in science or education and thus neither scholars nor educated people saw the necessity to further indulge in the study of such a language.

As will be seen, the Lingua Franca most likely developed out of commerce. It was a neutral language that was simple, quick, and effective. It was used for trade, for communication between slavers and slaves, and even in the field of diplomacy. The Lingua Franca was practical and effective and, as already suggested, this just might be the reason for its “insignificance”. It was never adequately recorded or studied until the 19th century (Schuchardt 1909) and, ironically, it ceased to exist shortly after academic interest had emerged.

As already indicated, in the course of the historical reconstruction of the origin and development of the Lingua Franca many uncertainties have arisen due to a lack of documentation, due to the need to resort to other, less specific, documents and also due to a lack of interest at various stages in the history of the language. In short, in tracing the origin of the Lingua Franca one seeks a “resolution of an historical problem, that is altogether unsatisfactory,” (Wansbrough 1996, 25), as many questions remain unanswered. Reconstructing the origin and development of the Lingua Franca through history is a complicated task, as many details, unfortunately, remain unclear due to historical gaps created through the aforementioned limited sources or limited documentation itself, i.e. “evidence is often meagre or indeed unavailable” (ibid., 77). The gaps in history are “so frequent and so exasperating” that “the very fact of recurrence might be thought to entail some regularity” (ibid.). The safest conclusion that can be drawn from this recurrence of the Lingua Franca in the course of history is that what is unattested can be regarded as “gaps in a continuum” (ibid.).

In the majority of cases, the most necessary documents that are relevant to the origin of the Lingua Franca are missing, either because a document may have been lost in history or is simply not available. In these situations, interpretations are one possibility of solving such a problem, especially regarding that of the origin of the Lingua Franca. This

is where searching for revealing sources needs to be extended to history itself, as historical research allows further and, probably, more accurate interpretations. By looking not only at the available (relevant) sources but, at the same time, also at the historical events that accompanied these developments, it is possible to make logical interpretations and gain further insights. To make such logical interpretations, “circumstantial evidence” (de Granda 1976, 13) needs to be consulted. Only by demonstrating the historical plausibility of certain developments is it possible to prove “that the postulated causal series actually could take place” (ibid., 17).

It is through “historical analysis” (ibid.) that the obstacles of limited availability and limitation of these documents themselves can be overcome. After all, most developments of important historical events, in this case the origin and development of the *Lingua Franca*, are not a coincidence. The formation of the *Lingua Franca* was not unintended or merely an accident. The *Lingua Franca* was the logical consequence of a sequence of historical events and then became only one further event in a chain of many other historical developments. What is most essential and most difficult is to not confuse the “real conditioning factors with the monetary situation” (Chaunu 1979, 291).

Wansbrough clearly states that “as nearly always, the real problem is in depicting not the product but the process” (1996, 77). In the case of the *Lingua Franca*, it is not difficult to state its existence, but the long and continuous duration and continuity of its existence and, most of all, an exact statement of the origin of the *Lingua Franca* or the events or processes that led to its (supposed) creation is hardly possible. Even a statement about the events in history that influenced the *Lingua Franca* or its course in history is very difficult. Which events changed the *Lingua Franca* and why it was considered as unimportant is a very complex question that cannot simply be answered without resorting to history, historical analysis, and historical plausibility itself. From the available documents alone it is only possible to state that the *Lingua Franca* continued to reappear, time and time again, for centuries, as there are references to the existence of the *Lingua Franca* in all kinds of documents. However, a clear statement from such documents alone cannot be deduced because most of these references are merely side notes or not extensive enough to give detailed information about origin, development, or diffusion of the *Lingua Franca*.

3.1 The Discontinuity of Documentation

Although “for some languages concrete historical evidence is lacking” (Hancock 1977, 282), through linguistic clues we are able to reconstruct their history, such as the time or circumstances of their origin. For other languages, it is the other way around. We possess historical evidence of their existence but lack any concrete linguistic data. The *Lingua Franca* is such a case where documentation clearly proves its existence early in time (about the 16th century), but where very little evidence of its linguistic traits has survived. Linguistic documents about the *Lingua Franca* are sparse and everything be-

fore 1600 hardly qualifies as what could be called a “linguistic description” (Wansbrough 1996, 149). The majority of the written linguistic evidence that is available is not “much older than a century or two” and “early documentation is especially scant” (Hancock 1977, 278). For the even earlier period there is no substantial linguistic evidence, as the *Lingua Franca* has not been “adequately recorded throughout its development” (*ibid.*, 279). For the most part, the *Lingua Franca* is only mentioned or hinted at. These so-called hints are often “reports of pilgrims blessed with the gift of tongues” (Wansbrough 1996, 148). It may be necessary to mention that at least these hints are “plentiful” (*ibid.*). These reports are about the lives of saints, crusaders, pilgrims, about expeditions, merchants, overseas garrisons and the like. There are various passages where saints were speaking a *lingua franca* to communicate with other people along their way. Many of these documents state that often there was no need for an interpreter, as some possessed “the gift of tongues” (*ibid.*) or had received “the grace of languages” (Hancock 1977, 285). However, as no examples of these languages are given, it remains unclear if it really was the *Lingua Franca* or if it was some (other) *lingua franca* of the time such as “Vulgar Latin” or “Targumic” or some other trade or contact language. Although there is a (slight) possibility that it could have been the *Lingua Franca*, there still is no final evidence to confirm this.

While reconstructing the later development of the *Lingua Franca* is already a difficult task, it is easy to imagine that it is nearly impossible to reconstruct the earlier period or even the beginnings of the *Lingua Franca* from linguistic evidence alone. Depending on what century is looked at, the sources are either scarce or hardly available. However, as a general rule it can be stated that the further we go back in time the less documentation is available. There are also temporal ‘lacunae’ (Wansbrough 1996) and other gaps in documentation that might create a false impression, i.e. the impression that there was no continuity in trade and communication in the Mediterranean basin.

This state of affairs can be ascribed to the “random density pattern” (*ibid.*, 52) in which the *Lingua Franca* has been documented. However, this so-called “lack of continuity” created due to the lack of documentation is itself “nothing more than a product of the historical residue” (*ibid.*), and “it would of course be irresponsible to infer from lack of typical documentation the absence of such activity” (*ibid.*). From the lack of documents alone we cannot conclude the absence of continuity in the use of the *Lingua Franca*, especially not since the *Lingua Franca* reappears, time and time again, in the course of history after centuries of missing documented proof and indeed, “after all we cannot consider the absence of documents in *Lingua Franca* as proof of its nonexistence” (Whinnom 1984, 302).

There are thus many lacunae and gaps concerning the history of the *Lingua Franca* and so much of speculation has been undertaken about its origins and its development. As will be gathered, linguistic documentation is far too “inconclusive” to allow more than a hypothesis, as “much still remains unproven” (Hancock 1977, 278). This is also the crucial point, after all, “it is nonetheless important to recall that [a] conclusion can-

not rest upon a hypothetical construct” (Wansbrough 1996, 6). Therefore, there has to be an “escape from this linguistic prison” (ibid., 8). Instead of basing reconstruction of the Lingua Franca on linguistic evidence alone we should seek an alternative. The origin and development of the Lingua Franca “might be constructed by resort to accessible but different data” (ibid., 17) so that lacunae, or historical gaps, can be “filled from other kinds of source material” (ibid., 52). Resorting to other documents, which are quite often unrevealing or even ambivalent, is not without problems (cf. ibid., 40). Ironically, this rather leads to an abundance of potential source texts and Wansbrough (1996) states that it is this abundance of documentation “that generates a range of defensible interpretation rather than a single “correct” version” (6). Indeed, further source texts do offer valuable insights into a range of topics concerning the Lingua Franca and its (social and political) environment.

One possibility is to resort to available poetry and ordinary prose texts. However, one must be careful when dealing with such potentially ambivalent sources, as it is essential to decide what is important and what is irrelevant to tracing Lingua Franca history. What might be useful and what might not be helpful is a question not easily answered. Literary evidence may be very helpful and easily accessible but it “can also be deceptive” (Wansbrough 1996, 40). Undoubtedly there is a dilemma one has to face when “dealing with distinct genres” (ibid.), as in this case linguistic research dealing with prose or poetry. The problem is that these genres allow a true representation of the Lingua Franca only to a certain degree, i.e. affecting the reliability of such documents. One must be aware, for poetry (as well as for stage plays) at least, that an author may have distorted the linguistic evidence to achieve a comic or dramatic effect or he may have misinterpreted the linguistic evidence due to a lack of knowledge of the Lingua Franca. Moreover, he may have adapted the Lingua Franca to make his work easily understandable for an audience that had no knowledge of the Lingua Franca. The samples, written in verse form, of the Lingua Franca that can be found in poetry were “hardly ever produced by writers thoroughly acquainted with the language” (Whinnom 1984, 296). Many such verses produced in the 16th century (and later) can hardly be interpreted or be regarded as representative of the Lingua Franca, as they were on the one hand “written with [the] intent to amuse their Romance-speaking readers” (ibid.) and on the other hand only show “the writer’s ignorance and native linguistic habits” (ibid.). Poetry does not necessarily reflect the reality of the Lingua Franca in the earlier period.

Also, in the 16th and 17th centuries it was customary to portray the Lingua Franca in a slightly distorted way. As Schuchardt (1979) says about the 16th century: “[T]his was the century when one loved to hear all manner of broken Italian, naturally with the appropriate caricature, from the stage” (1979, 33). It seems clear from this statement that the Lingua Franca was not (always) portrayed accurately. This was definitely on purpose, just like in the well-known play by Moliere *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (Moliere

1670 quoted in Cifoletti 2004, 266)¹. According to Schuchardt, the inaccuracy of the portrayal of the Lingua Franca in Moliere's play as used by the Turkish Mufti character, and also in other plays as well, serves "to add [a] dramatic effect and which is therefore not very reliable in its details" (1979, 34).

Another example would be the poem of the Zerbitana (1353)², which does show forms used in the later documented Lingua Franca such as "*barra fuor*" – 'get out' (Schuchardt 1979, 33). Curiously, it uses both the Italian infinitive form 'parlare' but also the (presumably) Lingua Franca form 'parlar', but with the Italian form always occurring at the end of the line. What would be an indication that this was primarily a poem and not a linguistically accurate description is the metre (of the poem) and the fact that in the poem itself the infinitives at the end of the line always end with the Italian infinitive forms such as *parlare* and *conciare*, but use the Lingua Franca (or Catalan) infinitive form in the beginning, e.g. *parlar* and *voler* (Zerbitana 1353 quoted in Collier 1977, 295)³. The poem of the Zerbitana (1353) could show possible similarities to Catalan, i.e. "the expression *mia* is very typical for Old Catalan as it has only been changed to *meua* and *meva* in later centuries" (Monk 2013, 215). However, there is no unambiguous proof that this is the Lingua Franca itself (Zerbitana 1353 quoted in Collier 1977, 295). Schuchardt (1979) has analysed this poem and states that the only Arabic expression is *barra* followed by an Italian word *fuor* "*barra fuor*" (Schuchardt 1979, 33) which would allow this assumption of a Lingua Franca connection but is not enough to be considered as proof.

Concerning prose, the situation is quite comparable. We are confronted with a similar, but not quite identical problem in a different medium of documentation, i.e. in eyewitness reports and travelogues where references to the Lingua Franca and sometimes even linguistic evidence can be found. The travelogue itself is quite an old art form that was "popular even in the Arabian Empire around the 7th/8th century" (Wansbrough 1996, 149) when it had its literary peak. The few references to, and linguistic evidence of, the Lingua Franca that one can find in travelogues date from the 7th to the 19th century. Travelogues were very popular not only in the Arabian Empire but their popularity continued far outside the Arabic world, albeit in later centuries. Unfortunately, even if there is something written that could be classified as "linguistic evidence", it is mostly not written by a linguist and presumably distorted, misinterpreted, and most

¹ Si ti sabir Mi star Mufti
Ti respondir Ti qui star ti
Si non sabir Non intendir
Tazir, tazit Tazir, tazir

² The term Zerbitana depicts a name as the first line of the poem 'O la Zerbitana retica' translates to "Heretical Zerbitana" (Lang, 1992, 68)

³ O la Zerbitana retica? Oi Zerbitana retica,
Il parlar ch'ella mi dicia ! : come ti voler parlare ?
"Per tutto lo mondo fendoto, se per li capelli prendoto,
E barra fuor casa mia". Come ti voler conciare!

likely adapted to the author's mother tongue. One example would be Dragut (1848) who did experience the Lingua Franca during his travels from 1540 to 1543, but only wrote about it 20 years later (Dragut 1848 quoted in Cifoletti 2004, 196)⁴. Another example would be De Brèves (1628 quoted in Cifoletti 2004, 202)⁵ who could have misheard the widely used Arabic expression *xalás* (Cifoletti 2004, 202).

Hancock (1977) mentions that references to such languages were always made by “non-native speakers” who always were “speakers of lexically unconnected languages”, and therefore the languages were “represented in the orthography of the recorders’ tongue” (278). As a result, “this standardization leads to error”, as pronunciation can easily be mixed up and the orthography of two different languages is never, or hardly ever, the same, which again leads to a distortion of the language described (*ibid.*). This is especially true for the Lingua Franca.

A further source would be the eyewitness reports that were popular from the 16th to the 19th century. These reports were mostly writings about the experiences and observations that captured Europeans made during their life in captivity. These reports were often written “with a Eurocentric and one-sided view of Lingua Franca” (Selbach 2008, 36). What is striking about these reports is that the perception of the Lingua Franca depended on the mother tongue of the author. Those people that were least familiar with the Lingua Franca always wrote more positively and impartially about it. The language available to the author not only influenced the attitude towards the Lingua Franca but also “the status, perception and even the assessment of the source of the lexicon of the Lingua Franca” (Selbach 2008, 44). According to Selbach, French authors more readily suggested French as the main source of the Lingua Franca, Italian authors most often stated that the Lingua Franca was a bastard or broken (Italian) tongue and only authors of other languages were more tolerant in this respect (*ibid.*).

What is also noteworthy at this point is that only travellers that had no immediate knowledge of the Lingua Franca wrote about it, especially in the earlier period (i.e. 16th century), as that was the time of journeying abroad and writing about the experience gathered. In the later period the view of the Lingua Franca was always influenced by other factors, which led to a distorted view of the language. Those persons who had knowledge of the Lingua Franca or knew it well enough, hardly ever wrote about it because they did not see the sense in doing so.⁶

History itself, as argued above, is a valuable source as well: “Historical rather than linguistic evidence must provide the principle lead” (Hancock 1977, 279). Only by reconstructing the early history of the Lingua Franca and by concentrating on relevant historical aspects and situations that stimulated its use, spread, and development and

⁴ “Senor Dragut, usuanza de guerra!...Y mudanza de fortuna”

⁵ “Malta calas, Malta calas, San Ioan dormir”

⁶ The only exception being Haedo (1612 quoted in Cifoletti, 2004: 197-202) which presents most of our evidence about the Lingua Franca.

then comparing it with the linguistic situation can a conclusion be reached. It is most essential to increase the available “historical knowledge” (Hancock 1977, 279) to establish the necessary “historical links” (ibid., 283) in order to be able to connect aspects of history and historical events that were responsible for shaping the linguistic traits of the *Lingua Franca*. Many linguistic puzzles could be solved if we were familiar with enough history and, of course, with what was relevant for the history of *Lingua Franca*. This could be the key to successfully explain the linguistic peculiarities of the *Lingua Franca*.

The problem that must be identified at this point is definitely the considerable amount of (historical) data that emerges. It is this large amount of historical data that makes quantifying the data a real problem, especially if historians such as Chaunu (1979) or Wansbrough (1996) are considered, who have written quite detailedly about historically relevant events concerning the *Lingua Franca*. To be more precise, some developments of the *Lingua Franca* can be explained and linked directly to historic events: e.g. Haedo (1612) reports that an expansion in Portuguese vocabulary occurred within a very short amount of time when thousands of Portuguese soldiers became captives (Haedo 1612 quoted in Cifoletti 2004, 198). In the case of the Portuguese vocabulary expansion it is abundantly clear which historical event caused this development, i.e. the ‘Battle of Three Kings’ in 1578. Unfortunately, not every linguistic trait of the *Lingua Franca* can immediately be applied to one specific historical event. Some developments can rather be ascribed to general developments of the area it was spoken in, e.g. Mediterranean piracy caused the thriving of the *Lingua Franca* in the so-called ‘pirate strongholds’ (Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers), in which pirates/slavers used and captives/slaves were forced to use the *Lingua Franca* to communicate. Other (for the *Lingua Franca* itself) unrelated historical events, such as French becoming the dominant economic power in the Mediterranean, lead to the re-lexification of the *Lingua Franca*, followed by its final extinction. Thus, not only is it necessary to link *Lingua Franca* developments to historical events that occurred at that time (and in the geographical vicinity), but also to examine the possible outcomes of (unrelated) greater historical developments on the *Lingua Franca* itself (i.e. economic developments of the Mediterranean).

Ideally, developments of the *Lingua Franca* correlate highly with historical events. However, neither is this always obvious, nor can the question of what is important and what is not relevant be easily answered methodologically. Furthermore, the interpretation of earlier materials poses an additional problem as these materials “suffer from uncertain chronology” (Wansbrough 1996, 19).

4 Conclusion

Therefore, we have to choose between either the lack of linguistic evidence of the Lingua Franca, the abundance of historical evidence for it, or the adapted version of it in poetry and prose. Making a choice is, however, problematic. All of these sources are important to reconstruct aspects, peculiarities, and features of the Lingua Franca. However, all cause immense difficulties in finding an appropriate, even probable, version of the development of the Lingua Franca. At all times, we must remember that historical “reconstruction of contact is of course frustrated by spatial lacunae and a notoriously conjectural chronology” (Wansbrough 1996, 63). What can be done about all these difficulties is to fill the gaps as well and as completely as possible by resorting to historical evidence. After all, historical reconstruction is certainly the best alternative for tracing the structural development of the Lingua Franca, as the historical point of view offers many more perspectives and can more easily fill gaps and lacunae that neither linguistic evidence nor poetry or prose can, due to their restricted documentation sources. This especially applies to the earlier period, as linguistic evidence is available only from the 16th century onwards. Therefore, history can help a great deal here but only if one knows where to look. If we can reconstruct the history of the Lingua Franca we can use the linguistic evidence that is available to check if our theory can hold.

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Misunderstandings in Communication: Maxims of Conversation and Intercultural Differences between Interlocutors

Svjetlana Janković-Paus*

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to present the violation of Grice's maxims of conversation and discuss interculturally conditioned misunderstanding as one of the causes of their violation. Based on 10 examples of conversations between international students in Italy¹, the situations of misunderstanding in communication will be presented, and the linguistic and cultural background of the participants' statements and the possible roles they have in communication will be presented. The focus will be on discussing violated maxims of conversation, and which possible contextual factors could have affected the misunderstandings between the participants in conversations created in certain situations.

Key words: communicative intention, conversational implicature, maxims of conversation, misunderstandings, cultural knowledge, cultural context

* University North (HR); sjankovicpaus@unin.hr

¹ All examples of conversations used in this paper are recorded (HIAT transcription).

1 Introduction

In communication between participants from different cultural backgrounds, the risk of misunderstandings is not a rare occurrence. A person's cultural knowledge determines the context as verbal and non-verbal background to an act of communication. Also, the cognitive approach to communication includes the concept of communicative intention as an important aspect in conveying information (Sperber and Wilson, 1986). This paper analyzes the occurrences of misunderstandings in communication between students from Croatia, students from Italy, and students from England (one example). The theoretical background applied in this study is Grice's theory of maxims of conversation and conversational implicatures. We will analyze and interpret the communicative intentions that have been revealed by the interlocutors on the implicit levels of their speech in order to see (1) whether there was any violation of the maxims of conversation, and (2) whether there were any intentional degradations between participants in conversation. Also, our analysis is guided by the question of why there may be misunderstandings between members of different cultural groups and how much those misunderstandings are conditioned by intercultural differences, the amount of cultural knowledge of each individual interlocutor, and by the question of when it is appropriate to talk about intercultural differences between the interlocutors. Therefore, we will analyze (1) the situations of misunderstandings that occurred in conversations between international students and their statements interpreted by means of maxims of conversation that were violated in all instances, and then (2) describe these individuals and the linguistic and cultural background of their statements. In instances of misunderstandings we will describe what happened, with details on the participants and on their roles in the communication situation. We will discuss linguistic, contextual and cultural factors that could have caused mutual misunderstandings in communication. We will analyze the context that was available to every participant and support the thesis that the probability of misunderstanding is greater among participants from different cultural communities. The examples in the paper will be guided by the question of how conversational participants' statements work in context, that is, we will analyze the relationship between what the participant of a conversation meant and what they actually said, that is what their interlocutor understood at that point – having in mind that intended and attributed meaning sometimes may not coincide, especially in communicative interactions between participants with different cultural backgrounds and different cultural knowledge about the respective communicative context. In the context analysis, we will use Paltridge's distinction between (1) the context of the situation, which indicates what the conversation participants know about what is happening in that situation; (2) the context of the background knowledge, including intercultural²

² Intercultural knowledge implies a common cultural representation between the interlocutors (Sperber and Wilson, 1995 cited by Žegarac, 2008).

and interpersonal³ knowledge; and (3) the common textual context (“co-textual context”), which refers to the knowledge of conversation participants about what they are talking about (2006: 54).

2 Cultural Knowledge

A misunderstanding refers to differences in meaning that one statement may have for two interlocutors, i.e. for a speaker and for a hearer. According to Leech’s pragmatic position, meaning of a speaker’s statement *x* “is characterized as a REFLEXIVE INTENTION, i. e. an intention whose fulfilment consists in its recognition by *b*⁴”, i. e. by the intention for which the speaker of that statement wants to be recognized by his listener (1983: 34). It is necessary that both interlocutors have some common knowledge or shared beliefs. Levinson also believes that such ‘mutual knowledge’ of the world between the interlocutors is necessary for their communication to take place successfully, that is, to reach the “common” meaning of the statement, in other words, that the listener correctly understands the meaning of the speaker’s statement *x* (1983: 16). Through ten examples of misunderstandings we will try to find out if the participants had a similar knowledge-base of the world, while the concept “knowledge of the world” will primarily concern cultural knowledge in this study.

