

Od
jezika
k
filozofiji
in nazaj

Festschrift ob 75-letnici
Dunje Jutronić

Uredniki:
Bojan Borstner
Tomaž Onič
Simon Zupan



Univerzitetna založba
Univerze v Mariboru



Univerza v Mariboru

Filozofska fakulteta

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Od jezika k filozofiji in nazaj Festschrift ob 75-letnici Dunje Jutronič

BOJAN BORSTNER, TOMAŽ ONIČ IN SIMON ZUPAN

Povzetek Znanstvena monografija je posvečena upokojeni redni profesorici za angleško jezikoslovje na Univerzi v Mariboru Dunji Jutronič ob njenem petinsedemdesetem rojstnem dnevu. Vsebinsko je razdeljena na tri sklope, ki ustrezajo raziskovalnemu delu jubilantke, to so: anglistika in amerikanistika, filozofija ter prevajalstvo. Prvi sklop prinaša filološke teme, ki segajo od analize medijskega diskurza ter jezika oglaševanja in vrednotenja na eni strani do kanadske književnosti, dramatike in znanstvene fantastike na drugi. V filozofskih razpravah so v ospredju vprašanja jezikovnih intuicij, izvora jezika, metafor, jezika misli in vloge jezika v razmerju do pojma istovetnosti. V zadnjem, tretjem sklopu razprav avtorice in avtorji obravnavajo konferenčno tolmačenje, poklicno identiteto prevajalcev, kulturnospecifične izraze v književnem prevodu, medijsko poročanje o olimpijskih igrah in rekontekstualizacijo v spletnem oglaševanju »superživilik«.

Ključne besede: • anglistika • amerikanistika • filozofija • prevajalstvo • Dunja Jutronič •

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From Language to Philosophy and Back A Festschrift for Dunja Jutronić on her 75th Birthday

BOJAN BORSTNER, TOMAŽ ONIČ & SIMON ZUPAN

Abstract The monograph is dedicated to Dunja Jutronić, retired Professor of English Linguistics at the University of Maribor, on the occasion of her 75th birthday. The volume comprises three sections corresponding to the research efforts of Professor Jutronić: English and American Studies, Philosophy and Translation Studies. Topics in the first section range from media discourse analysis, the language of advertising and appraisal-based language, on the one hand, to Canadian Literature, drama and science fiction, on the other. The philosophical chapters address the questions of language intuition, the origins of language, metaphor, the language of thought and the relation between language and the notion of identity. The third section comprises chapters on conference interpreting, translators' professional identity, culture-specific terms in literary translation, media reporting about the Olympics and the recontextualization of "superfoods" in online advertising.

Keywords: • English Studies • American Studies • Philosophy • Translation Studies • Dunja Jutronić •

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OD JEZIKA K FILOZOFIJI IN NAZAJ: ZNA NSTVENORAZISKOVALNI MIKROKOZMOS DUNJE JUTRONIČ

SIMON ZUPAN, TOMAŽ ONIČ IN BOJAN BORSTNER

Nedavno je svoj 75. rojstni dan praznovala naša upokojena kolegica, redna profesorica Dunja Jutronič. Poznavajoč njeno vitalnost, optimizem in vedro naravo, ne dvomimo, da je temu dogodku tudi primerno nazdravila. Čeprav je od njene upokojitve z mesta redne profesorice za angleško jezikoslovje na Univerzi v Mariboru minilo že nekaj let in jo danes srečujemo redkeje, ker večino časa preživi na otoku Braču v Dalmaciji, se je pogosto in z veseljem spominjamo. Dunja Jutronič – oziroma preprosto Dunja za vse, ki jo osebno poznamo – je pač vedno presegala klišejske predstave o dolgočasnem univerzitetnem profesorju. Po eni strani je bila zgled odlične in radovedne znanstvenice in raziskovalke, po drugi pa preprosta in dostopna kolegica, vselej dobro razpoložena in pripravljena na šalo. O njej kot človeku veliko pove to, da s svojimi nekdanjimi kolegicami in kolegi tudi po upokojitvi redno ohranja prijateljske vezi in jim svojo pozornost izkaže ob različnih priložnostih, med drugim z vsakokoletnim novoletnim voščilom. Njena odprtost, svetovljanski značaj in pozitivne osebnostne lastnosti so vplivale na njeno pedagoško delo in še posebej znanstvenoraziskovalno pot, ki je segala onkraj ene discipline, še

preden je akademski svet interdisciplinarnost pripoznal kot naglavno vrline. Prav zato menimo, da si Dunja Jutronić ob življenjskem jubileju zasluži droben akademski in prijateljski poklon. Ko je dozorela zamisel, da v njeno čast pripravimo pričujočo monografijo, smo k sodelovanju povabili kolegice in kolege, ki so jo poznali; veseli nas, da so se povabilu odzvali praktično vsi, vključno z nekaterimi, ki so jo poznali zgolj posredno. Po našem prepričanju to potrjuje, da je krog tistih, ki Dunjo Jutronić iskreno spoštujemo, velik. Ob tem nas posebej veseli, da prispevki v monografiji tudi tematsko zaokrožijo osrednja tri področja, na katerih je jubilentkino znanstvenoraziskovalno in pedagoško delo pustilo močan pečat na Univerzi v Mariboru: anglistika in amerikanistika, filozofija ter prevajalstvo. Priložnosti primerno je najprej očrtano življenje in delo jubilentke, v nadaljevanju pa se bralec in bralka na kratko seznanita še z vsebino preostalih poglavij v monografiji.

Dunja Jutronić se je rodila leta 1943 v Splitu. V mladosti je bila izvrstna atletinja in med drugim tudi jugoslovanska mladinska prvakinja v atletskem troboju, disciplini, v kateri nekateri njeni rekordi veljajo še danes (Zima 2013). Na Univerzi v Beogradu je diplomirala iz angleškega jezika in književnosti, podiplomski študij pa nadaljevala na Državni univerzi Pensilvanije v ZDA, kjer je leta 1971 tudi doktorirala. Študij v Severni Ameriki je bil pisan na kožo njenemu svetovljanskemu in svobodomiselnemu duhu, zato ne preseneča, da se je pozneje tja večkrat vračala. Verjetno ne preseneča podatek, da med študijem v ZDA ni zamudila legendarnega festivala Woodstock, enega ikoničnih dogodkov ameriške kulturne in socialne zgodovine 20. stoletja, od katerega prav letos mineva pol stoletja. Po vrnitvi v Evropo se je njena akademska kariera hitro razvijala. Najprej je delala na Inštitutu za jezikoslovje v Zagrebu in nato med letoma 1973 in 1993 predavala na Oddelku za angleški jezik in književnost na Filozofski fakulteti v Zadru, Filozofski fakulteti v Splitu, in tam pridobila naziv redne profesorice. V prvi polovici devetdesetih let se je na poklicnem področju začelo njeno slovensko obdobje. Leta 1993 se je redno zaposlila na Univerzi v Mariboru, kjer je predavala različne predmete s področij angleške slovnice, teorije in zgodovine jezika. Čeprav je bila ves čas razpeta med Splitom oz. Bračcem, od koder izvira, Reko, kjer so živele njene hčere, in Mariborom, kjer je delala, je bila več let tudi predstojnica Oddelka za anglistiko in amerikanistiko na tedanji Pedagoški fakulteti. Zdi se, da je vsaj del te dinamike in preštevilnih ur, ki jih je preživela za volanom v nenehnem gibanju med oglišči omenjenega trikotnika, prenesla tudi v svoje novo akademsko okolje v Mariboru. Za oddelek za anglistiko in amerikanistiko na Univerzi v Mariboru je bilo to na mnogo področjih prelomno

obdobje, saj se je prav v drugi polovici devetdesetih let dokončno osamosvojil in kadrovske okrepil do te mere, da je študentom in študentkam z lastnim kadrom zagotavljal vsa znanja s področja angleške filologije in kmalu vpeljal tudi doktorski študij. Omeniti velja, da je Dunja Jutronic ob prelomu tisočletja aktivno sodelovala tudi pri pripravi in izvajanju prevajalskih študijskih programov na Univerzi v Mariboru in na omenjenih študijskih programih poučevala vse do upokojitve. Njen prihod v Maribor je sovpadel z začetkom sodelovanja filozofa prof. dr. Nenada Miščevića z mariborskim oddelkom za filozofijo. Za Dunjo Jutronic je bilo to obdobje pomembno ne le, ker sta s prof. Miščevićem iz tedna v teden skupaj premagovala pot od Reke do Maribora, marveč tudi, ker se je v tem obdobju njeno znanstvenoraziskovalno delo na področju angleškega jezikoslovja močno prepletlo s filozofijo, še posebej skozi teorijo jezika. Sodelovanje s filozofi in interdisciplinarni pristop sta bila za oddelek za anglistiko pomembna tudi zato, ker se je s tem povečala njegova vpetost v mednarodni prostor, predvsem z gostovanji različnih predavateljev in predavateljic iz tujine in mednarodnimi simpoziji. Stik z najsodobnejšimi spoznanji je Dunja Jutronic vse od zaključka študija ohranjala tudi z rednim sodelovanjem na konferencah v tujini. Večkrat je bila tudi Fulbrightova štipendistka in predavala na različnih ameriških univerzah (Yale, Stanford, Cornell, Maryland). Tudi po upokojitvi ostaja znanstvenoraziskovalno aktivna; objavlja znanstvene prispevke, sodeluje na konferencah in hkrati honorarno predava na Univerzi v Splitu.

Bibliografija Dunje Jutronic je preobsežna, da bi jo lahko na tem mestu vsebinsko nadrobno predstavili, zato bomo v nadaljevanju napravili samo kratek količinski prerez njenega dela, vsebinsko pa izpostavili poglavitna področja, na katerih deluje. Količinsko njeno delo obsega več kot 40 izvirnih znanstvenih člankov in poglavij v monografijah, 6 znanstvenih monografij, več kot 70 samostojnih prispevkov na mednarodnih znanstvenih sestankih in vabljenih predavanj, več kot 10 predgovorov in spremnih besed, ob tem pa je uredila več posebnih številnik znanstvenih revij in monografij ali zbornikov. Prav tako pomembno je njeno pedagoško delo. Na Univerzi v Mariboru je mentorirala približno 80 diplomskih del in 4 znanstvene magistracije in je tudi soavtorica dveh študijskih programov anglistike. (So)organizirala je tudi vrsto znanstvenih sestankov in ob tem v hrvaščino ali angleščino prevedla številne znanstvene in strokovne prispevke.

Razpon znanstvenoraziskovalnega dela Dunje Jutronic je tudi vsebinsko zelo širok in sega od sociolingvistike in dialektologije urbanih območij do teoretskega jezikoslovja in filozofije jezika. Njeno zgodnje raziskovalno obdobje sta zaznamovali dialektologija in proučevanje jezikov v stiku. V tem obdobju se je posvečala raziskovanju narečij v stiku in proučevala govor hrvaških izseljencev in izseljenk ter njihovih otrok v ZDA (Jutronic 1973, 1974); jezik hrvaških izseljencev je bil tudi tema njene prve monografske publikacije (Jutronic 1985). K dialektologiji se je ponovno intenzivno vrnila po prelomu tisočletja, ko je nastalo več razprav, v katerih se je posvečala rabi čakavskega besedja pri sporazumevanju (npr. Jutronic 2001, 2002, 2004a). V tem obdobju se njene dialektološke raziskave prepletajo s sociolingvistiko, saj se je denimo posebej ukvarjala z rabo omenjenega dialekta pri dveh različnih generacijah prebivalcev in prebivalk Splita (Jutronic 2002a) in pri športnikih in športnicah iz dalmatinske prestolnice (Jutronic 2002/2003). Vrhunec avtoričinega proučevanja splitskega govora, ki je v tem obdobju eden od osrednjih predmetov njenega raziskovanja (npr. Jutronic 2004b), predstavlja izdaja kar treh pomembnih monografskih publikacij: slovarja, v katerem je s soavtorjem predstavila več kot 6000 sodobnih splitskih besed (Magner in Jutronic 2006), monografije, v kateri je temeljito analizirala spremenljivke, ki zaznamujejo sodobno govorico Splitčanov in Splitčank različnih generacij (Jutronic 2010), ter hrvaško-splitskega slovarja z naslovom *Spliske riči*, v katerem je več kot 7000 gesel (Jutronic 2018). Avtorica je v intervjuju za portal morski.hr povedala, da je slovar pripravila, ker »mlade generacije vse slabše poznajo narečne, tj. splitske besede, in se denimo sprašujejo, kakšen je izraz za stol (*stolica*) ali okno (*prozor*) v splitskem govoru [...] Namen slovarja je, da jim ponudi tovrstne podatke« (Hrvatsko-splitski rječnik, 2018). Posebno vrednost avtoričinim dialektološkim razpravam daje kvantitativno ovrednotenje opisanih pojavov.

Že ob koncu osemdesetih let se je začela Dunja Jutronic intenzivno posvečati tudi teoriji jezika in s tem se je njeno raziskovalno delo začelo obsežneje prepletati s filozofijo. Značilen primer iz tega obdobja je razprava »Davidson on convention« (Jutronic 1989), v kateri je avtorica polemizirala z ameriškim filozofom Donaldom Davidsonom in njegovim stališčem do vloge konvencij v komunikaciji in jeziku. Prva knjiga o povezavi med filozofijo in jezikoslovjem je bila objavljena leta 1991 z naslovom *Lingvistika i filozofija* (Jutronic 1991). Podobno je v razpravi »Od nativizma do sociolingvistike« (Jutronic 1991) polemizirala s Trevorjem Patemanom (1987), ki je želel nativistični program Chomskega preko sintaktične teorije uma povezati s sociolingvistiko. Dunja

Jutronić je opozorila, da omenjeni program ni ustrezna kognitivistična podlaga za jezikoslovje, saj med drugim v teorijo ne vključuje prepričanja o manifestiranju družbenih odnosov v jezikovnih oblikah, kar je eden od temeljev sociolingvistike. K nativizmu oz. vprašanju prirojenosti jezika se je vračala tudi kasneje (Jutronić 2003). Posvečala se je tudi referencialnosti, začevši z odnosom med referenco in znanjem (Jutronić 1999), ki ji je kasneje sledila zanimiva polemika s filozofom Michaelom Devittom o vzročni teoriji referenčnega izposojanja v jeziku in komunikaciji (2006, 2008, Devitt 2008). Filozofski pogled se je prepletal tudi s sociolingvistiko (Jutronić 2000). Omeniti velja, da se je ob tem ukvarjala tudi z metaforo, jezikom v medijih ter številnimi drugimi področji. Dunja Jutronić je glavna organizatorica konference »Philosophy of Linguistics and Language at the IUC«, po mnenju mnogih dogodka, ki manjka na svetovnem zemljevidu konferenc (Jutronić 2009: 59).

Številne teme, ki jih je v svojih prispevkih obravnavala Dunja Jutronić, so neposredno ali posredno povezane tudi s poglavji v pričujoči monografiji, ki ima tri sklope. Sklop, namenjen angleški filologiji, literaturi in stilistiki, se pričinja s prispevkom Katje Plemenitaš in Žige Krajnca, ki obravnava koncept vrednotenjskih diskurzivnih okvirov, in sicer predvsem v analizi medijskega diskurza z elementi prepričevanja. Poglavje prinaša izsledke študije časopisnih naslovov in poudarja pomembnost obravnave medsebojnega delovanja avtorskega glasu in zunanjih glasov v vrednotenjskih okvirih za razumevanje funkcije vrednotenjskih elementov in njihovega prispevka k splošnemu okviru, ki je izražen v besedilu. O jeziku vrednotenja govori tudi prispevek Kirsten Hempkin in Agate Križan, in sicer ga avtorici ponudita kot pristop k razvijanju medkulturne kompetence in veščine kritičnega branja. Barbara Majcenovič Kline se ukvarja s stereotipi v oglaševanju, ki se vežejo na tematiko spola, pri čemer opaža precejšnjo spolno neenakost, celo diskriminacijo do ženskega in moškega spola. Oglasi reklamirajo izdelke in usluge, povečujejo javno ozaveščenost, a pogosto na račun utrjevanja moških in ženskih stereotipov. Naslednja tri poglavja so s področja kanadske književnosti. Michelle Gadpaille obravnava roman *Canadian Born* in njegovo protagonistko Mary Auguste Ward, ki podpira širjenje angleške kolonialne oblasti v Kanadi. V središču raziskave se skriva vprašanje, ali je bila angleška intelektualka s svojo naklonjenostjo kolonizaciji izrabljena za cilje podjetij, kakršno je Canadian Pacific Railway. Tjaša Mohar poskuša v dveh zgodnjih delih Margaret Atwood, *The Edible Woman* in *Lady Oracle*, identificirati elemente trivialne književnosti, vendar v nadaljevanju prispevka pokaže, da bi

bila obravnava omenjenih del zgolj skozi prizmo ljubezenskega romana bistveno preveč enostavna. Prispevek Jane Herzog in Victorja Kennedyja obravnava priljubljen antični motiv kiparja Pigmaliona, ki ga najdemo v treh romanih severnoameriških avtoric Margaret Atwood in Ursule Le Guin ter avtorja Ire Levina. Vsako od del kaže bolj ali manj prepoznavne komponente mita o Pigmalionu, ki si sam ustvari žensko svojih sanj. Zadnja dva prispevka prvega sklopa posežeta v elizabetinsko obdobje; prispevek Ane Penjak obravnava in primerja oblike družbene, ekonomske, miselne, duševne in celo fizične ohromelosti, kot ju doživljata Shakespeareova Desdemona in Joyceova Eveline. Kljub razlikam v družbenem položaju in času, v katerem živita, ju pestijo iste družbene napetosti, ki jih poimenujemo ohromelost. Prispevek Tomaža Oniča in Nastje Prajnc Kacijan obravnava ponovne pojavitve v izvorniku in slovenskih prevodih Jaquesovih monologov iz Shakespeareove komedije *Kakor vam drago* in poseže po stilistični analizi izvornika ter Župančičevega in Jesihovega prevoda ustreznih odlomkov. Sprva so predmet analize iteracije, paralelizem in mnogovezje, posledično pa se obravnava z mikrostrukturne ravni preseli na makrostrukturno in se posveti vprašanju, kako potencialni prevodni premiki vplivajo na interpretativni potencial Jaquesa kot dramske osebe v slovenskih različicah besedila.

V drugem sklopu se srečamo s teksti, ki se usmerjajo na odnos med filozofijo in jezikom v različnih kontekstih. Nenad Miščević, dolgoletni sodelavec in prijatelj Dunje Jutronič, analizira različne vrste jezikovnih intuicij in razkriva dejstvo, da so zmožnosti intuicije kazalnik kompetence. Pri tem je zanimivo, da odnosi, ki zadevajo tako metafizične vsebine kot tudi vsebine, povezane z umom, predstavljajo zelo pomemben gradnik v upravičevanju vzpostavljanja harmonije med jezikovnimi in filozofskimi intuicijami. Skladno s tem lahko obe vrsti intuicij skupaj z drugimi imaginarnimi vajami mišljenja uvrstimo na širšo sliko in izpostavimo skupno kategorijo različnih vrst vaj, ki označujejo naša kognitivna življenja – od fikcije in prava do religioznih vaj. Božidar Kante odpira problem analize izvora jezika. Poudari dvoje različnih pristopov: na eni strani so Chomsky in somišljeniki, na drugi pa je tradicija, katere najvidnejša predstavnik sta Pinker in Jackendoff. V bistvu gre za spor med pozicijama, ki izhajata ali iz vprašanja, kaj je jezik, ali iz vprašanja, zakaj se je jezik razvil. Kante razdela podmeno, da se zdijo glavna gonilna sila za evolucijo jezika komunikacijske potrebe po družbenih odnosih in skupinski politiki in da ne gre za zaporedni razvoj teh značilnosti (najprej ustrezen evolucijski razvoj možganov, potem pa jezik), temveč za sočasen medsebojni razvoj in vpliv, kar trdi tudi Jutronič. Danilo Šuster opozori

na posebno vlogo metafore in na to, zakaj uporabljamo jezik figurativno, čeprav je ta raba pogostokrat dobesedno neresnična. Zato primerja različne interpretativne strategije pri metaforah, protidejstvenih pogojnikih, šalah in ugankah. Ugotavlja, da pri vseh naletimo na neko začetno neskladje z našim doksastičnim sistemom in da gre pri večini za »trk« in poskus združitve dveh pojmovnih področij. Na koncu poda zanimivo za tezo, da naša sposobnost interpretiranja metafor temelji na sposobnosti dojetja posebne kognitivne vsebine, ki jo evocira metafora. Matjaž Potrč opozori na težave v behaviorističnem pristopu k jeziku in pokaže, kako poskuša Jerry Fodor s svojim pristopom, ki temelji na jeziku misli, to preseči. Nadaljnje analize pokažejo, da jezik misli deluje zgolj pri modularnih, ne pa tudi pri višjih spoznavnih procesih, kot bi sicer lahko pričakovali. Razlog za to je, da model duha jezika misli sledi klasičnemu programiranemu računalniku, ki se ne prilagaja holistični in abduktivni naravi višjega spoznanja. Zato Potrč, v nasprotju s Fodorjevim pesimizmom, za razlago jezika, sklepanja in misli predlaga masivno morfologijo kot obetajočo razlagalno strategijo. V zadnjem prispevku filozofskega sklopa Smiljana Gartner in Bojan Borstner predstavita analizo pojma istovetnost in jo uporabita v razreševanju pojmovnih nedoslednosti in pomanjkljivosti v kontekstu razumevanje vročih tem sodobnih zahodnih družb – asimilacije in integracije. Imigranti, ki naj bi se integrirali in/ali asimilirali, morajo opraviti »jezikovno pot«, »religijsko pot« in »pot tradicij, navad in posebnih praks«. Vsi ti gradniki so v glavnem nezapisani, nevidni in za večino prišlekov težko razpoznavni. Kljub določenim nejasnim implikacijam kot rešitev za mnogoterost istovetnosti v družbi, kjer imigranti niso obrobna manjšina, ampak predstavljajo pomemben element te družbe, predlagata kozmopolitizem v povezavi z amalgamizacijo.

Zadnji sklop je posvečen prevajanju in področju jezikov v stiku. Aleksandra Nuč se posveča posebnostim konferenčnega sodnega tolmačenja, ki poteka zunaj sodne dvorane. V poglavju pokaže, da poseben izziv v tovrstnih primerih predstavlja kulturna umeščenost pravnega jezika in pravne terminologije. Natalija Orlič osvetli problematiko terminološke in terminografske neuskkljenosti na področju migracij in mednarodne zaščite v luči evropskega glosarja Azil in migracije. Utemelji potrebo po prevodu celotnega glosarja v slovenščino in potrebo po nadgradnji z jeziki, ki so v Sloveniji aktualni na področju migracij. Natalija Orlič, Marta Biber in Simon Zupan obravnavajo tolmačenje kot komunikacijski dogodek. Z nadgradnjo obstoječega teoretskega modela

prikažejo vloge različnih udeležencev v tolmačenih govornih dogodkih ter opozorijo na dejavnike, ki odločilno vplivajo na njihovo organizacijo in uspešno izvedbo, pri čemer je poudarek na tolmačenju za skupnost. V naslednjem poglavju Simon Zupan, Marta Biber, Natalija Orlić, Božica Kitičić Prunč in Gjoko Nikolovski obravnavajo temeljne razlike med prevajanjem in tolmačenjem. V poglavju je uvodoma prikazan zgodovinski razvoj področij skozi čas in njune glavne značilnosti, v nadaljevanju pa pogloblitve razlike med njima, ki se zaradi naraščajoče specializacije še povečujejo. Sara Orthaber obravnava konstrukcijo poklicne identitete prevajalcev, kakor se kaže v njihovih jezikovnih praksah v spletni skupini, namenjeni vzajemni pomoči pri reševanju prevajalskih težav. Njena raziskava kaže, da prevajalci svojo identiteto med drugim aktivno soustvarjajo s strategijami utemeljevanja zahtev. Gjoko Nikolovski primerja strategije prevajanja kulturno specifičnih izrazov v srbskem in hrvaškem prevodu *Hlapca Jerneja* Ivana Cankarja. Pri tem posebej opozori na leksikalne vrzeli, ki so posledica razhajanj med izhodiščno in ciljno kulturo in so v obravnavanih prevodih še posebej vidne pri prevajanju frazemov. Melita Koletnik in Denis Vagner na podlagi analize poročanja enega od osrednjih slovenskih tiskanih medijev ugotavljata razlike med prikazovanjem športnikov in športnic na olimpijskih igrah v Riu 2016. Ugotavljata, da bistvenih razlik v poročanju ni, so pa bili moški v splošnem deležni več pozornosti od žensk. V poglavju, ki zaokrožuje monografijo, Branislava Vičar in Renata Števanec kritično obravnavata rekontekstualizacijo v spletnem oglaševanju »superživil«. Njuna analiza kaže, da spletni oglasi ideološko temeljijo na zdravizmu in slavljenju zdravega življenjskega sloga, dejansko pa z rekontekstualizacijo, denimo dodajanjem legitimacij in razlogov za uživanje »superživil«, predstavljajo sestavni del korporativnega kapitalizma in v prvi vrsti legitimirajo neokolonialne politike in utrjujejo klasizem.

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I.
JEZIKOSLOVJE IN KNJIŽEVNOST
LINGUISTICS AND LITERATURE

Framed: A Study of Media Discourse

KATJA PLEMENITAŠ & ŽIGA KRAJNC

Abstract The paper examines the concept of framing in discourse, especially in reference to persuasive aspects of communication in the media. Evaluative discourse frames are proposed as an additional analytical tool for identifying linguistic evidence that reflects the broader framing of the issue. These combine elements from cognitive linguistics, studies of mass communication and systemic-functional linguistics. A study of selected headlines from *The Guardian* illustrates the use of framing based on the interplay of the authorial voice and external voices in evaluation. The study demonstrates how important it is to consider the interplay of these voices for the understanding of the function of evaluative elements and their contribution to the overall frame.

Keywords: • discourse frames • cognitive linguistics • media discourse • evaluative language • persuasion •

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V okviru: študija medijskega diskurza

KATJA PLEMENTIŠ IN ŽIGA KRAJNC

Povzetek Prispevek obravnava pojem diskurzni okvirov, zlasti v analizi medijskega diskurza z elementi prepričevanja. Predstavljen je koncept vrednotenjskih diskurzni okvirov kot sredstvo za ugotavljanje jezikovnega izražanja, ki odslkava širši okvir obravnavane teme. Koncept teh okvirov je interpretiran s pomočjo kombinacije elementov kognitivnega jezikoslovja, študij množične komunikacije in sistemsko-funkcijskega jezikoslovja. Predstavljena je študija izbranih naslovov iz časopisa *Guardian*, ki ponazarja medsebojno delovanje avtorskega glasu in zunanjih glasov v vrednotenjskih okvirih. Študija kaže, kako pomembna je obravnava takšnega delovanja glasov za razumevanje funkcije vrednotenjskih elementov in njihovega prispevka k splošnemu okviru, ki je izražen v besedilu.

Ključne besede: • diskurzni okviri • kognitivno jezikoslovje • medijski diskurz • jezik vrednotenja • prepričevanje •

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1 Introduction

This paper considers the concept of framing in discourse and examines framing from the perspective of different disciplines. It furthermore explores the ways in which framing can be used as a tool for discourse analysis, especially in what is called organized persuasive communication, such as the discourse of politicians and the mass media. To enable a deeper understanding of such discourse, the concept of framing has been used in communication and media studies to describe the contextual cues that function to guiding the audiences in their understanding and evaluation of the issues. In this paper, a more specific concept of discourse frames is proposed as an additional analytical tool that can be used for identifying linguistic evidence reflecting the ideological meaning of the text.

The paper is structured as follows: first, we provide some background on the development of the concept of framing in various fields of the humanities and social sciences. Then we look at the specific ways in which the concept of framing has been used in the fields of cognitive linguistics, communication studies and the systemic-functional model of discourse. Here, we focus on the way in which separate elements from these fields can be combined to form an effective model for the study of framing in different types of discourse, in particular the persuasive aspects of framing. A study of selected headlines from the mainstream media (*The Guardian*) illustrates the use of framing based on the interplay of the authorial voice and external voices in evaluation. Finally, we propose how the model of discourse frames could be developed further.

2 Framing: A Heterogenous Paradigm

One of the first linguists to offer a systematic examination of the concept of framing in discourse analysis was Deborah Tannen (1993). Tannen notes that framing is an umbrella term for a cluster of related concepts that are all based on the notion of expectations in understanding (Tannen 1993, 15). Framing as a theoretical concept in the humanities and social studies has a long history and has been proposed in a broad range of disciplines under different names, such as frames, scripts, schemata and scenarios. The concept of frames for the description and processing of texts has been developed in psychology, sociology, anthropology, cognitive linguistics and artificial intelligence (Tannen, 1993; Lakoff, 2004).

The idea of frames and the related concepts of scripts and schemata began in the first half of the 20th century and continued throughout the 20th century in the field of psychology, with the psychologists Bartlett (1932), Rumelhart (1975) and Abelson (1975). Their work also influenced the field of artificial intelligence (e.g. Shank & Abelson 1975, Minsky 1974). In the field of anthropology, it was Bateson (1972) and Hymes (1974), among others, who examined the idea of frames, while in the field of sociology, the work on frames was associated with Goffman (1974). Minsky (1974), who worked in the field of artificial intelligence, distinguished four types of frames: surface syntactic frames, semantic frames, thematic frames and narrative frames. In linguistics, the first proponents of the notion of frames were Chafe (1977) and Fillmore (1976). Their ideas about frames have also significantly influenced the understanding of linguistic meaning in the field of cognitive linguistics, with linguists such as Langacker (2008) and Croft & Cruse (2004). All these different approaches mean that the history of the study of frames is heterogeneous, multi-disciplinary and without a unified conceptual framework or terminology. The sociological conceptualization of framing can be summarized through Goffman's conceptualization of frames as schemata of interpretation through which we actively classify, organize and interpret our life experiences to make sense of them (Goffman, 1974). The psychological approach conceptualizes frames as a template or data structure which organizes pieces of information, an assumption on which other related concepts such as "schema" or "script" are also based (e.g. Schank & Abelson, 1977). Pan & Kosicki (1993) note that this line of research views framing as placing information in a unique context so that certain elements of the issue get a greater allocation of an individual's cognitive resources. Consequently, the selected elements have more influence on individuals' judgments or inference making.

Tannen (1993, 16) observes that what all these different approaches have in common is their emphasis on the structure of expectations in producing and comprehending language. Tannen herself (1993) understands the notion of frame broadly as a psychological and sociological concept, as a kind of text type which refers to the purpose, staging and processing of the text according to underlying cultural expectations and beliefs, or as Tannen puts it, "language as it is used by people in specific cultures" (Tannen, 1993, 18). In a similar vein, Hymes (1974) interprets frames as familiar activities (e.g. joking, lecturing or chatting) that hearers must recognize in order to comprehend the text. According to Tannen (1993, 21), "structures of expectation make interpretation possible, but in the

process they also reflect back on perception of the world to justify that interpretation". In her experimental study of people remembering a film scene, Tannen (1993, 41- 56) defines framing in discourse through the categories of linguistic evidence such as omission, repetition, false starts, backtrack, hedges, negatives, contrastive connectives, modals, generalization, inference, evaluative language, interpretation, moral judgement, incorrect statements and addition. It is clear that in Tannen's study, framing is conceptualized contextually, as the context of language that is brought to the surface through the hearer's expectations in interpreting the text. In this interpretation, the context is signalled in the unfolding discourse through linguistic evidence such as the use of hedges, contrastive connectives, omission, evaluative language and moral judgment.

In linguistics, in particular in the study of lexical semantics, one of the most influential notions of frames is associated with Fillmore's work on linguistic meaning (1985). Fillmore's notion of frames implies an approach to semantics that differs from structural semantics. In linguistics, Fillmore's frame semantics is one of the most influential theories attempting to explain the cognitive functions of linguistic meaning, i.e. how concepts are organized in the mind (Croft & Cruse, 2004, 8; Langacker 2008). According to Fillmore (1985, 235), the hearer evokes frames upon hearing an utterance in order to understand it. His semantics of understanding implies that the meaning of words can be properly defined only in reference to other concepts extrinsic to the concept denoted by the word. Frames function at different levels of understanding. For example, related words can be defined relative to a common frame, or word concepts can refer inherently to other concepts extrinsic to them. Fillmore (1977, 73) illustrates this with word concepts such as *scar* and *widow*, which both presuppose a prior history of the concept denoted—a *scar* as a healing wound and a *widow* as a woman who was once married but whose husband has died. Moreover, many word concepts can only be fully understood with reference to the speech context, such as person deixis and spatial deixis evoking the speech situation. Furthermore, frames can be defined more broadly as the cultural context that must be invoked for comprehension of the concept. The understanding of some concepts thus relies on large portions of the culture in which this concept is originally used. Contemporary cognitive linguistics has followed in the tradition of frame semantics by using the term *domain* as a coherent region of human knowledge (Langacker 1987). Langacker took over Fillmore's idea about the role of frames in the meaning of words and constructions and refined frame semantics by dividing the conceptual structure of the word into a concept profile and a base

(i.e. a frame). This division is particularly useful in the explanation of concepts that profile the same thing against a different frame. With regard to evaluative language, this distinction helps to explain the difference in the meaning of words with the same profile and explains differences in the way the speaker conceptualizes or construes the experience to be communicated. In debates based on ideological differences, such an understanding of conceptual meaning is of crucial importance, as it helps to explain the power of word choice. Croft & Cruse (2004, 19) exemplify this with the use of the expressions *fetus* and *unborn baby* in debates about abortion on opposite sides of the ideological divide. These two expressions profile the same entity but are framed differently, thus reinforcing the ideological positions of the speakers using them. The meaning of the word *fetus* is framed against a more general mammalian frame, while the meaning of the expression *unborn baby* is framed against both human offspring (*baby*) and the life stage following birth (*un-born*). In cognitive linguistics, framing is thus an important aspect of linguistic construal, i.e. the human conceptualization of experience, which is crucial to cognitive explanations of language. Consequently, it offers an important framework for the linguistic explanations of different kinds of persuasive discourse by elucidating the full effects of the choice of words and constructions.

3 Framing and Persuasive Communication

Framing has a special role in the functioning of persuasive aspects of discourse, in other words, the ways in which discourse is used to influence the hearer's values and behaviours. In our paper, we propose the concept of evaluative discourse frames for the analysis of framing in persuasive discourse. We refer to evaluative discourse frames as a combination of elements from cognitive linguistics and two models of discourse analysis: elements from the theory of profile-frame analysis of lexical meaning in cognitive linguistics (e.g. Langacker 2008, Croft & Cruse 2004), the model of evaluative meaning as proposed by Martin & White (2005), and the model of rhetorical frames in the media (Kuypers, 1997, 2009; Entman, 2008). The application of evaluative frames at the micro-level of analysis is useful in the analysis of persuasive discourse, which will be illustrated with the study presented below.

The discipline of communication and media studies has borrowed various aspects of frames from the field of humanities and social sciences and developed its own notion of framing for explaining media discourse and the discourse of politics. The concept of framing in the study of political communication is tied to the notion that one of the defining features of politics is persuasion through discourse. Denton (in Kuypers, 1997, ix), for example, claims that the essence of politics is talk, i.e. persuasive human interaction, observing that “such interaction may be formal or informal, verbal or nonverbal, public or private, but it is always persuasive, forcing us consciously or subconsciously to interpret, evaluate, and to act. Communication is the vehicle for human action.” Scholars of mass communication have devoted special attention to manipulative aspects inherent in political and media discourse. Vian et al. (*Critical Sociology*), for example, discuss these manipulative aspects of mass communication in terms of the opposition between consensual and non-consensual persuasion. According to Kuypers (1997), scholars of mass communication have been especially attentive to the connections between the manipulative aspects of media and political communication in the agenda-setting activities of the media, i.e. the ways in which the media is influential in telling the general population what to think about and how to think about it. Framing comes into play when the agenda-setting activities are provided with an appropriate media context – a coherent framework within which to interpret the issues that are given attention by the media. According to Kuypers (1997, 42), framing in media discourse thus involves “the relationship between qualitative aspects of news coverage – contextual cues – and how the public interprets the news”.

We introduce the concept of evaluative discourse frames based on a combination of elements from two models of discourse analysis and the cognitive approach to linguistic meaning: the linguistic model of evaluative expressions or appraisal, as proposed by Martin & White (2005) and the theory of rhetorical frames (Kuypers, 1997, 2009; Entman, 2008). According to Kuypers (2009, 302), whose research comes from the rhetorical tradition, frames “organize aspects of perceived reality textually by promoting particular problem definitions, moral evaluation or solution proposals”. In a similar vein, Entman defines frames as selecting and highlighting some aspects of a situation to promote a particular interpretation. The interpretation is constructed through a narrative that encompasses an interrelated definition of the policy problem, analysis of its causes, moral evaluation of those involved, and the proposed remedy (Entman, 2008, 90). According to Entman, the definition of the problem, the analysis of

the causes of the problem and the proposed remedy are framing functions that frame objects, while the objects of framing are issues, events or actors (Entman, 2004, 23). Entman's objects of framing are equivalent to Kuypers's themes or subjects of discussion. Both Kuypers (2009) and Entman (2004) talk about unifying frameworks or master frames, which represent a sort of "umbrella" under which there is a variety of themes with their own micro frames. The problem definition as an essential element of frames is closely related to the concept of semantic frames as "a coherent region of human knowledge or as a coherent region of conceptual space" (Croft & Cruse, 2004, 14). The choice of frames in persuasive discourse typically has evaluative effects because specific problem definitions and remedies usually invoke evaluative terms of judgment, i.e. judgment of good vs. bad. Croft (199, 18) mentions that the evaluative terms themselves commonly depend on alternative framing of the same profile (for example, stingy v. thrifty). The evaluative effects of framing are invoked by the general choice of frame; for example, the issue of male circumcision can be framed as a health care issue, a cultural/religious issue or a universal human rights issue, and the choice of frame invokes evaluation of male circumcision as good or bad (cf. Van den Brink & Tigchelaar 2012). The general frame thus influences the choice of words for the issue, which can be described as *male genital cutting*, *male genital mutilation* or *male circumcision*, and conversely, the choice of words with evaluative elements triggers different frames for understanding the issue, suggests thinkable or unthinkable solutions and influences a positive or negative judgment on the issue. The choice of words also has more indirect evaluative effects, when supposedly non-evaluative terms are used based on the frame invoked by their lexical meaning within the larger frame of discussion. An illustration of such an evaluative effect is the use of the words *fetus* or *unborn baby* on the opposite sides of debate about abortion, as mentioned by Croft & Cruse (2004, 19). Each expression profiles the entity in question against two separate, more general frames (*fetus* against the mammalian frame, and *baby* against the human frame), depending on the compatibility of the frame with the position in the abortion debate. What is important for the understanding of meaning through the concept of profile and frame is the definition of word meaning as "a perspective on our knowledge of the world, as seen through the concept profiled by the word" (Croft & Cruse, 2004, 30), which means that all meaning is, in a way, perspectival. The perspectival nature of meaning is further elaborated below in connection to linguistic evaluation, since the notion of perspective is particularly important in linguistic appraisal, which contains judgments and other kinds of evaluations or attitudes.

The evaluative aspect of frames, in particular, is important for understanding how framing works in persuasive discourse and calls for a systematic analysis of evaluative language in persuasive communication. One of the most relevant models of evaluative language was developed within systemic functional linguistics by Martin & White (2005).¹ Their model of linguistic evaluation, also called appraisal, is the most systematic and detailed description of evaluative language in linguistics so far. The elements of evaluative frames are classified as categories of attitude expressed through language directly or indirectly. Martin and White (2005) outline a system of three broad categories of attitudinal meaning: judgement as the evaluation of people's behaviour (in terms of esteem and sanction); affect as the expression of feeling (different kinds of emotional reaction and states); and appreciation as the attribution of value to things (valuations of concrete and abstract objects, including aesthetics). In addition to the category of attitude, they recognize the category of engagement as the expression of intersubjective positioning and alignment of the speaker with the hearer through monologic or dialogic aspects of the text (Martin & White, 2005, 95). Both the system of attitude and the system of engagement foreground the element of perspective, i.e. the understanding of who the appraiser is, as an important element of evaluative language. In the case of judgment and appreciation, the implied appraiser evaluating the target of appraisal is the internal authorial voice if the source of appraisal is not attributed explicitly or implicitly to a source other than the author, for example through quoting. In the case of affect, the appraiser attributing emotions to the emoter is also considered the author if not indicated otherwise through the use of dialogic means in the system of engagement. There is a further element of perspective in the attribution of propositions to other sources, as the internal authorial voice can implicitly or explicitly accept or disagree with the propositions (evaluative or non-evaluative) through the expression of acknowledgment or distancing or the broader context. Acknowledgement is essentially neutral, leaving it open to the context to present the authorial voice as aligned or disaligned with respect to the proposition being advanced (Martin & White, 2005, 113).

¹ Križan (2016) is one of the first Slovene linguists to systematically study and apply the appraisal theory by Martin and White.

The perspectival nature of evaluative expressions connects the theory of evaluative language to the theory of linguistic construal operations in cognitive linguistics. Cognitive linguistics (e.g. Croft & Cruse, 46) posits perspective or situatedness as one of the linguistic construal operations, which are instances of general cognitive processes (the others being attention/salience, judgment/categorization and constitution/gestalt). In cognitive linguistics, perspective includes construal based on the situatedness in the world, starting with spatial location and location in the temporal and cultural context. Perspective is defined as construal based on concepts such viewpoint, deixis and subjectivity (Croft & Cruse 2004, 58 – 62), but also concepts such as empathy. Croft & Cruse (2004, 63) make the following observation:

From a communicative perspective, we are situated as participants in the speech event, which defines our spatial and temporal location and our roles in the speech event (deixis). Our roles in the speech event, however, also define the status of the situation to be communicated in speaking (epistemic deixis), our attitude towards it (empathy), and our representation of ourselves in that situation (subjectivity).

Of course, at the very basic level, symbolic communication depends on categorization and thus contains the perspective of the speaker as conceptualizer who applies the categorization. However, it can also be claimed that, in comparison to non-evaluative expressions, perspective plays a particularly significant role in evaluative language. This is because the categorization in terms of good v. bad and ugly v. beautiful largely implies a special awareness of the speaker as a conceptualizer engaged in evaluation. This follows from the fact that in evaluation, the conceptualizer is attributed a more active role and thus greater responsibility in applying the categories such as good or bad and ugly or beautiful to referents. Based on our definition of frames, it follows that the broader framing of a topic is essentially built around a particular perspective signalled through the use of explicit or implicit evaluation.

We define evaluative language used in connection with issues presented or argued about in specific discourse as evaluative discourse frames. The analysis of these discourse frames involves the identification of the appraiser and the appraised along with the nature of their connection to the issue at hand. This kind of analysis offers more insight into the functioning of persuasive discourse and the evaluation of its effects. This insight is important because the perspectival nature

of evaluations communicated through the news is often obscured or invisible to the general public, who perceives the news in a shallow way. The section below presents an illustration of the functioning of discourse evaluative frames, using the example of selected headlines from *The Guardian* in an attempt to show the perspectival nature of headlines in the mainstream media.

4 A Study of Evaluative Frames in Headlines

The following section presents an analysis of headlines from *The Guardian* (all the main headlines that appeared on the *Guardian* website on 10 October 2018). The analysis includes the categorization of evaluative expressions according to the categories of judgment, affect and appreciation, and the identification of the appraiser and the appraised within the context of the headline. In addition, the analysis also categorizes attribution of propositions to other sources through the subcategories of acknowledgment or distance of the authorial voice from the propositions attributed to external voices. The analysis is based on the explicit expressions and the context of the whole text (especially in the category of support and distance from other sources). In addition, an illustration of the hidden perspective in evaluative frames is exemplified through the analysis of an additional title from *The Guardian*.

The following list gives the headlines (titles and subtitles) which were analyzed:

1) Brett Kavanaugh's ugly confirmation fight may reverberate for years inside supreme court

Law scholars warn the supreme court could face years of bitter dispute over Kavanaugh's unresolved sexual assault allegations and his highly partisan testimony

2) Russia accused of cyber-attack on chemical weapons watchdog

Netherlands expelled four GRU officers after alleged attacks on OPCW and UK Foreign Office

3) Libya is a war zone. Why is the EU still sending refugees back there?

Libya is treated as a 'safe' country, but in Tripoli refugees are starving and desperate – and the UN can't get to them

4) Voters plead with Susan Collins to oppose Kavanaugh – but which way will she swing?

Senator's Maine offices have been flooded with calls and emails before confirmation vote, but her intentions remain a mystery

- 5) **EU chief attacks USSR comparison and urges UK to compromise**
Donald Tusk calls Jeremy Hunt's comments 'unwise and insulting' as he says EU will not budge on key Brexit issues
- 6) **Judge condemns 'unacceptable' lack of secure accommodation for children**
Judge Mary Lazarus had nowhere to send convicted 16-year-old involved in 'county lines' drug dealing
- 7) **How Russian spies bungled cyber-attack on weapons watchdog**
The GRU intelligence agency is undoubtedly ambitious but this operation is hardly a triumph
- 8) **Mike Pence accuses China of meddling in US elections despite lack of evidence**
Vice-president's allegation echoes similar claim made by Trump last week but has been contradicted by cybersecurity experts
- 9) **Hurricane Donald hits the midterm campaign trail – expect a bumpy ride**
Election rallies are Trump's happy place but for Republican candidates the president's chaotic style can be a mixed blessing

Table 1 shows the categorization of evaluative expressions in terms of judgment, affect and appreciation, appraiser and appraised. The cases in which judgment implies the subcategory of esteem (normality, capacity) rather than sanction (truth and ethics) are indicated in brackets. Also, in cases where the appraiser differs from the authorial voice, the attribution is further categorized as acknowledge or distance, which is an interpretation of the alignment of the authorial voice with the external voice. The items of attribution themselves (i.e. different kinds of speech acts belonging to other voices) are also included in the table, with the indication for the subcategory of attribution (acknowledge/distance).

Table 1: Evaluative expressions and attribution in the *Guardian* headlines

Evaluative expression or speech act	Appraiser	Judgement	Appreciation	Appraised	attribution: distance/acknowledge
<i>ugly</i> (1)	authorial voice		negative	Brett Kavanaugh's confirmation	
<i>reverberate</i> (1)	authorial voice		negative	Brett Kavanaugh's confirmation	
<i>bitter</i> (1)	law experts		negative	dispute over Kavanaugh's unresolved sexual assault allegations	acknowledge
<i>unresolved</i> (1)	law experts		negative	sexual assault allegations	acknowledge
<i>sexual assault</i>	indefinite external source	negative		Brett Kavanaugh	acknowledge
<i>highly partisan</i> (1)	authorial voice		negative	(Kavanaugh's) his testimony	
accused (2)	the Netherlands			Russia (target)	acknowledge
<i>chemical weapons watchdog</i> (2)	authorial voice	positive		OPCW agency	
<i>attack</i> (2)	indefinite external source	negative		GRU officers (Russian spies)	acknowledge
<i>war-zone</i> (3)	authorial voice		negative	Libya	
<i>sending refugees back</i> (3)	authorial voice	negative		EU	
'safe' (3)	EU		positive (esteem)	Libya	distance
<i>starving</i> (3)	authorial voice	negative (esteem)		refugees	
<i>desperate</i> (3)	authorial voice	negative (esteem)		refugees	
plead (4)	voters			Susan Collins (target)	acknowledge
oppose (4)	voters			Susan Collins (target)	acknowledge
<i>flooded with calls and e-mails</i> (4)	authorial voice	positive		voters	
<i>a mystery</i> (4)	authorial voice		negative	her intentions	
attacks (5)	Donald Tusk			USSR comparison	distance
urges to compromise (5)	Donald Tusk			UK	distance
<i>unwise</i> (5)	Donald Tusk		negative	Jeremy Hunt's comments	distance
<i>insulting</i> (5)	Donald Tusk		negative	Jeremy Hunt's comments	distance
<i>not budge</i> (5)	Donald Tusk	positive (esteem)		key Brexit issues	distance
condemn (6)	Judge Mary Lazarus			lack of secure accommodation for children	acknowledge
<i>unacceptable</i> (6)	Judge Mary Lazarus		negative	lack of secure accommodation for children	acknowledge

<i>lack of secure</i> (6)	authorial voice		negative	accommodation for children	
<i>bungled</i> (7)	authorial voice	negative		Russian spies	
<i>cyber attack</i> (7)	authorial voice	negative		Russian spies	
<i>weapons watchdog</i> (7)	authorial voice	positive		UN OPCW agency	
<i>ambitious</i> (7)	authorial voice	positive (esteem)		UGR agency (Russian spies)	
<i>hardly a triumph</i> (7)	authorial voice	negative (esteem)		UGR agency (Russian spies)	
<i>accuses</i> (8)	Mike Pence			China (target)	distance
<i>meddling</i> (8)	Mike Pence	negative		China	distance
<i>allegation</i> (8)	Mike Pence			China	distance
<i>claim</i> (8)	Donald Trump			China (target)	distance
<i>contradicted</i> (8)	cybersecurity experts			Donald Trump (target)	acknowledge
<i>hurricane Donald</i> (9)	authorial voice	negative (esteem)		President Donald Trump	
<i>hits</i> (9)	authorial voice	negative (esteem)		President Donald Trump	
<i>bumpy</i> (9)	authorial voice		negative	ride	
<i>happy (place)</i> (9)	authorial voice		positive	place	
<i>chaotic (style)</i> (9)	authorial voice		negative	style	
<i>mixed blessing</i> (9)	authorial voice		negative	chaotic style	

Table 1 shows that all the main headlines of the day contain evaluation, which is in most cases carried by the authorial voice of the newspaper (i.e. authors writing for *The Guardian* with the approval of the editorial board), while in the remaining cases it comes from the external voices of experts, countries and individual public figures, e.g. politicians or judges. In the majority of titles, the evaluative items belong to the category of judgment, with 11 negative judgments and 5 positive judgments. Most negative judgments refer to social sanction, while only 4 indicate social esteem. Of 5 positive judgments, 2 refer to esteem. One case of positive esteem comes from an external voice which is non-aligned with the authorial voice, while the other case of positive esteem is cancelled out by parallel negative esteem for the same appraised. The category of judgment is closely followed by the category of appreciation, i.e. evaluation of things, with 13 negative valuations and only 2 positive, whereby one of the positive evaluations is attributed to an external source (*safe*) and the other is based on affect (*happy place*). The headlines contained no examples of affect, i.e. attribution of emotions to emoters. The appraised items mostly belong to the category of political actions, various types of human actors, public figures or generic groups, institutions, countries and places. In the case of the items appraised by external sources, we see a pattern according to which the authorial voice is consistently aligned with a range of experts (cyber-experts, judge Susan Collins), certain types

of groups (e.g. voters), and countries, while it distances itself from political actors from the current American and EU administrations and also the EU itself.

The general predominance of negative evaluation in the headlines is not unexpected. There are at least two reasons for this. First, negative evaluations are part of the task of the media to investigate negative behaviour of institutions and groups of people and negative social and natural phenomena. Second, negative items make online headlines more ‘clickable’, which is important for advertising revenue. What is perhaps more surprising in view of the *Guardian*’s professed policy of factual, honest reporting, free from commercial bias is the pervasiveness of evaluation contained in the titles and the predictable pattern of evaluation with regard to the appraised items and the alignment with external sources. Negative evaluations are frequently of the sanction type or valuations of things based on sanction (i.e. ethical judgments and valuation of things) and are mostly attributed by the authorial voice to individuals, institutions and groups from one end of the political spectrum. Admittedly, *The Guardian* is known as a left-leaning liberal progressive news provider, so this kind of evaluative pattern is not hidden but even expected. To counterbalance such consistency in evaluation and give the impression of credibility and truthfulness, the news articles typically employ external voices. For this reason, it is perhaps more notable that through distancing, these headlines show an explicit pattern of non-alignment of the authorial voice with those external voices that differ from the established pattern of authorial appraisals. In the same vein, there is a consistent alignment of the authorial voice with the external voices that coincide with the established evaluative pattern. It is this consistency which overrides the diversity of the expressed perspectives.

The analysis of an additional headline from *The Guardian*, however, shows how the evaluative and perspectival nature of evaluation in the news contradicting the visible established patterns of evaluation can be obscured. The following headline presents the title and subtitle of an article published in *The Guardian*, focussing on a female member of the royal family of the United Arab Emirates:

Runaway 32-year-old princess ‘brought back’ to Dubai

Sheikha Latifa, daughter of ruler Sheikh Mohammed, had used YouTube to tell of plan to flee (*Guardian*, 18 April 2018).

What is particularly notable in this headline is the use of the term *runaway* appraising the behavior of a mature 32-year-old woman who had committed no crime. The term *runaway* is related in meaning to the terms *escape* and *flee*; however, these terms incorporate a positive evaluation of the act itself (for example *escape to freedom*, *flee from war*). The term *runaway*, on the other hand, incorporates a negative evaluation of the act as uncontrolled and potentially harmful for the person running away (a *runaway* teenager, *running away* from problems), or the implication of the loss of control when applied to things (a *runaway* train). This essentially negative understanding of the term *runaway* is complicated by the positive interpretation of the term in collocations such as a *runaway* slave. A closer look at the meaning of *runaway* in such a context reveals, however, that the term itself retains negative evaluation, but is implicitly overlaid with the authorial voice distancing itself from the negative appraisal through the contextual recognition that the slaves were ‘runaway’ from the perspective of the slave owners, and ‘escaped or fled’ from the perspective of the slaves themselves. The negative evaluation of the term is thus disassociated from the authorial voice and becomes the domain of an external voice. In the above title, however, the term *runaway* is used at the beginning, and there is no indication of the authorial voice implicitly distancing itself from an external voice. This essentially means that the authorial voice of *The Guardian* uncritically adopts the perspective of the royal family of the UAE, thereby signaling that the princess, an adult woman, is an immature person who needs to be kept under control. The term *runaway* is then replaced with the term *flee* in the subtitle, but the rest of the article is largely neutral with regard to the royal family’s efforts to bring the princess back and, somewhat surprisingly, normalizes the fact that she is treated like a teenager. The uncontested evaluative frame of the term *runaway* contributes to the issue being framed as a family affair rather than an issue of women’s rights or human rights. This, of course, seems strange in view of *The Guardian*’s professed feminism, but it is also understandable with regard to the paper’s own confession that it has taken advertising money from Saudi Arabia, a close ally of the United Arab Emirates. The example shows that even a seemingly inconsequential choice of evaluative terms interacts with the overall framing of the issue and can reveal inconsistencies with the public “mission-statement” proclaimed by the media with regard to their truthfulness.

5 Conclusion

Framing remains a promising field of research in discourse analysis and can contribute valuable insights to the understanding of how persuasion functions at different levels of discourse. In connection with the understanding of framing at the lexical level and a closer examination of evaluative elements of language in general, the examination of framing can provide effective analytical models for the analysis of persuasive discourse. With reference to persuasion in the mass media, it is important to focus on how evaluative frames at the lexical level connect to the overall framing of the issue and what potential effects such frames have for the general reader. The analysis presented in the paper demonstrates how important it is to consider which voices are at play in the evaluative frames to be able to interpret appropriately the function of evaluative elements and their contribution to the overall frame's persuasive effect. The analysis also shows how easily the interplay of these voices can be obscured through a shallow reading. In view of these observations, future research into persuasive discourse should examine more closely the interaction of evaluative frames with the monologic and dialogic aspects of discourse and how this interaction is connected to broader frames.

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Challenges in the Media and Advertising – Gender Issues

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Abstract We seem to have a love-hate relationship with the media. On the one hand, we are somewhat addicted to the novelties they offer and seem to be easy targets for marketers. On the other hand, we loathe how much we allow them to influence our lives. Marketing experts are constantly trying to find ways in which to appeal to certain audiences; thus, stereotypes are often used—intentionally or not. Gender stereotypes are based on (over)generalizations about entire groups, based on social, cultural and geographical assumptions and are reinforced through advertising. In the paper we try to determine whether there is gender (in)equality in this respect. Advertisements attempt to sell products or services and increase public awareness, etc., but they often do so by reinforcing gender stereotypes. Moreover, in attempts to avoid this, we see that both women and men are discriminated against in media advertising.

Keywords: • media • advertising • gender • stereotypes • gender equality •

Izzivi v medijih in oglaševanju – tematika spola

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Povzetek Zdi se, da imamo do medijev nasprotujoč si odnos. Na eni strani smo odvisni od tega, kar nam ponujajo, in smo zelo lahke tarče tržnikov, na drugi strani pa nam ni vseč, v kolikšni meri medijem dovoljujemo, da dejansko vplivajo na naša življenja. Tržniki vedno znova poskušajo najti nove načine, da se približajo določenemu občinstvu in zato velikokrat – hote ali ne – uporabljajo stereotipe. Stereotipi, vezani na spol, slonijo na posplošitvah o večjih skupinah ljudi, podprtih z družbenimi, kulturnimi in geografskimi domnevmi, ki jih dodatno krepijo prav oglasi. V pričujočem poglavju poskušamo ugotoviti, ali gre pri tem za spolno neenakost. Oglasi sicer poskušajo prodati izdelke in usluge ali pa zvišati javno ozaveščenost, a prepogosto na račun utrjevanja stereotipov, vezanih na spol. Kljub poskusom, da bi se temu učinku izognili, opažamo, da ne gre samo za diskriminacijo žensk, ampak tudi moških.

Ključne besede: • mediji • oglaševanje • spol • stereotipi • enakost spolov •

1 Introduction

The media considered in the article are the so-called old media (television and magazines) rather than new-age social media; this is important, since the demographic data used for advertising in these two kinds of media differ significantly.

Media advertisers influence their target audience in many ways, based on factors such as age, gender, sexual orientation, country of origin, religious beliefs, education, occupation and income. Advertisements are not only designed to project certain images that appeal to their target audiences, but also broadcast at certain times of the day or published in targeted print media. For example, any toy advertisements are aired during the morning cartoon programs, when children can be expected to be watching television. Any advertisements referring to perfume, make-up, clothing and shoes (fashion), diets, health and fitness, etc., which target young female audiences, are broadcast during young adult programs, while the mid-week morning programs that attract stay-at-home individuals and retirees favor advertisements for soap, detergent, healthcare and household devices or accessories. As for men, advertisements promoting new cars, manly deodorants, alcoholic beverages, sports equipment, etc. mostly air during the evening news or late-night movies.

Not only must advertisers find the right time to influence potential buyers or service users, but they must also ensure that their advertisements are presented and positioned in a manner that is socially and culturally appropriate.

Emmanuella Plakoyiannaki et al. (2008, 104) mention some of the categories of female role stereotypes present in advertising, such as “women in *traditional roles* (dependency, housewife), women in *decorative roles* (women concerned with physical attractiveness, women as sex objects), women in *non-traditional roles* (women in non-traditional activities, career-oriented women, voice of authority), and women *portrayed as equal to men* (neutral)”.

Some findings, however, indicate that advertisements are generally moving towards a less stereotypical stance.² Yet, as is the case in Slovenia, there is still a

² Source: Wolin, D. Lori. March 2003. Gender Issues in Advertising - An Oversight Synthesis of Research: 1970–2002. *Volume 43, Issue 1*. 111-129, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021849903030125>.

marked tendency toward stereotyping, even though the advertisements presented in our media are mostly imported from abroad. The question of whether these stereotypes are specific to a certain culture or environment or becoming increasingly universal owing to globalization is thus highly relevant. In order to begin addressing this question, we must consider the influence of the Western world in the Central European area. Let us consider the Coca-Cola advertisements (print or televised), as opposed to those of a very similar domestic product Cockta (originating from Slovenia, now owned by a Croatian company). First, Cockta is produced from all natural ingredients (eleven herbs and spices, including rosehip, but without caffeine or orthophosphoric acid). The name derives from the English word 'cocktail' and the non-alcoholic beverage was invented and first advertised in the 1950s with the intention of promoting and introducing the Western lifestyle (the distinguishing product of which was Coca-Cola) in former Yugoslavia. Even though Cockta is much healthier than Coca-Cola, the latter is much more heavily advertised than the former (probably for financial reasons), more widely recognized and still more popular, especially among the young. Advertisements for Cockta conclude with the catchphrase: "Pijača naše in vaše mladosti" (The drink of both our youth and yours). This tagline has certainly caught on, since it indicates the beverage was familiar to and popular among the older generation and is still as popular among the younger generation, thus bridging the age and generation gap.

2 Representations of men and women in advertisements

If they wish to pursue a politically correct agenda, advertisers need to stop pushing the male/female divide, which is evident even in advertisements for children, thus influencing young people from an early age.

Bakir and Palan (2010, 35) argue that

"[...] gender-related content is a frequent executional element in children's advertising, tending to perpetuate gender stereotypes. For example, male characters have been found to dominate children's advertising (Barcus 1977; Browne 1998; Hoek and Laurence 1993; Larson 2001; Smith 1994) and are more often depicted as knowledgeable, active, aggressive, dominant, and in control than the girls (Browne 1998). In contrast, girls are overwhelmingly depicted in cooperative interactions (Larson 2001; Smith 1994) and are generally

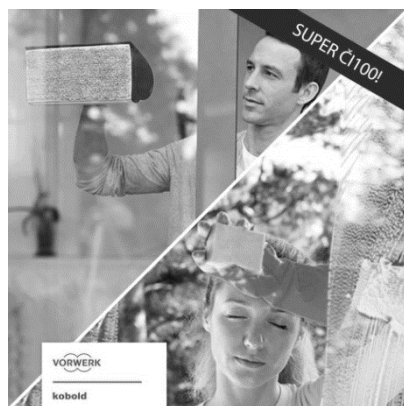
portrayed as being shy, giggling, or covering their faces (Browne 1998)”.

Since children acquire gender stereotypes in a variety of ways, from observing biological differences between the sexes, to learning about the differences from observing their environment (parents, peers, etc.), it is likely they will also ‘learn’ from the media.

Another sensitive group of viewers/readers is adolescents. They become more ‘flexible’ as Bakir and Palan state, and this flexibility “is characterized by the gradual transition from rigid stereotypes to an attitude of gender flexibility (Serbin, Powlishta, and Gulko 1993; Trautner et al. 1989), an open-mindedness concerning gender roles” (2010, 37). The more flexible they are, the more tolerant they might be towards others. However, this does not mean that they will either conform to their gender identity or easily accept exceptions to typical gender features. This group are most commonly the target audience of fashion brands (clothes and shoes), the cosmetic industry, diet and fitness brands and lately also of reality shows, which are, in a way, new self-advertising strategies (e. g. *Keeping up with the Kardashians*, *Revenge Body*, *Rich Kids of Beverly Hills*, *Eric and Jessie*, *WAGS*, etc.). These shows use their popularity to advertise not only the brands (the well-established ones and their own), but the whole lifestyle, thus appealing to this age group. In them women are presented in various ways: either they are strong and independent with their own career (Kris, the ‘momager’ in *KUWTK*), or they simply enjoy their lifestyle because they can afford it. This enables them to advertise cosmetic and clothes lines, as well as to challenge closed-mindedness towards different gender roles (for example, Caitlin Jenner from *KUWTK*, who transitioned from a successful male, Olympic medal-winning athlete to a woman of leisurely lifestyle; or EJ Johnson from the *RKOBH*, who is not only known for his open homosexuality and feminine fashion style, but also as the son of Magic Johnson, the former star basketball player).

In a Parnad online advertisement, there is a picture of a man and a woman, both cleaning windows but with a different approach; while the woman is tackling the job in a classic way, the man is more sophisticated. He is using a Parnad high-tech appliance, thus making his job easier. The first question that comes to mind is: “Why has not she thought of that?” The answer is, unfortunately, a rather stereotypical one. While it is—stereotypically-- unusual for men to do household chores, it is believed that when they do, they use technological equipment,

therefore simplifying their lives, while women prefer to work in a ‘proper’ but old-fashioned and more time-consuming way.



Picture 1: Parnad Vorwerk

photo:

<https://www.facebook.com/285136542003/photos/a.455043472003/10157704275697004/?type=3&theater>

Another advertisement involving windows, this one on the radio, says, “My wife asked me to help her clean the windows. As a good and loyal husband, I went ahead and bought her new ones.” This supports the above statement regarding the differing approaches to work and technology that are stereotypically adopted by men and women when tackling everyday jobs.

2.1 Women in advertisements

Artz, Munger and Purdy (1999, 20) state that “[...] advertising language incorporates gender in a gender-neutral, gender-specific, or gender-biased manner.” An example of the latter could be the P&G “Thank you, Mom” campaign advertisement: “Strong” (Rio 2016 Olympics), where one might conclude from the content that it is mothers who support their children in their quest to become strong, fearless and successful. These mothers encourage their children (both boys and girls) with words such as “You’re ok!”, “C’mon!”, “Take a deep breath!”, “Everything’s all right!” and “I know in my heart you can do it!”

The advertisement features only mothers, who raise, defend, encourage and support their children, while fathers are completely absent. It concludes with the words “It takes someone strong to make someone strong. Thank you, Mom.”³

This P&G commercial is advertising a company that incorporates brands such as Tide, Bounty, Pampers, Gillette and Always, and which claims to be “proud sponsors of moms.” A similar advertisement was aired during the 2014 Sochi winter Olympic Games, with not one father in sight, claiming that it is mothers who “teach us that falling only makes us stronger.”⁴ Stereotypically speaking, this would be the fathers’ domain—letting children fall and get hurt but encouraging them to get up and try again; it would be mothers who later treat the wounds and console their children. By breaking this stereotype, these advertisements actually discriminate against fathers and/or men.

Another aspect of women’s representation in advertisements is their sexuality, which is a common feature in marketing. Women are seen in ice-cream commercials seductively enjoying a treat, or in advertisements for watches and cars.

While women in their 50s or 60s mostly endorse “mature” products in advertisements (e.g. Andie MacDowell in a hair product advertisement and Dame Helen Mirren in a facial cream advertisement), men of a similar age are sought after for more general promotional purposes (think about George Clooney in advertisements for Omega watches or Nespresso coffee; or Kevin Costner for Jacques Lemans and the Rio Mare tuna ad—which is rather unconventional).

Furthermore, most advertisements on TV sell values and images (Kilbourne; “Killing Us Softly 3”). They show us feelings: what it takes to make us happy, satisfied, successful, beautiful, attractive, slim, fit, etc. Advertising companies come up with the idea of how we should look or what ideal female beauty is. Most models in magazines are extensively photoshopped, and adolescents and women (increasingly men, as well) feel pressured to measure up to these unrealistic images.

³ Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rdQrwBVRzEg>

⁴ Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bQoJqDi8490>

2.2 Men in advertisements

Men still tend to be underrepresented in advertisements for domestic products, such as those promoting food, cleaning products, cosmetics and home remedies. Similarly, women are underrepresented in advertisements promoting electronics, the automotive industry and machinery.

The term “hunkvertising” came to my attention some years ago, as an expression depicting the “objectification of men in advertising.”⁵ David Gianatasio, the author, explains in a newspaper article that “sex sells” and “[...] many ad experts and social critics see the whole thing as a harmless turning of the tables following decades of bikini-clad babes in beer commercials.”

What sells well in terms of men in advertisements is successful sportsmen (Rafael Nadal in Tommy Hilfiger or Emporio Armani advertisements; Roger Federer in Nike or Barilla advertisements; footballers such as Ronaldo, Messi and Beckham; the boxing legend Muhammad Ali, etc.); actors (Kevin Costner, George Clooney, John Travolta, Antonio Banderas, etc.); musicians (Michael Jackson, Bon Jovi, etc.). Their success and lifestyle are highly effective in brand marketing. What is more, an advertisement for Schweppes features a handsome (and implicitly successful) man, who claims that you are a weakling (a wuss) and a loser if you do not know how to drink the given beverage properly. This supports the stereotypical belief that a man is not a real man unless he complies with certain demands, societal norms and expectations.

While, on the one hand, Lisa Wade, Associate Professor of sociology at Occidental College, explains that “[w]e’re all in on the gender-reversal joke,” and that “[i]t’s funny to us to think of women being lustful,” there are others who believe that “this trend bears as much scrutiny as advertisers using women as sex objects.”⁶ Furthermore, it is not only sex that sells; it is also the domesticated role of men that is appealing to the modern woman (realizing the time has come when the fight for emancipation is finally bearing fruit). Examples of such role reversal can be found in the Barilla advertisement, where the tennis superstar

⁵ Source:

<https://www.adweek.com/brand-marketing/hunkvertising-objectification-men-advertising-152925/>

⁶ Source:

<https://www.adweek.com/brand-marketing/hunkvertising-objectification-men-advertising-152925/>

Roger Federer is cooking pasta; or in the Rio Mare tuna commercial, where the famous actor Kevin Costner is advertising canned tuna; or in the Ikea print catalogue, where men rather than women are often portrayed in the kitchen.

3 Gender stereotypes in advertisements

Images featured in advertisements may greatly shape or redefine social and cultural norms and the way we define gender, sexuality and equality. Advertisers reinforce socially constructed gender roles: women should be domesticated; taking care of their children and men, cooking for the family, cleaning for them, taking care of their basic needs, while striving to look good, smell good and be equally successful in business, all to attract adequate attention from men. On the contrary, men are presented as strong, muscular beings, independent, with successful careers and material possessions, and beautiful women by their side.

Women are often presented as objects of sexual desire for men (the car industry with scantily-clad women standing next to cars; the food industry with women eating food in a sensual way; and the tobacco industry with women smoking in a sexualised way – though this is no longer permitted under new restrictions in tobacco advertising). In a Durex commercial aired in Slovenia, the sole purpose is not to promote safe sex, whereby condoms help both men and women protect themselves from sexually transmitted diseases and unwanted pregnancy, but to enable men to guarantee women ultimate, long-lasting sexual pleasure. This stereotypical stance is echoed in another advertisement – for *Always* sanitary towels. It features a young woman, saying, “As a young woman, I’m supposed to be gentle, yet when I’m on the tennis court, I can show all my strength and endurance.” There are three stereotypical points of view encapsulated in this single statement:

- only young women are supposed to be gentle and/or strong;
- she is supposed to be gentle—this is, therefore, a societal expectation;
- when in a specialised environmental setting, a young woman athlete is allowed to become a different character (strong as opposed to gentle).

These characteristics can be compared to what women expect from their sanitary towels: these need to be soft and gentle, yet strong enough to last and protect throughout busy daytime routines.

It is impossible to think of any advertisements featuring men with such a polarity, i.e. caring or even emotional, on the one hand, and strong and determined on the other. Even when Roger Federer takes the leading role in the Barilla advertisement, the focus is on dedication, precision and success rather than the taste of the spaghetti and sauce. Nor does it create the effect of trying to keep family members content and healthy by cooking the best brand of spaghetti, which would most likely have been the case had the advert featured a woman.

4 Language of advertisements

As well as the stereotypical images and visual content in advertising that have a significant impact on either male or female consumers, we must also consider the influence of gender-related language. English has an extensive vocabulary and is considered a much more flexible language than Slovene. New words are created to appeal to audiences: i.e. neologisms, *wonderfuel*; or, in Slovene: *da te 'Opelje'* – in an advertisement for Opel cars – meaning either “to drive away with you” or “to seduce you”; or “*Škoda – budobra ponudba*” – in an advertisement for Škoda cars, where two words, *budo* and *dobra*, are merged, meaning “very good”, and further engaging the intended audience by using the currently very popular slang expression *budo* (wicked good).

Kannan and Tyagi (2013, 4-5) state that it is the emotive and connotative value of words that needs to be considered in advertising, since this is the most powerful method of conveying meaning to the target audience. They further emphasize irregularities in language which attract potential product buyers or service users. For example, the Coca-Cola advertisement was the first to make use of the catchphrase “I’m loving it!”. Until then, the verb *love* had been used as a stative verb, which is why its transformation into an action verb attracted so much attention, leading to its becoming an accepted norm. The authors also emphasize that many comparatives are used in advertising language, yet without an object of comparison (for example, a detergent “gets clothes whiter”, but the advertisement does not say “whiter than what”).

The most commonly used adjectives, according to the authors, are (in order of frequency): *new, good/better/the best, free, fresh, delicious, full, sure, clean, wonderful* and *special*, with *good* and *new* being “over twice as popular as any other adjective.”

Other linguistic features noticed in randomly observed advertisements in Slovenia are as follows:

- compounds (long-lasting, extra-value, etc.);
- imperatives (use, buy, get, don't wait!, etc.);
- exaggeration / superlatives (extra clean, super-size, the best, the latest; for a dishwashing detergent: one can wash a huge amount of dishes with only a small drop of the liquid, etc.);
- the use of emotionally intense adverbs (awfully, quite, terribly, etc.);
- the use of foreign words or sentences (*Voulez-vous paté avec moi?*), while also changing the function of individual words (the noun 'paté' in this case becoming a verb);
- use of the 2nd person personal pronoun 'you' (trying to establish a closer relationship with the target audience);
- the use of in-group markers (babe, honey, dear, etc.).