According to Žegarac (2007), the cultural knowledge of each individual determines the context of communication, and the greater the differences in cultural knowledge among the interviewees, the smaller the context available for communication, resulting in a greater chance for misunderstanding. Sperber and Wilson’s discernment of intercultural and intra-cultural communication depends on differences in cultural knowledge between the interlocutors (Sperber and Wilson, 1995 cited by Žegarac, 2008). In communication, the interlocutors can share most of the cultural representations⁵ and then their communication is intra-cultural. On the other hand, if interlocutors share only a few cultural representations, their communication is inter-cultural. In order to evaluate the communication as clear communication or miscommunication, we need to see if the interlocutors belong to culturally more or less distant cultural backgrounds. Through the examples in this paper, we will try to determine the degree of difference in cultural knowledge and whether the interlocutors’ communication was inter-cultural or intra-cultural. We will also try to see how much their cultural knowledge, or knowledge of

³ Interpersonal knowledge refers to aspects of meaning that are important for determining and maintaining social relations, or social roles, and to express their own personality (Crystal, 1997: 201).

⁴ *b* – abbr. hearer.

⁵ Cultural representations are formed and widened through causal relationships involving mental and public representational products such as statements, texts and images, and reproducing and achieving stability and distribution (see Žegarac, 2007).

the context of the current state of conversation and the topic of conversation influenced the violation of maxims of conversation. Furthermore, we will try to understand the link between Grice's cooperative principle and maxims of conversation with a cultural context on which the meaning of a statement partially depends (Carston, 2002 cited by Žegarac, 2008).

3 Intercultural Aspect, Conversational Implicature and Violation of Maxim of Quantity

Let's look at the conversation between two students, one from Croatia and another from England⁶, who met while studying together in Italy and saw each other at the exit of a sports hall after a joint gymnastics session:

- 1) Student English: "Hello! How are you?"
- 2) Student Croatian: („)⁷ ”
- 3) Student English "Mhm. (.) Shall we go out..."
- 4) Student Croatian: "Yes, sure..."

The English student, after a conventional greeting, asked the Croatian student "How are you?", to which the Croatian student gave no answer resulting in an unpleasant silence. It is a well accepted view point that the phatic function of language prevails in everyday conversational situations, which are not aimed at exchanging information, but primarily in maintaining communication (Katnić-Bakaršić, 2001: 18). Namely, in this example, the Croatian student did not give any answer to one of the typical polite questions posed by an English student by which she would signal the continuation of the conversation, which also confirms the mild disapproval of the English student.

For this reason, in this example we have a phatic conversation as a specific situational context in which the conversational maxim of quantity was violated. This maxim relates to the amount of information provided, which, according to Grice, states the following:

1. Make your contribution as informative as required (for the current purposes of the exchange).
2. Do not make your contribution more informative than required. (Grice, 1989: 26)

According to the Grice's theory, the Croatian student in the situation of a conventional conversation with the English student was not sufficiently communicative. The Croatian student did not know how to lead a verbal interaction in the specific situation and

⁶ Authentic examples (students M.B. and R.S.), recorded by the author.

⁷ The mark („) = long pause. (.) = short pause.

had no background knowledge of the phatic conversation expected by the English student.

The Croatian student in this conversation was not sufficiently cooperative, since the co-operative principle, according to Grice, requires the conversation participants to contribute as much as necessary “[...] at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.” (Grice, 1989: 26). The Croatian student did not sufficiently contribute to the conversation with the English student by not recognizing the purpose or the direction of the conversational implicature. If she had recognized the purpose of the conversational implications of this conversation, her response would not have been silence, but a conventional answer.⁸ If a conversation participant, for some reason, such as insufficient cultural knowledge, does not recognize the purpose of the conversational implicature within the conversation, does it mean that we should attribute him non-cooperative and impolite communication? On the other hand, the second part of this conversation after an unpleasant silence shows that both students are both rational and cooperative, since after the English student asked (3), the Croatian student gave an appropriate answer. Based on this, we can conclude that the Croatian student did not violate the conversational maxim of quantity with implicit intention to be rude or to degrade her interlocutor.

The concept of conversational implication is important because it serves the conversation participants to recognize the implication of a particular statement behind the semantics (Levinson, 1983: 104), i. e. illocution. We could recognize here a large part of an explanation for the above conversation example: it is likely that there is a misunderstanding between the students due to the incompatibility to understand the meanings of statements within the phatic conversations typical of the Anglophone cultural context or, according to Leech, because of the misunderstandings resulting from different linguistic knowledge of the participants about such statements (1983: 34).

In other words, their different linguistic knowledge refers to the statements that are used in the conversations and are related to the context of cultural knowledge, which involves verbal communication between participants, who do not know each other well. Namely, in the Anglophone world and, generally, in the English-speaking countries, it is considered polite to avoid silence between the participants who are not well acquainted (as well as those who know each other).⁹ In this example we can observe that cultural knowledge is extremely important for understanding the meaning of a conversational implicature, since if one participant does not share enough common cultural representations with his interlocutor, and thus fails to understand the implication of a statement given by his interlocutor, we can assume that his inferences will not be valid.

⁸ Something like “Fine, thank you. How are you?” (“Well, thank you, are you?”).

⁹ Generally speaking, in Croatia it is not customary to avoid silences among the participants who are not well acquainted. There is a tendency to avoid conversation in such situations. Furthermore, in Croatian linguistic literature there is not much research about phatic communication (which could be expanded to different social variables, such as age, gender, specific social context, etc.).

In other words, although the Croatian student certainly did not want to be impolite, the conversation in which she participated was almost disrupted due to her inadequate cultural knowledge and her misunderstanding of meaning of the utterance of the English student.

Grice emphasizes that the conversational implicature, together with the maxims of conversation, is important because it produces inferences, that is, the conclusion based on the content of the statement, but also the assumptions of each participant of the conversation about the cooperative nature of their verbal interaction (1989: 26). Nevertheless, as Levinson points out, in most cases, with violating the maxims of conversation, it is often a case of specific context, which leads us to consider the intercultural differences between the participants of a conversation as a specific context in which the violation of maxims of conversation occurred (1983: 126).

The misunderstanding in this example was due to the different conceptions of Croatian and English students on phatic communication¹⁰, or a different understanding of (verbal) behaviour in situations with which communication participants are not well acquainted. According to Leech (1983: 139-142) a silence at a wrong time has the implication of indifference, which the English student could have readily attributed to the Croatian student, unless she understood her silence as a result of the lack of the knowledge of Anglophone cultural norms in the context in which the Croatian student should have responded differently.

Phatic communication reflects a very close relationship between politeness and speaking for the purpose of being social and cannot be reduced to the maxim of “avoiding silence” or “mere speech”, and rather serves the purpose of extending the area of agreement and experience shared by the interlocutors. In other words, the English student wanted to include her in a shared area of experiences, which they shared studying together, or use phatic communication as the first stage of conversation, after which a better acquaintance might be acquired. On the other hand, the Croatian student was silent with the intention of being polite, hoping that in her silence, the English student might recognise an act of courtesy.¹¹ Her inadequate response is thus possibly a result of insufficient cultural knowledge, a lack of understanding of the implications of the English statement, leading to a false inference.

The lack of understanding in communication was clearly due to the context of the differences in cultural knowledge of the phatic communication between participants from, although European, still culturally distant environments. Therefore, in this example, we see an intercultural-based misunderstanding in communication, because, as Paltridge argues, the ways in which people perform speech and what they imply by that what

¹⁰ Phatic communication as a sort of “social institution” includes many different social functions (see Žegarac, 1999).

¹¹ The Croatian student had a belief that a question such as “How are you?” should appropriately met by silence, because it is a question that, when asked by the English student, does not require an answer about how someone really feels.

they pronounce differs between speakers coming from different cultural environments (2006: 66).

Metaphor and Conversational Maxim of Quality

Let us take a look at the next conversation between a student from Croatia studying in Italy, who, after passing one of the hardest exams met an Italian colleague in a university hallway and happily exclaimed:

- 1) Croatian student: "Sono un' genio!"
- 2) Italian student: („) "Mhm."¹²

From a conversation with a Croatian student, we learned that her statement “Sono un' genio!”, although expressed in a humorous tone, provoked an astonishment of her interlocutor, in fact a consternation for the “arrogance”, which was attributed to her by the Italian student.¹³ Namely, in the Italian cultural context, the term “genius” is not commonly used in a humorous sense, nor in the context of individual success, such as exam success, sporting or business success, but only when that term refers to extremely important personalities such as Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo etc. The Italian and the Croatian scope of the prototypical meaning of the term genius, including also wider set of meanings conveyed by the utterances in different pragmatic situations are similar.¹⁴

To consider this example, we can use Grice's distinction between the conventional meaning of the sign and the speaker's conception of the sign (1989: 17-20). The conventional meaning of the term “genius” is very similar in the Croatian and the Italian cultural contexts (referring to extraordinary personalities). Interpreted in the terms of the speaker's conception, the statement “Sono un' genio!” meant that the Croatian student in this particular moment felt successful because she had passed a very difficult exam. The Croatian student intended for the Italian student to understand this meaning, but the Italian student did not recognize it. This example demonstrates the incompatibility

¹² Translation: “I am a genius!” / („) “Mhm.” (Croatian student).

¹³ The Italian student later recalled a similar situation and told it to the Croatian student: At the entrance door to his room, another Croatian student had written: “Non entri quando genio lavora!” (“Do not enter while genius is working!”), resulting in a surprise reaction from all other students on campus. In her conversation with the Croatian student the Italian student realized that such use of rhetorical figures in humorous contexts or in the context of great events such as passing an exam or in sport success, are allowed in the Croatian cultural context (verified by a story of the Croatian student about Goran Ivanišević who, at the time of his win at Wimbledon, had said “I'm a genius!”). Although the semantic meaning is allowed in both respective languages in speech situations, pragmatic meanings differ.

¹⁴ “Genius m 1. the extraordinary power of spirit, intellect, imagination, inventiveness; spirit, talent 2. the one that has a very big spiritual and mental abilities, a great creative mind; a genius 3. a special or prevailing spirit, atmosphere, in some time, space or group of people (time) lat. genius: the spirit, the protective deity” (Anić and Goldstein, 2007: 481).

of meaning on two levels: (1) at the level of conventional and spoken meanings, and (2) at the level of intended and attributed meanings. According to the distinction of the intended and attributed meaning (Sperber and Wilson, 1995 cited in Žegarac, 2007) we can say that in this example there was also a misunderstanding between the meaning that the student from Croatia was trying to convey through her statement and the meaning that the student from Italy attributed to her own statement. According to the conversation, the implication which the Italian student applied to the meaning of the other student's statement, was that a Croatian student, by saying that she was a "genius" was therefore implying that she was a genius like exceptional personalities. Such an inference of the Italian student resulted in her consternation for the "arrogance" attributed to the Croatian student.

On the level of conventional meaning, the conversation participants had very similar mental representations of the concept of a "genius", which was not the case with the level of the individual speaker's use of the same term for both students. Interestingly, despite the similar conventional use of the term "genius" in the Croatian and Italian cultural contexts, the Croatian cultural context still implies the use of this concept in humorous and similar purposes. The question is whether it is intercultural or intra-cultural communication. The answer may be twofold. On the one hand, since participants of the conversation in the Croatian and Italian cultural contexts both share similar mental representations of this term in conventional use, we could say that this is partly a matter of intra-cultural communication. On the other hand, in their analysis of Grice's theory of meaning, Devitt and Sterelney state that when we have a term that has multiple meanings, and in the absence of a speaker's meaning we cannot precisely determine a conventional meaning of the concept, it is often impossible to attribute a notion of any conventional meaning without knowledge of the convention the speaker had in mind (2002: 163). In our example, although the Italian student could determine the convention the student from Croatia had in mind when using the term "genius", a misinterpretation occurred due to the publicly unacceptable use of such utterance in some contexts. Therefore, since the Italian student then interpreted her use of the concept of "genius" by means of a convention close to her, the incompatibility of these conventions, conventions in the wider pragmatic sense, could be said to belong to intercultural communication.

On the individual, i.e. the speaker's level, the use of this concept by the Croatian student can be said to be a rhetorical figure or a kind of metaphor¹⁵. In this regard, when dealing with the problem of meaning of rhetorical figures, Devitt and Sterelney point out that metaphors support the difference between the conventional and the speaker's meaning, that the speaker in the imprecise use of the language thinks something that is

¹⁵ Metaphors are mental, i. e. conceptual operations in human language by which speakers through much more concrete and more practical terms can structure and construct abstract areas of knowledge (Hurford, James R., Heasley, Brendan and Smith, Michael B., 1983: 331).

different and somewhat independent from the common sense of the word even though it is derived from it (2002: 163-166). Conventional, that is, the literal meaning of the student's statement that she is a "genius" is not true, but she used a metaphor to say she feels very successful and similar to a real "genius" after passing a difficult exam.

In this example, we need to see if there was a disruption of the conversational maxim of quality, which, according to Grice, is the most important of all conversational maxims, and reads: "Under the category of Quality falls a supermaxim – Try to make your contribution one that is true. – and two more specific maxims: Do not say what you believe to be false. / Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence." (Grice, 1989: 27)

If we consider both subordinate maxims of quality, then we see that the maxim of quality is not violated if the speaker of a statement *x* has made the statement thinking it to be true and if there is evidence for the content of their statement. In the above example, from the point of view of the speaker, a Croatian student who thinks that she is a genius, we can ask whether she said something about what she thinks is false, despite her intentions to flaunting, and did she say something for which there is no evidence. The answer to this question again gives us a distinction between the conventional and the speaker's meaning. Namely, within the conventional meaning of the concept of genius, her statement is false as she has no proof of that, and therefore in this example we have the violation of the conversational maxim of quality. As the speaker's meaning in this example differs from the conventional meaning, i. e. it is derived from personal use of the term, preserving the conversational maxim of quality becomes questionable. Although the Croatian student's semantic field of meaning of the concept of genius was similar to that of the Italian student and coincides with the standard meanings of that concept within the Croatian and Italian cultural contexts, her illocution had a somewhat idiosyncratic meaning. That was precisely why there were misunderstandings in their communication. But can we say that this is because of the conversational maxim of quality being violated or does Grice's maxim refer to too idealized conversations? According to Levinson, metaphors undermine the conventional meanings of utterances, since they are, with some set of properties, non-cooperative and because speakers want to express something different by them (1983: 110).

Therefore, we can assume several premises: (1) that the Croatian student was unaware of the differences between the conventional and the speaker's conception of the sign in the pragmatic context, i. e. did not consider whether her use of this concept was understood by the Italian student, (2) that she believed that she was like a real "genius" because she felt very successful for a moment and (3) had successfully passed a hard exam. It seems that thanks to the first premise we can conclude that the conversational maxim of quality was violated. Also, from the perspective of the recipient of this statement, the Italian student, the statement "I am a genius!" is false, since (1) within the domain of her cultural knowledge it does not belong to the understanding that someone who successfully passes an exam is a genius and that (2) she does not know the

possibility of using the term genius in such an unconventional way, because such a type of unconventional use of the term in Italy is not practiced.

4 Social Dominance and Violation of Maxims of Conversation

In the following two examples, we will consider the function of social roles and dominance in relation to the violation of Grice's maxims of conversation, whereby an intentional degradation of an interlocutor has occurred. In the first example, we have a Croatian student studying in Italy speaking to another student, an Italian, about life during the famous President of the former Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito, claiming that Yugoslavia was a state of peace and security.

- 1) Croatian student: "Quando Tito era in vita, in Yugoslavia regnava ordine e sicurezza..."
- 2) Italian student: "Dittatore è dittatore!"
- 3) Croatian student: "Non è..."
- 4) Italian student: "No. Tu sei vissuta dentro e non potevi renderti conto della realtà... Voi eravate segregati dentro un sistema comunista e non potevi percepire che lui dirige con tutto e con tutti..."
- 5) Croatian student: "(„)"¹⁶

From the point of view of conversational analysis in a certain way, the answers (2) and (4) of the Italian student can be seen as ignoring the Croatian student. In their "turn-talk" the dominance of the Italian student was achieved by repeated interruptions of the Croatian correspondent's statements¹⁷, by direct and determined statements (2), and an extensive response (4) that resembles a monologue. Through such conversational methods she wanted to emphasize her own social role as an older student and a tutor and her sense of superiority and dominance over the Croatian student. The subjection of the Croatian student can be observed in the act of her withdrawal in this conversation, hesitating to contradict the use of incomplete sentences, and can be interpreted as her avoidance of conflict with her dominant interlocutor obviously possessing much more discursive power. We could confirm this by Bourdieu's statement, who believes that "If

¹⁶ Translation: "When Marshal Tito was alive, rule and security were in the former Yugoslavia ..." / "Dictators are dictators!" / "No ..." / "No. You lived inside and you could not perceive reality... You were locked in a communist system and you could not perceive that he commanded everything and everyone..." / („) (This other statement by the Italian student is even extensive and more precise.)

¹⁷ In the conversation with the Croatian student, we learned that the Italian student had very sharply interrupted in both her statements, although the Croatian student wanted to give examples or proof of her claim.

acts of communication - exchanges of gifts, challenges, or words - always bear within them a potential conflict, it is because they always contain the possibility of domination.” (Bourdieu, 1977: 237). In this example, the absence of the answer, or the silence of the Croatian student after the long statement by the Italian student, is her withdrawal, i.e. avoiding a potential conflict related to their different views on the political system of the former Yugoslavia.

In this conversation, we can consider two of Grice’s maxims of conversation: the maxim of quantity and the maxim of manner. The first statement of the Italian student “Dittatore è dittatore” is a tautology¹⁸, or a statement that does not contain any information. In the example “Dittatore è dittatore!” we see, therefore, her statement which as such can only distort the conversational maxim of quantity. Nevertheless, Grice notes that tautologies are “informative at the level of what is implicated, and that the listener’s identification of their informative content at this level depends on his ability to explain the speaker’s selection of tautology” (Grice, 1989: 33). This means that the informativity of such statements should be sought at the implicit level of speech, that is, that the listener should recognize why the speaker has chosen the very form for the content he wanted to express. Similarly, Levinson considers that if we assume that the speaker of such a statement is cooperative in his communication, we need to find out what informative inference he wanted to produce (1983: 111).

Thus, in our example, the Italian student wanted to say that the politician Josip Broz Tito should be considered a dictator, and her tautological statement “Dittatore è dittatore!” we can translate as “that, while providing order and security in the former Yugoslavia, in his leadership of the state as well as every dictator, he used dictatorial methods, etc.”. On the other hand, the Croatian student recognized the intention of the statement by the Italian student and replied (3) “He was not ...” trying to give her an explanation or the reasons for her opinion. However, the Italian student impolitely interrupted her. On the other hand, in the statement “Non è ...” and the silence after the second statement of the Italian student we can see the Croatian student’s sensitivity to the discourse of ideology including direct expressions of ideological attitudes. This conversation can therefore be brought into direct connection, according to Brown and Levinson’s theory, with “face-treatment” within a conversational organization that is clearly manifested by this example through “interrupting, ignoring selections of other speakers, not responding to prior turns” (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 232). In the response (4) by the Italian student there was a distortion of the conversational maxim of manner, for which Grice prescribes:

Finally, under the category of Manner, which I understand as relating not (like the previous categories) to what is said, but, rather, to *how* what is said is to be said, I include the supermaxim – “Be perspicuous” – and various

¹⁸ In the linguistics of formal logic, the tautology “Dittatore è dittatore!” is written as: $\forall x [E(x) \rightarrow E(x)]$.

maxims such as: 1. Avoid obscurity of expression./ 2. Avoid ambiguity. /
3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity). / 4. Be orderly. (Grice, 1989: 27)

In answer (4), the Italian student directly told the Croatian student that her knowledge of the communist regime was insufficient, that she lived under control and ignorance, and that she could therefore not have a proper picture of the communist regime of the former Yugoslavia. Her implicit assumption was that her cultural knowledge is wider and truer than the cultural knowledge of the student from Croatia. Such an answer, on the other hand, reflects its attachment of a greater epistemic value to its own statement, or to its own knowledge of the former Yugoslavia, because of the implicit assumption that someone outside a certain political system can give a more objective and realistic picture of it. Violating the maxim of manner is related to the long, extensive statement.

Another example we can consider is the following conversation:

- 1) Croatian student (being offered a Coca-Cola): "No, grazie, io non bevo Coca-..."
- 2) Italian waiter: "Eh, tu fai vieni da un paese comunista!"¹⁹
- 3) Croatian student: („)²⁰

In this conversation, we see that after the waiter's statement the Croatian student was silent, i. e. feeling threatened by the Italian waiter. She attached to his statement the meaning of the pernicious act which, according to Forrester, contains "face-treatment" quality as a quality that could be attributed to male speakers when they interrupt their interlocutors (1996: 119). Therefore, in their conversation, which is a type of every-day conversation, the Italian's interruption of a student by a statement in which he wanted to express his political stance can be interpreted as establishing his position of power, or the act of endangering the student's integrity.

At the implicit level of speech, we see that in this example, the Italian waiter's answer (2), 2) "Eh, tu fai vieni da un paese comunista!" expressed his political attitude towards Croatia as a communist country (although the conversation took place after the collapse of the former communist, socialist Yugoslavia). By attributing to Coca-Cola the symbol of the system of values of the capitalist West (actually America and developed Western Europe), he used the statement by the Croatian student that she did not drink Coca-Cola (in which she intended to say she did not like to drink Coca-Cola) to give her knowledge of: (1) not perceiving the importance of political changes for the Croatian state (its independence), (2) although he knows that the Croatian political system has been changed, she is for him still a part of the Eastern, Communist and Balkan system 3) that he, as a "representative" of the superior European states can say that to her and (4) that "being from Croatia" means being socially inferior. In the example of this

¹⁹ Example from the mid-1990s

²⁰ Translation: "No, thank you, I do not drink Coca-Cola." / "Ah, you come from the Communist country!" / (Croatian student R.B.).

conversation, we see the dominant political and social status of the Italian as the power-bearer, and the subordinate position of the Croatian student.

But at the explicit level of conversation, his answer had no relevant value with respect to the statement of the Croatian student, who only subsequently understood what the Italian speaker implicitly wanted to say²¹. About the conversational maxim of relevance, in which Grice's description directly recognizes that it is difficult to determine when an answer in a communication conversation is not relevant, he says:

Under the category of Relation I place a single maxim, namely, "Be relevant." Though the maxim itself is terse, its formulation conceals a number of problems that exercise me a good deal: questions about what different kinds and focuses of relevance there may be, how this shift in the course of a talk exchange, how to allow for the fact that subjects of conversation are legitimately changed, and so on. (Grice, 1989: 27)

The miscommunication in this example can also be explained in terms of opacity towards the Croatian student, because in the context of the situation in which she refused to drink Coca-Cola, his statement, which implies social asymmetry on several levels was completely incomprehensible.

Both these examples, as well as the other examples used in this paper, show that "particularized conversational implicatures" as called by Paltridge, arising from particular, cultural and situational contexts (2006: 71), are very common in intercultural communication. That is, in these examples, we wanted to show how much statements within communication are dependent on the context of the current situation, the background cultural knowledge, and the knowledge of conversation participants about what they are talking about in conversation. We could conclude that, even in cases from neighboring countries, both examples confirm a great difference between the mental representations of the political system of the former Yugoslavia between the participants, which is why we can describe this conversation as intercultural.

Conclusion

Based on the ten examples, we discussed the problem of misunderstandings in communication and violation of conversational maxims in conversations between international students in Italy. The analytical tool we used were Grice's maxims of conversation and conversational implicature, through which we analyzed implicit communication intentions in the background of statements. We have seen that some examples presented the

²¹ In conversation with the Croatian student, we learned that the Italian had expressed his statement in extremely ironic tone, which is a communication element that helped the Croatian student to understand its implicit intention directed at breaking her integrity.

violation of Grice's maxims of conversation and also a disruption of the integrity of the participants to whom the statements were intended. In the analysis of the examples, we used the descriptive context of the situation, the background knowledge and possible knowledge of conversation participants about the realized statements, or the analysis of intercultural differences between the participants as an essential element of the conversation between the international students. The analyzed situations of misunderstanding and the description of the conversation participants, their linguistic or cultural background, and the role played in the discussion have proved to be relevant factors, which have caused the lack of understanding in communication. In some instances, we have shown that communication failure was highly dependent on the success of the attribution of the attributed and the intended, conventional and spoken meaning, or the selection of the right context for the correct interpretation of a particular conversational statement.

Thus, with the analysis of the examples of conversation through the analysis of the conversational implicatures and the maxims of conversation, we have investigated cultural knowledge and the way in which that cultural knowledge contributes to the creation of a context relevant to the understanding of the meaning of a statement. All the above examples showed that the difference in cultural knowledge is an important conversational context in situations of misunderstandings in communication, which are also more frequent in communication between participants from different cultural backgrounds. This study dealt with a small corpus of examples and a limited scope of culturally different participants, but in our further research we would like to expand both of these important levels to gain a deeper understanding of the complex components interacting in communication.

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Cankar i Andrić – Osvrt na upotrebu poređenja i nekoliko odabranih izraza

Zdravko Šolak*

Abstract¹

The paper focuses on the examples of comparison constructions appearing in the collected works of Ivan Cankar i Ivo Andrić containing expressions such as ‘as/like petrified’, ‘as/like struck down’, ‘as/like wounded’, ‘as/like dead’. Another focus is also on comparisons revolving around nouns such as ‘funeral’ and ‘grave’, as well as on some other idiosyncratic comparison constructions (including ‘writhe like a worm’, ‘rattle like a grandma’, ‘like the plague in the house’). Additional expressions centring on the description of the colour of ones face (i.e. pale or green face, colourless face, face of unhealthy colour, dead man’s pale face), centring on the concept of something being made of one piece only, something illuminated from within, and something being taken using both hands. A common denomination of the observed expressions is their infrequent use since both of the writers at hand limit their employment to one use only per one piece of writing. Also, both Cankar and Andrić use these comparisons in situations in which something is unfavorable, uncertain, or risky for a particular character. Moreover, the instances of use of these particular comparison constructions have further been illustrated by their appearance in the writings of other South Slavic and Russian authors (which also helps us underlie the most typical verbs used to support these comparisons).

Key words: Ivan Cankar, Ivo Andrić, South Slavic authors, Russian classical literature, comparison

* Visoka poslovna škola Novi Sad, Srbija

¹ Posebnu zahvalnost dugujem svima koji su mi omogućili neophodne usluge i sve pogodnosti u pogledu korišćenja fonda u Biblioteci Matice srpske u Novom Sadu. Takođe sam nailazio na izuzetnu predusretljivost zaposlenih u Gradskoj biblioteci u Novom Sadu, kao i Narodnoj biblioteci iz Surdulice. Za podršku koju su mi pružili tokom rada takođe zahvaljujem Radojki Jakšić, Đorđu Ćuzoviću, Slaviši Đukanoviću, Dobrivoju Majkiću, Novici Pavloviću.

Uvod

Časopis *Književni jug* iz svoje redakcije u Zagrebu objavio je povodom smrti slovenačkog pisca Ivana Cankara (1876–1918) saopštenje: „Njegova smrt ne znači gubitak smo za Sloveniju već za čitavu Jugoslaviju, jer je njegov Duh bio svojina i ponos svih nas“². Te godine kada se Cankarev život završio, Ivo Andrić (1892–1975), jedan od članova redakcije *Književnog juga*, tek je bio objavio *Ex ponto*, svoju prvu knjigu. Andrić je još u mladim danima u svoju biografiju počeo da unosi znanje slovenačkog jezika. Cankar je nekoliko meseci 1910. godine boravio u Sarajevu u vreme dok je Andrić u tom gradu pohađao gimnaziju, pa su tako, u isto vreme, u jednom periodu svog života, oba pisca mogli da posmatraju društvena zbivanja na Balkanu iz istog mesta. Tokom godina školovanja i jedan i drugi proveo je neko vreme u Beču. I jedan i drugi pisao je o pesniku Gabrijelu D’Anunciju (1863–1939), o sarajevskim grobljima, objavio prozu „Gospodica“, „Ispovijed“. Cankar je visoko cenio delo Fjodora Dostojevskog.³ I Andrić je o Dostojevskom govorio kao o velikom piscu.⁴ Podržavali su jugoslovenstvo i bili zatvarani zbog svojih političkih ideja. Već u mladim godinama imali su ozbiljnih problema sa zdravljem. Bolest, kojoj je Andrić u mladosti odoleo, Ivanu Cankaru skratila je životni vek. Podudarnostima iz njihovih biografija moguće je dodati i jednu koja se odnosi na samo njihovo delo, na odliku tehnike pripovedanja. U njihovoj prozi često se javlja poređenje.

U ovom osvrtu na njihovo književno delo u obzir je uzeta upotreba poređenja i nekih odabranih izraza. Primeri upotrebe pojedinih izraza, prema preliminarnoj široj listi, izdvajani su njihovih sabranih dela. (Pod primerom je podrazumevan deo teksta u kojem se javlja posmatrani izraz, poređenje ili karakteristično zapažanje o nekoj pojavi.) Ako se neki karakterističan izraz javljao na više mesta u piščevom delu težilo se izdvajanju što većeg broja primera i što potpunijem obuhvatu. Za upoređenje su takođe izdvajani i primeri iz dela ruske klasične književnosti, kao i primeri iz dela južnoslovenskih pisaca. pisci čija su dela poslužila kao izvor rođeni su u devetnaestom veku (prilog 1 na kraju rada).

Pojedini istraživači primenjivali su razne načine klasifikacije poređenja. Pri klasifikaciji poređenja izdvojenih iz Cankarevog i Andrićevog dela uzeli smo u obzir frekventnost javljanja u njihovim pričama i romanima. U ovom članku bavimo se poređenjima koja nisu učestala. (Ostaje da se frekventna i hipotetična poređenja izlože u posebnom tekstu.) Neki od izraza kojima se ovde bavimo sadržani su i u monografijama i reč-

² Cankar je umro 11. decembra 1918. godine. Saopštenje je objavljeno u prvoj svesci časopisa 1919. godine (*Književni jug* 1919, 1: 40)

³ Zapažanja o ruskim piscima Gogolju, Turgenjevu, Dostojevskom i Tolstoju Ivan Cankar naveo je u pismu Izidoru Cankaru 13. avgusta 1906. godine. Videti: Cankar, Izidor (1968) *Leposlovje, eseji, kritika*. Prva knjiga, Ljubljana, str. 140.

⁴ U knjizi *Sa Ivom Andrićem* naveden je Andrićev komentar: „Za mene su Fjodor Dostojevski i Tomas Man dve najkrupnije književne figure na razmeđu devetnaestog i dvadesetog veka; sa njima je počela evropska književnost“ (Jandrić 1977: 152)

nicima iz slovenske frazeologije (Телия 1996; Ничева 2002; Nedokova 2011; Keber 2011; Otašević 2012). Na komentare iz tih priručnika obično smo se osvrtni kratkim napomenama.

I drugi autori upoređivali su Ivana Cankara sa piscima realistima (Kraft 1969; Đukić 1977; Ožbalt 1978; Nabergoj 2015). Upoređujući njegovo delo s delom Ive Andrića ovde imamo u vidu tehniku pripovedanja, postupak koji je dolazio do izražaja u tekstu čija dužina nije velika. Izlaganje je raspoređeno u tri dela. U prvom delu bavimo se izrazima upotrebljenim u slikovitom opisu lika u situaciji koja se naglo promenila. U drugom delu rada reč je o izrazima upotrebljenim u opisu ljudskog lica, U trećem je učinjen osvrt na upotrebu nekoliko odabranih izraza.

1 Lik u naglo izmenjenoj situaciji

Nagle promene ponašanja u različitim situacijama u koje dospevaju likovi u pojedinim etapama događaja o kojima se pripoveda i Cankar i Andrić često su opisivali upotrebom slikovitih izraza. U pitanju je promena izazvana nepovoljnim razrešenjem okolnosti u kojima se jedna osoba nalazila. Karakterističan je nagli obrt koji često zatiče čoveka nespremnim da prihvati razvoj situacije i čini ga nemoćnim da preduzme neku akciju. Oni koji se nalaze u blizini takve osobe lako prepoznaju nagle promene u njenom izgledu i ponašanju. U tabelama 1–12 navedeni su primeri kojima se ona slikovito opisuje upotrebom izraza: *kao okamenjen*, *kao pokošen*, *kao ranjen*, *kao mrtav*.⁵ To su poređenja. Za njihovu potpuniju ocenu često je neophodno uzeti u obzir širi kontekst, ponekad i priču u celini.

1.1 Upotreba izraza „kao okamenjen“

Upotreba izraza „kao okamenjen“ javlja se u opisu stanja u kojem se jedan lik našao zatečen. Ono što se upravo dogodilo, nepovoljno je za njega. Iznenaden je i treba mu neko vreme da se pribere. U primerima u tabeli 1⁶ izraz „kao okamenjen“ upotrebljen je u opisu lika koji stoji. Izraz „стоял как окаменелый“ nalazimo kod Tolstoja.⁷

⁵ U upotrebi su takođe i drugi izrazi: „kao ukopan“, „kao oparen“, „kao poliven“.

⁶ U levoj koloni tabele navedeni su primeri iz Cankarevog, a u desnoj iz Andrićevog dela. Tako je postupano i u drugim tabelama u ovom radu.

⁷ Володя стоял **как окаменелый** и не верил глазам своим. (Толстой 2009: 255)

Ivan Cankar	Ivo Andrić
(1) Milena je stala sredi izbe napol oblečena, nepremična, kakor okamenela (20: 209)	(1°) Stojekao skamenjene , sa škrtom senkom pored sebe, nepomične . (10: 217)
(2) kadar pa jih zalotiš nenadoma, stojé pred obrazom kakor okameneli in se ne morejo geniti. (8: 229)	(2°) nekoliko trenutaka čobani su stajali kao skamenjeni od čuda, ali onda su se pribrali. (9: 195)
(3) Stal je pred. mano kakor okamenel [...]. (12: 56)	(3°) Žene su stajale kao skamenjene . (9: 113)

1 – Milan i Milena, 2 – Kralj Malhus, 3 – Gospa Judit; 1° – Španska stvarnost i prvi koraci u njoj, 2° – Aska i vuk, 3° – Zmija

Napomena: Primeri su izdvajani prema izdanjima sabranih dela: Andrić (1978) *Sabrana dela Ive Andrića*, Prosveta, Beograd; Andrić (1981) *Sabrana djela Ive Andrića*, Svjetlost, Sarajevo; Cankar (1967–1976) *Zbrana dela*, Državna založba Slovenije, Ljubljana. Uz pojedine primere navedeni su knjiga u sabranim delima i broj strane u toj knjizi na kojoj se nalazi primer (knjiga: strana). Tako je postupano i u drugim tabelama u ovom radu.

Tabela 1: Upotreba izraza: „kao okamenjen“ uz glagol „stajati“

Izraz „kao okamenjen“ uz upotrebu glagola „stajati“ obično se navodi u opisu stanja koje ne traje dugo. Nalazimo i primere u kojima su okolnosti nešto duže potrajale. Trajanje tog vremena pisci ne određuju precizno, ali se iz samog opisa često stiče utisak da ono nije suviše dugo.

Ivan Cankar	Ivo Andrić
(1) Ko je ugledal župnika, je odprl usta in je obstal ob durih kakor okamenel . (16: 155)	(1°) Zato je i stajao tako jedno vreme, otvorenih usta, kao okamenjen . (15: 171)
(2) Ona je bila kakor okamenela ; gledala me je pazno, z velikim pogledom [...]. (9: 242)	(2°) Ljudi koji su ostali u ćeliji ćutali su još nekoliko trenutaka kao okamenjeni [...]. (10: 80)
(3) Gradar se je vspel visoko ter obstal kakor okamenel . (7: 73)	(3°) Sve stalo kao skamenjeno i samo gleda u vis. (8: 291)
(4) Ko je odprl duri, ga je udarilo od temena do nog – in stal je kakor okamenel . (17: 296)	(4°) Ostali svati [...] ostali pored kamene ograde u čudnim položajima, kao skamenjeni . (1: 132)
(5) vsi, kolikor jih je bilo, [...] so bili kakor okameneli od pričakovanja (23: 167)	(5°) Tu su čekale kao okamenjene i neosetljive za glad, žeđ i studen, [...]. (1: 25)
(6) kmetje so sedeli za mizo kakor okameneli (18: 26)	(6°) Sedele su skamenjene , kao da čekaju osudu, [...]. (1: 208)

1 – Polikrap, 2 – Smrt kontrolorja Stepnika, 3 – Nina Vinjete, 4 – Za križem, 6 – Kako se je useknil gospod Peter Mozolec, 5 – Sosed Luka; 1° – Crveni cvet, 2° – U ćeliji broj 115, 3° – Osatičani, 4°, 5° i 6° – Na Drini ćuprija

Tabela 2: Upotreba izraza: „kao okamenjen“

U primerima 1–5 i 1°–5° u tabeli 2 izraz „kao okamenjen“ javlja se u opisu ljudi koji nešto čekaju, u nešto gledaju, koji su nečim iznenađeni. Izraze „jedno vreme“, i „nekoliko trenutaka“ (primeri 3° i 4°) upućuju na to da je situacija kratko trajala. Takav utisak čitalac će steći i ukoliko se u istoj rečenici opiše neka radnja koju lik tek počinje da obavlja.⁸ Cankar je opisujući seljake koji sede upotrebio izraz „kakor okameneli“ (primer 6, tabela 2). U primeru 6° izostavljena je poredbena rečca i upotrebljena u drugom delu rečenice u kojoj je reč o osobama koje sede.

U opisu ponašanja likova izraz „kao okamenjen“ rasprostranjen je u delima ruskih pisaca: Gogolja⁹, Turgenjeva¹⁰, Gončarova¹¹, Dostojevskog¹², Tolstoja¹³. Slična poređenja česta su i u delima južnoslovenskih pisaca. U frazeološkom rečniku bugarskog jezika navodi se da „като вкаменен“ uz glagole „stajati“, „gledati“ znači u stvari biti iznenađen, uplašen (Ничева 2002: 168). Primere takvi upotreba nalazimo u delima pisaca Vazova i Jovkova.¹⁴

⁸ Ciganka, koja je posle onog prvog strašnog **vriska ostala kao skamenjena**, počela je da nariče ponovo, [...]. (Andrić 1978 knj. 15: 148)

⁹ **Как будто окаменев**, не сдвинувшись с места, слушал Петро, [...]. (Гоголь 2009с: 61)

¹⁰ (1) Она вся **словно окаменела**; (2) Елена перешла в соседнюю комнату, прислонилась к стене и долго **стояла как окаменелая** (3) Сердце у меня **словно окаменело** и голова тоже, (Тургенев 2011а: 378; 2013: 58)

¹¹ (1) Она осталась, **как окаменелая**, потом проворно позвонила. (2) она [...] остановилась **как** вкопанная, **окаменелая**, не дыша, в грозной позе, с грозным взглядом, вполуборот. (Гончаров 2015: 750; 2012: 324)

¹² (1) Митя молчал, **как бы окаменев**, опустив глаза в землю. (2) Мертвая тишина залы не прерывалась, буквально **как бы все окаменели** – и жаждавшие осуждения, и жаждавшие оправдания. (Достоевский 2012а: 923, 1021)

¹³ (1) Она слышала [...] но сидела, **как окаменелая**, не в силах ни начать говорить, ни встать. (2) Сказав это, она вздохнула, и лицо ее, вдруг приняв строгое выражение, **как бы окаменело**. (Толстой 2011b: 699, 907)

¹⁴ (1) Бръчков остана **като вкаменен**. (2) Но Варлаам стоеше **като вкаменен** и гледаше в нос на бея. (3) Вълкана остана **като вкаменяла**. (4) Бежанците се обърнаха и останаха **като вкаменени**. (5) Стремски остана **като вкамънен**. (Вазов 1956 том 5 136. 257; том 12: 339; том 13: 87); (6) Захари стоеше под покрива **като вкаменен**. (7) Те стояха настрана и не се помръдваха, **като вкаменени** (Йовков 1983 том 3: 197, 275)

Ranković¹⁵, Sremac¹⁶ i Matavulj¹⁷ bili su skloni upotrebi izraza „kao okamenjen“. Izdvojeni su i primeri iz dela drugih srpskih pisaca¹⁸, kao i primeri iz dela hrvatskih¹⁹ i slovenačkih pisaca.²⁰ Za onoga ko je *stao (stoji) kao okamenjen* moglo bi se reći i da nepomično stoji (Keber 2011: 627). Sličnu upotrebu ima i izraz „kao ukopan“.²¹

1.2 Upotreba izraza „kao pokošen“, „kao ranjen“, „kao mrtav“

Cankar i Andrić upotrebljavali su ove izraze u opisu situacije u kojoj je iznenadna promena imala odraza na fizičko stanje jedne osobe. U primerima navedenim u tabeli 3 izrazi „kao pokošen“, „kao ranjen“, „kao mrtav“ nalaze se u blizini glagola „pasti“, „vrisnuti“, „ležati“. Tako je pojačana slikovitost opisa nagle promene koja je nastupila u ponašanju lika kom se otkriva nešto novo, koji se našao pred nepovoljnim razrešenjem neke neizvesnosti.

¹⁵ (1) A Stanka [...] obori glavu na ruku i **stade kao okamenjena** [...] (2) Kad se isplaka, opet se zamisli i ostade dugo tako **kao okamenjen** [...] (3) Ljubica sedi na stolici **kao okamenjena**, čak joj i glava ostala još malo zatvorena (4) Bogosav vidi da se ona učutala **kao okamenjena** [...]. (5) Čim izadosmo na rudinu, stadosmo svi **kao okamenjeni**. (6) A mi svi besmo **kao hladna, okamenjena**, nepomična stena, [...]. (7) Kako je ko ugledao bolesnika, svaki je zastao **kao okamenjen**. (Ranković 1952 knj. 1: 193, 322, 329, 403; knj. 2: 298, 329, 402)

¹⁶ (1) gđa Persa na jedan mah preblede i **kao okamenjena** posmatraše gđu Sidu (2) Stala je **kao okamenjena**, pa nije znala ni reći da kaže. (3) oboje zastadoše **kao okamenjeni**, jer oboje spaziše u kolima pop-Spiru (4) slušao ga Mane koji je, **kao skamenjen** (Sremac 2011a: 76, 130; 2011b: 295)

¹⁷ (1) Nasta trenutak nijeme tišine; svi izgledahu **kao skamenjeni** (2) Kako razabra prve riječi što ču, ustavi se **kao skamenjen** i poblijeđe. (3) [...] bi nas bila sve pobila, jer smo ja i gospodarica stajale **kao skamenjene**. (4) Onda oboje **stadoše kao skamenjeni**, posmatrajući tovar, magarca i kokoši. (5) Latini, **kao skamenjeni** od čuda i od divljenja pred tolikom vjerom i hrabrošću, pustiše starca s mirom (Matavulj 2006 knj. 1: 97, 371; 2007 knj. 3: 262, 362, 403)

¹⁸ (1) On je stajao **kao okamenjen** pred tom svetom slikom domaćom [...] (2) Da ga on nije poveo, ostao bi na mestu **kao okamenjen**. (3) A on osta na mestu **kao okamenjen** od stida. (Veselinović 1983: 48, 54, 324); (4) Ali se trže od svog šapata i **kao da se okameni** nasred sobe. (5) [...] ali se ne makoh s mesta, i **kao okamenjen** gledah u majku. (Lazarević 2011: 61, 166); (6) Lesa se zaustavi **kao okamenjena**. (Uskoković 1995: 76), (7) Deca ukočila se **kao okamenjena**; (Čipiko 1951 knj. 1: 182), (8) ona sama, ona sen, onako ukočena i **kao okamenjena** mrtva statua (9) Crkva, onako široka na stubovima, [...] izgledala je tako hladna, **kao skamenjena**. (10) odlazi ispred njega **kao skamenjena**, ubijena tugom, nesrećom. (Stanković 1966: 161; 1979: 121) (11) Sve se bilo **kao skamenilo**. (Crnjanski 2002 knj. 2: 239)

¹⁹ (1) Marijan se naglo okrenu i stane, **kao da se je skamenio**. (2) Starac i starica protrnuše i **kao da seokameniše** od čuda i gorke tuge. (3) osta **kao okamenjena** pred vratima sobe (Kumičić 1885: 216; 1950 knj. 1: 80, 200), (4) Naposljetku zaleti se starica na djevojku koja je stajala sveudilj **kao okamenjena** i ukopana [...]. (Đalski 1980: 88) (5) Hlapić je stajao **kao okamenjen** od čuda s papigom na ramenu (6) Vod je stajao **kao okamenjen**. što za bure padne iz gnijezda. (7) pomislio je naglo i našao se s ledenom, **kao okamenjenom** dušom pred vratima dekanata (Novak 1951: 286), (8) Salko se **kao skamenio** i nije pritrkao k ocu da mu prihvati konja (Šimunović 1952 knj. 1: 141) (9) Ja sam ostala **kao okamenjena**, ja sam pridušeno uskliknula: ah! (Kozarac 1950: 408) (10) Mujo zuri preda se **kao okamenjen**. (Krleža 1973: 405), (11) Čuvši Mejra kobnu vijest, osta **kao okamenjena**. (12) Branimir stajaše **kao okamenjen** [...] (Tomić 1970: 79, 469)