In terms of discourse, studies of differences in the speech of men and women date back decades, with the most renowned scholars in this respect being Lakoff (1975), Coates (1998), Fishman (1997), Tannen (1986) and Cameron (1992, 1996). Thorne and Henley (1975), as quoted in Behnam & Zamanian (2014, 5)

“succinctly state that language helps to enact and transmit every type of inequality, including that between the sexes, since it forms part of the micropolitical structure that helps to maintain the larger politico-economic structure. According to them our use of language shapes our understanding of the social world, our relationships to one another, and our social identities”.

In an analysis of advertisements, the following (stereotypical) features in female speech stand out: politeness, agreement, support, the use of fillers and qualifiers (maybe, etc.), language expressing emotions, etc. In men, on the other hand, assertiveness is predominant, followed by expressions of independence, avoidance of verbosity, omissions (with their facial expressions and covert body language conveying more meaning than words).

The above can be supported by Deborah Tannen's research findings, where she presented contrasts between men's and women's conversations, as well as their expectations and understanding of each other. While women strive for non-hierarchical interactions where they emphasize what they have in common, and establish and consolidate friendship and solidarity (positive rapport), men tend to compete, negotiate and exhibit skills, thus trying to maintain status (2001).

5 Stereotype-free and gender-neutral advertisements?

In her TED Talk⁷, Johanna Blakley argues that "social media is actually going to help us dismantle some of the silly and demeaning stereotypes that we see in media and advertising about gender [...]."

She states the "traditional media companies" consider online communities as the "mass audience of the future". The way to understand your audience is through traditional demographics, yet it is difficult to determine age, gender, income, etc. from social media. However, companies can obtain much more information about "what you do online, what you like, what interests you. That's easier for them to find out than who you are."

Therefore, in her talk, Blakley concludes,

"[...] when you look online at the way people aggregate, they don't aggregate around age, gender and income. They aggregate around the things they love, the things that they like, and if you think about it, shared interests and values are far more powerful aggregator of human beings than demographic categories. [...] The future entertainment media that we're going to see is going to be very data-driven, and it's going to be based on the information that we ascertain from taste communities online, where women are really driving the action."

This might lead to the conclusion that, no matter what kind of media we consider (old media or social media), advertisers tend to target female consumers, which might not allow for stereotype-free or gender-neutral advertising.

⁷ Source:

https://www.ted.com/talks/johanna_blakley_social_media_and_the_end_of_gender#t-17304

However, there are advertisers who strive to educate not just their potential consumers but also audiences in general about the misunderstandings that stereotyping may encourage. One such example is the Always campaign, #LikeAGirl – Unstoppable – Rewrite the rules,⁸ in which participants (who differ in age and gender) are asked to demonstrate what it looks like to

- run like a girl;
- fight like a girl;
- throw like a girl.

The above statements carry negative connotation based on stereotypes. This explains why young adult women and men, as well as boys, stereotypically used “girly” movements, which were softer and slower, suggesting weakness on the part of girls. When later asked about it, they all admitted that what they had shown was somewhat insulting. Young girls, on the other hand, carried out the tasks with all their strength, force and power; they tried as hard as they could. They said running like a girl meant “to run as fast as you can”; therefore, if a stereotypical advertisement tries to persuade them they are not as strong as they believe, this might destroy their self-confidence by claiming they are weaker than they believe.

Another example of working against stereotyping in advertising—this time in print—is the 2018 IKEA catalogue. There, contrary to the still existing stereotypical beliefs, men are most commonly pictured in Ikea’s kitchens, while women are seated somewhere to the side (either at the kitchen island or on a sofa), observing their men while they cook or clean the kitchen.

4 Conclusion

It is clear that even though society is striving for gender fluidity and equality between the sexes, sellers, marketing experts and advertisers are still struggling to keep up with the trends in our fast-moving societies and cultures. There is no one-size-fits-all answer or solution, yet the more global and intercultural the world becomes, the more clichéd and outdated advertisements are becoming, even if we consider the trend towards men as well as women being presented in a non-stereotypical manner.

⁸ Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XjJQBjWYDTs>

Companies must be mindful of the images they present in their advertisements, since those products and services advertised with negative, sexist and outdated depictions of women and men might experience rejection in the form of a drop in sales. Consumers nowadays are critical of advertisements that do not conform to the demands and attitudes of modern global society and react adversely by not buying the products they feature.

The way men and women are depicted--from models with unattainable body types, to women as housewives in aprons, men as the ultimate success stories (as businessmen, with a beautiful wife and children by their side; with an abundance of material goods, and an envy-inducing circle of friends) puts pressure on both men and women to conform to a certain look or role. This, in the long run, can harm people's confidence and self-esteem. Debbie Klein states that "40% of women said advertising and the way brands talk to them was one of the biggest causes of self-criticism."⁹

Bakir and Palan (2010, 44) conclude from their research that "the gender of ad characters, by itself, is not a significant moderator, but when male characters are combined with a feminine product, gender of the character matters." This is not only the case in certain cultures, but is rather a general phenomenon due to globalization trends and intercultural issues. Thus, as Stern states, "far from being stranded in chaos, we end with the sense that advertising research is becoming more sophisticated as it grows more intercultural. The integration of scholarship on race, class, and sexual orientation rounds out the implications of gender, often by adapting multidisciplinary theory to engage sensitivity to pluralistic meaning" (Stern 1999, 7).

Finally, as Wood eloquently puts it,

"[r]ealizing that inequality is socially constructed empowers us to be agents of change. We don't have to treat light skin, heterosexuality, maleness and middle-class economic status as superior or normal. Instead, if we choose to, we can challenge social views that accord arbitrary and unequal value to people and that limit humans' opportunities and lives."

(2012, 2)

⁹ Source: online newspaper article: why is gender stereotyping still such an issue for advertisers? The way that women are portrayed and treated in the media has got to change, warns engine's ceo. <https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/why-gender-stereotyping-issue-advertisers/1447563>;

The media and advertising certainly have the influence and the power to promote gender equality, which is reflected in the way society functions in certain cultures and eras.

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An Appraisal-based Approach to Developing Intercultural Competence

KIRSTEN HEMPKIN & AGATA KRIZAN

Abstract In our globalised world, there is a growing need for learners of English (and other languages) to acquire competence that goes beyond the linguistic to the intercultural. Students of English at the Faculty of Arts, University of Maribor, many of whom will become teachers of English themselves, are no exception to this. This article complements existing literature on using discourse analysis to develop intercultural competence by presenting exercises based on Martin and White's appraisal system (2005). Through these exercises, our learners are able to explore the interpersonal function of the language used in texts on migration, specifically guiding them to uncover the evaluative language mechanisms at work in them and to an understanding of how and why meaning is made. The use of such exercises, we argue, can help in the development of both general communicative competence, specifically the skill of critical reading, and intercultural competence.

Keywords: • intercultural competence • appraisal • communicative competence • critical reading • interpersonal meaning •

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Jezik vrednotenja kot pristop k razvijanju medkulturne kompetence

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Povzetek V globaliziranem svetu narašča potreba po tem, da postanejo učenci in učenke angleškega jezika (in drugih jezikov) ne samo jezikovno, ampak tudi medkulturno kompetentni. Študenti in študentke angleškega jezika na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Mariboru, med katerimi je veliko prihodnjih učiteljev in učiteljic angleškega jezika, pri tem niso izjema. Pričujoče poglavje uporabi diskurzno analizo z namenom razvijanja medkulturne kompetence. S pomočjo teoretskega okvira jezika vrednotenja (Marthin in White 2005) predstavi naloge, ki študentkam in študentom omogočajo raziskovanje medosebne funkcije jezika v besedilih o migraciji, tako da jih vodijo k razkrivanju funkcije jezika vrednotenja v teh besedilih, in k razumevanju, kako in zakaj je ustvarjen medosebni pomen. Trdimo, da lahko uporaba takšnih nalog prispeva tudi k razvijanju splošne komunikacijske kompetence, še posebej veščine kritičnega branja, kakor tudi medkulturne kompetence.

Ključne besede: • medkulturna kompetenca • jezik vrednotenja • komunikativna kompetenca • kritično branje • medosebna funkcija •

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1 Introduction

In recent years, growing attention has been paid to the intercultural element of foreign language learning, with language teachers (especially of English) being called upon to equip their learners with the skills and competences to negotiate our increasingly multi-cultural and globalised world. More and more students of English at the Faculty of Arts, University of Maribor, are travelling abroad for study or pleasure, encountering members of other cultures in their own classrooms, and taking up employment opportunities outside Slovenia. At the same time, as many of our learners are also trainee teachers, they will be expected to guide their own learners through intercultural challenges. Slovene primary and high-school classrooms are also changing, as growing numbers of newcomers decide to settle in Slovenia, and migration begins to transcend the traditional borders of the former Yugoslavia.

The Slovene education system has recognised the need for intercultural education, or human rights education¹, since its inception. The foundation document on which the system rests, the *White Paper on Education* in the Republic of Slovenia, calls for pupils to be able to live, study and work with others with “mutual tolerance” and “respect” (Krek 1996). These aims, of course, resonate with the principles of intercultural education prescribed by the Council of Europe, which state that learners should be trained to deal with difference “knowledgeably, sensibly, tolerantly and morally” (COE 1999, 8).

Democratic citizenship has informed much of the intercultural element of European language policy; through citizenship education, learners are prepared to participate in democratic society, becoming familiar with, and ultimately competent to exercise, the ensuing rights and responsibilities (Forrester 1999, Audigier 2000).² Michael Byram has perhaps provided the fullest framework of intercultural classroom activities, expanding on the concept of democratic citizenship and shaping it into intercultural citizenship, which he describes as a

¹There is some overlap in the aims of intercultural and human rights or civic education. Intercultural education often takes place in the foreign language classroom, while human rights or civic education takes place in the mother tongue. For more on human rights education, see Tibbitts (2008).

² The age of “fake news” places additional demands on educators. In order to fully function democratically, our learners also need training in evaluating the validity of the on-line sources they use. See: *Evaluating Information: The Cornerstone of Civic Online Reasoning* (Stanford History Education Group, November 2016)

framework of citizenship and language education. Intercultural citizenship comprises a series of “orientations” which act as the overall aims and standards for learners to attain, and which are further broken down into corresponding “savoirs” or knowledge and competences. The goal of such intercultural education is to produce learners who are willing to respect the notion of universal rights, democratic principles and peaceful conflict resolution and, most importantly, to examine the taken-for-granted beliefs they have about themselves and others (Byram 2008).³

The need for tolerance is now greater than ever. Monitoring bodies have found that throughout Europe, there has been a rise in intolerant discourse. The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI),⁴ in their 2018 newsletter, states that the level of hate speech rose in 2017. They claim that: “While populist rhetoric has blended into a hatred of non-nationals or minorities, migration and multiculturalism have continued to be presented as a threat to social cohesion and security, and traditional and social media have encouraged self-segregation and further deepened social divides” (ECRI 2018).

A similar situation has been observed in Slovenia, prompted by the country’s role in the refugee crisis. As elsewhere in Europe, there has been fierce debate as to how (or indeed whether) refugees should be accepted and helped, and again, as elsewhere, the rhetoric has slipped into stereotype and prejudice. As Katarina Vučko of the *Mirovni Inštitut (Peace Institute)* states in an interview on the reaction to the refugee crisis in Slovenia, “While civil society called for solidarity, acceptance and humane treatment of refugees, the more common response has been fear, racism, Islamophobia and hate speech” (Vučko 2015).

³ The focus of democratic citizenship and intercultural citizenship is on training students for life in the existing socio-political system; some authors, such as Želježič (2013), highlight the need for students to develop critical awareness in order for them to question the dominant neoliberal agenda.

⁴ The newsletter summarised the findings of the commission's annual report: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/special-representative-secretary-general-migration-refugees/neobic-populism-resentment-hate-speech-in-europe-in-2017?>

2 Communicative and intercultural competence: critical reading skills

Since classroom experience tells us that our learners are prone to stereotypical thinking, we recognise the need to help them become critical readers so that they can process the type of discourse described above and be able to make the type of informed decisions required to be fully-functioning democratic citizens. Critical reading skills are part of communicative competence, which is defined by Canale and Swain (1980) as encompassing grammatical, pragmatic/sociolinguistic, discourse and strategic competence as well as fluency. The development of communicative competence can be supported with the use of written material in the classroom for exploration and analysis of the particular linguistic items with which writers make meanings that achieve the text's purpose. One way in which this takes place is in our language development courses, where students of English are trained to look beyond the language to see the relationships between the language choices writers make in a text and the context of the text, guiding them to become critical readers, whereby 'critical' means understanding texts as social acts (Hood, Solomon, and Burns 1996). Our hope is that by expanding the written material we already employ for such purposes to include texts on migration issues, and guiding students to uncover the interpersonal language mechanisms at play in such texts, we can simultaneously develop both intercultural and communicative competence.

2.1 Appraisal system

In order to develop the *savoir s'engager* competence (or ability to critically engage) outlined in his framework, Byram (2002) suggests the use of discourse-based activities on migration-themed texts to explore how language mechanisms work to create, as Corbett states, "social, professional, ethnic and national in-groups and out-groups" (Corbett n.d.). Corbett advocates tourism texts as a classroom resource, while other authors, such as Norton (2008), have used advertising texts. In the exercises we have created, the focus is placed on media texts (newspaper articles or texts reproduced in newspapers), since the media plays such a significant role in shaping or modifying our beliefs, especially about immigrants. As Martínez Lirola states, "The power of the media together with the symbolic power of language privileges certain construals of reality and identity for media audiences" (2006, 379). It is imperative for learners to understand the importance of the relationship between society the media and, in particular, how knowledge

of the world is filtered to and for them. In the linguistic exploration of these texts, we have found Halliday's functional grammar approach and the Martin and White (2005) appraisal system based upon it to be extremely effective, as it provides our students with a comprehensive and systematic framework with which to analyse the interpersonal language they encounter.

Halliday (1994) claims that in each text (and clause), there are three different meanings constructed by the writer of the text via linguistic choices, which appear simultaneously: experiential, interpersonal and textual. The interpersonal function/meaning is concerned with how participants interact with one another, influence the behaviour of others, construct and fill social roles, adopt attitudinal and evaluative positions, and form bonds, relationships and alliances (White 2000, 4). Martin and White's system, as stated, provides learners with the discourse-semantic framework they need to analyse texts from the interpersonal perspective. Appraisal is the way speakers/writers express evaluation and try to affect the reaction of the listener/reader. As a linguistic resource, it is used to give the text a particular colour, flavour or perspective, to enrich it with the emotions and judgements of those involved, and to encode positive or negative values, (dis)alignments with the reader, amplifying attitudes towards others and the content/propositions. If the colour is strong, the reader may interpret the text as being very emotional, judgemental or critical – and thus more interesting. The system encompasses three main categories: attitude, graduation (attitudinal up/downgrading, e.g. *very, brilliant*), and engagement (intersubjective/dialogistic value positioning). Attitude is further divided into categories of affect, judgement and appreciation. Affect is a resource for expressing feelings (e.g. *satisfied, bored*), judgement for assessing people's character and behaviour (e.g. *clever, evil*), and appreciation for valuing the worth of things, objects, products, events and phenomena (e.g. *interesting, ineffective*). Engagement is further divided into categories of disclaim (e.g. *not, although*), proclaim (e.g. *of course, obviously*), entertain (e.g. *seems, might*), and attribution (e.g. *he said, it demonstrates*). It is the engagement resources with which writers/speakers show their stand towards value positions and alternative voices, that means, (dis)aligning themselves by (dis)agreeing with, countering or rejecting other positions. Attitudes can be positive or negative (e.g. *happy, sad*), realised by different lexico-grammatical elements (e.g. process *love*, thing *greatness*), and can be expressed explicitly (encoded lexically, e.g. *ugh*) or implicitly (often triggered by co(n)text, expressed with ideational meanings).

Noticing implicit attitudes is often extremely challenging, as it is strongly linked with the co(n)text. Since implicit attitudes may be strongly ideologically loaded (e.g. expressing values, positions, norms or beliefs), it is important that students be trained, at least to some extent, in uncovering them if critical reading is one of the goals of language development. This is why the exercises provided in this paper also include some that guide students to the identification of implicit attitudes.

2.2 Exercises: rationale

The appraisal exercises presented here are based on a set of three texts taken from British sources, each of which deals with the issue of migration. The texts are intended to be complementary in terms of perspective and genre. *The Daily Mail* reports on a test-case of two underage Afghan asylum seekers in the U.K., which established the degree of care to which those with such a status are entitled. This is contrasted with an article in a journal of adoption and fostering reporting on the same story.⁵ The third text is a speech by David Cameron, ex-prime minister of the U.K., outlining his party's stance on immigration.

The rationale presented here is common to all the accompanying exercises. The tasks are intended to be consciousness-raising: i.e. students are guided to notice elements of the language significant to the underlying message of the texts, in this way developing critical reading and intercultural skills. The exercises presented in the article are all accompanied by the expected/desired answers. In the classroom, there is always a follow-up activity to the tasks, usually in the form of a discussion on the topics raised.

2.3 Exercises: examples

I) Write down elements that signal the speaker's individual or group involvement in the proposition:

- a) I believe this Government can act _____
- b) First we need to be clear about what the problem is _____

⁵ A further contrast is provided here by an article from the *Guardian* in which migrants to the U.K. give first-hand accounts of their experience.

- c) I know this is an issue that people feel really passionate about

- d) I have a very clear view about this. _____
- e) So let me tell you how I see it. _____
- f) It is right that we should attract the brightest and the best to Britain.

- g) As a Coalition government we agree about the importance of
controlling immigration
- h) But I want us to go further. _____

Students are required to focus on expressions that signal the writer's personal engagement with the proposition and on expressions that signal the writer's engagement as a member of a group. While strong personal engagement with the proposition is usually conveyed via the personal pronoun 'I' (*I believe* in a), *I know* in c), *I have a view* in d), *let me* and *I see* in e) *I want* in h)), the personal pronoun 'we' is an indicator of group involvement, with the writer being a member of the group. However, students should be aware of the difference between the exclusive and inclusive use of the pronoun 'we' in terms of social contact. While the inclusive use of the pronoun presents the addressee as a part of the group, hence establishing closer contact with him/her/them, the exclusive use of the pronoun excludes the addressee from a group, hence distancing the writer from the addressee. The determination of the kind of use is provided in the co(n)text, that is, in the context of the whole text or/and in the same or near-by clauses (e.g. exclusive use in *as a Coalition government* in g)).

II) Underline the elements signalling that the proposition is attributed to an external source.

- a) I know the sense out there is that mass migration is inevitable in a globalised society
- b) between those who argue strongly that migration is an unalloyed good
- c) those who say it completely undermines our economy
- d) while it's crude and wrong to say immigrants come to Britain and "take all our jobs"
- e) This was sold as "bringing in the best of the best."
- f) But the evidence shows this just hasn't been the case.

This task requires that students identify expressions showing the reference to an external source (engagement). Linguistic realisation sources in this task encompass quotation marks (d and e) and reporting verbs (*the sense out there* in a), *those who argue* in b), *those who say* in c), *evidence shows* in f)), hence showing the perspectives, beliefs, views, thoughts and utterances of external sources. Although the references to external sources often function to relieve the writer from responsibility and increase credibility, that is, providing an objective picture, the choice of reporting verbs may nevertheless signal the writer's presence, of which students should be aware. For example, while the use of *argue* and *shows* in b) and g) presents the writer's withholding view and the proposition as shared between the writer and the external source, respectively, the use of *say* in c) does not indicate the writer's position.

III) Categorise the appraisals *in italics* as attitude (A), graduation (G) or engagement (E).

- a) *as a result* it's all too difficult for one country _____
- b) can't cope with the demands of ever greater numbers *flooding in*. _____
- c) *Yes*, some immigration is a good thing. _____
- d) We *genuinely* need foreign investors and entrepreneurs to come here

- e) *there's no doubt* that badly controlled immigration _____
- f) debate around immigration is not always a *healthy* one. _____
- g) But this keeps *rising* too. _____
- h) I believe is the *complete* failure _____
- i) Plenty never found work *at all*. _____
- j) Take Tier 1, *for example*, for so-called highly skilled migrants. _____
- k) *if we* are really going to start controlling _____
- l) *In fact*, some estimates suggest that _____
- m) Our education exports are worth more than *£14 billion* a year. _____
- n) *Yet* throughout all of those years we _____
- o) it's all too *difficult* for one country to control its own borders. _____
- p) the age group *believed* to include a high proportion of older people

The task provides a variety of appraisal instances that should be categorised as one of the main appraisal categories: attitude, graduation or engagement. In f) and o), the lexical elements *healthy* and *difficult* realise attitudes, both negative. The engagement elements *as a result, yes, genuinely, there's no doubt, in fact* in a), c), d), e), and l) present the propositions as reliable and compelling, *if* in k) hypothetically, *yet* in n) as a rejection of some contrary position, and *believed* in p) as attributed to the external source. Graduation occurs as infused quantification in b) (*flooding in*), isolated intensification in h) and i) (*complete, at all*), intensification via exemplification in j) (*for example*), and quantification as amount in g) and m) (*rising, 14 billion a year*).

IV) What do the appraisals in *italics* convey?

- a) *because* immigrants take all our jobs. _____
- b) I have *never* shied away from talking about immigration. _____
- c) It is right that we *should* attract the brightest and the best to Britain.

- d) Our hospitals are *full of* talented doctors and nurses _____
- e) *But* excessive immigration also brings pressures _____
- f) in new neighbourhoods *perhaps* not able to speak the same language

- g) And there's an *even* bigger reason for addressing immigration too.

- h) The figures for people coming to Britain are *huge* _____
- i) *Of course*, it is right that when many people _____
- j) *not* weak minimum thresholds real tests of skill and potential _____
- k) We want *the brightest* and *best* to come here _____
- l) Confronted by a *failing welfare system, shortcomings in our education system and an open door immigration system* _____
- m) *That is why* we are addressing the shortcomings _____

The task deals with the semantic meaning and function of appraisals such as expressing reason with *because* and *that is why* in a) and m), denying with *never* and *not* in b) and j), expressing obligation with *should* in c), upgrading the positive attitude with *full of* in d), expressing opposition to the expected with *but* and *even* in e) and g), quantifying the entity with *huge* in h), expressing likelihood with *perhaps* in f), expressing agreement with *of course* in i), comparing immigrants with *the brightest and best* in k), and upgrading the attitude via intensification as listing

with *failing welfare system, shortcomings in our education system and an open door immigration system* in l). It is important to raise awareness in students of how attitudes can be triggered via graduation and engagement elements in a specific context. For example, in h), although no attitude is expressed directly, within the context of the whole text, the grader *huge* may present the influx of people to Britain as problematic, hence implying a negative attitude.

V) What is the lexicogrammatical realisation form for the attitudes in *italics*?

- a) We will also end the *ridiculous* situation
- b) It sounded *great* in principle.
- c) thought to be a result of intense *anxiety*

The task highlights the lexicogrammatical realisation of appraisals. In this way, students revise/practise their knowledge of (functional) grammar. Thus, appreciation conveyed by *ridiculous* in a) is realised as an epithet (adjective), appreciation conveyed by *great* in b) as an attribute in a relational clause (adverb), and affect conveyed by *anxiety* in c) as a thing (noun)

VI) Categorise the attitudes *in italics* as affect, judgement or appreciation and determine their positive/negative status.

Table 1:

	<i>category</i>	<i>status</i>
a) we're <i>powerless</i> to address half of the problem anyway.	judgement	negative
b) we should attract <i>the brightest</i> and <i>the best</i> to Britain.	judgement	positive
c) we're <i>proud</i> of that.	affect	positive
d) Our hospitals are full of <i>talented</i> doctors and nurses	judgement	positive
e) badly controlled immigration has compounded the <i>failure</i> of	appreciation	negative
f) we saw a <i>worrying</i> collapse in public confidence	appreciation	negative
g) term "Points Based System" has proved to be <i>misleading</i> .	appreciation	negative
h) for the brilliant and <i>dedicated</i> work they have already done	judgement	positive
i) We want these <i>top students</i> to come here.	judgement	positive
j) in making our country <i>stronger, richer</i> and more secure.	appreciation	positive
k) that people feel really <i>passionate</i> about	affect	positive
l) it's a system which was totally <i>unfair</i>	appreciation	negative
m) The court was <i>satisfied</i> that (S)	affect	positive
n) The children, the judge said, were <i>traumatised, missed</i> <i>their mothers</i>	affect	negative
o) Made a care order <i>necessary</i> and <i>appropriate</i>	appreciation	positive

Students are required to identify the main attitudinal category for each appraisal instance in italics (affect, judgement, appreciation) and to determine its status, which can be positive or negative. The attitude expressed with *proud*, *passionate* and *satisfied* in c) and k) and m) is positive affect, with *traumatised* and *missed* in n) negative affect, with *powerless* in a) negative judgement, with *the brightest*, *the best*, *talented*, *dedicated* and *top students* in b), d), h) and i) positive judgement, with *failure*, *worrying*, *misleading* and *unfair* in e), f), g) and l) negative appreciation, with *stronger*, *richer*, *necessary* and *appropriate* in j) and o) positive appreciation.

VII) Underline the targets of appraising in the following propositions.

- it's all too difficult for one country to control its own borders.
- And that with migration from the EU to worry about as well
- our communities have been enriched by the contribution of generations of migrants.
- Our schools and universities have some of the best teachers
- Britain will always be open to those seeking asylum from persecution.

- f) excessive immigration also brings pressures
- g) there is a discomfort and a tension in some of our communities.
- h) And at the heart of all of this I believe is the complete failure of the last government's Points Based System to control migration.
- i) However the boys speak a different language, and their carers were anxious, he added.

The above task requires students to determine the targets of attitudes. The answers are underlined. In a) the attitude conveyed by *difficult* targets any country in terms of their controlling power, in b) the target of affect conveyed lexically with *worry* is migration from the EU. Although the emoter is not clearly provided in this proposition, it can be retrieved from the context of the whole text: British people. In c) the attitude of enrichment assesses British communities positively; in d) the attitude of some teachers' excellence targets British schools and universities; in e) Britain's openness towards the asylum seekers owing to persecution is evaluated positively in terms of its caring attitude; in f) excessive migration is evaluated negatively as a source of pressure; in g) the emoter of affect conveyed by discomfort and tension is some British communities, and in h), the last government's points-based System is evaluated negatively in terms of its migration-controlling efficiency. In i), the emoter of affect conveyed lexically with *anxious* is the carers.

VIII) Discuss the use of the underlined phrase in terms of appraisals (*Mail Online*). Pay attention to the co-text.

The children, the judge said, were traumatised, missed their mothers, and were trying to adapt to an alien world.

Despite the highly intensified negative affect conveyed lexically by *traumatised* and *missed their mothers*, the children have struggled to adapt to a world that is, for them, completely unknown (*alien*). In this way, the children are presented as unproblematic (positive judgement), hence likely eliciting solidarity and empathy from the reader.

IX) Compare and discuss both propositions in terms of appraisal use.

- a) that relatively uncontrolled immigration can hurt
- b) that badly controlled immigration has compounded the failure of our welfare system

In a), the problem of relatively uncontrolled immigration is presented as negative appreciation via the process *hurt* as one possibility in a range (*can*), which means opening up space for alternative views. Students should also pay attention to the use of the complex noun phrase (*relatively uncontrolled immigration*), which already carries an intensified negative appreciation towards immigration control, realised as an intensifier *relatively* and denying prefix *un-* in the lexical element *control*. By ‘squeezing in’ another attitude through the noun phrase, uncontrolled immigration seems to be presented as a naturalised fact, which may also signal negative judgement towards those responsible for the problem within this context. In b), the noun phrase does not present immigration as an uncontrolled fact, thus as problematic, as in a), but directly evaluates it negatively with *badly*, again implying negative judgement towards those responsible. Additionally, the consequence of badly controlled immigration conveyed lexically with *failure* encodes negative appreciation, as well as imply negative judgement towards those responsible.

X) What is expressed in the underlined proposition (David Cameron’s speech)? Identify the appraisal.

The investors and the entrepreneurs who will create the businesses and jobs of tomorrow and the scientists who will help keep Britain at the heart of the greatest advances in medicine, biotechnology, advanced manufacturing and communications.

These people *deserve the red carpet treatment*.

The metaphorical use of *red carpet treatment*, coupled with the verb *deserve*, may be interpreted as an indirect expression of positive judgement targeting only those immigrants who will contribute to British prosperity. The intensified *red carpet treatment* conveys indirectly a highly welcoming attitude towards these immigrants, hence positive affect from the British people, as suggested by the context.

XI) The following proposition expresses attitudes indirectly. Identify these attitudes and explain how they are expressed.

I believe this government can act in a way that will *genuinely* tackle the problem, avoiding the dangers that opponents of reform have put forward.

In the above task, students are guided to the awareness of how single elements within a certain context can help trigger attitudes. The use of the engagement element *genuinely* conveys the ability to carry out concrete actions and a serious approach to solving the problem by the present government (*this...can*), in a proposition which is firmly grounded in the speaker's subjectivity (*I believe*). In this way, positive judgement/appreciation⁶ is implied towards the present government in terms of its ability to act. The use of the demonstrative *this*, clearly referring to the present government, together with the engagement *genuinely*, and the ability modal *can*, simultaneously implies the inability of former government(s), hence implying negative judgement/appreciation.

XII) Discuss the debate around immigration described in the following excerpt (David Cameron's speech) from the perspective of appraisals.

It often swings between extremes, between those who argue strongly that migration is an unalloyed good, vital for our economic success and those who say it completely undermines our economy because immigrants take all our jobs. Between those who attack caution about immigration as racist and xenophobic and those who plead that our communities just can't cope with the demands of ever greater numbers flooding in.

In the debate around immigration, two opposing views are expressed. However, the two sides are not presented equally. There is a difference in how the proposition is attributed, mostly visible in the use of a reporting verb. The positive appreciation towards immigration, lexically overtly expressed via *good* and *vital*, is attributed to the supporters of immigration, while there is no overt attitude attributed to those who do not support it, although this can be retrieved from the context. For example, the negative attitude towards immigrants is implied through their description as *job-takers*, whereby the grader *all* strongly

⁶ If government, as the attitudinal target, is perceived as an institution, appreciation is conveyed. If it is perceived as people who govern/work in the institution, judgement is conveyed.

intensifies the problem of job-taking, hence seemingly attributing the problematic economy to immigrants. While the choice of the verb *argue*, further intensified by *strongly*, may imply the speaker's disagreement with those who support immigration, the choice of the verb *say* attached to those who do not support immigration performs a neutral role, thus avoiding any signal of (dis)agreement. Furthermore, the choice of the lexical word *attack* and the intensified reporting verb *argue strongly* may imply the rather offensive, if not aggressive, behaviour of those supportive of immigration, since their attack is oriented towards caution, hence implying a negative judgement. Additionally, the strongly negative judgemental expressions *racist* and *xenophobic* used by immigration supporters to target the caution of their opponents may further support the reading of a negative judgement towards their (supporters') behaviour, thus carrying the implication of being problematic. On the other hand, the choice of the verb *plead*, and the grader *just* paired with lack of ability, implies again that the behaviour of those who are cautious about immigration is non-problematic. Another difference can be seen in the use of targets of evaluation. While the target of positive evaluation is migration, the target of negative evaluation is immigrants. The problem of the large influx of immigrants is presented with the quantifier of extent *ever*, intensified comparison 'greater', and the infused intensified amount grader expressed metaphorically as *flooding in*, additionally presenting those who are against immigration in a non-offensive manner by simply stating a fact about the impossibility of coping with this influx.

XIII) How is the problem of excessive immigration presented in terms of appraisals in the following excerpt (David Cameron's speech)?

But excessive immigration also brings pressures, real pressures on our communities up and down the country. Pressures on schools, housing and healthcare. And social pressures too.

The listing of kinds and targets of pressure in short elliptical statements intensifies the negative appreciation targeting excessive immigration.

3 Conclusion

Now more than ever, in the current political climate, our learners need to be equipped with the necessary tools, in particular critical reading skills, to dismantle the (often dehumanising) discourse to which they are exposed. Through the use of the appraisal-based tasks we have presented here, we hope to guide our learners to uncover and evaluate the often hidden language mechanisms that create meaning in a text. The migration-themed texts and accompanying exercises are designed to expose our learners to the specifically interpersonal language elements at work when we discuss such issues, allowing them to critically engage with the perspectives they encounter, and ultimately contributing to the development of their intercultural competence.

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The Colossal Future of Canada: Mrs Humphry Ward's *Canadian Born*

MICHELLE GADPAILLE

Abstract How did an intellectual Englishwoman become an apologist for colonial expansion across the Dominion of Canada in the first decade of the 20th century? The paper explores the role of Mary Augusta Ward (née Arnold) in promoting the imperialist project of the Canadian Pacific Railway and of prairie settlement by converting her private railway journey across Canada into a polemical novel, *Canadian Born/Lady Merton, Colonist* (1910). I consider the extent to which Ward was instrumentalized by the CPR and other Canadian power brokers, or whether her novel's pro-colonization perspective originated in pre-existent imperialist principles.

Keywords: • Mary Augusta Ward • Mrs Humphry Ward • Canadian Pacific Railway • Canadian prairies •

Kolosalna prihodnost Kanade: *Rojena v Kanadi* gospe Humphry Ward

MICHELLE GADPAILLE

Povzetek Kako angleška intelektualka postane zagovornica širjenja kolonij na kanadskem ozemlju v prvem desetletju 20. stoletja? Prispevek obravnava vlogo Mary Auguste Ward (rojene Arnold) v imperialističnem projektu podjetja Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), ki je gradilo pacifiško železnico, in poseljevanju prerije, opisano v polemičnem romanu *Canadian Born/Lady Merton, Colonist (Rojena v Kanadi/Gospa Merton, kolonizatorka, 1910)*. Roman temelji na dnevniških zapiskih, nastalih med avtoričinim potovanjem z vlakom skozi Kanado. V prispevku ugotavljam, v kakšni meri so CPR in drugi kanadski centri moči izrabili Mary Augusto Ward in ali naklonjenost kolonizaciji v romanu temelji na njenih privzetih imperialističnih načelih.

Ključne besede: • Mary Augusta Ward • gospa Humphry Ward • Canadian Pacific Railway • kanadske prerije •

1 Introduction

There was once an era in which Canada was considered “new”, when the nation was seen as the hope for the future and even as owning the coming 20th century (Gadpaille 2000, 63-64). Such millennial talk was commonplace near the turn of the 20th century, marking an era in which the young Dominion emerged on the global stage.

It is curious, nevertheless, to find this viewpoint from outside Canada, from the imperial center, and from the Englishwoman Mary Augusta Ward (1851-1920). Born into the prominent intellectual family of the Arnolds, she published under her married name as Mrs Humphry Ward and wrote *Canadian Born* (1910) as a fictional encomium to Canada, lauding its youth, energy, class mobility and economic potential.¹ Writing as a committed imperialist, Ward recognized Britain and its colonies as unitary, and Canada as the most satisfactory element within that unit in the decade before World War I. Although Ward viewed Canada through an imperialist paradigm, she cast a critical eye over the social and cultural failings in Edwardian Britain. Hers was a view from an old Europe, of a new land, cast in the role of saviour offspring to the mother country. It is thus as a “missionary” for Canada to Britain that Ward will be viewed here; hers constitutes a perspective rooted in a particular time, pervaded by class assumptions and connected to her unique social, religious and political engagement with post-Victorian mores.

Although the Canadian literary critic Northrop Frye found Mrs Ward to be a “keen and intelligent observer” (Frye 1982, 78) when he dealt with her work in the “Conclusion” to the *Literary History of Canada*, the connection of her work with Canada has not often been researched. Ward’s achievements in literature lie elsewhere and in the past, as discussed in the next section. Nevertheless, this novelist did tour Canada in a private railway car in 1908 as the guest of several prominent Canadian businessmen and politicians, including the Governor General (Lord Grey):

¹ Also published under the title *Lady Merton, Colonist*. After initial serialization (*Cornhill Magazine*, *Ladies Home Journal* between 1909 and 1910), the novel enjoyed multiple publications: London: Smith Elder, 1910; London: John Murray, 1910; Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1910; New York: Doubleday, Page, 1910; New York: A. L. Burt, 1910; London: George Newnes: 1912, 1914; and Winnipeg, MAN: Clark Bros, 1910.

[W]e went north to Canada for yet another chapter of quickened life. A week at Montreal, first with Sir William van Horne, then Ottawa, and a week with Lord and Lady Grey; and finally the never-to-be-forgotten experience of three weeks in the "Saskatchewan," Sir William's car on the Canadian Pacific Railway, which took us first from Toronto to Vancouver, and then from Vancouver to Quebec. (Ward 1918, *Recollections*, 161)

Despite her governmental connections, the romance that Ward subsequently spun about Canada was not an aristocratic one; she praised Canadian railways, railroad engineering, industrialization, urbanization and the simple farming life, all the while "trying not to be patronizing," as Frye observed (Frye 1982, 78). In recommending Canada to her readers in Britain, however, Ward sold a vision of colonial success and solidarity that was both superficial and, inevitably, somewhat patronizing.

2 Mary Augusta: From Arnold to Ward

Who was this obscure writer who pulled such influential strings to arrange a tour of the Canadian provinces in 1908? Born in Tasmania, Mary Augusta Arnold was the daughter of Matthew Arnold's brother, who converted to Roman Catholicism, lost his government job in Tasmania and returned to England (Trevelyan 1923, 4-6).² Mary Arnold thus grew up in a family where faith formed a battlefield. She soon (1872) married Humphry Ward (Trevelyan 1923, 26-27), whose surname she adopted and used for the rest of her writing life. A self-taught scholar, she first wrote on medieval Spanish history and participated in the doctrinal debates that rocked the Anglican Church in Britain at mid-century. Her influences at Oxford University included Benjamin Jowett, John Henry Newman and Edward Pusey.³ However, it is for her fiction that she achieved fame. Her novel, *Robert Elsmere* (1888) was a runaway best seller—in Britain, the United States and Canada (Bassett and Walter 2001) and was even called "the book of the decade" (Sprigge 2004). This timely novel caught at a burning contemporary issue: loss of faith in conventional Christian doctrine. She dramatized this loss in the figure of a young clergyman (Elsmere), who marries a devout wife and then

² Janet Penrose Trevelyan was Ward's daughter as well as biographer.

³ Benjamin Jowett (1817-1893) was a theologian and Master of Balliol College, Oxford. John Henry Newman (1801-1890) was an Anglican priest at Oxford who converted to Roman Catholicism and became a Cardinal. Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-1882) was a leader of the Oxford Movement that sought to restore 17th-century high church ideals to Anglicanism.

loses his own faith and very nearly his wife in the process. Ward drew heavily on her parents' marriage for inspiration but also on her exposure to religious ideas and biblical scholarship at Oxford. Her portrayal of inner turmoil against a background of social activism appealed to readers' religious insecurities, as well as to their curiosity about marriage breakdown. The fame that Ward subsequently achieved made her the J. K. Rowling of her day.

Following the unexpected success of this novel, Ward continued to write copious fiction (twenty-five novels in all), but little of her output is as moving as *Robert Elsmere*. She pursued many fads of the day, perpetuating the “novel of ideas”—and many of her pet ideas were conservative.⁴ Ward was anti-divorce law, anti-suffrage and pro-imperialist. Above all, her fiction dealt with substantial ideas in current debate, her subjects being, as one critic said, “proper to the platform and the lecture room” (Gwynn 1917, 50).

Mrs Ward's literary reputation suffered at the hands of the next generation of writers, the early modernists, for whom her moral earnestness and residual faith were out of date and her opposition to votes for women incomprehensible. Virginia Woolf, for instance, opined that “None of the great Victorian reputations has sunk lower than that of Mrs Humphry Ward” (Woolf 1979, 171). Undoubtedly, Ward did actively oppose the cause of suffrage. At the same time that she was writing *Canadian Born*, she was one of the leading founders of the Women's National Anti-suffrage League (1908) and would later dedicate a novel to preaching against votes for women (*Delia Blanchflower*, 1914).⁵

This type of conservatism would seem to place Ward beyond the pale, in the realm of the Victorian angel in the house. Critic Judith Wilt has even said that Ward was behind her times and enshrined the quip in the title of her monograph (Wilt 2005). To put Ward's work in perspective, we can note that roughly contemporaneous with *Canadian Born* were novels that could make Mrs Ward seem progressive by comparison: Arnold Bennett's *The Old Wives Tale*, Marie Corelli's *Holy Orders*, Kenneth Grahame's *Wind in the Willows*, and L. M. Montgomery's *Anne of Green Gables*. In contrast, other works published at that

⁴ Ward herself reported the quip that one of her talents was “interesting fashionable ladies in things of the mind” (Ward 1918, *Recollections*, 110).

⁵ John Sutherland, one of Ward's biographers, called her “the suffragette's unlikeliest enemy” and speculated about her need to impress powerful men and her fear of terrorism and lesbianism—both assumed to go hand-in-hand with the suffragist movement (Sutherland 2013). See Argyle (2003) for an analysis of Ward's position on votes for women.

time sided with modernism and a new type of literature: E. M. Forster, *A Room with a View*, or H. G. Wells, *A Modern Utopia*. Moreover, the 1909 Nobel Prize for literature would go to the Swede Selma Lagerlof, whose writing challenged convention in directions not attempted by Ward. Despite early success and copious fictional output, therefore, Ward sided more with the century of her birth than with the new world of Edwardian Britain.

In placing Ward politically, we should also consider her championing of female education, social engineering and engagement in municipal politics. Ward could mobilize public support for social and political action; in 1893 she founded a “Settlement” in London to educate the working class; she can even be considered the originator of public child care in Britain (Sprigge 2004).⁶ She thought women belonged within a certain sphere of political action—but not beyond it, and she claimed wide support for her conservative stance. In her volume *A Writer's Recollections*, Ward denies that any women in her circle had been enthusiastic about women’s suffrage (Ward 1918, *Recollections*). Remembering her birth date (1851),⁷ however, we see that Ward was caught in a transitional generation: Arnold of Rugby was her grandfather⁸ and Matthew Arnold, the great Victorian poet, essayist and philosopher was her uncle, but Thomas Henry Huxley was her sister’s father-in-law.⁹ She lived between the rock of faith, class and muscular Christianity, and the dangerous shoal of Darwinism, Oxford intellectual enquiry and active social engagement. She conceptualized Oxford of the 1870s as a battlefield of ideas, with “the Liberal and Utilitarian camp, the Church camp, the researching and pure scholarship camp—with Science and the Museum hovering in the background” (Ward 1918, *Recollections*, 175). Born to intellectual achievement and debate, Ward participated through the form most open to a gentlewoman of her time: novel writing. It was through the financial success and literary prominence conveyed by *Robert Elsmere* that she was able to broaden her engagement with the world.

She remains of interest to Canadian studies because in 1908, family connections procured her that invitation to visit Canada from the distinguished Sir William

⁶ See the account of her settlement work on the webpage of the centre that still continues her work <http://www.marywardcentre.ac.uk/history/>

⁷ She was more than thirty years older than Woolf, for instance, though only 7 years older than the Swede Lagerlof.

⁸ Thomas Arnold (1795 – 1842) was the headmaster of Rugby, an English public school immortalized in the boarding-school novel, *Tom Brown's School Days* (1857).

⁹ Huxley (1825-1895) was a biologist, famous as a supporter of Darwin’s theories.

Van Horne, the chairman of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). She also knew Lord Grey, the Governor General, and received a simultaneous invitation from him to visit Ottawa (Trevelyan 1923, 208). When Ward wrote her two-volume “writer’s recollections” in 1918, she gave the Canada trip scant mention, (one page at the end of the two-volume work), suggesting that the event had receded after the war to the periphery of her world view. Nevertheless, in its immediate aftermath, she did use the Canada trip as the backdrop for the novel *Lady Merton, Colonist*, which was published under the title *Canadian Born* in the British edition.¹⁰

3 Ward's “Canadian” Novel

Since few know this novel, I will summarize the plot: a rich young English widow, Lady Merton, crosses Canada by train with her younger brother. Along the way she falls in love with a Canadian railway engineer of humble origins named George Anderson. He follows her back to England; they marry and return to the prairies where he begins a career in politics. The bare bones of the plot align the novel with other romances set in exotic locations and intended for British female readers, but *Canadian Born* differs in its ending. Many romances from Canadian writers of the era were still finding happy endings in a return to England to a landed country existence, cushioned by invisible wealth.¹¹ Thus, the boomerang action of the plot in *Canadian Born* is striking (the couple settle in western Canada). The mid-narrative reunion of the two lovers—one Canadian, one British—in country-house England could have marked the terminus of Ward’s plot. When, in contrast, Lady Merton loosens the ties of heritage and follows her Canadian husband *back* to the prairies (not even to an eastern center like Montreal), Ward is taking a stand on several principles: through her heroine, she embraces change and moves forward to meet the future, while championing the identity of the Dominion and the mother country. Lady Merton can find her happy ending in the colony because, in Ward’s imperial scheme, Canada is another, younger Britain, or Britain given a second chance.

Behind this ideological message, Ward melded several genres in this book: its narrative betrays a debt to the western romance and the cowboy western. There

¹⁰ The title change reflects differing concepts of audience appeal: colonial romance for British readers in contrast to aristocratic appeal for American ones.

¹¹ In 1911, for example, a novel by another Englishwoman, Bessie Marchant, elevated a back-country Canadian girl to the title of Countess and returned the couple to England and an aristocratic life in *A Countess from Canada*.

are train robbers, hidden treasure, dramatic rescues and burned prairie homesteads woven around the main courtship plot. *Canadian Born* is also a travel narrative, sister to those accounts by aristocratic British women of journeys through dangerous territory into exotic lands. Such narratives would soon be written about Canada, too, since Mary Schaffer's *Old Indian Trails of the Canadian Rockies* would appear in 1911. Schaffer's was a fact-based explorer narrative, stressing the author's discovery of new territory in the Rockies. Ward, in contrast, never strayed far from the main railway track, either in the novel or on her actual train trip, although she and Schaffer did meet briefly, a meeting acknowledged in the "Foreword" to *Canadian Born*.¹²

What is striking is the close relation between the travel part of the novel's plot and Ward's actual trip across Canada. Sir William Van Horne had offered Mrs Ward a private railway car for her own use, with a personal cook (Trevelyan 1923, 208). Ward was already an admirer of the railway and its potential to change society for the better, finding in its steel grid "the break-up of a thousand mental stagnations" (Ward 1918, *Recollections*, 98). Although Ward's private train carriage met no actual train robbers (as in the novel), the trip did hit a snag before reaching Winnipeg, when a railway bridge collapsed into the muskeg and the train had to await repairs. An exactly similar incident occurs in the novel, with the same accident, identical weather (a downpour) and even the meeting with a helpful railway official (Ward 1910, 33-34). The assistant manager of the line is mentioned as well as a political personage: "[W]e captured a Manitoba senator and made him come and talk to us," Ward reports of her real train journey in a masterful moment (Trevelyan 1923, 217). In the novel, Lady Merton falls in love with the helpful railway official, George Anderson. Since Ward was a self-confessed user of autobiographical elements in her fiction (her *Recollections* confess in particular to the use of houses and landscape settings from her own life), one could speculate on what romantic adventures happened in the muskeg during the real cross-Canada trip. But one must not mistake fictional romance for real: Ward was accompanied on her travels by her family and was not free to indulge in incidental romance, even had she wanted to. However, Ward *did* fall in love on this visit, but it was with Canada, or rather, with a construct of Canada

¹² "Towards the end of this story the readers of it will find an account of an "unknown lake" in the northern Rockies /.../ Strictly speaking, "Lake Elizabeth" is a lake of dream. But it has an original on this real earth, which bears another and a real name, and was discovered two years ago by my friend Mrs. Schäffer, of Philadelphia, to whose enchanting narratives of travel and exploration in these untrodden regions I listened with delight at Field, British Columbia, in June, 1908." ("A Foreword").

that she chose to masculinise and embody in the figure of George Anderson, the novel's hero.

If we seek real-life models for Anderson, we discover from one of her letters home that on her trip, Ward met several notable Canadians (Trevelyan 1923, 207-223): Wilfrid Laurier, Colonel George Denison, Mr. F. C Wade, Agent-General for British Columbia, and Mackenzie King, who was not yet the Canadian Prime Minister. Ward had previously known King in London, where he had participated in her Settlement project. She also records being impressed with the Superintendent of the Laggan division of the CPR line, who accompanied the party in the Rockies near Banff in June 1908. We should not forget Sir Robert McBride, the Premier of British Columbia, as well as Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Robert Borden, both of whom she mentions as "historic figures" in her *Recollections* (Ward 1918, 161). The family history of the novel's hero even resembles that of Sir William Van Horne himself.¹³ Her hero is thus a composite of several forceful men that she encountered in her brief Canadian trip.

Lady Merton/Canadian Born is thus not a *roman-à-clef* but a novel of ideas, and the central idea was that nations and cultures had life cycles. An evolutionary paradigm informs Ward's concept of the young nation: her Canada is youthful, pragmatic and adaptable; it breaks old paradigms, while venturing where "dear decrepit" England (Ward 1910, 209) could not go because of inertia and class rigidity. This is similar to the image of New Zealand projected in her *Recollections*, where she sees that colony as offering "chances of reconstruction beyond any that were possible in a crowded and decadent Europe" (Ward 1918, *Recollections*, 12-13). Ward's heroine sees Canada, that other colonial gem, as "absorbed in a rushing present, held by the vision of a colossal future" (Ward 1910, 5). What Ward strove to rectify in Britain with her institutes for working class education, her child-care facilities, her settlements and her college for women's education (Somerville Hall, later Somerville College in Oxford), she saw as not needing rectification in a Canada where class barriers were much less pronounced and prosperity more evenly spread. Her Canada was a vast social experiment using the British variables she most cherished.

¹³ See the entry for Sir William Cornelius Van Horne in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Available at www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/sir-william-cornelius-van-horne/

This optimistic summation of the Dominion in 1908 reflects the fact that Ward's brief visit did not allow her to probe the places in Canada where one might have found social stratification, worker exploitation, rural poverty or aboriginal neglect. None of these realities was visible from the comfort of her private railway carriage, and this screened view was likely deliberate on the part of her hosts. Most of her observations in the novel, her letters and memoirs, are completely positive: "Some day [Ottawa] will be a great city," she prophesies (Trevelyan 1923, 214), while she permits her heroine the more emotional pronouncement: "I am quite in love with your country" (Ward 1910, 28). From Ottawa, Ward travelled along a railway corridor of bustling economic activity and was surrounded by the privilege and adoration due to a best-selling author. Hers was an almost regal progress across the Dominion.

4 The Ideology of Empire

Mrs Ward came, saw and wrote with a decided agenda; this was no mere sight-seeing expedition: "I want to poke them up" she said (Sprigge 2004). Those needing the poking seem to have been the complacent British establishment, secure in their superiority to the colonies, even the dominions. Ward was accustomed to using fiction for "poking" at vital issues and envisioned it as the proper form of intervention for women in current affairs.

Nevertheless, the conservative imperialist attitudes visible in her fictional summation did not spring wholesale from the railway journey of 1908. Ward was already a committed imperialist long before the trip, which served to reinforce strongly-held ideologies about colony-center relations. As a member of the council of the Victorian League for Empire Friendship, established 1901, she took part in their mission to disseminate information about Empire, particularly to women. In the ranks of this League she made contact with the imperial power brokers Lord Curzon and Lord Cromer,¹⁴ both of whom were anti-suffrage. By men such as these, women's suffrage was seen "as a threat to the virility of the imperial government" (Bush 2002, 432). Ward subscribed to a similar belief that women should not vote in "such a state as England, with its far-reaching imperial obligations, resting ultimately on the sanction of war" (Ward 1918, *Recollections*, 153). Her pro-imperial stance thus accompanied and helped to explain the anti-

¹⁴ George Curzon, 1st Marquess (1859-1925), appointed Viceroy of India in 1899. Evelyn Baring, 1st Earl of Cromer (1841-1917) a military man who in 1878 became British Controller-General in Egypt.

suffrage position (Sprigge 2004); they are not in conflict. Ward recognized an empire as a specifically “male force” (Ward 1914, 317), an endeavor in which she, as a woman, could function only as an accessory. She nevertheless often adopted the role of the one supportive female voice at the side of the masculinist establishment. Ward was claiming the privilege of accessory to empire building with this Canadian narrative, a position already visible in her previous work. In the novel *The Testing of Diana Mallory*, for instance, written around the time she embarked on her Canadian voyage, the heroine is an overt imperialist, described as “the young prophetess of Empire and of War” (Ward 1908, 69), who admires the bringing of “a new African Empire into being” (Ibid.).¹⁵ Both author and character are impressed by the transplantation of a vigorous version of the Anglo-Saxon construct, in contrast to the unruly American version of English-speaking culture that she had witnessed in Washington DC immediately before the trip to Canada.

Ward’s vision of Empire, though disappointingly patriarchal, is thus organic and evolutionary and based on a concept of Britain as creating settler colonies by adventitious or clonal propagation. She speaks of individual settlers as transplanted plants (Ward 1910, 219). Her concept owes much to the post-Darwinian ferment that marked the Oxford of her youth, a skeptical milieu in which she championed faith, while gradually coming to accept the economic implications of survivalism. Ward’s version of pro-imperial sentiment is close to the position of “Sane Imperialism” as named by George Bernard Shaw and espoused by the Fabian Society (Thompson 1997, 147-149). Nothing of the complexity of economic imperial relations survives in the novel, only the simplified ideology, personalized through the language of romantic commitment. Thus, in the mouth of her character, Lady Merton, the position is taken to an extreme: “We are yours—and you are ours, one state—one country” (Ward 1910, 209). Here the imperial relationship (colony to mother country) is declared as a kind of mystic trans-Atlantic marriage.

This remark can be dismissed as fictional hyperbole, but even writing as herself, Ward was effusive about the new country: “I am more thrilled by Canada than words can describe,” she writes in a letter home (Trevelyan 1923, 218). However, such sentiments echo those of almost every writer seeing the rivers, lakes, forests

¹⁵ See the webpage of the Orlando Project by Brown, Clements and Grundy for further information about this psychological novel.

and mountains of the Dominion for the first time and certainly motivated wilderness lovers like Mary Schaffer. Later, Ward specifies what she admires, and it begins with industrial conquest and expansion and only later moves on to sublime nature:

To see how a great railway can make and has made a country, to watch all the stages of the prairie towns, from the first wooden huts upwards to towns like Calgary and Regina, and the booming prosperity of Winnipeg—to be able to linger a little in the glorious Rockies, to rush down the Fraser Cañon, which Papa used to talk to us about and show us pictures of when we were children / . . . / and then to find ourselves at the end beside the ‘wide glimmering sea’ of the blue Pacific—all this was wonderful, a real enrichment of mind and imagination” (Letter, Ward to her husband, May 25, 1908, quoted in Trevelyan 1923).

Correspondingly, in the novel *Lady Merton* calls the settlement story unfolding outside the carriage window “a winding thread of life and civilization” (Ward 1910, 108), having accepted that European invasion of the territory signifies civilisation. Nowhere does the novel deal with the displacement of First Nations peoples, even though the Battle of Batoche, 1885, which was a decisive encounter in the North-West Rebellion, was only 23 years in the past. For Ward and her heroine, the western territories are natural extensions of the imperial body, and sent by providence to serve the needs of the mother body. *Lady Merton* hears an instinctive call from the land to “people my wastes” (Ward 1910, 221), where the author presumes that, in the absence of English settlers, the “empty” prairies will remain unpeopled. To avoid this fate, Ward’s protagonist embraces the imperial utility of western Canada and explicitly refuses to relegate the Canadian landscape to mere “spectacle and pageant” (Ward 1910, 220) for the delight of travellers. In contrast to Mary Schaffer, the explorer, Ward’s is not an invitation to experience or preserve the sublime elements in the environment. Instead, it is the active settler occupation of the land that allows *Lady Merton* to call the view from the train window, “the epic of the C.P.R.” (Ward 1910, 222).

5 The Canadian Pacific Railway

This grandiose sentiment reflects the self-generated mythology of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The CPR sponsored tours like Mrs Ward's as part of a public relations campaign to increase tourist traffic, promote the west as a settler destination and disseminate its self-image as a nation builder rather than a commercial enterprise.¹⁶ Following completion of the coast-to-coast track, the CPR went on to influence Canadian commerce, politics and social development, while crafting an enduring image of Canada's identity (Dempsey 1984, 8). In posters, brochures and pamphlets, the railroad presented itself as the best way to the west, to a "Canadian Eden" (Francis 1997, 23). Other female travellers had benefited from the railway's vast reach; Mary Schaffer, for instance, might never have reached and claimed Lake Maligne without the railway.¹⁷ The ideologies of Schaffer and other explorers, bound up in wilderness and environmental concerns, exist in a conflicted relation to the railway's enormous economic power, despite their reliance on its tracks to reach the Rockies. "Lady" explorers needed the CPR's reach, but conspired to ignore, perhaps even to conceal their dependence on its tainted bounty. In contrast, Ward allows the railway full credit for both imperial wealth creation and her own—and her characters'—access to it: "[I]t was not with the mountains that [her] deepest mind was busy. She took really keener note of the railway itself" (Ward 1910, 217). In the novel, Lady Merton accepts the C.P.R.'s self-assessment as the force that "changed the face of the world." The great railway, the heroine tells us, spoke to her and changed her vision of Canada.

In attracting riders and building a country, what better advertising than a proven best-seller? Ward arrived in Canada with a winning sales record; she also had a history of espousing causes in writing, of linking fiction to ideas in what Oliver Wendell Holmes had called "the medicated novel" (Ward 1918, *Recollections*, 248) and of using personal experience in her fiction. We cannot assume that the decision to invite her was deliberate, but it could have been a shrewd PR move by the CPR. If, as David Francis argues, "the CPR publicity machine succeeded in turning the country into story" (Francis 1997, 29), then Ward helped by turning a nation into a novel and its leaders into a hero for the times.

¹⁶ For instance, the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York (the future George V and Queen Mary) toured Canada in 1901.

¹⁷ See the account of the lake's discovery by the European party in Schaffer, 117-123.

In places, Ward allows Lady Merton's enthusiasm for Canada to reach absurd heights, as Frye noted (Frye 1982, 78). Borrowing on the tabula rasa metaphor for colonization, she rhapsodizes about seeing across the prairies "history begun on a blank page, by men who know what they are writing" (Ward 1910, 85), but falls into bathos: "[a]nd then God said, 'Let there be a nation!' and there was a nation in a night and a morning" (Ibid.). Such Eurocentric spatial appropriation grates on our cultural nerves nowadays, but we need to interrogate Ward's concept, in order to understand her impulse to "convert" British readers to her own enthusiasm for Canada.

It is clear from her own comments and those of the characters in *Canadian Born* that Ward admired a compound of Canadian qualities: the perceived blank slate, the physical challenge of the landscape, the massive investment of human and financial capital, the boundless social opportunity, the rapid return on investment and the aggressive masculinity of the leadership. So, although Lady Merton praises Canada for moving from romance yesterday to "reality tomorrow," in a "Sisterhood of States" (Ward 1910, 114), she also takes a simplistic naturalistic stance towards the romance of farming. Some of Lady Merton's remarks are reminiscent of motifs from the prairie novelist F. P. Grove in their insistence on the heroic figure of "the man wrestling with the earth" (Ward 1910, 129). Exposure to Canada seems to have converted Ward to the then-current literary vogue for naturalism.

By the end of Ward's trip, Lord Grey was describing Mrs Ward as a "red hot Canadian missionary" (letter to MAW June 12, 1908 qtd. in Trevelyan 1923). She distances herself from this proselytizing tag, but does concede that "neither Canada nor Lord Grey had any reason to complain" (Trevelyan 1923, 226). There is thus explicit acknowledgement that she has a job to do in reporting positively on Canada, and she sees herself as willing and able to do it. Ward threw herself into the role of pro-Canadian propagandist in much the way that writers (including Edith Wharton and L. M. Montgomery as well as Ward herself) would soon put their talents to work on the war effort in World War I. Lord Grey could have had no complaint about Ward's pro-railway polemics in a passage such as this:

[H]ow wonderful to see a nation made consciously!—before your eyes—by science and intelligence—everything thought for, everything foreseen! First of all, this wonderful railway, driven across these deserts, against

opposition, against unbelief, by a handful of men, who risked everything, and have—perhaps!—changed the face of the world (Ward 1910, 84).

For someone who prided herself on her critical acumen, Mary Arnold Ward succumbed with remarkable completeness to the seductions of CPR publicity and the royal treatment.¹⁸ Her novel scants many issues of settlement, expansion and nation-building; for example, the existence of the First Nations is barely recognized. Native Canadians appear only as irrelevant obstacles to European expansion. The increase of passenger traffic on the CPR line is explained to Lady Merton as the result of “an Indian reserve” having been “thrown open” to settlers, with no comment on the probable negative effects of such encroachment (Ward 1910, 56).

Moreover, Lady Merton enjoys the privilege of riding on a private car because she is a part-owner of the company. We are told that her father had been an early backer of the railway company and had saved it financially during its first, struggling years. Since she lives on invested capital from her father's estate, she is presumably a shareholder in the company that throws Indians off their land as much as in the company that helps impoverished Europeans settle that land. One cynical way of looking at Lady Merton's cross-country trip is simply as a just return on a sound investment. From this point of view, Mrs Ward has much in common with the privileged blogger of the 21st century, who travels in comfort, taking selfies against exotic backgrounds, while excluding from the viewfinder any inconvenient truths about poverty, pollution or social unrest. *Canadian Born* is, however, a more permanent marker of its author's convictions than a blog, although similarly infected with uncontested assumptions about success and progress.

In fact, all the elements of Ward's particular romance of the periphery depend on a solid underpinning of finance and investment that extended from the City of London, through Montreal to the western terminus of the CPR.¹⁹ For instance, Ward's romance of Canadian conquest of distance owes much to a reduction in freight rates that took place in 1908 (Marchildon 1996, 158). The railroad that she painted as the route to the pristine wilderness of the Rockies and their foothills served as the primary channel for the wheat trade and played

¹⁸ Though she was no less a celebrity south of the border, her trip to the US (just preceding the visit to Canada) did not turn her into any kind of missionary, red hot or otherwise.

¹⁹ See McGowan (1981) for a discussion of capital accumulation in the imperial centre.

a role in opening up the oil industry. Though her plot downplays the importance of British money in the lives of her characters, Ward herself benefited from British investment capital as she rode in her private car across lands that had once known no law of private property. Moreover, her political position of “Sane Imperialism” facilitated the continuation of British global trade supremacy.

Even the plot of Ward’s novel provides unobvious commentary on the imbalance between home and colony in the key areas of capital and business acumen. Lady Merton is given a sickly younger brother, Philip, whose main interests are champagne and hunting. Ward uses this character as a foil to George Anderson, the Canadian engineer and later politician who knows how to put capital to work in the service of what Mrs Ward understands as progress. Anderson saves the weaker Philip from drowning (Ward 1910, 172), but cannot save him from his eventual decline. Ward’s plot allows this brother to die, while Lady Merton sides with masculine vigor and progress Canadian style. Personal romantic choice thus merges with an almost evolutionary paradigm for survival of those best fitted for nation-building: “[W]e stand together. We march together,” Anderson affirms, and it is clear that “we” indicates both the personal and the imperial duos (Ward 1910, 210). A tamer British suitor drops out of the contest, so that romantic choice becomes a metaphor for imperial decision, and the move westwards a signal of Ward’s prophecy for the future of colonial policy.

6 Conclusion: In the service of ideology

Ward’s romance plot embodies a transparent imperialist metaphor imbued with notions of racial destiny, to people the “wastes” of the prairie wilderness, as Lady Merton muses. The vision that suffuses *Canadian Born* is commercially progressive, though limited in the roles assigned to women and colonial territories, both of which become agents of imperialist ideology. Alternatively, we can interpret Ward’s ideas in a more favourable light: this author may not have supported votes for women, but she *did* give her heroine the opportunity to choose a new course for imperial Britain. Using images both romantic and industrial, Ward painted a Canada that, albeit with its “own history” (Ward 1910, 210), would not only merge with the mother country, but take the *de facto* lead in the imperial project.

In her fleeting vision of Canada, Ward drew a distinction between Canadian prairies and Canadian mountains; the first she saw as an economic opportunity for unfolding a British destiny; the second, she conceded as belonging to a different scheme of value (Ward 1910, 216-217). The high ranges she (and her heroine) thought sublime but removed from human commerce: “But in the Rockies and the Selkirks man counts for nothing in the past; and, except as wayfarer and playfellow, it is probable that he will count for nothing in the future” (Ward 1910, 217). Ward never reconciled these two visions of Canada: the booming agro-industrial utopia of the CPR’s epic and the changeless tableau of the mountains, which were even then being explored by Mary Schaffer, a very different kind of female travel writer. Nor did Ward manage to grasp the other founding nation—the French, despite having one interesting French-Canadian character in the novel. The marginal treatment of this character, and of the French-Canadian and First Nations elements generally, shows Ward’s failure to grasp Canada as more than an impressive page from the CPR playbook. We can conclude that “the competing allegiances and constituencies that structured Canadian national identity” (Fiamengo 29) in the first decade of the 20th century remained invisible even to a scholarly mind. Mary Augusta Ward’s one “Canadian” novel reveals the subordination of art to ideology that marks all her later fictional output and keeps her in the lower ranks of 19th-century writers.

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Atwood's Early Novels: Between Romance and Metafiction

TJAŠA MOHAR

Abstract Romance novels represent one of the genres of popular literature, the aim of which is above all to entertain the reader. Works of popular literature are simplified and single-layered; they encourage reader passivity and try to adjust to popular literary schemes in order to appeal to a large audience. This paper analyses two early novels by Margaret Atwood, *The Edible Woman* and *Lady Oracle*, which at first sight resemble romance novels. Owing to their light-heartedness and wit, they can be read on one level as romance novels by a non-demanding reader who is interested only in the plot. However, as the analysis shows, the novels' resemblance to romances is superficial, for they are much more complex and allow for multiple meanings: while *The Edible Woman* can be read as an anti-comedy, a satire or a protofeminist novel, *Lady Oracle* is a highly auto-referential example of metafiction.

Keywords: • Margaret Atwood • *The Edible Woman* • *Lady Oracle* • popular literature • romance •

Zgodnji deli Margaret Atwood: med ljubezenskim romanom in metafikcijo

TJAŠA MOHAR

Povzetek Ljubezenski romani predstavljajo zvrst trivialne književnosti, katere namen je predvsem, da bralca zabava. Za trivialna besedila sta značilna poenostavljanje in enoplastnost, ki spodbujata pasivnost bralca, s prilagajanjem priljubljenim literarnim modelom pa skušajo ta besedila ugajati širšim množicam. Prispevek analizira zgodnji deli Margaret Atwood, *The Edible Woman* (*Užitna ženska*) in *Lady Oracle* (*Prerokišče*), ki na prvi pogled spominjata na ljubezenska romana. Njuna lahkotnost in duhovitost do neke mere dovoljujeta, da ju nezahteven bralec, ki ga zanima le zgodba, bere kot ljubezenska romana. Vendar je njuna podobnost z ljubezenskimi romani zgolj navidezna, kajti kot pokaže analiza, sta romana precej kompleksnejša in večpomenska: *The Edible Woman* lahko beremo kot antikomedijo, satiro ali profeminiističen roman, *Lady Oracle* pa je visoko avtoreferencialen primer metafikcije.

Ključne besede: • Margaret Atwood • *The Edible Woman* • *Lady Oracle* • trivialna književnost • ljubezenski roman •

1 Introduction

Some time ago, I was invited to give a talk at a literary festival dedicated to popular literature. Called TriviaFest, it was organized by my colleague, who is herself an author of romance novels, besides being an English teacher at a primary school. The festival took place in Maribor in spring 2018. At first, I did not know which topic to choose for my talk, for I am not a connoisseur of popular literature. After consideration, I decided to talk about Alice Munro, the Canadian short story writer and winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2013. Munro's works are, of course, not categorized as popular literature or literature of entertainment. However, they belong to the domain of women's writing, for they feature mostly female characters, they present the world through women's eyes and deal with topics from every-day life that mostly concern and interest women, such as love and relationships. Until recently, women's literature in general was considered of lesser quality than literature written by men. As Alojzija Zupan Sosič (2017, 16) explains, in the past, the literary canon consisted mostly of works written by men from Western countries, and it was only in the postmodern period that—under the influence of feminist and postcolonial critique—other, lighter works began to be accepted to the canon. Despite the fact that nowadays, women authors have considerably more opportunities than in the past, women's literature is still sometimes considered inferior to literature written by men. The aim of my talk at TriviaFest was therefore to present an example of a woman author who had succeeded in creating world literature by writing about women and their lives, or by combining “the female, the personal and the provincial”, as Valentina Plahuta Simčič (2011) described Munro's writing in an article for the *Delo* newspaper. As a result of my participation at TriviaFest, I became interested in the criteria that are used to distinguish works of popular literature from those that are considered high or serious literature. This is one of the issues with which this paper deals.

In order to draw the line between the two categories of literature, popular and high literature, this paper will examine two early novels by Margaret Atwood, another globally famous Canadian author, who has had great success and won numerous literary awards (although not (yet) the Nobel Prize). These novels are *The Edible Woman*, first published in 1969, and *Lady Oracle*, first published in 1976. These two novels have been selected for the apparent light-heartedness of their topic and tone, in which they resemble romance novels, one of the genres of popular literature. Although the novels are generally not classified as romance

novels, they possess a great capacity to entertain and, as such, can appeal to non-demanding readers, those who are mostly seeking entertainment. The aim of the analysis of the two novels is to show that, although they might be read as romance novels, their resemblance to such literature is superficial, for they lack other features that are characteristic of popular literature.

2 Popular literature

2.1 Definition

Before we tackle the analysis of the two novels, the term popular literature needs to be explained and defined. There exist different terms that denote the kind of literature that is not considered high or artistic literature. As Milan Hladnik (2002) points out, the Slovene term 'trivialna književnost' is derived from the German word 'Trivilliteratur' and encompasses a range of non-serious or popular literature. He further argues that the term popular literature refers only to one type of 'trivialna književnost', that is to the "kind of writing for simple folk that is indifferent to the edification of the reader and which prefers sensational motives" (2002), while 'trivialna književnost' is a broader notion. Zupan Sosič (2017, 116) explains that the English counterpart for 'trivialna književnost' or 'Trivilliteratur' is subliterature, sometimes also escape literature; however, these terms are often replaced by the broader term mass literature, or popular literature. Zupan Sosič (2017, 377) defines this kind of literature as light, entertaining and with less artistic value, thus as the opposite of high or artistic literature, for the authors of popular literature tend to adjust their writing to the existing models in order to please a large audience. This is in line with John Robert Colombo's (2007) explanation that the term popular literature refers to "writing which has shown wide and continued acceptance", which is measured in terms of sales, imitations, adaptations as well as commercial success. As Colombo (2007) further explains, "popular" is a synonym for "successful", rather than an antonym of "serious"; therefore best-sellers all fit into the category of popular literature. Among the best-selling Canadian authors of contemporary fiction, Colombo (2007) mentions Margaret Atwood, alongside Michael Ondaatje and Ann-Marie MacDonald, claiming that their works might be labelled popular literature.

2.2 Characteristics

In her book titled *Teorija pripovedi (Theory of Narration)*, Zupan Sosič defines subliterate or popular literature as a “subsystem of the literary system”, and argues that ‘triviality’ in literature is “a movable category, consisting of inter-textual and extra-textual ‘triviality’” (2017, 114). According to her, the five key features of inter-textual ‘triviality’ are 1) prevalence of the aesthetics of identity, 2) redundancy of information, 3) simplification, 4) single-layered meaning, and 5) lack of auto-referentiality (2017, 117). These features will be further explained below.

The prevalent aesthetics in a work of popular literature is, according to Zupan Sosič, “the aesthetics of identity”, which means that the literary work tries to adjust “to popular literary schemes that please large audiences” (2017, 117). Such literary works are thus typified and repeatable, while a quality literary work is always original, as Zupan Sosič (2017, 117-118) argues. She further explains that by the “automatization of schemes, stereotypes and clichés”, a ‘trivial’ text becomes “known and predictable”, while the repetition of information in the text via models and patterns creates redundancy (2017, 118). However, as Zupan Sosič (2017, 118) points out, repetition of the same information is desirable in a ‘trivial’ text, for such a text strives towards a simplification of the literary world and towards a superficial reception. She adds that by striving towards immediate understanding, a ‘trivial’ text directs the reader’s attention to the events in the story, while neglecting the discourse and its characteristics; in this way, it limits the reader’s participation in filling potential gaps (2017, 119). The role of simplification, which is another characteristic of a ‘trivial’ text, is, according to Zupan Sosič (2017, 119), to provide a simplified view of the world; the world thus becomes very logical and uncomplicated and, as such, can appeal to a large readership. Simplification also means, as Zupan Sosič (2017, 2020) further explains, that complicated situations are resolved in the end, all the questions are answered, and a happy ending is the reward for the characters’ endurance through difficult situations. Additionally, a ‘trivial’ text is mostly single-layered in order to avoid multiple meanings and possible misunderstandings, as Zupan Sosič (2017, 120) points out. The last characteristic, the lack of auto-referentiality, refers to the lack of referentiality of the text to its own context, composition, or structure, for the readers of such literary works are only interested in the plot, as Zupan Sosič (2017, 121) explains.