²⁰ (1) Zatoženec stoji za trenotek **kakor okamenel**, potom pa stopi bliže [...]. (2) Starka stoji za trenotek **kakor okamenela** in težka sapa jo premaguje. (3) V hiši nastane molk, **kakor bi bili vsi okameneli** [...]. (Kresnik 2012: 20, 14, 83), (4) **Kakor okamenel** obstane pastir [...]. (Jurčić 2012: 6) (5) **Kakor okamenela** je strmela v okno. (6) molčala je vsa hiša v težkem, morečem molku, **kakor okamenela**, izumrla, [...]. (7) Stala je za hip **kakor okamenela**, [...]. (Meško 1907: 56, 58, 64); (8) Stal je **kakor tekalec, ki je okamenel** sredi naglega, napetega teka. (Meško 1954: 80)

²¹ „stati (ostati i sl.) kao ukopan (okamenjen) – zastati, neglo se na mjestu zaustaviti (ukočiti) / od iznenadnja (straha)“ (Menac 2003: 324)

Ivan Cankar	Ivo Andrić
(1) strinjale so se in razmikale, mahoma so padle na trebuh kakor pokošene (23: 40)	(1°) posle svakog dodira sa svetom padam kao pokošen i drhtim u bolu (14: 59)
(2) A jaz sem bežal kakor ranjen [...]. (6: 300)	(2°) Ona vrisnu kao ranjena . (7: 235)
(3) Lena, kakor mrtva je ležala v klopčič zvita. (24: 274)	(3°) [Aska] je ležala u šumskoj travi kao mrtva . (9: 194)

1 – Podobe iz sanj, 2 – Moj prvi nastop, 3 – Bela hrizantena; 1° – Znakovi pored puta, 2° – Žena od slonove kosti, 3° – Aska i vuk

Tabela 3: Upotreba izraza „kao pokošen“, „kao ranjen“, „kao mrtav“

Izraz „как подкошенный“ upotrebio je Dostojevski u romanima „Braća Karamazovi“ i „Zapisi iz mrtvog doma“. ²² Uz izraz „kao pokošen“ ponekad se saopštava mesto. Svetolik Ranković je naveo da se pada *na zemlju* kao pokošen. Seda se i u klupu kao pokošen. ²³ Neko „seda kao pokošen“, u fotelju, za sto. U primerima iz Andrićevog dela osoba koja sedi „kao pokošena“ teško se miri sa situacijom u kojoj se našla, ali još ima snage da nastavi prekinutu aktivnost, da piše ili da produži razgovor. ²⁴

Izraz „как раненый“ upotrebio je Dostojevski opisujući situaciju u kojoj jedan lik intenzivno reaguje. ²⁵ Gončarov je taj izraz upotrebio u kratkoj rečenici. ²⁶ U delima južnoslovenskih pisaca uz izraz „kao ranjen“ karakteristična je upotreba odabranog glagola u istoj rečenici. U primerima 2 i 2° u tabeli 3 vidimo glagole „bežati“ i „vrisnuti“. Andrić je upotrebio i glagol „ječati“ imajući u vidu oglašavanje ranjenog. Sličnu ulogo dobili su i drugi glagoli: „jeknuti“ ²⁷, „ruknuti“ ²⁸, „zastenjati“ ²⁹, „zavrištiti“, „zacviliti“,

²² (1) Старик рухнувся **как подкошенный**, а Дмитрий, перескочив через него, вломился в дверь. (2) Алеша стоял, смотрел и вдруг **как подкошенный** повергся на землю. (3) И **как подкошенный** сел, словно упал, на подле стоявший стул. (4) бедняк с криком упадает, **как подкошенный**, как сраженный пулей. (Достоевский 2012a: 189, 490, 599; 1988b: 381)

²³ Pero sjede u klupu **kao pokošen**. (Lovrak 1989: 39)

²⁴ (1) Piše, **kao pokošen**, sam svoju slabost i sramotu, [...]. (2) kapelan je ostajao [...] **kao pokošen**; (3) Nije venula polako, nego **kao mrazom pokošena**. (4) Seo sam **kao pokošen**, i poslednjim naporom snage prisilio starog čoveka da sedne i on [...]. (5) Tada je Karajan ostavio sve i seo u fotelju **kao pokošen**, onako u kaputu i sa šeširom na glavi, [...]. (Andrić 1978 knj. 2: 164, 213; knj. 4: 107; knj. 8; 97, Andrić 1981 knj.14: 218)

²⁵ Орел защищался из всех сил [...] **как раненый** король, забывшись в свой угол. Достоевский 1988a: 434)

²⁶ Он встал, **как раненый**. (Гончаров 2015: 417)

²⁷ Metnu ruku na orož i jeknu, jeknu **kao ranjen**, i omače. (Humo 1955: 85)

²⁸ U isti čas rukne Andraš **kao ranjenik** i zalijepi jednog seljaka o jedan zid, [...]. (Matoš 1953 knj. 1: 206)

²⁹ [...] gusle zacvilješe i **zastenjaše kao ranjenik**. (Šimunović 1952 knj. 1:218)

„zaridati“.³⁰ Jakšićevom junaku preostalo je manje snage za akciju.³¹ Jedna osoba može da postupa sa drugom kao što se postupa s ranjenikom.³²

Izraz „kao mrtav“ javlja se u opisu situacije u kojoj lik nije u stanju da ispolji ni najmanji pokret niti neku drugu uočljivu akciju. Privremeno isključen, on nije u stanju da stvara percepciju o spoljnjem svetu. U slikovitom opisu takvog stanja primere upotrebe izraza „как мертвый“ nalazimo kod Dostojevskog³³ i Leskova³⁴. Stanje u kom se lik našao može, pored ostalog, da bude i posledica umora, bolesti, udara, upravo primljene neprijatne vesti. U primerima 3 i 3^o u tabeli 3 Cankar i Andrić su uz izraz „kao mrtav“ upotrebili glagol „ležati“. Izraz „kao mrtav“ upotrebljava se i uz glagol „spavati“. Javljanje izraza „kao mrtav“ rasprostranjeno je u književnim delima pisaca koje smo u ovom osvrtu imali u vidu. Upotrebili su ga: Ljermontov³⁵, Gončarov³⁶, Ranković³⁷, Matavulj³⁸, Levstik³⁹, Kumičić⁴⁰, Brlić-Mažuranić⁴¹, Begović.⁴²

2 Promene na licu

U opisu ponašanja pojedinih likova u situaciji u kojoj do izražaja dolazi psihološka napetost i Cankar i Andrić poseban značaj pridavali su opisu lica i vidljivim promenama na licu koje zapažaju ljudi iz neposrednog okruženja. Važan element tog opisa je i boja

³⁰ Tuga, Zorka i Ančica zavrište, zacvile, zaridaju **kao ranjene**. (Kovačić 1983: 124)

³¹ posrnu jedanput, drugi put, pa, kao ono ranjen vitez, stropošta se na zemlju [...]. (Jakšić 1978 knj. 3: 93)

³² (1) Gospodica dođe pravo sebi i vide da je celom težinom naslonjena na Jovanku, koja je vodi zagrljenu **kao ranjenika**. (2) Ali veća i jača od svega bila je njena potreba da jauče nad svojim izgubljenim novcem [...] da ječi **kao ranjenik**. (Andrić 1978 knj. 3: 225, 230), (3) Tako govoreći ga je prijel pod pazduhu **kakor ranjenca** ali pijanca [...]. (Levstik 1934: 81)

³³ (1) били много и долго и переставали только тогда, когда он терял все свои чувства и становился **как мертвый**. (Достоевский 1988b: 248), (2) [...] я пошла наверх, похолодев от испуга **как мертвая**. (3) Я, как услышала, побледнела и упала на стул **как мертвая**. (Достоевский 1998: 288, 181)

³⁴ Настя долго оставалась без чувств, **как мертвая**. (Лесков 1973 том 1: 166)

³⁵ [...] он никого не замечал; постояли, потолковали и пошли назад; я велел возле его положить деньги забаранов – он их не тронул, лежал себе ничком, **как мертвый**. (Лермонтов 1977: 37)

³⁶ Она была бледна и спала, **как мертвая**. (Гончаров 1958: 631)

³⁷ (1) ne mrdnu glavom, **kao da je mrtav** (2) oči joj se staklene i stoje nekako neobično **kao da je mrtva** (3) Gojko leži sam već čitav čas, ne mrda ničim, ne pokrete se, **kao mrtvac** [...] (Ranković 1952 knj. 1: 353, 382, 385)

³⁸ turio pod glavu kamen [...] zagrljio vjernu drugu, dugačku pušku, pa – **kao mrtav**. (Matavulj 2006 knj. 1: 371)

³⁹ Ded zleze s sani in stopi k lisici; toda ona se ne gane, **kakor mrtva** leži. (2) V tej podrtiji spi moja krasna gospa **kakor mrtva**, [...]. (Levstik 1924: 101, 118)

⁴⁰ Она се пода бесвјесно, **kao mrtva**. (Kumičić 1950 knj. 1: 370)

⁴¹ Zavrisnuše djeca od straha i popadaše na zemlju **kao mrtvi**. (Brlić-Mažuranić 1926: 104)

⁴² (1) Ležao sam **kao mrtav**. Nepomoćan. (2) Izgledala je **kao mrtva**. (3) A stari **kao mrtav**. (Begović 1965 knj. 1: 327, 346; knj. 2: 127)

Ivan Cankar	Ivo Andrić
(1) Brez klobnka je bil, ves bled in zelen v obraz , roke pa je imel zatekle. (19: 114)	(1°) drhteći od studeni, bled i zelen , [...] Davna je prevodio
(2) [...] njegov obraz je bil resen, bolj širok, toda iste sive, nezdave barve . (11: 127)	(2°) zagrcava se [...] bled i pomalo zelen kao utopljenik (5:217)
(3) V materinem naročju je ležal trileten otrok [...] njegov drobn obraz je bil sivkaste, nezdave barve . (14: 107)	(3°) bled i zelen , sa zamršenom kosom i pomerenom kravatom (8: 260)
(4) malo filisterski izraz na polnih ustnih, zdrava barva na licih (7: 41)	(4°) sa jakim podočnjacima i nezdravom bojom, on je ostavljao utisak nezdravog čoveka (9: 76) (5°) Zdrava boja koju su stekli na visini i na suncu [...]. (7: 248) (6°) živo lice, sa zdravom bojom , finim crtama i modrim očim (2: 63)

1 – Troje povesti, 2 – Mimo življenja, 3 – Martin Kačur, 4 – Na večer, 1° i 6° – Travička hronika, 2° – Bife „Titanik“, 3° – Šetnja, 4° – Knjiga, 5° – Žed

Tabela 4: Primeri opisa boje lica

lica. Ako se detaljno opisuje izgled lika i njegovo lice, i pri tome navodi boja, do izražaja može da dođe „problem boje lica“ (Šolak 2003). Frekventnost reči „bled“ i „rumen“, može da postane znatna. Obično se poveća proporcija likova sa bledim licem. Ograničene su mogućnosti da se i izborom poređenja unese raznovrsnost. Rasprostranjena poređenja koja se oslanjaju na stalne etalone poprimaju formu fraze koja se ponavlja: bled kao platno / krpa / papir, bled kao mrtvac, žut kao limun / vosak, crn (mrk) kao ugljen / ugarak, crven kao rak / mak.

I Cankar i Andrić su nalazili mogućnosti da u opis lica pri pominjanju boje unesu ponešto raznovrsnosti i tako ublaže „problem boje lica“. U primerima 1 i 1°–3° (tabela 4) uz pominjanje zelene boje lica takođe je saopšteno da je osoba bila bleđa. Takođe je navedena još poneka odlika koja se odnosi na spoljni izgled i ponašanje takve osobe: zatekle ruke, drhtanje, zagrcavanje, bez šešira, pomereni kravata. Opisujući lice, navodeći da je bleđa, Dostojevski je u okviru jedne rečenice takođe pomenuo i zelenu boju.⁴³ Izraz „zelen i bled“ upotrebio je i Svetolik Ranković u romanu „Seoska učiteljica“.⁴⁴

Atributi „zdrav“ i „nezdrav“ u opisu lica u nekoliko navedenih primera u tabeli 4 udruživani su s drugim odlikama lica i opisom držanja tela. Cankar uz nezdravo lice na-

⁴³ прокурор же показался мне [...] как-то бледным, почти с зеленым лицом (Достоевский 2012a: 889)

⁴⁴ Gojko stajše preneražen, **zelen i bled**, razrogačenih očiju od straha [...]. (Ranković 1952 knj. 1: 319)

vodi da je sivo, sivkasto. Andrić pominje jake podočnjake. Pri navođenju izraza „zdrava boja lica“, „nezdrava boja lica“, pretpostavlja se da čitalac ima predstavu o takvom licu.

U tabeli 5 navedeni su primeri upotrebe atributa „bezbojan“ u Cankarevim i Andrićevim delima. Andrić je upotrebu atributa „bezbojan“ u svom delu ograničio na nekoliko javljanja. Cankar je uz atribut „bezbojan“ u primerima 7–9 u tabeli 5 udružio sa drugim osobinama „siv“, „sivkast“, „svelosiv“. U pitanju su osobine koje su pomenute i pri navođenju da je osoba nezdrave boje lica (primeri 2 i 3, tabela 4). Za bezbojne oči saopštava se još i da su polumrtve, mutne (primer 5 u tabeli 5). U Cankarevim opisima naslućujemo da je osoba s bezbojnim licem i bezbojnim očima lošeg zdravlja.

Ivan Cankar	Ivo Andrić
(1) široka lica so bila brez barve. (10: 106)	(1 ^o) debela, sa starinskim naočarima koje su se upijale u teško salo bezbojnog lica (9: 55)
(2) Poleg sebe je imel [...] študenta z zelo površnim in brezbarvnim obrazom , (7: 95)	(2 ^o) Ta žena široka dobroćudna lica, sa plitkim spljoštenim nosićem i svetlim bezbojnim očima [...]. (15: 115)
(3) oči so bile motne, brezbarvne , polmrtve [...] In velike, brezbarvne oči so se obračale po udrtih globinah šiloma iz kota v kot [...]. (7: 100)	(3 ^o) Tane kujundžija, mršav, sa bezbojnim uvek raširenim očima u izmoždenom licu (7: 43)
(4) oči gledajo neslano, brezbarvno , [...]. (7: 77)	(4 ^o) majka, meka, bela, bezbojna žena sa pasivnom dobrotom ljudi koji su dobri (7, 212)
(5) [...] obrazi so rdeli, oči so bile motne in brezbarvne . (7: 183)	
(6) mehki, brezbarvni , vodni človek , ki se mi je zdel nekak simbol neznačajnosti (6: 276)	
(7) oči : [...] zmirom široko odprte, svetlosive, kakor brez barve (13: 178)	
(8) Njen obraz je bil nekako brezbarven ; v senci je dobil skoro sivkasto polt. (8: 18)	
(9) obraz je bil idealen; na vzbočenih, ostrih kosteh je bila napeta siva, brezbarvna koža (7: 60)	
(10) brezbarvna koža se grba na kostéh, kakor ohlapna, mokra cunja. (7: 84)	
(11) Gledal je z malimi vodenimi očmí brezbarvno , kot da bi ga vse to nič ne brigalo, (8: 210)	

1 – Na klancu, 2 – Čudna povest, 3 – Brez prestanka, 4 – A jaz pojdem; 5 – Človek; 6 – Na izprehodu, 7 – Nina, 8 – Jesenske noči, 9 – Poglavlje o bradavici, 10 – Glad, 11 – Knjiga za lahkomiselne ljudi: Hudodelec, 1^o – Prozor, 2^o – Omerpaša Latas, 3^o – Anikina vremena, 4 – Žena na kamenu

Tabela 5: Upotreba atributa „bezbojan“ u opisu očiju, kože i lica

U proznim delima ruske klasične književnosti devetnaestog veka izrazi „bezbojne oči“ i „bezbojno lice“ korišćeni su u dužim rečenicama u kojima su se navodile i druge odlike fizičkog izgleda.⁴⁵ (Bezbojno lice pomenuo je i Ljermontov u stihu⁴⁶.) Atribut „bezbojan“ u slikovitom opisu lica i očiju intenzivnije su koristili Cankarevi savremenici Andrejev⁴⁷ i Kuprin.⁴⁸

Gončarov nije pomenuo ni oči ni lice navodeći za jedan lik da je bezbojan.⁴⁹ Pominjući jednog starca Kuprin saopštava da je bezbojan.⁵⁰ I Andrić je u primeru 4^o u tabeli 5 za jednu ženu rekao da je bezbojna, ne pominjući pri tome ni oči ni lice. Ostaje utisak da je to trajnija osobina lika. Čehov⁵¹ i Andrejev⁵² upotrebili su pridev „bezbojan“ u opisu grupe ljudi. Gorki je pri upotrebi prideva „bezbojan“ obično pominjao i neke druge odlike izgleda osobe, njenih očiju i lica.⁵³ Pridev „bezbojan“ Gorki je navodio opisujući i

⁴⁵ (1) И некрасив он был: худ, задумчив, черты неправильные, как будто все врознь, ни румянца, ни белизны на лице: оно было какое-то **бесцветное**. (2) на всю фигуру его, довольно худую, на худые руки, на выпуклый лоб и **бесцветные щеки** (3) глаза перестали искриться, а сделались прозрачны, **бесцветны** (Гончаров 2015: 112, 194, 353); (4) Лицо молодого человека было, впрочем, приятное, тонкое и сухое, но **бесцветное**, [...]. (5) Зосимов был [...] с одутловатым и **бесцветно-бледным**, гладковыбритым лицом, [...]. (Достоевский 1970: 4; 2012a: 176); (6) ничего не удавалось прочесть ей на этом **бесцветном лице**, кроме: пустой человек! (8) Это маленький, тщедушный человек, слабосильный и болезненный, с мелкими, **бесцветными** и крайне неопределенными чертами лица. (Чехов 1974 том 1: 409; 1976 том 5: 395)

⁴⁶ **Лицо бесцветное** и взоры ледяные! (Лермонтов 1989 том 1: 155)

⁴⁷ (1) с **глазами бесцветными** и спокойными (2) Король почти с отчаянием поднял на меня свои **бесцветные глаза** ры. (3) она прильнула к нему серым **бесцветным глазом** (Андреев 1971: 360, 373; 1995:167)

⁴⁸ (1) Все в его глазах приобретало скучный и **бесцветный** вид, человеческие лица казались мутными, некрасивыми или болезненными, (2) Его старческие **бесцветные** глаза широко раскрылись с выражением безумного ужаса. (3) во всех этих лицах, во всех этих глазах, которые на минуту становятся **бесцветными, бездонными** и лживыми (4) с гневными, расширенными, выпуклыми, почти **бесцветными** от боли глазами) (5) денщик же таращил на него большие **бесцветные глаза** (6) **Бесцветные** светлые глаза глядели враждебно. (7) Глаза же у него были почти **бесцветны** [...]. (8) Он не спускает своих **бесцветных, оловянных, но точных солдатских глаз** с той единственной дорожки (9) был он вместе с **бесцветным лицом** с фигурой и костюмом (Куприн 1964 том 2: 7, том 3: 164, 271, том 4: 435, том 5: 101; том 7: 53, 1976: 70, 2013a: 334)

⁴⁹ – Наташа была хорошенькая, **но бесцветная**, робкая натура. (Гончаров 2015: 502)

⁵⁰ (1) Его жена какая-то **бесцветная** личность и совсем не представительна. (2) этот **бесцветный** старый Пьер (Куприн 1964 том 2: 50, том 7: 348)

⁵¹ Я не выношу постоянного покоя и бесцельной жизни, не выношу наших **бесцветных** и бледных людей, (Чехов 1999с: 87)

⁵² отовсюду тянулись к церкви **бесцветные**, как колокольный звон, молчаливые фигуры (Андреев 1995: 145)

⁵³ (1) он просыпался, [...] смотревшей на неё и на всё пугливыми, **бесцветными глазами**. (2) Его добродушное лицо усеяно угрями, **бесцветные глаза** смотрели на всё с невозмутимым спокойствием. (3) Глаза у неё были **бесцветные, неподвижные**. (4) надзиратель, с длинным лицом, острой бородкой и **бесцветными, неподвижными глазами** (5) Пред Мишей мелькнуло худое, длинное лицо надзирателя, его круглые, **бесцветные глаза**, [...]. (6) Лицо [...] туповатое, робкие **глаза бесцветны** и выпучены, как у овцы. (7) некрасивое рябое лицо дворника, рассеянный взгляд бесцветных глаз (8) На его костлявом лице уныло торчал птичий нос, пугливо мигали круглые, **бесцветные глаза**, [...]. (9) полинявший человек с **бесцветным** и как будто стертым лицом (Горький 1950a: 168, 168, 257, 372, 373; 1950b: 20, 175; 1950с: 7; 1975 том 24: 570)

nečiji govor, način na koji su u dijalogu izgovorene neke reči. U delima južnoslovenskih pisaca koja su poslužila kao izvor u ovom radu, korišćenje prideva „bezbojan“ u opisu likova nije rasprostranjena; nađeni su primeri upotrebe kod Vazova⁵⁴ i Matoša.⁵⁵

Birajući poređenja pri opisu izgleda lica i Cankar i Andrić su, pored drugih etalona, koristili i rasprostranjene. Uz imenicu „vosak“ u ulozi etalona poređenja navođene su različite osobine na kojima poređenje počiva. Upoređujući ga sa voskom Cankar je navodio da je lice bledo⁵⁶, da je rumeno⁵⁷, da je belo⁵⁸. I Ćipiko je upotrebio imenicu „vosak“ kao etalon da bi istakao bledo lice.⁵⁹ Slično je postupio i Pelin.⁶⁰ Pri upoređenju lica s voskom i drugi pisci su navodili da je ono bledo⁶¹, takođe i da je žuto,⁶² a ponekad i da je belo⁶³. Andrić je poređenje sa voskom upotrebio u priči „Mila i Prelac“: „A utopljenik je kao vosak bled“ (Andrić 1978 knj. 9: 41). Komentar izraza „bled kakor vosek“ i „rumen kakor vosek“ naveo je Keberu svom rečniku (Keber 2011: 1052–3). U frazeološkom rečniku srpskog jezika navedeno je „žut (bled) kao vosak – vrlo bled (žut)“. (Otašević 2012: 116)