These inter-textual features enable us to define what a ‘trivial’ text is, as Zupan Sosič (2017, 122) argues, while the extra-textual characteristics enable us to determine when ‘trivial’ occurs. These extra-textual characteristics are, according to Zupan Sosič (2017, 122-126), a) ‘trivial’ contract (similar to a literary contract, only that it refers to popular literature); b) ‘trivial’ competence (the reader’s competence to recognize a ‘trivial’ text and assess it); c) the author’s intention (author’s intention to write a ‘trivial’ text); d) ‘trivial’ empathy (reader’s ability to become involved with the text, to identify with it and understand it); e) and ‘trivial’ assessment (reader’s ability to assess the quality or value of the text).

3 Between Romance and Metafiction

The intra-textual characteristics of popular literature that were discussed in the previous chapter can thus be found in romance novels, which represent one of the genres of popular literature, others being detective stories, mystery stories and adventure stories. In the following, we shall analyse *The Edible Woman* and *Lady Oracle* in order to determine whether and to what extent they fit the category of romance novels.

It could be argued that both novels, *The Edible Woman* and *Lady Oracle*, resemble romance novels. The novels’ titles as well as the covers of several editions¹ might suggest that they are not serious novels, but rather novels treating a light topic, such as romance. As Michelle Gadpaille argues, the cover illustrations of romance novels play an important role for the reader when selecting a book, for such novels are “professionally packaged—arrangements of coded visual signals” (1998, 111). Both novels, *Lady Oracle* and *The Edible Woman*, might thus be selected by a reader looking for a romance novel. The covers of some editions of the novels even explicitly promise light reading; for instance, the 1992 and the

¹ The covers of two Virago editions of *The Edible Woman* feature a bride in a white dress (1980 and 2009); the cover of another edition shows women’s legs from calves to feet, raised in the air (Virago Press, 1980), while an American edition (Warner Books, 1983) features a couple from the waist up in an erotic pose—the man is naked and the woman is scantily dressed.

The covers of the 1992 and the 2009 Virago editions of *Lady Oracle* feature a smiling, youthful woman dressed in a casual summer dress, with white sunglasses and a scarf covering her red hair. The cover picture of the 1998 Anchor edition features a half-hidden woman’s body from the waist to the neck, dressed in a lavish, long-sleeved dress revealing one naked shoulder, while waist-long curly red hair falls across the other. The cover of the 1998 Emblem Editions edition features a silhouette of a woman dressed in a long, elegant orange dress. Turning away from us, she is surrounded by an eerie orange light to create a mysterious, spiritual atmosphere.

2009 Virago covers of *Lady Oracle* describe the protagonist as “A Mistress of controlled hysteria”, while the 1980 and the 2009 Virago covers of *The Edible Woman* define the book as “Funny, sharp, witty and clever”. We do need to bear in mind, however, that the appealing illustrations and blurbs on the covers that stress the light-heartedness of the novels are a marketing move by the publishers, through which they try to attract more readers and sell more copies. As our analysis will show, the two novels do not meet the other criteria of popular literature that have been established.

3.1 *The Edible Woman*

The Edible Woman was written in 1965 and first published in 1969. As Rosemary Sullivan notes, the publisher first advertised the novel as “one of those serious books that treat modern life and female problems”, a declaration which did not please Atwood, for she meant it to be an “an anti-comedy” (1998, 164). The novel is written in a light-hearted tone that amuses and entertains the reader, although the heroine, Marian, is faced with a serious problem: she develops a severe eating disorder. Marian, who has recently finished her BA in English literature, is employed in a company that deals with market research. Her job involves writing questionnaires for products that are launched on the market to check customer satisfaction—something she is good at but does not really enjoy. Marian shares her apartment with an unconventional young woman named Ainsley and has a boyfriend called Peter, a prosperous young lawyer. Her eating problems begin when she becomes engaged to Peter, whom she has been dating for only a few months. Peter is good-looking and well behaved, with a promising career ahead of him; thus, the conventional thing for Marian to do is to accept when he proposes. However, as the date of the wedding approaches, her eating problems get worse and worse; her body rejects one kind of food after another. When her body starts rejecting vegetables, the only food she can still eat, Marian finally discovers that she herself has in a way become “food” to Peter and to society in general. As Sullivan explains, Marian perceives the consumerism that surrounds her “as a form of cannibalism and can’t help identifying with the goods consumed” (1998, 164). Madeleine Davies adds that Marian’s loss of appetite is the sign of her “resistance to pre-designated roles as both consumed and consumer” (2006, 60). Davies further explains that Marian’s protest is silent, for it is “manifested in terms of her body and we have to decode that body if we are to understand the language of its protest” (2006, 61). When Marian cannot cope with the situation anymore, when she realizes that her problems will not simply

disappear, but that she needs to (re)act, she runs away, disappearing from Peter's party in the middle of the night. After running away, from the party, but also from the life that has been oppressing her, she finally realizes what she needs to do to regain her appetite, and more importantly, to regain herself, her personality. The day after the party, when an irate Peter calls because of her disappearance the previous night, she invites him to her place. She offers him a cake she has baked, in the form of a woman, saying,

"You've been trying to destroy me, haven't you?" [...] "You've been trying to assimilate me. But I've made you a substitute, something you'll like much better. This is what you really wanted all along, isn't it?" (Atwood 1984, 284).

Marian offers Peter the cake for him to "consume" instead of her. Naturally, Peter is bewildered, not understanding what she is saying. He refuses to take a bite, soon leaves Marian's apartment and disappears from her life. As Sullivan argues, Marian ritualistically offers Peter "an edible woman's cake" in place of herself in order to get rid of the menace of "a predatory sexist society" (1997: 65). When she finds a substitute for herself, she is able to free herself and regain her voice,² but she, of course, loses a fiancé. As Atwood herself has explained, Marian is trying hard to be normal, to fit in, yet she is unable to adapt, for she is unable to trust "her own perceptions about other people and about society" (in Sullivan 1998, 165). Peter, on the other hand, fits in perfectly—he has a job that he enjoys, he lives in a new, modern apartment building, he dresses fashionably, he is polite and well behaved, thus a perfect consumer in the world of consumerism. Marian can never quite relax when she is with him: she is always conscious of his reactions, she tries hard to please and not to disappoint him; she even hides her eating problems from him.

The plot is, in fact, quite similar to plots of romance novels; as in romances, where there is always a choice of men, there is another man in Marian's life. Marian first meets this other man, Duncan, by chance and keeps encountering him in the strangest of places, such as the laundromat, the midnight show at the movies, or the park on a cold winter night. Duncan is a graduate student of literature and gives the impression of being immature, incapable of taking care of himself, somehow lost in life (his two roommates, fellow students, take care

² The first part and the third part of the novel are written in the first person singular, while the second part, featuring Marian's growing eating disorder, is written in the third person singular.

of him), perhaps lost is the world of consumerism. Yet Marian feels more at ease with him than with Peter; she seems to have more in common with Duncan. The relationship between Duncan and Marian is not easy to define; it is neither romance nor friendship. They merely seem comfortable in each other's company; they do not expect anything from each other and do not make common plans for the future. After Marian and Duncan spend the night together following her flight from Peter's party, Duncan tells her that he will disappear from her life, for she is to be married soon. However, he reappears shortly after Peter is gone, and, unlike Peter, accepts Marian's offer to eat the leftovers of the edible woman cake, since for him it is only a cake. He has never presented a threat to Marian's personality, the way Peter has. Although Marian and Duncan meet again at the end of the novel, this time willingly, not by chance, we do not know what will happen to them. There is no indication that they will stay together. When Atwood was asked about Marian's fate, she explained that Marian's life would be circular, that at the time the novel was written she "could see [...] no 'out' for [Marian] provided by the society" (in Sullivan 1998, 165). In the "Preface" to the 1980 edition of the novel, Atwood further explained that Marian's "choices remain much the same at the end of the book as they are at the beginning: a career going nowhere, or marriage as an exit from it" (in Staines 2006, 17). The novel is thus not optimistic, as Staines (2006, 18) observes, for "the couple is not united" (neither Marian and Peter, nor Marian and Duncan) and "the wrong couple gets married" (Ainsley to Duncan's roommate, although she is pregnant for another man). Although Atwood defines the novel as an anti-comedy, she also allows it to be read as a "satire of the world of consumption: the intellectual consumption of symbols and ideas, the emotional consumption of people, and physical consumption" (in Sullivan 1998, 165). As Sullivan explains (1998, 247), *The Edible Woman* became a great success when it was published, mostly because it was appropriated by the feminist literature movement that was on the rise at the time. However, Atwood prefers the novel to be defined as protofeminist rather than feminist, for, as she explains in the 1980 "Preface", "[I]here was no women's movement in sight when I was composing the book in 1965" (in Staines 2006, 17). Although the book became a best-seller, it transcends by far the frame of a romance novel, for, as we have seen, it is multi-layered and can be read as an anti-comedy, a satire or a protofeminist novel.

3.2 *Lady Oracle*

Lady Oracle appears to be even more light-hearted and entertaining than *The Edible Woman*, and can thus be even more easily mistaken for a romance novel, for its heroine, Joan Foster, is herself an author of Gothic romances, or of “Costume Gothics” (Atwood 2009, 374), which she publishes under the pseudonym of Louisa K. Delacourt (her late-aunt’s name). We trace Joan’s life from early childhood to young adulthood; the novel is thus a kind of Bildungsroman, as David Staines (2006, 10) notes. Through the novel, we witness Joan Foster’s numerous transformations and changes of identity: from an overweight child and teenager, to an attractive young woman, who becomes the mistress of a Polish count; from the bored wife of a dull husband, from whom she hides many secrets about her past and present life, to the mistress of an eccentric, unconventional artist; from the secret author of Gothic romances, to the famous author of a book of poetry, titled *Lady Oracle*, which is the result of automatic writing and is received with great acclaim. However, when as a famous author, Joan becomes a victim of blackmail by a jealous journalist, who has discovered all the secrets she is trying to hide from her husband and from the rest of the world, she finds “the condition of fame [...] worse than death” (York, 2006, 35). This drives her to despair, and the only solution for her seems to be to disappear from the world.

As Sullivan points out, Joan Foster “lives her life as if it were a trashy and melodramatic script” (1997, 65), similar to the scripts she writes and publishes. Finally, unable to cope with the confusion her “neurotic relationships and invented personas” have created, she decides to leave her husband and quit her unreal life by “simulat[ing] her own death” (1997, 65). With the help of two friends, Joan fakes drowning in a lake, and then escapes to Italy using a false name, her ‘nom de plume’. The escape seems successful at first, for everybody believes she is dead. However, she makes the mistake of settling in a little town in the south of Italy, the same town she used to visit with her husband for holidays, and she soon realizes that everybody in the town knows exactly who she is. The local people have become weary of her suspicious behaviour: not only has she come without her husband and has taken a false name, but she has also cut her long red hair and dyed it brown, she wears dark glasses all the time and the man who rents her the house finds some buried clothes in the garden. When Joan realizes that she must leave the little town that she has chosen for her hiding place, for she is no longer welcome there, she writes—in a moment of weakness—a postcard to her husband, letting him know she is alive and asking

him to come to get her. The husband does not come, but she does receive a letter that the two friends who have helped her escape are in trouble, for they have been accused of murdering her. Joan thus decides to go back to Canada to get her friends out of jail. Other than that, she has no plans for the future, except to quit writing "Costume Gothics", for she realizes these were bad for her. However, as the novel ends, she is still in Italy, this time in Rome, and is paying regular visits to a man she hit with a bottle, mistaking him for a villain; he is now in hospital. The novel ends on a light note, with Joan thinking to herself "... but I have to admit that there is something about a man in a bondage ..." (Atwood 2009, 347).

Lady Oracle could be defined as a novel "about the conflict between a woman's fantasies and the reality of actual life" (Sullivan 1998, 324), for, as Atwood explains, the heroine is "attempting to act out the romance myth we're all handed as women in a non-romantic world" (in Sullivan 1998, 324). It is in a way ironic that Joan seems to know everything about the romance myth, for she is able to write successful romance novels that other women buy to read, yet she is unable to distinguish between real life and fantasy. Joan seems to be far more blind than the women who read her romances, for they know that the love they read about exists only in fiction, while Joan is unsuccessfully trying to find it in real life. As Davies (2006, 65) points out, Joan becomes trapped by the "perilous Gothic thinking" encouraged by the texts she writes. *Lady Oracle* is thus a mock Gothic romance, an example of mock escape fiction, as Sullivan (1998, 324) argues, or in Davies's words, it is an "anti-Gothic narrative infused with carnivalesque play" (2006, 64). This makes Joan Foster a mock Gothic romance heroine. Although *Lady Oracle* is not a proper romance novel, it might be mistaken for one, for its heroine is writing a proper romance novel, or "a Gothic bodice-ripper", as Davies (2006, 65) puts it, before the reader's very eyes. If Joan's life story is left open, or ambiguous, as Sullivan (1997, 65) notes, the Gothic novel Joan is writing has all the elements of a romance novel, including an ending: after Joan has considered several possible endings, she chooses the one she finds most appropriate for her heroine. *Lady Oracle* can therefore easily satisfy a non-demanding reader, who wants to perceive the novel merely as a romance. However, mocking the Gothic novel does not necessitate classification as popular literature. Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey*, for instance, is a mock Gothic novel; however, it is considered high literature. If a literary work mocks a certain genre, it is highly auto-referential, something that is not characteristic of popular literature. *Lady Oracle* is thus highly auto-referential. In addition, it is an example

of fiction within fiction, or metafiction: a structured narrative phenomenon typical of post-modern high literature.

4 Conclusion

Owing to their apparent light-heartedness and wit, *The Edible Woman* and *Lady Oracle* can on one level be read as romance novels by a non-demanding reader, one who is interested merely in the plot, for, as Zupan Sosič (2017, 14) argues, there are readers who perceive everything they read as popular literature. However, such a reader is inevitably disappointed at the end, for the complicated situations in the novels are not completely resolved (Marian's and Joan's futures are unclear and not very promising); several questions that arise in the novels remain unanswered (we do not know what will happen to Marian and Duncan, or to Joan); instead of a happy ending, the endings of both novels are left open. *The Edible Woman* and *Lady Oracle* thus do not fit the pattern of typical romance novels. In addition, they do not fulfil the other requirements of popular literature, for in terms of the discourse, there is no redundancy or repetition of information in the novels, which would simplify their literary worlds, and the gaps remain for the reader to fulfil, thus allowing for multiple meanings. A demanding reader, one that is willing to look beyond the plot and uncover the layers beneath mere events, is, on the other hand, amply rewarded, for the novels are much more complex than romance novels. As we have seen, *The Edible Woman* can be read as an anti-comedy, a satire or a protofeminist novel, while *Lady Oracle*, which at first sight appears even more light-hearted than *The Edible Woman*, is a highly auto-referential example of metafiction.

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Patriarchal Metamorphosis: Pygmalion Themes in Three Science Fiction Novels

JANA HERZOG & VICTOR KENNEDY

Abstract Many critics have noted that Ira Levin’s novel *The Stepford Wives* (1972), in which husbands in a small American town replace their human wives with robots, is built around a motif from the Pygmalion myth. We will explore this observation in more depth: in Ovid’s version, a sculptor, disillusioned by real women, carves a statue of a “perfect woman,” with which he falls in love; Bernard Shaw’s Professor Higgins uses language to (re)create his vision of a perfect woman, a Victorian lady. Many other modern science fiction stories develop variations on this theme; Levin’s Stepford husbands use robotics; in Margaret Atwood’s *The Handmaid’s Tale*, an American theocracy uses religion and brute force to transform free women into slaves; and in Ursula Le Guin’s *The Lathe of Heaven*, the protagonist uses “effective dreaming” to subconsciously “improve” his girlfriend. In these dystopian science fiction novels, anti-feminist men attempt to mold women to fit their patriarchal ideals. This theme has proven to be an enduring one; each of these novels has been adapted into several films and television series.

Keywords: • science fiction • feminism • *The Stepford Wives* • *The Handmaid’s Tale* • *The Lathe of Heaven* • *Pygmalion* •

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Patriarhalna preobrazba: tema Pigmaliona v treh znanstveno-fantastičnih romanih

JANA HERZOG IN VICTOR KENNEDY

Povzetek Mnogo kritikov je ugotovilo, da je roman Ire Levina *Stepfordske ženske* (1972), v katerem moški v majhnem ameriškem mestu Stepford nadomestijo svoje žene z roboti, zgrajen na motivu mita o Pigmalionu. V prispevku bomo to opažanje podrobneje raziskali: v Ovidovi verziji kipar, razočaran nad ženskami, izkleše kip »popolne ženske«, v katero se zaljubi. Shawov profesor Henry Higgins za (po)ustvarjanje svoje vizije popolne ženske, t. i. viktorijanske dame, uporablja jezik. Številne druge sodobne znanstvenofantastične zgodbe so to temo izpopolnile in dodelale. Stepfordski moški pri ustvarjanju popolne ženske uporabljajo robotiko; ameriška teokracija v zgodbi Margaret Atwood uporabi religijo in surovo silo, da svobodne ženske preoblikuje v sužnje, v delu Ursule Le Guin *Nebeška stružnica* pa protagonist uporabi t. i. »učinkovito sanjanje«, da podzavestno »izboljša« svoje dekle. V omenjenih distopičnih znanstvenofantastičnih romanih poskušajo antifeministični moški ženske oblikovati tako, da ustrezajo njihovim patriarhalnim idealom. Ta tema se je izkazala za vedno aktualno; vsak od teh romanov je bil prirejen za več filmov in televizijskih serij.

Ključne besede: • znanstvena fantastika • feminizem • *Stepfordske ženske* • *Deklina zgodba* • *Nebeška stružnica* • *Pigmalion* •

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1 Introduction

The Stepford Wives (Levin 1972), is a horror story of men preferring robots over their human wives, where murder and death justify the final cause. In *The Lathe of Heaven* (1971), LeGuin presents the phenomenon of the “effective dreamer,” George Orr, who has the subconscious ability to change the world and the people within it, including his lawyer/girlfriend. *The Handmaid’s Tale* (Atwood 1985) is a dystopian tale of oppressed women in a theocratic regime established by a small group of men who hide behind a twisted ideology. Each of these novels presents a male character, or group of characters, who in various ways tries to mold or twist women into a masculine vision of feminine perfection, presenting three Shelleyan visions of the Modern Pygmalion.

2 Pygmalion, Then and Now – Chiseling Woman into Perfection

Change implies potential for improvement. Greek mythology offers us the example of a woman named Galatea deemed by Pygmalion to be in “need” of change: “... Galatea was the woman whom Pygmalion attempted to chisel down to size and immobilize in a statue” (Hallstead 2013). Ovid’s Pygmalion loathed “real” women for what he saw as their many flaws, so he ventured on a project of chiselling a woman to perfection: “So daily he chisels every tiny, unwanted mark, every slight imperfection, with his skilful hands as she grows more beautiful before his eyes” (Hallstead 2013).

In Bernard Shaw’s updated version of the story, *Pygmalion*, the respected professor, Henry Higgins, decides to change a flower girl named Eliza into something different. To transform her into a lady who knows how to act, behave and speak properly, Higgins objectifies Eliza with excuses, such as: “The girl doesn’t belong to anybody—is no use to anybody but me” (Shaw 1914). Higgins feels entitled to change her and does not care about her feelings or well-being. He is convinced that he can provide everything she will ever need: a place to stay, food and drink. Higgins explains the plan to Eliza, whom he presumes does not understand a single word. By the end of the play, Eliza is transformed into a lady. Higgins cannot take his eyes off her, yet the change has brought something horrifying upon Eliza. She exclaims, “I sold flowers. I didn’t sell myself. Now you’ve made a lady of me I’m not fit to sell anything else. I wish you’d left me where you found me” (Shaw 1914). In making her a lady, Higgins has given her

an understanding of society and the role she is expected to play within it, and she is appalled. Northrop Frye points out the underlying irony in Pygmalion's failed attempt to create a perfect woman:

Now in sexual experience the contact is only a temporary union of independent principles of life: the woman still represents the "female will," the separated nature which man is trying to transform. The two great divisions of human imagination, art and love, are thus the broken halves in human life of two powers that are one in God. Pygmalion cannot transform his creature into an object of love; the lover cannot transform his loved one into a creature of the imagination. (Frye 1947)

Whereas Pygmalion was an artist and a sculptor, the men of Stepford add modern science fiction elements of technology and robotics. With the evolution of technology, we are constantly reminded of the robotic threat. Ira Levin offers us a look into a dreamlike town where everything seems perfect—suspiciously so.

Joanna, the protagonist of *The Stepford Wives*, and her friend Bobbie grow suspicious of the other women who excel at household chores but have no personality otherwise. They suspect that the water in Stepford is poisoned and is affecting the behaviour of the wives. Later, they start to suspect the husbands, who have a mysterious club named Stepford Men's Association where no women are allowed. When Joanna realizes that Bobbie has been changed into a mindless domestic robot, she wants to escape; yet she fails, and the same fate befalls her.

The fact that the Stepford wives have no ambition other than to perform their domestic chores pleases their men. The men envision and create "perfect" versions of their wives. This shows how brainwashed and limited by the norms of modern consumer society the Stepford men are. Following an agenda of turning women into robots, they portray their inability to comprehend and feel real emotion. Joanna's husband feels threatened by Joanna and complains that she does not spend enough time at home with their family. "In *The Stepford Wives*, the powerful patriarchy targets women because the men are threatened by women's demands for equality" (Pummill 2015). The women who are changed into robots by men are "improved" versions of their wives. As Pummill notes, "This robot is similar to Joanna but more sexually provocative" (Pummill 2015).

The ideal modern American woman, it seems, is a soulless automaton.

Pygmalion wished to achieve his vision of a perfect woman, like the men in *The Stepford Wives*. Does perfection exist? It does in Levin's novel. But for whom? The answer is for the creators of the Stepford wives, "perfect" women who are both physically attractive and efficient at household chores, "superhousewives" who cook, clean, and are devoted to their husbands, but also seem oddly placid, passive and unwilling to express opinion" (Silver 2002). For the Stepford husbands, like Pygmalion, the ideal woman is beautiful and subservient. Women are scrutinized for their every turn, every word that is too brash, direct or loud and every action that appears to seek attention. Women should behave, act and respond to please men.¹ "Fortunately, Western men have sometimes been taken to task for the Pygmalionlike view that women are inherently flawed and need fixing" (Hallstead 2013). Such men want to change women, but fail to consider what those changes will bring. Nevertheless, the Stepford Men are limited in their demands when it comes to the re-creation of their wives; they create women with no consciousness or minds of their own, but who will fulfil their husbands' physical needs for sex and housecleaning—simple-minded robots. Can this be seen as a failure of their engineering abilities, or is it an intentional choice? Could they have achieved a great discovery had their intentions been good?

However, the production of a sentient robot which looks like a human figure and is fully articulated and articulate remains such stuff as scientific dreams are made on. The mechanical and electronically driven creature capable of mimicking anything other than the simplest function of the human brain or more than a few fluid physical movements is still way beyond the reach of human engineering and computer science. (James 2011)²

¹ Symbolically, Dale Gribble, president of the Stepford Men's Association and mastermind behind the construction of the robots who replace the women of Stepford, learned his trade in Disney's animatronics division.

² Recent developments show that artificial intelligence and sentient robots are no longer a scientific dream but are close to becoming our reality. Augmented reality, self-driving cars, military drones with the ability to decide whom to kill, voice-controlled devices and smartphones that predict users' actions are all now part of everyday life. Siri and Alexa, virtual assistants developed by two different companies, offer everything that the user instructs them to do and respond to it, even evincing a sense of humour (See Aceves-Fernandez, *Artificial Intelligence: Emerging Trends and Applications*).

Even though the intentions of the Stepford Men are selfish and inhumane, they are ahead of their time as scientific creators.³ They create perfect robots with little or no ability to think, fulfilling their main goal, never considering the aspect of robotic threat. The Stepford robots could conspire against their men and endanger their lives, if they had a will of their own. The Stepford Wives, however, were designed for basic functions that did not involve thinking. Gorbis offers an explanation: “Thinking and computation are different processes, and machines are not good at thinking” (Gorbis 2011). Nevertheless, the Stepford Men achieved the kind of perfection they sought: unthinking simulacra of real women.

3 *The Lathe of Heaven* – Heather, Dreams and Manipulation

The Lathe of Heaven offers the scenario of a dreamt-up world that ends in a nuclear apocalypse before the story even begins. The world of the novel is a dream of George Orr, who has the power to change reality, and consequently the future, with only his mind.⁴ Ian Watson describes him as “... a dreamer whose dreams can change the whole fabric of reality” (Watson 1975). His power, however, is unconscious and beyond his control.

George has the power to change the world, and he does. The problem lies in the fact that he has reluctantly been placed under the control of Doctor Haber, a dream specialist who is supposedly trying to help him. Haber, however, although well intentioned, is determined to control George’s power. Manipulated by his psychiatrist, George rewrites the past and solves problems such as overpopulation, racism and alien invasion. Watson furthermore describes how he changes “... [the] objective world along with him, trying to steer it away from pollution, overpopulation, social evil, yet only producing successive devastations as a consequence: plague, ‘citizen arrest’ of the sick, alien invasion” (Watson 1975). George never thinks of the consequences that his changes could bring, nor does he want to make those changes, but he is deeply disturbed by the process of changing the world and society with his dreams. As the story progresses, Haber decides to take Orr’s ability to dream for himself, a decision with which George disagrees:

³ The novel was written in 1972.

⁴ Much like George Orwell, who also dreamed of dystopian futures.

But it's not right to play God with masses of people. To be God you have to know what you're doing. And to do any good at all, just believing you're right and your motives are good isn't enough. You have to... be in touch. He isn't in touch. No one else, nothing even, has an existence of its own for him; he sees the world only as a means to his end. It doesn't make any difference if his end is good; means are all we've got.... He can't accept, he can't let be, he can't let go. He is insane.... He could take us all with him, out of touch, if he did manage to dream as I do. What am I to do? (Le Guin 1971)

George knows that his ability to dream is uncontrollable. He warns Haber of the consequences and finds a lawyer to try to prevent Haber from getting the power to control him. Haber contravenes both professional and ethical codes in his desire to improve the world as George refuses to do; George, however, sees this as his attempt to play God. Haber eventually uses his biofeedback/EEG machine, the Augmentor, to achieve the ability to dream effectively and change the world, but this nearly leads to catastrophe.

When his psychiatrist manipulates him, George tackles world problems; when dreaming alone, however, he ventures into more personal matters. He dreams about his aunt, who lived with his family and tried to seduce him when he was a child. Later, George dreams her disguised as a white cat, knowing it was she. His aunt has a deadly accident in his dreams, and nobody, other than George, remembers that she ever lived with them. George adds,

I didn't want to kill poor Ethel. I just wanted her out of my way. Well, in a dream, that's likely to be drastic. Dreams take short cuts. I killed her. In a car crash a thousand miles away six weeks ago. I am responsible for her death. (Le Guin 1971)

R.J. Stickgold and his colleagues explain that “Dreams presumably reflect the activation and recombination of memories, and both these memories and associations to them may be altered in some ways in the process. But which memory systems are activated during dreaming remains uncertain” (Stickgold 2001). Furthermore, George also has “normal” dreams, which do not lead to any devastating consequences. When emotionally provoked, such as in the example above, his dreams take a turn for the worse.

In between realities, George meets Heather Lelache, a fierce lawyer with one too many bangles around her arm, whom he later changes into a more approachable and non-threatening version of herself. The change derives from the fact that George has fallen in love with her.

Dreams are chaotic and uncontrollable, as Orr's changes prove. "*Lathe* creates the possibility of anarchism that will be highly spiritual, deeply personal and yet intimately engaged with the world" (Call 2007). Whenever George dreams alone, his changes are deeply personal, not affected by anyone but himself. Many of Orr's changes reflect the absurdity of the subconscious world, such as the one where he changes Heather's weight. As Heather is shocked to find out, she exclaims, "I weighed 101 then, and I'm 122 now. I gained twenty-one pounds since Friday" (Le Guin 1971). George replies: "You were awfully thin, that first time I saw you. In your law-office" (Le Guin 1971).

The change is for the best for Heather. The stream of George's consciousness has taken an interesting turn. Nevertheless, the change has been both pleasing and beneficial to Heather's health. Yet, we can argue whether this decision was conscious or subconscious. Dreams, as Stickgold explains, can become altered in the process.

George does not think of the consequences of erasing racism when asked to do so by Haber; he does not think at all. People turn grey, and Heather, a biracial woman, disappears. The world without Heather cannot exist for George, and he dreams her back, the same Heather as she was before. Heather is a constant in George's life; when the world changes, she stays the same, until he changes her personality. She becomes less prickly. There were "... all transformations of colour and temperament wrought upon Heather" (Watson 1975). If a reader is tempted to see George as an alien, he is a human in his core – adapting his life partner to his wishes.⁵

⁵ One of the unexpected consequences of George's dreams is the existence of aliens, whom he dreams into existence when Haber directs him to eliminate war on Earth.

4 **The Handmaid's Tale – Serena, the Victimized Villain**

While Heather is in the hands of George, and the Stepford wives in the hands of their men, Serena Joy is the victimized villain of Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale*. The women in the other novels have neither privilege nor power to change reality or themselves, but Serena Joy at first appears to be a different case.

Serena Joy is neither serene nor joyous, yet this is the name she has chosen for herself. In fact, her real name is Pam. Married to a wealthy commander, she holds the highest position possible for a woman in Gilead society. Serena Joy was once a singer but moves on to more prosperous things as a spokeswoman for the repressive Gilead regime, making speeches about women and domesticity. As Offred recalls, "She was good at it. Her speeches were about the sanctity of the home, about how women should stay home" (Atwood 1985). Yet, she does not practice what she preaches: she is a propagandist, not a housewife. In Offred's memory, "Serena Joy didn't do this herself, she made speeches instead, but she presented this failure of hers as a sacrifice she was limiting for the good of all" (Atwood 1985). Serena has a measure of power in her own hands and uses it to help create a world where women are stripped of all their rights. She believes that she is "special" and thus immune to the powers of the regime, yet her plan backfires. Serena becomes a captive of her own disillusionment and twisted ideology.

"Atwood describes the culture she creates as a 'dystopia,' a dysfunctional utopia" (Keifer-Boyd 2006). This is a utopia for the masters and a dystopia for everybody else; the world as we know it has changed into something more horrifying. "In the *Handmaid's Tale*, America invades itself; Atwood's narrator is its servant and citizen" (Auerbach 1987).

Unlike Serena Joy, Offred, the narrator, is a servant, a handmaid and a prisoner. Once a free citizen of the United States, as a result of the Gileadean Revolution, aided by Serena Joy's participation, she is stripped of all her rights; she is not allowed to read, write, even speak, "... since in the Republic of Gilead much language has to be coded, constrained" (Wisker 2010). She is limited to a few sentences, such as "Blessed day" and "Blessed be thy fruit." Without a voice, she holds on to her memories, the only thing that cannot be taken away from her.

“Her faint, healing evocation of good times before a shadowy theocracy invaded the Cambridge she knew is a collage of earlier Americas...” (Auerbach 1987). Offred pays retroactively for her “crimes”; marrying a divorced man was not a crime until Gilead made it one: “... that Luke, for instance, had never been divorced, that we were therefore lawful, under the law” (Atwood 1985). One could argue that Offred is naïve, ignorant of her surroundings, or in love. Love makes her blind to the surroundings and the changing society. Luke’s plan fails, and they are caught. She was in his hands before she was in the Commander’s. Offred often recalls her relationship with Luke and remembers the warning signs that predicted the establishment of the regime. She recalls being a passive observer and living in ignorance:

There were stories in the newspapers, of course, corpses in ditches or the woods, bludgeoned to death or mutilated, interfered with as they used to say, but they were about other women, and the men who did such things were other men. None of them were the men we knew. The newspaper stories were like dreams to us, bad dreams dreamt by others. (Atwood 1985)

Atwood’s point here is that, like Offred, we too overlook the warning signs that can lead to catastrophe.

Offred, like Serena Joy and all the women in Gilead, is a victim of a regime that, in its goal of returning modern America to a Biblical past, has remade its women using a variety of models, from 1950s housewives for the Wives, to Old Testament slavery for the Handmaids.

5 When Worlds Collide – Art, Religion, Psychoanalysis and Robotics

As Pygmalion chiselled his muse to perfection in the sense of physical beauty, Gilead’s commanders have a different perception of perfection: a society of women without voices. “Roles for women are strictly delineated and hierarchized here...” (Wisker 2010). If a woman does not fall into any of the accepted categories (Wives, Marthas, Aunts, Handmaids or Econowives), she is sent to the “colonies” and marked as an unwoman.⁶

⁶The “colonies” are extermination camps where inmates are worked to death cleaning up radiation; the term has an interesting and ironic connotation, given America’s history.

The society of Gilead is founded on an extreme fanatical religion. Religious language is used for naming the societal hierarchy: "...and the brutal guards are called Angels, biblical, avenging, with no hope of redressal" (Wisker 2010). Ironically, neither the biblically named Angels nor the Aunts are positive figures in the novel.⁷ Similarly, many shades of hypocrisy can be found in Gilead society, one of the most prominent being Jezebel's, a party zone for the commanders, "...a brothel for officers..." (Ketterer 1989). Commanders do not deny themselves such pleasures, which must be hidden for form's sake. Pain for some is pleasure for others.

The Wives are condemned to a household life, mundane and repetitive. Like the Stepford men, Gilead's Commanders have the same ideal of a wife in their minds. "... stereotypical 1950s housewives" (Wisker 2010). Women in Gilead have no choice other than to participate and play their assigned roles. If they don't, they are swiftly punished by the Aunts or the Angels. There is a constant threat of torture hanging over their heads. The Aunts carry cattle prods, and the Angels carry guns: "...they had electric cattle prods slung on thongs from their leather belts" (Atwood 1985). Handmaids are mutilated for every offense of the regime. They are regarded as "wombs on legs"; their looks, like their rights, do not matter to men or society. "We are two-legged wombs, that's all: sacred vessels, ambulatory chalices" (Atwood 1985).

Handmaids are considered as a resource of Gilead for their reproductive ability. Ironically, they are neither appreciated nor worshipped, but kept under control and dismissed as human beings. "To them I'm a household chore, one among many" (Atwood 1985).

Like the men of Gilead, The Stepford Men's ethical code consists of pursuing their own comfort and status. In all three novels, one can see the similarity in the masculine will, but in different contexts: "Men's Pygmalion-like fantasies about fabricating the perfect women who come alive would change over the centuries, but in some ways, they also remained remarkably consistent even as cultural contexts and technologies underwent dramatic change" (Wosk 2015). Nevertheless, although the ideal of women may change, one essential aspect stays

⁷ The Angels and the Aunts are male and female guards and prison wardens.

the same: “While the form of the artificial woman might change, she is consistently created in order to suit the desires of men” (Seaman-Grant 2017).

George Orr, at least, does not strive to create this ideal woman. He only makes a few “improvements” in Heather’s temperament and physique. His change, however, is a subconscious process. Does he mean it for her own good? He cannot control his dreams. The new Heather is a product of his subconscious, but the irony hides in the fact that we have been in a dream world since the beginning of the novel. As Ian Watson observes,

And all along the irony lurks that we have been in a ‘false’ world from the very start; for, before ever being referred to a psychiatrist for illegally obtaining drugs to stop himself dreaming, George Orr had effectively dreamt a nuclear holocaust out of existence; there is in truth no way to go homeward. (Watson 1975)

Le Guin’s message here, it appears, is that men cannot help wanting their women to be something different from what they are.

The women in *The Stepford Wives* and *The Handmaid’s Tale* are the product of men who wish to fulfil their own fantasies. The Stepford men want to feel powerful and worshipped by their robotic wives. The Commanders hide behind the disguise of religion to pursue their dream society; they claim to want a better world for everybody, but even for them, it does not work out. George Orr has the ability to use his mind and his dreams to change the world into a better place, although the changes he produces are neither conscious nor intentional. Doctor Haber, on the other hand, like the Stepford and Gilead men, uses this power intentionally, refusing to acknowledge that if you change the past, the future will change too.

Women in these stories are more or less passive or unwilling victims of the men’s machinations. Serena Joy thinks that, as the face of the Sons of Jacob, she will be spared the worst rigors of the regime, and her power will not be withheld from her. She takes an active part in the process of change, never considering the fact that she will soon lose her voice. Heather does not remember how she has been changed and merely suspects that something is different; Joanna, however, knows what will happen to her and wants to prevent the change; Eliza has been

an active participant in the whole process of changing herself and the result, which devastates her.

As with Dr. Frankenstein and Pygmalion, however, the best of intentions go awry in all three of these novels. Erasing racism and making everybody grey, consequently erasing Heather, who was of mixed race, only shows the influence of Doctor Haber. Erasing racism comes with consequences that George does not intend. Every action comes with a reaction. Serena Joy, who may have pursued, deeply believed in and followed the ideology of Gilead in her speeches, ends up as a powerless housewife with one too many balls of wool. She may or may not be deeply influenced by the Commander (or the Commander by her); she loved him and followed him, but she is unwittingly destroyed by her own hand. Being infertile and wanting a child so much that she allows the system to prevail, she never anticipates the jealousy and bitterness that the system will bring her. Serena Joy is as much a victim as a perpetrator. Her demise is her own doing. She never thinks of her plan backfiring. She has made everybody's lives miserable and remains bitter at the end.

6 Conclusion

It is basic human nature to desire change, but change does not always mean improvement. Words can become twisted beyond recognition, and actions can have unforeseen consequences. Yet, change is inevitable and often necessary—one cannot be a passive observer like Offred in the hands of her man. In fact, we are all creators of our own paths, like George Orr, creating our lives, deciding who will be a part of it and who will not. We must take our lives into our own hands to achieve our goals and not let anyone dictate our moves or wishes. The women in all three of these novels are controlled by men, not realizing that they have possessed their own power all along. Their words are twisted, their minds broken, and their bodies maimed, but if they could only endure the often fatal hands and minds of the cruel and egoistical men in their lives long enough to see the finish line, they would realize the irony of Pygmalion, who failed to realize that the perfect love object he created could not return that love to her flawed creator.

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Embodying Social Paralysis: On Shakespeare's Desdemona and Joyce's Eveline

ANA PENJAK

Abstract This article focuses on and compares Desdemona's (*Othello*) and Eveline's (*Eveline*) multiple forms of paralysis—social, economic, mental, spiritual, and even physical—that originate from two sources: their highly traditional and environmentally oppressive societies and their relationships with men. The idea is that a) Desdemona and Eveline, no matter their social differences and time gap, address and reflect the same social constraints, here referred to as paralysis; b) their bodies are not simply a flesh and blood concept, but rather their medium for and of communication and expression; c) their embodiment of social paralysis becomes the representation and echo of the whole process.

Keywords: • body • gender • James Joyce • literary text • William Shakespeare •

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Utelešenje družbene paralize: O Shakespearovi Desdemoni in Joyceovi Eveline

ANA PENJAK

Povzetek Poglavje obravnava in primerja različne oblike Desdemonine (*Othello*) in Evelinine (*Eveline*) ohromelosti – družbene, ekonomske, miselne, duševne in celo fizične –, ki ju povzročata dve: pritisk njenega tradicionalnega družbenega okolja in njen odnos do moških. Gre za to, da a) Desdemona in Eveline ne glede na drugačen družbeni položaj in čas, v katerem živita, naslavljata in odslikavata iste družbene napetosti, ki jih poimenujemo ohromelost; b) njuni telesi nista zgolj iz mesa in krvi, temveč sta medij za sporazumevanje in izražanje; c) njuno utelešenje družbene ohromelosti počasi postane zunanja podoba in odmev celotnega procesa.

Ključne besede: • telo • spol • James Joyce • literarno besedilo • William Shakespeare •

1 Introduction

While the concept of paralysis is primarily perceived within medical and healthcare discourses and practices, lately we have witnessed its usage within literary or socio-political discourses. In considering this, as well as *The Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary's* definition (2008) of the term “paralysis”—to be paralysed means to be unable to move, to feel, to act due to illness or injury—we notice that Desdemona and Eveline struggle with the same form of physical restriction, emotional constraint and social incapacity, which, for the purpose of this article, we perceive and refer to as a form of paralysis caused by social illnesses.

In an attempt to clarify the above, the aim of the research is to seek a new comprehension, interpretation and understanding of embodied social paralysis seen through two female literary characters, Desdemona and Eveline.

2 On woman's surroundings

Every culture and society, no matter the period, frames its own “stereotypical costumes”, which are reflected on our body—the “first radiation of subjectivity, the instrument that brings about the comprehension of the world” (De Beauvoir 2011, 293)—through our expressions, behaviour, gestures and roles, as well as positions set for us within and by society (Fine 2012, 7). In seeking to understand these two literary character's paralysis as the final outreach of their “captured” bodies, we need to reconstruct the social context of the time in which they lived, and, accordingly, Desdemona's and Eveline's ideologically conditioned existence.

Sixteenth-century Italian society was a hierarchically structured society, i.e., a patriarchal one, meaning that the male-female relationship was based on male domination (fathers, husbands, lords, teachers, etc.) over female (Klapisch-Zuber 1985). It was, as John H. Curtis describes it (1987), a social structure that worshiped man in any of his social functions (father of the family, husband in marriage, ruler of the state, etc.). This social construction and the concomitant ideological concepts (here referring to beliefs, assumptions, practices and cultural conditions and customs of society) of Venetian society were similar to the sixteenth-century concept and ideology of the Elizabethan England that Shakespeare lived in, was familiar with and used in shaping his fictional characters' images (Green, Kahn 1985). Additionally, we also witness that both

societies (Italian and English) shared the concept in which “women’s lives were being closely scrutinized” and where woman’s “charm, defencelessness, and manipulative gentleness were and are considered desirable in a woman in any patriarchal society” (Malpezzi Price 2003, 32-33). The issue of woman’s obedience, her duty (whether in society or within the familial context) and “manipulative gentleness” stand as personal and collective stories mapped onto both Desdemona’s and Eveline’s realities.

Together with social context, familial context was a mirror of the patriarchal society itself and, as such, was defined by social, economic and financial conditions (Curtis 1987). Family context, as the child’s “first unit” (Elkin and Handel 1978, 118), had two important roles: firstly, according to Kate Millett (1977), the nucleus familiaris was the source of the binary relationship between men and women; secondly, family played an important role in each individual’s process of socialization, as it stood as a synonym for privacy, both of which were controlled and governed by man (Raday 2012). In order to govern and maintain control, a man, whether father, husband or ruler, had to demonstrate power over all others in the society (women, children, the elderly, etc.). In this way he gained his superior position, while the Others consequently assumed the inferior one (Illig 2010; Martin 2015). The mother’s role, on the other hand, was to teach her daughters, by her own example, about the duties, roles, social expectations and constraints by which women were identified and defined accordingly (Penjak 2014).

In contrast to men, the Others were restricted to what was left for them, i.e., the “private sphere” that included everything connected with the well-being of the family members (child-rearing, cooking, instruction, etc.) and household matters (Newman 1991; Camden 1952; Ferriter 2009). Even more, marriage and children were, as Powell writes, woman’s duties and social expectations she had to fulfil if she wanted to achieve social acknowledgment; it was woman’s only right path in her life, one that she had to follow no matter her education, economic or social status (Kemp 2009). As such, “marriage dignity as well as utility” was, according to Mary Rogers, “the most natural and appropriate setting [in the Renaissance] in which children can be raised to be worthy upholders of family and civic traditions” (Rogers 1993, 382). Generally speaking, because being a (house)wife was, according to Theresa D. Kemp (2009), woman’s vocation no matter her marital status, any other form of interference by her outside the private sphere was, as John Knox saw it, considered to be an act of “monstrous usurpation”

(Rackin 2005, 29). Simply said, women were paralyzed by the social stereotypes, limitations and expectations of the time, their husband's expectations within the marriage context and economic dependence upon their husbands.

On the other hand, all "fifteen slices of Dublin life" (Jackson Rice 1998, 43) presented in *Dubliners* realistically depict the anatomy of Irish society in the period 1900-1910. In *Dubliners*, Joyce depicts a Catholic, middle-class Irish society (McCarthy 1998) where "children are stunted in their development, youths are frustrated socially and economically, and adults are trapped in sterile and unproductive lives" (Walzl 1982, 32). In other words, Irish family life was harsh and insensitive, social and economic conditions were poor and poverty was all-present. A society in which there were only few jobs, scarce educational opportunities (in particular for women), and where salaries were low left scant possibilities for an individual to make any type of progress.

However, unlike in Shakespeare's patriarchal society, the majority of women in Joyce's time, given the large families (four to five children, on average) and restrictive economic conditions, were not exclusively limited to working only within the domestic context or "private sphere", but were constrained to work at outside jobs, such as family enterprises or on land in the Irish countryside, in order to help with family upkeep. Alcoholism, a common condition for many Irish men, was an additional problem and a salient issue of the time that unfortunately contributed negatively to circumstances that were already harsh and cruel. The effects of these conditions reflected equally on men's and women's life choices (marriage being one of them), their prosperity and the prosperity of Irish society within the European context.

Furthermore, while women in the Elizabethan period married in their early twenties (Newman 1991), most women in Ireland delayed marriage until their thirties and men even later, after thirty-five for a number of reasons: the harsh Irish social conditions; overall poverty; and continuous migration to America—particularly of single Irish women—in search of a better life (700,000 young unmarried Irish women emigrated to the US between 1885-1920) (Brettell 2013). There were also many cases of Irish women being trafficked to South America (mostly Argentina), which between the 1880s and 1930s was a centre of prostitution and the white slave trade (Barberán Reinares 2013). Ferriter reports (2009) that Irish farmers' children (both male and female) chose labour over getting married. In other words, only those with land and property could easily

get married (Ferriter, 2009). Fernihough, O'Grada and Walsh (2015) reinforce this argument, stating that, since Ireland was a Roman Catholic country, marriages between those of different religious denominations, also referred to as "mixed marriages", additionally contributed to the low percentage of marriages in Ireland at the time. Or, as Walzl puts it, marriage was an "unromantic business involving acquisition of money and property on the bridegroom's part in exchange for presumed security on the bride's" (Walzl 1982, 35). As a result, Irish society was full of spinsters and bachelors with no future (Walzl 1982) and with a declining birth rate (Gifford 1982). Those Irish women who did marry were as unhappy as those who remained unmarried. This situation resembles that in Shakespeare's time, where marriages were very often, if not always, arranged based on the exchange of dowry money and not on love. Marriage based on love or personal choice was considered as a passing feeling, very superficial, bad (Furman and Shaffer, 2003) and even, according to Stone, doomed to failure (Newman 1991). This might be because women were perceived simply through their bodies as erotic objects, a treasure for male exchange and desire (sex trafficking being one example), and, lacking "the status of a subject" (Newman 1991, 27), as not allowed to endower themselves by falling in love (Goode 1959).

3 Reading Desdemona's and Eveline's paralysis

All the embodiments that the female body stores are neither innate nor appointed by nature; it is civilisation, or more precisely, society with all its customs, values and traditional notions that gradually shapes and builds, defines and redefines who we are; it pictures us in all its surroundings, appointing, at the same time, our roles and duties, obligations and expectations. As stated, Desdemona's and Eveline's bodies are precisely this—the instruments, the "first radiation"—the reader's source of information concerning the world in which they live. Thus, while always bearing in mind both spatiotemporal contexts, what do we read from Desdemona's and Eveline's bodies as instruments of narration?

Eveline Hill is a nineteen-year-old whose timid and humble nature makes her an obedient, hard-working daughter, subconsciously quite unhappy with her existence. Even more, in considering her (Irish) social background, on the one hand, and the status of women and their bodies within the same, on the other, we notice the deep, ruthless, harsh and complex social and familial imprint of her female body, as if those imprints had become the source of her physical, mental and emotional paralysis. In the opening lines, "She sat at the window watching

the evening invade the avenue. Her head was leaned against the window curtains and in her nostrils was the odour of dusty cretonne. She was tired” (Joyce 2008, 25), we encounter not only her state of personal weariness, but also the poor Irish social conditions—*isolation, fatigue and loneliness*—that equal her mood and spirit. The subordinate position that Ireland holds in contrast to the ruling British Empire is the same one Eveline copes with in being a woman, the Other, in contrast to the superior male-signature-bearing social context. Her body wears the marks of social injustice and burdensome issues. Even more, the combination of highly descriptive imagery of the dusty cretonne and the clacking footsteps of the few passers-by reveal and foster Eveline’s melancholy, her inner state, her nostalgic memories of children playing together in a field, her sense of having been “rather happy once”, as well as her awareness that everything has changed. These collections of memories and silent images, the process of watching itself and thinking of the once better conditions in the life of a common Dubliner (including herself), figure and evoke in Eveline a decaying moment that reveals her complete social weariness and anxiety. All this “impulse of terror” (Joyce 2008, 28) traps and paralyzes her so as to prevent her thinking beyond the present terror; it disables her body and mind from moving forward, from establishing new ties with people, from creating a future of her own; these memories are her true burden, her evil omen. It is likely that Joyce deliberately used simultaneous interference and convergence of individual, social, national and trans-national identities in order to explain and bring closer to a reader the complexity, “the issues and tensions” (Attridge 2004, 90) of Eveline’s character, her mental and eventually physical paralysis, which, viewed as a larger picture, mirror and depict the life of ordinary Dubliners of the time.

Following from this, we know that Eveline’s and Desdemona’s family situations were far from being stable and supportive. Eveline grew up in a large Irish family (mother, father, brothers—Harry and Ernest—sisters and two young children), a stereotype of the time, where her father—the *pater familias*—became an alcoholic and over time, increasingly violent. Her mother and her brother Ernest died; Harry, the other brother was in the church decorating business; and there were two younger children, whose names we do not know, but whom Eveline looked after.

Little is known about Desdemona’s family. We do know that her mother was dead, that she had no sisters or brothers and was raised and looked after by her father alone. Quite contrary to Eveline’s father, Desdemona’s father, Brabantio,

was an influential political figure: he was a Venetian senator and a powerful and respected member of society. Even more, Brabantio, did not enjoy his supreme position only in the public sphere (social and political) but within the family, as well. As stated before, fathers, in general, were considered as ruling family figures that other family members had to obey, respect and serve (Illig 2010), and the family nucleus was one of the elements that defined, formed and metaphorically paralysed Desdemona, as well as Eveline. According to Venetian customs of the time, women were confined to the domestic setting (Rogers 1993). Desdemona was expected to accept her father's decision (Martin 2015) blindly because, through the father-daughter relationship, as Nancy Chodorow states, daughters can best learn their future roles and duties towards their future husbands (Chodorow 1978), or learn about their socially imposed subordinate position (Boose 1989).

Marriage was an additional socio-familial element that generated Eveline's and Desdemona's paralysis. Seen as an institution, it raised two issues: first, it was considered a female ritual, marking a woman's passage from the father's to the husband's home; and, secondly, it was a context in which the differences and opposition between man and woman were most manifest (Belsey 1985). Since Irish women were late to marry and sometimes failed to marry at all for a number of reasons, we could say that Eveline's marriage proposal, or her reaction to it, does not come as surprise. One possible interpretation might be that at first she was deceived by the presence and manner of Frank, Eveline's fiancée. Frank, whom she initially perceives as a kind, hard-working chap, according to Katherine Mullin, might be quite the opposite character. According to the author, Frank fits the stereotypical pattern of a pimp or a bully, as Mullin refers to him, who would seduce a woman, gain control over her and then sell her as prostitute in Argentina (Mullin 2003). Mullin reaches these conclusions based on two arguments: first, she claims that Joyce, thanks to various sources (William T. Stead's article on white slavery in England, which generated an international scandal and the 1912 study, *The White Slave Market*, on the subject of the white sex slave trade), was well aware of the existence of white slavery. She further claims that he may have used it as the subtext in writing "Eveline". Secondly, in her article "Don't Cry for Me Argentina: 'Eveline' and the Seductions of Emigration Propaganda", Mullin states her belief that the European and Irish media and the discourse on the ideological perceptions of sexual danger that lurked in foreign countries (including Argentina) purposely used this discourse to discourage emigration, to warn women from leaving Ireland, making mistaken

life choices and accepting dangerous marriages (Mullin 2000). In her analysis of Frank's seduction, Barberán Reinares adds another plausible nuance to Eveline's decision. The author, in questioning Frank's honesty, explains that Frank might be a member of a criminal organization because of his seduction, behaviour, self-presentation, manners and sudden promises. These coincide with the tactics and methods employed by members of the criminal organization that manipulated and victimised women and was later used in sex trafficking from Europe to Argentina (the headquarters of female trafficking at the time) between 1860 and 1930 (Barberán Reinares 2011; Barberán Reinares 2013). Yet, Frank does precisely that. He offers Eveline moments she never experienced or dreamed of before; for instance, he takes her to see the opera *The Bohemian Girl*—a ballad opera about the fortunes of a girl abducted by gypsies and taken from her home in Bohemia. He sings to her, charms her with stories from his journey as a sailor (the story of the terrible Patagonians, which he invented, since the Patagonians, by the time he travelled, had been long eradicated), and treats her with what Eveline regards as respect. As Gifford points out, "Frank's offer to Eveline ... is the exception rather than the rule" (Gifford 1982, 12) since, if we recall the poor marriage conditions in Ireland, she was considered an exception to be asked to marry at that early an age and in those conditions. It was Frank who "would give her life, perhaps love, too. ... Frank would take her in his arms, fold her in his arms. He would save her" (Joyce 2008, 28). All of this flatters and frightens Eveline, at the same time. While at one point, he makes her feel safe, respected and valuable, a figure of freedom, at another, it feels as if she subconsciously wants him to leave, as if she feels him forcing her to turn a new page in life, to leave everything behind: Dublin, her familiar routine, the Store where she works, the people she knows, and her memories. She struggles for some time between "want[ing] to live" (Joyce 2008, 28) and wondering "Was that wise?" (Joyce 2008, 25) to leave; between "Why?" she should leave and why shouldn't she leave and be happy, since she, like all other people, has the right to happiness.

Suddenly, "now that she was about to leave it she did not find it a wholly undesirable life" (Joyce 2008, 26). She instantly thinks of herself as a fool, for only a fool could leave home, all the familiar objects, and a safe job simply because a fellow rejected her idea of leaving. The idea of getting married first and then leaving home sounds far more reasonable to Eveline. Once she was married, nobody would judge her leaving home. On the contrary, "people would treat her with respect then" (Joyce 2008, 26); she would have somebody to protect her. Then there is the image of her late mother and her life and relationship with

Eveline's father. Eveline is afraid of becoming like her mother; that image heavily influences her decision; she does not want to sacrifice her life at the cost of her being unhappy. She becomes suddenly aware that, no matter the surroundings, in her relationship with Frank she would still be treated as the Other, the body, the object—a mere reflection of her mother's destiny. Graovac views the absence of a mother's authority in early childhood as one cause of a daughter's trying to avoid looking like their mother once she grows up (Graovac 2010, 2). To some extent, this does seem a justified reason for Eveline's fear and paralysis.

Even when she tries mentally to break through the weary state of being, her loneliness and emptiness, the burden of past memories and pictures and images from family life trap and exhaust her. What is more, feelings of empathy for her violent, alcoholic father suddenly arise; a promise given to her mother on her deathbed that she would never leave home and would try to keep the home together as long as possible comes to trouble her already troubled soul. This mixture of melancholy, nostalgia and sympathy viewed as the "impulse of terror" (Joyce 2008, 28) has paralysed Eveline's body and mind. Although "human relationships become distorted and human communion destroyed", she subconsciously still cares what they would "say of her in the Store when they found out that she had run away with a fellow" (Joyce 2008, 26) The element of "they", referring to her Store colleagues but also to all the people in Dublin, her neighbours, even her family members, is another image that constantly causes her, metaphorically speaking, mental paralysis.

Just as when Joyce conveys this complex version of Eveline's inner-world, in understanding Desdemona's inner state one needs to know the spirit of the time and societal customs and values. Unlike Joyce, Shakespeare does not explicitly emphasize in words his character's concerns or inner-state but achieves this more through the social context, the father-daughter relationship and frequently in individual monologues.

Given her status, the restrictive patriarchal system and its dominance, and the coded cultural reality regarding marriage, according to which it was a woman's duty to marry, Desdemona is not allowed to make the marital decision by herself. Moreover, while to Eveline marriage symbolises freedom from harsh Dublin conditions, to Desdemona it stands as a "natural" social obligation that she must fulfil in accordance with her father's choice and, above all, his approval. Based on the inheritance law of the sixteenth century, the oldest son in the family would

inherit almost everything, while the daughter's inheritance depended on her father's will (Illig 2010). It was thus Brabantio's main duty to find Desdemona a suitable husband to take care of her and guarantee her a new home. In so doing, his role as a father and as a supreme social figure would be fulfilled. William J. Goode writes that the choice of husband needed to be thoughtfully made and well planned by the parents because any other way, for instance, marriage without a father's consent, would be so harmful that it could cause drastic change in the social structure (Goode 1959, 42).

Up to the moment of embracing their future life as married women, Eveline and Desdemona share the same socio-familial constraints that influence their decision-making, desires and needs. Unlike Desdemona, who despite social constraints chooses her future husband by personal selection based on affection and eventually leaves home with him, Eveline, who also chooses Frank freely but not for affection, does not finalise her decision. Although we read that Eveline "had consented to go away, to leave her home" (Joyce 2008, 25), to go with Frank to Buenos Aires, the reader encounters an unexpected image. Eveline elects to take her own decision, within the patriarchal society, and to stay in Ireland. "Amid the seas", Eveline suddenly "sen[ds] a cry of anguish!" (Joyce 2008, 29). A hurricane of emotion strikes her; she becomes confused, distressed and lost, suddenly suffering from agoraphobia (Leblanc 2010), as if "all the seas of the world tumbled about her heart" (Joyce 2008, 28). She feels as if Frank were no longer her saviour but the one who will drown her. Stepping on the boat, Frank calls repeatedly for Eveline, but all she does is, to "set her white face to him, passive, like a helpless animal. Her eyes gave him no sign of love or farewell or recognition" (Joyce 2008, 28). She has gone numb; she has forgotten the right to happiness and the possibility of starting a new life; nothing of this remains. The cold emptiness of the look on her pale face results from her emotionlessness, emptiness and passivity, like a helpless animal facing a much stronger opponent. It is then that she realizes she will never leave Dublin, its "life of commonplace sacrifices closing in final craziness" (Joyce 2008, 28); she faces her inability and lack of courage to say "Farewell!" to her harsh present life and the strained, sterile life choices; it is the moment of her physical paralysis. Consequently, lack of courage might be one possible interpretation of her decision to stay in Ireland. However, another interpretation of Eveline's decision is that she might have been afraid—because of media influence and warnings about female trafficking—of a new life in a foreign country (Argentina was the centre of prostitution and female

trafficking between Europe and South America) with a sailor whose true intentions she suddenly doubts.

Recognizing and interpreting the meaning and expressiveness of her words, as well as the gestures, stillness and immobility of her body, we notice how Eveline communicates equally through her body as in words; we could say that her “linguistic meaning is grounded in [and through her] bodily activity” (Bolens 2012, 6). Furthermore, Guillemette Bolens refers to this form of communication as a kinetic intelligence that, together with our memory of some action, helps us actualise, interpret, create and even predict future action and its consequences. Bolens informs us that many surveys in neuroscience have proven that human cognition results from “the reality of bodily experience” (Bolens 2012, 5), meaning that whatever we experience is stored in our brain as a memory, so the next time we encounter something of the kind, we immediately recognize it and act accordingly. Thus, through our perception and cognitive recognition of the notion of paralysis and paralysed people, we read, recognise and label Eveline’s helplessness and passivity in terms of physically paralysed people with the difference being the source of their paralysis.

Desdemona, on the other hand, does not end up physically paralysed. Her rejection of physical paralysis begins with her falling in love with Othello, through which she defies two elements that have previously paralysed her: a) the patriarchal order, according to which parents (in her case her father) make the marital decisions for their children (both male and female), which would result in her marrying a rich, white Venetian man; b) by responding to emotions, impressions and passions evoked by an older man of different race and class, Desdemona abandons and reshapes the “stereotypical costumes”, to use Cordelia Fine’s expression, which modelled and dressed the gender roles and plots of the time. Secondly, by concealing a marriage based on personal choice after falling in love, Desdemona, with no hesitation, dismisses her own image of the socially obedient daughter (Illig 2010), rejects the socially defined female image of a subordinated figure, incapable and weak. She contradicts and opposes the father-daughter patriarchy relationship. This realisation illuminates her decisiveness in stepping beyond boundaries and constraints and presenting herself as free from that metaphorical paralysis.

Eveline's father does not forbid Eveline to see Frank on account of social customs and norms but because he simply does not trust sailors. Conversely, Brabantio finds Desdemona's act of running away from home and marrying in secret with a "barbary horse" (*Othello*, 1.1.113-114) to be an "act of betrayal" (Illig 2010, 22) that emphasizes the seriousness and sinfulness of falling in love (Goode 1959).

BRABANTIO A maiden never bold,
Of spirit so still and quiet that her motion
Blushed at herself, —and she in spirit of nature,
Of years, of country, credit, everything,
To fall in love with what she feared to look on! (*Othello*, 1.3.94-98)

Brabantio finds it hard to believe and strongly unacceptable that his only child, his pearl, could ever fall in love with a "veritable negro" (Coleridge 2008, 42), a man whom she was even afraid to look upon and, above all, without his approval. Brabantio perceives Desdemona's body as a means of his own will—as his own source for transmitting and through it fulfilling his desires, wishes and realities; he treats her body as being of a "producing class" (Walby 1991), expected to be silenced and unquestionably obedient. By inscribing his will on her body, Brabantio meets the social constructions and criteria through which he affirms his position and role within society. Or, as John Stockwood wrote, "Shewing that children are not to marie, without the consent of their parents, in whose power and choice it lieth to provide wives and husbands for their sonnes and daughters (title page)" (Drakakis 1992, 215). Brabantio echoes, "This accident is not unlike/ my dream;/ Belief of it oppresses me already" (*Othello*, 1.1.144-145). Calling their marriage an "accident" because it mirrors a scenario opposite to what he dreamt about for his daughter, Brabantio blames Othello, saying that he has cast spells on his daughter, abused "her delicate youth with drugs or minerals\ That weaken motion" (*Othello*, 1.2.75-76). The act of distrust of misjudgement, as Victoria McGeer (2002) perceives it, is what troubles Brabantio even more than the race issue. Her breaking with social constraints mirrors his personal failure as a male figure, as a social father figure role, as a family figure and even as an educator. Brabantio, in despair and anger, faces the truth: "It is too true an evil. Gone she is,/ And what's to come of my despised time/ Is naught but bitterness" (*Othello*, 1.1.162-164). No matter Brabantio's disagreeing with their marriage, he perseveres in treating Desdemona as an object of commerce, an object of trade between two males (father and future husband). Brabantio addresses Othello,

“Come hither, Moor,/ I here do give thee that with all my heart/ Which, but thou hast already, with all my heart/ I would keep from thee” (*Othello*, 1.3.191-194).

By standing up to her father’s expectations, Desdemona will succeed in altering this, but by marrying Othello she will again face the same “perversions of patriarchy” (Laroque 1991, 168) simply through a different role—this time as a wife. In other words, Desdemona utters, “My heart’s subdued/ Even to the very quality of my lord./ ... / And to his honours and his valiant parts/ Did I my soul and fortunes consecrate” (*Othello*, 1.3.250-251, 253-254). By stepping away from all that has metaphorically been paralysing her, Desdemona begins to question the stability of the patriarchal system, its values and standpoints, including everything that the society of the time relied upon. Desdemona reveals that her metaphorical paralysis returns once she becomes a wife. In marrying Othello, she exchanges a father figure for a husband figure but does not remove the source of her paralysis; the relationship between her as an inferior figure and Othello as a superior figure remains. What is more, Desdemona’s example, although an exception to the rule, shows that there are women who confront the system but do not manage to reject it totally.

Desdemona’s tragic death affirms Christina Illig’s reference to the “assertion of patriarchy” as a system of values and orders that “ultimately brings forth tragedy, suggesting that domestic patriarchy is not necessarily a successful method of familial organization” (Illig 2010, 26). In Eveline’s case, the patriarchal system and difficult social and familial conditions do not produce a tragic ending like Desdemona’s. Quite the contrary, they might have saved her from becoming victimised and enslaved (Barberán Reinas 2013). Eventually, since Eveline decides to turn her back on Frank, the custom of the time was for women who decided not to marry, to enter a convent (Gifford 1982). Whether Eveline did enter a convent, we do not find out.

4 Conclusion

This article has aimed to underline several facts: a) we cannot determine a literary text once and for all; b) the reader’s role is essential in the process of re-thinking Desdemona and Eveline because the reader adds, contributes and deepens their understanding; c) through Desdemona’s and Eveline’s embodiment and gestures,

we read not only of their unhappy existence within society, but of all issues with which they had to cope.

Viewed from the perspective of today's contemporary reader, we may conclude that both Desdemona and Eveline, with all the "infinite richness of their individual constitutions" (Cixous 1976, 876), have a mission—by speaking from their own barren position as women living in constrictive environments, their traumas, fears and restrictions become visible and more easily accessible to contemporary readers.

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**“A fool, a fool, I met a fool i' th' forest”:
Recurrence in Jaques' Monologues from *As You Like It*
and the Slovene Translations**

TOMAŽ ONIČ & NASTJA PRAJNČ KACIJAN

Abstract This chapter deals with recurring elements in a selection of speeches by Jaques, a character from William Shakespeare's *As You Like It*. It studies these phenomena in the original play and in the relevant parts of its two Slovene translations, the recent one by Milan Jesih (2003) and the earlier one by Oton Župančič (1954). Even though Jaques is a minor character, his melancholic behaviour and stylistically intriguing monologues inspire a more detailed analysis of his language, particularly various types of recurrence, which serve to support his characterization as well as his role in the dramatic structure. In the first step, the investigation focuses on iterations, parallelism and polysyndeton, and then proceeds to establish how these figures are preserved in both Slovene translations. Finally, the study addresses the question of how the potential shifts affect the possible interpretative potential of these excerpts in the Slovene context.

Keywords: • Shakespeare • *As You Like It* • drama translation • repetition • recurrence •

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»Norec! Na norca sem naletel v gozdu«: Ponovne pojavitve v izvirniku in slovenskih prevodih Jaquesovih monologov iz *Kakor vam drago*

TOMAŽ ONIČ IN NASTJA PRAJNČ KACIJAN

Povzetek Prispevek obravnava ponovne pojavitve iz nekaterih monologov Jaquesa, Shakespearovega lika iz igre *As You Like It*. Analizira izvirnik, kot tudi ustrezne odlomke dveh slovenskih prevodov, in sicer novejšega iz leta 2003, katerega avtor je Milan Jesih, in približno pol stoletja starejšega izpod peresa Otona Župančiča iz leta 1954. Čeprav je Jaques v igri stranska oseba, je njegovo melanhonično vedenje skupaj z njegovimi slogovno zanimivimi in razgibanimi monologi povod za podrobnejšo analizo njegovega govora. Prispevek torej obravnava predvsem različne vrste ponovitvenih struktur, ki so povsem skladne s karakterizacijo Jaquesovega lika in njegovo vlogo v dramski strukturi – ter k obojemu celo tvorno prispevajo. Raziskava se sprva osredotoča na iteracije, paralelizem in mnogovezje, nato pa se posveti vprašanju, če in kako se posamezne figure ohranijo v slovenskih prevodih. Nazadnje se prispevek posveti še vprašanju, kako potencialni prevodni premiki vplivajo na interpretativni potencial obravnavanih odlomkov in s tem Jaquesa kot dramske osebe v slovenskih različicah besedila.

Ključne besede: • Shakespeare • *Kakor vam drago* • dramski prevod • ponovitev • ponovna pojavitve •

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1 Introduction

Repetition – of a word, phrase, a longer excerpt, a sound or any other stylistic or linguistic phenomenon – is a relatively simple concept compared to the complex effect it can have on the interpretive potential of the text. Beaugrande and Dressler (2001, 52) introduce several categories of repetition that they consider closely connected to repetitive patterns and as representing crucial features of cohesion. The three most prominent ones that have proven useful in the preliminary study for this analysis are *recurrence*, which is defined as straightforward repetition; *partial recurrence*, a less strict variation where different parts of speech formed from the same root count as repetition; and *parallelism*, which is the repetition of syntactic structure with new elements. The other three mentioned by Beaugrande and Dressler are *paraphrase*, *pro-forms* and *ellipsis*, but this study of repetition in Shakespeare primarily considers the former three, using additional (sub)categorization that has proven useful in previous research of a similar nature.

This study examines several monologues by Jaques from William Shakespeare's *As You Like It* and addresses the issue of how the use of repetitive patterns contributes to Jaques' characterization and the positioning of his role in the dramatic structure of the play, as well as how this phenomenon is preserved in the two Slovene translations. The analysis has shown that Beaugrande and Dressler's categories of recurrence, partial recurrence and parallelism are frequent, but the additionally used categories are those of *polysyndeton* and *asyndeton*, where the repetitive element can be found in the conjunctions or the lack thereof, respectively. The study includes the original Shakespeare text as well as both existing Slovene translations of the play, the earlier one provided by Oton Župančič, published in 1954, and the more recent one by Milan Jesih from 2003.

2 The Characterization of Jaques and his Role in the Dramatic Structure

Jaques is a minor character in *As You Like It*, yet a much favoured one in Shakespeare's opus in general. His stage time is limited to a few appearances, but this does not impede his popularity – neither with the audience nor with actors and directors. He is a proverbially melancholy character, constantly dissatisfied with the world in what seems to be an abstract manner, as well as with some

characters, for example, Duke Senior, whom Jaques serves. Jaques is obviously aware of his own melancholy, since he even seems to enjoy it: to Amiens' remark that a song will make him (Jaques) melancholy, he replies: "I thank it. More, I prithee, more. I can suck melancholy out of a song as a weasel sucks eggs" (*AYLI* 2.5.12-13). In the "Introduction" to the Arden edition of the play, Juliet Dusinberre claims that "Jaques is a dissident in Shakespeare's play; a man susceptible neither to the pastoral world nor to the delights of love and marriage, an observer not a participator, the odd man out at a party. Such a man the Elizabethans described as 'melancholic' /.../" (2006, 106). She also sees him as a 1590s satirist, but at the same time she is aware that it is this very character who blunts the satirical sharpness of the play, since "[w]ithout Jaques' edge of cynicism, the Forest of Arden is too sweet" (Dusinberre 106-108). Remarks about Jaques' inactivity had frequently been made, even as early as 1817 in William Hazlitt's claim that Jaques is "the only purely contemplative character in Shakespear[e]. He thinks, and does nothing. /.../ He is the prince of philosophical idlers" (2009, 228). Anne Button in *The Oxford Companion To Shakespeare* finds that owing to "the breadth and depth of his musings his lines have often been conflated with Shakespeare's own voice" and adds that "in the second half of the 20th century directors tended to react against this by casting actors capable of playing him as unattractively cynical and jaded" (2001, 223). François Laroque, on the other hand, reports that Jaques is "generally thought to represent Ben Jonson" (2003, 41).

Jaques' melancholic character as well as his role of observer and satirical commentator are supported on both the macro- and microstructural levels of the play. The former can be noted in his marginal position within the micro-society currently inhabiting the Forest of Arden, where he never blends with the merry life of the rest of the group. He is thus a double outlaw, since he has also expelled himself from the Arden population and dwells on its edge, which is similar to his marginal position of observer and satirical commentator. Additional playfulness is added to his position of critical eye, since he is clearly aware of this role and enjoys it. He expresses the wish to be able to wear a fool's garments, which would additionally legitimize his satirical posture: "O that I were a fool! / I am ambitious for a motley coat" (*AYLI* 2.7.43-45).

On the microstructural level, Jaques' language is sharp in places, but also appropriately playful. It abounds with a variety of stylistic devices, most prominently recurrence in the form of iteration, parallelism, polysyndeton and so on. A considerable frequency of these schemes is concentrated in his monologues in Scene 7 of Act II, so the present research mainly focuses on this scene. The analysis of recurrence is a contrastive one, conducted in parallel between the original and the two translations to see whether the interpretive potential stemming from recurrence is preserved in the Slovene versions.

3 Jaques' Use of Recurrence: Iteration, Parallelism and Polysyndeton

The stylistic function of repetition is closely related to the concept of foregrounding, being one of its two main possible manifestations. According to Simpson (2014, 52), repetition and parallelism create a potential "distortion" (the other manifestation being a deviation from the norm) that attracts the reader's/viewer's attention. In reference to this concept, Katie Wales (2011, 304) introduces the poetic function of literary text and speaks of foregrounding as a particular and creative use of literary language "against the background of non-literary language" (ibid.). Jaques' monologues from Scene 7 offer an excellent example of how several schemes listed above are creatively concentrated in a few relatively short passages of carefully designed text, which supports Jaques' characterization as well as establishing his role in the play.