Kada je reč o slikovitom opisu izgleda lica i upotrebi rasprostranjenih poređenja u kojima se kao etalon javlja lice umrle osobe („bled kao mrtvac“, „bled kao smrt“) uočljivo je da su i Cankar i Andrić nastojali da unesu raznovrsnost i da izbegnu ponavljanje istovetnih izraza. Takve primere vidimo u tabeli 6. Cankar je poredio lice neke osobe sa licem mrtvaca pri čemu su uključene i druge odlike, ne samo boja.⁶⁴

⁵⁴ Само малките му сиви **безцветни очи** играеха лукаво и злобно, като на маймуната. (Вазов 1956 том 12: 16)

⁵⁵ gledao je **bezbojnu put** što se bjelasa kraj tamne kose (Matoš 1953: 150)

⁵⁶ (1) Perin obraz je bil **bled, kakor vosek** in obrvi so se mu tresle. (2) [...] **bled je bil** njen obraz, trd i mrzel, **kakor od voska**. (Cankar 1969 knj. 7: 172; 1970 knj. 12: 335)

⁵⁷ Njegov obraz je bil v mesečini rumen kakor od voska. (Cankar 1973 knj. 13: 114)

⁵⁸ Zablislilo se je in tedaj se je zasvetil obraz, **bel kakor od voska**. (Cankar 1971 knj. 10: 202)

⁵⁹ (1) Jerica je molčala zdaj kakor mrlič; **bleda kakor vosek** je zrla na medene gumbе svojega sedla (Levstik 1913: 465) (2) kao da je bez krvi; lice nabuhnulo, **blijedo kao vosak** (Ćipiko 1951 knj. 1: 93)

⁶⁰ **бледо като восък** лице бе изписана ужасна мъка (Пелин 1977 knj. 1: 293)

⁶¹ Лицо стало такое длинное да **бледное, как воск**, а черные волосы еще более увеличивали эту бледность. (Лесков 1973 том 1: 125)

⁶² (1) Покойница лежала на столе, **желтая как воск**, [...]. (Пушкин 2016: 133); (2) Mršava kao svijeća, **žuta kao vosak**, [...]. (Šenoa 1983 knj. 1: 27); (3) [...] lice Podgorskoga. Bilo je ono **žuto poput voska**, [...]. (Kovačić, A. 1950: 175); (4) Лицето беше **жълто като восък**. (Вазов 1956 knj. 8: 91); (5) Lica joj **požutjela kao vosak** (Matavulj 2007 3: 69)

⁶³ Njezino **poput voska bijelo** i oslabljeno lice [...]. (Novak 1951: 225)

⁶⁴ (1) Žalostni so bili obrazi v njeni luči, **kakor obrazi mrtvecev**. (2) Obraz je bil siv in koščen, **kakor obraz mrtveca**. (Cankar knj. 13: 27; knj. 17: 225)

Ivan Cankar	Ivo Andrić
(1) Tudi na njegov obraz so sijale in je bil tako bel kakor mrtvecev obraz. (13: 63)	(1°) Čuti i Nailbeg, [...] i bled kao mrtvac pretura neku odluku u glavi. (1: 358)
(2) ko drugi vsi že zdavnaj spe, tihi in bledi , brez diha, mrtvecem podobni . (23: 55)	(2°) Davna je bio bled kao pokojnik , sa kapljama hladnog znoja na čelu. (2: 244)
(3) Roke [...] koščene kakor roke mrtveca in belota njenih lic je bila mrtvaška belota . (13: 74)	(3°) Bio je samrtnički bled . (2: 180)
(4) Ali to ni bila voščena, mrtvaška bledota . (7: 90)	(4°) [...] dobrunski proto leži kod kuće bled i nepomičan kao mrtvac . (7: 71)
(5) bled obraz, mrtvaški lobanji podoben . (19: 132)	(5°) onda se bolesnica umiri, mrtvački bleđa , sa kratkim dahom (9: 114)
(6) sklenila je roke [...] premočena in blatna do pasú, v lica bleđa in upala kakor mrtvec (14: 175)	(6°) lice joj se dobro ne razaznaje, samo se vidi da je mrtvački bleđo od besa (9: 155)
(7) opazovala [...] kako se razliva polagoma čez moje čelo svetla mrtvaška bledota (9: 255)	(7°) on je s vremena na vreme odizao pogled, posmatrao [...] samrtnički bleđo begovo lice (16: 70)
(8) V čelo in v senca je zardel, lica pa so bila tako zamolklo bleđa, kakor lica umirajočega . (17: 99)	(8°) Bilo je žena koje su ležale sa mrtvački bledim licima i mokrom krpom na čelu. (5: 322)
(9) Njegov obraz je bil tako bled [...] kakor mrliški . (8: 75)	

1 i 3 – Potepuh Marko i kralj Matjaž, 2 – Podobe iz sanj, 4 – Čudna povest, 5 – Troje povesti: Krčmar Elija, 6 – Smrt in pogreb Jakoba Nesreče, 7 – Smrt kontrolorja Stepnika, 8 – Novo življenje, 9 – Popótovanje Nikolaja Nikiča, 1° – Na Drini ćuprija, 2° i 3° – Travnička hronika, 4° – Anikina vremena, 5° – Zmija, 6° – Izlet, 7° – Omerpaša Latas, 8° – Zeko

Tabela 6: Upotreba atributa „bezbojan“ u opisu očiju, kože i lica

Uproznim delima ruske književnosti devetnaestog veka pri slikovitom opisu bledog lica rasprostranjeno je upoređenje sa licem umrle osobe. Česta je upotreba poređenja *бледный как мертвец, бледный, как смерть*. Takva poređenja upotrebili su na

više mesta u svojim delima Gogolj⁶⁵, Dostojevski⁶⁶, Čehov⁶⁷. Slične primere nalazimo i u delima drugih ruskih pisaca: Ljermontova⁶⁸, Turgenjeva⁶⁹, Leskova⁷⁰, Kuprina⁷¹, Pasternaka⁷², Bulgakova⁷³. Đura Jakšić⁷⁴ i Simo Matavulj⁷⁵ pri opisu lica bili su skloni

⁶⁵ (1) На пне показался сидящим Басаврюк, весь синий, **как мертвец**. (2) помещица Коробочка, перепуганная и **бледная как смерть**, и рассказывает (3) Приятная дама, услышав это, так и окаменела на месте, побледнела, **побледнела, как смерть** и, точно, перетревожилась не на шутку. (4) она статуя и **бледна как смерть**. (5) Машка моя видит, что я бледна **как смерть**. (6) вы бледны **как смерть** (Гоголь 2009с: 64; 2009а: 260, 263, 264, 267, 267)

⁶⁶ (1) Когда мы вошли в комнату, с ним сделалось дурно; он был **бледен, как мертвый**. (2) – Гаврила, подбери его! – вскричал дядя, **бледный как мертвец** (3) Настя **побледнела, как мертвая**, и робко проговорила; (4) заключил он, побледнев **как мертвый**. (5) Степан Трофимович, весь **бледный как смерть**. (6) бледный **как мертвец**, зловецким взглядом посмотрел на смеющуюся. (7) он только вас пугает; **побледнел как мертвец!** (Достоевский 1988а: 126, 169, 182; 1998: 217; 2012b: 350, 498, 663)

⁶⁷ (1) Леля, трепещущая, **бледная как смерть**, ошавевшая, сделала шаг вперед, покачнувшись. (2) **Бледный, как смерть**, дрожащий, он выполз наполовину из окна [...]. (3) бежать подальше с этой **бледной, как смерть**, забитой, горячо любимой женщиной (4) – За что он ее? – спрашивали они, бледные, **как смерть**. (5) Ты **бледна, как мертвец**, и дрожишь! (6) как **мертвенно-бледна** была она, когда поздно вечером выходила (7) Грохольский прислушался и, **побледнев, как смерть**, тихо зашагал к беседовавшим. (8) Зинаида Федоровна, **бледная, как мертвец**, стояла среди комнаты (9) Несмотря на то, что он был болен и **бледен, как мертвец** (Чехов 1999d: 223, 255, 272, 274, 284, 356; 1977 том 8: 194 том 9: 216; 1974 том 1: 6)

⁶⁸ (1) – Согласен, – прошептал Азамат, **бледный как смерть**. (2) они были **бледны как смерть** (Лермонтов 1977: 36, 157)

⁶⁹ (1) Вы **бледны как мертвец**, вы больны. (2) Яков открыл свое лицо – оно было **бледно, как у мертвого** [...]. (Тургенев 1981: 344; 2013: 239)

⁷⁰ (1) Настя надела поданное ей колечко, а сама **бледная как смерть**; (2) Стала Настя биться у них в руках, **побледнела как смерть** и кричи (3) влетает в избу Якова Яковлевича жена, вся **бледная как смерть**, и говорит (Лесков 1973 том 1: 127, 166; том 2: 382)

⁷¹ (1) – Вы **бледны, как смерть**, Лидия Николаевна, не хотите ли воды? (2) Сидевшая перед ним **бледная, как смерть**, девушка [...]. (Куприн 1964 том 1: 48, 110)

⁷² Вдруг в дверь заглянул **бледный, как смерть**, Ерофей [...]. (Пастернак 2011: 301)

⁷³ Приезжает бледная как смерть и рассказывает. (Булгаков 1993: 212)

⁷⁴ (1) crte u sviju puna bola, a lica **bleda kao smrt** (2) U tome dovedoše Milisava, vezana, a u licu beše **bled kao mrtvac** i uzvereno gledaše u skupljenu gomilu. (3) **bled kao mrtvac**, a glava mu klonula na grudi (4) sasvim sama: **kao mrtvac** koga srodnici i prijatelji ostave u groblju (5) Popa Tihomir **preblede kao smrt**, [...]. (6) Vrata se otvoriše i, **bleda kao smrt**, izide Ružica. (7) Obrazi mu dođoše **bledi kao u mrtvacu** (8) bolesnica stade **bleda kao smrt** (Jakšić 1978 knj 2: 7; knj 3: 161, 165; knj. 4: 164; 1950: 28, 161, 359, 417)

⁷⁵ (1) [...] otprilike **kao mrtvacu** koji se zadovoljan sa svijetom rastao. (2) lice mu ublijedilo, **kao samrtniku** (3) Marko Pivić, **blijed kao mrtvac**, prope se navrh prsta (4) bjesmo **blijedi kao mrtvaci**. (5) Bila je **blijeda kao smrt**. (6) ledima prislonjena uza zid, **blijeda kao smrt** (7) zovnu momka, koji lagano otvori, **blijed kao smrt** (8) sva lica vijećnika, koja su dotle izgledala **kao mrtvačka**, sinuše (9) Brkić, **blijed kao smrt**, nasloni se na suhomedu (10) nazrijeh [...] koja **problijedi kao smrt!** (Matavulj 2006 knj. 1: 110, 316; knj. 2: 110, 77, 85, 254, 271, 283, 440, 449)

poređenju s licem umrle osobe. Primere takvih oređenja nalazimo i u delima drugih južnoslovenskih pisaca, u bugarskoj⁷⁶, srpskoj⁷⁷, hrvatskoj⁷⁸ i slovenačkoj književnosti.⁷⁹

3 Osvrt na upotrebu nekoliko odabranih izraza

Izrazi navedeni u primerima u naredne tri tabele ne javljaju se često ni u Cankarevom ni u Andrićevom delu. Imali smo u vidu izraze za koje je nađeno nekoliko upotreba kako kod jednog, tako i kod drugog pisca.

3.1 Osvetljen iznutra

Primeri u tabeli 6 sadrže moćno poređenje u opisu lica i drugih objekata. Ono što se opisuje izgleda „kao da je osvetljeno iznutra“.

U primerima iz Cankarevog dela u levoj koloni tabele 7 opisano je ljudsko lice.⁸⁰ Odabrano poređenje odražava lepotu lica.⁸¹ U prevedenom tekstu koji je naveden ispod tabele 7 vidimo da je upotrebljen glagol „ozariti“ koji se ne javlja u navedenim primerima iz Andrićevog dela.

⁷⁶ (1) изправи се **побледнял като мъртвец** (2) Жените, неми, **като смърт бледни**, без да им поръчват, извадиха каквото имаха ценно (Вазов 1956 том 12: 19, том 13: 31); (3) Когато подигна лицето си, то беше желто и обтегнато **като на мъртвец**; (4) лицето му, слабо и **желто като на мъртвец** (5) Токмакчията се обърна [...] изпит и **бледен като мъртвец** (6) И при слабия блясък на кандилата лицата им изглеждаха бледи и измъчени **като на мъртъвци** (Йовков 1982 knj. 1: 164, 228; 1983 knj. 2: 106, 263); (7) образите по иконите са **побледнели като мъртъвци**. (8) Той се крепеше на ръцете им, **бледен като мъртвец**, съкрушен, (Пелин 1977 том 3: 39, 79)

⁷⁷ (1) Krunija izida iz sobe, **bleda kao mrtvac**. (Veselinović 1983: 168); (2) [...] razrogačio oči, a **prebledeo kao mrtvac**. (Domanović 1974: 19); (3) I tada se opet ugledah u ogledalu, ali tako **mrtvački bled**, bled kao duh, nikad nisam bio. (Vasić 1990b: 53) (4) trepavice mirno leže na blijedome licu, **kao u mrca**. (Čipiko 1951 knj. 3: 234); (5) Jadna Tuba **pobljedi kao mrtvac**, ali se uzdrža. (6) Za trenut oka sklopiše se soldati oko nji, a oni **prebljediše ko mrtvac**. (Kočić 2002: knj. 1: 139, 150)

⁷⁸ (1) robijala se onako niska i okrupna kroz razjarenu svjetinu, blijedožuta **kao mrtvac**, (Novak 1965: 118); (2) Stajaje uza zid prislonjen i **blijed kao mrtvac**, raskuštrane sijede kose i krvavih očiju. (Šimunović 1952 knj. 1: 291); (3) Crnomanjasto mu lice bješe **probljedičelo, kao da je mrtvac**. (4) dahne prestrašeno Irena i klone na stolicu **blijeda kao smrt**. (5) Jakov **blijed kao smrt**, pođe iz plesaonice. (6) **Blijed kao mrtvac**. (Kumičić 1950 knj. 1: 86, 393, 404; 1985: 168); (7) Bijaše **blijed kao mrtvac**, a iz rane tecijaše mu obilna krv (Tomić 1970: 90) (8) Lice dugoljasto, žalovito i **blijedo kao u mrtvaca**. (8) Mlinarić sune u kuću, vrati se odjeven i stane se praštati **blijed kao mrtvac**. (Matoš 1953 knj. 1: 228; 1973: 214); (9) opazio sam da sam **blijed kao smrt** (Donadini 1968: 158)

⁷⁹ (1) prične tipati po Tonetu, ki je naenkrate **bled kakor mrlič** (Pugelj 1948: 121); (2) bila je **bleda kakor smrt**, in njena drobna desnica je stiskala krčevito majhen samokres. (3) In njen obraz, ki se je bil zadnje čase čudno izpremenil, je postal **mrtvaško bled**. (Levstik 1966: 281)

⁸⁰ (1) Na mizi je stala svetilka in je sijala na obraze, da so bili lepi in svetli, **kakor obžarjeni od nebeske luči**. (2) Rdeč solnčnik je senčil obraz [...] kakor da bi sijal **skozi prozorno kožo plamen iz krvi**, iz mesa. (Cankar 1967 knj. 6: 247; 1972 knj. 11: 213)

⁸¹ Objašnjenje izraza *biti ozarjen od notranje luči*: „nenavadno, izredno lep: doživljati čudežno ljubezen (pesn.)“, *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika*, Inštitut za slovenski jezik, SAZU, <http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/cgi>.

Ivan Cankar	Ivo Andrić
(1) Njen obraz je bil tako bel, da se je svetil v mraku, kakor od čudežne notranje luči obžarjen . (23: 114)	(1°) njene oči, inace zagasite, bile su sada, kao osvetljene iznutra (7: 40)
(2) [...] zasijejo svetilke kakor sonca in vsi obrazi žaré kakor od notranje luči . (12: 69)	(2°) Aska, čista [...] sivkasta kad bi ušla u pramen tanke magle, a svetla, kao iznutra obasjana , kad bi se našla na čistini prelivenoj suncem. (9: 191)
(3) obraz sladak in svetel, takorekoč od notranjega ognja obžarjen . (24: 265)	(3°) To su bile [...] oči, koje je ona osvetljavala i gasila iznutra ; (10: 177)
(4) videla je bel, [...] od notranjega plamena razpaljen obraz (20: 206)	(4°) Ispija naglo, a vino ga munjevito odmah obasja iznutra . (8: 58)
(5) njegov obraz je bil svetel , kakor žarka bela luč je sijala iz njega (16: 231)	(5°) Žučkasti porozni kamen od kojeg je most sagrađen [...] sijao je u mraku kao osvetljen iznutra . (1: 85) (6°) [te oči] liče na deo globa koji, prigušeno osvetljen iznutra , nagoveštava [...] delove kontinenata (7: 256)

Prevedeno: (1) Njeno lice je bilo tako belo da se svetlelo u mraku, kao čudesnom unutrašnjom vatrom ozareno. (2) [...] svetiljkje zasjaju kao sunca i sva lica zrače, kao od unutarnje svetlosti; (3) [...] lice slatko i svetlo, tako reći od unutrašnje vatre ozareno. (Cankar 1956: 157; 2006: 80; 1981: 64)

1 – Podobe iz sanj, 2 – Gospa Judit, 3 – Bela hrizantena, 4 – Milan i Milena, 5 – V samoti, 1° – Anikina vremena, 2° – Aska i vuk, 3° – Lica, 4° – Svečanost, 5° – Na Drini ćuprija, 6° – Jelena, žena koje nema

Tabela 7: Upotreba izraza „osvetljen iznutra“

Izraz „osvetljen iznutra“ u primerima 1°– 4° Andrić je upotrebio pri opisu ljudskih očiju, zatim pri opisu ovčice Aske, te mosta na Drini. U opisu lica Mehmedpaše Biogradlije u priči „Kod kazana“ Andrić je pomenuo sjaj „koji dolazi iznutra“ (Andrić 1978 knj. 6: 59). I u Cankarevom delu nalazimo neke primere u kojima je istaknut sjaj na licu⁸². Lice obasjano unutarjom svetlošću opisao je i Vjenceslav Novak u romanu „Poslednji Stipančiči“⁸³. Na sličan način opisali su lice, Vazov u romanu „Pod igom“⁸⁴, i Gorki, u romanu „Mati“⁸⁵.

⁸² (1) Ves klanec je bil v senci, samo njen obraz se je svetil tako čudno, kakor da bi bila luč v njem in ne na oni strani, na večernem nebu. (2) beli obrazi, tako svetli, kakor da jim je gorelo pod kožo; (3) bela, ozka lica so prežeta s svetlobo in toploto, kakor da gori v njenem srcu tiha luč. (4) kakor da bi luč ne sijala nanjo od nebes, temveč od samih njenih lic (5) ves miren je, kakor obžarjen od božjega plamena, ki gori globoko v duše dnu“ (Cankar 1975 knj. 16: 208; knj. 19: 195; knj. 22: 35, 37; knj. 23: 73)

⁸³ Njegovo se strogo i hladno lice razvedrilo kao naglo obasjano nutarnjim svijetlom [...]. (Novak 1957: 174)

⁸⁴ Вътрешна радост озари лицето му. (Вазов 1956: 36); U beogradskom izdanju romana prevedeno je: „Neko unutrašnje zadovoljstvo ozari njegovo lice.“ (Vazov 1975: 40)

⁸⁵ Это краткое слово как будто осветило ее изнутри и сделало ясным все извне. (Горький 1970 том 8: 262)

3.2 „Sa obe ruke“

Muškarac koji sa obe ruke skida s glave šešir, kapu, šubaru ili fes, može da odaje osobu u posebnom psihološkom stanju. Takav detalj u opisu ponašanja mladog kočijaša koji žali za umrlom ženom, i koji mnogo pati, naveo je Turgenjev u kratkoj prozi „Maša“.⁸⁶ Sličan detalj nalazimo i unjegovim drugim delima.⁸⁷ I Zbašnik je naveo slično saopštenje.⁸⁸

U primeru 2^o u tabeli 8 Andrić je opisujući gazda-Jevrema koji sa obe ruke skida fes sa glave, dopunski u nastavku teksta, rečenicom u zagradi obrazložio tu ranju: „To se dešavalo samo u trenucima velikog uzbuđenja i bezizlaznosti, koji su kod gazda-Jevrema bili veoma retki.“ U drugim primerima u tabeli 8 u pitanju je stanje u kom se nalazi jedna osoba opterećena nelagodnošću prilikom obraćanja drugoj osobi, dok sa njom komunicira, ili jednostavno, dok se boravi u njenoj blizini.

Ivan Cankar	Ivo Andrić
(1) Nato je vstao, pa otkrio se je in je držao klobuk z obema rokama . (16: 8)	(1 ^o) Pred sobom je nosio sa obe ruke svoj veliki crni šešir kao neki predmet koji je ranije zaboravio ovde i sad odlazizadovoljan što ga je našao. (15: 71)
(2) Lenart je stal troje korakov pred njim, držao je klobuk z obema rokama , ter poslušal. (22: 104)	(2 ^o) A kad je ostao sam, skinuo je sa obe ruke teškim pokretom fes sa glavei stavio ga pored sebe glave, pažljivo kao da je od stakla. (5: 113)
(3) Klobuk je držao z obema rokama na hrbt, [...]. (11: 22)	(3 ^o) Sa obe ruke držao je kapu na grudima nepomičan u svom neprirodnom položaju [...]. (7: 209)
(4) priklonio se je bil globoko, klobuk je držao z obema rokama , kolena so se mu tresla (13: 91)	
(5) Očitno je bilo, da ni odgovarjal rad; gledal je v tla, z obema rokama je držao klobuk ; (16: 130)	
(6) z obema rukama je držao tisti okrogli preprosti klobuk s črnim trakom (17: 349)	
(7) črni klobuki , potisnjeni na glavo z obema rukama (15: 89)	

1 – Hlapec Jernej in njegova pravica, 2 – Grešnik Lenart, 3 – Hiša Marije Pomoćnice, 4 – Potepuh Marko in kralj Matjaž, 5 – Polikrap, 6 – Poet Peter, 7 – Nespodobna ljubezen; 1^o – Nemirna godina, 2^o – Cirkus, 3^o – Žena na kamenu

Tabela 8: Postupanje sa šeširom, kapom, fesom i upotreba izraza „sa obe ruke“

⁸⁶ он начинает кланяться [...] прижимая **обеими руками шляпу к желудку**“ (Тургенев 1982 том 10: 136)

⁸⁷ (1) подошел, поклонился низехонько, **взяв шляпу в обе руки**, и сказал (2) Он поклонился мне низехонько, **взявшись обеими руками за шапку** [...]. (Тургенев 1982 том 10: 18, 136). Prevedeno: (1) pride, duboko se pokloni, uze šešir obema rukama, i reče (2) On mi se nisko pokloni, **uzevši se obema rukama za kapu** [...]. (Turgenjev 1977: 365).

⁸⁸ Миhec je **držao z obema rokama klobuk** za široke kraje, [...]. (Zbašnik 1893: 47)

Na kraju priče „Cirkus“ Andrić je upotrebio poređenje dok opisuje junaka priče, direktora cirkusa Ronalda koji odlazi noseći šešir sa obe ruke (primer 1^o, tabela 8). U završnom delu priče opisani su direktorovi pokušaji da objasni sudijama posebne okolnosti pod kojim je počinio zločin. Ali, niko od sudija nije pokušavao da ga razume, pa ni da dokraja sasluša optuženog direktora. Andrićev Ronaldo u nečem podseća na Cankarevog Jerneja. Slična je nesaglasnost Jernejevih i Ronaldovih pogleda na pravičnost i suđenje, na odnos između onoga ko traži pravdu i samih sudija. Jerneju ne uspeva da „sa ljudima od vlasti“ dijalogom uspostavi „razumevanje za svoje viđenje sveta“ (Vučenov 1977: 195). To ne uspeva ni Andrićev Ronaldo.

3.3 „Iz jednog komada“

Navođenje da je nešto „iz jednog komada“ može da upućuje na ujednačenost, kompaktnost, kontinuitet, kao u primerima 1–3 u tabeli 9. Opisujući izgled hana sagrađenog pored mosta na Drini Andrić je u romanu „Na Drini ćuprija“ ponovio saopštenje da su rešetke na prozorima sečene iz jednog komada kamena (primeri 1^o i 2^o). Tako je uz pomenutu monumentalnost građevine istakao i njenu lepotu. Izraz je još jednom ponovio opisujući zle namere onih koji ruše (primer 3^o). Vidimo da su u primerima iz tabele 12 izrazi „kao da je iz jednog komada“, „kakor iz enega kosa“, upotrebljeni i u slikovitom opisu posve različitih objekata.

Ivan Cankar	Ivo Andrić
(1) tisti krasni primitivni časi, ko so bili nazori in čuti kakor rezani iz jednega kosa (7: 125)	(1 ^o) rešetke, ali ne od gvožđa, nego klesane u sedri i svaka iz jednog komada (1: 79)
(2) suha ženska, zavita v haljo, ki je bila šita kakor iz enega kosa in je segala od vratu do nog. (19: 54)	(2 ^o) veliki prozori u prizemlju, svedeni na luk, sa rešetkama koje su [...] sečene u mekom kamenu, iz jednog komada (1: 84)
(3) Obrazi so si bili čudno podobni, kakor iz enega kamna izklesani ; iz trdega kamna [...]. (22: 99)	(3 ^o) porazbijaše one neobično fine rešetke na prozorima, sečene iz jednog komada (1: 144)
	(4 ^o) Kad je ona, pre trideset godina, došla u Bosnu i otpočela rad, život je izgledao kao da je iz jednog komada . (1: 323)
	(5 ^o) Njen osećajni svet bio je tada još netaknut, sliven sav iz jednog komada i teško pristupan [...]. (7: 213)

1 – Literarno izobraženi ljudje, 2 – Troje povesti, 3 – Grešnik Lenart; 1^o, 2^o, 3^o i 4^o – Na Drini ćuprija, 5^o – Žena na kamenu

Tabela 9: Upotreba izraza: „iz jednog komada“

3.4 Sahrana i grob

Razgovor u raznim prilikama može da bude upoređen s razgovorom pored odra u blizini mrtvacu (primeri 1 i 1^o, tabela 10)⁸⁹. Ponašanje ljudi oko odra, prilikom sahrane i neposredno posle nje, ima tipičan odraz na način vođenja razgovora, na pokrete i hod.

Ivan Cankar	Ivo Andrić
(1) Govoril sem šepetajoč, kakor ob mrtvaškem odru [...] (14: 158)	(1 ^o) Razgovor , tako reći, kraj mrtvacu . (8: 65)
(2) [...] šepetale so si od ušesa do ušesa, kakor se spodobi v bližini mrličevi [...] (18: 182)	(2 ^o) [...] razgovarao je s ljudima, ali onako usiljeno i neobično kao što se razgovara posle sahrane . (7: 69)
(3) Govorili so šepetaje, kakor na pogrebščini . (20: 165)	(3 ^o) U velikoj sobi, u kojoj je bilo tiho kao u grobnici , [...]. (5: 55)
(4) Kakor v grobu je bilo tam – tiho , zadržalo, [...]. (10: 31)	(4 ^o) Vraćali su se kao sa zvaničnog pogreba . (2: 452)
(5) Tako samotno je tukaj, kakor v grobnici . (13: 87)	(5 ^o) Same se noge saviše [...] i bez misli i reci on leže u mrak i nečistoću kao u svoj rođeni grob . (1981: knj. 14: 223)
(6) tako jim je bilo pri srcu, da bi se odkrili in pokrižali, kakor ob pogrebu . (19: 111)	(6 ^o) u moje vidno polje ulazi i list sam, i brzo poklapa svoju senku, leže u nju kao u svoj grob (14: 377)
(7) Iz srca Aleševoga je izginila vsa radost, [...] kakor da je bil prišel naravnost od pogreba . (14: 255)	
(8) vtisti osamljeni izbi, ki je nema, tiha in mrzla kakor grob (19: 212)	

1 – Smrt in pogreb Jakoba Nesreče, 2 – Gospod Vavra; 3 – Milan i Milena, 4 – Na klancu, 5 – Potepuh Marko i kralj Matjaž, 6 – Krčmar Elija, 7 – Aleš iz razora, 8 – Hoja v šolo; 1^o – Reči, 2^o – Anikina vremena, 3^o – Priča o vezirovom slonu 4^o – Travička hronika, 5^o – Smrt Stevana Karajana, 6^o – Znakovi pored puta

Tabela 10: Imenice „mrtvac“, „sahrana“, „grob“ kao etaloni poređenja

Tišinu kao odliku neke situacije Cankar i Andrić slikovito su opisali upotrebom izraza „kao u grobu“. Slične izraze „tiho kao u grobu“, „mirno kao na groblju“ (primeri 4 i 3^o, tabela 10) nalazimo kod Ljermontova⁹⁰, Gončarova⁹¹, Čehova⁹², Gorkog⁹³. Vraćanje s

⁸⁹ U nekim slučajevima bi se moglo reći da se razgovara „kao da tu nije mrtvacu“: Ali stari smiono **zametne razgovor, kao da nije tu mrca**, pa i ostali slobodnije odahnuše. (Ćipiko 1951 knj. 2: 210)

⁹⁰ там внизу казалось **темно и холодно, как в гробе** (Лермонтов 1977: 141)

⁹¹ (1) Ее всегда увидишь, что она или возникает, **как из могилы**, из погреба, с кринкой, горшком, (2) Перед ней – только одна глубокая, **как могила**, пропасть. (3) Но в кабинете Обломова всё было тихо, **как в могиле**. (Гончаров 2015: 639; 2012: 105)

⁹² была тишина мертвая, какая **подобает кладбищу** (Чехов 1977 том 9: 226)

⁹³ Тихо, **как в могиле**, даже мышей нет, и такая тьма, что руки тонут в ней: [...]. (Горький 1950: 283)

pagreba praćeno je i posebnim psihološkim stanjem. Upoređenje sa takvim stanjem u primerima 5^o i 6 slikovito je opisano stanje potištenosti. Cankar je imenicu „grob“ u opisu izgleda osobe upotrebljavao i u hipotetićnim poređenjima.⁹⁴

Izdvajanje iz sredine, odlazak i povlaćenje na neko mesto Andrić je u uporedio s polaganjem u grob (primeri 5^o i 6^o, tabela 10). Imenica „grob“ javlja se uz glagol „leći“: *leći kao u grob*. Poređenjem u primeru 5^o završena je prića „Smrt Stevana Karajana“. Ono odražava psihološko stanje glavnog lika koji ne može da se pomiri s onim što ga je snašlo. Turgenjev je upotrebio slično poređenje.⁹⁵

Imenicu „grob“ kao etalon poređenja upotrebili su Georgiev⁹⁶ i Humo.⁹⁷ U opisu tame i pomirćine upotrebljen je izraz „kao u grobu“.⁹⁸ Izraz „kao u grobnici“ upotrebili su Tomić⁹⁹ i Veselinović¹⁰⁰. Slična poređenja nalazimo u delima srpskih¹⁰¹ i hrvatskih pisaca.¹⁰² Opisane su razne situacije upotrebom poređenja u kojim se uz etalon „grob“ koriste i pridevi: „pust“, „tih“, „taman“, „zagušljiv“, „crn“, „prazan“. U primerima 3^o i 7 u tabeli 10 sa grobom je upoređeno stanje u prostoriji. Cankar je i na drugim mestima upotrebio imenicu „grob“ u opisu stanja i izgleda nekog mesta.¹⁰³ Slično su postupili i

⁹⁴ (1) Bilo mi je, **kakor da bi bil vstal iz groba**. (2) In zdaj kar nenadoma, **kakor da bi se opolnoči duh vzdignil iz groba**. (3) In ko je vzdignil glavo, so bila njegova lica bleđa, **kakor da je bil vstal iz groba**. (4) Gledal je z izbuljenimi, prestrašenimi očmi, **kakor da bi bil vstal iz groba**. (5) Sredi izbe je plesal upognjen stavec, tako suh, siv, krivenčast in betežen, **kakor da je bil ob belem dnevu iz groba vstal**. (6) drugaćen – **kakor da se je bil vzdignil iz groba**. (7) Strmeli so vsi na osojniškega, birića, ki je stal pred njimi ves preplašen, **kakor prikazen iz grobov**. (8) **Kakor da sem bila iz groba vstala**, tako se mi čudiš! (9) Komaj razumljivo, zamolklo, plaho mrmranje, **kakor iz grobov**; (10) Senca je izginila tiho, **kakor je bila vstala iz groba**. (Cankar 1976: knj. 9: 260; knj. 14: 141, 267, knj. 18: 22, 65, 193; knj. 19: 188; knj. 22: 242; knj. 23: 81, 82)

⁹⁵ Я поклонился моей улетевшей жизни – и лег в постель, **как в могилу**. (Тургенев 1982 том 10: 183)

⁹⁶ Па и... **празна... като гроб!** (Георгиев 1980: 310)

⁹⁷ Tih je **kao u grobu**. (Humo 1955: 196)

⁹⁸ (1) Svud **tamno, kao u grobu**. (Kumićić 1950 knj. 1: 128); (2) našao se poklopljen crnom **tminom kao u grobu**. (Novak 1951: 438); (3) noć pada na Hrvatsku, noć **crna kao grob** (Matoš 1953 knj. 1: 215)

⁹⁹ nastala u Bosni tišina **kao u grobnici** (Tomić 1970: 58)

¹⁰⁰ Zavlada tišina **kao u grobnici**. (Veselinović 19??: 400)

¹⁰¹ (1) I tu je bilo sve mirno **kao u groblju**, samo poneki pas što reži (Jakšić 1978 knj. 3: 240); (2) I samo to, sve drugo beše mirno **kao u grobu** (3) Nasta tajac. Tišina **kao u grobu**. (4) Zavlada tajac, **kao u grobu**. (5) Zaćutaše. Tajac je bio **kao u grobu**. (6) U šatoru beše tišina **kao u grobu**. (Veselinović 1983: 315, 343, 342, 400); (7) Sve je tiho **kao u groblju**. (Lazarević 2011: 150) (7) Sad opet nastala mir, **kao u grobu**, [...]. (Matavulj 2006 knj. 1: 326); (8) I ja sam, odista, tako osećala **kao da sam u grobu**. (Jakšić 1978 knj. 4: 183); (9) ona zajauka, ama onako ženski, **kao na groblju**. (Sremac 2011b: 312); (10) po pustim ulicama, njegovi koraci odjekivali bi **kao u velikoj grobnici** (Ćipiko 1951 knj. 3: 228)

¹⁰² (1) Već se je spuštala noć; tiho **kao u grobu**, [...]. (2) Tih je **kao u grobu**. (Šenoa 1983 knj. 1: 102, 229); (3) Bjaše **mirno kao u grobu** (Šenoa 1983: knj. 2: 202); (4) U kući je sve **tih, kao u grobu**. (Kumićić 1885: 285); (5) Tih **ko u grobu**. (Matoš 1953: 243); (6) **Nijemo kao u grobu**, ni lahorka da trepne. (Matoš (1953 knj. 1: 269); (7) po kući radi i Palunka dvori, a kuća **tih i pusta kao grob**. (Brlić-Mažuranić 1926: 56); (8) mora da se osjeća u njima duboka tišina **kao u grobu** (Donadini 1968: 158); (9) [...] urlikao vjetar i mrak zatvarao prostor **kao u grobu**. (Kovačić 1983: 150)

¹⁰³ (2) [...] morda se je zdelo Francki tako samotno in tiho, ker je bila hiša pusta, **kakor velik grob** (4) Velika in tiha je bila cerkev **kakor neizmeren grob**. (3) Tukaj je **kakor v grobu**; umrl bi, ko bi tebe ne bilo. (Cankar 1976 knj.10: 28; knj. 11: 139; knj. 12: 104)

Donadini¹⁰⁴ i Livadić¹⁰⁵. Pugelj je kao etalon naveo mrtvačnicu.¹⁰⁶ Levstik je uz glagol „ćutiti“ upotrebio izraz „kakor grob“¹⁰⁷. Imenicu „pogreb“ koju u ulozi etalona vidimo u primerima 4^o i 5 upotreбили su I. G. Kovačić, Vasić i Crnjanski.¹⁰⁸

3.5 Nekoliko različitih izraza

U tabeli 11 navedeni su primeri upotrebe izraza kojima je u njihovom užem kontekstu pripadala različita uloga. Uzvik iz primera 1 nađen je i u Šenoinom delu „Prosjak Luka“.¹⁰⁹ Kratke izraze kojima se rekapitulira sadržaj teksta koji im prethodi vidimo u primerima 2, 3, 2^o i 3^o. I Car je upotrebio sličnu rečenicu.¹¹⁰ Reduplikacijom glagola u primerima 4 i 4^o naglašena je tipična promena koja nastupa tokom dijaloga.¹¹¹ Upotreba izraza „ćuti X, ćuti Y“ u opisu situacije u kojoj je razgovor zapeo, ostavlja jači dojam nego upotreba izraza poput „zaćutali su“, „nastupilo je ćutanje“. Situacija može da bude napregnuta, neprijatna ponekad za jednu, ponekad za obe strane. Iščekivanje je praćeno psihološkom napetošću. Osobe koje vode dijalog ostaju neko vreme u toj situaciji. A ako do nastavka razgovora uopšte dođe može ga započeti bilo koja od njih.

¹⁰⁴ (1) Bilo je zagušljivo kao u grobu. (2) I kod mene je bestidno kao u grobu. (Donadini 1968: 50, 66)

¹⁰⁵ Kao u grob, pala je svojom dosele nikad ne osjećanom težinom u barku. (Livadić 1932: 7)

¹⁰⁶ Zunaj na hodniku je bilo vse tiho in mirno kakor v mrtvašnici. (Pugelj 1948: 142)

¹⁰⁷ (1) Zaklel se je pri Bogu in Allahu, da hoće molčati kakor grob. (2) Molčala bi kakor grob, ali pa bi naju nalagala (3) Ne rmore je izdati; on molči zdaj kakor grob. (4) meni se lahko zaupaš — molčal bom kakor grob! (5) Ne kliči nikogar [...] in molči kakor grob [...] (Levstik 1913: 65, 72, 405, 555; 1926: 138)

¹⁰⁸ (1) O podne navukli se na nebo teški željezni oblaci, a jugo je tulilo žalosno garištem kao na sprovodu. (Kovačić 1983: 63); (2) tako spuštenih očiju, savijene glave, kao pogrebnim korakom, ostavio strašilo. (Vasić 1990b: 285); (3) Neki su, u tim gomilama koraćali kao na pogrebu, a drugi kao da igraju. (4) Ušao je u kuću kao da se nekog groblja vraćao. (Crnjanski 2002 knj. 1: 80; knj. 2: 370)

¹⁰⁹ – Ne! Ne! Ne! – uspriječi se Pavleković bijesan i crven kao rak. (Šenoa 1983 knj. 6: 276)

¹¹⁰ To ne smije biti! (Car 1926: 161)

¹¹¹ In sta molčali in tudi Jure je molčal. (Cankar 1974 knj. 17: 126)

Ivan Cankar	Ivo Andrić
(1) Ne! Ne! Ne! (11: 122; 20: 178)	(1°) Ne, ne, ne! (2: 300); Ne! Nee! Neee! (9: 164)
(2) Vse je mogoče na svetu, ali to ne sme biti mogoče. (24: 242)	(2°) Sve može biti . Ali jedno ne može [...]. To ne može biti . (1: 395)
(3) Dà, iz zavidnosti, to je glavno . (8: 204)	(3°) Živeti, to je glavno . (15: 107); A to je glavno . (4: 74)
(4) On molči in tudi ona molči , [...]. (9: 80)	(4°) Šutim ja, šuti Turčin. (6: 108)
(5) Bil je kakor prelomljen v pasu ; (23: 115)	(5°) kći Perka opančara [...] utanji se i prelomi u pasu (7: 184)
(6) Godilo se je z menoj, kakor da me je vodila tuja roka , [...]. (22: 164)	(6°) svuda po Bosni on je [vezir] vladao tuđom rukom , a ovde [u Travniku] je bio lično (5: 43)

1 – Popótovanje Nikolaja Nikiča i Milan i Milena, 2 – D’Annunzio, 3 – Hudodelec, 4 – Tujci, 5 i 11 – Podobe iz sanj, 6 – Zgodba o nepoštenosti; 1° – Ekskurzija, 2° – Na Drini ćuprija, 3° – Životi, 4° – Trup, 5° – Ljubav u kasabi, 6° – Priča o vezirovom slonu

Tabela 11: Imenice „mrtvac“, „sahrana“, „grob“ kao etaloni poređenja

Andrić je upotrebio i izraze „lomio se u pasu“, „povijen u pasu“¹¹². U opisu mlade ženske osobe koja odrasta, koja se zadrževala, izrazom „prelomi se u pasu“ nagovestio je mladost i lepotu (primeri 5° i 6°, tabela 11).¹¹³ Slično su postupili Sremac¹¹⁴ i Petrović.¹¹⁵ Izraz „prelomljen v pasu“ javlja se u obe verzije teksta „Velika Maša“.¹¹⁶ Sličan primer nalazimo i kod Gorkog¹¹⁷.

U primeru 2° u tabeli 2 već se pojavio izraz „tuđa ruka“. I u primerima 6 i 6° u tabeli 11 upotrebljen u opisu neugodne situacije u kojoj su se likovi našli. „Tuđa ruka“ koja nekoga oblači javlja se i u priči Prežihova Voranca.¹¹⁸ *Tuđa ruka* radi posredno, obično ne onako kao što bi uradio onaj u ime koga se nešto radi ili po čijem se nalogu postupa.

Imenica „kuga“ (primeri 1, 2, 1° i 2°, tabela 12) koristi se kao etalon u slikovitom opisu vanrednih, opasnih situacija koje među ljude unose nemir i strah. Kuga istrebljuje,

¹¹² (1) sve se više **lomio u pasu** (2) Ova starija žena [...] **povijena u pasu**, uvek zadržana, zove se Zuja. (Andrić 1978 knj. 1: 244; knj. 15: 115)

¹¹³ Stanka, vitka i snažna devojka, **kao prekinuta u pasu**, sa čednim i umiljatim licem [...]. (Andrić 1978 knj. 15: 215)

¹¹⁴ Kad ide, ona se **lomi u struku**, sitno korača, a glavu izdiže i pruža je ponosno [...]. (Sremac 2011b: 243)

¹¹⁵ tanka i **lomna u struku** (Petrović 1964: 61)

¹¹⁶ Hodil je, **kakor da bi bil prelomljen v pasu**; [...]. (Cankar 1975 knj. 23: 186)

¹¹⁷ Словно **переломившись в поясице**, старуха села, [...]. (Горький 1977 том 10: 155)

¹¹⁸ Njegovo odelo [...] nije prošla majčina, već nečija **tuđa ruka**. (Voranc 1990: 49)

Ivan Cankar	Ivo Andrić
(1) Eno samo uro – pa sem že komaj dihal, kakor da je bila kuga vzraku (17: 288)	(1°) - Šta je, šta ste se prepale i uznemirile kao da je kuga u kući? (8: 58)
(2) Kakor da je bila kuga pograbila ljudi ter povodenj opustošila njive. (19: 145)	(2°) Ona je, kažu, za velikog vašara, kao kuga ili poplava neka, zatvorila čaršiju; [...]. (7: 49)
(3) Cmeri se kakor baba! (18: 9)	(3°) Profesor me je opomenuo da „ne brbljam kao baba “. (9, 133)
(4) Otrok se je zvil v povojih kakor črv [...]. (16: 134)	(4°) zgađen, urlao je iz svega grla, bacakao se i grčio kao crv (9: 12)
(5) Kakor živi v mojem spominu , ima rdečo, pisano ruto na glavi, [...]. (9: 204)	(5°) Tako i na takav način živi u meni uspomena na zračni i zeleni grad Brusu, [...]. (10: 248)
(6) In če jutri ne bo denarja, ga sunejo na cesto [...] vsega bo konec [...] kakor Boga vas prosim . (10: 132)	(6°) K'o boga vas molim , gospodin oficir [...] Čim svane, čim [...] (5: 223)
(7) Milost božja , kaj se je primerilo v teh silnih časih! (23: 112)	(7°) – Milost božija! – ponavljao je nepresano u sebi [...]. (6: 46)

1 – Za križem: Kovač Damjan, 2 – Krčmar Elija, 3 – Sosed Luka, 4 – Polikarp, 4 – Ob zori: Pred gostilnico; 5 – Podobe iz sanj 1° – Svečanost, 2° – Anikina vremena, 3° – Panorama, 4° – Kula, 5° – Na vest da je Brusa pogorela, 6° – Gospodica, 7° – Ispovijed

Tabela 12: Imenice „mrtvac“, „sahrana“, „grob“ kao etaloni poređenja

pred kugom se bez oklevanja beži.¹¹⁹ Imenicu „kuga“ upotrebio je kao etalon poređenja i Matavulj.¹²⁰

Etalon „baba“ (primeri 3 i 3°) upotrebljen je u opisu ponašanja jedne osobe, u sastavu izvorenih reči, pri grubom obraćanju. Slična poređenja pri obraćanju drugoj osobi mogu da budu uvredljive. Dečak je tako doživeo učiteljjev prekor (primer 3°). Slična

¹¹⁹ **Kakor pred kugo** beže in koliko se jih vrne? (Cankar 1974 knj. 19: 18)

¹²⁰ (1) Po Ribniku žalost, **kao da je kuga** pomorila što je najljepše u njemu. (2) [...] ni od kud ljudskog glasa, **kao da je sve kuga pomorila!** (Matavulj 2006 knj. 2: 20, 354)

poređenja upotrebili su: Levstik¹²¹, Šimunović¹²², Krleža¹²³, Ranković¹²⁴, Tomić¹²⁵, Matavulj¹²⁶, Crnjanski.¹²⁷ Majora sa starom ženom uporedio je Dostojevski.¹²⁸

Etalon „baba“ korišćen je u poređenjima uz glagole „govoriti“, „vikati“, „brbljati“¹²⁹. Ispred imenice „baba“ ponegde je postavljan atribut. Poređenja u kojima se kao etalon javlja imenica „baba“, ukoliko se upotrebe u slikovitom opisu ponašanja mladih muškaraca, pogotovo vojnika, situacijama u kojima se očekuju odvažnost i smelost, odražavaju, neodlučnost, slabost, kukavičluk.