Iteration is most frequently defined as repetition or recurrence of words, phrases, clauses or even whole sentences, which are then further subcategorized according to the pattern in which they occur. The most frequent sub-categories are epizeuxis, anaphora, epistrophe and polyptoton, many of which can be found in Jaques's speech. Intuitively, iterations can be categorized among the most quickly and easily noticeable schemes, particularly if recurrences are multiple. Perhaps the most salient iteration in Jaques' first monologue in Act II, Scene 7, "A fool, a fool, I met a fool i' th' forest..." (AYLI 2.7.12) is the recurrence of the noun *fool*, which opens the monologue with an epizeuxis¹ and then recurs 9 more times in the same speech in its singular or plural (a single instance) form, which makes it extremely salient:

¹ Epizeuxis, with slightly varied meaning also named *geminatio* or *diacope*, is an immediate repetition of a word or phrase, as in the nursery rhyme "Rain, rain go away".

A **fool**, a **fool**, I met a **fool** i' th' forest,
 A motley **fool**. A miserable world!
 As I do live by food, I met a **fool**,
 Who laid him down and basked him in the sun
 And railed on Lady Fortune in good terms,
 In good set terms, and yet a motley **fool**.
 "Good morrow, **fool**," quoth I. "No, sir," quoth he,
 "Call me not '**fool**' till heaven hath sent me fortune."
 And then he drew a dial from his poke
 And, looking on it with lack-lustre eye,
 Says very wisely "It is ten o'clock.
 Thus we may see," quoth he, "how the world wags.
 'Tis but an hour ago since it was nine,
And after one hour more 'twill be eleven.
And so from hour to hour we ripe and ripe,
And then from hour to hour we rot and rot,
And thereby hangs a tale." When I did hear
 The motley **fool** thus moral on the time,
 My lungs began to crow like chanticleer
 That **fools** should be so deep-contemplative,
 And I did laugh sans intermission
 An hour by his dial. O **noble fool**!
 A **worthy fool**! Motley's the only wear. (*AYLI* 2.7.12-34)

A glance at the two translations (below) shows that the preservation of this iteration was planned and even highly prioritized by both translators, since both preserve it practically in full. A few commentaries are provided below; the highlights in the excerpts are added by the authors of this chapter. The two translations are by Župančič (1954) and Jesih (2003):

Norec! Na **norca** sem naletel v gozdu,
 našarjenega norca! Bedni svet!
 Kakor živim, naletel sem na norca;
 zleknjen je ležal, sončil se in ošteval
 gospo Fortuno **z lepimi izrazi**,
 res **lepimi**, in vendar pisan norec.
 »Dober dan, norec,« pravim. »Ne,« odvrne,

»nič norec, dokler Bog ne dá mi sreče.«

Nato potegne uro si iz žepa
in opazuje z mračnim jo očesom
in pravi modro: »Zdajle je deset;
tu vidimo, kako se suče svet:
pred eno uro je bilo devet
in ena ura še, pa bo enajst;
in ura in ura in ti zoriš, zoriš,
in ura in ura in ti trohniš, trohniš;
brez konca je povest.« Ko je tako
ta norec pisani o času modroval,
so mi zapela pljuča kot petelin,
ker norci so tako globokoumni,
in nepretrgoma sem se smejal
kar celo uro. O, ta **žlahtni norec!**

Odličen norec! V janko pisano
samo odet. /.../ (Župančič)

Norec, norec – v gozdu sem našel norca,
res, norca, in v opravi; kam gre svet!
Kakor me jed živi: našel sem norca,
ulegel se je, sončil se in grajal
gospo Fortuno v **znanih publicah,**
prav **spretnih,** vendar: norec! Jaz mu pravim,
»Dober dan, norec,« on pa: »Ne, gospod,
ne norec, dokler me ne udari sreča.«
Pa vzame iz malhe uro pa jo gleda
netrenoma in pravi silno modro:
»Deset je ura,« pravi, »to uči,
kakšna je pot sveta: pred eno uro
bila je še devet, čez eno uro
pa bo enajst; tako iz ure v uro
zorimo pa zorimo, in potem
gnijemo, gnijemo iz ure v uro,
o tem je zgodba.« Ko sem slišal norca
- v opravi – to razpredati o času,
iz pljuč se mi je strgal kikirik,

da norci so tako razmišljajoči,
 in sem se smejal in se nisem nehal
 njegovo uro. O, **sijajen norec!**
 Odličen! In v **pred-pisani opravi!** (Jesih)

Apart from the recurrence itself, in most cases the pattern (i.e., the sub-type) of the iteration is also preserved at the corresponding places in the translations; however, there are some variations in this respect. While Jesih keeps the initial epizeuxis: “**Norec, norec** – v gozdu sem našel norca ...”, Župančič modifies it to a certain extent, thus creating a partial recurrence, more precisely, a polyptoton, since the second element appears in the accusative case. The slightly changed pattern, however, is of minor impact because of the almost immediate repetition of the word with the same root, so it practically retains most of the characteristics of epizeuxis: “**Norec!** Na **norca** sem naletel v gozdu ...” (Župančič). In the concluding couplet, on the other hand, it is Župančič who preserves the epistrophe: “O, ta zlahтни **norec!** Odličen **norec!**”, while Jesih chooses to modify the closure: “... njegovo uro. O, sijajen **norec!** / Odličen! In v pred-pisani opravi!”, most probably with the intention of seizing the opportunity to create a memorable pun (“v pred-pisani opravi”).²

Before continuing to polysyndeton and parallelism in this monologue, let us briefly look into the recurrence of *fool* beyond this speech, in the original and the translations. The previous monologue continues into a conversation between Jaques and Duke Senior and then into Jaques’ next monologue “It is my only suit...”, in the same scene:

And they that are most galled with my **folly**,
 They most must laugh. And why, sir, must they so?
 The “why” is plain as way to parish church:
 He that a **fool** doth very wisely hit
 Doth very **foolishly**, although he smart,
 Not to seem senseless of the bob. If not,
 The wise man's **folly** is anatomized

² The pun lies in the word *predpisan*, meaning *prescribed*, *required*, but written down as it is in Jesih’s translation, i.e., *pred-pisan*, it comes forward as the word *pisan* with a prefix *pred-*. *Pisan* means colourful (like *molley*), while *pred-* as a spatial or temporal prefix conveys the meaning of a position *in front of* or *before*. Since the theatre audience cannot see the hyphen, the conveyance of the pun almost entirely depends on the actor’s delivery.

Even by the squand'ring glances of the **fool**. /.../ (AYLI 2.7.52-59)

In kogar bom najbolj užgal, se mora
najbolj smejati. In zakaj, gospod?
Očitno je kot pot do farne cerkve.
Ta, kogar **norec** umno je zadel,
je kaj **neumen**, najsi ga skeli,
če šale ne prezre. Sicer bo **norec**
razgalil modrijanovo **neumnost**
še s strelom, ki jo sproži kar na slepo. (Župančič)

... takšno imajo norci. In še, tisti,
ki najbolj jih zjezi moja **norčija**,
naj se najbolj smeji. A zakaj?
Jasno kot pot do farne cerkve. Ta,
ki **norec** ga prav modro je podregal,
naj tudi bister, bo ravnal **neumno**,
če se ne izkaže za zboldljaj brezčuten.
Če ne, bo **norec** modrega **norost** ..." (Jesih)

The recurring frequency of the expression is lower than in the previous monologue, but it also appears in variants, i.e., partial recurrences, of *foolishly* and *folly*. In the translations, these are partly lost and partly changed, but it is again obvious that both translators are aware of the translation problem and address it. They preserve the same number of occurrences (Jesih even adds one: "Oblecite me v *norca*" in the translation of the line "Invest me in my motley," which Župančič translated as "Oblécite mi janko"), but they both drop the polyptoton *fool/foolishly*, since the Slovene pair *norec/nor* is semantically not equivalent to the original. The adjective *nor*, which would preserve polyptoton, is closer to the denotation of *crazy* than that of *foolish* and thus inappropriate, while replacing *norec* with *neumnež* only to preserve this polyptoton would be unjustifiable in many respects, since the former is far more appropriate in most of its appearances in the existing translations. Ignoring a two-syllable translation and using a three-syllable one (or even a four-syllable one in several grammatical cases), while the original is monosyllabic, would make the task of keeping the target verse within the pentameter limits a great deal more demanding, particularly if we consider the twelve-fold recurrence in Jacques' previously

analysed speech. This change alone would add at least ten syllables to the translation, which is, in theory, one full line. Both translators, therefore, used the pair *norec/neumen*, thus losing the polyptoton – but maintaining alliteration, which despite a weaker effect still draws attention to the connected meanings.

The third element of this partial recurrence (although according to some definitions not technically classifiable as polyptoton³) is *folly*, which occurs twice in the speech (see above). Župančič fails to preserve the first occurrence, thus losing the paradoxical idea of a wise man being foolish (“*wise man’s folly*”, *AYLI* 2.7.58). On the other hand, Župančič translates the second occurrence of *folly* as “*razgalil modrijanovo neumnost ...*” (Župančič), so he keeps the oxymoron but builds the figure on the word *neumen* rather than *norec*, using the polyptoton *neumen/neumnost*. Thus, the vivid playfulness of the polyptoton in the original is partly lost in translation, since Župančič divides the figure between the words *nor* and *neumen*, thus creating two weaker instances of polyptoton. Župančič’s choices, however, are semantically more appropriate, since they retain the contrast between a wise person and a foolish one. Jesih, on the other hand, keeps both partial recurrences by using the word *norčija*, preserving the lighter version of *folly*, and *norost*, again closer to the inappropriate translation *insanity*. This translation is semantically less accurate than Župančič’s, but it keeps the playful touch through polyptoton.

Returning to the previous monologue, the focus will now shift to **parallelism** and **polysyndeton**,⁴ which can both be associated with repetition. The latter is not frequently mentioned in the stylistics literature as a typical foregrounding device; however, it could technically be considered as a recurrence of conjunctions (and thus a case of iteration), which frequently coexists with other iteration sub-categories (like anaphora, epistrophe, etc.) or even parallelism, as is the case in this monologue by Jaques. This adds a certain synergic effect to the text, where the overlapping figures (which function as foregrounding devices) significantly increase the potential effect of individual recurrences. Parallelism, on the other hand, is frequently listed as an important tool of foregrounding, particularly because of the concomitant element of repetition. According to Mick

³ Polyptoton is repetition of the same root, as in “With eager feeding food doth choke the feeder” (R2. II.1.37).

⁴ Parallelism is repetition of the same structure in consecutive clauses or phrases, as in the proverb “Easy come, easy go”; polysyndeton is the use of several successive conjunctions, joining consecutive items on the list, as in Leonard Cohen’s “Marianne”: “...laugh / And cry and cry and laugh...”; it can also be seen as the opposite of asyndeton, the lack of conjunctions.

Short, a "parallelism rule" exists, according to which readers attempt to find semantic relations between parallel parts (1996, 14–15). Christiana Gregoriou (2009, 37) elaborates on the structural parallelism among words with the same or similar sound, meaning, or position in a syntactic structure, claiming that some sort of equivalence or opposition exists in their semantic relationship.

In Jaques' first speech "A fool, a fool, I met a fool i' th' forest..." (fully cited above), there are several instances of parallelism. In the second line of the speech, this figure is lost in both Slovene translations:

A motley fool. A miserable world! (*AYLI* 2.7.13)

našarjenega norca! Bedni svet! (Župančič)

res, norca, in v opravi; kam gre svet! (Jesih)

The explanation for the translation shift can likely be attributed to the differences in morphological characteristics between the two languages. "A motley fool." is the direct object of the sentence, since it continues from "I met a fool i' th' forest", while "A miserable world" is an exclamation, which normally takes the subject position. In English, the accusative and nominative forms are the same, so the two parallel structures are much more similar than those in the translations could ever be. Another, even more salient case of parallelism overlaps with a quadruple polysyndeton and will be discussed in the following section.

Polysyndeton and **asyndeton**, its juxtaposing counterpart, are not typical schemes of repetition like iteration or parallelism; nevertheless, both comprise a certain recurring quality that supports their inclusion in this study. Partly it is their structural characteristics, which technically means repetition of certain, mainly syntactic elements, i.e., conjunctions in polysyndeton, or their absence in asyndeton, but more importantly, the two schemes anticipate a list of parallel items that suggest repetition as well as semantic equivalence. Both often coexist with iterations such as anaphora or epistrophe, or with structural schemes like parallelism or climax. Polysyndeton and asyndeton allow for separate sets of interpretive possibilities, so they are not mutually interchangeable, even though they share certain similarities in structure and in potential effects. In this sense, they frequently represent a translation challenge, because the substitution of one

with the other in the target language might often be practical when shortening or prolonging of the line of poetry or drama, but the implications of such a change are unlikely to be favourable.

Polysyndeton, in general, tends to give an impression of a peaceful, self-generated, cyclical, even infinite process. This interpretive potential can be attributed to biblical style, where polysyndeton is one of the most frequent schemes. In the first five verses of the Book of Genesis, there are 13 occurrences of the conjunction *and* out of 89 words in total, which is almost 15% of the wordcount:

In the beginning God created the heaven **and** the earth. **And** the earth was without form, **and** void; **and** darkness *was* upon the face of the deep. **And** the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. **And** God said, let there be light: **and** there was light. **And** God saw the light, that *it was* good: **and** God divided the light from the darkness. **And** God called the light Day, **and** the darkness he called Night. **And** the evening **and** the morning were the first day. (Gen 1:1-5)

Polysyndeton is frequently found in Jaques' speeches. It usually supports his slow-moving melancholic nature. The first monologue in Scene 7 of Act II contains one that can hardly be missed, which is also combined with anaphora and parallelism to bring it even more to the front:

'Tis but an hour ago since it was nine,
And after one hour more 'twill be eleven.
And so from hour to hour we ripe **and** ripe,
And then from hour to hour we rot **and** rot,
And thereby hangs a tale. /.../ (*AYLI* 2.7.24-28)

Even though the words containing this series of conjunctions constituting polysyndeton are not Jaques' own – he is merely quoting Touchstone from an earlier conversation between them – the salient figure seems to support his characterization well. Together with several iterations and the parallel structure in lines 26 and 27, polysyndeton manages to communicate a calm, melancholic mood that provides wide-ranging opportunities for the theatrical interpretation that productions frequently turn to their great advantage (e.g., Shakespeare's Globe production; Sharrock 2009). Additionally, polysyndeton supports the

infinite cyclical process about which Jaques is ruminating. The figure is kept in Župančič's translation with a slight change, while it is considerably altered by Jesih:

in ena ura še, pa bo enajst;
in ura **in** ura **in** ti zoriš, zoriš,
in ura **in** ura **in** ti trohniš, trohniš;
brez konca je povest. /.../ (Župančič)

pa bo enajst; tako iz ure v uro
zorimo **pa** zorimo, in potem
gnijemo, gnijemo iz ure v uro.
o tem je zgodba. /.../ (Jesih)

Župančič uses polysyndeton and asyndeton in a manner that differs from the Shakespeare original. The initial anaphora is retained, but the final conjunction between the two repeated words is omitted, which formally eliminates polysyndeton. Nevertheless, the terminal use of epizeuxis without the intermediary conjunction gives the lines a certain asyndetic characteristic. The emphasis thus lies more on the semantic aspect of the verbs *zoreti* and *trohneti*, while the original conjunction between the repeated verbs *ripe* and *rot* emphasizes the infinite repetition of the action more than the action itself. Nevertheless, the accumulation of conjunctions in earlier positions, again used in parallel, preserves the polysyndetic quality in the translation, and together with the preserved anaphora, manages to retain much of the original effect of the figurative language.

Jesih, on the other hand, chooses not to focus on preserving the original parallelism and polysyndeton. In the case of the first repetition, he decides to vary the conjunction by using its informal version *pa* to join the epizeuxis *zorimo pa zorimo*. Semantically and even syntactically, both conjunctions serve the same function, and in this respect the translation is equivalent to the original. On the stylistic level, however, the variation of conjunctions and consequent loss of the polysyndeton represent a deficiency that could hardly be labelled a proportionate counterpart of the original polysyndeton.

The same shift can also be noticed in the second line; however, the epizeuxis of *gnijemo* represents yet another problem that unjustifiably interferes with rhythm. An immediate repetition, which is the definition of epizeuxis, of a three-syllable word placed in an iambic metrical scheme (or any other set verse consisting of two-syllable metrical feet), means that the expected stress of the word in question will not remain on the same syllable in two occurrences of the same word. Either this will lead to improper pronunciation of the word in its first or second occurrence (in this case, *gni-je-mo*, ***gni-je-mo***), or it will create a rhythmical flaw, technically a substitution, that will lead to an unmistakable change in rhythm (***gni-je-mo***, *gni-je-mo*) against the iambic background. In view of Jaques' characterization as an easy-going, melancholic non-activist, this variation is an unwanted feature. This phenomenon can be illustrated with W. B. Yeats's – in this case conscious and intended – choice from “The Second Coming”. The iambic pentameter line “Turning and turning in the widening gyre”, where the situation is in some ways the opposite, opens with an epizeuxis of two two-syllable words, which if placed in the appropriate position in the verse, with one immediately succeeding the other (tur-ning, tur-ning; – U – U), would ensure a smooth and “clean” line where the rhythm (i.e., the natural word stress) would follow the metrical scheme. However, Yeats moves the first “turning” to the head of the iambic line on the first iambic foot (i.e., **tur-ning**, U –), which requires a trochaic substitution (i.e., **tur-ning**, – U). However, the insertion of the monosyllabic conjunction in the middle of the epizeuxis (*turning and turning*) “restores” the verse by sliding the second “tur-ning” to the metrically appropriate position. Yeats's choice to disrupt the rhythm in this way is fully justified by the subject matter of the poem, since the rhythmical shift corresponds to the disorder and destruction threatening mankind. Jesih's translation, on the other hand, creates a rhythm disruption which is justified neither by the plot of the play nor by Jaques' character; on the contrary, a smooth and fluent rhythm would conform this excerpt better.

4 Conclusion

Even though Jaques's character is not crucial for the main plot of the play, this research shows how his playful language, particularly its stylistic features, can affect the interpretive potential of his speeches and his character. The microstructural analysis is based on recurrences, partial recurrences, parallelism and polysyndeton, and even though the last figure is not typically perceived as a repetition category, it proves highly important in the selected speeches. The play

introduces Jaques as a satirical, melancholic character, and all the repetitions used in his speeches (such as the highly concentrated occurrence of the noun *fool* or frequent anaphoric polysyndeton) support the idea of his never-ending melancholic behaviour, which seems as cyclical as the figures he uses in his language. The analysis thus addresses the issue regarding the correspondence between the characteristics of Jaques' character and his language, shows the possible connection of his thoughts about, e.g., paradoxical wisdom or his meditations on life and the language he uses. Both Slovene translators (Jesih and Župančič) chose to prioritize most of the visible recurrences and thus kept the vivid playfulness of Jaques' language as well as the interpretive potential of the original speeches; however, they also had to adapt their Slovene translations to the target language and context, so they modified some figures either to keep the appropriate pentameter, to avoid alterations in the semantic aspect of discourse, or to accommodate morphological differences between the languages. In some cases, they even move away from the original to prioritize certain other features, and therefore lose the original potential of the text. The analysis shows that Jaques' speeches in the translated texts will not necessarily yield the same interpretive options as the original, but they can be seen as good examples of a consistent translation process when it comes to recurrences.

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II.
FILOZOFIJA
PHILOSOPHY

Linguistic Intuitions: The Hybrid Nature View

NENAD MIŠČEVIĆ

Abstract Linguistic intuitions encompass pragmatic, semantic and grammatical-syntactic ones. Intuition-capacity is the loudspeaker of the competence. Some linguistic intuitions might rely on specific, modular competences; perhaps syntactic intuitions are of this kind and come from a unitary, homogenous source, although even these might encompass logical elements together with purely syntactic ones. Semantic and pragmatic intuitions have a dual or hybrid nature. The standard externalist semantic intuitions concerning reference, for names and natural kinds, are at the same time language-oriented and world-oriented and thus have both a narrowly meaning-focused component, and a metaphysical component. There is a general continuity between meanings, concepts and metaphysical assumptions about the world. Pragmatic intuitions depend on the general capacity of mind-reading that goes way beyond purely linguistic matters. These affinities, concerning both metaphysical content and other mind-related ones, comprise one important element in justifying the rapprochement between linguistic intuitions and philosophical ones. Once this is noted, one can place both kinds on a wider map, together with other imaginative exercises of thought, and point to the common genus of several further kinds of such exercises characterizing our cognitive lives, from fiction to law, and even to religious exercises.

Keywords: • discourse frames • cognitive linguistics • media discourse • evaluative language • persuasion •

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Jezikovne intuicije: mešani pogled

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Povzetek Jezikovne intuicije so pragmatične, semantične in sintaktične. Zmožnost intuicije je kazalnik kompetence. Nekatere jezikovne intuicije se lahko zanašajo na specifične, modularne kompetence; takšne so morda sintaktične intuicije, ki imajo skupen, homogen vir, čeprav lahko tudi te ob sintaktičnih vključujejo tudi logične elemente. Semantične in pragmatične intuicije so dvojne oziroma hibridne narave. Standardne eksternalistične semantične intuicije, vezane na reference imen in naravnih vrst, so hkrati jezikovno in svetovno usmerjene ter imajo tako ozko, pomensko usmerjeno komponento kot tudi metafizično. Obstaja splošna kontinuiteta med pomeni, koncepti in metafizičnimi predpostavkami o svetu. Pragmatične intuicije so odvisne od splošne kapacitete 'branja misli', ki je zelo daleč od čiste lingvistike. Odnosi, ki zadevajo tako metafizične vsebine kot tudi vsebine, povezane z umom, predstavljajo zelo pomemben gradnik v upravičevanju vzpostavljanja harmonije med jezikovnimi in filozofskimi intuicijami. Upoštevajoč slednje, lahko umestimo obe vrsti intuicij na širšo sliko skupaj z drugimi imaginarnimi vajami mišljenja in izpostavimo skupno kategorijo različnih vrst vaj, ki označujejo naša kognitivna življenja – od fikcije in prava do religioznih vaj.

Ključne besede: • diskurzni okviri • kognitivno jezikoslovje • medijski diskurz • jezik vrednotenja • prepričevanje •

1 Introduction

Linguistic intuitions are an important topic in the philosophy of language and linguistics, and in general philosophical methodology, and constitute one of Dunja's favorite topics (I shall call our author "Dunja", since we have been friends for almost half a century).¹ Writing about her almost a decade ago, I noted that she was the author of the first and (still) the only book on the philosophy of linguistics in Croatia (Jutrović Tihomirović (1991)), published three decades ago, in which she presented in a succinct form the view that she has been successfully developing and defending until the present time.

Dunja's theoretical contribution to the philosophy of language is very significant, and her discussion of intuitions holds a central place within it. Dunja's organizational contribution consists in keeping the analytic philosophy of language alive in Croatia, in particular through her engagement in the Dubrovnik IUC conferences. As I noted almost a decade ago, she organized major Maribor conferences, mostly dedicated to the work of Michael Devitt and has kept organizing the very successful Dubrovnik conference-course, "Philosophy of Linguistics", which takes place every year in Dubrovnik at the beginning of September, the ideal time of the year, when we can all enjoy the last week of nice weather for taking a swim between sessions. The written products of these conferences have been steadily published, thanks to her efforts, either in special publications, or in topical issues of the *Croatian Journal of Philosophy*, which she is almost turning into a journal for the philosophy of linguistics, with incredible energy, dedication and considerable tact.

So, let me start with a brief introduction to the topics of the present paper. Some authors use the term "linguistic intuitions" for syntactic-grammatical intuitions only. Here is Gareth Fitzgerald:

/.../ linguistic intuitions are the upshot of a system of grammatical competence as it interacts with performance systems for perceiving and articulating language. (2010, 123)

¹ This paper owes its origin to an invitation by Bojan Borstner. It owes its content, in many respects, to long discussions with Dunja and Michael Devitt; its draft version was presented and discussed at the Philosophy of Language and Linguistics Conference at IUC in Dubrovnik in 2018. I received useful reactions from Ken Taylor, Carlo Penco, Michael Devitt, Bianca Ceppolaro and David Sosa; thanks to all.

Robert Fiengo, in his important “Linguistic Intuitions,” has followed the same practice. Fortunately, the practice is vanishing; for example, at the time this is being written, Oxford University Press is preparing a collection of papers on linguistic intuitions, where various kinds are discussed.² Devitt mentions syntactic and semantic properties as targets of intuitions (2006, 482), while Jeffrey Maynes and Steven Gross (2013, 715) list various kinds of linguistic intuitions, and other authors join in. I shall talk about linguistic intuitions, taking into account all three kinds: syntactic, semantic and pragmatic.

Eliciting linguistic intuitions takes the same shape for all kinds of them: present a sentence to the speaker, and ask her if she would say it, or whether it is a sentence in her language. Just some examples are given below: for syntax, two questions³:

Is₁. “Who bought what?” an acceptable sentence?

Is₂. “What bought who?” acceptable? Or, does it make sense, and what is it?

For semantics:

What does ‘spinster’ mean?

contrast *visiting prisoners can be boring* vs *visiting relatives can be boring*. which can mean what?

For pragmatics:

John said “The gas-station is around the corner.” What did he mean?

There is no official name for these micro-games, which I choose to call “elicitation games”.

The first big issue connected to linguistic intuitions is their origin. While Dunja is more on the empiricist side, my own view of them is competentialist; I call my own variety the Moderate Voice-of-Competence (MoVoC) theory, re-using in positive way Devitt’s ironic term “VoC” from his 2012 paper (see p. 558). Other often-discussed issues are reliability, explanation of reliability and the relation to non-linguistic intuitions (thought-experimental ones; to be shortened as “TE-al”, from “TE”, short for “thought experiment”). Since the competentialist views are

² Samuel Schindler, Karen Kil Bröcker and Anna Drożdżowicz (eds.) *Linguistic Intuitions*

³ Borrowed from Jeffrey Maynes and Steven Gross, 2013,714.

mainstream ones, here I want to stress some of the less frequently discussed aspects of intuitions:

First, heterogeneity of linguistic intuitions (I shall point to the epistemic connection of pragmatics with mind-reading, and hypothesize that some important semantic intuitions partly proceed from metaphysics).

Second, their affinities and ties to other domains, the issue of the higher genus of intuition-generating exercises, and placing linguistic intuitions on a much wider map.

I shall, mostly in dialogue with Dunja, point to some directions we can go; unfortunately, I have to be very brief, and so I apologize to her and to the readers.

2 Intuitions: Syntactic, Semantic and Pragmatic

a.) Syntactic intuitions

I shall be super-brief about syntactic intuitions, since Dunja and I have been discussing them in a series of papers.⁴ My Moderate Voice-of-Competence (MoVoC) theory proposal follows the Chomskyan linguistic mainstream in assuming that a specialized grammatical competence produces syntactic intuitions. Let me rerun a simple scheme of the hypothetical production of a syntactic intuition I proposed almost a decade and a half ago (Miscevic, 2008), with an important correction inspired by Dunja and Devitt's criticism. Here are two sentences:

(W) They want to be teachers.

(W*) *They want to be teacher.

Imagine a native speaker, Ann, accepting the first and rejecting the second. Ann can rehearse the sentences for herself, simulating producing it, or her linguistic cognitive apparatus can just analyze the sentence heard. She can go on asking herself whether she would say them, simulating actual saying, as the standard description goes.

⁴ Most recently in *European Journal of Analytic Philosophy*: Dunja Jutronic (2014), Miscevic, (2014).

Table 1: Flow-chart of the generation of linguistic intuitions

1	2	3	4
<i>Processing the target sentence (heard or simulated)</i>	<i>immediate, spontaneous verdict by specialized → competence (intuition core)</i>	<i>empirical testing at sub-personal → level</i>	<i>intuition</i>

The immediate, spontaneous answer is the datum used by the central processor to arrive at the belief state, intuition proper.⁵ The generation of linguistic intuition-states seems to be rather isolated, independent of general intelligence, employed in Stage 3 theorizing, of our flow-chart.

The process is similar for more complicated structures, like those involving co-reference.

(M) Mary knows that Jane loves herself.

Viewing syntactic intuitions as the voices of specialized competences seems to me still correct. *Intuition-capacity is the loudspeaker, the PR partner of the competence.* It is not part of the competence (and loudspeakers of some management are

⁵ Why do we need the wider, empirical testing at Stage 3? Here, two opposite possibilities loom large. Either the empirical theorizing is narrowly linguistic, or it is wide and holistic, and could involve language-external, for instance social, affective and other considerations. Let us take three illustrations, one real and two close to real.

If a tourist asks me if she can use a given Croatian word, I might reflect that the Croatian language has been recently cleansed of much lexicon that I would normally use (and which is considered to be too “Serbian” by nationalists). I might decide that my usage is not a good guide, if you are a foreigner who wants to avoid being shouted at in the street, and I might warn the tourist that the word is not really a part of Croatian vocabulary that is nowadays acceptable to every Croat. This is certainly a piece of empirical reasoning, prompted by my rich and often unpleasant experience with these matters. Contrast this with just rehearsing a sentence in the head, and finding it acceptable, which does not seem to be theorizing as the ordinaryists would have it. And the vocabulary used by the naïve cognizer and speaker is not the vocabulary of theory. This example is similar to the sociolinguistic finding often stressed by Dunja, that speakers sometimes judge the sentences they otherwise normally produce themselves as “unacceptable”; it seems that some kind of social conformism or even the wish to conform to “higher” social standards interferes with their spontaneous speech.

normally not part of managements themselves); it transmits the information of the competence, sometimes re-interprets it, as loudspeakers normally do, and adapts it to other interests (as loudspeakers sometimes do). Nevertheless, it is a voice of competence, in the same way in which a loudspeaker, a PR person, is a voice the management uses to communicate with ordinary citizens. The deeds of a corporation are indicators of the politics of the management, in the same way in which our ordinary linguistic practice reveals the functioning of the competence; however, the statements of the PR person often allow a more direct and more reliable route to what the management intends. Similarly, intuitions are direct paths to the functioning of the competence.⁶

Dunja would propose a different scheme:

Table 2: Dunja's flow-chart

1	2	3
<i>Processing the target sentence (heard or simulated)</i>	<i>empirical testing by central processor</i>	<i>intuition (so-called)</i>

The crucial question is whether and how the central processor, i.e. general intelligence accessing memory, can quickly analyze the complicated syntactic structures involved in ordinary sentences, like the ones involving co-reference. The empiricist-ordinarist answer is that the capacity is due to empirical exercise, like the one characterizing the expert knowledge of, say, a paleontologist, or a good tennis player. (I call it ordinarist, since it fits well with other views that see intuitions as items of ordinary knowledge, the most famous of which is the view of Tim Williamson (2008)). Linguistic ordinarism denies that seemingly linguistic judgments form a significant epistemic kind, intuitions, and that there is a distinct capacity producing them.

⁶ Here I must leave aside the discussion of voices that deny the reliability of linguistic intuitions; see for example, Baggio et. al., 2012.

I find this position incredible. Nothing in our ordinary empirical knowledge points to a general structure-recognizing empirical ability of this power. Nevertheless, Dunja and I have been discussing this issue for a long time, and I would kindly ask the reader to consult our previously published papers. I want to pass on to a topic Dunja and I have never addressed before.

This is the issue of the hybrid nature of linguistic intuitions in the wide sense. They seem to encompass both a narrow linguistic component and a different component, say a logical, metaphysical or folk-psychological one.

I am least sure about syntactic intuitions. There is an open question concerning the role of logic in syntax, and many authors note that there might be a purely logical aspect to them. I shall limit myself here to quoting Kirk Ludwig, who talks about the basic, LF level of syntactic representation and notes the following:

/.../ LF is clearly relevant to logical form. If LF is real, then a psychologically real level of syntactical description encodes structural semantic features of sentences. This provides a representation that can guide regimentations that serve as input to an interpretive truth theory and an important empirical constraint on them (see e.g. Hornstein 2002). Work on LF, then, if LF has the relevant properties, will interact in a straightforward way with a theory of logical form for natural languages, and vice versa. (Ludwig, 2012, 39)

Suppose that logic is particularly relevant to quantification in language, as Hornstein, Ludwig and others claim. If this holds, the naïve speaker's intuition that a sentence (one which we would describe as quantified in a certain way) is correct (is a sentence in her language), would partly derive from general syntactic competence, and partly from logical competence. If we count it as a linguistic intuition in the wider sense, we would have to say that it has a narrowly linguistic component, and a logical component, and has, in this sense, a hybrid nature.

b.) Semantic intuition: unitary or hybrid?

Here, I would like to elicit some comments from Dunja; we have not previously discussed semantic intuitions, so I am curious about her views. Semantic intuitions seem to concern not only meanings and concepts, but also worldly items. Consider the Putnam-Kripke-Devitt discovery, first in relation to kind terms:

“Water” refers to items that have chemical structure in common.

“Cat” refers to animals that have genetic structure in common.

And here is an example for names, taken from Carlo Penco (in discussion):

“Nenad” refers to this person here. But if the person were exactly like the one here, but stemming from another family, “Nenad” would not refer to it.

Chomsky denies that we have intuitions about these cases, and claims that the examples refer to theoretical constructions, rather than to intuitions (2000, p. 148). Other authors simply ignore the problem, and liken semantic intuitions to the syntactic ones. John Collins sees them as the other side of the coin of syntactic intuitions:

The chapter argues that so-called semantic and syntactic intuitions, as appealed to as evidence in linguistic theory, are two sides of the same coin. Speaker-hearers do not have direct intuitive access to linguistic facts, but instead have intuitions about what can be said with a sentence; it is the theorist’s task to sieve such coarse-grained reports to discover the contribution of semantic and syntactic principles to the content associated with a sentence. (in preparation, 1)

Interestingly, he connects them with the speaker’s abilities, thus bringing them very close to pragmatics. Here is the brief statement:

5: The right view of semantic intuitions

The right view of semantic intuitions simply involves ditching the metalinguistic condition and the immediacy condition of

the attitude view. Thus, speaker-hearers' semantic intuitions are not so much judgements about the properties of sentences, but judgements about what one can say with a sentence in a context. This is not a property of a sentence, but a property of a speaker. It is the theorists' task, not the informants, to tease apart the contributory factors to the propositional contents available to be said; that is, to determine the invariance of interpretation that is the peculiar contribution of semantics proper. Thus, this peculiar invariance can be unobvious, for one isn't immediately aware of an invariance. The theorist must root out generalisations that affect what can be said, without being explicit in what is said. (in preparation, 15)

This exclusionary view of semantic intuitions that sees them as purely linguistic, blood relatives of the syntactic ones, does not fit well with the standard externalist semantic intuitions concerning reference, for names and natural kinds. Here are further examples. This creature looks and behaves like a cat, but its inside is more like that of a robot. Does the word "cat" apply to it? No, the intuition says. This person looks like and has an internal structure identical to that of Nenad Mišćević, but he has different parents. Could the name "Nenad Mišćević" refer to him? No, the intuition goes. (David Sosa has noted in discussion that the claim on Nenad's identity is metaphysical, but *immediately translatable* into the semantics of "Nenad").

These intuitions are at the same time about the word, and about the metaphysics of its referent; they are simultaneously language-oriented and world-oriented and thus have both a narrowly meaning-focused component, and a metaphysical component.

An externalist can deny this; Devitt has come close to doing this in discussion, and Dunja probably shares his views. However, in denying the presence of a world-oriented, metaphysical component *within* semantic intuition, our externalist has to opt for exporting it outside the linguistic content. The semantic intuition will then be rather deflationary: "Water" refers to water, "Nenad Miscevic" refers to Nenad Miscevic. The metaphysical aspect, namely the sameness of substance, or importance of personal identity, goes out of semantics, and is revealed by metaphysical intuitions. Slezak comes close to this view:

Intense controversy in the study of language over intuitions should not obscure the fact that fundamentally different issues are at stake in relation to the methods of generative linguistics and philosophical approaches to semantics.

In the former kind of inquiry, the evidence of intuitions might be regarded as “the royal road to the unconscious” representations of our inner, tacit knowledge or I-language. In the second kind of inquiry, intuitions elicited by thought experiments play the role of theoretical conjectures in keeping with the methods of philosophical inquiry more generally. These are not immediate, unreflective judgments as in the case of linguistic data. However, in this case, ironically, there are grounds for construing widely shared intuitions on the former model after all, that is, as psychological effects or data rather than as intimations of truth and, thereby, as a species of cognitive illusion. (2014, 385)

The price is evident: semantic intuitions are relegated to the domain of cognitive illusions.

The pioneering work in this tradition is, of course, Nathan U. Salmon’s (1982) *Reference and Essence*,⁷ preceded by important reflections based on to Keith Donellan.⁸ Let me quote Salmon’s final statement from the conclusion of his book. He comments on statements like “Tigers are mammals”:

No conclusive reason has yet been given to suppose that the essentialist principles entailing the necessitation of these statements are anything other than what they appear to be: theses stemming from an irreducibly metaphysical, and philosophically controversial, theory of essentialism, a theory that is no mere consequence of the philosophy of language.” (1982, 217)

⁷ Thanks go to Danilo Šuster for pointing out this fact to me.

⁸ In his (1983) “Kripke and Putnam on Natural Kind Terms”, and in several unpublished papers, discussed by Salmon, and more recently by Erin Eaker (2012), see References.

The formulation is an unhappy one. Our query starts with intuition. Suppose Mary has the intuition that it is true that the statement “Tigers are mammals” is true, and indeed necessarily so. It looks like intuition about a linguistic item, and in this sense like a broadly linguistic intuition. Salmon, however, jumps from the issue of how to characterize the judgment, to the issue of disciplinary division: does the necessity component belong to the “philosophy of language” or to “metaphysics”? I would say that the component is a constitutive part of the naïve speaker’s intuition.

The move in the direction of a purely linguistic, homogenous reading of intuition is very dangerous for externalism. It reduces its semantic message to rather trivial truths, and turns the success of externalist *semantics* into pure miracle. Why did Kripke, Putnam and Devitt make claims for the revolutionary nature of their semantics if the only semantic content is quite trivial? The externalist must keep the crucial aspects that have made externalism a revolutionary *semantic* theory within semantics; but then the evidence for it should be semantic as well. So, *metaphysical truths must be part of semantic intuition*, otherwise externalism falls flatly on the ground. The double reading of semantic intuition is a must for the externalist position, and I think it is *de facto* correct. Semantic intuitions have a dual nature. A Quinean might point to Quine’s famous view that there is no way to draw a line between representing language and representing reality (my gratitude goes to Jose Bermudez for reminding me of this).

This language and world duality of semantic intuitions has been noticed before in the literature, for instance by G. S. Rattan (2010):

Semantic intuitions must then play a dual role in telling us (indirectly) about the language, insofar as the intuitions derive from semantic competence, and also about the world, in being about the world. (2010, 181-2)

However, this needs to receive much more emphasis and analysis. For example, it points to a continuity between linguistic and metaphysical intuitions, not only within the latter, but also to the continuity between linguistic intuitions and TE-intuitions. It is one element in justifying the rapprochement between linguistic intuitions and TE-intuitions, which is understandable if there is a general continuity between meanings, concepts and metaphysical assumptions about the world. The parallel between linguistic intuition-prompts, small elicitation games

and philosophical TEs is standard, and has played a central role in the epistemology of intuitions in analytic philosophy. In a brief reminder, Stich and Tobia state the standard approach:

For Chomsky and his followers, intuitions are used as evidence about the grammar of the speaker's "I-language" – the language whose rules are actually represented in the speaker's mind /.../. Though the rules of the I-language are not consciously accessible, Chomskian linguists assume that, when things go well, the rules are used by the language processing system to infer the answer to the grammatical question that the linguist has posed /.../.

A similar practice has played an important role in philosophy since antiquity. The philosopher describes a hypothetical situation and asks whether the people, objects, or events described have some philosophically interesting property or relation. (2018, 369)

Now we can note that the affinity is even deeper: the crucial linguistic intuitions, the semantic ones, have a metaphysical aspect as their internal component.⁹ I agree, and I propose to take the first steps in the direction sketched in this paper.

Here is the relevant question for Dunja: would you side with the homogenous or with the hybrid nature view of externalist semantic intuitions?

⁹ Compare Maynes and Gross commenting on experimental philosophers discussing externalist intuitions about reference. Debates concerning the nature of reference have broad ramifications for many areas of philosophy. This is enough to imbue questions concerning the role of linguistic intuitions in these debates with philosophical significance. But the experimental philosophers' critique is part of a larger examination of philosophical methodology, especially of the role of intuitions more generally in philosophy. The investigation of philosophical uses of linguistic intuitions in particular thus also has interest as a case study and as a source of comparisons and contrasts with philosophical uses of other intuitions. That's in addition to their interest as a source of comparisons and contrasts to non-philosophical uses of linguistic intuitions, especially in linguistics – itself of independent philosophical interest, as outlined above. (2013, 725)

c.) Pragmatic intuitions

While discussing the pragmatics of language-change and the salience of unusual formulations within a spoken dialect, Dunja at one point clearly mentions pragmatic “intuitions of relevance”:

Thus salience might primarily be seen as unreflective intuitions of relevance together with procedural inferential process. Jutronic (2015, 242)

In the discussion, she stresses that she does not mean “intuitions” literally. Still, with apologies, I want to use her kind of example here, since I think that intuitions of salience are indeed interesting pragmatic intuitions. Here is a piece of fiction:

In Split, I try to speak Dunja’s dialect, while telling the story of my dog jumping on my bed and waking me up, and I say,

kad mi skočija na posteju... (when he jumped on my bed...).

Kasja, the local hearer recognizes that “mi” (as a dative) is not part of her dialect (it should be “me”; the “mi” is part of other dialects). She hears it as salient, Dunja would say.

The intuition of unusualness and salience here seems clearly pragmatic (and part of its basis is the syntactic intuition that the word should be “me” and not “mi”).

Where does the intuition come from, besides syntax? My guess is that Kasja is wondering why her interlocutor (myself) would use a syntactically unsuitable form. Is he stressing that he is actually not from Split? Or does he think that I am stupid, and will not recognize the unusualness? The diagnosis of salience is immediate, so no reflective thinking is involved.

Which competence did the job? Well, the syntactic one was clearly involved. But what produced puzzlement?

My guess would be that it is Kasja's mindreading of my intentions. She quickly 'hypothesizes' that if I use a wrong word-form, there is some mental cause behind it: ignorance, hearer-directed intention (to convey something, or to offer an insult, etc.)

What cognitive effort on Kasja's side could be responsible? It could be either the deployment of theory-of-mind or mental simulation? Any of the two could have produced the intuition. For my part, I find the second option more promising.

What "organ" did the job? The answer could be either a general mind-reading module or a specialized pragmatic module.¹⁰ I admit I am not sure, but would prefer the general module (one should look at Asperger's syndrome and similar deficiencies: if mind-reading in general is deficient, the verbal understanding of intentions will be as well; I am not sure about the opposite direction).

In moving towards a general conclusion, we see that linguistic intuitions might have a mixed origin. They might partly come from a specialized linguistic competence (say, the syntactic one), and partly from a competence that is not limited to language processing (say, the ability to simulate) and in this sense, would be non-linguistic. The second tie brings linguistic intuition into the vicinity of other intuitions, generated, fully or partly, by the relevant non-linguistic competence.

3 Placing Linguistic Intuitions on The Map: Wider Affinities

We have seen that there are two dimensions of affinity: internal and external. Internally, semantic and pragmatic intuitions have aspects that involve non-linguistic sources, competence in mind-reading, or general metaphysical competence. Externally, semantic intuitions will be like thought-experimental intuitions, say in metaphysics; pragmatic ones will be like other intuitions produced by mind-reading, say in moral or political philosophy.

Historically, with Chomsky and philosophers, his contemporaries, linguistic intuitions have become a key for all others, in particular philosophical ones. The

¹⁰ See, for example, Robyn Carston: "Ostensive communication, the paradigm case of which is verbal communication, is the domain of a dedicated cognitive system, according to Relevance Theory (RT). This 'pragmatics' module is responsible for inferring the content or meaning that the communicator intends by his/her ostensive stimulus." (2010, 153)

Chomskyan, competentialist understanding of syntactic intuitions provided the recipe for the rest. The inspiration was, I think, on the right track.

On the side of eliciting intuitions, our micro language-games, i.e. “elicitation games” are the closest relatives to TEs in various areas. However, there is no shortage of more distant relatives. Consider those fictional activities, from reading to playing, that produce an “Aha” effect very close to intuitions (my gratitude goes to Bianca Ceppolaro for reminding me of the cognitive-epistemic dimension). More broadly on the practical side, there are legal “games” like the one used in moot court to investigate or illustrate legal procedures. Perhaps we could add religious experiences with a cognitive purpose. Micro language games are similar to all of these.

So, all of these activities presumably form a genus, important for the theoretical understanding of intuitions. Let me call these “imaginative exercises in thought”, or IETs.

Linguistic intuitions should be placed on a map of IETs and analyzed in relation to their various relatives.

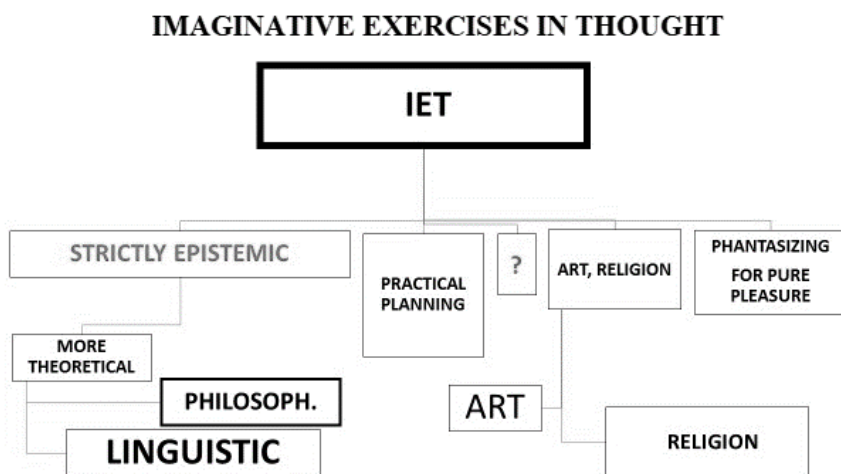


Figure 1: Map of imaginative exercises in thought (IET)

An important issue common to many IETs is the explanation of reliability. How can mathematical intuitions be reliable about abstract items like numbers? The issue is similar in the case of language: why are Kasja's intuitions about her Dalmatian dialect correct? Her syntactic, semantic and pragmatic intuitions? With these linguistic intuitions, my preferred line would go in the direction of response-dependence.

The linguistic reality of a language, say Croatian, is more or less determined by the psychological reality of its speakers. The mental dispositions and states of us, Croats, determine in the last instance, the structure (syntactic, semantic and pragmatic) of our language. The capacity to recognize the correct forms, crucial for intuitions, is part of this constitutive structure. A sound-string is a correct sentence of a language partly because a competent language speaker would recognize it as such. It is obvious that p is a correct sentence of the language if a normal thinker would find p clear and compelling. In this sense, the validity of intuitions is ultimately explained by the efficiency of the wider collective psychological make-up of which they are part. The order of determination seems to go from the mind to the world. Language lies between the mind and the world, straddling the divide.

In general, standard linguistic entities are production- and response-dependent. Competence does dictate what is correct and what is not; the order of determination goes from the internal to the external, or external-seeming language items. An external token string has linguistic properties because it would be interpreted as having them by the normal language-hearer, and would be produced by a process that would form it in respect to the nature of these properties.

In this sense, linguistic intuitions are, to my mind, like moral ones. The validity of a moral intuition depends on the totality of our moral attitudes, and intuitions are an important part of this. To the extent this dependence makes validity of moral intuitions response-dependent, the analogous dependence of linguistic intuitions makes them response-dependent in their respective areas. (Color is a simpler case: it comes from color appearance, period; no other psychological components are crucial. Linguistic validity and moral validity are different in that linguistic and moral intuitions are a small part of the constitutive order that comprises either a language or a moral reality).

I wonder how Dunja would react to this sketch of a proposed explanation.

4 Conclusion: Honoring Dunja

Linguistic intuitions derive from our competences, some specialized, some more general, my MoVoC view would claim. Both semantic and pragmatic intuitions certainly have a dual nature, and syntactic intuitions might have a dual nature, as well. The standard externalist semantic intuitions concerning reference of names and natural kind terms are simultaneously language-oriented and world-oriented and thus have both a narrowly meaning-focused component, and a metaphysical component. Pragmatic intuitions essentially involve mind-reading competences that go way beyond specialized linguistic competence. This picture of linguistic intuitions brings them even closer to philosophical, TE-al ones than is usual in the current debates.

What explains the validity of linguistic intuitions? Many, perhaps all humanly interesting properties are response-dependent in the very general sense. Language is production-dependent, besides being dependent on the response of the hearer; so it is here joined by its peers within a huge family of properties.

Both Dunja's empiricism-ordinarism and various versions of competentialism (including my preferred MoVoC theory) offer explanation of the origins of intuitions. Which one is right is still an open question. Dunja is the only person who has been systematically defending the empiricist-ordinarist approach on the home philosophical scene. She has been doing it with her characteristic energy and intelligence, combining her knowledge of philosophy with her training and work in linguistics. We are lucky to have such a theoretician among us, and I hope to learn more and more in future discussions with her.*

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Jezik: kaj in zakaj

BOŽIDAR KANTE

Povzetek V sedanjih preučevanjih izvora jezika se zastavljata dve klasični vprašanji. Znotraj tradicije, katere najvidnejši predstavnik je Chomsky, je v ospredju vprašanje kaj, ki se po večini zastavlja zato, da bi dobili ustrezno definicijo človeškega jezika. Do te pridemo tako, da iščemo razliko med sistemi živalske komunikacije in človeškim jezikom. Znotraj tradicije, ki jo predstavljata Pinker in Jackendoff, pa dobiva prednost vprašanje, zakaj se je razvil jezik. Eden od možnih odgovorov je, da za komunikacijo. Vprašanje, kako je jezik dejansko nastal, v nobeni od teh tradicij ne dobi primarnega statusa, tj. statusa, ki bi ga moralo dobiti. Razprava med HCF in PJ kaže, da se to dogaja zato, ker obe tradiciji domnevata, da bo tisti zakaj mogoče izpeljati bodisi iz vprašanja, kaj je jezik, bodisi iz vprašanja, zakaj se je razvil jezik. Od tod izhaja tudi nestrinjanje med obema tradicijama. Prispevek sklenemo s hipotezo, da se zdijo glavna gonilna sila za evolucijo jezika komunikacijske potrebe po družbenih odnosih in skupinski politiki in da ne gre za zaporedni razvoj teh značilnosti (najprej ustrezen evolucijski razvoj možganov, potem pa jezik), temveč za sočasen medsebojni razvoj in vpliv, kar trdi tudi D. Jutronič.

Ključne besede: • diskurzni okviri • kognitivno jezikoslovje • medijski diskurz • jezik vrednotenja • prepričevanje •

Language: What and Why

BOŽIDAR KANTE

Abstract In current research of the origin of language, two classic questions are posed. Within the tradition, represented by Chomsky, the question what lies at the forefront. It is mostly raised to establish an adequate definition of human language. We achieve this by searching for the difference between systems of animal communication and human language. The tradition represented by Pinker and Jackendoff asks the question why the language developed. One possible answer is communication. How language emerged is not in the foreground in any of these traditions, although it perhaps should be. The discussion between HCF and PJ shows that this is because both traditions assume that the why can be derived either from the question of what language is, or from the question of why it developed. This is the reason for the disagreement between the two traditions. The paper concludes with the hypothesis that what seems to be the main driving force behind the evolution of the language of communication is the need for social relations and group policy, and that this is not a case succession (appropriate evolutionary development of the brain, then language), but a matter of simultaneous development and influence, which is also something Jutrović claims.

Keywords: • universal grammar • Noam Chomsky • evolution of language
• adaptation • exaptation • culture •

1 Uvod

Začnimo našo razpravo z miselnim eksperimentom, na katerega naletimo v anonimnem delu *Dissoi Logoi*, ki naj bi bilo sicer plod sofističnih prizadevanj in naj bi nastalo v 4. stoletju. Gre za kratko delo, sestavljeno iz devetih poglavij, v obliki dvojne argumentacije oziroma nasprotujočih si argumentov o temah, kakršne so dobro in zlo, pravičnost in nepravičnost, resnica in neresnica in podobno. V šestem poglavju se razprava loteva vprašanja, ali se je modrosti in vrline mogoče naučiti, in tu anonimni avtor vpelje temo pridobivanja oziroma usvajanja jezika, ko primerja sistematično učenje z neformalnimi navodili. Je zagovornik trditve, da se z znanjem jezika ne rodimo, ampak se jezika naučimo. Zamišljenemu skeptičnemu nasprotniku ugovarja z naslednjim primerom, ki naj bi potrjeval njegovo stališče: zamislimo si, pravi, da bi grškega novorojenca poslali v Perzijo, ga tam vzgojili, ne da bi kdaj prej slišal kako grško besedo. Kateri jezik bi govoril? Njegov nedvoumni odgovor je, da perzijskega. Če pa bi perzijskega novorojenca, nasprotno, pripeljali v Grčijo, bi govoril grščino. Naš avtor vključi še dodatni nadzor, saj je drugi eksperiment (pošiljanje perzijskega novorojenca v Grčijo) vzporeden in dopolnjuje prvega. Vsak od teh dveh eksperimentov preverja drugega in okrepi ter potrjuje rezultate vzporednega preizkusa. Eksperiment prinese celo bogatejši izplen od tistega, ki ga opaža sam avtor. Neposreden cilj eksperimenta je dokaz, da je jezik pridobljen, ne pa prirojen, da torej besede niso prirojene. Toda ta preizkus pokaže še mnogo več in nas privede do konstruktivnih rezultatov. Dokazuje, da jezik, ki ga kdo govori, nima nobenega opravlka z raso ali krvjo, saj jezik pridobimo iz svojega okolja: sprememba okolja bo vodila k spremembi materne jezika. Jezik ne nastane od znotraj niti ga ne nauči poseben učitelj – podeljuje ga skupnost, ki nas obkroža. Zato, kot sklene avtor, ni mogoče pokazati posebnega učitelja jezika oziroma govora.

2 Tvorbeno-pretvorbena slovnica

Ko govorimo o izvoru jezika, po navadi v prid dejstvu, zakaj jezik ni bolj razširjen pojav, navajamo trditve, da se to dogaja zato, ker je jezik zelo zapleten pojav, in zaradi neverjetnih zahtev, ki jih postavlja glede učenja in spomina. Mislimo, da vemo, da je jezik postal možen za naše prednike šele tedaj, ko so bile vse zahteve za učenje jezika izpolnjene tako, da je pred tem prišlo do nekakšne spremembe možganov. Za pojasnitev, kako je jezik postal možen, se torej sklicujemo na različne prilagoditve, ki so se zgodile pred tem. Vse dosedanje pojasnitve izvora

jezika je mogoče razvrstiti znotraj delitve narava/kultura. Znotraj te delitve je bilo ponujenih nekaj paradigem, ki se vztrajno pojavljajo v različnih preoblekah. Na eni strani te pahljače imamo domnevo, da zgradba jezika povsem izvira le od zunaj (preprost asociacionizem), na drugi strani domnevo, da jezik izvira od znotraj (domneva mentalnega jezika oziroma jezika misli). Temelj takega pristopa k pojasnitvi izvora našega jezika je v domnevi, da bi nam odkritje, katere vidike jezikovnega znanja prispeva narava, katere pa kultura, moralo ponuditi odgovor, katere prvine v nas so bile odločilne za premostitev jezikovne vrzeli oziroma za to, da smo postali bitje v naravi, ki edino obvlada jezik. Če se odgovor nagiba bolj k asociacionističnemu delu pahljače, potem nam je evolucija morala dati jezik tako, da nas je obdarila z izjemno močno zmožnostjo učenja in spomina. Če se odgovor nagiba bolj k tezi o jeziku misli, potem nas je evolucija morala nagraditi z izredno zapletenim instinktivnim znanjem jezika, katerega posledica je, da je učenje jezika popolnoma odveč. Te tradicionalne teoretične alternative podpirajo in krepijo nekatere evolucijske domneve.

Eno izmed najbolj običajnih pojmovanj jezikovnega razvoja je pojmovanje, da je jezik dosežek evolucije. Ni treba posebej poudariti, da bi bolj artikulirana, natančnejša, fleksibilnejša sredstva komuniciranja morala vselej biti prednost v sicer enakih drugih okoliščinah. Neizrečena domneva, ki se skriva za tem pojmovanjem, je, da se bo nekakšna oblika jezika — če se bo evolucija dovolj dolgo nadaljevala — verjetno razvila tudi pri mnogih drugih vrstah. Zdi se, da pojem naravne selekcije implicitno vsebuje pojem napredka. Videti je, da je posledica postopne izboljšave prilagoditev, da dlje kot se bo evolucija nadaljevala, boljši bo postajal načrt. O človekovi evoluciji razmišljajo kot o “dvigu”, kar naj bi pomenilo, da se je človek z nižje ravni inteligence povzpел na višjo. Pojem evolucije dobiva splošno mesto tudi v popularnem tisku. Vendar pri tem spregledujemo, da je ideja napredka v evoluciji neopažena navada, ki je ostanek zavedenega zdravega razuma, preostanek tega, da gledamo na svet v okviru načrta oziroma smotra. Problem je v tem, da smo si naš intuitiven model za evolucijo sposodili od zgodovine tehnološke spremembe, kar pa je kumulativen proces. Biološka evolucija pa — nasprotno — ni proces, ki bi mu nenehno dodajali neke nove poslastice vednosti-kako. Evolucija je nepovraten proces, proces naraščajoče diverzifikacije in distribucije. Zgolj to je konsistentna usmeritev evolucije. Evolucija je — podobno kot entropija — proces širjenja na vse tiste položaje, ki so nezapolnjeni in znotraj dosega nekoliko večje variacije. Evolucija se ne nadaljuje, da bi ustvarili vedno boljše mišnice, čeravno je v tej smeri proizvedla nekaj izrednih primerov.

Vprašanje je torej, ali je bila evolucija jezika nekako vnaprej predvidena oziroma zamišljena. Ali obstaja splošno težnja po boljši komunikaciji? Ni lahko določiti, ali živalska komunikacija postaja vedno boljša in boljša in ali je človeški jezik del takega prizadevanja. Celo če našo primerjavo omejimo na vokalno komunikacijo, ni v živečih vrstah nikakršnega dokaznega gradiva, da je neka nujna napredna težnja privedla do nas, ljudi. Preproste vrste lahko uporabljajo zelo zapletene načine vokalne komunikacije, nekatere zelo zapletene vrste pa lahko na prednosti vokalne komunikacije pozabijo. Mnogi ptiči, primati in družbeni mesojedci uporabljajo obsežne vokalne repertoarje in repertoarje kretenj, ki gradijo njihove velike družbene skupine. Ti repertoarji ponujajo medij za organizacijo prehranjevanja in skupinskega gibanja, za prepoznavanje posameznikov, za ohranjanje in prestrukturiranje večrazsežnostnih družbenih hierarhij, za posredovanje pri agresivnih srečanjih, za ponujanje pomoči in za opozarjanje pred nevarnostjo. Nekateri ljudje tako pravijo, da imajo tudi druga živa bitja svoj jezik. Vendar pa se zastavlja vprašanje, ali je to res jezik, kakršnega pozna človek. Kakšne bi morale biti značilnosti nečloveškega jezika, ki bi nam v trenutku dovolile, da ga priznamo za jeziku podobno obliko komunikacije, čepravno bi se povsem razlikoval od človeških jezikov? To so vprašanja, ki si jih morajo zastavljati znanstveniki, ki preiskujejo vesolje z radioteleskopi in poskušajo zaslediti signale nezemeljskih vrst, ali tisti, ki so vključeni v elektronski nadzor in jih zanima, kako razločevati prenos vkodiranega signala od naključnega šuma. Jeziku podoben signal bi kajpada moral kazati kombinatorno obliko, v kateri so se različne prvine zmožne znova pojavljati v različnih kombinacijah. Pri teh razlikah med človeškimi in nečloveškimi jeziki preprosto ne gre za nesoizmerljive vrste jezikov, temveč prej za to, da so nečloveške oblike komunikacije nekaj povsem drugega kot jezik. Tudi človek pozna splošno razumljene obrazne izraze, vokalizacije in geste. To so nenadomestljive sestavine človekove družbene komunikacije. Vendar to ne pomeni, da govorimo dva jezika. Povedano preprosto, vprašanje, kakšne vrste beseda je smeh, je preprosto nesmiselna.

Interpretacija zarez, diskontinuitete med jezikovno in nejezikovno komunikacijo kot bistvene oziroma odločilne razlike med ljudmi in drugimi bitji je kajpada privedla do enako pretirane in nevzdržne razlage izvora jezika, namreč do trditve, da je jezik proizvod enkratnega dela živčnega tkiva, ki ponuja vse bistvene značilnosti, odločilne za to, da je pojav jezika enkrat in edinstven. To pomeni, da obstaja edinstvena nevrološka fiziognomija, ki je v korelaciji s tem edinstvenim (jezikovnim) obnašanjem, kar seveda predpostavlja bistveno biološko diskontinuiteto. Z drugimi besedami, taka razlaga domneva, da je jezik

nekako ločen od preostanka naše biologije in nevrologije. To je nekako tako, kot če bi opici dodal jezik, da bi postala človek opica plus jezik. Podobno kot če bi imeli zapletenega robota, ki bi se ob udaru strele spremenil iz mehanizma za izvrševanje programov v zavestno in samozavedajoče se bitje. Udar strele je spremenil robotova ožičenja ravno na pravi način.

Najvidnejši predstavnik te tradicije je Noam Chomsky, ki je zaslužen za pomemben premik žarišča v obravnavanju jezikovnih problemov. Žarišče se je premaknilo od obnašanja ali rezultatov obnašanja k stanjem duha/možganov, ki se zapisujejo v obnašanje. Tvorbena slovnica Chomskega (oz. "eksplicitna" slovnica) zagovarja stališče individualne psihologije. Opraviti ima s tistimi vidiki oblike in pomena, ki so določeni z "jezikovno zmožnostjo", to pa razumemo kot posebno sestavino človekovega duha. Narava te zmožnosti je predmet splošne teorije jezikovne strukture, ki naj odkrije ogrodje načel in prvin, ki so skupne pridobljivim človeškim jezikom. Ta teorija se pogosto imenuje "univerzalna slovnica": "Univerzalno slovnico lahko pojmuje kot karakterizacijo genetično določene jezikovne zmožnosti. To zmožnost si lahko predstavljamo kot 'sredstvo za pridobivanje jezika', kot prirojeno sestavino človeškega duha, ki rojeva posamezen jezik prek vzajemnega delovanja s predstavljenim izkustvom" (Chomsky 1989, 10).

Povezava med slovnico in govorčevno psihologijo je empirično dokazljiva. Narava mentalnih pravil in predstav, ki so v temelju zaznavanja slovnčnosti (nekega stavka), je predmet empiričnega raziskovanja, to je nekega izračuna možganov (tako kot na primer možgani izračunajo smer zvoka). Chomsky zagovarja stališče, da rabo človeškega jezika v zelo strogem smislu vodijo pravila. Jezikovno obnašanje nadzorujejo pravila, predstavljena v govorčevem duhu, pravila, ki jih govorec (implicitno ali eksplicitno) pozna. Znanje teh pravil govorce pove, kateri nizi besed so stavki in kaj stavki pomenijo. In naposled, veliko pravil, ki vodijo jezikovno obnašanje, je prirojenih. V naše možgane je torej že ob rojstvu vložen program z informacijo o vrsti pravil, ki jih bomo potrebovali pri učenju jezika. Imamo torej prirojeno znanje univerzalne slovnice, ki ima hkrati odločilno vlogo tudi pri izbiri ekstenzionalno enakovrednih slovnice. Velika vloga, ki jo ima prirojenost, se neposredno navezuje na pojem pomanjkanja dražljajev. Kako je mogoče, da lahko otrok, potem ko je bil izpostavljen sorazmerno majhnemu številu primerov, sorazmerno skromnemu slovarju materne jezika, obvlada neznansko in natančno množico pravil, ki ustrezajo vsej zapletenosti skladnje in semantike tega jezika? Vzel med pomembnimi, nezadostnimi in

fragmentarnimi vhodnimi in bogatimi, celovitimi izhodnimi podatki zapolnjuje prirojena kognitivna struktura.

Univerzalna slovnica je teorija “začetnega stanja” jezikovne zmožnosti, ki je pred vsakršnim jezikovnim izkustvom. Vse slovnice so variacije ene same splošne “univerzalne slovnice” in možgani vseh ljudi so opremljeni z že “vgrajenim” jezikovnim organom, ki vsebuje to jezikovno matrico. To dejstvo se ponuja kot edini odgovor na navidezno neobvladljiv problem učenja in napeljuje k navidezno neizogibnemu sklepu, da mora biti jezikovna informacija že “v možganih”, preden se proces učenja začne, saj sicer ta proces ne bi bil uspešen. Otrok mora že “vedeti”, kaj tvori dopustno slovnico, da bi bil zmožen zavreči številne zmotne hipoteze o slovnici, ki jih njegovo omejeno izkustvo sicer utegne predlagati.

Zakaj utegne biti slika takega “jezikovnega organa” tako mamljiva? Prvič, ker lahko razloži neuspeh drugih vrst, ki si prizadevajo pridobiti in obvladati neki jezik. Z enim zamahom odpravi mnogo težavnih vprašanj: diskontinuiteto med človeško in ne-človeško komunikacijo, večje človeške možgane (doda jim še en nov del), domnevne univerzalne značilnosti jezikovne strukture itn. Drugič, ponuja enostopenjsko evolucijsko razlago, ki jo je lažje doumeti in vključiti v naše razmišljanje kot nenehne spremembe, ki vključuje številne in na zapletene načine medsebojno delujoče in prekrivajoče se dejavnike. Zgodba o človekovem izvoru se je izpisala v enem samem dramatičnem in odločilnem predzgodovinskem dogodku. Naš predhodnik je z enim samim korakom prestopil prag človečnosti. Naključni jezikovni organ ne zahteva adaptivne pojasnitve zgradbe jezika. Podmena o naključnem jezikovnem organu nas odvezuje od iskanja zapletenih podrobnosti jezikovnega izvora, od upanja, da bomo odkrili njegove predhodnike v zgradbi opičjih možganov ali v opičjih kognitivnih zmožnostih.

V Molierovem delu *Namišljeni bolnik* nastopa oseba, ki jo zdravniki zaprosijo, naj pojasni, zakaj opij povzroči spanje. Oseba odgovori, da zato, ker vsebuje “uspavalni dejavnik”. Ta odgovor seveda ni nikakršna pojasnitev, saj tisto, kar zahteva pojasnitev, zgolj poimenuje. Popolna evolucijska razlaga bi morala ponuditi funkcijsko razlago tega, zakaj je bila dana prednost ravno tej posebni organizaciji slovnicega znanja, zakaj so bile njegove vedno boljše in boljše in delne različice tudi funkcionalne in kako so se strukture, prisotne v nečloveških možganih, spremenile, da bi oskrbele to sposobnost.

3 Človek kot simbolna vrsta

Tako podmena, da je za znanje jezika potrebna večja inteligenca, kot podmena o evoluciji posebnega jezikovnega organa imata skupno eno stvar, namreč problem učenja, ki se kaže v tem, da se moramo naučiti zelo obsežne in zapletene množice pravil in znakov. Obe teoriji domnevata, da so druge vrste slabi učenci jezika zato, ker je jezik zanje preprosto preveč zapleten, da bi se ga naučili, in preveč zahteven, da bi ga govorili. Ali morajo biti otroci veliko bolj inteligentni od drugih vrst, da bi se naučili jezika, ali pa je jezik tako zapleten, da se ga je nemogoče naučiti brez nekega "vgrajenega" jezikovnega organa? Vprašanje je torej, ali je ta zapletenost jezika dejansko vir težave, ki v bistvu omejuje rabo jezika zgolj na našo vrsto. Odgovor na to vprašanje bi nam lahko ponudil preprost miselni eksperiment.

Zamislimo si potemtakem jezik z zelo okleščanim slovarjem (ki vsebuje, recimo, 7 do 10 besed) in z zelo preprosto skladnjo (ki naj bi poznala le kombinacijo dveh ali treh besed). Takoj lahko ugotovimo, da druge vrste tudi tako preprostih jezikov ne uporabljajo, čeravno znajo uporabljati druge enako ali celo bolj zapletene načine komunikacije. Zakaj ne počnejo tega? Zakaj je jezik tak problem? Razlika torej ne more biti zgolj v preprostosti nasproti zapletenosti. Niti slovnica niti skladnja niti artikulirano tvorjenje zvokov niti obsežen slovar niso bili tisti, ki so drugim vrstam preprečevali, da bi razvile jezik. To je bilo zgolj preprosto dejstvo, da druge vrste preprosto niso mogle ugotoviti, kako se kombinacije besed nanašajo na stvari. Zakaj je to tako težavno ugotoviti? Razlike torej ne tvori zapletenost jezika, temveč simbolna referenca.

Vendar pa si pred teme oglejmo še popularno trditev, da so klici in geste, ki tvorijo komunikacijo pri drugih vrstah, podobne besedam in stavkom našega jezika. Za to popularno trditvijo se skriva zmotno pojmovanje reference. Eno skrajnost zastopajo tisti preučevalci živalskega obnašanja, ki trdijo, da so klici in geste zgolj zunanji korelati notranjih stanj in nimajo nikakršne zunanje reference, drugo skrajnost pa oni, ki dokazujejo, da je treba mnoge klice, godrnjanja in geste obravnavati kot ekvivalente besedam in stavkom, ki imenujejo posamezne predmete v svetu. Robert Seyfart in Dorothy Cheney ter njuni kolegi so poročali, da neka vrsta opic tvori opozorilne klice, za katere je videti, da delujejo podobno kot imena za različne plenilce (Cheney in Seyfarth, 1990). Njihova opazovanja so pokazala, da so te opice proizvedle različne opozorilne klice, da bi druge člane opičjega tropa obvestile o prisotnosti bodisi orla bodisi leoparda bodisi kače. Ko

so drugi člani tropa slišali enega izmed teh klicev, so bodisi stekli pod drevo (orel), bodisi splezali na drevo (leopard), ali pa so se povzpeli više, da bi lahko nadzorovali tla in grmovje okrog sebe (kača). Različni klici se tako nanašajo na različne razrede plenilcev.

Kajpada ni težko rekonstruirati evolucijskih procesov, ki so proizvedli različne klice in referenčne odnose. Ključ je mogoče najti v obnašanju, ki ga klici povzročijo pri drugih članih tropa. Ker plenilci pri napadu uporabljajo zelo različne pristope, se tudi ustrezna obramba pred vsakim izmed njih lahko izkaže za vzajemno izključujočo. Ko napade leopard, so najslabše mesto, kjer se lahko nahaja opica, tla. Ker pa se lahko leopard povzpne tudi na drevo, so pravo mesto, kjer mora biti opica, tanjše drevesne veje. To pa je najslabše mesto, ko napada orel. Zamislite si torej dilemo, v kateri bi se znašle opice, če ne bi poznale različnih vrst opozorilnih klicev. Vzpeti se ali sestopiti, to je zdaj vprašanje! Zgolj negibno in neodločno sedeti ali pa se ozirati naokrog je najslabša izmed vseh možnosti (razen če je plenilec kača), saj pušča opico ranljivo tako za orla kot leoparda.

Cheney in Seyfarth sta prvotno predlagala, da so opičji opozorilni klici analogni "imenom" za plenilce in da utegnejo biti reakcije podobne reakcijam na vzklik Ogenj! To je mnoge strokovnjake napeljalo k dokazovanju, da je sistem klicev podoben zelo preprostem jeziku. Nekateri so celo namigovali, da so opičji opozorilni klici primerljivi z načinom, kako otroci, ki so se pravkar lotili učenja jezika, uporabijo posamezne besede, na primer: "Sok!" Kleč argumenta o opozorilnih klicih je, da naj bi se opozorilni klici razlikovali od krikov bolečine ali grimas, tako kot se razlikujejo tudi besede. Povedano drugače, opozorilni klici naj bi se nanašali na nekaj drugega kot živalska mentalna in fizična stanja. Posledica tega je, da kriki bolečine in grimase niso in ne morejo biti referenčne.

Taka interpretacija nas seveda naravnost vabi, da si zamislimo vrste z veliko večjim številom različnih vrst klicev; z nekaterimi za hrano, spet drugimi za pomembne predmete in morebiti celo z glasovi za prepoznavanje posameznikov. Ali ne bi izdelan repertoar takih klicev tvoril nekakšnega protojezika? So klici v bistvu slovar? Zlahka si lahko predstavljamo tudi evolucijski scenarij: najprej so se razvili posamezni klici, potem se je njihovo število povečalo in postalo raznoliko, nato so jih začeli medsebojno kombinirati, dokler se ni razvila slovnica s skladnjo, ki je te kombinacije sistematizirala. Resničnost celotne zgodbe pa je kajpada odvisna od tega, ali je referenca klicev enakovredna referenci besed.

Referenca ni izključna domena jezika, temveč je dejstvo, ki prežema celotno živalsko komunikacijo. Smeh je na primer odličen primer človekovega prirojenega klica. Za smeh ni nujno, da je intencionalno povzročen; pogosto izbruhne samohotno, čeravno bi ga raje potlačili. Smeh seveda lahko tudi zaigramo, če tako zahteva družbeni kontekst. Vendar pa se smeh lahko nanaša tudi na stvari. Ko na primer kdo vstopi v sobo in se smeje, to kaže, da je pred vstopom slišal ali videl nekaj smešnega. Smeh v tem primeru kaže na nekaj, kar ga je povzročilo. Smeh tudi podrobno določi nekatere značilnosti, ki jih ima vzrok tega smeha. Zdaj pa pomislite, kako drugačna je referenca na isti dogodek, ko se oseba neha smejati in reče: "Pravkar sem slišala dobro šalo". Opozorilni klici se nanašajo na predmete tako, kakor se nanaša smeh, ne pa kot besede.

Drugo vprašanje je, ali so živalski klici uporabljeni intencionalno, da bi sporočili določeno informacijo, ali so zgolj naključno sporočena informacija in kako utegne biti to dejstvo povezano z vedenjem posameznikov o vedenju drugih.

Za smeh so značilne nekatere lastnosti, ki so odločilne za ločevanje avtomatskih (ne-intencionalnih) oblik komunikacije od intencionalnih. Smeh ponuja drugim ljudem informacijo o duševnem stanju smejočega se osebkca in o nedavni zgodovini, vendar ima hkrati tudi neposrednejši učinek, nekakšno prisilo, da bi se tudi mi smejali poleg. To pogosto priznamo z reklom, da je smeh nalezljiv. Če sedimo v sobi, ki je polna smejočih se ljudi, je težko doseči, da se ne bi smejali tudi sami, čeravno nam razlog za njihov smeh ne utegne biti jasen ali ni popolnoma razviden. Ta nenavadna prisila je tako močna, da se smejimo celo tedaj, ko se zavedamo, da smeh ni realen (na primer v televizijskih nadaljevankah, ki so podložene s smehom publike).

Celo naključni pogovor pa, nasprotno, vselej zahteva določeno mero zavestnega prizadevanja in nadzorovanja. Sledenje govoru drugega zahteva vsaj trohico pozornosti in intencionalno nadzorovane analize. Del tega izvira iz dejstva, da na tisto, kar kdo reče, značilno — do določene mere — vplivajo domneve o tem, kaj naslovnik (domnevno) že ve. Pri tem gre, kot bi rekel filozof H. P. Grice, za nekakšno refleksivno logiko v obliki "Jaz sem prepričan, da si ti prepričan, da sem jaz prepričan, da *p*". Tega refleksivnega pogoja pa smeh in opozorilni klici opic kajpada ne zadovoljujejo. Zdi se, da vednost, da je nekdo drug videl plenilca, ne preprečuje tega, da neka druga opica ne bi še naprej ponavljala klica, kot nam tudi vednost, da je nekdo dojel šalo, ne preprečuje, da se ne bi še naprej smejali. Nasprotno, taka vednost lahko oboje zgolj še potencira.

Charles Sanders Peirce je v okviru širše sheme semiotičnih odnosov razlikoval med tremi kategorijami referenčnih asociacij: med ikono, indeksom in simbolom. Peirce je s temi izrazi opisal naravo formalnega odnosa med značilnostmi oziroma lastnostmi določenega znaka in lastnostmi predstavljenih fizičnih objektov. V temelju ikonskosti je postopek sklepanja, ki se opira na podobnost med znakom in objektom, indeksi temeljijo na nekakšni fizični ali časovni povezavi med znakom in objektom, simbole pa posreduje neka formalna oziroma zgolj soglasno sprejeta povezava, ne glede na kakršnekoli lastnosti bodisi znaka bodisi objekta. Te tri oblike reference zrcalijo tri možne načine asociativnega odnosa: (a) podobnost, (b) soseščino ali korelacijo in (c) zakonitost, vzročnost ali konvencijo. Po mnenju nekaterih (Deacon 1997) je ravno simbolna dejavnost tista, ki človeško komunikacijo razlikuje od nečloveške. Po Deaconovem mnenju je bil Peirceov izvirni in bistveni prispevek v tem, da je razliko med različnimi načini reference mogoče razumeti na ravni interpretacije. Pozornost, usmerjena na hierarhični vidik reference je bistvena za razumevanje razlike med načinom, kako so povezane besede in opozorilni klici živali. Povedano drugače, sama referenca ima hierarhično zgradbo: bolj zapletene oblike reference so zgrajene na preprostejših oblikah. V čem je simbolna referenca tako drugačna od drugih oblik reference?

Referenčni odnos med besedami tvori sistem odnosov višjega reda, ki dopušča, da so besede o indeksikalnih odnosih, ne pa zgolj indeksi sami po sebi. To je tudi razlog, zakaj morajo biti besede v kontekstu z drugimi besedami, da bi sploh imele kakšno določno referenco. Njihova indeksikalna moč je razdeljena med odnose med besedami. Simbolna referenca črpa svojo moč iz kombinatornih možnosti in nemožnosti: »Problem učenja, povezan s simbolno referenco, je posledica dejstva, da tisto, kar določa združevanje v pare med simbolom (kakršen je beseda) in nekim objektom ali dogodkom, ni njuna verjetnost sopojavljanja, temveč prej neka kompleksna funkcija odnosa, ki ga ima simbol z drugimi simboli« (Deacon 1997, 83).

4 Adaptacija proti eksaptaciji

Tvorbeno-pretvorbena slovnica Chomskega pojasnjuje jezik kot prirojeno človekovo zmožnost in nastane kot kritika bihevizma kot nauka, ki raziskuje zunanje obnašanje nekega organizma. Chomsky v nasprotju z bihevizmi poudarja, da je jezik treba preučevati kot notranjo sestavino možganov; imenuje jo notranji jezik: »Premik v mestu je potekal od preučevanja Z[unanjega] jezika k

preučevanju N[otranjega] jezika, od preučevanja jezika, opazovanega kot zunanji objekt, k preučevanju sistema znanja jezika, pridobljenega in notranje predstavljenega v duhu/možganih /.../ Univerzalna slovnica je označba teh prirojjenih, biološko določenih načel, ki tvorijo /.../ jezikovno zmožnost« (Chomsky 1989, 24). Čeprav je treba jezik preučevati znotraj biologije, to neposredno ali celo nujno ne pomeni, da je človekovo jezikovno zmožnost treba preučevati tudi znotraj evlucijske biologije. Chomsky v svojih zgodnjih delih poudarja, da je sredstvo za pridobivanje jezika enkratno in edinstveno človeško in da bi bilo raziskovanje le-tega znotraj primerjalne evlucijske biologije nesmiselno. Bil je mnenja, da je bila evlucija jezika skokovita in da je vodila h kvalitativni razliki, ki je izključevala razlago izvora jezikovnega organa s pomočjo naravnega izbora, ki je potekal postopno. Tisto, kar je bistvo jezika in kar jezik naredi za tisto, kar je, je univerzalna slovnica, ta vidik pa postane glavno gorišče, osrednje mesto raziskovanja, nikakor pa ne vprašanje, kako se je ta zmožnost razvila. Znotraj te tradicije je bilo vprašanje, kaj je jezik, zastavljeno kot najpomembnejše. V HCF (Hauser, Chomsky, Fitch) avtorji še podrobneje določajo, kaj je edinstveno človeškega in kaj je torej bistveno za človeško jezikovno zmožnost, in sicer tako, da ločujejo med jezikovno zmožnostjo v širšem (JZŠ) in ožjem smislu (JZO). JZŠ vključuje senzomotorni sistem, pojmovno-intencionalni sistem in računske mehanizme, potrebne za rekurzijo, medtem ko JZO zajema le rekurzijo. Tista, ki je določena za edinstveno in enkratno človeško, je zgolj JZO: tako je tudi določena za tisto, kar jezik je. Vse druge sestavine JZŠ si delimo z drugimi živalmi in torej ne zadoščajo – čeprav so morda nujne –, da bi človeški jezik po eni strani povzročile, po drugi strani pa definirale. Poleg tega se na tisto, kar si delimo z drugimi živalmi, apriorno ne gleda kot na nekaj, kar se je med evlucijo razvilo za človeški jezik (nasprotno, prednost se daje razlagi eksaptacijskega pogleda.

Toda v HCF zdaj nenadoma zasledimo – v nasprotju z zgodnjimi deli Chomskega –, da je primerjalni pristop zaželen in pomemben, čeprav na negativen način: »/.../ osnovna in logično neodstranljiva vloga primerjalnega raziskovanja evlucije jezika je naslednja preprosta in bistveno negativna vloga: značilnost nečloveških živali se ni razvila posebej za človeški jezik, čeprav je lahko del jezikovne zmožnosti in ima pomembno vlogo pri jezikovnem procesiranju« (HCF 2002, 1572). Primerjalna metoda ima znotraj te paradigme vlogo, da omogoča razlikovanje med enkratnimi in edinstvenimi lastnostmi človeškega jezika ter lastnostmi, ki si jih delimo z drugimi živalmi, torej vlogo, da odgovori na vprašanje, kaj je v jeziku enkratnega in edinstvenega. Odgovor je seveda

rekurzija. Znotraj te paradigme velja domneva, da je možno razlikovati bistvene lastnosti od naključnih; slednje so za oblikovanje človeškega jezika ali za razlago evolucije človeškega jezika nujne, vendar ne tudi zadostne. To je dokaj pomembna poanta, ki jo spregledata tudi JP (Jackendoff, Pinker) in PJ (Pinker, Jackendoff). Ko namreč enkrat vemo, kaj je jezik, kaj je tisto, kar ga naredi enkratnega in edinstvenega (to je rekurzija), dejansko ne vemo ničesar o evoluciji jezika, ker v skladu z HCF (2002) rekurzija ni povzročila evolucije jezika, jezik pa se ni razvil za rekurzijo ali zato, da bi imel rekurzijo. Jezik rekurzijo preprosto ima. »Rekurzija« je torej pravi odgovor na vprašanje, kaj je jezik, ne na vprašanje, zakaj se jezik razvil.

Selekcijsko razlago izvora jezika znotraj postneodarvinizma sta uvedla Pinker in Bloom v članku iz leta 1990. Poskušala sta združiti teorijo o človekovi jezikovni zmožnosti Chomskega in selekcijsko razlago tako, da sta poudarila, da je naravni izbor lahko postopno privedel do takega adaptivno kompleksnega organa. Trdita, da jezik kaže načrt in je torej rezultat naravnega izbora, saj le jezik lahko pojasni tak kompleksen načrt: »/.../ naravni izbor ostaja edina evolucijska sila, zmožna ustvariti kompleksen načrt, v katerem ima značilnost organizma (kakršna sta oko ali srce) nenaključno organizacijo, ki mu omogoča, da ohrani neverjeten smoter, ki podpira preživetje in reprodukcijo« (Pinker 2003, 24).

5 Jezik: kaj in zakaj

Glavno vprašanje znotraj selekcijskih okvirov tako postane: zakaj se je razvil jezik, kaj je njegov smoter? Kakšna je evolucijska korist, ki jo jezik daje svojim nosilcem, da je lahko izbran, če domnevamo, da je jezik adaptacija? Toda ali je jezik res adaptacija? V HCF (HCF 2002, 1573) se zastavlja tudi vprašanje, ali so bili trije podsistemi JZŠ, vsak zase, podvrženi drugačni evoluciji. Če je to tako, se pojavlja možnost, da je vsak podsistem enkrat opravljal funkcijo, drugačno od tiste, ki jo zdaj opravlja v človeškem jezikovnem aparatu. Če pa priznamo, da je podsistem opravljal neke druge funkcije, potem moramo upoštevati tudi to, da so se te funkcije med evolucijo razvile iz drugih razlogov in so bile tudi izbrane iz drugih razlogov, kot so jezikovni. To pa pomeni, da jezik (JZŠ in/ali JZO) ni nujno niti adaptacija niti ni bil jezik izbran za okrepitev komunikacije, kot predlagata Pinker in Jackendoff. V skladu s HCF (HCF 2002) se lahko posebno za rekurzijo izkaže, da je rezultat eksaptacije, ne pa adaptacije.

Razliko med adaptacijo in eksaptacijo sta prva vpeljala in prva razložila Gould in Vrba v članku iz leta 1982 in jo kasneje pojasnila tudi v prispevku iz leta 1998: »Neka značilnost je adaptacija le takrat, če je bila ustvarjena z naravnim izborom za funkcijo, ki jo opravlja zdaj« (Gould in Vrba 1998, 53). Post-neodarvinisti domnevajo, da adaptacija vključuje izbor funkcije, natančneje tiste funkcije, ki jo opravlja zdaj. V skladu s Pinkerjem in Jackendoffom je funkcija jezika komunikacija, to pa pomeni, da je jezik lahko zgolj adaptacija tedaj, če je bil dejansko izbran za svoje komunikacijske možnosti (možnosti, ki morajo biti genetsko utemeljene, da bi bil naravni izbor zmožen opraviti svoje delo). Eksaptacija si lahko nadene dve obliki: po eni strani adaptacija lahko izgubi svojo sedanjo funkcijo in pridobi novo, drugačno funkcijo, ki postane tarča pozitivne selekcije. Po drugi strani pa eksaptacija lahko pomeni značilnost, ki dejansko nikoli ni imela funkcije ali nikoli ni bila adaptacija in lahko dobi neko funkcijo in postane tarča pozitivne selekcije. V skladu s HCF sta se velik del JZŠ in tudi rekurzija razvila na način eksaptacije.

V sedanjih preučevanjih izvora jezika se zastavljata dve klasični vprašanji. Znotraj tradicije, katere najvidnejši predstavnik je Chomsky, je v ospredju vprašanje kaj, ki se povečini zastavlja zato, da bi dobili ustrezno definicijo človeškega jezika. Do te pridemo tako, da iščemo razliko med sistemi živalske komunikacije in človeškim jezikom. Znotraj tradicije, ki jo predstavljata Pinker in Jackendoff, pa dobiva prednost vprašanje zakaj se je razvil jezik. Eden od možnih odgovorov je, da za komunikacijo. Vprašanje, kako je jezik dejansko nastal, v nobeni od teh tradicij ne dobi primarnega statusa, tj. statusa, ki bi ga moralo dobiti. Razprava med HCF in PJ kaže, da se to dogaja zato, ker obe tradiciji domnevata, da bo tisti kako mogoče izpeljati bodisi iz vprašanja, kaj je jezik, bodisi iz vprašanja, zakaj se je razvil jezik. Od tod izhaja tudi nerazumevanje med obema tradicijama.

Dunja Jutronić je članek Nove hipoteze o izvoru jezika sklenila z naslednjim razmišljanjem in hipotezo: »Zame je najbolj sprejemljiva hipoteza, da je jezik zgodnja postopna adaptacija. Evidenca fosilov kaže, da se je jezik začel pred okrog pol milijona let, verjetno pri *homo erectus*, in da se zdi glavna gonilna sila za evolucijo jezika komunikacijske potrebe po družbenih odnosih in skupinski politiki« (Jutronić 2007, 134).

S to hipotezo se je vsekakor mogoče strinjati in jo še podrobneje dodelati. To je, med drugimi, storil tudi Clifford Geertz v zdaj že slovitem delu *The Interpretation of Cultures* (Clifford Geertz 1973). V tretjem poglavju govori, kako je izdelovanje orodja vplivalo na to, da je premaknilo selekcijski vidik v smeri hitre rasti sprednjih možganov kot tudi v korist napredku v družbeni organizaciji, komunikaciji in moralni regulaciji, kar naj bi se tudi zgodilo v obdobju prekrivanja kulturne spremembe z biološko. Zelo poveden je naslednji navedek iz njegovega dela: »Niti niso bile take spremembe živčnega sistema zgolj kvantitativne; spremembe v medsebojnih povezavah med nevroni in njihov način delovanja so utegnili biti celo pomembnejše kot preprosto povečanje njihovega števila. Če kajpada postavimo podrobnosti na rob – in njihov obseg je treba določiti –, je poanta, da se zdaj zdi, da je prirojena, rodovna konstitucija sodobnega človeka (kar se v preprostem dnevu običajno imenuje 'človekova narava') tako kulturni kot biološki izdelek v tem, da 'je verjetno pravilneje, da mislimo, da je večina naše zgradbe rezultat kulture, kot misliti, da so ljudje, anatomsko podobni nam, polagoma odkrivali kulturo'« (prav tam, 67). Posebne značilnosti človekove narave so vzniknile v zapletenem medsebojnem delovanju, ne pa zaporedoma, ko se je dolgo časa domnevalo. To dejstvo ima izjemen pomen za razlago človekove mentalitete zato, ker poudarja, da človekov živčni sistem ne le omogoča pridobiti kulturo (torej tudi jezik), temveč dela tako, ker sicer sploh ne bi mogel delovati: »Za kulturo se zdi, da je, prej kot da deluje, zgolj kot da bi dopolnjevala, razvijala in razširjala organsko utemeljene zmožnosti, ki so logično in genetsko pred njo, sestavina teh zmožnosti samih. Za nekulturno človeško bitje bi se verjetno izkazalo, da ni intrinzično talentirana, vendar neizpolnjena opica, temveč popolna brezumna in zato pošast, ki je ni mogoče nadzirati. Tudi možgani *Homo sapiensa*, ki so nastali znotraj okvira človekove kulture, podobno kot zelje, ki so mu tako podobni, ne bili zmožni živeti zunaj kulture« (prav tam, 68).*

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Metaphors and Other "Abnormalities"

DANILO ŠUSTER

Abstract Metaphorical statements surprise us as literal falsehoods, but their interpretation reveals a special motive for the figurative use of language. Donald Davidson objects to nonliteral meaning: "to suppose a metaphor can be effective only by conveying a coded message is like thinking a joke or a dream makes some statement which a clever interpreter can restate in plain prose." Taking this remark as my starting point, I analyze interpretive strategies for metaphors, jokes, riddles and counterfactual conditionals – all of which involve an initial incongruity, and most of which require a certain blending of two different domains. I suggest that the ability to interpret metaphors is based on our ability to apprehend the special cognitive content associated with metaphors.

Keywords: • metaphor • Donald Davidson • jokes • cognitive content • interaction theory •

Metafora in druge »anomalije«

DANILO ŠUSTER

Povzetek Metafore nas presenetijo kot dobesedno neresnične, interpretacija pa razkrije poseben motiv za figurativno rabo jezika. Za Davidsona je »predpostavljati, da lahko metafora učinkovita le s sporočanjem kodiranega sporočila, enako kot misliti, da neka šala ali sen izrekata neko izjavo, ki jo bister interpret lahko na novo in bolje formulira v preprosti prozi«. Ta opazka je izhodišče za primerjalno analizo interpretativnih strategij pri metaforah, protidejstvenih pogojnikih, šalah in ugankah. Pri vseh naletimo na neko začetno neskladje z našim doksastičnim sistemom in pri večini gre za »trk« in poskus združitve dveh pojmovnih področij. Na koncu predlagam, da naša sposobnost interpretiranja metafor temelji na sposobnosti dojetja posebne kognitivne vsebine, ki jo evocira metafora.

Ključne besede: • metafora • Davidson • šala • kognitivna vsebina • interakcijska teorija •

1 Introduction

I first met Dunja in the late eighties in the former Yugoslavia, but I will always remember the slender, elegant, short-haired lady as one of the pillars of our discussion group at the Maribor Philosophy Department (founded in 1993). For almost two decades, she helped us find our path through the complicated speculations so dear to philosophers, with her sober and down-to-earth comments. Her main scientific work lies at the intersection of linguistics and philosophy (Chomsky, nativism, theories of reference, and knowledge of language). However, I will address what is perhaps a minor trait in her work: her critical comments to Davidson on the meaning of metaphor. Apparently minor things sometimes transform into major ones, and Davidson (1978, reprinted in 2001) has certainly been one of the most influential texts in the ever growing literature on metaphor.¹

2 Jutronic on Davidson

Davidson asserts that the words in a metaphor mean nothing other than their original, literal meaning. Roughly put: metaphor is a pragmatic rather than a semantic phenomenon; "metaphor belongs exclusively to the domain of use." Metaphors cannot be paraphrased; rather than telling us that things are a certain way, metaphors make us *see* things in a certain way. After reading Davidson (1978) and Davidson (1986) jointly, Jutronic points out that it is unclear how to distinguish literal meaning from use, so the statement that metaphors are determined by use becomes almost vacuous because all of the language is language in use under Davidson's interpretation. She (rightly) protests and stresses the role of convention in constructing the first or dictionary meaning of our terms. "If utterances in context with unexpected meanings have to be figured out as deviations from first or dictionary meanings where convention is dominant then conventional rules still have to be learned and mastered /.../" (Jutronic 1999, 227). It might be true that interpretation is a work of the imagination, "but in language and in language use it is crucial how the imagination is curbed not to go unchecked, and the first step in how it is curbed is by conventions that are the starting point in every interpretation" (Jutronic 1999, 228).

¹ "/.../ unquestionably the most influential paper ever written by a philosopher of language on the subject of metaphor" (Reimer 2001, 142).

I would like to proceed in this spirit – contrary to Davidson who sometimes suggests that even the interpretation of literal language is not determined by rules. I think that even the creative use of language is “curbed” by certain interpretative strategies subject to rules and conventional strategies. I will compare metaphors to jokes, riddles and counterfactual conditionals. This should yield some insight into the interpretation and understanding of metaphorical statements, or so I hope.

3 Metaphor: interaction theory

A contemporary introduction starts with the following working definition of a metaphor: “seeing, experiencing, or talking about something in terms of something else” (Ritchie 2013, 8). My preferred elaboration of this attempted “blending” of two subjects is Black’s interaction theory. Let us take the simple and almost trivial example “Richard is a lion.” The *focus* is the word that is being used metaphorically (‘lion’); the rest of the sentence (those words not being used metaphorically) is called the ‘frame’. I will use the word frame differently (in the sense of Black’s system of associated commonplaces), so I prefer the notions of a “primary” subject (principal subject, King *Richard* in our case) and the “secondary” subject (*lion*, to be understood as a *system* of relationships, crudely put, a selection of commonplaces associated with lions). The primary subject (Richard’s character) is sometimes described as the *topic* and the secondary subject as the *vehicle*. A metaphor organizes our view of a primary subject, which is now seen through the metaphorical secondary subject. The metaphorical utterance works by “projecting upon” the primary subject a set of “associated implications” that are predicable of the secondary subject (courage, ruling position in the animal kingdom and perhaps voice). When one imagines all the ideas one associates with Richard, and all of the ideas one associates with lions, unshared ideas fall away, and what remains is the force of the focus: those commonplaces associated with both thoughts. To quote Black (1979, 28),

The maker of a metaphorical statement selects, emphasizes, suppresses and organises features of the primary subject by applying to it statements isomorphic with the members of the secondary subject’s implicative complex.

One of my favorite metaphors is the following description of philosophy (John Campbell):

Philosophy is thinking in slow motion. It breaks down, describes and assesses moves we ordinarily make at great speed.

Philosophy, the primary subject (*abstract*, less familiar) is described in terms of a more concrete secondary subject, and we construct two complexes (perhaps visualizing a slow motion sequence on TV presented to determine the winner of the 100-meter sprint). The first sentence is a metaphor; the second sentence provides instructions for the *interaction* of two complexes: (i) a camera shoots a scene with the ordinary 24 frames per second; (ii) when watching the footage of the scene, we cannot discern details and quick movements; (iii) when each film frame is captured at a rate much faster than it will be played back, time appears to slow down; (iv) when watching the footage of the scene in slow motion, we can discern details that were previously undetectable. This complex is then projected onto the primary subject, perhaps in the following way: (i) philosophy is a reflection about thinking; (ii) our ordinary reflection is quick and shallow; (iii) philosophical reflection is thorough and detailed. Recall Plato's dialogues: Socrates typically asks his interlocutor to slow down, to explain what he means by "...", where "..." is the concept under investigation; (iv) philosophical reflection reveals details that were previously undetectable. Black (1979, 28) describes the interaction of two fields (subjects) as follows:

(i) the presence of the primary subject incites the hearer to select some of the secondary subject's properties; and (ii) invites him to construct a parallel "implicative complex" that can fit the primary subject; and (iii) reciprocally induces parallel changes in the secondary subject.

This interpretative strategy is compatible with the fact that the interpretation of live metaphor is open-ended and indeterminate.

4 Jokes

Interaction (or sometimes collision) of two subjects (domains) is typical of the main linguistic phenomena I would like to compare: metaphors, counterfactual conditionals and jokes. Let me start with the last item on this list.

Davidson criticizes Black and rejects the idea that “associated with a metaphor is a definite cognitive content that its author wishes to convey and that the interpreter must grasp if he is to get the message” (Davidson 2001, 262). In his non-cognitive account he compares metaphors to certain “fringe” phenomena (Davidson 2001, 246-263):

Metaphor is the dreamwork of language. /.../ metaphor does its work through other intermediaries—to suppose it can be effective only by conveying a coded message is like thinking a joke or a dream makes some statement which a clever interpreter can restate in plain prose. /.../ Joke or dream or metaphor can, like a picture or a bump on the head, make us appreciate some fact—but not by standing for, or expressing, the fact.

Well, how *do* these phenomena, jokes in particular, work? Can we learn something, for instance, by describing metaphor as “a joke with a rational but open-ended punch line?”²

According to the most influential contemporary theory, humor involves *incongruity*. Crudely put, humor is created by *bisociation*: “the perceiving of a situation or idea, in two self-consistent but habitually incompatible frames of reference” (Ritchie, G. 2004, 47). Two examples:

Doctor, help! I swallowed my wristwatch. – Does it hurt? – Only when I wind it.

Smalltalk at the table when waiting for dessert. – Oh, I adore pancakes. But everybody in my family finds this disgusting. – But why so? Many people like pancakes. As a matter of fact, I like them, too. – Great, great! You should really see my collection. I have more than seven hundreds of them already!

² In this paper I further develop and explore some of the ideas first introduced in Šuster, 1997.

The punch line in the first joke connects the “mechanical wristwatch” conceptual field or frame with the “It hurts only when ...” conceptual field typical of medical contexts and we apply both of them to the (highly unlikely) “swallow the wristwatch” situation. The second joke is based on the collision of the “like for dessert” and “like to collect stamps ...” frames (semantic or conceptual fields – I am deliberately vague about this notion). The optimal resolution of the conflict acknowledges certain impossibilities in both cases (biological in the first case, prudential in the second). The interpretation renders the punch line intelligible (understandable), but *not* really believable.

Here I rely on Carroll’s (1991) elaboration of the incongruity theory. Jokes belong to a fantasy discourse: we need not avoid equivocation, category errors, inconsistency, contradiction, irrelevance, paradox, or any other sort of incoherence with our standing body of knowledge, whether physical, behavioral, moral or prudential. The punch line concludes the joke with an unexpected *puzzle* whose solution is left to the listener to resolve. An interpretation enables the listener to reframe the preceding riddle in such a way that the punch line can be connected to the rest of the joke. The interpretation is usually quite *determinate*. It fits the punch line and the rest of the joke after the fashion of a hypothesis to the best explanation. The interpretation is *optimal*, based on our willingness to mobilize any heuristic to solve a problem, so long as the heuristic delivers an answer. Yet, there always remains something wrong somewhere in the interpretation, no matter how optimal for resolving the initial puzzle.

Jokes are often based on ambiguity, wordplay and *metaphors* (comparisons):

An organization is like a tree full of monkeys, all on different limbs at different levels. The monkeys on top look down and see a tree full of smiling faces. The monkeys on the bottom look up and see nothing but assholes.

The *bisociation* of an organization (company) and a tree full of monkeys is resolved in a metaphorical way: “seeing, experiencing, or talking about something in terms of something else.” There is, however, an important difference: “the organization of the joke calls forth a determinate interpretation that is barely susceptible to the accretion of further nuance /.../, the kind of interpretation elicited by jokes is at odds with at least our ideals concerning the protracted interpretive play that artworks are supposed to educe” (Carroll 1991, 331). This includes, I would say,

the functioning of good metaphors – their open-endedness, special suggestiveness, a call for creative elaboration and the special insight they offer (just compare the metaphorical description of philosophy to the above description of an organization). Moreover, recall that according to Black, good metaphors are based on *interaction*; the presence of the primary subject reciprocally induces parallel changes in the secondary subject (not so in the organization/monkey tree joke).

5 Counterfactual conditionals

Let us add counterfactual conditionals to the mix. Richard was not a lion, so “Richard, the lion-hearted” expresses a falsity. According to Weiss (1961, 164), the metaphor enables us to express two truths in terms of conditionals: “Were Richard an animal, he would be a lion,” and “Were a lion human, it would be a Richard.” The first says that Richard is courageous, the second that lions are rulers. Counterfactuals mark out the outlines of a potentiality, the core of a substance according to Weiss, and apparently the blending of these two frames tells us that “Richard and lions are rulers by nature in the double sense of having a native gift to rule and a native right to rule. They are substantial beings possessed of gifts and rights, who deserve to rule because of the rights and who now rule because of the gifts” (Weiss 1961, 166).

I will dwell neither upon the Aristotelian terminology (potentialities, capacities and substances) nor on Victorian imperial ideology; let me just mention that the counterfactual supposed to explain the metaphor is just as puzzling as the initial metaphor. Consider the well-known lines (Simon & Garfunkel)

I'd rather be a sparrow than a snail
 Yes I would, if I could, I surely would
 I'd rather be a hammer than a nail
 Yes I would, if I only could, I surely would

The first and the third line are metaphorical, and even the explanation is given, in the second and the fourth lines, almost strictly following Weiss:

If I could be a hammer or a nail, I would rather be hammer than a nail.

Nevertheless, this hardly less metaphorical than the original: how *could* I be a hammer or a nail? The supposition involves a categorical mistake. The conditional has an impossible antecedent, and we are at a loss when trying normal routes of interpretation. We are left with the consequent and the puzzle of the initial metaphor. The blending of two logically incompatible frames indicates the structure of a joke, but there is no resolution in a punchline, just seeing one conceptual field (human relationships? life attitudes?) in terms of another (tool work) with the characteristic open texture of metaphor. This is also true of the following methodological observation attributed to Maslow:

If the only tool you have is a hammer, you tend to treat everything as if it were a nail.

We might find this remark “funnier” than the Simon and Garfunkel line – perhaps because it is less indeterminate and the blending/clash of two fields (tool work, methodology) is more perspicuous. Still, a comparison of metaphors and jokes with counterfactual conditionals is instructive. How, for instance, do we interpret the following?

If it had been the case that p , then it would have been the case that q .

My starting point will be a famous footnote:

If two people are arguing ‘If p , then q ?’ and are both in doubt as to p , they are adding p hypothetically to their stock of knowledge and arguing on that basis about q ; /.../ We can say that they are fixing their degree of belief in q given p (Ramsey 1978, 143).

The proposal is to add the antecedent (hypothetically) to your stock of knowledge (or beliefs), and then consider whether or not the consequent is true. Your belief about the conditional should be the same as your hypothetical belief, under this condition, about the consequent. Since a counterfactual conditional is a conditional containing an if-clause which is *contrary* to fact, falsity of the antecedent is at least weakly implied, and instructions have to be modified. According to Stalnaker (1968), we add the antecedent and then make adjustments to the system of beliefs in order to maintain consistency (without modifying the hypothetical belief in the antecedent), and we then consider whether the consequent is true. Consider the following:

If that match had been scratched, it would have lighted.

We delete or change those beliefs which conflict with the fact that the match was (actually) not scratched. Since a well made match, dry enough, with sufficient oxygen will light (those facts are kept), the conditional is true (“That match lights” can be inferred from “That match is scratched,” as Goodman would say). According to Stalnaker, a possible world is the ontological analogue of a stock of hypothetical beliefs. The following truth conditions for “If it had been the case that A , then it would have been the case that B ,” are now proposed (Stalnaker 1968, 102):

Consider a possible world in which A is true, and which otherwise differs minimally from the actual world. ‘If A , then B ’ is true (false) just in case B is true (false) in that possible world.

What kind of a possible world? To revisit Goodman’s example, remove the fact that the match was not lit and keep everything else (the match is well made, dry and there is oxygen around). A *minimal* change in actuality leads to the alternative possible world to be considered in evaluation. I will avoid Stalnaker’s ontological interpretation and remain faithful to Ramsey and his doxastic starting points. Ramsey speaks about the stock of knowledge, but in order to compare various possible “deviations” from normality, I will speak about a person’s doxastic state (DS) in the very broad sense used, for instance, by Vorobej (2006, 47): “We’ll use the term “epistemic state” to refer to a person’s (huge and loosely defined) set of current beliefs, desires, emotions, hopes, and intentions, which, at any given time, captures how that person views the world and sees herself as situated within her environment.” DS includes everything that could in principle play a role in the formation of a belief: implicit and explicit knowledge, accepted norms of behavior, prudential reasoning, and “normal” reactions and attitudes. When evaluating counterfactuals, we consider the set of possible worlds compatible with DS, ordered by similarity to the actual world. The content of the counterfactual is semantically unambiguous, so the possible world we imagine (one where the antecedent is true, unlike the real world) is (relatively) well *determined*.

6 Riddles and Irony

According to Carroll, the punch line of a joke first strikes us a *puzzle*. And metaphorical expressions, like verbal irony, are supposed to change the meaning of the words (*pace* Davidson). So let me mention, briefly, these two types of discourse. Verbal irony is a language device in which the meaning that a speaker employs is *different* from the meaning that is ostensibly expressed. In the famous speech after the assassination of Caesar, Mark Antony literally praises Brutus ("And Brutus is an honourable man,") while the intended meaning is a condemnation.

A *descriptive* riddle describes an animal, person, plant or object in an intentionally enigmatic manner, to suggest something different from the correct answer. "What runs about all day and lies under the bed at night?" suggests "A dog," but the answer is "A shoe" (Riddle, 2013). To take a modern example found on the internet, "What can you serve but never eat?" The following answers were suggested: (i) McDonald's chicken wings; (ii) water (not for eating, just for drinking); or (iii) a tennis ball. The first answer takes the question to be a simple interrogative sentence, asking something about the world (the speaker expresses his dislike of a certain type of food). The second reply presupposes that the question is somehow enigmatic, and the third takes it to be a riddle – a deliberately enigmatic or ambiguous question requiring a thoughtful and witty answer. It is even amusing, for that matter, since we have a typical collision of two fields (serve a dish and serve a ball) and the resolution ("punch line") is quite surprising.

7 Comparisons

I hope that the reader will notice a rich network of interconnections between these linguistic phenomena (metaphor, joke, counterfactual, riddle and irony). Aristotle viewed metaphors as riddles; some metaphors are funny; jokes are based on riddles; some jokes use metaphors; some riddles are funny and some are based on metaphors; irony involves a change in the meaning. Metaphors break semantic rules and seem to contradict our knowledge about the world; so do jokes and sometimes riddles. On a more theoretical level, "In asking us to imaginatively recreate the world, metaphors are similar to conditionals, for conditionals, too, may ask us to imagine a different world" (Cohen 1998). Most of these phenomena involve a certain blending (or clash) of two different domains

requiring an optimal solution. The following table summarizes the interpretive strategies:

Table 1: Interpretive strategies

		Metaphor	Joke	Counterfactual	Riddle	Irony
1.	Initial <i>incongruity</i> with the <i>DS</i> system	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes (only apparent)	Yes
2.	Interpretation is <i>conservative</i> with respect to <i>DS</i>	Yes	No (anything goes)	No (minimal change)	Yes	Yes
3.	<i>Rationality</i> of the interpretation	Yes (broad)	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
4.	Meaning <i>conservation</i>	No (?)	Sometimes	Yes	Sometimes	No

I will comment on the entries line by line. All of the phenomena invoke a certain initial *incongruity* with the recipient's doxastic system *DS*: metaphors are literally false; the situations described in jokes are blatantly incoherent with our standing body of knowledge; the antecedent of an "if" sentence is false; the questions posed by riddles are, at least at first sight, impossible to answer, and irony reverses the meanings of words.

A *conservative* interpretation or resolution of the initial incongruity tries to preserve what we believe about the world: jokes and counterfactuals (in a certain aspect) stand out in this respect. The conditional asks one to consider, at least hypothetically, a *change* in what we believe about the world, but the change is minimal: a conditional is true only in the case when its consequent is true at every member of some set of worlds at which its antecedent is true, and this set contains worlds which are most *similar* to the actual world. The resolution of the initial incongruity resembles a "calculation" based on our knowledge of explanatory and nomic relations in the world (e.g. "If the river were to rise another two feet, the fields would be flooded."). Not so in the case of jokes where "anything goes", and a transgression of all norms is allowed. Consider the following pair:

What do you get when you cross an earthworm and a hedgehog? Barbed wire.

What do you get when you cross an elephant and a mouse? Nobel Prize for medicine.

The first question is a standard riddle-like joke requiring a drastic change in our DS, describing an impossible world. The second question is posed *after* we hear the first one, so we expect another impossibility to be resolved in the joke-like manner. But the reply indicates that we are to imagine a *counterfactual* situation (some kind of DNA manipulation, etc.). If someone had produced a hybrid between an elephant and a mouse – a magnificent scientific achievement – she would (really) receive a Nobel Prize! Still, in the context of the first question, the reply is surprising: we expect an *error* (typical of jokes), but there is none. The error, characteristic for jokes according to the incongruity theory, lies precisely in the fact that there is *no* second error. One is reminded of the title of the book on paradoxes and puzzles: *There Are Two Errors in the the Title of This Book* (Martin, 1995). The first one is easy (or not?) to spot (“the” appears twice), and the second error is that there is *no* second error. Once you ponder the complexities of this title, you get lost in the paradoxes of self-reference. And the “Nobel Prize” is a typical auto-referential meta-joke, betraying our expectations about jokes (any kind of normal expectations are, of course, also part of DS in my sense). You expect a humorous impossibility, and you get a counterfactual conditional instead.³

Cohen (1998) suggests that the interpretation of a metaphor may require a change in what we believe about the world, but mostly the interpretation is *conservative* with respect to DS; it asks us to consider a change in *how* we see the world, not *what* we see in the world, a change in attitude and not a change in belief. This is in line with tradition: according to Horatius (*Ars Poetica*), metaphors represent relations that are harmonic and true, but not novelties. Contemporary psychological investigations seem to indicate that new emergent properties—not

³ This effect might also appear in the way modern poetry (mis)uses metaphors. *Jonah* (1971) by T. Šalamun begins with the following lines:

how does the sun set? like snow
what color is the sea? large

We expect a colorful poetic comparison, but we get none, just a subversion of our traditional metaphorical expectations. Or do we get something, perhaps an image, after all? Modern poetry is typically elusive.

part of the hearer's representation for the vehicle or the topic—play a fundamental role in metaphor interpretation (Tourangeau & Rips 1991). Whether we learn something new when we interpret the metaphor, or merely get old material in new clothing is an important issue that I cannot address here. In any case, the potential extension of knowledge is conservative (the system is not modified) with respect to DS. Ironic statements are usually just articulations of our beliefs (our DS system). Riddles also introduce new perspectives (we notice that tennis balls can be grouped together with some dishes), but this does not represent a change in DS.

The third row tells us something about the *rationality* of the interpretation and the resolution of the initial incongruity. Again, jokes are the only exceptions. The situation described in a joke strikes us as blatantly inconsistent with our DS, and it usually remains so even after the resolution. The interpretation of a joke is optimal (the simplest, most attractive, all the pieces of the puzzle fit together) but certainly *not* rational (just consider all of the jokes mentioned so far), and this tension is usually the locus of the amusement. But I think that the way a good metaphor gets us to notice things, connections and similarities is *rational* and truthful in a certain broad sense (not just picturesque or emotional). The interpretation of counterfactuals, riddles and irony is, of course, also rational.

The final row is crucial for the semantic debate: should we require that the interpretation change the meaning of some words or not? It is clear that, in counterfactuals, words retain their literal meaning, and in ironic speech, the *real* meaning is concealed or contradicted by the literal meanings of the words. Riddles sometimes explore ambiguities, extended meanings or puns: “What's black and white and red all over?”—“A newspaper”. Here both ‘red’ and ‘all over’ are to be understood additionally in the sense of ‘read’ and ‘everywhere,’ respectively (Riddle, 2013). The same is true of jokes (I find the riddle quite amusing; again we have a clash of two conceptual fields). How about metaphors? Well, according to Davidson (2001, 259), metaphors have no meaning in addition to their literal sense or meaning: “What distinguishes metaphor is not meaning but use – in this it is like asserting, hinting, lying, promising, or criticizing.” And why is it not like *irony*, carrying—at least temporarily—a different, figurative meaning, as suggested by Black (1978, 141) in his reply to Davidson?

8 Metaphorical content?

By itself, a comparison of these “deviant” linguistic phenomena does not constitute an account of metaphor, but still, it seems to me that metaphors are, with respect to (non)literal meaning, closer to irony than to riddles and counterfactuals. When saying “a tennis ball is something that you can serve but never eat,” the meaning of the words does not change. What we have is just a very uncommon way of grouping things together. But when Mark Antony describes Brutus as an honorable man, the audience already knows that Brutus stabbed Caesar on the Ides of March, so ‘honorable’ ought not to be taken literally.

Davidson gives several arguments to support his claim that the notion of nonliteral meaning is the central error about metaphor. The following is perhaps his main line (Moran 2017, 382):

If there were anything said or asserted in the metaphorical expression beyond what it literally states, then it would be just the sort of thing that does submit to paraphrase. There is nothing there to paraphrase.

Nothing to paraphrase, so no figurative meaning? The sort of thing one can paraphrase is, according to Davidson, propositional in nature, a definite cognitive content that its author wishes to convey and that the interpreter must grasp if he is to get the message. However, one can agree that it is very difficult or almost impossible to paraphrase metaphors without denying that they have a special cognitive content. When we solve the ‘puzzle’ of a metaphor, our mind is not blank or filled with images only; it has a mental content, determined by the literal meaning. Content or thought can perhaps be ineffable, not fully expressed in words (Moran 2017, 384). Peacocke even argues that when we experience one thing metaphorically-as-another our experience thereby has a distinctive kind of representational content. Understanding a metaphor expressed in language involves thinking or imagining, the content of which is a metaphor. There would be no metaphorical language if there were no mental states whose contents involve metaphor (Peacocke 2009, 260).

Moreover, according to Davidson (2001, 245), metaphors cannot be wrong:

A metaphor implies a kind and degree of artistic success; there are no unsuccessful metaphors, just as there are no unfunny jokes. There are tasteless metaphors, but these are turns that nevertheless have brought something off, even if it were not worth bringing off or could have been brought off better.

But then, as Moran (2017, 385) rightly remarks:

There will be nothing for understanding or misunderstanding a metaphorical utterance to consist in, nothing to the idea of getting it right or getting it wrong when we construe what the ‘figurative meaning’ might be, there’s nothing for the speaker’s audience to be agreeing with or dissenting from /.../.

But consider, for instance, “fate is a blind camel” by Zuhayr (520 - 609). Borges readily provides an explanation (through the mouth of Averroes): destiny tramples men like an old, blind camel; every man has felt at some moment in his life that destiny is powerful yet clumsy, innocent yet inhuman (Borges 1964). Not every animal will do: “Fate is a blind snail” will definitely fail to convey the intended content; the metaphor would be unsuccessful, not just tasteless. Or take, “Trying to understand superstition rationally is like trying to pick up something made of wood by using a magnet” (Pullman 2018, this comparison is clearly figurative; I do not think that metaphor and simile are essentially different figures). Dawkins, who strongly disagrees with the thesis that the magisterium of science covers the empirical realm only, would probably dissent, not because the metaphor (simile) is tasteless, but because it is wrong (for him at least). Metaphors can be unsuccessful and plainly wrong.

9 Conclusion

The interpretation of metaphors, jokes, counterfactuals, riddles and irony starts from noticing an incongruity with the doxastic system of the interpreter. The incongruity initiates a search for an optimal solution, which in the case of metaphors and jokes, is based on a certain blending of two different domains. However, to understand and interpret does not always mean to *decode* (as with riddles and irony). Metaphors get us to notice things and invite us to see things

in a new way and thereby produce an insight of a sort that may not be susceptible to capture in plain prose. Nevertheless, they can still communicate rich and truthful information about the real world. Is this information propositional in nature? Does it have any cognitive content? Often we should say *no* to the first question, but this does not imply the same reply to the second question.

“In science you just have to be able to drill in very hard wood and go on thinking beyond the point where thinking begins to hurt,” famously wrote Werner Heisenberg. Ineffable thoughts and metaphorical representational content will hurt the feelings of more traditional thinkers. Still, I hope that I have at least sketched some ideas showing that there is a special dependence of the figurative meaning on the literal meaning; there is method in the interpretation of metaphorical language, not just a passing theory; there is content, not just usage and imagination.*

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The Language of Thought

MATJAŽ POTRČ

Abstract The Jerry Fodor's Language Of Thought (LOT) proposed model of mind was established as the only game in town, following Noam Chomsky's defeat of the behaviorist approach to language almost two decades before. However, Fodor soon realized that LOT only works for modular processes, and not for the higher cognitive ones, as its title would make us suppose. The reason lies in the fact that the LOT model of mind follows the classic, programmable computer, which does not adapt to the holistic and abductive nature of higher cognition. Massive modularity theorists have lately tried to establish hierarchical, tractable accounts of higher cognition. It is argued that their attempts cannot work for holistic and abductive matters. As opposed to Fodor's pessimism, massive morphology is proposed as an account of such areas as language, inference and thought.

Keywords: • Language of Thought • modularity • computational model of mind • massive modularity • massive morphology • holism • abduction •

Jezik misli

MATJAŽ POTRČ

Povzetek Dve desetletji po tem, ko je Noam Chomsky podvomil o behaviorističnem pristopu k jeziku, je o tem pristopu podvomil tudi Jerry Fodor in kot edino možnost podal svoj predlog jezika misli (JM). Vendar se je kmalu zavedel, da JM deluje zgolj pri modularnih, ne pa tudi pri višjih spoznavnih procesih, kot bi sicer lahko pričakovali. Razlog za to je, da model duha JM sledi klasičnemu programiranemu računalniku, ki se ne prilagaja holistični in abduktivni naravi višjega spoznanja. Teoretiki masivne modularnosti so v zadnjem času poskusili vzpostaviti hierarhične sledne modele višjega spoznanja. Zatrjeno je, da njihovi poskusi ne delujejo na holističnih in abduktivnih področjih. V nasprotju s Fodorjevim pesimizmom za razlago jezika, sklepanja in misli predlagamo masivno morfologijo.

Ključne besede: • jezik misli • modularnost • računalniški model duha • masivna modularnost • masivna morfologija • holizem • abdukcija •

1 Introduction

In this paper, the Language Of Thought (LOT) is not presented in its technical sense. Instead, the issue concerns the way in which it has lately been used, with any concomitant, potential tensions. As a way out of these tensions, the shift from classic towards non-classic LOT is endorsed. Dynamic cognition based LOT does away with some presuppositions of classic LOT, those having to do with tractability at the upper two levels of a cognitive system's description. Other classic presuppositions, such as the existence of presentations and syntax, allowing the retention of structure, remain in place. This enables us to propose a non-classic LOT-based solution to the involvement of LOT in modular limitations and their expansion, known as the massive modularity thesis. Against this one, upon embracing non-classic dynamic systems-based LOT, the thesis of massive morphology is suggested to deal with the intricacies of higher cognition. The basic difference between the modular sensory area of cognition and the belief fixation involving higher cognition is thereby preserved. Against the idea that classic LOT extends across the board, it is advised that classic LOT is appropriate for an approach to modular, but not to higher cognitive processes.

2 LOT: what is its novelty?

Answer: it is the first model of mind that was proposed after the behaviorist treatment of mind. The closed black box input-output was opened. However, the behaviorist model persisted, often in a functionalist guise, to which one can oppose phenomenological consciousness.

The model of mind known as Language Of Thought (LOT: Fodor, 1975) was a big step for cognitive science and for the philosophy of psychology. It continues to be important, although, given the length of time since its introduction, the debate has shifted in new directions.¹ The very idea of LOT was inspired by the arrival on the scene of the *classic computer*, after a period of time where *behaviorism*

¹ It is interesting that LOT (1975) has *not* recently been widely quoted or discussed, as compared to Fodor's (1983) modularity thesis. The reason for this is Fodor's skepticism about LOT's ability to be successfully applied to higher cognition, i.e. to the area of *thought*--and for its actual ability to be applied to modular processes. Despite the importance of LOT as model of mind proposal, the worry that it may not actually account for *thought* (higher cognition) seems to have started nagging Fodor very soon, for his shift to an emphasis on modularity must have come, at the latest, about five years after the LOT publication.

had been appropriated by philosophers (Ryle, 1949). Some cracks in the foundation of behaviorism were inflicted by type identity theory (U.T. Place, 1956), showing a way out of the empty or non-committal behaviorist black box input and output approach, by recognizing types of physical as being identical to types of the mental, against the recommendation not to presuppose anything like that in the system. Token identity theory (Davidson, 1970) endorsed functionalism, the idea that there may be a variety of multiply realizable boxes there, interconnected in several ways, all this running contrary to the scientific methodology that type identity theory endorsed.² The boxology approach, as we will see, basically survived in what will later be described as modular mechanisms, alongside their massive presentation.

The very idea of LOT, as already hinted, was to introduce a *model of mind*. Note that behaviorism had nothing similar to offer. Its main starting point was precisely that one could profit from abandoning *intuitionist* insights into mind and its functioning, which had often been endorsed by philosophers, along with consciousness as providing access to this. In this manner, it was supposed, nothing of an exact or *measurable* nature, proper to an objective scientific approach, could be achieved. The idea was thus to put anything that goes on inside the head within parentheses. This was not to deny that things were going on there, but intuitive insight was taken as not being proper to *scientific* proceedings. As opposed to evidential intuitionism, input and output can be measured (and not just qualitatively approached) by behaviorists: one can manipulate the quantity of input, and then measure the correlated output, under variable settings and circumstances. As said, this has served to put out of business any model of mind dealing with the inside of the black box.

With the arrival of the computer, the time was ripe to look into the structure of the black box, to propose a *model of mind*. The advantage of a model is that one can compare it to what it models, and possibly improve it according to further empirical findings, proposing variants that are closer to the area it models (Potrč,

² When U.T. Place and Davidson met at the Maribor Veber symposium (author's recollection), the former reproached the latter on the lack of elementary scientific guidelines. Type identity theory namely allows for a law-guided comparison between the *types* of mental and physical states, whereas according to Davidson, there is no such scientifically valuable approach for mental and physical states, no laws relating them. There exist just tokens of the mental and of the physical. The absence of lawful relations between the mental and physical areas led to the anomalous monism title for Davidson's token identity theory.

1988). Now, in what does a computer consist? It computes, certainly. But what does it compute? It has a program, with a base of *representations*. The program is made to manipulate these representations in accordance with *rules* that it incorporates. These rules are programmable, and representations can be appropriated at the beginning, for a given domain.³ Once representations and rules are there, one has a setting that may be presupposed by a nativist, say of the generative grammar kind (Chomsky, 1965), allowing for practically an infinity of diverse outputs, following a permitted structure and its variations. Thus, a practical infinity of well-structured outputs is possible, given a certain set of presentations and rules that compute these. This, the idea was, could serve as a model of what goes on in our mind, as a *model of mind*. Note how important it was for philosophy of mind to embrace this proposal, with the wish and intention to have it possibly constantly improved, confronting it with the available checked data.

One strand of model of mind research adopted a *functionalist* strategy. According to that venue, one is able to single out several parts of a cognitive system, so that one can either appreciate, or not, the structure in each of these parts. One should also be attentive to the interconnections among these parts. This would then be functionalist boxology. Indeed, once the model of mind arrived on the stage, this was a method to be embraced. For, a computer program could well be presented as an assembly of various sub-programs. There came complaints that, despite the arrival of a new model of mind approach, one substantially stayed in the area of behaviorism (Strawson, 1994). In order to counter this trend, considerations of qualitative phenomenology or consciousness were proposed. This pointed in a direction combining the model of mind with conscious experience. Voices arose (Chalmers, 1996) declaring that this might be the hard problem in the philosophy of psychology.⁴

³ Compare the proceedings of mathematics, where at the very start there is given a list of elements which is provided to be used further on in the calculation, and of rules for manipulating these, partially in the form of axioms.

⁴ Carruthers (2006) claims that another hard problem, comparable to that of consciousness, is related to the human ability to engage in scientific research. That is related to the abductive manner in which scientific hypotheses are tested to be confirmed.

3 Classic LOT: its presuppositions

A model of mind needs to account for three levels of description: the Total Cognitive States (TCS), algorithmic and implementation levels. The presupposition of classic LOT is that there is a tractable TCS transition at the highest level of the system's description, and a tractable, rule-governed transition sequence at the middle level of a system's description. Additional presuppositions are that there be representations, as well as a syntactic structure.

A model of mind can be approached by three levels of description proper to the cognitive system, as proposed by Marr (1982). At the upper level of the system's description, there is the Total Cognitive State (TCS) of a system at a certain time (I have a thought, a computer displays some information upon its screen). At the middle level of description, there is the program regulating the appearance of TCSs at the upper level (there is my ability to switch from one thought to another; in a computer there is a program regulating the appearance of these transitions). At the bottom level of a cognitive system's description, there is the physical basis of cognitive processes (my thoughts are forthcoming in the wetware of my brain; a computer's computational transitions are resident in its hardware).

Now, once one has adopted the classic computer as the model of mind, one notices that there are some accompanying presuppositions. As already mentioned and as follows from its very name, a computer's task is to compute, i.e. to use preferably exceptionless rules in order to exercise inferential moves over the symbols that form the basis of the domain where computation takes place, with the aim of arriving at new results and insights as the follow-up to these computations. In general, a classic computer engages in inferential moves that could in principle be always followed, making this a *tractable* procedure of symbol manipulation. What we have just described happens at the middle level of a cognitive system's description. The outcome of computation, however, succeeds at the upper level of the system's description. Here as well, a classic computer establishes a *tractable* succession of TCSs, the succession to which could be predicted by following computational procedures. Such computations may succeed too quickly to be humanly followed in real time. Contrary to this, there are soft ways to predict the tractability of TCSs, perhaps without following exceptionless rules; we will hear more about this later, for it already goes behind the classic computational paradigm.

Additional presuppositions of the classic computer as the model of mind are that there be representations, along with syntactic structure. Representations may be taken as the entire TCSs, or again as parts of these, which construe complex representations in a compositional manner. Syntactic structure is a precondition for a system's *productivity*, its ability to construe the already mentioned practical infinity of new sensible phrases, TCSs outcomes of the computational procedures. It would seem that one could not deny representations and syntactic structure in a broad sense to be the basis of the classic computer or of models of mind. Nevertheless, both have been called into question. So, some connectionist (connectionist computation as endorsing the model of mind) philosophers have denied the availability of representations, while others have more often opted for distributed and not atomistic representations, thus ones that are ultimately not tractable. Again, some philosophers raised doubts about the sensibility of syntactic structure: perhaps agency was just a matter of comportment. Both these matters, however, are controversial, and to some extent they already go behind the classic computational paradigm as the model of mind.⁵

4 **LOT: what is its promise?**

Answer: providing tractable, programmable computational exceptionless rules for higher cognition, thereby yielding a model of mind that works and tractably explains the mind's functioning. This succeeds through the above-mentioned tractable transitions at the middle and upper levels of description proper to a cognitive system.

Here, we are in the area of the classic LOT. Language has to be *systematic* and productive: each constituent should be recognized as having robustly the same basic role across several contexts in which it appears. *Productivity* means that one can form the already mentioned practical infinity of well-formed complex representations (such as sentences) by using syntactic rules to compute the basic representational ingredients.

⁵ In fact, skepticism about representation and syntax, as related to the connectionist approach to computation, may be a close relative of the classic computational paradigm, as compared to what we later introduce as dynamical cognition (compare Horgan and Tienson, 1996).

The promise of the classic computer as underlying the model of mind is that it will allow orderly, tractable computation, persisting there despite the potentially enormous complexity of the area under elaboration. This is a promising and soothing venue: one may hope to possess not just an arbitrary model of mind, but one that allows us to have mastery over each possible step in computer functioning. In principle, one can determine, via computation, any TCS or its underlying constituents: how it came to happen on the basis of given representational elements and of the rules that were exercised over these. This means that each possible state of the system may be mastered, in the sense that one can know how it came about. Note that such tracking may be computationally quite complex, but despite this, the wished calculations may well be produced. The question that arises here is whether such a super-mastering technique really works, given the actual ways in which cognition is shaped.

According to this computational model of mind, one would have an overview of the atomistic elements and their combinations in a *tractable* manner, following computational exceptionless rules. This goes for both matters that succeed at the middle and upper levels of a cognitive system's description. Tractability at the middle level is secured by computational rules operating there, whereas tractability at the upper level also has its roots in the middle level, where a succession of TCSs is determined.

5 LOT: does it function, and if so, where?

Yes, classical LOT with its tractability involving presuppositions does indeed function. The proof is in the computation early stages of vision complicated and effective processing. These automatically proceeding computations can be called modular cognitive processes.

With the promise of classic LOT to master the modeling of the mind upon the table, one may now ask whether it works. If it does, this would seem to be a beautiful and promising thing. In fact, it turns out that classic LOT does function well. The proof lies in the computational modelling of the early vision, such as proposed by Marr (1982), whom we have mentioned in laying out the three levels of a cognitive system's description. When I visually perceive a cat, there is considerable computation underlying this ability of mine, at several levels and in

intricately supported manners.⁶ All this complicated processing can be modelled by classic computational LOT programs and mechanisms, until the 2 and 1/2 dimensional sketch that leads me ultimately in successive steps to perceive the cat. These early processing tasks are matters such as the computation of perceived hues, colors and borders, which all come together at the next stage to produce the image of the cat. It is surprising how rich and multifarious all these mechanisms are and how they come together to finally produce the basis of the image that one perceives. Note that each of these processes has to be independent from the others, so that complicated computations may be exercised in practically a fraction of a second. This can only be done if they are indeed independent of each other, if they are modularly encapsulated computational mechanisms, not distracted by horizontal searches. Now, classic computational programmable architecture is whatever characterizes each of these modular elaborations involving several strains of information. Classic LOT works well in these modular cognitive processes, for which it is characteristic that they can elaborate a rich, complicated amount of sub-perceptual information in a very short time, which is necessary for visual recognition of an item such as a cat. Early visual input elaboration needs to succeed below the reflexive conscious awareness, if for no other reason but the repeatedly mentioned very scarce time that it has available while being processed in the overall effort of producing the final percept. All of this succeeds without problems and based upon the classic computational model. So, thumbs up for classic LOT insofar as it works in cognition.

6 LOT: Where does it not function?

The success of classic LOT in the area of modular lower basic cognition processes is not matched by the area of higher cognition, encompassing such matters as belief formation and planning. This is a surprising outcome, for LOT was originally meant to apply first of all to *thought*, thus to higher cognition.

⁶ Early vision processing encompasses such things as detection and elaboration of borders and of surfaces, in respect to, say, their color. These underlying constituents need to be computed and figured out automatically by the cognitive system; otherwise, their integration (in the image of the cat) would not be effectively possible, requiring too much time. We are talking about tiny fractions of moments here.

The question, however, is whether classic LOT functions in all cognitive areas. The views here are split: some think that it *does* indeed work in all areas of cognition, whereas others deny this. It is interesting that Fodor who himself introduced classic LOT came to believe that it did not function in the area where its title would lead us to believe that it does: classic Language Of Thought, he realized, does *not* function in the area of *higher cognition*, including *thought*. Higher cognition is meant to encompass such matters as belief formation and planning, as opposed to what can be called sensory tasks such as the ones we introduced with the example of *early* visual processes.

Fodor's realization was that classic LOT does not function in the area of higher cognition, thus involving such matters as belief fixation and planning. These areas are too complex, too rich, for the classic programmable computational model of mind to apply. Insight into what this means may be gained with the help of joke-getting (Horgan and Potrč, 2010). Any joke that is at least moderately interesting and pleasantly funny is apprehended by hearers in a fraction of a moment. Yet, the potential explanation of everything underlying its understanding may be quite complex. And one needs to understand all these things that one can eventually lay out if questioned; otherwise, one would not get the joke. So there is a lot going on in joke-getting which does not seem to be adapted to the tractable classic computational paradigm. The information there is neither merely sensory nor fitted for the modular elaboration of the necessary data. Instead, there seems to be heavy participation of other dispositional or ingrained beliefs and other higher cognitive features. This holds for joke-getting but also for belief fixation and planning. My belief that there is a cat is supported by considerable material that comes into the picture without problems, but does not seem to be sensory or modularly elaborated, but seems to be information coming from other higher cognitive components, such as assessment of properties (having fur, meowing or catching mice), which themselves may be additional beliefs or something close to them that one possesses in one's cognitive background (similarly to the case of joke-getting). Because the input into joke-getting or belief formation (and planning) deals with other stuff from higher cognition, as we call it, it is not amenable to the modular treatment, and so it is unable to be processed by the classic LOT approach.

7 Fodor singling out modularity as a LOT area of success

In 1983, Fodor wrote a book with the title *Modularity of Mind*. Why did he become interested in this topic? Modularity, as we have already hinted, deals with what we have called sensory processes, but which could instead be called processes that allow for an elaboration of information independent of the surrounding happenings in the system. Therefore, modular elaboration of information is independent, encapsulated elaboration of information, which succeeds effectively precisely because it is not distracted by events in the surrounding cognition-involving area. Modular components function independently of other constituents but may be assembled into a larger whole. So, I can buy a piece of furniture, such as a bed, which is a constituent of a stylish bedroom suite, my intention being to buy other matching pieces later, as my financial situation improves. In the same manner, I can buy a stereo appliance that functions just fine by itself, but is part of a larger outfit that I may later purchase. Modules are thus independent parts of larger holistic settings that involve several other parts. Modules as well exercise their function independently of the larger whole into which they fit. So, my bed and my stereo appliance work quite well by themselves, although they can function even better in the assembled whole into which they will hopefully fit, finances permitting.

Fodor's stress, however, was not upon furniture or electronic appliances, but upon the functioning of *mind*, as his title *Modularity of Mind* (1983) indicates. So he obviously singled out a certain part of the mind. These are processes with independent elaboration, which we called sensory processes, as opposed to the higher cognitive ones. Our mind consists not just of things such as beliefs and full-fledged perceptual data, as in the cat percept, but of many reflex-like modules, such as sensory elaboration of the phonemes "c", "a", "t" as the basis of my forthcoming perception of the word "cat", and of borders and hues, which further integrate into my visual percept of the cat. All these modular data are and need to be elaborated in a manner that is independent of the impact of events in the surrounding cognitive system. The need for modular encapsulation comes from the fact that the elaboration of these data has to succeed automatically, reliably and in a fraction of a moment. If one's phonemes aren't elaborated in this manner, there will be a problem in my understanding of the word "cat", which you utter quite quickly, embedded into other linguistic information that you are trying to convey to me.

Fodor characterized modular mechanisms of this kind as being *encapsulated*, i.e. independent in their functioning and elaboration of other mechanisms in their surroundings, through which they exactly achieve their needed efficacy in the overall setting of the cognitive system. Fodor certainly stressed the importance and independent place of modular mechanisms in the overall cognitive setting, for otherwise he would not have written his book. But just why did he take this topic as his persistent preoccupation? The answer is that he began to understand that *this* was the area where the LOT model of mind really works and is successful. This is the inspiring part of the story. On the other hand, this also means that LOT does *not* work for the area of *higher cognition*, such as *thought* or belief fixation and planning. About this, Fodor felt that LOT had no real promise. This was disappointing. The area of “thought”, in the sense of broadly higher cognition, was now understood to be independent of LOT and not to be subsumed under it.

8 Fodor singling out higher cognition, such as belief formation and planning, as a LOT failure area

Holism and abduction of this area do not allow the application of classic LOT to it. Fodor’s opinion was that he didn’t have a clue how it worked.

With his stress on modular cognition, Fodor introduced the *difference* between two kinds of cognition at which we have hinted: the modular or sensory, and higher or thought-like (including belief formation and planning) kinds of cognition. This is important, for there subsequently arose a view which tried to *join* these two areas again. Why? Because it tried to apply the same classic LOT programmable computational model of mind to both areas. But this was exactly the point against which Fodor was arguing: classic LOT applies to the modular or sensory, but not to higher cognition.

As the reason why LOT cannot be applied to higher cognition is that this one, such as belief formation and planning, but *thought* as well, is substantially a *holistic* matter. He claims that higher cognition is *isotropic* and *Quineian*, and appeals to a comparison with the confirmation of scientific theories. Isotropy means that any information in excess of what a scientist has at his disposal may be effective in what he comes to believe. Quineanism underpins this holism in an even more systematic manner, pointing out the coherence and similar characteristics of the theory. The same may be affirmed about *belief fixation*: any part of the information

that my cognitive system possesses may be effective in the formation of this belief. And the formation of belief has to succeed in a coherentist manner that is also compliant with other holistic aesthetics.

Additionally, as could be inferred from the discussion above, holistic dealings in belief fixation will not be deductive (for in this case they would fit the classic LOT and the computational mechanisms leading modular processes). Instead, they will be abductive, similar to the just introduced confirmation of scientific theories. The scientist and the believer thus both produce a *hypothesis* about what may be the outcome as either suitable scientific theory or belief. This hypothesis is then adopted if it complies with the best available explanation. Abduction is thus a process which goes against the deductive proceedings characteristic of modular or classical LOT with their application of tractable and possibly exceptionless rules.

Because of the clear difference between modular and higher cognition, which we may call the *two-level* approach, namely two levels of cognitive elaboration, Fodor separated LOT-friendly modular processes from the higher cognitive and *holistic*, isotropic and Quineian abductive processes leading cognition. The very *difference* between these two levels was introduced in respect to where LOT can be applied. The outcome is that LOT can be effectively applied to modular processes, but that this cannot be the case for higher cognition, because of its already-established intractable holism.

Here, Fodor reacted in an agnostic manner: “I don’t have a clue how higher cognition works, how it should be approached”. Certainly it does not work in the classic LOT manner (in the way modular processes do). LOT is thus a success in the area of modular cognition, but a clear failure in the area of higher cognition. Fodor remained *skeptical* in this regard.

Fodor’s opinion otherwise was that LOT was the only game in town, much more successful than the behaviorism-inspired connectionist proposal, say. Several people agreed with this point, trying to do the following trick: complying with LOT’s success in the area of modular cognition, and extending modularity to higher cognition, abolishing the *difference* between the two areas of cognition that Fodor established.

In contrast, we think that *difference* should be preserved, and that perhaps classic LOT should be *refined* (as a model of mind) to better fit the object it aims to model, human cognition.

9 **Proposals for a way out: how to apply classic LOT to higher cognition**

Massive modularity: given that higher cognition, such as thought or reasoning, has evolved in the sense of evolution, as far as we know, they have evolved through modular and not through holistic overall mechanisms. Thought also proceeds from the basic modular mechanisms, always adding new ones, so that massive modularity is an outcome. In this way, the requirements for classic LOT may be retained for higher cognition.

We first take a look at the way in which several people tried to stick to the success of LOT in the modular cognition area, extending it to higher cognition. That is the approach of massive modularity. The idea may be supported by evolutionary cogitation: thoughts and other kinds of higher cognition, such as reasoning and belief fixation, certainly are complex and holism-friendly areas. However, these human abilities, despite their now displayed complexity, have their roots in evolutionary history. Very simple organisms started to use direct reaction to their environment through modular mechanisms. This simple stuff later gained its complexity through combination and architectural building of atomistic modules into potentially holistic modular settings. At no point in this history, however, did the holistic consideration take over. There are no overall mechanisms, only modular pointed mechanisms, perhaps in complex arrangements. This can also be demonstrated for thoughts and higher human cognition. Therefore, we have massive modularity, which preserves the well-functioning LOT all along the variability in human cognition, abolishing the differentiation into two distinguished areas of cognitive elaboration, one modular and the other holistic. Now the puzzle seems to have been solved concerning how to approach higher holistic cognition: via a classic computational LOT, or only in the modular cognition way. So things seem to turn out fine, and perhaps Fodor should go along, for ultimately the only game in town is LOT, which turned out to be effective for higher cognition as well, and not just for modular processes.

10 Fodor's rejection of massive modularity

Adding plurality of modules will not account for holism, the abductive nature of higher cognition.

However, here comes the steadiness displayed by Fodor: he clung to his *difference* between two areas of cognition, the modular and the holistic higher cognitive one. So he continued to reject the massive modularity proposal (massive comes from the need for a great multitude of modules to account for LOT application to higher cognition). Modularity continues to be incompatible with the holistic and abductive nature of higher cognition, involving such things as belief fixation. Here, the *frame problem* can be singled out. Just how in the world should a certain module know exactly which sensory information is *relevant* for it to elaborate amid the richness of the surrounding information? There is no way to delimit these data for them to fit the needs of the module (involving higher cognition) in question. Besides this, there is the problem that sensory information will not uphold the kind of data needed for modules involving higher cognition. The famous cheater detection module with its holistic basis, involving a large story and close to the complex fictional intricacies, would show the way to nowhere in the modular delimitation of input data.

11 Lesson to be learned from here:

higher cognition (such as belief fixation and planning) is *too rich* to be accounted for by classic LOT. One thus needs a model that is able to account for the rich, holistic and abductive nature of higher cognition.

Fodor's conclusions about the applicability of LOT to higher cognition were pessimistic and skeptical. So he had to abandon hope and was constrained to criticize the massive modularity thesis. It thus seemed that LOT could not be applied to higher cognitive matters, such as belief fixation and planning, because of their holistic, isotropic and Quineian, abductive characteristics.

However, we can learn a lesson here though, alongside the effort to try, nevertheless, to apply LOT to higher cognition. Obviously, if the LOT model of mind were applied to higher cognition, it could not retain the shape used by the massive modular approach. This is precisely the lesson that can be learned from *models*: they are fine as models, but they sometimes need to be refined, to better

fit the objects of which they are models. There were models of our planetary system a couple of centuries ago, which of course gave us *some* clue, and were better than earlier guesswork or mythological explanation. Nevertheless, models of the planetary system had to change, sometimes quite substantially (from geocentric to sun-centered), and they continue to be refined as we get more data.

One can thus hope that there will be a LOT model of mind that can account for the rich, holistic and abductive nature of higher cognition.

12 **Dynamic cognition as a model encompassing the higher cognition desiderata**

In order to achieve this, the presuppositions of classic LOT should first be dismissed: tractable middle level and tractable higher cognitive level transitions. The dynamic cognition model replaces the algorithm with a mathematical description of the forces interacting within the multi-dimensional landscape, automatically (not tractably) leading to the desired outcome of a certain mental content settling into the appropriate incline. A TCS is realized as a non-dimensional point at the middle level of the system's description. The upper level TCS transitions do not then succeed in a tractable manner, but as a follow-up from the mental force agency at the middle dynamic landscape level of the system description.

Here is a proposal to retain LOT as a model of mind that could account for holistic and abductive higher cognition, thereby returning its due to the Language Of *Thought* in the LOT name. It is *dynamic cognition*, a model inspired by connectionism. Note that such a model does not retain the modular tractable LOT computational mechanisms. What was wrong with classic LOT in respect to higher cognition was its *tractable* nature, which was unable to account for the holistic and abductive features. Consequently, the idea is that both presuppositions of classic LOT involving tractability need to be discarded. In order to comply with the rich holism of higher cognition, it would simply be impossible to keep the programmable, computational, exceptionless rules at the middle level of the cognitive system description. Moreover, it would not be possible to uphold tractability as providing the basis for what happens with a cognitive system at the upper level of its description.

The *dynamic cognition* model introduces mathematical idiom at the multi-dimensional middle level description of a cognitive system, replacing the previous classic LOT tractable algorithm. Dynamics complies with the necessary multi-dimensional richness (dimensions of major complexity existing as hinted by the connectionist system descriptions).

One can speculate metaphorically about the multi-dimensional middle level of a cognitive system's description: we could imagine it as a mountainous landscape, with the inclines of this landscape portraying the direction of incoming information towards a settled situation, over time. Abundant information, continually entering the cognitive system shapes the landscape in a continuous manner. Thereby, *forces* within that landscape push the incoming signal in the settling direction, eventually succeeding in placing it appropriately and automatically.

Note that the middle level of a cognitive system's description does the job of positioning Total Cognitive States (TCSs) at the upper level of the cognitive system's description. Given that there is no tractable basis for this in a dynamic system, neither will there be one at the upper level TCSs dynamics area.

13 Total Cognitive States

(TCSs) become occurrent following these transitions. The *reasons* for their coming to the surface lie in the dynamic landscape Morphological Content (MC), which indirectly supports the appearance of reason in TCS, so that the MC background chromatically illuminates the phenomenological consciousness of the TCS that is in focus.