Pri upoređenju sa crvom pri slikovitom opisu ponašanja i držanja jednog lika mogu da se uzmu u obzir pokreti koje crv čini, ritmično savijanje, grčenje (primeri 4 i 4°, tabela 12). Tako su i na drugim mestima postupili Cankar¹³⁰ i Andrić¹³¹. Upotreba izraza „kao crv“ dolazi uz glagole „grčiti se“, „previjati se“, „bacakati se“, „g(a)mizati“. Bugarski pisac Mihalaki Georgiev takođe je uz etalon „crv“ imao u vidu pokrete tela.¹³²

¹²¹ Plešast si, stari, pa govoriš **kakor baba**, [...]. (Levstik 1926: 75)

¹²² prisluski kivo brbljarije varoške **kao nepismena baba?** (Šimunović 1952 knj. 1: 413)

¹²³ (1) Čerkezi i Kozaci, smijat će vam se **kao babama** (2) Što stojiš **kao baba?** (3) Ispadam **kao slinava baba!** (4) A što sjedimo do đavola u tami, **kao stare babe?** (Krleža 1973: 102, 146, 277, 363)

¹²⁴ Koješta, **kao baba!** (Ranković 1952 knj. 2: 390)

¹²⁵ Digosmo se kao junaci, a vratit ćemo se **kao babe**. (Tomić 1970: 59)

¹²⁶ Šta si mi se tu razbrbljao **kao kakva baba!** (Matavulj 2006 knj. 2: 435)

¹²⁷ (1) Гарсули само брбља и прети, **као бабе**. (2) Vikao je, u sebi, **kao neka rasplakana baba**, [...]. (3) reče da su ta dva krvnika sedela, **kao babe** (4) Он се био, **као боба**, уплашио (5) proklinje, iz Neoplatense, **kao baba**. (Crnjanski 2002 knj. 1: 68, 203; knj. 2: 141, 151, 237)

¹²⁸ Майор, говорят, ревел, **как старая баба**, и обливался слезами. Но делать нечего. (Достоевский 1988b: 464)

¹²⁹ U frazeološkom rečniku srpskog jezika navedeno je „brbljati (govoriti, pričati) kao <stara> baba – govoriti bez potrebe, brbljati, koješta, govoriti preterano“ (Otašević 2012: 21)

¹³⁰ (1) gledal je, kako se je pomikal po mizi tisti debeli rdeći prst, **kakor** da bi lazil velik črv po papirju (2) Sveženj se je zganil pod pazduho, zvil se krčevito, **kakor črv**, ki stopi noga nanj. (Cankar 1970 knj. 10: 271; knj. 14: 172)

¹³¹ (1) biva, da me prevlada bol, pa se **savijam kao crv** na zemlji (2) Tu je, naslonivši celo na drvenu ogradu stepeništa i **grceci se kao crv**, povraćao dugo i na mahove. (Andrić 1978 knj. 11: 68; 15: 299)

¹³² (1) те са хора, от които е писал цел народ [...], **като чрвъ се превива** (2) Пред големците се **превиваше като чрвъ**, лижеше им краката, целуваше им чехлите (3) Кюскията на Мравункьо, от болки се **свиваше като черв** на жарава. (4) [...] раята ще се **превива като чрвъ** под тежкия товар (5) кога натисне мъката и зулумът, та сиротинята се **превива като черв** край огън (Георгиев 1980: 178, 218, 415, 394, 514)

Na sličan način postupali su i Jakšić¹³³, Levstik¹³⁴, Veselinović¹³⁵, Vasić¹³⁶, Krleža¹³⁷. Upotreba izraza „viti se (previjati se) kao crv“ upućuje na teško stanje u kom se nalazi neka osoba i njenu inferiornost. U Otaševićevom rečniku upućuje se na lukavost¹³⁸.

Na više mesta u svom delu Gorki je upotrebio imenicu „crv“ kao etalon poređenja.¹³⁹ Dositej Obradović imao je u vidu sredinu u kojoj crv obitava.¹⁴⁰ Slično je postupio i Andrić u primerima¹⁴¹ 2^o i 4^o (tabela 12). Šenoa¹⁴², Kovačić A¹⁴³, Kumičić¹⁴⁴, Novak¹⁴⁵, Kozarac¹⁴⁶, Stanković¹⁴⁷, Matavulj¹⁴⁸, Nazor¹⁴⁹, Sekulić¹⁵⁰, Krleža¹⁵¹ pri poređenju sa crvom uzeli su u obzir izgled crva, njegov polagan, skriven i uporan rad. Upotreba izraza „kao crv“ dolazi uz glagole „grčiti se“, „previjati se“, „g(a)mizati“, „plivati“, „ra-

¹³³ **Previjala sam se kao crv** oko njegovih kolena, padala sam pred njega na zemlju [...]. (Jakšić 1978 knj. 4: 178)

¹³⁴ (1) Kadar boš stokal strahu v nočeh brez spanja in se boš zvijal v mislili na gotovo pogubo, **kakor se zvija črv** pod peto brez usmiljenja, [...]. (2) Mene štiti groznja Alija Kemala, ki se ga Halil bej boji **kakor črv** pete; (Levstik 1913: 178, 259)

¹³⁵ (1) Beše im teško gledati čoveka gde se pred njima **kao crv** vije. (2) sad, kad ga vidi [...] gde se vije **kao crv** pred nogama njegovim (3) A kad im staneš oči u oči, oni se viju **kao crvi!** (Veselinović 1983: 67, 281, 310)

¹³⁶ (1) Vijem se **kao crv**, previjam, štipam, [...]. (2) To su strasti što se oko mene vulaju, viju, **gmižu kao pravi pravcati crvi** (3) gurila i gmizala **kao crv** i glista (5) On je već vrisnuo, previja se **kao crvić**, očajno pruža ručice prema meni dok se ja izmičem, [...]. (6) **Kao crv**, primećeno je, gamiže neprijateljska pešadija sve bliže. (Vasić 1990a: 27, 99; 1990b: 130, 156, 307)

¹³⁷ miče se **kao crv** po žljebastim prostorima njene utrobe (Krleža 1966: 403); I vodu crpeš i zahode čistiš i savijaš se **kao crv!** (Krleža 1973: 361)

¹³⁸ U frazeološkom rečniku srpskog jezika navedeno je „viti se (previjati se) kao crv – biti lukav (prepreden, sposoban za pronalaženje izlaza u teškim situacijama“. (Otašević 2012: 1003)

¹³⁹ (1) Я всю жизнь верчусь, **как червь** на солнце, а нет мне ни покоя, ни уважения. . . (2) А моя дорога – поганая и проклятая. . . не ходят по ней бабы и девки, а, **как черви**, ползут. . . (3) Илья слушал, и жизнь казалась ему чем-то вроде помойной ямы, в которой люди возятся, **как черви**. (4) **Как черви** слепые живут (5) Как враг, она преследует его; **как червь**, неутомимо точит мозг [...]. (6) голодны, и унижены, и придавлены к земле, **как черви** в грязи [...]. (7) В углу спряталась железная круглая печка, от неё, **как толстый червь**, труба вверх ползёт, [...]. (8) Влезет эдакий в душу тебе, **подобно червю**, и незаметно источит её. (9) Между ними, **точно черви**, ползают нищие, [...]. (10) Толкались нищие, просовывая грязные ладони, сложенные лодочками, пальцы их шевелились, **как толстые черви**, [...]. (Горький 1950a: 61, 91, 199, 361, 385; 1950b: 247, 276; 1950c: 142, 224, 559)

¹⁴⁰ srce nahodi svoje zadovoljstvo samo u telesnim naslađenijam, **kao crv u đubretu** (Obradović 2003: 237)

¹⁴¹ (1) I predajući se sva tome naporu, udubljujvala se unjega, nemo, gluvo, nagonski, **kao crv** u drvo. (2) Vene Travnik, a u njemu živi još čaršija, **kao crv** u otkinutoj jabuci. (Andrić knj. 3: 243; 5, 87)

¹⁴² **Kao crv** kopale su po njegovu srcu (Šenoa 1983 knj. 6: 303)

¹⁴³ (1) Та обителјска тјајна поче ми копати мозгом **kao гладан crv** младим дубом. (2) А то чувство што оно гризе коријенје младости **poput neviđена crva** (Kovačić, A. 1962: 56; 1950: 191)

¹⁴⁴ Ionac s rižom [...] čovjek se skoro uznoji, dok uhvati nešto zrnja, koje po njoj pliva **kao crvi**. (Kumičić 1950 knj. 1: 107)

¹⁴⁵ obaraju ih, **kao što crv** koji se zavukao u žilu obara hrast. (Novak 1951: 291)

¹⁴⁶ on će kopati, orati, **raditi kao crv**, samo da ona nigda ne reče da joj je uz njega teško (Kozarac 1950: 201)

¹⁴⁷ A kad je trezan, **radi kao crv**. (Stanković 1991: 20)

¹⁴⁸ Jakov i Periša **rade kao crvi** (Matavulj 2006 knj. 2: 28)

¹⁴⁹ Kupam se, još sitan **kao crvić**, [...]. (Nazor 1934: 64)

¹⁵⁰ Došli da vide mladića koji je, kažu, **radio kao crv**, [...]. (Sekulić 1981: 120)

¹⁵¹ Sve to vrvi u životu amo tamo **kao crvi u kvarglu!** (Krleža 1938: 68)

diti“. Kovačić, A., Lovrak, Kumičić, Vasić upotreбили su etalon „crv“ u rečenici u kojoj se javljaju glagoli „zgaziti“, „razdrobiti“, „zgnječiti“. ¹⁵² Etalon crv može da bude upotrebljen i u slikovitom opisu odnosa jedne osobe prema drugoj. ¹⁵³ Takvim poređenjima slikovito se opisuje grubo postupanje prema jednoj osobi. Uz imenicu „crv“ javlja se i pridev „slep“. ¹⁵⁴

U primerima 5 i 5° u tabeli 11 rečenice podsećaju na one koje se javljaju u putopisima i memoarima. U primerima 6, 7, 6° i 7° u pitanju su reči dijaloga i unutrašnjeg monologa. Izraz „kao bog što se moli“, naveden u opisu obraćanja jedne osobe drugoj osobi, javlja se i u delima drugih pisaca. ¹⁵⁵ Tako govori i Kočićev David dok se obraća pisarčiću i sudiji. ¹⁵⁶ Sličan primer nalazimo i u Andrićevom romanu „Gospođica“. ¹⁵⁷

Zaključak

Poredbene konstrukcije i kraći izrazi upotrebljeni u opisu likova i objekata, izdvojeni prozних književnih dela Ivana Cankara i Ive Andrića posmatrani su u ovom radu u užem kontekstu, u tekstu koji nije duži od jedne ili dve susedne rečenice. To su „jaka“ poređenja“ i izrazi kojima se na sličan način upečatljivo opisuje lik ili neki objekat. U pitanju su elementi tehnike pripovedanja čija se primena odlikuje retkošću kako u Cankarevom tako i u Andrićevom delu. Očigledno je da su pisci vodili račna o tome da javljanje takvih elemenata u tekstu u ukupnom delu ograniče na mali broj, po pravilu izbegavajući ponavljanje u istom delu. Često je u pitanju zapažanje o jednom liku koji se nalazi u situaciji koja je za njega nepovoljna, ponekad neizvesna i rizična, i u kojoj se on obično oseća inferiorno. Zaslužuje pažnju i celovitije sagledavanje upotrebe pojedinih izraza uzimajući u obzir i širi kontekst, ponegde i delo u celini.

Slični primeri upotrebe poređenja i izraza nađeni su i u delima drugih južnoslovenskih pisca, kao i u delima ruske klasične književnosti. Uvećanjem broja primera, kada su poređenja u pitanju, bilo je moguće otkriti druge elemente teksta koji ih prate. Pre svega, glagole čija je upotreba tipična u rečenicama u kojima se javljaju pojedina poređenja. U uvećanom skupu primera do izražaja je došla sličnost upotrebe posmatranih poređenja

¹⁵² (1) **Zgazite** svoga roba **kao crva!** (Kovačić, A.1950: 112); (2) **Zgnječili** bi ga **kao crva!** (Lovrak 1989: 103); (2) učinite me najsretnijim čovjekom ili me **zgazite kao jadna crva!** (Kumičić 1950 knj. 1: 201); (3) kako bih ga razdrobio, rastrgao, zgazio **kao crva** (Vasić 1990b: 95)

¹⁵³ [...] jaz sem mu že pisal, da je zame, **kakor črv** na cesti. (Cankar 1970 knj. 10: 91)

¹⁵⁴ Потом их стало много и они густо и жирно зароились, слепые, **как черви**. (Пастернак 2011: 49)

¹⁵⁵ (1) Nauči me, kao boga te molim! (2) Kao boga te molim, reci mi, jesi li ga ubio? (Veselinović 1983: 217 280); (3) Ali ja te molim, kao što se bog moli! (Lazarević 2011: 125); (4) Molim te kao Boga, ostavi me na miru. (Vasić 1990b: 86); (5) ja sam ga kao Boga molila, da mi oprosti (Kozarac 1950: 413)

¹⁵⁶ (1) Dijete, molim te **kô što se Bog i stariji mole**, ne prekidaј me u riječi! (2) Molim te, glavati gospodine, **kô što se Bog i stariji mole**, drž' se samo reda i zakona! (Kočić 2002: 90, 99)

¹⁵⁷ Gospođice, ovako vas molim, sklopljenih ruku, **kao bog što se moli**. (Andrić 1978 knj. 3: 67)

i izraza u nekoliko slovenskih jezika, sličnost koja je ostavila traga u književnim delima jednog dužeg istorijskog razdoblja.

Prilog 1. Pisci

Ruski pisci: Nikolaj Gogolj (1809–1852), Mihail Ljermontov (1814–1841), Ivan Gončarov (1812–1891), Ivan Turgenjev (1818–1883), Fjodor Dostojevski (1821–1881), Lav Tolstoj (1828–1910), Anton Čehov (1860–1904), Maksim Gorki (1868–1936), Leonid Andrejev (1871–1919), Aleksandar Kuprin (1870–1938), Николай Лесков (1831–1895), Mihail Bulgakov (1891–1940), Boris Pasternak (1890–1960), **Bugarski pisci:** Ivan Vazov (1850–1929), Mihalaki Georgijev (1854–1916), Jordan Jovkov (1880–1937), **Srpski pisci:** Đura Jakšić (1832–1878), Milovan Glišić (1847–1908), Dositej Obradović (1739?–1811), Simo Matavulj (1852–1908), Janko Veselinović (1862–1905), Svetolik Ranković (1863–1899), Ivo Ćipiko (1869–1923), Radoje Domanović (1873–1908), Miloš Crnjanski (1893–1977), Veljko Petrović (1884–1967), **Bosanskohercegovački pisci:** Petar Kočić (1877–1916), Hamza Humo (1895–1970), **Bosanskohercegovački pisci:** August Šenoa (1838–1881), Šandor Ksaver Đalski (1854–1935), Antun Gustav Matoš (1873–1914), Dinko Šimunović (1873–1933), Ivana Mažuranić-Brljić (1874–1938); Branimir Livadić (1871–1949), Miroslav Krleža (1893–1981), Ante Kovačić (1854–1889), Vjenceslav Novak (1859–1905), Ulderiko Donadini (1894–1923), Josip Kozarac (1858–1906), Ivan Goran Kovačić (1913–1943), Viktor Car-Emin (1870–1963); **Slovenački pisci:** Ivan Tavčar (1851–1923), Vladimir Levstik (1886–1957), Janko Kresnik (1852–1897), Fran Zbašnik (1855–1935), Prežihov Voranc (1893–1950), Josip Jurčič (1844–1881), Milan Pugelj (1883–1929), Franc Ksaver Meško (1874–1964)

Prilog 2. Izvori

Ruski pisci: Андреев, Л. Н. (1971) *Повести и рассказы* в двух томах, Художественная литература, Москва; Гоголь, Н. В. (2014) *Петербургские повести*, Азбука, Санкт-Петербург; Гоголь, Н. В. (2009а) *Мертвые души*, Белый город, Москва, Гоголь, Н. В. (2009б) *Тарас Бульба* у: Миргород, Белый город, Москва Гоголь, Н. В. (2009с) *Вечера на хуторе близ Диканьки*, Белый город, Москва; Гончаров, И. А. (2015) *Обрыв*, Азбука, Санкт-Петербург; Гончаров И. А. (1958) *Обрыв: Роман в пяти частях*. Государственное издательство, художественной литературы. Москва; Гончаров, И. А. (1999) *Обыкновенная история*, Эксмо, Горький, М. (1950а) Повести 1900–1906, ИМЛИ, РАН, Москва; Горький, М. (1950б) Повести 1907–1909, ИМЛИ, РАН, Москва; Горький, М. (1950с) Жизнь Матвея Кожемякина: Повести 1909–1912, ИМЛИ, РАН, Москва; Горький, М. (1971) *Полное собрание сочинений* в двадцати пяти томах, Наука, 1971–1975; Достоевский, Ф. (1972) *Чужая жена и муж под кроватью*, Повести и рассказы, Наука, Ленинград Достоевский, Ф. (2012а) *Братья Карамазовы*, Эксмо, Москва; Достоевский, Ф. (2012б) *Бесы*, Эксмо, Москва; Достоевский (2012с) *Преступление и наказание*, Эксмо, Москва; Достоевский, Ф. (2011а) *Игрок*, Эксмо, Москва; Достоевский, Ф. (2011б) *Подросток*, Эксмо, Москва; Достоевский, Ф. (1990) *Вечный мужик*: Собрание сочинений; т. 8, Наука, Ленинград; Достоевский, Ф. (1998) *Бедные люди; Белые ночи; Неточка Незванова*, ТЕЕРА, Москва; Достоевский, Ф. (1988а) *Село Степанчиково и его обитатели*: Собрание сочинений; том. 3, Наука, Ленинград; Достоевский, Ф. (1988б) *Записки из мертвого дома*, Собрание сочинений, том