Total Cognitive States (TCSs) at the upper level of a cognitive system's description need to be briefly described now as to their position in respect to the middle level of the cognitive system's description. As the forces at the middle level dynamic landscape deal with incoming information, or with the information in which the cognizer engages, as already mentioned, this information follows the inclines where the dynamic forces direct it. Once the information settles into inclining points in the dynamic landscape, it is realized at this middle level of description as a *point* in this landscape, thus without dimensions. However, this non-dimensional point then appears as TCS, i.e. as the occurrent Total Cognitive State of a cognitive system at some specific moment. Given that there are no

atomistic representations involving tractability and exceptionless rules according to this dynamic cognition picture, the follow-up of TCSs does not mean rule compliance. Instead, it follows the activity of the dynamic forces and thereby involves the efficacy of the cognitive background, which illuminates the appearance of TCSs in their occurrent apparition, through the *consciousness* which is involved in this. In this way, the cognitive background is present in its effects upon the occurrent conscious appearance of TCSs at the scene.

14 Massive Morphology Proposal

Instead of massive modularity, which follows classic LOT tractability, the proposal for an explanation of the richness and holistic abductive nature of higher cognition is that of massive morphology: there is considerable morphological imprint upon higher cognition, so that its richness and abductive holism are justly served.

What happens with higher cognition is not massive modularity, but rather *massive morphology*. An explanation is needed. *Morphological content* is the dispositional information that stays and lurks in the background of the cognitive system's multi-dimensional landscape--all that one knows in a holistic manner--and that indirectly *illuminates* the occurrent TCS at the time of its apparition.

Now, it is plausible that higher cognition, given its holistic and abductive nature, is not supported by massive modularity, but rather by *massive morphology*, by the rich variability of information constantly informing and coloring what appears in the occurrent TCS conscious appearance. Richness and abductive holism are properly served by massive morphology, which also takes care for automatic settling of incoming information into relevance-providing inclines on the multi dimensional landscape.

15 Has LOT thus been abandoned?

The answer to this is "no"; only classic tractable LOT is called into question as an account of non-modular higher cognition. The presuppositions of the tractability of classic LOT are abandoned indeed. However, the presuppositions about the existence of representations and of the structure, which is now secured through a dynamic landscape, are retained. Representations and syntactic structure are natural for the dynamic cognition model of mind. LOT survives in

its dynamic guise, able to account for higher cognition, with its abductive rich holism. LOT thus persists and may be finally applied to such items as thought, which turned out not to be viable for the classic LOT model of mind. It seems clear that the dynamic cognition model of mind needs to be appropriated for higher cognition, and that there is a difference between modular (sensory) and higher cognitive states, just as Fodor presumed. Dynamic cognition inspired LOT is able to retain it, distinguishing two qualitatively different levels: modularity is classic LOT compatible, whereas this is not the case for higher cognition, which is non-classic, dynamic cognition LOT compatible.

One may now ask whether the introduction of dynamic cognition means that LOT has been abolished. No, the claim is that LOT preserves, just that it is not a classic, but another kind of, now *dynamic LOT*. This dynamic LOT preserves *representations* and *syntax*. Syntax needs to be there for a cognitive system because of the richness of information, and for the organism's need to react effectively and prosper in a dynamic, rich world. Syntax gives an organism power to deal with its engagements in this rich, constantly changing environment. As has been established, representations and syntax are preserved in a dynamic system.

One important thing is that one stays with Fodor's *difference* between two kinds of cognition: modular and higher cognition. Classic LOT may be applied to modular material, for which one can be grateful. However, higher cognition needs *massive morphology*, coming from a background of dynamic cognition. Thus, according to our non-skeptical reading of higher cognition, holistic and abductive, Fodor retains LOT, in its dynamic rendering complying with the just mentioned holism. The difference between two levels of cognition is retained. LOT is applied to them both, but as classic LOT for modular material, and as non-classic LOT for higher cognition.

LOT has not been abandoned but survives in a new guise, all respecting the basic difference between modular-sensory and higher cognition.

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Almost the Same but Still Different: Assimilation, Integration and Amalgamation

BOJAN BORSTNER & SMILJANA GARTNER

Abstract Nowadays, due to globalization and wars in Africa and Asia, many people migrate, legally and illegally. These processes are sometimes taken as a threat to the host societies and their identities and are (mis)used in everyday political life. Therefore, it is important to determine what the essential properties (if there are any at all) of collective identity and consequently personal identity are; is it language, religion, nationality, collective memory, a specific mixture of these, or something completely different? Before answering, we must clearly define the basic concepts that we are using. First, we analyse the concept of identity and continue with the conceptual problems of assimilation and integration. These are explained through different lenses: through the process itself and within the concept of the state. Immigrants seeking to be integrated or assimilated must walk “the language path”, “the religious path” and “the path of traditions, customs and practices”, which are all mostly unwritten, invisible, and therefore difficult for newcomers to recognize. Despite certain unclear implications, we propose cosmopolitanism, alongside amalgamation, as our solution to the problems with multiple identities in a society where immigrants are not a small minority but are becoming an important element of the host society.

Keywords: • collective identity • individual theory • integration • assimilation • amalgamation • cosmopolitanism •

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Skoraj enaki, a vendar drugačni: asimilacija, integracija, amalgamizacija

BOJAN BORSTNER IN SMILJANA GARTNER

Povzetek Danes smo priča mnogim migracijam, legalnim in ilegalnim, ki so posledica tako globalizacije kot različnih spopadov in vojn v Afriki in Aziji. Ta dogajanja so včasih razumljena kot grožnja gostiteljskim družbam in njihovim istovetnostim in so (zlo)rabljena v političnem vsakdanjiku. Zato je pomembno določiti, katere so bistvene lastnosti (če le-te obstajajo) skupinske in osebne istovetnosti. Ali je to jezik, religija, nacionalna pripadnost, skupinski spomin, posebna mešanica le-teh ali nekaj povsem drugega? Pred poskusom razreševanja tega vprašanja moramo jasno opredeliti temeljne pojme ki jih uporabljamo. V članku najprej podamo analizo pojma istovetnost in nadaljujemo s pojmovnimi problemi asimilacije in integracije. Slednji pojasnjujemo skozi dvojno optiko: skozi sam proces in skozi prizmo pojma država. Imigranti, ki naj bi se integrirali ali asimilirali, morajo opraviti “jezikovno pot”, “religijsko pot” in “pot tradicij, navad in posebnih praks”. Vsi ti gradniki so v glavnem nezapisani, nevidni in za večino prišlekov težko razpoznavni. Kljub določenim nejasnim implikacijam kot rešitev za mnogoterost istovetnosti v družbi, kjer imigranti niso obrobna manjšina, ampak predstavljajo pomemben element te družbe, predlagamo kozmopolitizem v povezavi z amalgamizacijo.

Ključne besede: • skupinska istovetnost • posamezna istovetnost • integracija • asimilacija • amalgamizacija • kozmopolitizem •

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1 Introduction

One day, Jacob Beer, fictional person from the novel *Fugitive Particles*, was walking on the streets of Toronto when a song came into his mind:

a song of my mother's that was always accompanied by the sound of brush bristles pulling through Bella's hair, my mother's arm drawing with the beat. The words stumbled out of my mouth, a whisper, then louder, until I was mumbling whatever I remembered. /.../ Up Grace, along Henderson, up Manning to Harbord I whimpered; my spirit shape finally in familiar clothes and, with abandon, flinging its arms to the stars. /.../ There was nothing for it but to raise my foreign song and feel understood. (Michaels, 1998, p. 59)

Jacob Beer felt understood for the first time. It happened when he started to sing and talk in his mother tongue, when he talked and sang aloud for the first time in decades. If we accept that our native language is a fundamental part of our identity, then we should consider the implications for migrants, their integration and assimilation. If, then, it is true that you are never the "real" you when you talk in nonnative language, you are never connected with your essence, then perhaps you could never feel like a full and proper part of the new community. That could be an obstacle to realizing the European Union's ideal of being a union where immigrants would integrate and/or assimilate. The European Union has experienced two major waves of migration. The first one occurred when the EU was growing, its ideals were steadily realized and boundaries between member countries and their citizens were becoming smaller and smaller. The second wave was/is after/during war in countries of the Middle East, when there was (and still is) enormous pressure from people coming from Africa and the Arabic world. The opening up of economic and labor force markets and globalization in general are common features of progress and of migration waves (both in and out of the EU).

The majorities in each EU member country have thus begun to invest intense effort in defining the position of individuals within their communities, i.e. as members of the relevant ethnic community or as outsiders. They could go further with the classification. Populations could be divided into those who are citizens

and those who are not. Such classification, their “being different”, is usually based on two reasons: being the other or being the stranger (*alien* could be another descriptor). This distinction has its roots in the ancient tradition of differentiation between *heteron* and *xenon*, where the first is connected with the differences between individuals that are accepted parts of the specific community and mean something positive, something to be fostered, and the second, where some individuals do not belong in the proper sense to the same community: they are Strangers/Aliens or as the ancient Greeks would say, Barbarians. Classification is based on the properties possessed by an individual or community. Some would say that it is based on identity. Accordingly, with migration, different identities with varied properties could encounter each other, and the issue is to determine what transpires with groups, as well as with a person’s properties and therefore with their identity. So, we will first briefly explain the concept of identity, after which we will introduce the second concept—assimilation—and its conceptual problems. We will try to understand assimilation and integration through distinct lenses; therefore, in the third part, we will present the concept of integration in general; the fourth part addresses both concepts as processes, and the fifth part deals with their interpretation within the context of the state. Ultimately, we propose cosmopolitanism with amalgamation as an utopian agenda for a better world.

2 Identity

Why should we begin with the concept of identity? There is at least one reason: we could not explain the two basic and most closely related concepts--assimilation and integration--if we lacked a concept of identity.¹ Because there is no consensus among numerous authors about the meaning of these two words, we will attempt to clarify and solidify these concepts with the following sample case:

(2.1) We have two girls of the same age and almost the same names: Mira and Emira. They live in a small Slovene town, they go to the same secondary school, have almost all friends in common, but, fortunately or not (that is the question),

¹ When we speak about assimilation, we are starting from a conceptual model proposed by Gordon (Gordon, 1964, p. 75). He proposed “ /.../ to analyze the assimilation process with reference to either of two variant goal-systems: i) "adaptation to the core society and culture," and ii) the "melting pot"." However, we are adjusting and improving his model for the imaginary case in our society. For more, see Gartner, (2006) and Borstner & Gartner, (2007).

they come from different races, cultures, religions and family origins. Mira is a Caucasian, European, Catholic, Slovene girl, while Emira is an Oriental, Arabic, Muslim, Slovene girl, originally from Lebanon, who immigrated with her family to Slovenia ten years ago. Both speak Slovene with no problems.

(2.2) Could we say that these two young women are somehow “the same” and somehow “different”? A provisional answer could be as follows: Yes, they are simultaneously the same and different. We can understand this problem through an explanation of the notion of “identity”, which involves at least two dimensions: the individual and the plural. “Who am I?” and “Who are we?” are two versions of a question that has as its target the notion (concept) of “identity”. Answers to this question are usually partly overlapping, but no one has arrived at an answer. Nevertheless, what is common to answers to the question is the predicative form of the verb *to be* within them. This indicates that some property is predicated of someone (either in singular sense – of me - or in a group societal sense – of us).

(2.21) “Identity” as a concept is therefore defined by a certain property or properties deemed important for being such an entity. In our case involving the young female, “Mira is a young female” means that some entity “Mira” possesses a certain property, “being a young female”. This property is not something that is unique to “Mira, because there are other entities (in our case Emira) that also possess this very same (or even identical) property of being a young female. Mira and Emira have a common property (being a young female), and according to this property, they belong to the specific class or group of entities. It is not possible to make a distinction between them on the basis of this property.

(2.22) When we ask what they are, one possible true answer is “young females”. However, this property cannot account for Mira’s is not being the very same entity as Emira. So, there must be (at least) one property that Mira has and Emira does not have that makes them two distinguishable entities, and vice versa.²

² In our analysis we are using two concepts—individuality and distinguishability—which could create difficulty in the process of interpretation and explanation of relations between assimilation, integration and amalgamation. Therefore, we understand “individuality” to be that in virtue of which an individual is an individual and “distinguishability” to be that in virtue of which an individual is distinguishable from other individuals.

(2.23) For the sake of simplicity, let us assume that their identities are defined with a list of five properties, where Mira and Emira, being two different entities, have some properties in common, and each of them has a specific property that is not possessed by the other.

(2.231) Mira and Emira are both Slovene girls (S), but Mira(Mi) is Caucasian (C), European(E) and Catholic (Ct), and speaks Slovene (Sl), while Emira(Em) is Oriental(O), Muslim (M) and Arabic(A) and speaks Slovene (Sl). There is a more formalized version of their identities:

$$(Mi) = (S, C, E, Ct, Sl)$$

$$(Em) = (S, O, A, M, Sl).$$

When we say that Mira and Emira are Slovene (young females), we reference the fact that they are taking part in Slovene culture in its broader sense. In this case they are members of what we call the Slovene group/society, and their identity is partially defined by this membership. However, identity itself is insufficient when we seek to understand Emira, the immigrant from Lebanon. Therefore, we will introduce the second concept: assimilation.

3 Assimilation

This concept is often connected with the popular idea that when someone arrives in a new group, society or state, she must somehow adapt to the new circumstances. Usually, this is a one-sided process where a newcomer (immigrant) is supposed to accept or to find replacements for the majority of properties that are specific to this new group. In Emira's case, this means that she is expected to relinquish her linguistic and cultural specifics, along with some social particularities and to accept those specific to Slovene society. We see that, in this process, assimilation does not mean 'becoming identical', because persons inside any social group are not identical: they merely renounce some particular cultural features that have formed their identity. They are, as we said initially, *heteron*.

(3.1)The question to be raised here is whether we may, in that case, speak of national (cultural) identity or personal (individual) identity. The problem that we seek to explain here can be epitomized by the statement: Emira becomes one of

us. It is clear that she is not becoming identical with another individual, e. g. Mira, but what we (the majority population - insiders) expect from Emira is that she become somehow indiscernible in relation to us.

(3.11) This expectation raises at least three conceptual problems. Firstly, if we understand the concept as 'being totally indistinguishable', such a kind of assimilation may not be possible for all immigrants, since it requires the replacement not only of culturally-defined features, but also of some physical characteristics. Do not forget that we live in a world that is obsessed with images, a world for which the Nike slogan "Image is everything" is among the best representations. Emira, an Oriental young female, can never become totally indiscernible in a social group of Slovenian young females where most members are of Caucasian origin, even if she accepted the Slovene language and Slovene culture as though they were her mother's language and culture:

Majority of Slovene young females (Mira is a member) = (S, C, E, Ct, Sl)

Em = (S, O, A, M, Sl)

(3.12) If, on the other hand, we understand indistinguishability in the cultural sense, then this leads to two further problems. Emira is a Slovenian citizen, an immigrant from Lebanon, and of the Islamic faith. She now lives in a state where the majority of inhabitants are Roman Catholics (although the number of active church members is lower) and speak Slovene. Such a person may well be indistinguishable from the majority population, so that in public, she does not differ from her fellow citizens by her language, way of speaking, or her way of life. The features that should be universal, or basic, in the formative process of cultural (national or psycho-social) identity do not differ from the rest of the population.

(3.13) Yet, as soon as she enters her private sphere, these features, together with her language or way of speaking, change in a striking manner. If we accept the idea that a change of identity is possible through the exchange of particular elements - properties, then we are bound to reject the idea of assimilation as adaptation and as substitution of properties, because the properties that form the individual's identity are not themselves supplemented, for they remain present all the time.

(3.131) If this is correct, then we have two possibilities in Emira's case:

- (i) We accept the idea of dual identity ($Em = ((S, O, A, M, Ll) \wedge (S, O, A, M, Sl))$); or
- (ii) We choose to adhere to the idea of mimicry ($Em = (S, O, A, M, Al) \wedge Sl$).

In the first case, where both languages are regarded as equal, we would assume that an individual could possess two cultural (psycho-social) identities, both of which form her (single) personal identity. In the second case, we would suppose that both the personal (individual) identity and her cultural identity are unchangeable (her native language is Arabic, and she feels it is her essence or, as Jacob Beer says, "he felt understood for the first time"), but may be repressed because of pressure from and the expectations of her (new) social environment, so she speaks Slovene all the time.

(3.14) The third problem inherent in the understanding of indiscernibility as cultural indiscernibility arises from the question of whether there could exist a kind of monolithic culture with universal features that could be acquired or exchanged for another set of properties. Within Western European countries, common elements such as freedom of speech, religion or dress code, and non-discrimination policies concerning gender, race etc. scarcely point to the existence of some monolithic culture. Yet, if it is difficult to accept that idea, then it is equally difficult to accept the assumption of the uniqueness of certain cultural and historical identities.

(3.2) Therefore, to understand complete assimilation as a simple substitution of one identity for another, which would become indiscernible from, or identical to, the identity of the insiders, is unjustified. However, if we refer only to cultural identity, then this opens the way to a plurality of identities. Consequently, assimilation can be understood only as becoming similar to the insiders, insofar as the insiders themselves are only similar to each other, and not identical.

(3.3) “Becoming similar” itself constitutes a problem. In understanding it, we could perhaps rely on Wittgenstein’s thesis of ‘family resemblance’:

Instead of producing something common to all that we call language, I am saying that these phenomena have no one thing in common which makes us use the same word for all, — but that they are *related* to one another in many different ways. And it is because of this relationship, or these relationships, that we call them all “language”. (Wittgenstein, 2009, p. 65)

For Wittgenstein, items may be categorized together, meaning that they become members of the same category, even though they do not share one, unique common feature. Wittgenstein provides an example of how is this possible, using the example of different games:

What is common to them all?— Don’t say: “There *must* be something common, or they would not be called ‘games’” — but *look and see* whether there is anything common to all. — For if you look at them you will not see something that is common to *all*, but similarities, relationships, and a whole series of them at that. /.../

I can think of no better expression to characterize these similarities than “family resemblances”; for the various resemblances between members of a family: build, features, color of eyes, gait, temperament, etc., etc. overlap and criss-cross in the same way. — And I shall say: “games” form a family. (Wittgenstein, 2009, p. 66-67)

We see that a family is composed of separate ingredients, among which there is no one element that all members must have in common. There are many similarities and resemblances between members of the same family; at the same time, there is considerable difference between them. “We remind ourselves [not of phenomena themselves, but] of the *kind of statement* that we make about phenomena. Thus, Augustine recalls to mind the different statements that are made about the duration, past present or future, of events.” (Wittgenstein, 2009, p. 90)

(3.31) If we employ Wittgenstein's concept of family resemblance for our case, we see that identity can be thought of as something homogeneous, on one hand, and heterogeneous, diverse, unstable and changeable, on the other hand.

Therefore, we could accept the idea of assimilation as similarity/resemblance that includes both sides—homogeneity and heterogeneity—and then, in our case, we get the following change:

(Em) before the process of assimilation (O, A, M, Al)

(Em) after the assimilation (S, O, A, M, Sl), or

(Em) after the assimilation (S, O, A, M, Slpu, Alpr)

The first one is much closer to the process (or may genuinely be the process) which is described as integration.

(3.32) In due course, we will analyze whether there are any deep, metaphysical differences between these two processes.³ The popular description of integration includes the notion of a process approaching the partial substitution of the individual's identity, suggesting the newcomer's acceptance of one property or several properties of the insiders. Immigrants are becoming partially similar to insiders. Roughly speaking, this would mean that these two concepts are not different from each other. In both cases, their content is about becoming similar, or becoming similar to members of a certain community. The only possible differentiation of these two concepts, considering the substitution of basic features, would then be according to the quantity of characteristics being replaced. Hence, we could agree that the concept of assimilation is to be used only when substitution of the basic features forming identity is greater than 0.5 (on a scale from 0 to 1); the concept of integration should be used when substitution is less than 0.5.

³ Translation is a kind of transubstantiation; one poem becomes another. You can choose your philosophy of translation just as you choose how to live: the free adaptation that sacrifices detail to meaning, the strict crib that sacrifices meaning to exactitude. The poet moves from life to language, the translator moves from language to life; both, like the immigrant, try to identify the invisible, what's between the lines, the mysterious implications. (Michaels, 1998, p. 59)

(3.33) The second option based on this, simplified, picture of Emira, is that she is genetically still the same individual as she was at the beginning and cannot change these properties. On the other hand, she has adapted to the Slovene language (and culture) in public life, and there are, for her, two options: she could forget (Al) not just in public(pu) life but even in her family or she could use (Al) only in the private sphere(pr).

(3.331) Neither situation is unprecedented. If we look back to medieval times, we find many similar cases concerning Jews in Christian societies. Facing hostility from their social environment, some of them converted to Christianity and continued secretly to perform the rituals and observe the precepts of Judaism, or they did convert on purely religious grounds and became Christians. As explained earlier, only the second possibility represents assimilation in the proper sense.

4 **Integration**

Let us reconsider the case of Emira. Assume that she is a person who has (for ten years) been living in Slovenia. She is not, yet, Slovene citizen, she goes regularly to school, her parents' employment positions are documented, and they duly pay their taxes to the country. Unfortunately, her schooling is the total extent of her participation in the lifestyle of Slovene society. Can we say that there is any similarity, beyond regular school attendance and taking part in school activities, between her life and the life of the insiders (e.g. Mira) in Slovenia?

(4.1) It seems that in this case, integration itself occurs without any substitution for the basic properties of the individual's identity. Her integration is merely functional, for she seems to be involved with certain social spheres, although this does not change her identity. We shall refer to such participation as 'functional integration', i.e. integration without assimilation:

(Em) before the process of functional integration (O, A, M, Al)

(Em) after functional integration (O, A, M, Slpu, Alpr)

Emira is functionally integrated, but in the proper sense, she is included in only particular parts of Slovene society.

(4.2) At the same time, we know that none of the other members of Slovene society is included in all spheres of their own social community, for every one of us may participate in some of its aspects and be excluded from others. Neither can the immigrant—Emira—take part in every social sphere. Looking back over the situation, we recall that Emira is included only in the sphere of school life. However, this suggests a very narrow dimension of social integration as regards Slovene state policy. If the integration is widened to involve inclusion in many social spheres pertaining to insiders (e.g., into the ‘polity’ and ‘society’), so that integration occurs, we might well face the problem of whether such integration is indeed possible without assimilation, i.e. without ‘becoming similar’.

(4.3) Assuming that some immigrants (unlike Emira in the previous scenario) are actually living their everyday lives in the non-original society, then they need to take at least some of the host group’s features upon themselves, in order to succeed in full integration. This adoption of the relevant features may take place mainly at the subconscious level. From what has been said so far, we can conclude that partial functional integration is possible without assimilation, whereas full functional integration is not.

5 Between integration and assimilation

Next, we shall address cases in which people want to be integrated, but not assimilated, and others where they want to be fully assimilated. The most obvious reason is the ‘push-and-pull effect’. In the ‘push’ example, a particular social group pushes out one of its members who subsequently joins another social group.

(5.1) Emira is eighteen years old and has all the rights (and duties) of the Slovene society. Therefore, she has decided not to be a humble Muslim girl anymore. (Formalized: (Em): (L, O, A, M(not), Al)). Her family and a small Muslim group in the neighborhood have expelled her from this specific society, and she has joined the new Slovene group. After a short period, she becomes fully integrated (in a secular or non-secular way), a position which can be formalized in the following way:

a) Non-secular version

Group (M + L) push (Em): (L, O, A, M(not), Al)

Group (Ct + S) pull (Em): (L, O, A, M(not), Al) *integration* (Em)(S, O, A, Ct, Sl)

b) Secular version

Group (M + L) push (Em): (L, O, A, M(not), Al)

Group (Ct + S) pull (Em): (L, O, A, M(not), Al) *integration* (Em)(S, O, A, Sl)

Here, the main reason for Emira's (enforced) integration into the other social group concerns the characteristics of the first group. In such a case, integration is usually successful. Yet, when the features of the second group themselves influence Emira's desire for integration, this is called the 'pull' effect. That kind of move from one group to another is always voluntary, and the person—Emira—seeks to be both integrated and assimilated.

(5.2) These 'push and pull' movements also describe another kind of situation where we can include a temporal understanding of the concepts, predominantly because of their relation to partial and total assimilation.

If we accept the thesis that total assimilation is impossible, together with the assumption that partial assimilation is identical to the assimilating kind of integration, the only way to differentiate between the concepts would be according to the number of properties. This means that we would refer to the substitution of the majority of features as partial assimilation, whereas for all previous stages, we would use the term assimilating integration. Thus, assimilating integration happens at the beginning of the process, and what we get at its end is partial assimilation.

6 Being in and being out

The last possible understanding of these two concepts that we will address here is their interpretation within the context of the state. This part, unlike the previous ones, addresses the relation of the 'Insiders' (the host social group, state etc.) towards the individual (Emira in our case). We can speak about this relation in two senses: general/abstract and specific/organic. The first sense can be

described as a process, a direction of change, which possesses the characteristic of being intransitive. The second sense is to be interpreted as total absorption, a degree of similarity, which possesses the feature of being transitive.

(6.1) Now we need to clarify the attributes of transitivity and intransitivity. The most general definition of the two concepts would be that, in the case of intransitivity, there is not necessarily any transmission of properties, whereas in the other case, transmission does occur. Translated into the context of the relationship between the social group and the immigrant, this would mean that transitivity occurs when certain parts, properties, ideas or secondary features are transmitted from the social group to the immigrant and are accepted by her in such a manner as to involve a renunciation of her primary features. In the situation of intransitivity, there is no such transmission or acceptance.

(6.2) In the case where partial assimilation is understood as a transitive process, i.e. originating from the state/the Insiders, with the aim of total unification with the members of the majority social group, then this could well be understood as involuntary enforcement. With regard to such an interpretation, partial assimilation can never be considered as a two-way process.

(6.21) How could we use this in Emira's situation? According to this interpretation, Emira has two options: either she leaves Slovenia, or she must become very similar (not genetically but only in the cultural sense) to the members of the host (Slovene) society. She is now well assimilated, but she has paid for this by the loss of her basic identity. Not only has she become a member of different—for her new—social group, she has also become a different person. Somehow, she has lost her roots. She may ask herself, as Alice in Wonderland does: "I wonder if I've been changed in the night? Let me think: was I the same when I got up this morning? I almost think I can remember feeling a little different. But if I'm not the same, the next question is 'Who in the world am I?' Ah, that's the great puzzle!" (Carroll, 2000, p.19)

(6.3) Referring to what we have said so far, we can draw the conclusion that considering 'interaction' and 'formation of common cultural life', we definitely cannot speak about partial assimilation, since the concept itself sharply defines the limits between the host social group (i.e. the 'We'- group) and the social group(s) of immigrant(s) (i.e. 'They' or 'The Others'), together with their renunciation of their cultural identity.

7 A new perspective – cosmopolitanism

Finally, we will analyze possible cases based on the idea of a liberal state that takes personal freedoms and individual rights very seriously. This means that in such a state individuals do have a free choice of the basic and non-basic properties that are important for their individual and collective identities. Free choice is not limited, as it usually is in common circumstances around the world, to the individuals and groups that belong to the category of Strangers (Others, Barbarians, or Aliens) but also to the individuals and groups belonging to the category of Insiders (the We-group).

(7.1) With this possibility, we provide another way for properties to be exchanged:

If the exchange stands for non-basic properties, we could speak of a two-way assimilating form of integration.

In our starting case with Mira and Emira we get the following situation:

$$(i) \quad (Mi)(C, Ct, E, S), (Em)(O, A, M, L)$$

Two-way assimilating kind of integration

$$(ii) \quad (Mi)(C, Ct, E, S, \text{part of } L) (Em)(O, A, M, L, \text{part of } S)$$

Emira accepts some properties from other culture while retaining basic properties of her identity. At the same time, Mira accepts that Emira is somehow different from other young females around. For this case, we can use the label improved multiculturalism (see 7.2). We hope that this could be a paradigm for future development in Europe.

(7.2) With the exchange of basic features, we are facing the birth of a totally new social group with its own evolving properties. We refer to this phenomenon as ‘amalgamation’.

$$(i) \text{ Group1 (M, L), Group2 (Ct, S)}$$

Amalgamation

(ii) Group (M, Ct, N)

In this case, we get one group from two separate groups. The new group gains its own identity, which is not just the sum of previously basic properties but constitutes a real synthesis. The tag for this possibility could be cosmopolitanism as a utopian agenda for a better world.

8 Conclusion

When Jacob Beer, the character in Michaels's novel, hears his mother's song and starts to sing and talk in his native language, he realizes, at least partially, who he is--Jacob Beer as an individual who has his own, unique identity, which has long been somehow buried. Accepting a native language as a fundamental part of someone's identity opens many questions about the position of migrants and their integration and assimilation. If it is true that Jacob Beer, as an example, is never *he*, in the proper sense, when he talks in nonnative language, this implies that he is never connected with his essence. Perhaps, then, he can never feel like a full and proper part of the new community, and that could become an obstacle in the process of integration and/or assimilation of immigrants. Incorporation of immigrants is usually based on a range of socialization strategies that have different aims and also distinct final outcomes. We have shown that the concept of "identity" has an important role in understanding two concepts that are basic for the description of what transpires in societies when they try to block a potential situation of social isolation among either minorities or individuals in the society. Therefore, we analyze different kinds of assimilation with the help of a distinct interpretation of identity that provides the potential for an explanation that includes, on the one hand, a complete substitution of one identity for another, and on the other, an idea of similarity, a vague concept, but one that can nevertheless broach the possibility of pluralities of identities. Our description of integration includes the notion of a process approaching partial replacement of the individual's identity, suggesting acceptance of one or several properties of the insiders. This implies that we have two principles at work in the process of integration: identity and diversity. Immigrants become partially similar to insiders. They are somehow in and somehow out. Nevertheless, this duality is not necessarily bad, because it could, as we have explained, play an important role in the new way of incorporation, namely amalgamation as a possible process

of real synthesis among diverse parts of society under the utopian agenda of cosmopolitanism.*

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III.
JEZIKI V STIKU
LANGUAGES IN CONTACT

Konferenčno tolmačenje na področju prava in njegova kulturalna umeščenost

ALEKSANDRA NUČ

Povzetek V prispevku se bomo posvetili konferenčnemu tolmačenju na področju prava, ki v primerjavi s sodnim tolmačenjem ne poteka v sodni dvorani, temveč v drugih tolmaških okoljih, na primer na srečanjih predstavnikov ministrstev za pravosodje ali sodnikov ustavnih sodišč. Tolmaški nastop je pri tem povezan z mnogo izzivi, zato najprej opišemo splošne kompetence, ki naj bi jih študenti tolmačenja pridobili v času študija. Temu sledi primerjava posebnosti konferenčnega tolmačenja, sodnega tolmačenja in konferenčnega tolmačenja na področja prava. Nato se osredinimo na izzive simultane konferenčnega tolmačenja in tolmačenja s pisno predlogo. Ti izhajajo predvsem iz kulturne umeščenosti pravnega jezika in pravne terminologije, zato so v tej zvezi obravnavani tudi konkretni primeri. Na koncu omenimo nekatere učne vsebine Oddelka za prevodoslovje Filozofske fakultete v Mariboru, pri katerih se predstavi izbor ustreznih vsebin s ciljem, olajšati prihodnjim tolmačem prve tolmaške nastope na dogodkih s področja prava.

Ključne besede: • konferenčno tolmačenje • simultano tolmačenje • pravo
• simultano tolmačenje s pisno predlogo • kulturna umeščenost •

Legal Interpreting and Its Cultural Embeddedness

ALEKSANDRA NUČ

Abstract The chapter focuses on legal interpreting, which in contrast to court interpreting does not take place in the courtroom but in other environments, as is the case at meetings of representatives of the ministries of justice or at meetings of constitutional court judges. Interpretation in such situations involves many challenges, which is why the chapter first describes the general competences that interpretation students should acquire in the course of their studies. Next, the defining features of conference interpreting, court interpreting and legal interpreting are compared, followed by a consideration of simultaneous interpreting and sight interpreting. Various challenges of different modes of interpreting are connected to the cultural embeddedness of legalese and legal terminology, as is also demonstrated with concrete examples. In the end, a selection of courses from the Department of Translation Studies at the Faculty of Arts in Maribor is presented. Focus is on those that aim to make it easier for future interpreters to perform better in interpreting events in the field of law.

Keywords: • conference interpreting • simultaneous interpreting • law • simultaneous interpreting with text • culture-bound elements •

1 Začetki simultanege konferenčnega tolmačenja

Tolmačenju na področju prava se znotraj simultanege konferenčnega tolmačenja pripisuje prav poseben pomen. Začetki konferenčnega tolmačenja segajo v obdobje po prvi svetovni vojni, v čas pariške mirovne konference leta 1919. Do takrat je francoski jezik užival status *lingue france* v diplomaciji. Na omenjeni konferenci, na kateri so bile zastopane vse zavezniške sile, pa je bilo predlagano, da bi se poleg francoščine za uradna jezika konference določila tudi angleški in italijanski jezik. Med predsedniki, ministri in drugimi predstavniki zavezniških sil se je tako razvila burna razprava, katere rezultat je bil, da sta bila za uradna jezika določena francoski in angleški jezik. Francoščina kot jezik diplomacije je s tem izgubila svoj ekskluzivni prestižni status. Posledično je bilo treba na konferenci zagotoviti tolmačenje vseh govorov v enega od obeh omenjenih jezikov (Baigorri-Jalón 2014, 15–26).

Na omenjeni konferenci sta se uporabljala konsektivno in šepetano tolmačenje, že leta 1924 pa je poslovnež Edward Filene začel razmišljati o možnostih uporabe tehnike manj zamudnega simultanege tolmačenja. Na njegovo pobudo je bila ta tehnika najprej preizkušena na konferencah Mednarodne organizacije dela (ILO), na katerih so sčasoma izboljševali tehnične vidike simultanege tolmačenja, posebna pozornost pa je bila namenjena tudi pripravi in delu tolmačev. Simultana tehnika tolmačenja je bila naposled prvič v velikem obsegu uporabljena na Nürnberških procesih (Baigorri-Jalón 2014, 134–149 in 211–213). Zavezniške sile v Nürnbergu niso več razpravljale o tem, ali bodo procesi izpeljani le v enem ali v dveh jezikih. Zavedale so se namreč, da bi se jim zaradi tega očitalo, da je mednarodni vojaški tribunal le sodišče zmagovalcev. Zato so želele zagotoviti enakovredne pogoje vsem sodelujočim in jim omogočiti, da spremljajo dogajanje v maternem jeziku in da se v njem lahko tudi izražajo (Behr in Corpataux 2006, 26). Tako je bilo treba v Nürnbergu na sojenjih zagotoviti komunikacijo med nemško govorečimi obtoženimi, pričami iz različnih držav in sodiščem, katerega predstavniki so bili pripadniki štirih zavezniških sil in so govorili angleško, rusko ter francosko (Baigorri-Jalón 2014, 211–212). Tudi med sodniki ni bilo mogoče neposredno sporazumevanje, saj ti niso razumeli jezikov, ki so jih govorili njihovi kolegi. Razumevanje je bilo treba zagotoviti tudi širšemu občinstvu in predstavnikom medijev, ki so se prav tako udeležili sojenja (Bowen in Bowen 1985, 74). Čeprav je na začetku sojenj vladala velika skepsa glede te do tedaj nepoznane tehnike tolmačenja in tolmačev, se je simultano tolmačenje po sojenjih v Nürnbergu začelo uporabljati v Organizaciji združenih narodov v New

Yorku in se je nato sčasoma uveljavilo na številnih multinacionalnih srečanjih in dogodkih (Behr in Corpataux 2006, 25).

Čeprav je šlo na Nürnberških procesih za tolmačenje sodnega procesa in je tolmačenje potekalo v sodni dvorani, ga ne moremo šteti zgolj za primer sodnega tolmačenja, temveč za primer simultane konferenčnega tolmačenja na področju prava. Ena izmed pglavitnih razlik med tolmačenjem v sodni dvorani in konferenčnim tolmačenjem na področju prava je namreč dejstvo, ki ga Bowen in Bowen omenjata prav v zvezi z Nürnberškimi procesi. Na procesih namreč ni bilo treba zagotoviti komunikacije samo med obtoženimi in sodiščem, kot je to sicer značilno za tolmačenje v sodni dvorani. Kot je navedeno že zgoraj, je bilo treba komunikacijo omogočiti tudi med vsemi drugimi prisotnimi v sodni dvorani (Bowen in Bowen 1985, 74). Tako lahko torej nürnberške procese označimo tudi kot zibelko simultane konferenčnega tolmačenja.

2 Izzivi konferenčnega tolmačenja na področju prava

Začetki simultane konferenčnega tolmačenja¹ segajo torej v sodne dvorane in s tem na področje prava. Konferenčno tolmačenje na področju prava ne poteka samo v sodnih dvoranah. Pöchhacker v zvezi s tem razlikuje med širšim pojmom tolmačenja na področju prava (*legal* ali *judicial interpreting*) in sodnim tolmačenjem (*courtroom interpreting*) (Pöchhacker 2004, 14).

Pravo je danes zagotovo eno izmed najpomembnejših področij dela tolmačev. V zvezi s tem naj navedemo, da obstaja zelo veliko literature in priročnikov o prevajanju pravnih besedil, o pravni terminologiji in prevajanju pravnih terminov, o jeziku prava ter sodnem tolmačenju. Čeprav je ta literatura seveda uporabna tudi za konferenčne tolmače, žal ne obstaja literatura, ki bi bila v pomoč tolmačem in tolmačinjam, kadar tolmačijo na področju prava v drugem okolju in ne na sodišču. Konferenčno tolmačenje na področju prava se danes uporablja v številnih tolmaških okoljih, na primer na sestankih inštitucij EU, ko člani Sveta EU razpravljajo o novih zakonodajnih predlogih, pa tudi na srečanjih predstavnikov ministrstev za pravosodje ali ustavnih sodnikov dveh ali več različnih držav.

¹ Konferenčno tolmačenje pojmuje kot tolmačenje v okolju, kjer poteka multilateralna komunikacija, kot na primer na konferencah, na katerih se srečujejo delegati in predstavniki različnih narodnosti in iz različnih ustanov (Pöchhacker 2004, 16).

Ob tem se zastavlja vprašanje, s kakšnimi posebnimi izzivi se konferenčni tolmači srečujejo na tovrstnih srečanjih. Na Nürnberških procesih so bili tolmači soočeni z mnogo težavami. Pred samimi procesi po večini še niso imeli izkušenj s simultanim tolmačenjem, le redki so si pridobili tolmaško izobrazbo² in samo nekateri so imeli izkušnje s konsektivnim tolmačenjem. To je bila zagotovo velika ovira, zato so bile v pripravljalnem obdobju zanje organizirane posebne tolmaške vaje, na katerih so tolmači spontano tolmačili brane dokumente in improvizirana zaslivanja. Léon Dostert, tolmač generala Eisenhowerja, je bil zadolžen za rekrutiranje tolmačev in se je zavedal kompetenc, ki jih tolmači potrebujejo za delo. Iskal je predvsem osebe, ki so odlično obvladale vsaj dva jezika, poznale kulturne specifikke in so lahko predložile dokazilo o strokovnem pravnem znanju, ob tem pa so bile obremenljive in odporne proti stresu. Tolmači so se z mnogo težavami srečevali tudi med tolmačenjem na samih sojenjih. Na procesih se je namreč uporabljala zastarela naprava podjetja IBM, s katero so se lahko seznanili le pet dni pred začetkom sojenj (Behr in Corpataux 2006, 27–33).

Konferenčni tolmači se danes zagotovo soočajo z drugimi izzivi. Po večini imajo ustrezno univerzitetno tolmaško izobrazbo, ki jo lahko pridobijo na kateri izmed številnih visokošolskih ustanov za izobraževanje prevajalcev in tolmačev. Med študijem spoznajo različne oblike tolmačenja, med drugim tudi simultano tolmačenje, v katerih se urijo tako pri posameznih predmetih kot tudi na vadbenih konferencah in med opravljanjem študijske prakse. Kljub temu pa je konferenčno tolmačenje na področju prava povezano z mnogimi izzivi. Tovrstni sestanki se poleg pravnih vsebin vedno navezujejo tudi na neko specifično strokovno področje, o katerem si udeleženi želijo izmenjati informacije in izkušnje, ki jih imajo na njem, ali ga želijo pravno urediti. Konferenčno tolmačenje na področju prava je tako vedno tudi interdisciplinarno, obravnava različnih strokovnih področij pa je seveda povezana tudi s terminološko raznolikostjo. Ta je še posebej težavna, saj so termini vedno tesno povezani s kulturno zaznamovanimi prvinami in realijami določenega govornega prostora. V tem smislu obstaja zelo širok nabor znanj, ki naj bi jih po mnenju različnih strokovnjakov, na primer strokovnjakov za primerjalno pravo, pravnikov lingvistov ter prevodoslovcev, pridobili tako študenti tolmačenja kot tudi profesionalni tolmači (Monzó Nebot 2015, 130). Tu se nam zastavlja vprašanje, kako študente tolmačenja pripraviti na tovrstne izzive. Študij tolmačenja naj ne

² Ena izmed najstarejših ustanov za izobraževanje prevajalcev in tolmačev, École d'interprètes de Genève (EIG), je bila ustanovljena leta 1941 v Ženevi.

bi temeljil izključno na poučevanju na podlagi primerov iz prakse, saj tako privzete rešitve niso nikoli splošno uporabne. Zato mora študij vključevati tudi konceptualne vsebine, ki bodo študentom omogočile pridobivanje znanj, ki jih potrebujejo za reševanje težav v medkulturni komunikaciji in za prilagajanje nenehnim spremembam na trgu (Monzó Nebot 2015, 132–133). V tem prispevku se ne bomo omejili na konceptualne vsebine, temveč se bomo najprej osredotočili na opis splošnih kompetenc, ki študentom tolmačenja omogočijo prepoznavanje ter hkrati poznavanje kulturno zaznamovanih prvin in realij posameznega govornega in strokovnega področja, nato pa bomo orisali konkretne izzive predvsem simultanelega konferenčnega tolmačenja na področju prava.

3 Splošne tolmaške kompetence

Setton in Dawrant sta za izobraževanje tolmačev izdelala temeljni okvir, ki je sestavljen iz štirih kompetenc in zagotavlja vsestransko in celovito strokovno znanje s področja tolmačenja. Omenjene splošne kompetence po navedenih avtorjih obsegajo jezik, znanje, spretnosti in sposobnosti ter profesionalizem (LKSP - language, knowledge, skills and professionalism) (Setton in Dawrant 2016, 42). V nadaljevanju sledi kratek opis vsake posamezne kategorije.

3.1 Jezik

Tolmači morajo obvladati tako materni kot tudi tuji jezik, pri čemer jezikovno znanje vključuje poglobljeno razumevanje ter izvrstno aktivno znanje vsakokratnih delovnih jezikov (Setton in Dawrant 2016, 42).

3.2 Znanje

Da lahko tolmač prepričljivo in vsebinsko ustrezno tolmači besedilo v ciljni jezik, mora imeti nadpovprečno raven splošnega enciklopedičnega znanja s področij mednarodnih odnosov, politične geografije, gospodarstva, politike in poslovanja. Prav tako potrebuje nadpovprečno znanje s področij, ki se na tolmačenih dogodkih pogosto obravnavajo, kot sta poslovanje ter upravljanje (npr. bilance in revizije), znanje, potrebno za delo v mednarodnih organizacijah, in znanje v zvezi s potekom konferenc. Tolmači morajo pridobiti tudi sociokulturno znanje o jezikovnih in kulturnih skupnostih svojih delovnih jezikov, imeti specifično znanje s področij, o katerih se razpravlja na tolmačenem dogodku, ter poznati s

tem povezano relevantno terminologijo. Poleg tega je pomembno, da so tolmači seznanjeni s konkretnimi okoliščinami tolmačenega dogodka: kdo so udeleženci, zakaj se bodo sestali, o čem so doslej že razpravljali, kakšno je bilo ozadje dosedanjih razprav, katere teme so relevantne in v čem so bila nesoglasja (Setton in Dawrant 2016, 42).

3.3 Spretnosti in sposobnosti

Setton in Dawrant pripisujeta poseben pomen pridobivanju spretnosti in sposobnosti. Pri tem gre za analitične spretnosti poslušanja oz. t. i. aktivno poslušanje, govorne spretnosti, saj mora biti tolmač sposoben izražati se jasno, koherentno, razločno, samozavestno ter prepričljivo. Pridobiti mora tudi splošne spretnosti, ki omogočajo jezikovni prenos, saj mora biti sposoben prenesti enak pomen v različne jezike, izbrati ekvivalentne in ustrezne izraze skladno s kontekstom (glede na situacijo) ali konvencijami (na primer pri tehničnih terminih). Nadalje velja omeniti sposobnosti, ki so povezane z vrsto tolmačenja in so pri konsekutivnem tolmačenju drugačne kot pri simultanem ali tolmačenju s pisno predlogo. Avtorja v tej zvezi posebej poudarjata kognitivne sposobnosti in spretnosti upravljanja z informacijami, ki tolmaču omogočajo pridobiti in aktivirati ustrezno znanje ter jezik tako, da ju lahko uporabi, ko ju potrebuje. Tukaj gre predvsem za splošne spretnosti raziskovanja informacij in uporabe virov, kot so tiskani ter spletni mediji, ter za pridobivanje znanja s specializiranih področij in obvladovanje terminologije s teh področij. Kompetenci, ki ju je prav tako treba posredovati tolmačem, sta povezani z medkulturno komunikacijo in mediacijskimi spretnostmi, kjer gre za zavedanje, da imajo udeleženci tolmačenega dogodka lahko različno kulturno pogojena ozadja, da morajo biti tolmači pozorni na nesporazume, ki bi se lahko pojavili, itd. (Setton in Dawrant 2016, 42–43).

2.4 Profesionalizem

Profesionalizem kot zadnja komponenta štirih splošnih tolmaških kompetenc zaokroža védenje študentov o spretnostih, normah, načinih ravnanja in znanju, ki jih potrebujejo pri tolmaškem nastopu v realnem življenju. Pri tem gre predvsem za poklicno profesionalnost, to je poznavanje potencialov in omejitev lastnega načina razmišljanja, svojih spretnosti, opreme in delovnega okolja. Etični profesionalizem sestavljajo etični standardi in prakse na tem področju, prav tako pa gre za določanje specifičnih vlog norm in konvencij ter vedenja in drž. Sestavni

del praktičnega profesionalizma so timsko delo, organizacija in menedžment. Tu se tolmač ukvarja s ponudbami in pogodbami, s stalnim razvojem osebnih spretnosti, z odnosi s kolegi in naročniki, upravljanjem lastne kariere, vseživljenjskim učenjem itd. (Setton in Dawrant 2016, 43–44).

Doslej smo predstavili splošne tolmaške kompetence, za katere je zaželeno, da jih študenti pridobijo ne glede na temo dogodka, ki ga bodo tolmačili. V nadaljevanju pa se bomo ciljno osredinili na tiste vidike konferenčnega tolmačenja, ki so v ospredju pri tolmačenju dogodkov s področja prava.

3 Konferenčno tolmačenje in pravo

Setton in Dawrant opredelita kompetence za štiri različna tolmaška makrookolja, in sicer: konferenčno tolmačenje, tolmačenje na področju prava in sodno tolmačenje, tolmačenje za potrebe skupnosti ter tolmačenje v podjetjih in ustanovah (gospodarske družbe in vladne ustanove). Za področje konferenčnega tolmačenja in prava Setton in Dawrant izpostavita naslednje splošne kompetence:

Preglednica 1: Primerjava makrookolja tolmaškega nastopa in potrebnih spretnosti ter sposobnosti.

	Jezik	Znanje	Spretnosti in sposobnosti	Profesionalizem
Skupno	temeljito znanje, zmožnost prilagajanja	raznoliko, specializirano	poslušanje, prenos, govor	splošne poklicne spretnosti, moralnost in zagotavljanje storitev
Konferenčno tolmačenje	velika hitrost, koordinacija prilagodljivosti pri simultanem tolmačenju, različni mediji	poglobljeno znanje, sposobnost ustrezne priprave za posamezno strokovno področje	kratka in dolga konsekutiva, ³ simultano tolmačenje, simultano tolmačenje s pisno predlogo	specifični pogoji dela
Sodišče, pravo	obširne kompetence na področju dialektov in registra (žargon, vulgarizmi, pravni jezik)	splošno znanje ter poznavanje prava	konsekutivno tolmačenje, tolmačenje s pisno predlogo (morda simultano), specifične norme v zvezi z zvestobo do izvirnika	pravni postopki, konvencije, posebne norme na področju nepristranskosti

Vir: prirejeno po Setton in Dawrant 2016, 45.

Kot je razvidno iz zgornjega prikaza, morajo konferenčni tolmači obvladati tako simultano tolmačenje kot tudi simultano tolmačenje s pisno predlogo, poleg tega pa tudi dolgo in kratko konsekutivno tolmačenje. Pri slednjem uporabljajo tehniko zapisovanja, kar velja tudi za tolmačenje na področju prava, kjer morajo tolmači poleg omenjenih vrst tolmačenja poznati tudi specifične norme v zvezi z zvestobo do izvirnika. Obširno splošno znanje mora pri konferenčnem tolmačenju dopolnjevati ustrezna priprava, kar tolmačem omogoča, da tako v vsebinskem kot tudi jezikovnem smislu pokrivajo širok spekter strokovnih področij. Pri sodnem tolmačenju je poleg tega treba poznati sodne postopke in pravno terminologijo. Prav terminologija je lahko na sodišču zelo raznolika, saj

³ Kot "dolga" ali "klasična" konsekutiva se pojmuje konsekutivno tolmačenje z uporabo tehnike zapisovanja, kot "kratka" konsekutiva pa tolmačenje, pri katerem tolmač konsekutivno tolmači krajše odseke brez zapiskov (Pöchhacker 2004, 19).

ne gre samo za pravno terminologijo, temveč se glede na vsakokratne stranke v postopku pojavljajo tudi dialektizmi ter žargonizmi (Setton in Dawarant 2016, 45). Kot je bilo že omenjeno, se pri konferenčnem tolmačenju na področju prava pravne vsebine prepletajo z drugimi strokovnimi vsebinami. Na področju profesionalizma morajo tolmači poznati norme in standarde, ki veljajo v njihovem poklicu, seznanjeni morajo biti tudi s pogoji dela. Pri sodnem tolmačenju in konferenčnem tolmačenju na področju prava se temu pridružijo še poznavanje pravnih postopkov, konvencij in specifičnih norm v zvezi z nepristranskostjo (Setton in Dawarant 2016, 45).

Iz zgornje razprave razberemo, da se sodno tolmačenje in konferenčno tolmačenje na področju prava med seboj razlikujeta. Razlike se kažejo predvsem pri najpogostejši vrsti tolmačenja, tj. pri simultanem tolmačenju; ta vrsta tolmačenja se uporablja pri konferenčnem tolmačenju, pri sodnem pa ne. Tako pri konferenčnem tolmačenju na področju prava kot tudi pri sodnem tolmačenju tolmači simultano tolmačijo s pisno predlogo, vendar je velika razlika v hitrosti podajanja izvirnika. V sodni dvorani je tolmačenje s pisno predlogo podobno konsekutivnemu tolmačenju oziroma "ustnemu prevajanju", tolmač pa ima možnost svoje tolmačenje popravljati. Pri simultanem tolmačenju s pisno predlogo mora tolmač besedilo velikokrat tolmačiti pod velikim časovnim pritiskom, saj je odvisen od hitrosti podajanja besedila govornika, kar ne dopušča časa za popravke (Pöchhacker 2004, 19). Čeprav je treba v obeh okoljih poznati pravno terminologijo, je posebnost sodnega tolmačenja, da govorniki uporabljajo različne žargonizme, vulgarizme ipd., pri konferenčnem tolmačenju pa je tega manj (Setton in Dawarant 2016, 46). V nadaljevanju se bomo posvetili podrobnejšemu opisu specifičnih izzivov simultanelega konferenčnega tolmačenja na področju prava.

4 Posebni izzivi konferenčnega tolmačenja na področju prava

4.1 Kulturna umeščenost pravnega jezika in prava

Kot pri tolmačenju na drugih strokovnih področjih tudi pri tolmačenju na področju prava ne gre zgolj za prenos med dvema jezikovnim sistemoma. Pri pripravi na tolmačenje ne zadostuje le primerjava terminologije izhodiščnega in ciljnega jezika, ki jo tolmač lahko opravi s pomočjo slovarskih pripomočkov. Pri pravu igra pomembno vlogo kulturna umeščenost posameznega pravnega jezika. Posamezni koncepti se namreč navezujejo na določen pravni red in mogoče v

drugem pravnem sistemu sploh ne obstajajo (Dobrić Basaneže 2016, 224). Tako se tolmači pri iskanju popolnega terminološkega ekvivalenta pogosto srečajo z dejstvom, da:

[f]inding an absolute equivalent is very often an illusion because the unit of understanding does not exist in the other language community or does not entirely have the same meaning. (Kerremans 2016, 164)

Pri iskanju ustreznih terminov pa ne zadostuje samo iskanje terminologije v izhodiščnih in ciljnih besedilih:

[...] a legal translator must carefully examine the meaning a legal term has in the source text and then try to find the equivalent in the target text. This is accomplished by comparing both language and legal systems, studying the history of the legal system and taking into account the constant change of law, which can lead to assigning different meanings to a legal term. (Dobrić Basaneže 2016, 227)

Dobrić Basaneže torej izrecno izpostavlja, da je treba poznati zgodovino pravnega reda in upoštevati tudi spremembe v zakonodaji, katerih posledica je lahko tudi to, da ima določen pravni termin več različnih pomenov. Tudi uporabniki tolmačenja se zelo zavedajo, kako pomembna je visoka raven znanja konferenčnih tolmačev na področju prava:

Pri tem mora [tolmač] upoštevati, da imajo posamezni izrazi v pravu lahko drugačen pomen od tistega, ki se uporablja v splošnem jeziku. Ne sme zanemariti niti razlik, do katerih prihaja zato, ker imajo lahko besedno izraženi isti pojmi v različnih pravnih redih različne pomene. Poklic tolmača zato nujno zahteva tudi stalno pridobivanje ustreznih praviških znanj in to iz obeh pravnih redov, ki mu pripadata jezika prevajanja, ker bo le tako lahko prevajanje verodostojno. (Sovdat 2018)

Omenjena znanja lahko tolmač pridobi le z ustrežno ter poglobljeno predhodno pripravo na tolmaški nastop, kar bomo natančneje osvetlili v nadaljevanju.

4.2 Pred tolmaškim nastopom

Za konferenčno tolmačenje so značilne nekatere posebnosti ne glede na področje, ki se obravnava na tolmačenem dogodku. Sam tolmaški nastop v ožjem smislu dejansko poteka na dogodku samem, v širšem smislu pa se začne že takrat, ko tolmač sprejeme naročilo za tolmačenje. Ob naročilu tolmač po navadi prejme tudi osnutek programa dogodka. V zvezi s tem velja omeniti Stolze, ki nazorno opisuje, kako se prevajalec loti prevajanja pravnega besedila. Prevajalec namreč že iz samega naslova besedila pridobi pomembne informacije o vsebini in semantičnem kontekstu besedila (Stolze 2015, 171). Enako velja za tolmača in njegov tolmaški nastop. Tudi on lahko informacije o obravnavani vsebini na dogodku črpa iz prvega osnutka programa in tako začne s pripravo. Po našem mnenju predstavlja ta del priprave najpomembnejši mozaik v celotnem pripravljalnem obdobju. V tem obdobju povečini še ni na voljo konkretnih predstavitev in referatov, tako da tolmač nima možnosti, da bi pripravo osnoval na konkretnih terminih, ki se bodo v tem gradivu pojavili. Zato pa ima priložnost, da se na makro ravni dodobra vsebinsko seznaní s predmetnim pravnim in strokovnim področjem, iskanje terminov pa poteka samo v širšem smislu. Kasneje mu ta priprava omogoči uspešno in učinkovito pripravo na mikro ravni, ko začne z iskanjem konkretnih prevodnih ustrezníc za posamezne termine, ki jih črpa iz prispevkov in gradiva, ki mu je bilo posredovano v pripravo. Iskanje primernih prevodnih ustrezníc je takrat olajšano, saj jih bo znal umestiti v ustrezen vsebinski, kulturni in strokovni okvir.

Priprava za konferenčno tolmačenje na področju prava ne obsega samo priprave na določeno pravno področje. Kot primer naj navedemo bilateralna srečanja ustavnih sodišč različnih držav, kjer ta obravnavajo širok nabor tem, kot so na primer: pravica do osebne identitete, pravice transspolnih oseb, istospolno partnerstvo, zemljiški davek, dedovanje, izvrševanje zaporne kazni in izročitev, nedotakljivost arhivov mednarodnih organizacij, izpodbijanje in ugotavljanje očetovstva, volilni spor pred ustavnim sodiščem, dialog med ustavnim sodiščem in SEU itd. Iz navedenega nabora tem je razvidno, da so konferenčni tolmači na bilateralnih ali mednarodnih dogodkih pogosto soočeni z mnogo več kot le enim samim vsebinskim področjem. Tolmači se morajo zato poprej natančneje seznaniti tudi z drugimi strokovnimi področji in z njimi povezano terminologijo.

4.3 Med tolmaškim nastopom

Na dogodkih s pravnimi vsebinami, na katerih poteka konferenčno tolmačenje, so velikokrat predvidene različne oblike tolmačenja. V t. i. strokovnem delu, ko potekajo predstavitve posameznih tem in nato razprave med udeleženci dogodka, se največkrat uporablja simultano tolmačenje. Udeleženci pa se srečujejo tudi na delovnih zajtrkih in večerjah ali pa obiščejo tudi druge ustanove in institucije v mestu ali državi, kjer dogodek poteka. Na teh srečanjih se povečini uporablja konsektivno tolmačenje. Tolmači tako v enem dnevu včasih uporabljajo vse tri vrste konferenčnega tolmačenja: simultano, konsektivno in šepetano. Za tolmača to lahko pomeni dodaten stres, vendar spremembe v načinu tolmačenja zanj ne smejo predstavljati dodatnih težav.

Posebnost konferenčnega tolmačenja pri omenjeni vrsti dogodkov je tolmačenje s pisno predlogo.⁴ Tolmač v pripravljalnem obdobju poskuša poleg programa dogodka pridobiti tudi predstavitve oziroma prispevke govornikov v pisni obliki, saj mu to gradivo omogoča dober vpogled v vsebinsko področje, ki ga bo obravnaval posamezen predavatelj. Temeljita predhodna priprava tolmaču omogoča, da na dogodku tolmači brez pisne predloge oz. da jo uporablja samo kot pripomoček, na katerem ima označene najpomembnejše informacije in kjer ima na nekaterih mestih pripisane tudi prevodne ustreznice. Velikokrat se zgodi, da tolmači prejmejo prispevke govornikov šele neposredno pred tolmaškim nastopom ali med njim. Tolmač mora takrat tolmačiti s pisno predlogo, kar predstavlja poseben izziv iz več razlogov. V prvi vrsti tolmač v pripravljalnem obdobju ni imel možnosti, da bi se seznanil s vsebino in terminologijo prispevka. Prav tako je pri pisnih prispevkih izjemno težko slediti besedilu, v katerem niso označene najpomembnejše vsebine in podatki. Poleg tega lahko tolmačenje otežuje še hiter tempo govora oziroma branja predavatelja. Predvsem brani prispevki predstavljajo veliko težavo, saj so zapisana besedila strukturirana povsem drugače kot prosto govorjeno besedilo in je iz njih mnogo težje izluščiti vsebino in pomen.

4.4 Kulturna umeščenost terminologije in konkretni primeri

⁴ Tolmačenje s pisno predlogo ali tolmačenje z lista (angl. simultaneous interpreting with text) velja za kompleksno različico simultanege tolmačenja in se razlikuje od prevajanja z lista (angl. sight translation). Tolmač pri tej vrsti tolmačenja prejme poglobitni signal preko akustičnega kanala, govornik pa kljub pisni predlogi iz različnih razlogov, kot je na primer prihranek časa, pogosto odstopa od predloge (Pöchhacker 2004, 19).

Pri tolmačenju na področju prava je pomembna predvsem prehodna tolmačeva priprava na tolmaški nastop. Če želimo razumeti strokovne termine, ki se pojavljajo pri tolmačenju na področju prava, ne bo zadostovalo, da te zberemo in poiščemo ustrezne prevode. Razmeti jih je mogoče le, če poznamo tudi ustrezno strokovno ozadje. Če si tolmač termine razlaga v splošnem jeziku, so formulacije pri tolmačenju nerazumljive.⁵ Če pa tolmač aktivira svoje strokovno predznanje, bo tolmačenje v ciljnem jeziku sprejemljivo (Stolze 2014, 274). Pri tolmačenju na področju prava je še posebej pomembna umestitev govornega besedila v kulturo, pravni red in kontekst. Za tolmača sta pomembna predvsem dva vidika govornega besedila, to je vsebinski ter jezikovnoanalitični vidik. Na podlagi svojega strokovnega znanja ter dodatnih pridobljenih informacij umesti besedilo v ustrezni strokovni oziroma pravni kontekst, kar mu omogoča ustrezno razumevanje slišane. Na podlagi raziskanih informacij in prebranih vzporednih besedil pri ubeseditvi obenem izbira natančne formulacije v ustreznem slogu za obravnavano področje (Stolze 2014, 348).

V nadaljevanju se bomo osredotočili na terminološki vidik priprave na tolmačenje. To bomo osvetlili s primeri, kjer je izhodiščni termin v slovenskem jeziku, kakor tudi s primeri, kjer je izhodiščni termin v nemškem jeziku.

Preglednica 2: Prevod slovenskega termina v slovenščini

Termin v slovenskem jeziku	Nemška ustreznica v splošni rabi	Nemški pravni termin
okrajno sodišče	Kreisgericht	Bezirksgericht
okrožno sodišče	Bezirksgericht	Kreisgericht

Vir: prirejeno po Stolze 2014, 275.

Najprej bomo obravnavali slovenska termina *okrajno* in *okrožno sodišče*. Da lahko izraza pravilno prevedemo, je treba poznati organizacijo sodišč v Sloveniji in pristojnosti posameznega sodišča. Obe sodišči sta del štirih t. i. sodišč splošne pristojnosti, ki imajo različne vsebinske in tudi ločene krajevne oz. teritorialne pristojnosti. Obe sta prvostopenjski sodišči. Poglavitna razlika med njima je, da so *okrajna sodišča* pristojna za kazniva dejanja, za katera je zagrožena zaporna kazen do treh let ali denarna kazen. V pravnih zadevah so pristojna za premoženjske spore, kadar vrednost spornega predmeta ne znaša več kot 20.000

⁵ Stolze na tem mestu dodaja, da so takšne formulacije sicer pogosto tudi razumljive za strokovno publiko, saj ta obravnavano tematsko področje dobro pozna (Stolze 2014, 275).

evrov. *Okrožna sodišča* so v nasprotju s tem pristojna za civilne spore višjih vrednosti in za kazniva dejanja, za katera je zagrožena zaporna kazen več kot tri leta (Zakon o sodiščih – ZS, Uradni list RS 94/07 – uradno prečiščeno besedilo, 45/08, 96/09, 86/10 – ZJNepS, 33/11, 75/12 – ZSPDSL-A, 63/13, 17/15, 23/17 – ZSSve in 22/18 – ZSICT). Če si tolmač želi pomagati s terminologijo iz avstrijskega sodnega sistema, bo ugotovil, da je v Avstriji prvostopenjsko sodišče t. i. *Bezirksgericht*, ki je pristojno za spore z vrednostjo spornega predmeta do največ 15.000 evrov in za kazniva dejanja, za katera je zagrožena zaporna kazen do enega leta ali denarna kazen. Za vse zadeve, ki jih na prvi stopnji ni mogoče dodeliti sodiščem *Bezirksgericht*, je pristojno sodišče *Landesgericht*, ki pa lahko deluje tudi kot drugostopenjsko sodišče, ko se vlagajo pravna sredstva zoper odločbe sodišča *Bezirksgericht* (Bundesministerium für Verfassung, Reformen, Deregulierung und Justiz 2004/2009a in 2004/2009b). V nemškem sodnem sistemu na prvi stopnji delujeta sodišči *Amtsgericht* in *Landgericht*. Sodišče *Amtsgericht* je pristojno za spore z vrednostjo spornega predmeta do 5.000 evrov in za kazniva dejanja z zagroženo zaporno kaznijo do 4 let. Sodišče, imenovano *Landgericht*, deluje tako na prvi kot tudi na drugi stopnji. Na prvi stopnji je pristojno za spore z vrednostjo spornega predmeta nad 5.000 evrov in za kazniva dejanja z zagroženo zaporno kaznijo več kot 4 leta (Bundesministerium der Justiz und für Verbraucherschutz in juris GmbH, n. d.). Pri prevodu izrazov *okrajno* in *okrožno sodišče* se tolmač torej sreča z dilemo, kako ju prevesti. Čeprav so med posameznimi prvostopenjskimi sodišči v Sloveniji, Avstriji in Nemčiji podobnosti, ko gre za pristojnosti, avstrijski termin *Landesgericht* oziroma nemški *Landgericht* ne prideta v poštev, saj gre tukaj za razliko v teritorialni razporeditvi, ki je povezana z avstrijskimi in nemškimi zveznimi deželami. Če pogledamo še zgodovino avstrijskega sodnega sistema, ugotovimo, da so do leta 1993 v Avstriji obstajala tudi sodišča, ki so se imenovala *Kreisgericht*. Tako so se imenovala, ker se niso nahajala v glavnem mestu posamezne zvezne dežele. Na tak način pri predhodni pripravi pridobimo dovolj informacij za prevod slovenskega termina *okrajno sodišče* s terminom *Bezirksgericht*, ki tudi v Avstriji predstavlja najnižjo instanco v organizaciji sodišč. Termin *okrožno sodišče* pa je mogoče prevesti kot *Kreisgericht*, kar je bilo v Avstriji tudi nekoč poimenovanje, ki se je uporabljalo za sodišča na drugi stopnji. Nemški izraz za hierarhično najnižje prvostopenjsko sodišče *Amtsgericht*, kot prevod za slovensko *okrajno sodišče*, lahko tolmač zavrže, saj samostalnik *Bezirk* v nemškem jeziku dejansko tudi pomeni okraj in zato izbere ustreznico *Bezirksgericht*. Če bi tolmač preveril prevoda samo na spletnih straneh, ne da bi se tudi sam podrobneje in primerjalno seznanil z organizacijo sodišč v Sloveniji, Avstriji in Nemčiji, bi lahko prišel do napačnega zaključka. V

spletni izdaji zbornika *Grenzüberschreitende Vollstreckung in der Europäischen Union*, v kateri so opisane težave pri čezmejnem izvrševanju v Sloveniji, je za slovenski termin *okrajno sodišče* zapisana nemška ustreznica *Kreisgericht*, za *okrožna sodišča* pa *Bezirksgericht* (Galič 2011, 214). Dodatna zmeda bi lahko nastala, če bi tolmač preveril večjezično terminološko zbirko *Evroterm*, kjer je za *okrajna sodišča* ponujen nemški termin *Bezirksgericht* ali *Amtsgericht*, za *okrožna sodišča* pa *Kreisgericht* ali *Landgericht*. Izrazov *okrajno* in *okrožno sodišče* torej ni mogoče ustrezno prevesti samo na podlagi omenjene spletne izdaje zbornika in spletnega slovarja, in ne da bi se tolmač pred tolmaškim nastopom natančno seznanil z organizacijo sodišč v vseh treh državah.

Poglejmo še termine *Richtlinie*, *Entscheidung* in *Wahlanfechtungsverfahren* v nemškem jeziku.

Preglednica 3: Prevod nemškega termina.

Termin v nemškem jeziku	Slovenska ustreznica v splošni rabi	Slovenski pravni termin
Richtlinie	smernica	direktiva
Entscheidung	odločitev	odločba
Wahlanfechtungsverfahren	pravni postopek preverjanja veljavnosti volitev postopek o izpodbijanju veljavnosti volitev sodna kontrola o poštenosti volitev	volilni spor

Vir: prirejeno po Stolze 2014, 275.

Če bi samostalniki *Richtlinie* uporabili v splošni rabi, bi ga najverjetneje prevedli kot smernica, saj nam tako svetuje tudi Veliki nemško-slovenski slovar (Debenjak, elektronska različica). Če pa se omenjeni termin pojavi v povezavi z Evropsko unijo, pa *smernica* ni ustrezen prevod, saj gre v tem primeru pri terminu *Richtlinie* za vrsto pravnega akta EU (Evropska unija 1995-2018a). Iz definicije termina *Richtlinie* je razvidno, da se ta termin uporablja za pravne akte EU, ki načeloma niso neposredno veljavni v državah članicah EU, ampak so države

članice dolžne prenesti njihove določbe v nacionalno zakonodajo. Hkrati so obvezane, da Evropski komisiji predložijo besedilo izvedbenega ukrepa, saj ta želi preveriti, ali nacionalni zakonodajni dokument izpolnjuje cilje, ki jih določa direktiva (Evropska unija 1995-2018b). Tolmač mora torej v trenutku, ko se termin pojavi v govorjenem besedilu, na podlagi predhodno pridobljenega znanja in umestitve besedila v ustrezno strokovno področje ali pravni red tega identificirati kot del terminologije EU in ga prevesti z ustreznim slovenskim izrazom *direktiva*.

Podobno lahko navedemo za nemški termin *Entscheidung*. V splošni jezikovni rabi *Entscheidung* pomeni *odločitev*. Če pa se omenjeni termin v govorjenem besedilu uporabi v povezavi s Sodiščem EU, je ustrezen prevod *odločba*. Tolmač pri tem terminu potrebuje dodatno znanje o sodni praksi EU. Nacionalna sodišča imajo namreč možnost, da sodišču EU določena vprašanja predložijo v predhodno odločanje. Pri tem gre v prvi vrsti za zadeve, ko nacionalno sodišče potrebuje razlago prava EU ali ima vprašanje v zvezi z veljavnostjo prava EU, saj bo samo tako lahko izreklo pravilno sodbo v neki zadevi ali v primerih, ko po nacionalnem pravu ni na voljo pravnega sredstva. Predložitevno sodišče po koncu postopka prejme *odločbo* Sodišča EU (Evropska unija 1995-2018c).

Ustrezna priprava in upoštevanje strokovnega področja sta odločilnega pomena tudi pri prevajanju termina *Wahlanfechtungsverfahren*, ki se lahko na primer uporabi, kadar ustavni sodišči dveh držav izmenjujeta izkušnje o volitvah in zagotavljanju poštenosti volilne tekme in izida volitev. Če tolmač termina ne pozna, bo najverjetneje poskusil omenjeni termin prevesti opisno, tako da bo prevedel posamezne dele nemške zloženke, na primer kot *postopek izpodbijanja volitev*. Če pa je tolmač pred tolmaškim nastopom pridobil poglobljeno znanje o volitvah, bo uporabil slovensko ustreznico *volilni spor* (Sovdat 2013).

Iz zgornje razprave sledi, da pri tolmačenju ne zadostuje punktualno iskanje ustreznice samo za tiste termine, ki jih tolmač še ne pozna. Nasprotno, besedila, ki so na voljo za pripravo, je treba videti kot celoto v okviru določene pravne kulture (Stolze 2014, 349) in šele tako je mogoče med pripravo iskati konkretne prevodne ustreznice za posamezne termine. Kot dodaten argument za širšo vsebinsko pripravo naj poudarimo, da tolmač ne more izhajati samo iz gradiva, ki ga prejme vnaprej, saj se med razpravo, kakor tudi v samih prispevkih na tolmačenem dogodku pojavljajo termini, ki jih v gradivu ni.

5 Zaključek

V pričujočem prispevku smo predstavili izzive simultane konferenčnega tolmačenja na področju prava, ki so večplastni ne samo s stališča konteksta konference, kjer je tolmač med drugim soočen z več vrstami tolmačenja, temveč tudi s stališča pravnega jezika ter prava kot strokovnega področja, ki je v veliki meri kulturno pogojeno in se po večini navezuje tudi na druga strokovna področja, ki jih ureja. Opis izzivov je namenjen v prvi vrsti študentom tolmačenja s ciljem celostne predstavitve tolmaške situacije. Da bi lahko študente kar najbolje pripravili na tovrstne tolmaške nastope, Ordóñez-López predlaga, da se v študijske programe vključijo predmeti, pri katerih bo predstavljen ustrezen izbor pravnih vsebin, ki bodo posebej prilagojene bodočim tolmačem (Ordóñez-López 2015, 158). Ker se konferenčni tolmači pri delu srečujejo tudi z drugimi strokovnimi področji, na Oddelku za prevodoslovje v okviru izbirnih vsebin na drugostopenjskem študijskem programu Prevajanje in tolmačenje že izvajamo predmete Osnove nemškega prava in terminologije, Angleška pravna terminologija ter Evropske institucije, na prvostopenjskih študijskih programih pa poleg predmeta Mednarodne organizacije za študijsko leto 2019/20 načrtujemo tudi uvedbo predmeta Družba in kultura nemško govorečih dežel v prevodu. Cilj tega predmeta je razširiti splošne kompetence študentov, ki sta jih Setton in Dawarant navedla v kategorijah znanje, spretnosti in sposobnosti (Setton in Dawarant 2016, 42–43), s tematskimi področji, kot so politika, gospodarstvo, geografija, zgodovina, religija in umetnosti.

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Terminologija, terminografija in prevajalska praksa

NATALIJA ORLIČ

Povzetek Razprava poda kratek teoretičen vpogled v terminologijo in terminografijo ter se usmeri na področje migracij in azila. Skupna analiza migracijskih pojavov v večnacionalnem okolju zahteva tudi terminološko usklajenost in definiranost. V elektronski obliki je dostopen Glosar evropske migracijske mreže „Azil in migracije“, ki izhaja iz praktičnih potreb in zagotavlja čim bolj enotno uporabo terminov. Prispevek razišče razvoj glosarja, njegovo strukturo in uporabnost za prevajalske namene. S praktičnimi primeri in predstavitevijo možnih pasti v slovenščini se definira potreba po prevodu celotnega glosarja v slovenščino, kar bi omogočilo njegovo širšo uporabnost. Istočasno bi slovenski prevod glosarja lahko predstavljal temelj za nadaljnje širjenje glosarja v jezike, ki so v Sloveniji aktualni na področju migracij in azila.

Ključne besede: • terminologija • prevajanje • migracije • azil • glosar •

Terminology, Terminography and Translation Practise

NATALIJA ORLIČ

Abstract The article gives a short theoretical insight into terminology and terminography, with the focus on migration and asylum. A combined analysis of migration phenomena in a multinational environment requires terminological consistency and definition. Stemming from practical needs, the European Migration Network Asylum and Migration Glossary 6.0 is made available online in order to ensure utmost terminological consistency. The article examines the development of this glossary, its structure and usefulness for translation purposes. Practical examples and presentation of potential pitfalls in Slovene serve to justify the need for translating the entire Glossary in the Slovene language, which would enable its wider use. At the same time, the translation of the glossary into Slovene can be the basis for its translations into other languages frequently used in the field of migration and asylum in Slovenia.

Keywords: • terminology • translating • migration • asylum • glossary •

1 Uvod

Z razvojem sodobne družbe in s sodobnim načinom življenja pridobiva prevajalsko delo vse pomembnejšo vlogo, kar povečuje tudi potrebo po izobraževanju in profesionalizaciji na tem področju.¹ Pomembno vlogo pri prevajanju, ki ga razumemo kot preplet kompetenc, znanj in spretnosti, ki omogočajo suvereno pisno in ustno medjezikovno komunikacijo, imata terminologija in terminografija. Jezikovna, besedilna, kulturna, strokovna in medijska kompetenca s prevajalskimi in tolmaškimi spretnostmi privedejo do transferne kompetence, ki predstavlja raven uspešnosti prevajalskega dela.

V sodobnem času se srečujemo s hitro spreminjajočimi se družbenimi pogoji in pojavi. Sočasno s tem se pojavljajo nova znanstvena in strokovna področja, že uveljavljena pa se širijo in dobivajo nove razsežnosti, ki jih včasih ni možno pokriti z že znano in uveljavljeno terminologijo.

Eden od očitnih in zelo zanimivih pojavov zadnje čase je prevajanje na področju migracij in azila, ki poleg vseh drugih izzivov predstavlja tudi specifičen izziv za terminologijo in terminografijo.

2 Terminologija

Iz definicije terminologije, po kateri je ta veda pojmovana kot veda o pojmih in njihovih poimenovanjih v okviru strokovnih jezikov, je razvidna povezanost med strokovnim jezikom, terminologijo in strokovno kompetenco, ki je potrebna za uspešno prevajanje. Terminologija se ukvarja z iskanjem in določanjem večinoma urejenih in standardiziranih terminov ali terminoloških kolokacij med jezikovnimi sistemi.

2.1 Terminologija in strokovni jezik

Vprašanje, ali je upravičeno govoriti o terminologiji ali je terminologija pravzaprav strokovni jezik, je še vedno nerešeno in vsako stališče ima svoje zagovornike. Nekateri terminologijo pojmujejo kot posebno znanstveno disciplino, nekateri pa menijo, da sta terminologija in strokovni jezik le homonimna izraza za isto področje (Bergenholtz in Kaufmann 1997, 91–125).

¹ Izraz prevajanje v tem poglavju zajema prevajanje in tolmačenje.

Felber in Budin podajata argumente za razlikovanje med terminologijo in strokovnim jezikom. Naštejeta 14 razlik, a je utemeljena le ena, in sicer ta, da se terminologija ukvarja s koncepti in termini, ne pa z lingvističnimi znaki. Kageura (2002, 13) meni, da je strokovni jezik del jezika, terminologija pa del strokovnega jezika. Cabre (1998, 65) za razlikovanje med splošnim in strokovnim jezikom navaja sedem kriterijev. Vintar (2008, 14) strokovni jezik razume kot *»vse oblike specializiranega izražanja, tipičnega za stroke, znanost, vede, področja in dejavnosti, ki vključujejo posebno znanje in kjer je mogoče razlikovati med laiki in strokovnjaki«*.

2.2 Terminološka osnova

Osnova vsakega terminološkega dela je vprašanje, kaj je termin. Različni teoretični pristopi ponujajo različne odgovore. Sager (1990) termin opredeli kot jezikovno poimenovanje določenega pojma. Po svoji zunanji obliki se termini ne razlikujejo od drugega besedišča in zato ne moremo oblikovati formalnih kriterijev za razlikovanje terminov od neterminov. Na drugi strani pa to pomeni, da je edini možni kriterij za razlikovanje terminov od neterminov njihova različna funkcija oziroma specializirana raba.

Ker se termini in splošno izrazje prekrivata, lahko določen izraz v splošnem jeziku pokriva določen pojem, v drugih disciplinah oziroma strokovnih jezikih pa različne druge pojme. To lahko v praksi, zlasti če kompetence niso popolne, povzroči nemalo preglavic. Sklepamo lahko, da je odločitev o tem, kaj je termin, izjemno subjektivna in precej odvisna od analize komunikacijske situacije oz. konteksta. Posledično lahko sklepamo tudi, da postanejo irelevantni tisti pristopi, ki poskušajo zajeti značilnost terminov brez upoštevanja konteksta.

Pričakuje se, da sta pojem in termin v razmerju ena proti ena, vendar v realnem strokovnem jeziku temu ni vedno tako. V primerih, ko se za enim terminom skriva več pojmov, bi morala terminologija nastopiti preskriptivno in znotraj strokovnega in znanstvenega jezika določiti termin, ki bi bil s pojmom v razmerju ena proti ena (ali bi bil temu najbližje). Prav ta definiranost pomena² po Vintar (2002, 20) termine oziroma terminološke enote ločuje od splošnih leksikalnih enot ter tvori razliko med terminologijo in leksikologijo.

² Poleg drugih značilnosti, kot so: ena možna reprezentacija pojma, enopomenskost, specializirana referenčnost, dovoljena vsebnost numeričnih znakov, logotipov in simbolov.

2.3 Strokovni (pravni) jezik

Prevajanje na področju migracij in azila, s čimer se v pričujočem poglavju ukvarjamo zaradi njegove specifičnosti, je v zadnjih letih postavljeno v središče strokovne in laične javnosti. Izraziti migracijski tokovi in z njimi povezane dileme in težave na eni strani ter potreba po mednarodnem sodelovanju na drugi so na področju terminologije in terminografije odprli veliko vprašanj. Vsebine področja migracij in azila sodijo na pravno strokovno področje in obsegajo skoraj celoten spekter komunikacijskih situacij, ki se pojavljajo v tej sferi.

Šarčević (1997, 9) pravni jezik opredeljuje kot jezik, ki se uporablja med strokovnjaki za posebne namene, vendar s to opredelitvijo izloči vrsto besedil, ki predstavljajo velik del prevajalskega dela na področju prava – pogodbe, sodbe, dopisovanje med pravniki in oblastjo itn. Značilnost pravnega diskurza je ravno to, da ni omejen le na strokovnjake, temveč je namenjen laični javnosti. Razumevanje konteksta, v katerem se uporabljajo besedila, komunikacijska vloga, komunikacijski dogodek ali aktivnost, razmerje med udeleženci ipd. določajo razpon pravnih besedil in situacij. Vsako vstopanje v nek odnos, ki ima pravne posledice, se lahko obravnava kot pravna komunikacija, besedila, ki izhajajo iz teh situacij, pa kot pravna besedila.

Jezik prava ni enoten. Različni avtorji različno razčlenjujejo vrste pravnih jezikov. Trosborg (1997, 20) področje pravnega jezika razčlenjuje kar na 5 podpodročij: pravo v vsakdanji komunikaciji med ljudmi, pravo v učbenikih, pravniško sporazumevanje (med odvetniki ter med odvetniki in laiki), jezik sodišč in jezik zakonov (zakonodaja in običajno pravo, kamor spadajo pogodbe in listine). Bhatia (1993, 101) govori o primerih in sodbah v sodnih postopkih, posvetovanju med odvetnikom in stranko/mandantom, preiskavi med pravnikom in pričo v govorjeni obliki in zakonodaji – pogodbah in sporazumih – v pisni obliki. Splošno razčlenitev na tri glavne tipe pravnega diskurza ponuja Maley (1994, 16), in sicer ločuje: sodniške odločitve, sodne postopke in zakonodajo. Podobno kot Maley tudi Apovnik (1999, 1385) razlikuje med jezikom zakonodajalca, jezikom pravne doktrine in jezikom pravne prakse.

Ob bolj podrobnem pregledu lahko ugotovimo, da vse delitve pravnih besedil upoštevajo sporočilno funkcijo jezika oziroma besedila in se glede na sporočilno situacijo tudi izoblikujejo v poseben diskurz oziroma skupek posebnih, medsebojno podobnih diskurzov. Tako tudi Visković (1989), ko govori o vlogi

jezika prava, govori tudi o njegovi komunikacijski vlogi, s pomočjo katere se pravno besedilo konstituira.

Podlaga vsega pa je jezik. Igličar že v letu 1988 zapiše: »Eden bistvenih elementov nacionalne narave današnjih držav so seveda nacionalni jeziki. Le-ti so zunanji izraz nacionalne zavesti, tako kot je jezik posameznika zunanji izraz njegove – posameznikove – zavesti« (Igličar 1988, 666). Njegovo stališče se v povezavi s pravnimi besedili ne spreminja, zato zapiše: »Jezik se pojavlja kot nosilec pravnih sporočil in izhodišče za razumevanje pravnih besedil« (Igličar 2004, 236). Tako je tudi jezik prevoda pravnih sporočil izhodišče za razumevanje prevedenih pravnih besedil. Enako velja za tolmačeno komunikacijo.

Poseben status prevajanja pravnih besedil kot specializiranih besedil izhaja iz same narave in opredelitve pravnih besedil kot strokovnih besedil. Tudi v današnjem času se pri določanju, katera besedila spadajo med pravna besedila in katera ne, pojavljajo precejšnje težave. Pravne prevode nekateri avtorji (Weston 1991, 2; Gémar 1995b, 143–154; Garzone 2000, 395) opisujejo kot kategorijo s svojimi posebnimi pravicami, spet drugi pa te iste prevode označujejo kot neke vrste ultimativni jezikovni izziv, ki je povezan z iznajdljivostjo dobesednega prevoda in terminološko preciznostjo tehničnega prevoda (Cairns in McKeon 1995, 191; prim. tudi Gémar 1995a, 9; Pelage 2000, 127).

Prevajanje pravnih besedil od profesionalnega prevajalca zahteva, da poleg odlične jezikovne kompetence dosega višjo raven strokovne kompetence s področja prava in pravne terminologije ter ima poglobljene predstave o jezikovni in terminološki strukturi pravnih besedil.

3 Specifika področja migracij in azila

V zadnjih desetletjih se zaradi konstituiranja evropske zakonodaje se posveča posebna pozornost posveča paralelnim pravnim besedilom, kjer je vloga izhodiščnega besedila izničena. Namesto izhodiščnega besedila in prevoda imamo vzporedna večjezična besedila.

Na drugi strani globalizacija, prost pretok ljudi ter predvsem nova organiziranost držav in novih skupnih in s tem tudi novih oblik povezovanja ustvarjajo področje, ki navkljub nacionalnemu značaju prava zahteva nadnacionalno obravnavo. Prav to tvori specifiko področja migracij in azila.

3.1 Potreba po terminološki primerljivosti in usklajenosti

Ustvarjena situacija zahteva terminološko primerljivost med državami članicami EU, pa tudi širše, in sicer z uporabo skupnih terminov in definicij, ne glede na dejstvo, da naj bi se prepletali tudi povsem različni pravni sistemi. Skupna evropska zakonodaja, kakor tudi povsem praktična potreba po razumevanju in sporazumevanju zahtevata dogovor glede konkretnih terminoloških rešitev, ker sicer ni mogoče zagotoviti niti razumevanja niti uspešnega sodelovanja med državami. Zahtevo po hitri izmenjavi natančnih informacij, kar je na področju migracij in azila ključnega pomena,³ je težko izpolniti brez poenotenja pojmov, definicij in terminologije. Brez tega je medsebojno sodelovanje oteženo, včasih celo onemogočeno, saj je pogosto potrebno premostiti tudi povsem različne koncepte. Prav to je podlaga za začetek organizirane terminografske dejavnosti na področju migracij in azila.

4 Terminografska dejavnost

4.1 Opredelitev terminografije

Terminografija se ukvarja s pojmi in njihovim poimenovanjem ter ureditvijo v terminografskih priročnikih. Po Vintar lahko namen terminografije opredelimo kot:

- *zbiranje in izbiranje terminološkega gradiva;*
- *opisovanje terminologije, ki je na določenem področju trenutno v rabi (deskriptivna terminografija);*
- *predpisovanje terminologije za določeno področje; svetovanje prednostnih terminov (preskriptivna terminografija);*
- *predstavitve zbranih in obdelanih terminov v terminološki zbirki (Vintar 2008, 59).*

Cilj vsakega terminografskega dela je torej terminološka zbirka, ne glede na obseg.

³ Mislimo predvsem na ilegalne migracije, ki so povezane tudi z organiziranim kriminalom in drugimi oblikami kriminalitete.

4.2 Klasifikacija zbirk

Terminološke zbirke so najpogosteje predstavljene kot različne vrste slovarjev. Slovarji so po svoji vsebini in značilnostih lahko jezikovni, enciklopedični in enciklopedično-jezikovni (Andersen 1990, povzeto po Bergenholtz in Kaufmann 1997).

V slovenskem prostoru med leksikografskimi zbirkami, ki se medsebojno razlikujejo, poznamo predvsem slovar, tezaver in glosar. Razlikujejo se po obliki, obsežnosti in vsebini. Bibliotekarski terminološki slovar (Kanič 2009) podaja naslednje definicije:

- slovár -ja m 1. seznam običajno po abecedi razvrščenih in pojasnenih besed; sin. besednjak 2. v podatkovni zbirki seznam besed, šifer, npr. osnovni indeks, frazni indeks;
- tezáver -vra m kontroliran seznam deskriptorjev z navedbo semantičnih in hierarhičnih odnosov ; prim. slovar deskriptorjev;
- glosár -ja m slovar (1), ki je navadno sestavni del kake publikacije in pojasnjuje v njej uporabljene znane in tuje besede.

Če podano razvrstitev primerjamo z Andersenovo, ugotovimo, da glede na informacije, ki jih ponuja leksikografska zbirka, definicija slovarja ustreza jezikovnemu slovarju, saj podaja zgolj informacije o jeziku; glosar ustreza enciklopedičnem slovarju, saj ponuja enciklopedične informacije in le toliko jezikovnih informacij, kolikor je nujno za razumevanje subjekta; tezaver ustreza enciklopedično-jezikovnemu slovarju, saj ponuja tako jezikovne kakor tudi enciklopedične informacije.

Poleg razvrstitve glede na vsebino poznamo tudi razvrstitev po funkcionalnosti; funkcijsko utemeljitev slovarjev ponujata Bergenholtz in Kaufmann (1997).⁴ Večina slovarjev vsebuje več funkcij v kombinaciji, ne glede na vrsto slovarja.

⁴ Bergenholtz in Kaufmann med osnovnimi funkcijskimi nalogami uporabnikov navajata sprejemanje in tvorjenje besedil v maternem jeziku, sprejemanje in tvorjenje besedil v tujem jeziku, prevajanje iz maternega v tuji in iz tujega v materni jezik, pridobivanje enciklopedičnih informacij in pridobivanje jezikovnih informacij.

4.3 Uporabniški vidik

Glede na uporabnike razlikujemo na eni strani laike, polstrokovnjake in strokovnjake (Bergenholtz in Kaufmann 1997), na drugi strani pa strokovnjake, dokumentaliste, prevajalce in terminologe (Vintar 2008, 46). Med navedenimi skupinami se v polni luči kaže subjektivnost in kontekstualnost določitve terminov, o čemer govori Pearson.⁵ Vsaka od teh skupin termine opazuje in določa glede na svoj kontekst:

- Strokovnjaki se s termini ukvarjajo predvsem glede na njihov pomen. Termini imajo vlogo sporočevalca strokovnih vsebin.
- Dokumentalisti sprejemajo termine kot nabor označevalcev in za glavni kriterij štejejo učinkovitost termina, ki se pozneje uporabi za iskanje iz zbirk dokumentov ali priključitve iz njih.
- Za prevajalce so termini kritične točke, saj so za funkcionalnost prevoda posebej pomembni. Smiselni prevod se lahko zagotovi le s podrobnim poznavanjem stroke, saj zgolj prevodna ustreznica ne zadostuje.⁶
- Terminologi se s termini ukvarjajo najbolj poglobljeno. Njihova naloga je zbiranje in vrednotenje strokovnega izrazja, pa tudi soodločanje pri oblikovanju izrazja. Vsekakor je pri terminološkem delu potrebno razjasniti vse primere večpomenskosti ali terminoloških variacij, kar zahteva tesno sodelovanje strokovnjakov in terminologov.

Ugotavljamo, da je za prevajalce najpomembnejši besedilni vidik terminov oz. njihova raba v kontekstu. Zanimivi so primeri, ko se v praksi, na terenu ustvarjajo novi termini. V slovenskem migracijskem in azilnem prostoru sta to na primer »pozitiv« in »negativ«, ki so ju zaradi njune sprejetosti v splošni komunikaciji začele uporabljati tudi uradne osebe s tega področja. Termin »pozitiv« označuje vsako pozitivno rešeno prošnjo, vsak pozitiven sklep ipd. in obratno; »negativ«

⁵ Glej poglavje 2.2.

⁶ Primer: V slovenščini se sklep lahko odpravi ali se razveljavi. V srbskem jeziku je za oba izraza prevodna ustreznica (*rešenje*) *se ukida*. Vendar pa izraz odpravi vsebuje retrogradni pomen, ki ga izraz razveljavi ne vsebuje. Če se sklep o priporu odpravi, se priprta oseba takoj spusti na prostost. Če pa se sklep o priporu razveljavi, se priprta oseba spusti na prostost šele, ko sklep o razveljavitvi sklepa postane pravnomočen. Če torej pogledamo zgolj prevodno ustreznico, termina ne moremo ustrezno prevesti v kontekstu (ne nosi polne informacije), čeprav je prevodna ustreznica ustrezna. Zato je marsikateri terminološki slovar ali priročnik za prevajalce omejeno uporaben in posledično se kaže potreba po izdelavi pripomočka, ki bi ustrezal potrebam prevajalske dejavnosti.

zaznamuje negativno rešitev. Pri tem pa ni relevantno, za kakšen sklep, prošnjo, zahtevek gre. Navedena termina sta logična in naj pri prevajanju ne bi predstavljala večjega izziva, sta pa kazalec pestrega dogajanja ter posledično hitrih sprememb na vseh z migracijami in azilom povezanih področjih, tudi na prevajalskem.

5 Opredelitev Glosarja EMN⁷

Izmenjava informacij o vseh vidikih migracij prispeva k razvijanju že začrtane skupne evropske migracijske in azilne politike. To je dodatno poudarjeno v okviru haaškega programa, ki krepi potrebo po skupni analizi migracijskih pojavov (zbiranje, zagotavljanje, izmenjava in učinkovita raba »svežih« podatkov). Glosar evropske migracijske mreže „Azil in migracije“⁸ je eden od načinov za zagotavljanje objektivnih, zanesljivih in primerljivih podatkov o migracijah in azilu ter ponuja podporo za oblikovanje skupnih politik na evropskem prostoru, kot tudi za informiranje javnosti.

Večnacionalno okolje in multidisciplinarno ozadje kompleksnega področja migracij in azila sta v povezavi z jezikovnimi konteksti in različnimi pristopi (politologija, pravo, sociologija ...) vplivala na oblikovanje različnih definicij in razlik v razlagah določenih terminov. Različne interesne skupnosti in organi (vlade, policija, mejni organi, vladne in nevladne organizacije ...) zaradi pomanjkanja splošno sprejetih definicij terminov pogosto uporabljajo svoje lastne definicije glede na svojo perspektivo. Dodatne zaplete povzroča tudi to, da se uporaba migracijskih terminov razlikuje ne le znotraj področij v eni sami državi, temveč tudi med državami. Vloga glosarja je, da zagotovi čim bolj enotno uporabo zadevnih terminov. Obstoječe opredelitve so bile pogosto nejasne, sporne ali celo protislovne, zaradi česar je opredelitev pojmov prednostna naloga.

5.1 Vloga prevajalca

V tej luči je potrebno upoštevati zahtevnost naloge, ki jo mora izpolniti prevajalec. Njegovo delo je, da zagotovi polno razumevanje med deležniki, pri čemer mora premostiti tudi pomanjkanje splošno sprejetih definicij. Premostiti mora razlike v razlagi pojmov, poznati mora definicije, ki jih oblikujejo interesne

⁷ European migration network (Evropska migracijska mreža).

⁸ V nadaljevanju se uporablja poimenovanje Glosar EMN

skupnosti in organi znotraj enega pravnega sistema, kot tudi med dvema pravnima sistemoma.

V kolikor prevajalec pojmov in terminov ne pozna ali ne prepozna, jih ne more ustrezno posredovati v drugem jeziku. Potreba, da bi bil tovrstni glosar prevajalcem dostopen, je torej razumljiva.

Poleg navedenega je treba upoštevati še en pomemben vidik prevajalskega dela. Brez dela prevajalcev bi bilo onemogočeno zagotavljanje človekovih pravic. Kvaliteta prevajalskega dela je sorazmerna s kvaliteto prenesenih informacij in korespondira z ravno razumevanja prenesenih informacij. Prevajalec prevod prilagodi glede na oris povprečnega uporabnika. Glede na ciljnega uporabnika ga prilagaja besedilno, slogovno ipd.

Raziskave kažejo, da je koncept migracij in azila uporabnikom pogosto slabo znan oziroma neznan. Posledično je tudi njihova raven razumevanja terminologije nižja. Zato je za prevajalce pomembno, da poznajo in razumejo vse različice, ki pokrivajo določen priporočeni ali sprejeti termin, da bi lahko dosegli visoko raven razumevanja posredovane informacije.

5.2 Razvoj glosarja

Potreba po zagotavljanju skupno definiranih pojmov in terminološke usklajenosti, ki postaja nujnost, ima svoje korenine v 70. letih prejšnjega stoletja. Poskusi oblikovanja terminološke zbirke se znova pojavijo v 80. letih. Z razvojem in dostopnostjo tehnologij se je vzpostavil spletni Glosar migracij in azila. Glosar se nenehno dopolnjuje in je dostopen na spletu, vsakih nekaj let pa izide tiskana verzija; prva je izšla leta 2010 (verzija 1.0). Dobra praksa in prepoznavanje potreb širšega nabora deležnikov sta leta 2012 pripeljali do dobre prakse objave tiskanih verzij glosarja ne samo v angleškem, temveč tudi v francoskem, španskem, italijanskem, nemškem in portugalskem jeziku.⁹ Istega leta je izšel tudi dvojezični arabsko-italijanski glosar. Izdaja v litvanskem jeziku je sledila leta 2013.¹⁰ Leta 2014 je bila objavljena verzija 3.0, in sicer v angleškem jeziku. Naslednja tiskana izdaja je izšla marca 2018 in predstavlja zadnjo verzijo 6.0, ki vsebuje 29 novih terminov.

⁹ Leto izdaje je 2012, verzija objavljenega glosarja 2.0.

¹⁰ Verzija 3.0.

5.3 Struktura Glosarja EMN

Eden od osnovnih temeljev Glosarja EMN je hierarhična ureditev virov, iz katerih se črpajo opredelitve pojmov. Temeljni kriterij pri tem je pomembnost vira.¹¹ Na ta način se določata termin, ki se uporablja ter prednostni termin.

Termini so urejeni po abecednem redu. Ponekod je razviden namen, da bi termine, povezane z migracijami in azilom, povezali. Podani so v ednini (ne množini), in kolikor je to možno, semantično spolno nezaznamovani. Glede na to, da je delovni jezik angleščina, se v glosarju uporabljajo angleške kratice za hierarhična razmerja med termini.

Razmerja, ki se pojavljajo med termini so:

- sopomenka (angl. synonym): pomen sopomenke in pomen termina v širokem spektru kontekstov se lahko obravnavata kot enaka in sta medsebojno zamenljiva;
- nadpomenka (angl. broader term – BT): označuje odnos med določenim terminom in bolj generičnim terminom;
- podpomenka (angl. narrower term – NT): označuje odnos med generičnim in bolj specifičnim terminom. *Ekonomski migrant* je na primer nadpomenka termina *delovni migrant* in obratno, *delovni migrant* je podpomenka termina *ekonomski migrant*;
- povezani termin (angl. Related term – RT): označuje odnos med termini, ki niso povezani hierarhično, ampak asociativno; povezava med terminoma mora biti eksplicitno označena, da bi lahko alternativne termine uporabili za indeksiranje ali iskanje dokumentov.

Ob vsakem terminu so ob angleški iztočnici zapisane ustreznice v jezikih večine držav članic, sledi dogovorjena definicija ter navedba vira. V nekaterih primerih ni mogoče podati direktnega prevoda oziroma ekvivalentne prevodne ustreznice

¹¹ Hierarhično urejeni viri po pomembnosti: 1. direktive/predpisi/sklepi EU; 2. drugi subjekti EU, vključno z Evropsko komisijo, Eurostatom, Frontexom, Agencijo za temeljne pravice nacionalne točke za vključevanje, Eurojustom, Europolom; 3. mednarodne pogodbe in protokoli (proti tihotapljenju, trgovanju, Palermška konvencija?); 4. glosarji, ki so jih oblikovali UNHCR, ILO, Svet Evrope, IOM, OECD; 5. drugi evropski subjekti/projekti.

in namesto le-te je naveden termin, ki v največji meri zajema podano definicijo. Pojavljajo se tudi primeri, ko imajo države članice enak nominalni jezik (npr. Avstrija in Nemčija, Belgija, Francija in Nizozemska itn.), a navedene z lastnimi akronimi. Tako je na primer termin *status subsidiarne zaščite* (angl. *Subsidiary Protection Status*) v Avstriji (AT) preveden kot *Status des vorübergehend Schutzberechtigten*, medtem ko je to v Nemčiji (DE) *Subsidiärer Schutzstatus*. V drugih primerih, kjer te razlike ni, se uporablja akronim za skupen nacionalni jezik (AT/DE).¹² Kjer koli je bilo možno in relevantno, je vključena tudi različica glede na spol, tudi pri nadpomenkah (BT). Na primer: *migrant* – AT/DE *Migrant(in)*.

5.4 Določanje terminov

Eden od pogojev za vključitev termina v glosar je, da se termin z določenim pomenom uporablja na ravni EU, kar pomeni, da se na evropski ravni lahko sprejme definicija določenega termina, ki se razlikuje od definicije, ki obstaja na nacionalni ravni. Takšen primer je termin *otrok*, ki v slovenski zakonodaji pomeni mladoletno osebo do dopolnjenega 14. leta starosti. Z oblikovanjem skupne evropske migracijske zakonodaje so se razlike med pojmovanjem termina *otrok* pojavile z vsemi svojimi posledicami. V drugih državah namreč termin *otrok* ne označuje nujno mladoletne osebe do 14. leta starosti. Ponekod je ta meja 12 ali 16 let, drugod 20 let. V praksi to pomeni, da bi lahko osebo, staro 12 let, v skladu z zakonodajo določene države obravnavali kot odraslo, čeprav je v matični državi morda formalnopravno še otrok, s tem pa bi ji odrekli posebno skrb, ki je namenjena otrokom kot ranljivi skupini. Zato je dobil termin *otrok* na področju migracij in azila povsem nov pomen in označuje osebo do dopolnjenega 18. leta starosti.

Nekateri termini so za mednarodno rabo sprejeti dogovorno, kot so dogovorno sprejeti prednostni termini (oz. termin, ki naj bi se uporabljal namesto sinonima), čeprav je sinonim lahko na nacionalni ravni rabljen kot prednostni izraz. Termin *odstranitev* (angl. *removal*) je na primer prednostni termin glede na sinonimni termin *deportacija* (angl. *deportation*).

¹². Razlike so prav zaradi nacionalne narave prava in vzpostavljene pravne kulture?

6 Uporabnost

Glosar je bil in je še vedno namenjen predvsem strokovnim delavcem s področja migracij in azila, uporabljajo pa ga lahko tudi drugi deležniki. Po naravi je glosar preskriptiven in uporaben za dekodiranje¹³ in nekoliko manj za enkodiranje. Obseg glosarja je relativno majhen, mikrostruktura pa relativno enostavna. Ker je angleščina danes *lingua franca* in delovni jezik v mednarodnem sporazumevanju, so iztočnice v tem slovarju v angleščini. Do leta 2012 so bili alfabetařij, kot tudi razlage, definicije in viri v angleškem jeziku. Iztočnici v angleščini sledijo prevodne ustreznice termina v drugih jezikih. Teh je pri določenih terminih več, pri drugih manj, odvisno od obdelave terminov v ustreznih državnih službah ter števila držav članic EU in drugih pomembnejših emigracijskih držav.

Da bi bilo dopolnjevanje glosarja lažje in njegov razvoj hitrejši, je dogovorjeno, da bo glosar obstajal predvsem v elektronski obliki, ki se bo sproti dopolnjevala in nadgrajevala. To je odprlo tudi možnost, da se viri podajo v obliki hiperpovezav. Za prevajalce in tolmače je to izjemno pomembno, saj s pomočjo teh hiperpovezav dostopajo do že prevedenih dokumentov. Poleg definicije jim je v pomoč tudi kontekstualizirana raba termina v vseh dostopnih jezikih. Kot ovira se še vedno kaže potreba po znanju angleškega jezika, saj je uporaba spletnega glosarja brez znanja angleščine praktično nemogoča.

7 Raba Glosarja EMN

Prevajalci, tolmači in drugi deležniki, ki imajo stik s področjem migracij in azila ali imajo potrebo po spoznavanju področja in terminologije, lahko glosar uporabljajo kot izobraževalni pripomoček, saj poleg prevodnih ustreznic vsebuje zapisane definicije in opombe oziroma pojasnila. Pomen glosarja za prevodoslovje se kaže tudi v možnosti dokaj enostavnega širjenja glosarja s prevodnimi ustreznicami v drugih jezikih. Vsekakor ima glosar svoje posebno mesto tudi znotraj terminografije za prevajalske namene. Velik problem pa predstavlja dejstvo, da je za uporabo tega pripomočka nujno znanje angleščine na dokaj visoki ravni, ker je za kompetentno prevajalsko delo potrebno ne samo pogledati prevodne ustreznice, temveč tudi razumeti opombe. V opombah je namreč zapisana vsa paleta različnega sprejemanja določenega termina oziroma

¹³ Za strokovne delavce, matere govorce slovenskega jezika je osnovna smer glosarja dekodirna, saj zaradi mednarodne komunikacije, ki poteka v angleškem jeziku, dekodirajo predvsem iz angleškega v slovenski jezik.

konceptov, ki so v ozadju. Tako se na podlagi jezikovne bariere iz uporabe glosarja izključi pomembno število prevajalcev in drugih deležnikov.

7.1 Glosarji s področja migracij in azila v slovenskem jeziku

V slovenskem jeziku imamo na voljo samo Glosar Mednarodne migracijske mreže (IOM),¹⁴ ki vsebuje veliko manj podatkov kot zgoraj omenjeni Glosar EMN. Mednarodna migracijska mreža (IOM)¹⁵ je leta 2004 objavila Glosar migracij (*Glossary of migration*), ki je klasičen terminološki glosar. Ponovno je izšel leta 2011. Med prvo in drugo izdajo je bil glosar preveden v 14 jezikov, med katerimi je tudi slovenščina. V predgovoru k slovenski izdaji iz leta 2006 je regionalna predstavnik IOM Argentina Szabados zapisala: »Migracijski izrazi so se v veliki meri že ustalili v slovenski zakonodaji in praksi, seveda pa z veliko dinamiko na tem področju prihaja do novih pojmov, za katere še iščemo primerne izraze v slovenščini. Upamo, da bo ta publikacija v pomoč vsem, ki delajo na migracijskem področju in se srečujejo z izrazni migracijske terminologije in pomenov.« Zanimivo je, da so alfabetařij in termini kljub slovenski izdaji v angleščini. Prevodna ustreznica termina je navedena na začetku razlage termina in ni posebej označena ali poudarjena. Že to samo po sebi kaže, da ima glosar predvsem dekodirno funkcijo in je namenjen razumevanju terminov v angleških besedilih. Na drugi strani je pa to edini glosar, ki vsebuje pojasnila v slovenskem jeziku, zato prevajalec, ki ne operira z angleškim jezikom, lahko posledično samo v njem najde razlago pojmov v slovenskem jeziku.

7.2 Praksa

V praksi to pomeni, da se problem lahko pojavi prav pri terminološki usklajenosti in ustreznosti. Kot primer podajamo termin *deportacija*. V slovenski izdaji Glosarja migracij (IOM) iz leta 2006 je geslo *deportation* zapisano, kot kaže slika 1.

¹⁴ Dostopno na: <http://publications.iom.int/books/international-migration-law-ndeg1-glossary-migration>.

¹⁵ International migration network.

deportation	deportacija: Ravnanje države pri izvrševanju svoje suverenosti, ko tujca s svojega območja odstrani na drug kraj, potem ko mu je zavrnila vstop ali mu je poteklo dovoljenje, da se lahko tam biva. Glej tudi <i>expulsion, refoulement</i> .
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Slika 1: Termin deportacija v Glosarju IOM

Vir: http://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/iml_8_slo.pdf.

Iz slike 2 so razvidne informacije, ki so podane ob terminu *deportacija* v prvi tiskani izdaji Glosarja EMN¹⁶ iz leta 2010.

Deportation		
AT/DE/LU	Abschiebung	<p>The act of a State in the exercise of its sovereignty in removing an alien from its territory to a certain place after refusal of admission or termination of permission to remain.</p> <p>Source: UNHCR International Thesaurus of Refugee Terminology</p> <p>Synonym: Removal (preferred term)</p> <p>Related Term: Expulsion</p> <p>Note: For the EMN, and because of the variations in its meaning between Member States, Removal is the preferred term to use. For example, in IE, DE, UK, Deportation is defined in legislation, whilst in ES, NL, PT it is not used as a legal term and is applicable only as general concept by the public, sometimes with a negative connotation.</p>
DK	udvisning	
EE	väljasaatmine	
ES	No translation	
FI	karkottaminen	
FR/BE/LU	déportation; éloignement (LU)	
GR	απέλαση	
HU	kitoloncolás	
IE	ionnarrbadh	
IT	espulsione	
LT	deportacija	
LV	izraidīšana	
NL/BE	uitzetting	
PL	deportacja	
PT	deportação	
SE	avvisning/utvisning	
SI	odstranitev, deportacija	
SK	vyhostenie	

Slika 2: Termin deportacija v Glosarju EMN iz leta 2010.

Vir: <https://www.emn.at/en/publications/glossary/>.

Kot lahko razberemo, je prednostni (zaželeni) termin *odstranitev* in ne *deportacija*, ki se uporablja v javnosti kot splošni pojem, včasih tudi z negativno konotacijo.

V izdaji Glosarja EMN iz leta 2012 *deportacija* in *odstranitev* nista več predstavljena kot sinonimna termina, temveč je kot prednostni podan termin *odstranitev*, čeprav sta kot slovenski prevodni ustreznici še vedno sinonimno navedena oba termina, odstranitev in deportacija, kar je razvidno iz slike 3.

¹⁶ Vsi glosarji EMN so dostopni na: <https://www.emn.at/en/publications/glossary/>.

Deportation		
AT/DE/LU	Abschiebung	The act of a State in the exercise of its sovereignty in removing an alien from its territory to a certain place after refusal of admission or termination of permission to remain.
DK	udvisning	
EE	väljasaatmine	Source:
ES	expulsión	UNHCR International Thesaurus of Refugee Terminology
FI	karkottaminen	Related Term:
FR/BE/LU	éloignement	Expulsion
GR	απέλαση	Notes:
HU	kitoloncolás	1. Use Removal (preferred term)
IE	ionnarbadh	2. For the EMN, and because of the variations in its meaning between Member States, Removal is the preferred term to use. For example, in IE, DE, UK, Deportation is defined in legislation, whilst in ES, NL, PT it is not used as a legal term and is applicable only as general concept by the public, sometimes with a negative connotation.
IT	espulsione/ deportazione	
LT	deportacija	
LV	piespiedu izraidīšana	
MT	Deportazzjoni	
NL/BE	uitzetting	
NO	utsendelse / uttransportering	
PL	deportacja	
PT	deportação	
RO	returnare	
SE	utvisning	
SI	odstranitev / deportacija	
SK	vyhostenie	

Slika 3: Termin deportacija v Glosarju EMN iz leta 2012.

Vir: <https://www.emn.at/en/publications/glossary/>.

V zadnji tiskani izdaji, ki je izšla leta 2016, se termin *deportacija* v alfabetařiju sploh ne pojavi. Naveden je samo termin *odstranitev*, kot je razvidno iz slike 4. Pri prevodni ustreznici v slovenskem jeziku termina *deportacija* več ni, je pa zapisan kot sinonim.

removal	
BG	извеждане
CS	vyhoštění
DE	Abschiebung
EL	απομάκρυνση
ES	expulsión
ET	väljasaatmine
FI	maasta poistaminen
FR	éloignement
GA	aistriú
HU	kitoloncolás
IT	allontanamento
LT	išsiuntimas
LV	piespiedu izraidīšana
MT	Tnehhija
NL	uitzetting / verwijdering
PL	odesłanie (wyjazd)
PT	afastamento
RO	îndepărtare de pe teritoriu / returnare
SK	odsun
SL	odstranitev
SV	avlägsnande
NO	uttransportering

<p>Definitions</p> <p>In the global context, the act of a state in the exercise of its sovereignty in removing an alien from its territory to a certain place after refusal of admission or termination of permission to remain.</p> <p>In the EU context, the enforcement of the obligation to return, namely the physical transportation out of the EU Member State.</p> <p>Sources</p> <p>Global context: UNHCR International Thesaurus of Refugee Terminology</p> <p>EU-context: Art. 3(5) of Directive 2008/115/EC (Return Directive)</p> <p>Synonym</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * deportation <p>Broader term</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * forced return <p>Narrower term</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * removal order <p>Related terms</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * expulsion * return decision * voluntary departure <p>Notes</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Under EU legislation, removal is a specific form of forced return. 2. While deportation and removal often are understood as synonyms, deportation is not used as a legal term in all EU Member States (only DE, FI, IE and UK define 'deportation' in their legislation) and is only applicable as a general concept by the public, sometimes with a negative connotation. Because of this variation, 'removal' is the preferred term to use. 3. In DE deportation and removal are defined in legislation (Sect. 57 and 58 of the Residence Act) and have different meanings. In FI deportation is synonymous with removal only in cases of a foreign citizen who: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - resides in the country under a fixed term or permanent residence permit issued by Finnish authorities; - resides in the country and whose residence has been registered as provided in this Act; or - continues to reside in the country after his or her residence permit, registered residence or residence card has expired (Sect. 143 of the Finnish Aliens' Act).

Slika 4: Termin odstranitev v Glosarju EMN iz leta 2018.

Vir: <https://www.emn.at/en/publications/glossary/>.

Prevajalec, ki (zaradi jezikovne ovire) lahko uporablja samo Glosarj IOM, ne bo ustrezno sledil terminološkimi zahtevam, ki so oblikovane in trenutno veljavne na ravni EU, saj se bo v prvi vrsti oprl na njemu dostopne vire. Ne gre pričakovati, da bo vsak prevajalec, ne glede na delovne jezike, obvladal angleščino v tolikšni meri, da bo lahko uporabljal pripomočke v angleškem jeziku.

Glede na to da je termin *deportacija* še vedno v uporabi kot splošni koncept in je celo naveden kot sinonimen, lahko termin ustvari vtis ustreznosti in pride do terminološkega spodrsnjaja. To je še bolj verjetno v primerih, ko podatke črpamo iz gradiva v jeziku, ki nam je bodisi slabo znan bodisi neznan. Tako nekdo, ki ne obvlada angleščine, ne more vedeti, da je termin *deportacija* »rezerviran« zgoj za določene primere. Če pogledamo opombe pri terminu *odstranitev* v zadnji različici Glosarja EMN (slika 4), vidimo, da je *odstranitev* definirana kot vrsta prisilnega vračanja. Vpeljan je termin *izgon* (ki je tudi vrsta prisilnega vračanja) kot izraz, ki se pogosto razume kot sinonimen s terminom *odstranitev*. Nato sta pojasnjeni uporaba termina *deportacija* in razmerje med termini v posamičnih primerih oziroma določenih državah.

Šele po seznanitvi z vsemi izjemami se lahko prevajalec odloči, kdaj bo uporabil kateri termin, in lažje razume, zakaj je na primer v finskem besedilu enkrat uporabljen termin *deportacija* in drugič *odstranitev*.

Tiskana verzija Glosarja EMN¹⁷ podaja vire za terminologijo (slika 4), ki so v spletni verziji pravzaprav hiperpovezave. Tako pri terminu *deportacija* podaja hiperpovezavo na Direktivo 2008/115/ES Evropskega parlamenta in Sveta o skupnih standardih in postopkih v državah članicah za vračanje nezakonito prebivajočih državljanov tretjih držav z dne 16. decembra 2008, objavljeni v jezikih vseh držav članic EU. S pomočjo nadaljnje povezave se izbere slovenska različica in pridobi vir v slovenskem jeziku.¹⁸ Tovrstna ureditev je izjemno pomembna, saj vsakemu uporabniku omogoča pregled vira in definicij v lastnem jeziku, ne da bi za to poleg podane definicije potrebovali še veliko prostora za izpis definicij v vseh jezikih, vključenih v glosar.

Če sledimo mednarodnemu viru, ugotovimo, da sta termina *deportacija* in *odstranitev* v mednarodnem kontekstu v drugačnih razmerjih kot na evropski ravni. To je še en pomemben dejavnik pri sprejemanju terminološke odločitve. Potrebno je vedeti, s katere ravni (mednarodne ali evropske) izhaja prevajalsko delo. Potrebno se je zavedati, da je skupna evropska zakonodaja in s tem tudi skupna definiranost terminologije nova, višja raven nacionalne zakonodaje.

¹⁷ Dostopno na:

https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/glossary_en.

¹⁸ Dostopno na:

<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/SL/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:32008L0115&from=EN>.

8 Uporabnost glosarja

Izdaja Glosarja EMN s slovenskim alfabetarjem bi bila izjemen prispevek v slovenskem jeziku za področje prava in pravne znanosti, terminološko in terminografsko dejavnost ter odlično orodje za vse deležnike, tudi prevajalce in tolmače, saj ta glosar zadovolji kar nekaj specifičnih prevajalskih potreb. Prevajalcu nudi dovolj podatkov za spoznavanje strokovnega področja, razlage rabe terminov, podaja razlike v uporabi sinonimnih terminov ter ponuja večjezične primerljive vire in primere rabe znotraj virov, kakor tudi možnost nadaljnje rabe virov v korpusih, kar so osnovni parametri prevajalcu prijaznega glosarja.

9 Zaključek

Področje migracij in azila ne izgublja aktualnosti. Če poleg tega upoštevamo še nabor jezikov, ki so v Sloveniji aktualni na področju migracij in azila, bi bilo zelo smiselno razmisliti o izdaji slovenske različice Glosarja EMN. Možnost enostavnega vključevanja drugih jezikov odpira možnost za dopolnitev, ki bi vsebovala še ustrezne termine v (za Slovenijo) aktualnih jezikih. Tako bi pridobili izjemno prevajalsko in strokovno orodje in s tem omogočili prevajalcem, da v polni meri prispevajo k spoštovanju in uveljavljanju človekovih pravic.

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Tolmačenje kot komunikacijski dogodek

NATALIJA ORLIČ, MARTA BIBER IN SIMON ZUPAN

Povzetek Komunikacija predstavlja enega od temeljev sodobne družbe, tolmačenje pa eno od njegovih pomembnih pojavnih oblik. Ker gre za novejšo vrsto komunikacijskega dogodka, je njegovo notranjo dinamiko smiselno primerjati z obstoječimi komunikacijskimi dogodki. V poglavju je uvodoma predstavljen teoretski model, ki razloži vloge posameznih udeležencev komunikacijskega dogodka in njihova medsebojna razmerja. Upoštevani so vidiki naročnikov, tolmačev in oseb, ki potrebujejo tolmačenje. Opisani so pogoji, ki morajo biti izpolnjeni za uspešno izvedbo komunikacijskega dogodka: informacije o naročniku, predvidenem dogodku, njegovih vsebinah, ciljnih poslušalcih in drugih dejavnikih, ki lahko prevesijo jeziček na tehtnici. Prispevek naročnika opozarja na pasti in zanke, s katerimi se lahko sooči pri organiziranju in izpeljavi dogodka s tolmačem, s poudarkom na tolmačenju za skupnost.

Gljučne besede: • komunikacijski dogodek • tolmačenje za skupnost • priprave na tolmačenje • izbira tolmača • stranka •

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Interpreting as a Communicative Event

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Abstract Communication is among the cornerstones of modern society, with interpreting having become one of its more prominent manifestations. Given that interpreting is a relatively recent phenomenon, it is reasonable to consider its inner dynamics and compare it to that of other communicative events. The chapter opens with a presentation of the theoretical model explaining the roles of individual participants in the communicative event and their mutual relations and considering factors such as the clients commissioning interpretation, the interpreters and those who need interpretation services. The conditions required for a communicative event to be successful are described from providing the interpreter with information about the client, the event and its content, to the target audience and other factors that can ultimately make the communicative event successful or unsuccessful. The chapter highlights the pitfalls that commissioners can expect when organizing an event involving interpretation, particularly in community interpretation.

Keywords: • communicative event • community interpreting • preparation for interpreting • choosing an interpreter • client •

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1 Uvod

Uspešna komunikacija je v zgodovini vselej igrala pomembno vlogo. V današnjem času narašča število sporazumevalnih situacij, ki vključujejo tolmačenje kot govorjeno obliko medjezikovnega posredovanja. Kljub naraščajočim potrebam po tolmačenju pa laična javnost tolmačenje še vedno dojema kot delo, pri katerem je pomembno zgolj jezikovno znanje tolmača. Ob tem je treba poudariti, da za dobro in uspešno komuniciranje ni odgovoren samo tolmač, temveč vsi sodelujoči v komunikacijskem dogodku. Vsi tolmači namreč ne tolmačijo enako uspešno na vseh področjih, saj se praviloma specializirajo za posamezna področja, občasno celo za posamezne tehnike tolmačenja (prim. Setton in Dewrant 2016, 45). V kolikor naročnik za tolmačenje izbere tolmača, ki zaradi različnih, objektivnih in subjektivnih razlogov ne more ustrezno opraviti določene naloge in ne more zadostiti zahtevam komunikacijske situacije, je večja možnost, da komunikacijski dogodek ne bo dosegel zahtevane ravni in ciljev. V poglavju je uvodoma predstavljen teoretski model, ki opisuje netolmačene in tolmačene komunikacijske dogodke, v nadaljevanju pa pogloblitve značilnosti tolmačenih dogodkov, vključno s priporočili za naročnike tolmaških storitev, še posebej s področja tolmačenja za skupnosti.

2 Jezik kot sistem znakov

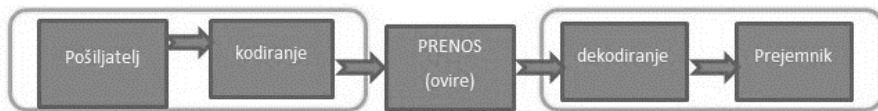
Osnovno sporazumevalno orodje je jezik, ki ga sestavlja skupek kodov (sistemov dogovorjenih znakov ali simbolov) za označevanje pojavov in pojmov iz predmetnega in nepredmetnega sveta. Z njimi se teoretsko ukvarja semiologija,¹ splošna znanost o kodnih sistemih, ki se pojavljajo v človekovem družbenem življenju. Eno od temeljnih vprašanj v semiologiji je, kako določiti kod, tj. pojav, ki za človeka označuje nek drug pojav. Človek torej med interpretacijo koda za njim razbere drug zunajznakovni fenomen. Kod je lahko omejen tudi zgolj na tiste fenomene, ki človeku nekaj pomenijo in se uporabljajo v medsebojni komunikaciji (Škiljan 1987). Jasno je, da je jezik na splošno kodni sistem, vsak posamični jezik pa predstavlja posamičen kodni sistem s specifičnimi povezavami. Za uspešno medsebojno komunikacijo morajo ljudje uporabljati enak kodni sistem ali morajo pretolmačiti en kod v drugega, pri čemer se mora

¹ *Ferdinand de Saussure* je to znanstveno področje poimenoval semiologija, Charles Sanders Peirce pa ga imenuje semiotika. Dvojnost poimenovanja se je obdržala do današnjih dni, pri čemer je poimenovanje semiologija bolj značilno za frankofonsko območje, semiotika pa za anglofonsko.

ohraniti pomen fenomenov, ki jih kodi označujejo. David in Frank Johnson oblikujeta tezo, da je »komunikacija med dvema osebam učinkovita, ko si prejemnik razlaga sporočilo tako, kot si želi tvorec« (Johnson in Johnson 1997, 158).

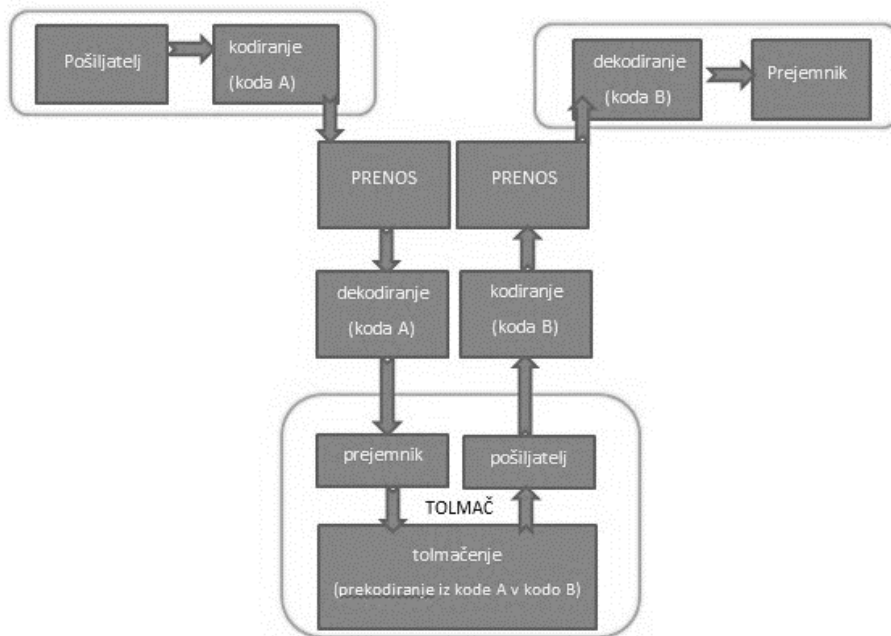
2.1 Komunikacijski model

Splošni komunikacijski model, ki sta ga leta 1949 razvila Shannon in Weaver, ponuja linearno videnje komunikacije dveh sogovornikov, ki uporabljata isti kodni sistem oziroma kod. Proces komunikacije po tem modelu vključuje naslednje: (1) kodiranje fenomenov v znani kod (pri pošiljatelju), (2) prenos ter (3) dekodiranje iz znanega koda v fenomene (pri prejemniku), kot prikazuje slika 1.



Slika 1: Shannon-Weaverjev komunikacijski model

Potreba po tolmačenju nastane, ko želita osebi medsebojno ustno komunicirati, a ne obvladata istega kodnega sistema, zaradi česar potrebujeta posrednika – tolmača. Shannon-Weaverjev komunikacijski model se s tem razširi in vključuje naslednje: (1) kodiranje fenomenov v znani kod (pri tvorcu), (2) prenos, (3) dekodiranje iz znanega koda v fenomene (pri tolmaču), (4) kodiranje fenomenov v prejemniku znani kod (pri tolmaču), (5) prenos ter (6) dekodiranje iz znanega koda v fenomene (pri prejemniku), kot prikazuje slika 2.



Slika 2: Komunikacijski model s tolmačenjem

Shannon in Weaver kritične točke predvidita pri prenosu sporočila, vendar se te lahko pojavijo tudi pri samem kodiranju in dekodiranju. Iz razširjenega komunikacijskega modela (slika 2) je razvidno, da se s podvajanjem postopkov in dejanj znotraj komunikacijskega dogodka podvojijo tudi možnosti za pojav kritičnih točk oziroma možnih ovir.

Prenos sporočila med posameznimi udeleženci predstavlja komunikacijsko interakcijo. Kot je razvidno iz Shannon-Weaverjevega modela, je vrsta interakcije odvisna od njene smeri, tako da v osnovi ločimo med vstopno in izstopno komunikacijsko interakcijo, posamezna dejanja, povezana s pridobivanjem, hranjenjem, priklicem, obdelavo in/ali posredovanjem informacij, pa predstavljajo komunikacijski dogodek (Espana idr. 2009, 534).

2.2 Ovire

Kaj je tisto, kar ovira uspešno komunikacijo? Na to vprašanje sta poskusila odgovoriti Dimbleby in Burton (1995, 64–75). Po njunem mnenju lahko možne ovire razdelimo v štiri skupine, in sicer ločujeta:

- mehanske ovire,
- semantične ovire,
- ovire zaznavanja in filtriranja ter
- psihološke ovire.

2.2.1 Mehanske ovire

V prvo skupno se uvrščajo mehanske ovire. Te zajemajo predvsem fizične dejavnike, ki vplivajo na kakovost komunikacijskega dogodka, kot so denimo hrup, slaba slišnost oziroma akustika prostora, temperatura v prostoru, slaba vidljivost, (ne)udobnost sedežev in drugi fizični dejavniki.

2.2.2 Semantične ovire

Drugo skupino sestavljajo tako imenovane semantične ovire. Če se raba besed pomensko razlikuje od ustaljene rabe, obstaja velika verjetnost, da bo prejemnik sporočila besedam pripisal drugačen pomen. Tovrstna ovira se lahko pojavi tudi pri uporabi istega kodnega sistema, če se uporablja drugačen register. Značilen primer je uporaba strokovnega jezika v splošni komunikaciji.

2.2.3 Ovire zaznavanja in filtriranja

V tretjo skupino uvrščamo ovire pri zaznavanju in filtriranju informacij. Največjo oviro predstavljajo privzeta prepričanja o drugih. Tako denimo privzeta prepričanja o tujcih lahko vplivajo na to, kako posameznik zaznava sogovornika in posledično komunicira z njim, če ta prihaja iz različnega kulturnega okolja. Novi sodelavec, ki prihaja iz Nemčije, je posledično lahko sprejet povsem drugače, kot tisti, ki prihaja iz Pakistana.

2.2.4 Psihološke ovire

Četrto skupino predstavljajo psihološke ovire. Povezane so s tretjo skupino, a se od nje tudi razlikujejo. Psihološke ovire se kažejo predvsem v predsodkih in stereotipih, ki vplivajo na proces kodiranja in proces dekodiranja in s tem neposredno na komunikacijsko dejanje. V prvi vrsti gre za posameznikov referenčni okvir kot celoto osebnih prepričanj, izkušenj, stališč, pričakovanj ipd., skozi katerega posameznik dojema in si razlaga svet okoli sebe. Referenčni okvir je pomemben za komunikacijo, saj vpliva na način, kako posameznik kodira in dekodira sporočila.

2.3 Ovire v tolmačenem komunikacijskem dogodku

S tolmačem se v komunikacijskem dogodku pojavi dodaten udeleženec in s tem posledično več možnosti, da nastopi katera od naštetih ovir. Tolmač operira z določenim referenčnim okvirom, ki lahko na nezavedni ravni vpliva na komunikacijo.² Referenčni okvir igra posebej pomembno vlogo pri tolmačevem dekodiranju namena sporočila v izvornem jeziku in njegovem vkodiranju v ciljni jezik.

Komunikacijski dogodek je lahko neuspešen tudi iz drugih razlogov, denimo zaradi neustrezne etične kompetence tolmača. Orlič (2017, 189–190) to prikaže na primeru tolmača, ki mora tolmačiti del ženevske konvencije o človekovih pravicah v delu, ki navaja razloge za mednarodno zaščito, med katerimi je tudi veroizpoved. Ker je drugačne veroizpovedi kot stranka³ in je to v nasprotju z njegovimi osebnimi stališči, tolmač tolmačenje zadevnega dela konvencije zavrne. Avtorji navajajo še niz drugih dejavnikov, ki bistveno vplivajo na komunikacijski dogodek, še posebej s stališča razmerja moči med tistimi, ki v njem sodelujejo. Tako se tolmači v zaslišanjih, ki se izvajajo v okviru zaslišanj prosilcev za mednarodno zaščito, poleg različnih družbenih in kulturnih konvencij srečujejo tudi z različnimi stopnjami izobrazbe, institucionalnimi praksami in socioekonomskimi okolji (Pöllabauer 2006, 152). Če je asimetrija moči med udeleženci prevelika, to posledično prav tako vpliva na uspešnost komunikacijskega dogodka. Ob naštetih dejavnikih težavo pogosto predstavljajo

² Slednje je najbolj poudarjeno pri tolmačenju za skupnost, kjer ima tolmač veliko aktivnejšo vlogo in je bolj vpleten v komunikacijsko situacijo kot pri konferenčnem tolmačenju.

³ Stranka je v tem članku oseba, ki ne operira z jezikom ali jeziki družbe in potrebuje tolmačenje pri uradnih stikih.

tudi kulturno-zgodovinske okoliščine, ki naj bi jih tolmač poznal, a v praksi je to pogosto nemogoče. Guillermo R. Navarro Montesdeoca (2006), ki kot tolmač deluje na Kanarskih otokih in sodeluje v postopkih z nezakonitimi priseljenci tako iz Afrike kot Južne Amerike, opisuje težave, ki jih imajo evropski tolmači s poznavanjem Afrike. Pojem »subsaharska Afrika«, ki se v Evropi uporablja zelo pogosto, je pri tolmačenju približno tako (ne)uporaben kot pojem »rjavooki Evropejci« (2006, 167). Pri Afriki je težava že pojem »država«. Kot primer navaja Kamerun, ki ima približno 16 milijonov prebivalcev, ti pa pripadajo 268 različnim etničnim skupinam. Uradna jezika sta dva, angleščina in francoščina, vendar ju ne govorijo vsi, saj se na istem območju uporablja 24 različnih jezikov (prav tam). (Ne)poznavanje konteksta igra pri komuniciranju s pomočjo tolmača odločilno vlogo; težava je v tem, da se tovrstne ovire lahko pojavijo pri katerem koli udeležencu komunikacijske situacije.

Prav v tem se kažeta vsa kompleksnost dela tolmača in procesa tolmačenja ter pomen obvladovanja kompetenc in profesionalnosti. Pri komunikaciji s pomočjo tolmača mora tako tolmač premagovati ne le ovire, s katerimi se srečuje sam, temveč tudi tiste, ki se pojavljajo pri drugih udeležencih. Zlasti pri tolmačenju za skupnost je tako še posebej pomembna kulturna kompetenca tolmača.

3 Tolmačenje

Poznavanje osnov tolmaškega dela prispeva k razumevanju, kako tolmač deluje, kakšne so njegove zmožnosti in katere kompetence potrebuje. Zelo razširjeno je laično razumevanje, da je tolmačenje zgolj prenos iz enega v drugi jezik in tolmač nekakšen jezikovni robot, ki mu za opravljanje dela zadostuje zgolj znanje dveh jezikov.

Ne moremo pričakovati, da bo naročnik tolmačenja nadrobno poznal vlogo tolmača in tolmačenja, zaželeno pa je, da si pridobi vsaj temeljno znanje o tem področju in s tem pozitivno vpliva na ustrezno izbiro tolmača ter uspešnost tolmačenega komunikacijskega dogodka, kar je navsezadnje cilj vsakega naročnika.

3.1 Delitev tolmačenja

V osnovi razlikujemo konferenčno tolmačenje in tolmačenje za skupnost.⁴ Cynthia Roy konferenčno tolmačenje definira kot »[t]olmačen dogodek, na katerem se udeleženci sporazumevajo in si izmenjujejo besede ter spreminjajo teme in kjer je informacija le del komunikacijskega cilja«, tolmačenje za skupnost pa opredeli kot »opazno drugačen dogodek, kot dogodek z enim govorcem, kjer je izmenjava besed minimalna ali je sploh ni in je bistvo sporočila vsebina« (Cynthia Roy 2000, 43). Obe vrsti tolmačenja družijo, da omogočata troje: sporazumevanje med različnimi kulturami ter premagovanje kognitivnih vrzeli; govorno sporazumevanje med govorniki v realnem času; sporazumevanje med sogovorniki, ki ne govorijo skupnega jezika (Setton in Dawrant 2016, 5). Na drugi strani ju razlikuje to, da se konferenčno tolmačenje – kot razkriva že njegovo poimenovanje – najpogosteje uporablja na mednarodnih konferencah, simpozijih, seminarjih in predavanjih, kjer sporazumevanje pogosto poteka enosmerno; za tolmačenje za skupnost pa sta bolj značilna dvosmerni dialog oziroma razprava in večja interaktivnost.

3.1.1 Konferenčno tolmačenje

Konferenčno tolmačenje je težko definirati. Je oblika tolmačenja, ki se uporablja na konferencah, uradnih srečanjih na visoki ravni, sestankih v podjetjih, na pogajanjih, ipd. Konferenčno tolmačenje zaradi zahtevnosti in narave dela izvajata praviloma vsaj dva tolmača, zato tolmač dela v presledkih z rednimi odmori in v daljšem časovnem obdobju z uporabo posebnih tehnik. Standardna tehnika simultane tolmačenja zahteva fizično oddaljenost tolmača od deležnikov. Teme konferenčnega tolmačenja so strokovne, formalno omejene in izražene v zahtevnejšem registru. Ker se domneva, da poslušalstvo obvlada register, ki se uporablja pri inicialnem govornem dejanju, tolmaču ni treba prilagajati registra oziroma naj ga ne bi niti spreminjal.

⁴ V istem pomenu se pojavljajo tudi izrazi »skupnostno tolmačenje«, »nekonferenčno tolmačenje« in drugi.

3.1.2 Tolmačenje za skupnost

Tolmačenje za skupnost zajema tolmačenje v vseh življenjskih situacijah. Roberts (1997, 7) ga obravnava kot najstarejšo vrsto tolmačenja, ker je bilo na takšen ali drugačen način prisotno od prvih kontaktov med različnimi jezikovnimi skupinami. Zaradi potreb večjezičnih in večkulturnih okolij je tolmačenje za skupnost danes vse bolj pomembno, vse pogostejše in prav tako vse bolj profesionalizirano (Prunč 2011, 34–35). Carr in Roberts namenu tolmačenja za skupnost opredelita tako: »Tolmačenje za skupnost omogoča ljudem, ki niso tekoči govorci uradnega(-ih) jezika(-ov) države, da komunicirajo s ponudniki javnih storitev in tako v polni meri in enakopravno dostopajo do pravnih, zdravstvenih in izobraževalnih storitev ter storitev javne uprave in socialnega dela« (Carr in Roberts 1995).

Pri tolmačenju za skupnost je tolmač fizično prisoten v komunikaciji, redko uporablja tehnične pripomočke za tolmačenje (npr. slušalke), teme so življenjske in tolmač prilagaja register v ciljnem jeziku tako, da ga stranka razume. Funkcionalnost tolmačenja je pri tolmačenju za skupnost v ospredju in ne predpostavlja se (kot pri konferenčnem tolmačenju), da stranka pozna register, ki se uporablja v izhodiščnem jeziku.

3.2 Tehnike in oblike tolmačenja

Poglavitne tehnike tolmačenja so v pričujoči knjigi nadrobneje predstavljene v poglavju Temeljne razlike med prevajanjem in tolmačenjem, zato naj jih na tem mestu zgolj naštejemo. To so:

- konsektivno tolmačenje,
- simultano tolmačenje,
- šepetano tolmačenje,
- tolmačenje z lista.

Kot posebno obliko na tem mestu omenjamo spremljevalno tolmačenje, ki se uporablja pri spremljanju posameznikov ali skupin (npr. na potovanjih). V takih situacijah tolmač ni zgolj jezikovni posrednik, ampak nastopa kot medkulturni povezovalc, njegova odgovornost pa se z jezikovnega dela komunikacije razširi na mnoga druga področja, od naročanja hrane do sklepanja poslov. Pri

spremljevalnem tolmačenju se v zadnjem času, tudi zaradi razvoja prenosnih tehničnih rešitev, spreminja uporaba tehnik in nekoč najbolj uveljavljeno konsektivno tehniko zamenjujejo razne kombinacije tehnik simultane in šepetane tolmačenja.

V določenih situacijah se pojavlja tolmačenje po telefonu ali tolmačenje s pomočjo video konference, ki pa sta bolj ali manj samo drug medij za izvajanje tehnike simultane ali konsektivnega tolmačenja.

4 Izbira primerne tolmača

Naročnik mora ob upoštevanju posebnosti komunikacijskega dogodka, ki bo vključeval tolmačenje, upoštevati tudi dejavnike, ki narekujejo izbiro tolmača, še posebej te, ki jih navajamo v nadaljevanju.

4.1 Dejavniki, ki vplivajo na izbiro tolmača

Od vseh tolmačev se pričakuje, da so njihove splošne in posebne prevodoslovne kompetence na ustrezno visoki ravni. Osnova so praviloma naslednje štiri: obvladovanje izhodiščnega in ciljnega jezika; znanje in splošna razgledanost; komunikacijske veščine; profesionalnost (Setton in Dawrant 2016, 5). Tolmači se na drugi strani razlikujejo po strokovnih kompetencah oziroma strokovnih področjih, na katerih tolmačijo. Tako bo na primer tolmač, ki dela predvsem na področju medicine, težje tolmačil na področju financ ali prava in obratno, saj vsako področje zahteva specializirana znanja. Ustrezne kompetence in specializacija so torej bistvenega pomena za kakovost tolmačenja (Orlič 2010, 75–93). K izbiri ustreznega tolmača naj bi naročnik pristopil z zavedanjem o vrstah, tehnikah in oblikah tolmačenja. Naročnik lahko izbira med konferenčnimi tolmači, če organizira komunikacijski dogodek, ki ustreza konferenčnemu tolmačenju, in med tolmači za skupnost za komunikacijske dogodke nekonferenčne narave.

Izbira tolmača za konferenčno tolmačenje je enostavnejša v smislu medosebne interakcije med stranko in tolmačem, saj na konferenčnem dogodku med njima najpogosteje ni neposrednega stika. Značilnosti tolmačenja za skupnost pa pri izbiri primerne tolmača zahtevajo od naročnika temeljit premislek o spodaj navedenih dejavnikih in vidikih.

4.2.1 Jezikovna različica ciljnega jezika

Če naročnik denimo potrebuje tolmačenje za osebo s Kitajske, se mora zavedati, da je »kitajščina« pravzaprav jezikovna družina oziroma krovni termin za večje število jezikov in narečij in zato mora opredeliti, ali stranka potrebuje tolmača za mandarinsščino, kantonščino ali za katerega od drugih jezikov oz. narečij. Pri konferenčnem tolmačenju se praviloma uporablja standardiziran/normiran jezik.

4.2.2 Spol tolmača

V določenih okoliščinah je za učinkovito komunikacijo oziroma tolmačenje pomembno, ali je tolmač ženska ali moški. Tako je na primer smiselno izbrati tolmačko za tolmačenje med ginekološkim pregledom ali katerim koli zdravniškim pregledom. Na izbiro tolmača glede na spol nujno vplivata spol in starost stranke, ki je žrtev spolnega nasilja. Različne življenjske situacije zahtevajo razkrivanje občutljivih podatkov, stanj in dogodkov intimne narave, zato je zelo zaželeno, da se stranka počuti dovolj sproščeno in varno, da o tem govori odkrito in brez zadržkov. Predvidevati in upoštevati je treba kulturne, osebne in druge dejavnike. Pri tem se lahko naročnik pri izbiri tolmača sooči s pomisleki o diskriminatornem ravnanju.

4.2.3 Etnična ali narodnostna pripadnost tolmača

Pri tolmačenju za stranke, ki so imele travmatična doživetja s pripadniki določene etnične ali narodnostne skupnosti, je mogoče pričakovati, da bo taka stranka težko sprejela tolmača, ki pripada tej etnični ali narodnostni skupnosti. To se nanaša predvsem na prosilce za azil, begunce in žrtve vseh oblik nasilja. Tudi tukaj se lahko v zvezi s tolmačem pojavi pomislek o diskriminatornem ravnanju.

4.2.4 Osebno poznanstvo med tolmačem in stranko

V določenih situacijah je smiselno preveriti, ali se tolmač in stranka osebno poznata. To je pomembno v primerih, ko je neka jezikovna skupnost majhna in lahko pride do situacije, ko imata stranka in tolmač socialne in druge stike ter stranka ne želi razkrivati občutljivih osebnih ali drugih podatkov oziroma informacij o sebi.⁵

⁵ To lahko ilustrira primer, ko pri tožbi za ločitev tolmači ožji družinski član tožnice.

Navedeni dejavniki se lahko izkažejo za problematične tudi za tolmača. Zato bi morala biti izhodiščna točka za vsakega tolmača njegova »etična kompetenca, ki obsega zavedanje posameznega tolmača o njegovi vlogi, njegovi odgovornosti, njegovih nalogah: kaj dela, zakaj dela in kakšne so posledice njegovega dela« (Orlič 2017, 177). Ključnega pomena je nepristranskost ali nevtralnost tolmača (glej Prunč in Setton 2015).

4.2.5 Vsebina komunikacijskega dogodka

Če je vsebina tolmačenega komunikacijskega dogodka občutljiva (spolnost, družinsko nasilje, evtanazija, mučenje, darovanje organov ...), je smiselno, da naročnik tolmaču vnaprej posreduje informacije o temi in naravi dogodka. Tako tolmač pravočasno dobi možnost, da bodisi zavrne sodelovanje bodisi se zanj ustrezno pripravi na več ravneh. Etična kompetenca namreč »vsakemu posamezniku dopušča objektivni prostor za oceno lastnih sposobnosti, in v kolikor ni gotov, da nalogo lahko opravi strokovno, na ustrezni ravni in z ustrezno kvaliteto, da celo zavrne ponujeno nalogo«⁶ (Orlič 2017, 177).

4.2.6 Etični in drugi kodeksi

Preveriti je treba, ali je tolmač seznanjen z etičnimi kodeksi, kodeksi oblačenja, kodeksi ravnanja in podobno. Naročnik mora tolmača seznaniti z morebitnimi posebnimi zahtevami na teh področjih, da bi se izognili nepotrebnim zapletom.

5 Priprave naročnika

Tolmaču, ki bo sodeloval v komunikacijskem dogodku, mora naročnik sporočiti ime, priimek in telefonsko številko kontaktne osebe, natančen naslov in predvideno trajanje dogodka ter dodaten opis poti ali kraja dogodka, da se lahko v nepredvidenih situacijah tolmač znajde sam in pride na dogovorjeni kraj ob dogovorjenem času.

Ko se načrtuje, da bo tolmačeni komunikacijski dogodek potekal v ordinaciji, priporu, na domu stranke in podobno, je smiselno, da se naročnik s tolmačem dogovori, da se srečata v neposredni bližini kraja dogodka. To naročniku, po potrebi pa tudi drugim deležnikom, omogoči, da tolmača nemoteno osebno

⁶ Posameznik v navedenem citatu pomeni posameznega tolmača, kot je razvidno iz konteksta.

informira neposredno pred samim dogodkom. Pri določanju trajanja tolmačenega dogodka z uporabo konsektivne tehnike je treba upoštevati, da bo dogodek zaradi tolmačenja trajal predvidoma dvakrat dlje, kot bi trajal, če se ne bi tolmačil.

5.1 Informiranje tolmača

Naročnik in tolmač lahko razumevanje procesa predvidene komunikacije, ki se bo tolmačila, in vloge vseh udeležencev v njej uskladita le, če naročnik tolmača o načrtovanem dogodku ustrezno informira. Idealno je, da naročnik tolmaču posreduje vsa gradiva in informacije o dogodku, s katerimi razpolaga, kot tudi postavi vse terminološke ali druge zahteve ter tolmaču zagotovi referenčno gradivo, zato da se lahko slednji na tolmačenje kar najbolje pripravi.