3 Наука, Ленинград; Куприн А. (1964) *Собрание сочинений* в девяти томах, Огонек, Москва; Куприн, А. (1976) *Поединок*, Карелия, Петрозаводск. Лермонтов, М. (1977) *Герой нашего времени*, Советская руссия, Москва; Лермонтов, М. Ю. (1989) Полное собрание стихотворений в два тома, Сов. Писатель; Лесков, Н. С. (1957) *Запечатленный ангел* Собрание сочинений, том 4, Художественная литература, Москва, Лесков, Н. С. (1973) Собрание сочинений в 6 томах, Правда, Москва; Пастернак, Б. (2011) *Пхранныя грамота, Астрель*, Москва; Пушкин, А. С. (2016) Повести Белкина, Азбука, Санкт-Петербург; Толстой, Л. Н. (2009) Повести и рассказы, Белый город, Москва; Тургенев, И. С. (2011a) *Отцы и дети, Рудин, Накануне*, Эксмо, Москва; Тургенев, И. С. (2011b) *Дворянское гнездо*, Азбука, Санкт-Петербург; Тургенев, И. С. (2012) *Первая любовь, Весенние воды*, Эксмо, Москва; Тургенев, И. С. (2013) *Муму*: повести, рассказы, Эксмо, Москва; Тургенев (1981) *Дым*, том 7, Сочинени Наука Москва; Тургенев, И. (1982) *Новь*, Сочинени Повести и рассказы, том 9, Наука Москва; Тургенев, И. (1982) *Щи*, Стихотворения в прозе, том 10, Наука Москва; Тургенев, И. С. (1981) *Полное собрание сочинений* и писем в тридцати томах том 9, Наука, Москва 1981; Чехов, А. П. (1999a) *Драма на охоте*, Рассказы 1883–1886, АСТ Фолио. Харьков; Чехов, А. П. (1999b) *Скука жизни*, Рассказы 1885–1886, АСТ Фолио. Харьков; Чехов, А. П. (1999c) *Дама с собачкой*, Рассказы 1887–1899, АСТ Фолио. Харьков; Чехов, А. П. (1999d) *Рассказы, повести, юморески: 1880–1882*, Собрание сочинений том 1, ТЕРРА; Москва; Чехов А. П. (1976) *Полное собрание сочинений 1974–1982* Наука, Москва; **Bugarški pisci**: Вазов, И. (1956) *Събрани съчинения*, Български писател, София; Георгиев, М. (1980) *Меркът на чичо Денчо*, Избрани творби БЗНС София; Йовков, Й. (1983) *Събрани съчинения*, Български писател, София; Пелин, Е. (1977) *Събрани съчинения* в шест тома, Български писател, София; **slovenački pisci**: Cankar, I. (1967–1976) *Zbrano delo*, Državna založba Slovenije Ljubljana; Cankar, I. (1956) *Slike iz snova*, Rad, Beograd; Cankar, I. (1981) *Proza*, Matica srpska, Novi Sad; Cankar, I. (2006) *Gospa Judita*, Beograd; Levstik, V. (1924) *Deček brez imena in druge zgodbe*, Tiskovna zadruga, Ljubljana; Levstik, V. (1966) *Hilarij Pernat*, Delo, Ljubljana; Levstik, V. (1958) *Gade gnezdo, Zapiski Tine Gramotnove*, Cankarjeva založba, Ljubljana; Levstik, V. (1907) *Pigmalion, Sirota Jerica*, Zabavna knjižnica, Slovenska Matica; XIX. zvezek, Ljubljana; Levstik, V. (1913) *Za svobodo in ljubezen roman z Balkana*, Slovenski ilustrovani tednik, Ljubljana. Levstik, V. (1926) *Pravica kladiva*, Vodnikova družba, Ljubljana; Levstik, V. (1913) *Za svobodo in ljubezen*, Učiteljska tiskarna, Celje; Meško, K. (1907) *Drama izza davnih dni*, Zabavna knjižnica, Slovenska Matica, XIX zvezak; Meško, K. (1954) *Izabrano delo*, prva knjiga, Družba Sv. Mohorja, Celje; Pugelj, M. (1948) *Zbrane novele*, Slovenski knjižni zavod, Ljubljana; Voranc, P. (1990) *Đurđevak*, Zavod za udžbenike, Novi Sad; Kresnik, J. (2012) *Ocetov greh*, El-knjiga, Genija, Ljubljana; Jurčič, J. (2012) *Lepa Vida*, El-knjiga, Genija, Ljubljana; Zbašnik, F. (1893) *Na krivih potih: Povest*, Slovenske večernice XLVII, Družba sv. Mohorja v Celovecu; **srpski, hrvatski, bosanskohercegovački pisci**: Andrić, I. (1976) *Sabrana dela*, Prosveta; Beograd; Andrić, I. (1981) *Sabrana djela*, Svjetlost, Sarajevo; Begović, M. (1965) *Giga Baričeva*, knj. 1, 2 i 3, Zagreb; Brlić-Mažuranić, I. (1926) *Priče iz davnine*, Matica hrvatska Zagreb, Brlić-Mažuranić, I. (1989) *Jaša Dalmatiu pothralj Gudžerata*, Mladost, Zagreb; Car-Emin, V. (1926) *Nove borbe*, SKZ, Beograd; Ćipiko, I. (1951) *Sabrana dela*, Prosveta, Beograd; Crnjanski, M. (2002) *Druga knjiga seoba*, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, Beograd;

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Die gesellschaftliche Position der Frau in der Ära der Nationalisierung im postkommunistischen Kroatien

Eine diskursanalytische Untersuchung am Beispiel medialer Geschlechterkonstruktionen

Diana Radmann*

Abstract

Die Ära Tadjman (1990–1999) ist eine durch politischen und gesellschaftlichen Umbruch definierte Zeit, der sozialistische Vielvölkerstaat Jugoslawien löste sich auf. Die vormaligen jugoslawischen Teilrepubliken bildeten neue unabhängige Nationalstaaten. Kroatien erlangte seine staatliche Unabhängigkeit unmittelbar nach Slowenien im Jahr 1991. In der postkommunistischen Ära dominierte in Kroatien der nationalistische Diskurs. Mit der Gründung des Staates Kroatien wurde die nationale Identität neu gezeichnet und mit ihr auch die Vorstellungen von ‚richtiger‘ Männlichkeit und Weiblichkeit. Die Neudefinition als Nation ist verbunden mit der Redefinition von Geschlecht.

Key words: croatia, nationality, sex, gender, media discourse

* Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt, Institut für Unterrichts- und Schulentwicklung; diana.radmann@aau.at

Einleitung

Der Aufsatz geht der Frage nach, welche diskursiven Konstruktionen von Gender in den untersuchten Printmedien propagiert und idealisiert wurden. Dafür wurden 50 journalistische Texte der auflagenstärksten kroatischen Tageszeitungen *Vjesnik*, *Vecernji list*, *Slobodna Dalmacija* und der oppositionellen Wochenmagazine *Globus* und *Feral Tribune* im Zeitraum 1995 und 1996 untersucht. Aus diesem Materialsample wurden acht Beiträge, die prototypisch für die Diskurse zu Gender und Nation in der Ära Tudjman sind, einer Diskursanalyse in Anlehnung an Siegfried Jäger unterzogen, die Ergebnisse werden hier vorgestellt.

Die politische Transformation in Kroatien war durch den gewaltsamen Charakter der Konflikte sowie durch die Gleichzeitigkeit von Systemtransformation und Staatsbildung und eine dadurch verursachte breite nationalistische Mobilisierung geprägt (vgl. Kasapović/Zakošek 1997, 28ff.). All diese Umstände führten dazu, dass in Kroatien tiefergehende Demokratisierungsprozesse verhindert wurden. Das politische Regime der 1990er Jahre wies starke autoritäre und nationalistische Züge auf (vgl. Moćnik, 1993, 137 und Melčić 1993, 163). Es wurde verstärkt an der Konstruktion einer einheitlichen kroatischen Identität gearbeitet, die das kroatische Volk von den restlichen Nachfolgestaaten des ehemaligen Jugoslawiens differenzieren und abgrenzen sollte. Die Konstitution des neuen Nationalstaates Kroatien wurde von ethno-nationaler und patriotischer Ideologie begleitet. Die zeitgenössische feministische Theorie geht von der Annahme aus, dass Geschlechtsidentität nicht losgelöst von der sozialen Gruppierung und den herrschenden ethnischen-nationalen Diskursen betrachtet werden kann (vgl. Lenz 1996, 216). Zu Krisenzeiten erfolgen neue Verhandlungen über frisch errichtete Hegemonien und es kommt zu einer Neukonfiguration des Geschlechts (vgl. Iveković 2001, 8).

Die Frau als Mutter und Erzieherin

Prototypisch für den Untersuchungszeitraum 1995 und 1996 ist, dass klassische Genderbilder von den untersuchten Printmedien mobilisiert und in den Dienst der Nation gestellt wurden. Der printmediale Diskurs wiederholt in wesentlichen Zügen die von der Politik postulierten Forderungen. Wie das Beispiel *Kata Šoljić, eine Mutter aus Vukovar*: „Kroatien bedeutet mir alles“¹ illustriert, war die Vorstellung von Geschlecht stark verknüpft mit der Sicherung und dem Fortbestand der Nation. Kata Šoljić avancierte während der Regierungszeit Tudjmans zu einer der prominentesten Mütter Kroatiens. Sie wurde von den Medien als Heldenmutter und Patriotin verehrt. Als sechsfache Mutter stützte sie die vorherrschende politische Ideologie und das von Tudjmans Partei

¹ Kurić, Sandra. 1995. „Kata Šoljić, eine Mutter aus Vukovar: „Kroatien bedeutet mir alles.““ *Vjesnik* vom 08.01.1995: 4.

HDZ (Kroatische Demokratische Union) gegründete politische „Programm zur demografischen und geistigen Erneuerung Kroatiens“². Kata Šoljićs Kinder dienten während des Kroatienkrieges in der kroatischen Armee bzw. Polizei. Alle drei Söhne und der Schwiegersohn fielen im Krieg. „Kroatien bedeutet mir alles“, titelte *Vjesnik* und meint damit, die Nation stehe an erster Stelle, sogar über der Mutterliebe. Im Artikel wird die mütterliche Rolle der Frau mit dem Überleben der Nation verbunden. Das Vaterland – die Nation wird über alles gestellt, sogar über das Leben der eigenen Kinder („Kroatien bedeutet mir alles“).

Der ‚Menschen sind Macht‘-Diskurs dominierte die Politik, aber auch die Zeitungslandschaft in den 1995er und 1996er Jahren. Ein zentrales Anliegen des kroatischen Präsidenten Tudjman war das Vier-Kind-Familienmodell, das durch das politische „Programm der geistigen und demografischen Erneuerung“³ vorangetrieben wurde. Das Programm sah eine Anhebung der Geburtenrate sowie die Erziehung der Kinder nach kroatisch-katholischen Traditionen und Wertvorstellungen vor. Ebenso wurden Anreizsysteme für Mütter geschaffen wie der Mutterschaftsurlaub bis zum dritten Lebensjahr des Kindes, ein erhöhtes Karenzgeld für Mütter mit mehr als drei Kindern, und das gesetzlich verankerte Recht auf Gewissenentscheidung, wobei Frauen allerdings dazu verpflichtet wurden, vor einem Schwangerschaftsabbruch einen Priester, Arzt und Psychologen aufzusuchen; zudem wurde für gesellschaftliche Anerkennung der Mutterrolle gesorgt.

Im postkommunistischen Kroatien der 1990er Jahre erlebten also traditionelle Genderkonzepte eine Renaissance. Sie wurden von der nationalistischen Politik gefördert und konnten sich dadurch wieder etablieren (vgl. Prošnić-Dvornić 1996, 131). Die Neudefinition als Nation ist verbunden mit der Redefinition von Geschlecht. In der Ära Tudjman vollzog sich ein Wandel des Frauenbildes. Die Frau bildete nicht mehr, wie vormals in Ex-Jugoslawien, den Sozialismus mit Arbeit ab, sondern reproduzierte die Nation in biologischer und kultureller Hinsicht. Der Großteil der analysierten Artikel spezifiziert die Verpflichtung der Frau, die Nation mit ihrer Fruchtbarkeit zu stärken und Kinder zu gebären. Die häusliche Sphäre, Mutterschaft und Familie werden allein der Frau zugeteilt. Regierungsnahe Tageszeitungen, allen voran *Vjesnik*, konstruieren Mutterschaft zum „weiblichen Ideal“ und schreiben die Geschlechterrolle der Frau als Mutter und Erzieherin als „nicht austauschbar“ fest. Das Thema Demografie hatte einen hohen Stellenwert in der Politik und damit auch in den Medien. Im Artikel „Die nicht austauschbare Rolle der Frau“⁴ wird die Frau als Verantwortliche für das nationale Schicksal konstruiert, indem sie ausdrücklich auf ihre traditionelle Rolle als Mutter und

² Der kroatische Präsident Tudjman beauftragte Don Ante Baković mit der ideologischen Konzeption des politischen „Programms der geistigen und demografischen Erneuerung“ („Program za demografsku obnovu i duhovni preporod“). Zu den Grundzügen des Programms vgl. Baković, 1995. vgl. auch Festschrift: *Deset godina Hrvatske Demokratske Zajednice*, 1999.

³ Program za demografsku obnovu i duhovni preporod. vgl. Baković, 1995.

⁴ o.V. 1995. „Die nicht austauschbare Rolle der Frau.“ *Vjesnik*, 08.01.1995: 2.

Erzieherin verwiesen wird, die im biologischen Sinne durch ihre Gebärfähigkeit und im kulturellen durch die Erziehung der Kinder zum Erhalt der Nation beiträgt. Der Körper der Frau wird in einer abstrakten Art und Weise zu einem Zeichen für die Nation. Denn wenn die Frau nicht Mutter sein wolle, sterbe die Nation, so das Resümee des Verfassers. Die kroatischen Frauen wurden aufgefordert, ihre Rollen als Reproduzentinnen der Nation wahrzunehmen:

[...] are called upon to fill their role as biological reproducers – mothers – of the nation [...]. This occurs by ways of various state policies and through public discourse, including: public population growth campaign ('Every Croatian woman should give birth to at least four new Croats'); legal restrictions on women's reproductive rights supported by pro-life and abortion-ban campaigns; and the introduction of special benefits to large families with at least 3 or 4 children. (Kesić, V. 2002, 65)

Geschlechtliche Trennung wurde auch auf der Raumebene zwischen privat und öffentlich vollzogen. Der Leserbrief von Stipe Golac, *Geben wir der Mutter die Mutterschaft zurück, geben wir die Mutter der Familie zurück*⁵, ist ein Beispiel für den Versuch, die kroatischen Frauen, die während des Sozialismus berufstätig waren, wieder ausschließlich in den Familien zu verankern und ihren „natürlichen“ Aufgaben, die sich auf die biologische Reproduktion beschränkten, zuzuführen. Der Leserbrief verlangt, „die Mütter wieder den Familien zurückzugeben“. Er macht die berufstätigen Frauen, die im Artikel als „nervöse und überarbeitete Mütter“ dargestellt werden, für angeblich auftretende Defizite bei Kindern, wie Nervosität, Ängste und Traumata, verantwortlich. Das Heim wird im Leserbrief als rechtmäßiger Ort für die Frau konstruiert und im Gegenzug dazu wird die Berufswelt zu einem Ort, an den die Frau nicht hingehört.

Die meisten Analysen der strukturellen Unterdrückung von Frauen sehen die Ursache in der Verortung der Geschlechter in unterschiedlichen Sphären, der binären Spaltung zwischen öffentlich/privat und natürlich/zivilisatorisch. Die Gleichsetzung von Frau mit „Natur“ ist ein Grund für ihren Ausschluss aus dem „zivilisatorischen“, öffentlichen Bereich (vgl. Yuval-Davis 1997, 17). Škokić zufolge kam es während der Nationsbildungsphase, die von nationalistischer Rhetorik durchwachsen war, zu verstärktem Auftreten von dichotomen Genderkonstrukten (vgl. Škokić 2002, 202). Gemäß der diskursanalytisch untersuchten Artikel, führt die Frau in der Ära Tudjman offensichtlich vorrangig zu ihrer ‚Natur‘ gehörende Aufgaben wie beispielsweise Kindererziehung und Hausarbeit aus. Diese binären Konstruktionen gehen Hand in Hand mit der Verbannung der Frau aus der öffentlichen Sphäre und ihrer Verankerung im Privaten. Mit Gapovas Worten: „the woman belongs to the private corner of nationhood by being a mother“ (Gapova 2002, 90).

⁵ Golac, Stipe. 1995. „Geben wir der Mutter die Mutterschaft zurück, geben wir die Mutter der Familie zurück.“ *Vjesnik*, 21.02.1995: 26.

1 Die Frau als Patriotin und Unterstützerin der Nation

Das in den Zeitungen propagierte normative Ideal der Frau als mehrfache Mutter und die Naturalisierung dieser Rolle wird durch das Ideal der Patriotin und Unterstützerin der Nation ergänzt. Uremović/Oerter zufolge folgen Frauen insbesondere in Konfliktsituationen der Orientierung der Männer und definieren sich national. Sie werden zu glühenden Verfechterinnen der nationalen Idee (vgl. Uremović/Oerter 1994, 10). Das wird am Beispiel des Artikels *Kata Šoljić, eine Mutter aus Vukovar: „Kroatien bedeutet mir alles“* deutlich. Der Bericht über Kata Šoljić ist durchzogen mit Statements, die die Liebe und Ergebenheit der Frau zu ihrer Heimat und ihre Opferbereitschaft betonen, wie: „Ich liebe Kroatien zu sehr“, „Kroatien bedeutet mir alles“, „Ich werde für Kroatien bis zum Ende kämpfen“. Kata Šoljić wird als überzeugte, patriotische und heldenhafte Mutter kroatischer Soldaten und Unterstützerin der Nation konstruiert. Bedeutsam am Artikel ist, dass die Liebe zum Vaterland über die Mutterliebe gestellt wird. Kata Šoljić betrauert zwar den Tod der gefallenen Söhne, aber als überzeugte Patriotin muss sie diesen Verlust, der einer hehren Sache, der Nation, dient, hinnehmen. Ihr tragisches Schicksal wurde von einem starken Medieninteresse begleitet. Kata Šoljić wurde von den kroatischen Medien als Parademutter gefeiert. Iveković/Mostov erklären das mediale Emporheben von Müttern wie Kata Šoljić aber auch damit, dass das individuelle Leid der Frauen, die im Krieg ihre Kinder verloren hatten, mit dem Leid der Nation verknüpft wurde:

Individual mothers are celebrated as instances of this image: their pain and suffering, their sacrifices are recognized as part of the nation's sacrifice; their individual plights are relevant only to this extent. (Iveković/Mostov 2002, 11)

Große Gebietsteile des kroatischen Territoriums waren zum Zeitpunkt des Erscheinens des Artikels von der serbischen Armee besetzt. Auch Kata Šoljić's Aufruf zur Befreiung der serbisch besetzten Territorien stand im Dienst der nationalen Mission.

Eine zentrale Rolle der Frau während der Ära der Nationalisierung liegt in der Repräsentations- und Unterstützungsfunktion für die Nation. Bracewell stellt fest, dass sich das Bild der Frau während des Transformationsprozesses in Kroatien wandelte. Die Aufgabe der Patriotinnen war es nicht mehr, wie einst im kommunistischen Jugoslawien, den Sozialismus durch Arbeit aufzubauen, sondern die Nation durch die weibliche Reproduktionskraft zu erzeugen:

Nationalist ideology has reinforced this tendency by using mothers as symbols of the nation and by emphasizing women's responsibility for the biological reproduction of the nation. The result has been a marked change in the concept of patriotic womanhood – a women's task is no longer to build socialism to work, but to regenerate the nation through her role as a mother. (Bracewell 1996, 25)

Die Mutterschaft nimmt unter den Heldenrollen der Frauen den ersten Platz ein: „Die heroische Mutter ist mitfühlend und geduldig sowie mutig und stark“ (Škokić 2002, 203). Im nationalen Kampf um die staatliche Unabhängigkeit hingegen blieben die Frauen nicht sichtbar. Dazu stellt Škokić fest: „Women defenders have been forgotten, they did not receive medals like their companions from the trenches.“ (ibid.)

2 Die ‚neue‘ kroatische Frau und der patriotische Feminismus

Mit den kroatischen Frauen wurde im Gegensatz zur Romantisierung und Glorifizierung der Partisanenfrauen als furchtlose Heldinnen, die zu jedem Opfer bereit schienen, Militärferne verbunden. Die ‚neue‘ kroatische Frau wurde während Tudjman's Regierung als das ultimativ Andere, das sich abhebt vom Mann als Kämpfer, der für die Nation tötet und stirbt, entworfen. Damit lässt sich auch die Absenz von militarisierten Bildern der Weiblichkeit in der untersuchten kroatischen Presse erklären.

Prägend für die Ära der Nationalisierung war die Loyalität zur ethnischen Wir-Gruppe. Iveković stellt fest, dass Frauen in Kroatien kaum oppositionell waren (Iveković/Jovanovic/Krese u.a. 1993, 72). Frauen wurden mittels der Wir-Rhetorik sowie der Rhetorik von Loyalität und Verrat für das nationale Projekt gewonnen (vgl. Duhaček 2004, 117). Kašić erklärt die Unterstützungsfunktion der kroatischen Frauen mit dem Wunsch, einer Gemeinschaft anzugehören, dem Wunsch nach gesellschaftlicher Anerkennung, der Angst vor den Anderen und der Ausgrenzung im eigenen Staat. Von den Frauen wurde erwartet, loyal zur eigenen nationalen Gruppe zu sein und die nationalen Interessen zu vertreten (vgl. Kašić, 2002 195).

Der patriotische Feminismus unterstützte die politischen Machthaber und deren Wir-Rhetorik. Mit der Machtübernahme der HDZ und vor allem zu Kriegsbeginn verschwanden feministische Gruppierungen in Kroatien von der Bildfläche oder neigten sich dem neuen politischen Establishment zu. Es kam zu einer Verbindung der konservativen Feministinnen mit dem Regime. Zahlreiche bedeutende feministische Frauenvereinigungen wie beispielsweise *Trešnjevska* oder *Kareta* solidarisierten sich mit der nationalistischen Politik. Nur wenige zeigten sich oppositionell. Andere als konservativ geltende Frauengruppen wie *Bedem ljubavi* gingen unmittelbar aus der herrschenden nationalistischen Regierung hervor (vgl. Knezevic 1994, 15–16). Der patriotische Feminismus unterstützte die politischen Machthaber und deren Wir-Rhetorik in der Ära der Nationalisierung in Kroatien.

Wie anhand der diskursanalytischen Untersuchung des Artikels *Die nicht austauschbare Rolle der Frau als Mutter und Erzieherin* dokumentiert wird, fungierten die Vertreterinnen der Vereinigung Kroatische Frau als Unterstützerinnen des von der kroatischen Regierung initiierten politischen Projektes der „geistigen und demografischen Erneue-

zung Kroatiens“.⁶ Ein Teil der Frauengruppen zeigte sich während des Kroatienkrieges mit der kroatischen Regierung solidarisch (vgl. Škokić 2002, 210). Aus dem Artikel *Die nicht austauschbare Rolle der Frau als Mutter und Erzieherin* geht hervor, dass die Frauengruppe *Kroatische Frau*, der auch die kroatische Ministerin für Bildung und Kultur, Lilja Vokić, angehörte, regierungskonform agierte und ideologisch vereinnahmt war. Als überzeugte Patriotinnen und Befürworterinnen des demografischen Anliegens engagierten sich diese Frauen dezidiert für Bevölkerungswachstumsinitiativen und für die Pflege der traditionellen und christlichen Wertvorstellungen und versuchten auch andere Frauen davon zu überzeugen. Auch Jalušič kritisiert, dass viele Frauengruppen den Nationsbildungsprozess selbstverständlich und unhinterfragt unterstützen (vgl. Jalušič 1999, 52). Am Beispiel von Silvana Pericas Artikel *Hat die Frau ein Recht auf Wahlfreiheit?*⁷ wird die Komplizenschaft der kroatischen Frau mit dem sich an der Macht befindlichen politischen System verdeutlicht. Im Artikel heißt es, die Komplizin sei einer Atmosphäre, in der Druck auf Frauen ausgeübt wird, zugeneigt und stehe der gegenwärtigen Stellung der Frau in der kroatischen Gesellschaft, die überwiegend über ihre Mutterrolle definiert wird, zustimmend gegenüber. Komplizinnen unterstützten die Wiederkehr alter Traditionen und die Retraditionalisierung der Genderbilder und trugen somit zu ihrer Verfestigung bei.

⁶ Vgl. o.V. 1995. „Die nicht austauschbare Rolle der Frau.“ *Vjesnik*, 08.01.1995: 2.

⁷ Vgl. Perica, Silvana. 1995. „Hat die Frau ein Recht auf Wahlfreiheit?.“ *Večerni list*, 08.03.1995: 12.

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