Priprave tolmačev slonijo na naslednjih informacijah, ki jih posreduje naročnik:

- kdo je naročnik, kakšna je njegova dejavnost in zakaj potrebuje storitev tolmačenja;
- kakšna sta namen in širši kontekst komunikacijskega dogodka;
- kakšne so terminološke zahteve;
- kako bo dogodek voden in
- kakšni so morebitni varnostni protokoli (kodna beseda ipd.)

Ko tolmač prejme ustrezne informacije, lahko tudi sam poda naročniku potrebne oziroma koristne informacije:

- ali ima morebiti kakšne socialne kontakte z deležniki, ki bi utegnili vplivati na komunikacijo;
- izkušnje s tolmačenjem napovedane teme;
- katero tehniko ali obliko tolmačenja bi izbral oziroma svetoval glede na načrtovani komunikacijski dogodek ipd.

Tolmač se bo na morebitne nejasnosti lahko odzval bolj primerno, če se bo o njih vnaprej dogovoril z naročnikom. Naročnik lahko tolmaču dovoli, da prekine komunikacijski dogodek in ustavi tolmačenje, da po potrebi preveri morebitne nejasnosti, ki bi se pojavile med potekom dogodka. Tovrstne intervencije tolmača

pridejo v poštev predvsem pri uporabi konsektivne tehnike tolmačenja (prim. Setton and Dawrant 2016, 17).

6 Odnosi, v katere vstopata naročnik in tolmač

6.1 Odnos med tolmačem in stranko

Vključenost tolmača v komunikacijski dogodek vpliva na samega tolmača in na njegovo stranko ali stranke. Pri tolmačenju za skupnost se lahko zgodi, da se tolmač sooči s strankinim odporom do tolmačenja, čeprav je tolmačenje potrebno ravno zaradi stranke.

6.1.1 Družinski člani in prijatelji stranke kot tolmači

Prepričanje, da bo družinski član ali prijatelj, ki tekoče govori jezik okolice oziroma ciljni jezik, najbolj ustrezna izbira za tolmačenje, je velikokrat zmotno. Nekateri menijo, da se bo čustveno vpletena oseba bolj potrudila, da bo tolmačenje uspešno. Po drugi strani pa zaradi pričakovanj, da bodo sprejeli vlogo tolmača, čutijo pritisk, dodaten pritisk pa povzroča že samo tolmačenje.

Prisotnost družinskega člana ali prijatelja je lahko tudi pritisk za stranko, v smislu, da bi lahko zaradi različnih zadržkov prikrivala informacije, ki so za njo pomembne. Tako bi, na primer, lahko stranka določene zadeve ali dogodke, ki jih razume kot sramotne, enostavno prikrila. Ne gre pričakovati, da bo oče o svojih težavah s prostato in s tem povezano težavo z erektilno funkcijo spregovoril pred svojo mladoletno hčerko. Enako velja za morebitno kriminalno preteklost, število nosečnosti pri ženskah, število splavov in vse ostale bolj ali manj intimne in občutljive zadeve.

Če stranka tolmačenje družinskega člana ali prijatelja zavrne, se lahko pojavi tudi strah, da bo sproženo vprašanje o njenih motivih (ali kaj skriva ipd.) in bi se s tem povečal pritisk družine oziroma okolice.

Istovčasno se lahko pojavi vprašanje širšega družbenega ozadja. Prisotnost družinskih članov ali prijateljev lahko pomeni tudi izvajanje kontrole ali nadzora nad stranko in izjavami oziroma podatki, ki jih ta morebiti posreduje. Zato je pomembno, da obvladamo situacijo in dobro ocenimo družbeno ozadje ter motive za vztrajanje pri tem, da družinski član ali prijatelj prevzame vlogo priložnostnega oziroma naključnega tolmača. V praksi se na ta način poskuša

izvajati nadzor nad žrtvami trgovine z ljudmi, kontrolirati dostop do kontracepcijskih sredstev, posredovanje različnih podatkov o življenjskih okoliščinah in podobno. Tudi v teh primerih se stranka zaradi situacije same ne more odločiti za storitve profesionalnega tolmača.

Prav zato se podpora družine in socialne mreže ne sme razširiti tudi na tolmačenje. V izogib takim pritiskom je smiselno vztrajati pri uporabi storitev profesionalnega tolmača, ki ni čustveno vpleten in lahko svoje delo opravi nepristransko in strokovno. To lahko poskusimo doseči z različnimi prijemi. Pogosteje uporabljan učinkovit način reševanja je pojasnilo, da je tolmač potreben zaradi samega postopka in/ali potreb drugega deležnika v komunikacijskem dejanju. Tako odgovornost za odločitve o prisotnosti družinskega člana prenesemo s stranke na druge deležnike ali sam postopek in s tem stranko razbremenimo ter ji omogočimo sproščeno in odkrito posredovanje relevantnih informacij.

6.1.2 Ponos in/ali zadrega

Stranka sama sebe lahko prepriča o lastni sposobnosti, da v določenem jeziku komunicira povsem kompetentno. Prav ponos pa lahko stranko hromi pri sprejemanju tolmača ali pa ji je včasih nerodno, saj njeno znanje jezika ni na ravni, ki bi si jo želela. Zaradi take zadrege lahko stranka zavrača tolmačenje. Tovrstno zadrego lahko razrešimo s prijemi, omenjenimi v točki 6.1.1.

6.1.3 Izogibanje razumevanju

Kadar se stranka boji pregona ali drugih zanjo neugodnih posledic, se lahko izogiba jasni komunikaciji tudi tako, da tolmačenje zavrača. Dogaja se, da odgovornost za neuspešno komunikacijo poskusi predstaviti kot odgovornost tolmača. Temu se izognemo z ustrezno izbiro tolmača ter minimaliziramo možnost, da je neuspešna komunikacija rezultat procesa tolmačenja.

6.1.4 Zaupnost

Včasih stranka izrazi skrb, da jo tolmač pozna ali da pozna ljudi iz njene okolice, ki bi jim lahko tolmač posredoval zaupne in osebne informacije, s katerimi bi se morebiti seznanil med tolmačenjem. Če stranka kljub zagotovitvi, da je tolmač strokoven in zaupanja vreden, tolmačenje odkloni, se lahko stranki ponudi drug

tolmač. V kolikor to ni mogoče, so na voljo telefonsko tolmačenje, zakrivanje identitete stranke in druge rešitve. V tem primeru je situacija podobna tisti, ko tolmačenje prevzame družinski član ali prijatelj in je vsekakor treba razumeti stranko in upoštevati njene zadržke.

7 Zaključek

Tolmačeni komunikacijski dogodki se od drugih komunikacijskih dogodkov ločijo na različne načine. Največji razloček predstavlja tolmač, ki ga, podobno kot to velja za druge udeležence, zaznamujejo njegove ali njene osebne lastnosti, družbeno-ekonomski položaj, (med)kulturne in druge kompetence. Posledično tudi na tolmača vplivajo jezikovni, fizični, psihološki in številni drugi dejavniki. Prav zato je ključnega pomena, da se pred naročilom tudi naročniki seznanijo vsaj z osnovami tolmačenja, le z upoštevanjem vseh specifik pa je mogoče doseči, da bo tolmačen komunikacijski dogodek izpeljan uspešno. Naročnik mora predvideti ali upoštevati priporočila glede najustreznejše tehnike tolmačenja, pomen predhodne priprave tolmača na dogodek, vlogo različnih deležnikov in zunanjih ter notranjih dejavnikov komunikacijskega dogodka, kot tudi morebitne druge ovire, ki vplivajo na njegovo kakovostno, hitro in uspešno izvedbo. Z zadovoljstvom z opravljenimi storitvami se za naročnika znižajo tudi stroški, ki pogosto niso zanemarljivi.

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Temeljne razlike med prevajanjem in tolmačenjem

SIMON ZUPAN, MARTA BIBER, NATALIJA ORLIČ, BOŽICA KITIČIČ PRUNČ
IN GJOKO NIKOLOVSKI

Povzetek Poglavlje obravnava temeljne razlike med prevajanjem in tolmačenjem. Uvodoma je na kratko predstavljen zgodovinski pregled, ki je v 20. stoletju s specializacijo na številnih področjih pripeljal do njune ločitve. V nadaljevanju so predstavljene najpogostejše tehnike tolmačenja, ki so v uporabi danes, in njihove poglobitve značilnosti. Opisana so osrednja tematska področja prevajanja in vrste besedil, ki se danes prevajajo najpogosteje. Izpostavljena je tudi problematika kategorizacij znotraj posameznega področja glede na namen, tematsko področje, naročnike prevodov in tolmačenj ter druge okoliščine.

Ključne besede: • prevajanje • tolmačenje • zgodovina • razlike • tehnika •

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Key Differences between Translation and Interpretation

SIMON ZUPAN, MARTA BIBER, NATALIJA ORLIČ, BOŽICA KITIČIČ PRUNČ
& GJOKO NIKOLOVSKI

Abstract The chapter focuses on key differences between translation and interpretation. The first part features a brief presentation of the development of each discipline through history. Following the need for specialization, the two separated in the 20th century and have since been developing in different directions. The section on interpreting includes a presentation of the major interpretation techniques in use today and their main characteristics. The section on translation comprises the main subject areas and types of text that are in most demand for translation today. The problem of categorization within the two disciplines is addressed regarding the scope, subject area, procurement of translation and interpretation and other factors.

Keywords: • translation • interpretation • history • difference • technique •

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1 Uvod

Prevajanje in tolmačenje sta si v mnogočem podobna, hkrati pa med njima obstajajo pomembne razlike. Skupno jima je, da se uporabljata pri sporazumevanju med dvema ali več jeziki in da za uspešen prenos sporočila zahtevata ne le temeljito poznavanje ciljnega in izhodiščnega jezika, temveč tudi njenega širšega družbenega, kulturnega, zgodovinskega in številnih drugih kontekstov. Ločita se v prvi vrsti po mediju, saj tolmačenje praviloma označuje prenos govornega, prevajanje pa v prvi vrsti pisane besede iz izhodiščnega v ciljni jezik. Drug pomemben razloček med obema je, da se tolmačenje odvija praktično v realnem času, skoraj sočasno z izvornikom – temu je praviloma podoben tudi po časovnem obsegu –, medtem ko prevod lahko nastane precej kasneje kot izvornik, čas, potreben za oskrbo prevoda, pa je neodvisen od časa, potrebnega za nastanek izvirnega besedila. Pomembne razlike obstajajo tudi na metaravni. Tolmačenje je staro praktično toliko kot prvi verbalni komunikacijski stiki med pripadniki skupnosti, ki so govorile različne jezike – v šali nekateri tolmačenje označujejo celo za drugi najstarejši poklic na svetu –, prevajanje pa je mlajše, staro približno toliko kot iznajdba pisave (Delisle in Woodsworth 2012, 3).

A paradoksalno je veda o pisnem prevajanju starejša in splošno bolj uveljavljena kot tolmačeslovje, ki se posveča tolmačenju in je dokončno uveljavitev doživelo šele v drugi polovici 20. stoletja (Pöschhacker idr 2015, 201). Raziskovalci razlike na eni strani pojasnjujejo z redkostjo pisnih virov o tolmačenju, na drugi pa s tem, da se je predvsem konferenčno tolmačenje, kot ga poznamo danes, dokončno uveljavilo po koncu druge svetovne vojne, še posebej z uveljavitvijo opreme za simultano tolmačenje na nürnberških procesih (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012). V istem obdobju je z diverzifikacijo in tehnološkim napredkom postalo dokončno jasno, da bosta šla razvoj prevajanja in tolmačenja vsak v svojo smer, predvsem v smer vse večje specializacije. Kljub temu, da se danes prevajanje kljub številnim stičnim točkam precej razlikuje od tolmačenja (ali morda prav zato), pa so omenjene razlike v praksi pogosto spregledane. Pričujoče poglavje je namenjeno temu, da pojasni nekatere temeljne razlike med oblikama medjezikovnega in medkulturnega posredovanja. Poglavje je razdeljeno na dva dela: v prvem je na kratko predstavljen razvoj prevajanja in tolmačenja skozi zgodovino, v drugem pa so natančneje predstavljeni tipi in vrste prevajanja ter tolmačenja.

2 Kratek zgodovinski oris razvoja ter vrste prevajanja in tolmačenja

Tolmačenje

Natančno starost tolmačenja kot pojava je težko ugotoviti, zelo verjetno pa njegovi zametki segajo v obdobje prvih stikov med govorniki različnih jezikov, ki so se želeli ustno sporazumevati med seboj. Ker gre za govorjeno besedo, v nasprotju s prevajanjem neposrednih materialnih dokazov o izvajanju tolmačenja iz starejših obdobj ni, saj ti nastanejo šele z iznajdbo naprav za snemanje zvoka. Vendar pa o obstoju tolmačev in tolmačenja že v zgodnjih civilizacijah, še posebej na Bližnjem vzhodu, pričajo posredni dokazi. Tak primer je mirovna pogodba med dvema mezopotamskima mestnima državama v sumerščini, vklesana na kamnit steber iz obdobja 2600 let pr. n. š. Ker je pri sklenitvi sporazuma sodelovala tretja stran, ki ni govorila sumersko, je jasno, da je moral biti pri pogajanjih navzoč tolmač (Roland 1999, 12–13). Tudi v virih iz starega Egipta iz istega obdobja (2500 pr. n. š.) so omenjeni tolmači – imenovani *dragomani* –, ki so na dvojezičnih mejnih območjih ali med vojaškimi pohodi v Sudan omogočali sporazumevanje med Egipčani in Nubijci (Hermann 2002, 16). Izrecno so omenjeni v napisih v grobnicah vladarjev, kar priča o njihovem pomenu (Kurz 1985, 218). Omembe tolmačev zasledimo tudi v antični dobi, in sicer med pohodi Aleksandra Velikega v stari Grčiji (Roland 1999, 16–17) ali Julija Cezarja v obdobju rimske države, ki je denimo že ločeval med »vojaškimi« in »navadnimi« tolmači (Roland 1999, 18). Njihova vloga je izpričana tudi v srednjem veku, denimo med križarskimi vojnami, ko so bile vojaške enote narodnostno in jezikovno sila pisane, a je bila »raba tolmačev nekaj tako običajnega, da je bilo sporazumevanje med govorniki različnih jezikov zelo preprosto« (nav. v Roland 1999, 31). V naslednjih stoletjih se vloga tolmača ne glede na geografsko območje ni bistveno spreminjala: v praksi večinoma ni bilo razlike med njimi in prevajalci, delo so tolmači opravljali tudi ad hoc, a znanje jezikov je prevajalcem in tolmačem omogočilo, da so si pridobili status, podoben diplomatskemu.

Ključno prelomnico predstavlja 20. stoletje, ko se tolmačenje dokončno uveljavi v današnji obliki in se loči od prevajanja. Pri tem so odločilno vlogo odigrali zgodovinski dogodki, ki so zahtevali sporazumevanje v več jezikih. Prvi pomembnejši je bila konferenca pred podpisom versajske pogodbe in ustanovitvijo Društva narodov po koncu 1. svetovne vojne. Čeprav je francoska stran pričakovala, da bo francoščina edini delovni jezik konference, je bil na koncu sklenjen dogovor, da se bo enakovredno uporabljala tudi angleščina. Na

ta način se je končala 200-letna prevlada francoščine, znanje katere je bilo za diplomate pogosto pogoj, da so sploh lahko sodelovali na mednarodnih konferencah (Gaiba 1998, 28). Že od začetka delovanja Društva narodov so tako prevajalci kot tolmači sicer uporabljali tudi druge jezike. Po navedbah direktorja njegove prevajalske službe je bilo že leta 1920 ob obeh uradnih še 12 drugih jezikov (Roland 1999, 125). Delo je v prvih letih potekalo izključno s tehniko konsektivnega tolmačenja. Leta 1926 pa se je pojavila novost; na otvoritvi konference Mednarodne organizacije dela (ILO) je bila prvič v praksi preizkušena tehnika simultanega tolmačenja, pri kateri se je tolmačenje do uporabnikov prenašalo po mikrofону in slušalkah. Čeprav začetki niso bili obetavni, tudi zaradi zadržanosti tolmačev (Roland 1999, 127), je bila nova tehnika za potencialne uporabnike, kot so mednarodne organizacije in sodišča, zelo zanimiva, saj se je v primerjavi s konsektivnim tolmačenjem čas trajanja govornih dogodkov v izhodiščnem in ciljnem jeziku prepolovil in sestanki so lahko potekali bistveno hitreje in bolj tekoče. Tehnika se je dokončno uveljavila po 2. svetovni vojni z nürnberškimi procesi (1946–1949), kjer je omogočila, da so sodni procesi potekali sočasno v štirih jezikih in so se posledično zaključili v razumnem času.

Po Nürnbergu je konferenčno tolmačenje doživelo dokončen razcvet. Že od 1947 dalje so simultano tolmačenje uporabljali Združeni narodi in tri leta kasneje Varnostni svet, zgledu pa so kmalu sledile vse pomembnejše mednarodne organizacije in podjetja. Z večanjem potreb po tolmačih so predvsem v Evropi univerze kmalu začele ponujati študijske programe za izobraževanje tolmačev, ki so danes na voljo skoraj v vseh državah. Sočasno se je hitro razvijalo tudi znanstvenoraziskovalno delo, tako da je danes tudi tolmačeslovje uveljavljena znanstvena disciplina. Razvoj je neizogibno pripeljal do specializacije in razvoja tolmačenja na številnih (pod)področjih. Posledično so tudi kategorizacije tolmačenja danes različne, temeljijo pa predvsem na različnih kriterijih, kot so družbeni kontekst ali okoliščine, v katerih tolmačenje poteka, situacijska postavitev (konstelacija), jezikovna modaliteta, način, smer, oprema in poklicni status tolmačev (Pöchhacker 2004, 13–23). Kljub omenjenim razlikam pa je v praksi tolmačenje še vedno najbolj preprosto ločiti glede na tehniko tolmačenja. Prevladujejo štiri, opisane so v nadaljevanju.

Konsekutivno tolmačenje

Konsekutivno tolmačenje je najstarejša oblika prevajanja govorne besede. Kot razkriva že njen naziv, prevod oz. tolmačenje izvorniku sledi zaporedno (konsekutivno). Izvaja se tako, da govorec govorno dejanje najprej izvede v izhodiščnem jeziku. Ko se ustavi, nastopi tolmač; ta stoji ali sedi blizu govorca in njegovo izjavo prevede v ciljni jezik. V praksi najpogosteje razlikujemo med dvema oblikama »konsekutive«, kot tolmači v žargonu imenujejo konsekutivno tolmačenje: kratko in dolgo. Kratko konsekutivno tolmačenje je omejeno na krajša govorna dejanja, ki praviloma ne presegajo dveh ali treh stavkov, in tolmač lahko njihovo vsebino prevede v ciljni jezik zgolj z opiranjem na svoj kratkoročni spomin. Dolgo konsekutivno tolmačenje na drugi strani označuje tolmačenje daljših odsekov ali celotnih govorov, ki v nekaterih primerih trajajo tudi več minut. Ker je hitrost govora praviloma precej višja od hitrosti pisanja,¹ je jasno, da si tolmači z običajno tehniko ne morejo zapisati vsega slišanege, zato uporabljajo posebno tehniko zapisovanja, s katero se lahko osredinijo na bistvo izhodiščnega govora, na logične povezave med njegovimi posameznimi deli in zapisovanje faktičnih podatkov, ki močno obremenjujejo kratkoročni spomin (npr. lastna imena, številke). Pri tem uporabljajo simbole, kratice, puščice, okrajšave in podobno. S pomočjo zapiskov nato tolmači govor iz izhodiščnega prevedejo v ciljni jezik, ki je po raziskavah za približno 25 % krajši od izvornika (Dam 2017, 274).

Čeprav se zdi, da na trgu tolmaških storitev danes prevladuje potreba po simultanem tolmačenju, pa je v praksi tudi povpraševanje po konsekutivnem tolmačenju še vedno veliko, saj ima določene prednosti pred drugimi tehnikami. Med njimi velja omeniti nižje stroške, saj lahko v določenih primerih delo namesto dveh opravi en tolmač; praktičnost, ker ne zahteva tehnične opreme in se ga lahko izvaja povsod; večji občutek zasebnosti ali intimnosti, saj sporazumevanje poteka neposredno preko osebe, ki je v neposredni bližini govorcev; natančnost, saj je mogoče morebitne nejasnosti odpraviti sproti; in – paradoksalno – zamudnost, ki spretnim govorcem med tolmačenjem daje dragoceni čas za dodaten premislek in oblikovanje misli (Setton and Dawrant 2016, 134–135). Prav čas obenem predstavlja največjo slabost konsekutivnega

¹ V angleščini denimo običajna hitrost govora znaša 120–130 besed na minuto (Setton and Dawrant 2016, 262), hitrost pisanja pa tudi pri zelo hitrem pisanju le redko preseže 50 besed na minuto (prim. Summers and Catarro 2003, 152).

tolmačenja, saj govorni dogodki trajajo približno dvakrat dlje kot denimo pri simultanem tolmačenju.

Simultano tolmačenje

Druga pomembna tehnika je simultano tolmačenje. Simultano tolmačenje je precej mlajše od konsektivnega tolmačenja, saj se je dokončno uveljavilo šele na nürnberških procesih po koncu 2. svetovne vojne. Kot pove že poimenovanje, tolmačenje v tej tehniki poteka sočasno (simultano) z izhodišnim govornim dejanjem. Od konsektivnega tolmačenja se loči tudi po tem, da je za njegovo izvajanje potrebna tehnična oprema. Ker govorec in tolmač govorita sočasno, morata biti zvočno izolirana drug od drugega. Govorec se tako praviloma nahaja v konferenčni dvorani, tolmač pa v tolmaški kabini, kjer s slušalkami posluša govorca, od tam pa tudi vizualno spremlja dogajanje v dvorani. Slišano z minimalnim zamikom tolmači v mikrofoni, po katerem se prevod posreduje do slušalk poslušalcev v avditoriju. Ker je delo povezano z velikimi obremenitvami in stresom (prim. Kurz 2003), simultano tolmačenje izvajata vsaj dva tolmača, ki se pri delu izmenjujeta na približno pol ure, v primeru zelo zahtevnih govorov tudi pogosteje. Tolmač tudi med »počitkom« pomaga aktivnemu tolmaču pri iskanju gradiva, zapisovanju števil in podobno. Danes je simultano tolmačenje sestavni del vseh večjih mednarodnih dogodkov, pripadajoča oprema pa del standardne opreme vseh boljših hotelov. Po nekaterih ocenah članov svetovnega združenja konferenčnih tolmačev AIIC predstavlja simultano tolmačenje 85—90 % vseh naročil (Neff cit. v Setton and Dawrant 2016, 255). V večjih mednarodnih organizacijah se na sestankih z več delovnimi jeziki pogosto pojavlja problem, da za vse jezikovne kombinacije ni tolmačev, ki bi lahko med njimi tolmačili neposredno. Zato se uporablja relejsko tolmačenje, pri katerem se govor iz redkeje uporabljenega jezika najprej tolmači v bolj razširjenega (npr. iz slovenščine v angleščino) – to počne tolmač, ki se imenuje »pivota« –, iz njega pa v druge jezike. Del standardne terminologije predstavlja tudi *retour*, ki označuje simultano tolmačenje iz (praviloma) materne jezika v tuji jezik.

Tolmačenje z lista

V praksi se občasno uporablja tudi tehnika »tolmačenja z lista« oz. »tolmačenja na pogled«, ki označuje tolmačenje, pri katerem ima tolmač ima tolmač pred seboj zapisan govor v izhodiščnem jeziku in ga hkrati tolmači v ciljni jezik. Ta tehnika se od drugih loči po tem, da pri njej tolmač ne tolmači le med dvema jezikoma, ampak tudi iz pisane v govorjeno besedo, tj. tolmači med dvema različnima medijema (Setton and Dawrant 2016, 205). Tovrstna oblika se običajno uporablja v primerih, ko ima stranka opraviti s pisnimi dokumenti v jeziku, ki ga ne razume, in prosi tolmača, da ji ga prevede z glasnim »branjem« istega besedila v ciljnem jeziku, ki ga razume stranka. Tolmač ima v takih primerih možnost, da besedilo predhodno vsaj na hitro preleti in si morda vnaprej pripravi kako prevodno rešitev, ki mu pomaga pri tolmačenju; a besedilo v ciljni jezik pogosto prevaja neposredno, brez predhodne priprave. Tolmačenje z lista se uporablja, tudi ko si govornici besedilo govora ali predavanja pripravijo vnaprej in ga posredujejo tudi tolmačem. V tem primeru si nekateri tolmači vnaprej pripravijo bodisi prevod celotnega besedila bodisi prevodne rešitve na mestih v besedilu, ki so morebiti skladenjsko zapletenejša ali se v njih pojavljajo zahtevni strokovni izrazi. Tovrstni transkripti se uporabljajo tudi pri simultanjem tolmačenju. V obeh primerih mora tolmač sicer še vedno natančno poslušati govornika v izhodiščnem jeziku, saj se pogosto zgodi, da govorec govor spremeni v zadnjem trenutku; bodisi zato, ker se naveže na katerega od predgovorcev, bodisi zaradi stiske s časom, zaradi katere je včasih prisiljen izpustiti del vnaprej pripravljenega govora, ali pa iz katerega drugega razloga.

Šepetano tolmačenje

Naslednja tehnika, ki jo bomo predstavili, je šepetano tolmačenje ali *chuchotage*. Gre za tehniko, ki je v osnovi podobna simultanemu tolmačenju, le da se izvaja brez tehnične opreme. Uporablja se v primerih, ko tolmačenje potrebujeta le en ali dva poslušalca, izjemoma več (Setton and Dawrant 2016, 19). Nekateri avtorji število poslušalcev striktno omejujejo na največ dva (Biffio Zorko and Maček 2015, 10). Če je poslušalec en sam, se tolmačenje izvaja tako, da tolmač prisede k poslušalcu, se običajno rahlo skloni k njemu in nato šepetaje simultano tolmači govor v ciljni jezik. Če sta poslušalca dva ali jih je več, tolmač običajno sedi na sredini za njimi in tolmači šepetaje, sklonjen naprej. Kadar je to izvedljivo (npr. kadar tega ne omogoča sedežni red), je priporočljivo, da tolmač in poslušalec sedita na koncu vrste, da je šepetanje in sklanjanje tolmača kar se da diskretno in

nemoteče za druge poslušalce v avditoriju. Kot velja za simultano tolmačenje, sta tudi za šepetano tolmačenje potrebna dva tolmača, če delo traja dlje časa. Ob obremenitvah, ki veljajo že za simultano tolmačenje, velja omeniti, da je dolgotrajno šepetanje obremenilno tudi za človeške glasilke. Kljub vsem pomanjkljivostim pa izkušnje kažejo, da se tudi šepetano tolmačenje še vedno uporablja razmeroma pogosto. Njegova poglobljena prednost v primerjavi s konsekvativnim tolmačenjem je čas, saj ne zahteva prekinitve govornega dogodka, zato tudi organizatorji dogodkov radi posegajo po omenjeni tehniki.

Čprav se v znanstveni in strokovni literaturi pojavljajo še nekatere podrobnejše kategorizacije tehnik (npr. »pravo« konsekvativno tolmačenje za konsekvativno tolmačenje, daljše od petih minut; telefonsko tolmačenje; tolmačenje za skupnosti itn.), gre v večini zgolj za različice tehnik, opisanih zgoraj, ki se med seboj razlikujejo glede na vsebino, modaliteto, naročnike, ciljne uporabnike ali okoliščine, v katerih se izvaja tolmačenje.

2.2 Prevajanje

Čprav je kronološko mlajše od tolmačenja, ima tudi prevajanje bogato in dolgo zgodovino, ki jo je v primerjavi s tolmačenjem mogoče rekonstruirati precej bolj zanesljivo in natančno, saj so prevodi skozi čas puščali oprijemljivo materialno sled. Začetki prevajanja so neločljivo povezani z iznajdbo pisave. Če velja, da je najstarejši znani zapis v sumerščini z območja Mezopotamije star skoraj 6000 let, lahko prve sledi prevajanja zasledimo na glinastih ploščicah, starih okrog 4500 let, na katerih so bile besede zapisane v dveh jezikih, sumerskem in eblaitskem (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, 3). Ploščice ne predstavljajo prevoda v klasičnem pomenu, vseeno pa dvojezični zapis opozarja na izzive pisnega komuniciranja med različnimi jeziki. Naslednja pomembna prelomnica je bila iznajdba abecede okrog leta 1000 pr. n. š. Če so zapisi prej temeljili na skoraj neomejenem številu zapletenih slik, kot so bili hieroglifi ali piktogrami, je abeceda omogočala zapisovanje neomejenega števila besed z abstraktnim, omejenim številom posameznih glasov, kar je še pospešilo razvoj pisave. Ker so bili izumitelji abecede, Feničani, pomorščaki, se je ta hitro razširila po Sredozemlju in slednjič s pomočjo Etruščanov pripeljala do razvoja latinične pisave (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, 3–4).

Uveljavitvi pisave je v naslednjih stoletjih sledil razmah pisanja in nastanek brezštevilnih besedil, med katerimi so nekatera prav v prevodu odločilno vplivala na razvoj jezika in posledično človeške družbe, kultur. Tako velja, da je prevajanje religioznih besedil na območju Nemčije spodbudilo razvoj standardne nemščine, odločilno vlogo pri tem pa je odigral Martin Luther. Podobno se je v srednjem veku dogajalo v vseh deželah, v katerih je prihajalo do pokristjanjevanja. Z območja današnje Velike Britanije je denimo znan kralj Alfred Veliki, ki se je v 9. stoletju, ko so skoraj polovico prihodnjega anglosaškega kraljestva obvladovali Danci, poleg vojaške moči zavedal tudi pomena kulture in jezika. Predvsem je ugotovil, da je dotedanja prevlada latinščine kot jezika učenjakov zavrla razvoj angleškega jezika. Prav zato se je, čeprav jih je štel že skoraj štirideset, lotil učenja latinščine in prevedel nekatera ključna religiozna in posvetna besedila v angleščino ali podprl prevajanje, med drugim pa je sestavil tudi latinsko-angleški slovar. Kasneje se je potrdilo, da so prav prevodi utrdili status angleščine, ki je lahko zamenjala latinščino (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, 23–24). V Mehiki so v 16. stoletju obstajale posebne šole, namenjene vzgoji prevajalcev, ki so verska besedila prevajali v lokalne jezike in na ta način med domačini širili krščanstvo (prim. Arencibia Rodriguez 2006).

Prevajalci in prevodi so odigrali ključno vlogo tudi pri prenosu in širjenju znanstvenih in strokovnih spoznanj skozi čas. Korenine vseh danes temeljnih znanstvenih disciplin praviloma segajo v antično dobo. Kasneje je zaradi že omenjene širitve pisave znanje prehajalo v različne smeri. Ena pomembnejših je vodila z Bližnjega vzhoda v Azijo, še posebej na Kitajsko in v Indijo, ki sta s prevodi prišli do nekaterih spoznanj na področju matematike ali astronomije precej prej kot večji del evropskih držav, ki danes veljajo za najbolj razvite na teh področjih. V Evropo je mnogo znanja prišlo posredno preko arabščine. Največ zaslug za to imajo kalifi, ki so v 9. in 10. stoletju vladali Bagdadu, središču moči tedanjega arabsko-muslimanskega imperija, in širokogradno podpirali prevajalce, ki so v arabščino prevajali pomembna starogrška besedila. V tem obdobju so bili v arabščino prevedeni temeljni filozofski in znanstveni spisi ter spoznanja s področja medicine, matematike in astronomije (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, 106–107). Nekaj podobnega se je v poznem srednjem veku začelo dogajati v evropskem prostoru, ko so začeli evropski učenjaki odkrivati arabske prevode in jih prevajati v različne evropske jezike. Pojav se je v stoletjih, ki so sledila, še okreplil. Največji razmah je branje doživelo s širjenjem pismenosti in vse večjo priljubljenostjo beletristike, k temu pa so ponovno veliko prispevali prav prevodi književnih besedil. Po mnenju nekaterih kritikov imajo prevodi književnih

besedil celo večjo moč in vpliv kot izhodiščna besedila, saj presegajo precej ožje jezikovne in kulturne meje izvirnika. Pravi pomen književnih prevodov, ki so denimo v Sloveniji leta 2014 predstavljali približno polovico vseh novo izdanih leposlovnih del (Blatnik 2017, 51), je ujela Meta Grosman, ko je zapisala, da bi si, »samo, če bi si lahko zamislili, kakšna bi bila naša civilizacija, ko bi s kakšno čudežno potezo iz nje izbrisali vse prevode in njihove mnogotere učinke, [...] lahko ustvarili realno predstavo o pomenu književnega prevoda za njen razvoj« (Grosman 1997, 16).

Prevodi pa niso le pomemben del vsakega literarnega sistema, temveč jih danes zasledimo tudi na številnih drugih področjih, praktično na vsakem koraku, čeprav se uporabniki tega pogosto ne zavedajo. V trgovinah tako na vsakem izdelku najdemo deklaracijo ali navodila za uporabo, ki so ob izhodiščnem praviloma napisana vsaj še v jeziku države, kjer se izdelek prodaja, ob tem pa praviloma še v vrsti drugih jezikov. Na področju tehnike so prevodi pogosto celo sestavni del izdelka, saj je denimo za naprave, ki se krmilijo po jezikovnih vmesnikih, v državah, kot je Slovenija, zakonsko določeno, da morajo biti meniji v jeziku države, v kateri se izdelek ali naprava prodaja. Enako velja za pravo, saj se zaradi globalizacije in večanja obsega čezmejnega pravnega prometa tudi na tem področju povečujejo potrebe po prevajanju in overjanju pogodb, sporazumov in drugih listin. Tudi novice iz sveta, objavljene v različnih medijih, so praviloma prevodi iz drugih jezikov. S prevodi se še posebej v urbanih središčih dobesedno srečujemo na vsakem koraku, saj imajo obvestilne table praviloma napise v več jezikih. Prav tako dvo-, neredko tudi večjezične so tudi spletne strani, še posebej v poslovnem okolju.

Prevajanje in prevode danes najpogosteje kategoriziramo glede na teme in žanrske značilnosti izhodiščnih besedil, ki praviloma ustrezajo tudi področjem, za katera se specializirajo posamezni poklicni prevajalci. Dober splošen pregled osnovnih tematskih sklopov predstavljajo gesla v Routledgeevi enciklopediji prevodoslovja (Baker and Saldanha 2009), med katerimi velja omeniti naslednje štiri:

- znanstveno in tehnično prevajanje;
- književno prevajanje;
- avdiovizualno prevajanje ter
- sodno tolmačenje.

Prevajanje **znanstvenih in tehničnih besedil** se v prvi vrsti nanaša na prevajanje besedil z naravoslovno in tehniško tematiko, denimo na besedila s področij matematike, astronomije, medicine, tehnike in številnih drugih. Pri prevajanju tovrstnih besedil so bila v preteklosti še posebej pomembna terminološka vprašanja, vprašanje standardizacije izrazov, vprašanje simbolov in merskih enot, kratic, transliteracije in podobno. Pri tem je pomembno, da se prevajalec vsaj do neke mere sam spozna na področje, v katero se umeščajo besedila, ki jih prevaja (Baker and Saldanha 2009, 246–247). Jody Byrne, predstavnik mlajše generacije tehniških prevajalcev in prevodoslovcev, je bolj osredotočen na funkcijo prevodov in strogo ločuje med prevajanjem znanstvenih in strokovnih besedil, čeprav priznava, da sta področji tesno povezani. V prvo skupino spadajo besedila, ki v ozkem pomenu zadevajo znanost, tj. pridobivanje in potrjevanje znanja z eksperimenti in poskusi; tehnična besedila pa se povezujejo z uporabo tovrstnega znanja v praksi (Byrne 2006, 7–8). Značilen primer znanstvenega prevoda te vrste predstavljajo prevodi znanstvenih prispevkov s področja fizike; šolski primer tehničnega besedila pa denimo navodilo za uporabo stroja ali naprave v industrijski proizvodnji. V angleškem jeziku izraz »technical translation« sicer označuje tudi besedila, ki jih v slovenščini označujemo kot strokovna. V tem primeru ne gre za besedila s področja tehnike ali tehnologije, temveč jih zaznamuje raba strokovnih pojmov in terminologije; značilen primer so računovodski standardi, ki tudi v slovenskem jeziku temeljijo na mednarodnih standardih.

Književno prevajanje spada med najstarejše oblike prevajanja in običajno zajema prevajanje vseh besedil, ki veljajo za neliterarna. Od drugih vrst prevajanja se loči po tem, da njegov namen ni (le) informiranje, temveč ima tudi druge funkcije, predvsem čustveno ali estetsko. Tradicionalno se v skladu z uveljavljenimi literarnimi žanri deli na tri podpodročja: prevajanje drame, prevajanje poezije in prevajanje proze. Nekateri književni prevajalci se specializirajo samo za prevajanje enega od treh žanrov ali celo za določeno podvrsto katerega od treh, denimo za otroško književnost. Pri književnih besedilih imajo v primerjavi z neliterarnimi ob vsebini pomembno vlogo slogovne prvine, saj učinki izhodiščnega besedila pogosto temeljijo prav na rabi arhaizmov, nestandardnega jezika, avtorjem lastne pripovedne tehnike in podobno (npr. Onič 2017, 2016, 2018). Prevajalci lahko pri tem izbirajo med dvema osnovnima možnostma: bodisi besedilo pripeljejo k bralcem s tem, da ga prilagodijo ciljni kulturi, ali obratno; v besedilu ohranijo tuje elemente in bralce pripeljejo k izhodiščni kulturi. Prevodoslovci v tem smislu obravnavajo prevode

glede na razmerje med izhodiščnim in ciljnim besedilom ali kot proces, v katerem sodelujeta prevajalec v vlogi bralca in ponovnega pisca izhodiščnega besedila ter ciljno bralstvo (Baker and Saldanha 2009, 153–154).

Audiovizualno prevajanje nekateri uvrščajo v podkategorijo književnega prevajanja, saj pogosto zajema prevajanje umetnostih besedil, na primer celovečernih filmov, po drugi strani pa velik del vsebin zajamejo tudi neumetnostna besedila v ožjem pomenu. Audiovizualno prevajanje se v osnovi deli na dve osnovni obliki: podnaslavljanje in sinhronizacijo. Podnaslavljanje je proces, pri katerem se slika opremi s podnapisi, ki gledalcem v pisni obliki prenesejo besede, izgovorjene na posnetku. Podnapisi so pri tem v prvi vrsti namenjeni prevodu izgovorjenega v ciljni jezik, čeprav je danes vse pogosteje na voljo tudi intralingvalni prevod, namenjen gluhim. Sinhronizacija na drugi strani označuje proces opremljanja slike s prevodom z govorno besedo. Ker je tak sistem praviloma dražji in tehnično zahtevnejši od podnaslavljanja, se uporablja v državah z večjim številom govorcev določenega jezika. Obstaja več različic sinhronizacije; omeniti velja sinhronizacijo, pri kateri poklicni igralci posnemajo zvočno podobo izvirnika. Druga možnost je sinhronizacija z enim pripovedovalcem, ki nastopa v vlogi vseh oseb v določenem filmu. Vsaka tehnika ima svoje omejitve.

Sodno tolmačenje v grobem zajema prevajanje pravnih besedil. Slovenska besedna zveza »sodno tolmačenje« je nekoliko zavajajoča, saj ta tehnika ne zajema zgolj prevajanja govorne besede, kot bi pomislili ob besedi »tolmačenje«, temveč tudi ali celo predvsem prevajanje pisane besede. V Sloveniji in številnih drugih državah je poklic sodnega tolmača reguliran in morajo kandidati, ki želijo biti imenovani za sodne tolmače, prej uspešno opraviti preizkus znanja, ki ga izvaja Ministrstvo za pravosodje. Na njem morajo kandidati izkazati ustrezno znanje izhodiščnega in ciljnega jezika ter poznavanje ustavne ureditve RS, osnov prava, sodnih postopkov in podobno (Sodni tolmači: Priprave na preizkus znanja). V praksi sodni tolmači praviloma prevajajo dokumente, kot so sodni spisi, pogodbe in podobno. Pomembno sestavino – od tod tudi naziv dejavnosti – predstavlja tolmačenje v sodni dvorani ali v upravnih postopkih. V teh primerih sodni tolmači pri delu uporabljajo tehnike konferenčnega tolmačenja, še posebej konsekutivno, simultano in šepetano tolmačenje. Tolmačenje v sodnih postopkih ima sicer številne specifične, saj je v primerjavi z večino drugih primerov v sodnih postopkih pogosto pomembna dobresedna vsaka beseda. Zaradi tega je pritisk na

tolmača še večji kot sicer, še posebej, kadar so udeleženci že zaradi predmeta obravnave pod vplivom čustev.

3 Zaključek

Namen pričujočega poglavja je bil osvetliti poglobitve razlike med prevajanjem in tolmačenjem, ki jih ni malo in niso nepomembne. Kot je razvidno iz primerjave, je prvi pomemben razloček med obema medij: medtem ko prevajanje pomensko označuje prevajanje pisane besede, v preteklosti zapisane na papirju, danes pa v dokumentih v elektronski obliki, tolmačenje kot *terminus technicus* označuje prevajanje govorne besede iz izhodiščnega v ciljni jezik. Naslednja pomembna razlika je čas: medtem ko lahko prevajalec izhodiščno besedilo praviloma v miru prebere od začetka do konca in ga nato prevede s pomočjo slovarjev, strokovne literature ali vzporednih besedil, mora tolmač prevodne rešitve iskati in zagotavljati v realnem času, brez uporabe jezikovnih pripomočkov; tudi morebitne sprotne popravke lahko v nasprotju s prevajalcem dodaja le v omejenem obsegu. Posledično se razlikujejo tudi kompetence, saj prevajanje zahteva zmožnost temeljitega branja in pisnega ubesedovanja prebranega v ciljnem jeziku, tolmačenje pa zmožnost zbranega poslušanja, intenzivne uporabe kratkoročnega spomina in ustreznega govornega izražanja v ciljnem jeziku. Razlika med prevajalci in tolmači se kaže tudi v njihovem družbenem statusu. Ugotavljamo, da se je še posebej v zadnjih letih poklic prevajalca razvrednotil, saj prevajalske storitve ponujajo številni ponudniki, ki za prevajanje niso usposobljeni in cene storitev nižajo pod razumno mejo, stanovska združenja pa so ob tem nemočna. Vendar pa so razmere na trgu tolmaških storitev vsaj v Sloveniji nekoliko boljše. Po eni strani k temu pripomore dejstvo, da za zagotavljanje tolmačenja ne zadostuje zgolj dobro znanje jezika, po drugi pa je odločilno vlogo odigralo Združenje konferenčnih tolmačev Slovenije, ki je znalo na domačem trgu pravočasno vzpostaviti in ohraniti poklicne standarde, primerljive z razvitimi državami. Ob koncu velja kot zanimivost omeniti, da spada slovenščina med jezike, v katerih se razlike med prevajanjem in tolmačenjem kažejo že na leksikalni ravni. Medtem ko se v nekaterih jezikih (npr. srbsčini) tako za prevajanje kot tolmačenje uporablja izraz »prevajanje«, ki se mu v primeru tolmačenja doda ustrezen pridevnik (npr. »simultano prevajanje«), je v slovenščini omenjeno vsebinsko razlikovanje razvidno že iz poimenovanja. Resnici na ljubo je treba ugotoviti, da se laična javnost tudi v Sloveniji omenjene razlike pogosto ne zaveda. Kljub razlikam pa je prevajanju in tolmačenju skupno, da imata razmeroma svetlo prihodnost, saj tehnologija kljub

bojazni nekaterih človeka še nekaj časa ne bo mogla v celoti nadomestiti, predvsem zato, ker bo računalnik potreboval nekoga, "ki mu bo naročil, kaj mora storiti" (Mileto 2011).

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»Na pomoč! Imam prazno glavo...« Konstrukcija poklicne identitete prevajalcev

SARA ORTHABER

Povzetek V prispevku želimo proučiti konstrukcijo poklicne identitete prevajalcev, ki se vzpostavlja ter izraža v njihovih jezikovnih praksah. V ta namen analiziramo jezikovne strategije v zahtevah, ki jih člani, tj. prevajalci in tolmači, objavljajo v spletni skupini, namenjeni vzajemni pomoči pri reševanju prevajalskih težav. S pomočjo analize 120 zahtev želimo ponazoriti, kateri vidiki poklicne identitete se prevajalcem zdijo relevantni, in raziskati njihove implikacije. Ugotovili smo, da je uporaba določenih strategij, zlasti strategija utemeljevanja zahteve, projekcija njihovega dožemanja realnosti oziroma trenutne situacije. Nadalje smo ugotovili, da prevajalci z določenimi jezikovnimi izbirami vplivajo na percepcijo prevajalskega poklica, obenem pa jo aktivno soustvarjajo.

Ključne besede: • poklicna identiteta • poklicni obraz • (ne)vljudnost • prevajalci • izražanje zahtev •

“Help! I'm Having a Total Brain Fart...” Construction of Translators' Professional Identity

SARA ORTHABER

Abstract This article examines how translators' professional identity evolves within an interactional context. Drawing on a corpus of 120 requests posted in an online language-support group primarily dedicated to providing its members, i.e. translators and interpreters, with advice on translation queries, we look at their use of request strategies. Specifically, we examine which aspects of professional identity become salient and what the implications of the use of these strategies are. The findings demonstrate that the use of specific request strategies, especially grounders, projects the translators' perception of reality or their understanding of the present situation. We argue that by using these strategies, the translators not only (co-)construct their professional identity but also influence the way it is perceived by the larger audience.

Keywords: • professional identity • professional face • (im)politeness • translators • requests •

1 Uvod

Redkokdo je v resnici seznanjen s pomenom in načinom dela prevajalca, čeprav obstaja na spletu ogromno opisov tega poklica. Na spletni strani Zavoda Republike Slovenije za zaposlovanje (2010) denimo piše, da je osnovna dejavnost prevajalca prevajanje besedil različnih dolžin v ciljni jezik, pri čemer je »potrebna jezikovna natančnost, da se ohrani pomen besedila iz izvirnika in s tem čim večja terminološka in pomenska enakovrednost besedil«. Prevajalci pri delu ne potrebujejo zgolj leksikonov, strokovne literature in slovarjev z različnih področij, temveč tudi močno razvit jezikovni čut in splošno razgledanost. Zaradi nenehnega hitrega napredka na vseh področjih, s katerimi se vsakodnevno soočajo pri svojem delu, so prevajalci pogosto postavljeni pred jezikovne izzive. Največja mera iznajdljivosti in kreativnosti je potrebna predvsem na področju terminologije. Prevajalci morajo imeti tudi močno razvito sposobnost koncentracije in so pogosto izpostavljeni stresnim situacijam, saj se morajo držati dogovorjenih rokov za oddajo kakovostnih prevodov. Dodaten stres jim povzroča tudi delovni čas, saj ga številni, predvsem tisti, ki delajo v svobodnem poklicu kot samostojni podjetniki, prilagajajo potrebam naročnikov. Glede na našete značilnosti ni presenetljivo, da prevajalci občasno presežejo meje svojih zmogljivosti, zato je hitra pomoč pri prevajalskih težavah še kako dobrodošla. Zato je bila ustanovitev spletne skupine, namenjene iskanju in nudenju pomoči pri različnih jezikovnih zagatah, zelo dobro sprejeta. Vedno več prevajalcev se namreč v stiski obrača na takšne spletne skupine v upanju, da bodo v okviru skupinskih diskusij hitro in enostavno prišli do optimalne rešitve svojega problema.

Namen prispevka je raziskati jezikovne izbire oziroma strategije, ki jih prevajalci uporabljajo, ko prosijo druge člane skupine za pomoč pri reševanju prevajalskih problemov. Osrednje vprašanje, na katerega želimo odgovoriti, je naslednje: kakšne strategije uporabljajo pri izrekanju zahtev in kaj le-te razkrivajo o njihovi poklicni identiteti? Zaradi omejene dolžine prispevka se bomo osredinili le na izvirno sporočilo sporočevalcev (tj. zahtevo), ne pa tudi na odgovore (tj. reakcije) članov skupine na posamezne zahteve. Najprej bomo z vidika vpljudnosti osvetlili poglobitve značilnosti govornega dejanja izrekanja zahtev, nato pa bomo opredelili pojem poklicne identitete. S pomočjo analize izbranih primerov bomo skušali raziskati elemente poklicne identitete prevajalcev.

2 Izrekanje zahtev

Kunst Gnamuš (1999, 9) je zahtevo opredelila kot ilokucijsko dejanje, katerega namera je naslovnika pripraviti k zaželenemu dejanju ali ga od njega odvrniti, ker si sporočevalec dejanje želi oziroma si ga ne želi in ker je prepričan, da je naslovnik zaželeno dejanje zmožen opraviti. Zahteve delimo na neposredne ali direktne, pri čemer uporabimo performativne glagole, izražene v povednem sedanjiku (npr. zahtevam, prepovedujem, prosim), v velelnem naklonu (povej, poišči) ali z naklonskim glagolom želje ali prisile (želim, moraš), in na posredne ali indirektne, pri čemer sporočevalec zahtevo formulira v obliki vprašanja (po zmožnosti ali pripravljenosti), npr. »Ali bi lahko ...«, ali v obliki namiga, npr. »Imaš pri sebi telefon?« (Blum-Kulka idr. 1989; Brown in Levinson 1987; Kunst Gnamuš 1999). Pretekle raziskave so pokazale, da sporočevalci pri izrekanju zahtev upoštevajo tako sociolingvistične kot pragmatične danosti in načela, kot so način komunikacije (javno/zasebno, dvogovor/mnogovor, v živo/po telefonu/na spletu), družbena razdalja med udeleženci, status in vloga v družbi ter formalnost situacije (institucionalna/vsakdanja) (Trosborg 1995). Povedano drugače, v danem jeziku so na voljo različna izrazna sredstva in pričakuje se, da jih bodo sporočevalci po lastni presoji prilagodili okoliščinam.

Zahteva je izrek, ki vključuje določene funkcijske sestavine: (1) jedro, ki je obvezni del in lahko vključuje notranje podporne strategije (ojačevalce in blažilce); (2) neobvezna dopolnila, ki so pred jedrom ali pa mu sledijo; in (3) pozivniki, ki so umeščeni na začetek zahteve z namenom, da pridobijo naslovnikovo pozornost (Kunst Gnamuš idr. 1997). Pomembno vlogo pri vljudnosti igrajo podporne strategije, zlasti šibilci oziroma blažilci, ki zmanjšujejo prisilnost zahteve. V nadaljevanju predstavljamo nekaj primerov kodirnih kategorij, ki so jih razvili za potrebe projekta Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP, Blum-Kulka idr. 1989) (primeri so vzeti iz korpusa podatkov in so zapisani v izvorni obliki (brez jezikovnih posegov), pri čemer smo ležeče označili dele, ki jih želimo izpostaviti):

- označevalci vljudnosti pri nagovoru (angl. politeness marker) (npr. »*Prosim* vas za nasvet obračuna prevoda dveh dokumentov«; »*Ali se vam zdi* ta prevod ustrezen oz. bi ga vi kako drugače oblikovali? Besedilo se glasi [...]«);
- zmanjševalci (angl. understater) (npr. »Kako bi *malce* bolj domiselno prevedli [...]«);

- uporaba pogojnika (npr. »*Prosil bi za okvirno ceno prevajanja iz Češčine v Slovenščino*«);
- označevalci osebnega stališča (angl. subjectivizer) (npr. »*Sprašujem se, če je raba roditelja ustrezna, ali bi bilo na tem mestu bolj primerno uporabiti imenovalnik*«; »*Bojim se namreč, da bi kakšno podstran izpustila, zato me zanima, če se je kdo s tem že soočil in če ima kakšen nasvet*«);
- uporaba prislovov (npr. »*Zadevo sem že nekako rešila, pa mi vseeno ne da miru ... Kaj po vaše pomeni [...]?*« / »*Mi lahko prosim kdo od vas pogleda, če je tole približno v redu prevedeno iz slov v angl oz če imate kakšen boljši predlog [...]?*«);
- interakcijski označevalci (angl. hedge), tj. diskurzivni označevalci s primarno vlogo vzpostavljanja, ohranjanja in razvijanja stika (angl. cajoler); ti diskurzivni označevalci izhajajo iz glagolskih oblik, v besedilu pa nastopajo v skladenjskopomenski vlogi členkov (npr. »*Veste tisto, ko dobiš v pregled obsežen prevod in bi bilo boljše, če bi ga sam prevedel? No, to.*«);
- blažilci, ki zmanjšajo prisilnost zahteve (angl. downtoner) (npr. »*Ali morda kdo ve, če obstaja pri nas kakšen ang > slo slovar na temo [...]?*«; »*Ali mi lahko mogoče kdo pomaga s predlogom, kako v Avstriji oz. v nemščini rečemo samostojnemu strokovnemu delavcu?*«);
- emotikoni, ki odražajo polariteto sentimenta sporočila (npr. smeški 😊 ali staknjeni dlani, ki izražata hvaležnost 🙌) (Erjavec in Fišer 2013).

Sporočevalci pri izrekanju zahtev pogosto uporabljajo tudi zunanje podporne strategije, ki prav tako delujejo kot blažilci. Pojavljajo se v neposrednem jezikovnem kontekstu, povezanem z izražanjem zahteve (Sifianou 1999), npr. »*Kako je s prečrkovanjem iz češčine in sklanjanjem [...]?* *Nimam pravil pravopisa ob sebi.*« Poznamo naslednje:

- utemeljitev, s katero sporočevalec utemelji oziroma upraviči svojo zahtevo in jo posledično ublaži (angl. grounder) (npr. »*Več glav več ve... in sicer... ali slučajno obstaja program o plagiatorstvu, ki je dostopen*«; »*sama nisem ne vem kakšen strokovnjak in ker več glav več ve, bi vas prosila za pomoč.*«);
- obljuba nagrade (npr. »*Bi bil kdo pripravljen prevesti naslov raziskovalne naloge v angleščino? Se ustrezno oddolžim.*«);

- pripravljalni stavek (angl. preparatory) (npr. »*A mi lahko pomagate*: a je v angleščini običajno Holly Mass ali samo Mass [...]?»), kjer sporočevalec pri naslovniku preveri zmožnost za izpolnitev zahteve, ali »*A lahko nekaj vprašam?* Kako drugače bi lahko rekli, da nekaj š'cneš stran?»), kjer sporočevalec naslovnika pred izrekom zahteve prosi za dovoljenje);
- pridobitev privolitve, s katero sporočevalec skuša naslovnika obvezati k izpolnitvi zahteve, še preden mu pove, kaj od njega zahteva (npr. »*Kar zahtevno uslugo bi rabila*, je kdo v skupini, ki ima doma prevod knjige Na Drini ćuprija?»);
- uporaba jezikovnega sredstva, s katerim poskuša sporočevalec ublažiti zahtevo (angl. imposition minimizer) (npr. »Mi lahko prevedete ta odstavek? *Seveda samo, če utegnete*«).

Čeprav še zmeraj prevladuje mnenje, da so posredno izražene zahteve, opremljene z notranjimi in zunanji podpornimi strategijami, bolj vljudne, pa novejša raziskava poudarjajo, da so pri interpretaciji vljudnosti izjemno pomembni tudi dejavniki, kot so pravice, pristojnosti in odgovornosti, povezane z vlogo sogovorcev, ter cilj in nujnost zahteve. Economidou-Kogestidis (2005) je na primer preučevala vljudnost v zahtevah strank (grških in angleških govorcev) v klicnem centru nekega letalskega podjetja in ugotovila, da so vljudne zahteve tiste, ki so kratke, jedrnat, formalne in ki izražajo družbeno razdaljo. To so potrdile tudi raziskave o vljudnosti v poslovnem diskurzu, ki poudarjajo, da je jasnost kot posledica učinkovitosti pomembnejša od vljudnosti, ki se tradicionalno izraža posredno (Márquez Reiter 2009), npr. »*se opravičujem, ampak ali bi mi lahko lepo prosim nekaj povedali in upam, da vas s tem ne obremenjujem preveč*«. Če torej stranke zahtevajo informacije od podjetja, ki na trgu ponuja določene storitve, na neposreden način, brez ublažitev, npr. »*potrebujem informacijo o...*«, ali se tako pritožujejo zoper plačane storitve, njihova komunikacija ne bo interpretirana kot nevljudna oziroma ogrožajoča. Vendar pa bi bila interpretirana kot nevljudna, če bi na enak način prosili prijatelja ali znanca, da si želimo sposoditi denar ali njegov avto, npr. »*posodi mi 500 evrov*«; »*jutri potrebujem tvoj avto*«. To je povezano s kontekstom, katerega del je strankino prepričanje, da je upravičena do določene informacije oziroma pritožbe, pod pogojem, da je to v okviru institucionalne odgovornosti podjetja.

Vljudnost je pri izrekanju zahtev izjemno pomembna, saj lahko gre za zelo delikatno komunikacijsko dejanje, ki lahko ogrozi »obraz« naslovnika. Koncept »obraz« (angl. »face«) je vpeljal sociolog Goffman (1955; 1959; 1967). V slovenščini termin nima ustreznice in se prevaja različno; npr. ugled, identiteta, integriteta, dostojanstvo, samopodoba, maska, mimika ipd. V prispevku bomo uporabljali izraz »obraz«.¹ Gre za interakcijski, medsebojno konstruiran koncept, ki je – kljub prepletanju – širši od koncepta vljudnosti, saj lahko neko dejanje ogroža obraz, ne da bi bilo nevljudno, npr. zahteva. Podobno kot identiteta², je tudi obraz nestalen, spremenljiv konstrukt, ki se razvija skozi komunikacijo, tako da se prilagaja vsakokratnim odzivom sogovorcev. Tako je v interesu govorca, da bo zahtevo oblikoval tako, da sebe ali sogovorca ne bo spravil v zadrego (tj. mu/ji ogrozil obraza). Pri tem si lahko pomaga s sredstvi, ki blažijo njeno prisilno naravo, ter s sredstvi, ki delujejo kot samoobrambni mehanizem v primeru, da zahteva ne bo izpolnjena (gl. Chen 2001). Povedano drugače, gre za jezikovna sredstva, ki jih sporočevalec po lastni presoji uporablja za doseganje ciljev.

Namen prispevka je raziskati, katere strategije uporabljajo prevajalci pri izrekanju zahtev in kaj le-te razkrivajo o poklicni identiteti prevajalcev. V nadaljevanju zato na kratko predstavimo koncept poklicne identitete.

2.1 Poklicna identiteta

Poklicna identiteta je kategorija skupinske identitete in pripadnosti. Po Muršaku (2012, 74) je opredeljena kot »izid poklicne socializacije in predstavlja posameznikovo doživljanje sebe v povezavi s poklicem oz. poklicnim delom, ki ga opravlja. Je socialno priznan način, na katerega se posamezniki poistovetijo drug z drugim na področju dela, poklicnem področju ali področju zaposlitve«. Poklicna identiteta se med drugim izraža tudi z jezikom. Povedano drugače, identiteto aktivno izražamo in konstruiramo prav v dejanjih in komunikacijske interakcije so mesto, kjer se poraja identiteta (Praprotnik, 2012). To pomeni, da nam proučevanje jezika, ki ga uporablja določena poklicna skupina, lahko omogoči vpogled v kompleksen proces poklicne identitete. Poklicna identiteta torej ni vnaprej določena in nespremenljiva, ampak jo razumemo v diskurzivnem smislu kot dinamičen konstrukt, ki ga aktivno (so)ustvarjajo udeleženci in ki se

¹ V povezavi z obrazom poznamo v slovenščini izraz *brezobrazen*, tj. brezobziren, nesramen, surov.

² Čeprav mnogi koncepta *identiteta* in *obraz* enačijo, pa tukaj tega mnenja ne delimo ter med konceptoma razlikujemo. *Obraz* razumemo kot dinamičen konstrukt, ki se oblikuje med interakcijo in je lahko usmerjen k sporočevalcu in govorcju, tj. kot del *identitete*.

lahko vsak trenutek spreminja. Pri tem ima pomembno vlogo tudi sistem vrednot, po katerih se ravna določena poklicna skupina. Tudi za prevajalce obstaja več kodeksov etičnih vrednot (npr. javno dostopen Kodeks prevajalske etike Društva znanstvenih in tehniških prevajalcev Slovenije iz leta 2005). Med najpomembnejše sodita strokovnost (odlično znanje jezikov, s katerimi prevajalec operira; zvesto posredovanje vsebine in oblike izvirnika) in profesionalnost (varovanje poklicne skrivnosti; upoštevanje rokov; pravično vrednotenje svojega dela; spoštovanje interesov naročnika). Obenem pa na oblikovanje poklicne identitete vplivajo tudi spreminjajoči se socio-pragmatični dejavniki, ki smo jih predstavili v uvodu in se lahko manifestirajo v interakciji.

3 Gradivo za analizo

Raziskava temelji na korpusu 120 zahtev, ki so bile objavljene v skupini za medsebojno pomoč pri prevajanju, v kateri sodelujejo prevajalci, tolmači, lektorji, jezikoslovci, učitelji, študenti ter drugi strokovnjaki s področja prevajanja. Skupina je bila ustanovljena pred več kot šestimi leti in šteje približno 8000 članov, ki se lahko vključujejo v diskusije. Zahteve, ki jih obravnavamo v prispevku, so prevajalci objavili med letoma 2012 in 2018 in vsebujejo med 9 in 64 besed, odvisno od zapletenosti problema in konteksta. Da zagotovimo anonimnost udeležencev, smo njihova imena izpustili. Ta za analizo tudi niso relevantna.

Omenjena skupina je zelo aktivna in članstvo v njej se nenehno povečuje. Dnevno poišče pomoč v skupini nekaj deset članov in pogosto se razvijejo obsežne diskusije, ki vodijo do optimalne rešitve prevajalskega problema. Zaradi pogostega ponavljanja vprašanj o že prediskutiranih temah so skrbniki nedavno oblikovali pravila sodelovanja v skupini. Od članov pričakujejo, da pred objavo težave, na katero so naleteli pri prevajanju, izčrpajo vse možnosti za pridobitev rešitve (iskanje v arhivu skupine, v spletnih bazah in slovarjih, korpusih ipd.). Ko se odločijo za objavo, naj ta obvezno vključuje jezikovno kombinacijo (tj. izvirni in ciljni jezik (gl. primera (14) in (16)) s čim več konteksta, saj bodo člani le tako lahko podali zanesljive rešitve, sporočevalcem pa prihranili morebitno neprijetno izkušnjo (npr. posmehovanje), ki jo prikazujeta naslednja primera (ležeče in/ali podčrtano smo označili dele, ki jih želimo izpostaviti). Korpusne primere navajamo brez lektorskih posegov.

(1)

A: Kako se pri nas reče vozovnici za neomejeno število voženj, v angleščini 'pass'?

B: voženj s sedežnico? kamelo? go kartom? vesoljsko ladjo?

A: Z letalom, v izvirniku imam 'pass Delta'.

B: multi pass je to

(2)

A: Ali kdo ve, kako se tem lepotcu reče po slovensko? Lat. sarcoramphus papa, angl. King vulture. Zelo hvaležna bom. [priložena slika ptiča]

B: kraljevski jastreb, mogoče?

C: To ni vprašanje za prevajalce, ampak za ornitologe.... In NE, to ni kraljevski jastreb. Bog pomagaj vašim naročnikom, ki na tak način prevajate.

D: [nagovori C] te lahko lepo prosim če stopiš iz piedestala in nam, navadnim smrtnikom, poveš, kateri ptič naj bi to bil, hvaležni bomo, vaše visočanstvo... pa ja ne misliš, da si kaj bolj "brihten" če pametuješ tu in ponižuješ ostalo rajo..

Tovrstne reakcije niso redkost, zato smo mnenja, da vplivajo na to, da prevajalci svoja sporočila oblikujejo tako, da bi bila sprejemljiva. Gre namreč za komunikacijo pred številčnim občinstvom, kar dodatno poveča tveganje za ogrožanje obraza. To potrjuje ugotovitev, da ima lingvistični odtis udeležencev dolgotrajen pragmatični učinek in da skupaj s klimo v skupini vpliva na interakcijo ter na nove jezikovne izbire (Praprotnik 2007, 2012). Primer (2) kaže, da so lahko udeleženci – tako iskalci pomoči kot tudi tisti, ki pomagajo – tarča agresivnih verbalnih napadov drugih članov.

Ob večkratnem kršenju napisanih (in nenapisanih) pravil kdo izmed članov objavi tudi posebno obvestilo, kot je na primer naslednje:

(3)

A: En prijazen nasvet: dejte sami poguglat, preden nas/jih namesto vas googla 10.

Iskanje pomoči v skupini torej ni razumljeno kot pravica, temveč kot dodatna možnost iskanja pomoči. Zato lahko pričakujemo, da sporočevalec pri tem ne bo ogrozil obraza naslovnika oz. naslovnikov. Kljub temu kratko in jedrnato izražene zahteve ne moremo razumeti kot nevljudne, saj je skupina namenjena medsebojni pomoči, izjemno pomemben pri tem pa je čas, ki ga člani namenijo sodelovanju v njej (primer (4)).

(4)

A: Zdravo, potrebujem pomoč. Mi lahko kdo napiše Dobrodošli v kitajščini? Hvala!

Zahteve, izražene v tej obliki, so najpogostejše in vključujejo: uvodni pozdrav (Zdravo), temo sporočila (iskanje pomoči), jedro zahteve, ki vsebuje opis težave (prevod pozdrava »Dobrodošli« v kitajščino), in zahvalo (zahtevo sporočevalci pogosto zaključijo z zahvalo). V raziskavi nas zanima zgolj jedro zahteve, zato se v nadaljevanju ne bomo posvečali uvodnim in zaključnim pozdravom. Naš namen je namreč preučiti prej omenjene strategije prevajalcev pri izrekanju zahtev in ugotoviti, kaj razkrivajo o njihovi poklicni identiteti.

4 Analiza in rezultati

V študiji smo analizirali 120 zahtev, ki so jih prevajalci objavili v spletni skupini. Zahteve, ki jih obravnavamo, se od drugih zahtev razlikujejo po tem, da jih avtorji legitimirajo bodisi tako, da jih dodatno upravičijo oziroma utemeljijo, bodisi da odgovornost za iskanje pomoči preložijo na nek zunanji dejavnik (časovna stiska, utrujenost, izčrpanost, pomanjkanje koncentracije ipd.). Tovrstne strategije delujejo kot samoobrambni mehanizem in njihovim avtorjem omogočijo, da že vnaprej zaščitijo svoj obraz pred morebitnimi negativnimi odzivi članov na zastavljeno vprašanje (pametno oziroma neumno vprašanje ipd.). Primere zahtev smo razporedili v pet skupin glede na identificirane vzorce.

4.1 »Kava še ni prijela«

V korpusu smo zasledili štiri primere, v katerih so se prevajalci v objavi zahteve sklicevali na neučinkovitost kave. Kava oziroma kofein, ki ga kava vsebuje, stimulira naše telo ter pomaga pri koncentraciji, potrebni za opravljanje intelektualno zahtevnih del, ter ima v tovrstnih poklicih prav posebno mesto:³

(Primeri 5-8)

- (5) Help, lepo prosim, *kava še ni prijela!* [...] Hvaležna za kakršno koli usmeritev.
- (6) Hej, dons očitno tud *kava ne pomaga* [...] Kaj bi blo po naše [...].
- (7) [...] Hvaležna za predloge, saj mi *kava še ni prijela...*
- (8) [...] mi kdo pomaga prevesti ta stavek, *ni ti tri šalce kave ne pomagajo* [...].

S sklicevanjem na neučinkovitost kave sporočevalci nakazujejo utrujenost in izčrpanost, ki sta pogosto posledica naporenega prevajalskega poklica. Tako morebitno neprimernost vprašanja, s katerim bi drugim članom skupine tratili njihov dragoceni čas, prevajalci upravičijo z dejavnikom, ki je zunaj njihove neposredne kontrole. To jim omogoča, da se vnaprej zaščitijo pred morebitnimi negativnimi reakcijami članov oziroma si priborijo dodatne možnosti za pogajanja v primeru konfliktna situacije.

4.2 »Možgani so mi zmrznili«

Možgani so tukaj mišljeni kot sinonim za um, modrost, zmogljivosti. Sklicevanje na nedelovanje možganov je najštevilčnejša kategorija; prisotna je v 45 primerih. V to kategorijo štejemo tudi različice v angleškem jeziku: »brain fart«⁴ (4 primeri) in »brain freeze« (27 primerov). Zadnja različica pomeni kratkotrajni glavobol, ki ga povzroči zaužitje hladne hrane ali pijače, a jo prevajalci zelo pogosto uporabljajo v kontekstu trenutne »odpovedi možganov.« V gradivu najdemo tudi slovenski izraz »zmraznjeni možgani« (trije primeri).

³ Prve tri zahteve so bile objavljene v dopoldanskem času, zadnja pa v zgodnjem popoldnevu.

⁴ Dekodiranje angleškega izraza je mogoče samo s poznavanjem angleškega jezika in v tem kontekstu pomeni blokado pri razmišljanju oziroma neuspešen poskus, da bi se spomnili nečesa preprostega.

V povezavi z možgani zasledimo najrazličnejše variacije, s katerimi prevajalci – podobno kot pri kavi – poudarjajo, da so utrujeni in nezmožni sprejemati pametne odločitve, s čimer upravičujejo iskanje pomoči ne glede na primernost teme. Občasno to podkrepijo še z dejavniki psihološkega stresa, na primer »predolg dan je bil«, »prekurjenost« itd. Poglejmo nekaj primerov:

- (9) [...] kako rečemo takšnim hišam? *Zmrznili možgani.*
- (10) *Prazni možgani.* [...] Help!
- (11) *Možgani že spijo* [...] Pomoč pri zapisu sklanjatve HVALA in lep večer!
- (12) *Možgani mi od prekurjenosti ne delajo več.*
- (13) Predolg dan je bil in *možgani ne sodelujejo več.*
- (14) ANG-SLO Ko *možgani odpovedo.*
- (15) *Možgani bočejo na dopust.*
- (16) SLO-EN – topiranje [...] natopirani lasje *Moji možgani so* že rahlo *natopirani* in nikakor ne najdem.

Prevajalci so pri opisu stanja možganov precej kreativni in pogosto je metaforično izražanje: skisani, boleči, prazni, prekurjeni, nesodelujoči, na paši, na štrajku, ustavljeni, zaspani, v leri, v megli, zmrznjeni, sprani ipd. Poleti je pogosto sklicevanje na vročino. V tem letnem času je moč najti naslednje metafore:

- (17) *Vročina mi malo kisa možgančke*, prosim za pomoč, kako v SLO rečemo [...].
- (18) SLO – *Vročina mi je že malo scvrta možgane*, zato me je zdle ta zadeva čist zmedla.
- (19) *Meni je vročina ponovno ubila možgane.*

Ko prevajalci uporabijo angleške izraze (»brain fart« ali »brain freeze«), jih večinoma zapišejo na začetek zahteve, zahtevo pa nato zapišejo v slovenskem jeziku:

- (20) *Brain fart.* Ujemanje osebka in povedka: četrtnina naselij je imela/imelo?
- (21) Imam *brain fart* in ne najdem slovenskega izraza za [...].
- (22) *Brain freeze.* Kako bi lepo rekli, da nekdo vse pomeša skupaj (mix together), ampak na slab način?

Do uporabe tovrstnih strategij so se v obliki meta komentarjev opredelili tudi nekateri člani skupine in z lastno interpretacijo jezikovnih izrazov omogočili vpogled v svoje razmišljanje:

(23)

A: »Zakaj rečete nekateri kolegi, da so vam *zmrznili možgani* ali da gre za trenuten *brain fart*? A če bi pa mal počakali, mislite, da bi vam potem *možgani odmrznili ali odprdnili* in bi se res spomnili, kako se kaj reče? Jaz tega nikoli ne bom rekla, da imam brain freeze, odnosno fart, ker dejansko ne *vem in ne gre za trenutno blokado, ampak neznanje*, če me kdo razume«.

Zgornji komentar je zelo kritičen do vključevanja izrazov, kot so »zmrznjeni možgani«, »brain fart« in podobno, saj avtorica njihovo uporabo razume kot prikrivanje neznanja. S podajo svojega kritičnega mnenja povečuje konfliktnost diskusije, saj gre za neposreden napad na člane skupine, obenem pa omenjene jezikovne prakse označi kot problematične. Iz njene reakcije je razvidno, da zavrača identiteto, ki jo prevajalci na takšen način izražajo v interakciji. Njeno mnenje delijo tudi nekateri drugi člani:

(24)

A: »*zveni mi sebebodcenjujoče*, ne me razumet narobe, uporabljajte, kar želite, ni to nazi scena, zgolj sem izrazla svoje mišljenje, ker me brain fart moti že dlje časa.

B: »saj je tudi mišljeno »sebebodcenjujoče«, ker gre za neke vrste *fail*.

Prevajalci s svojimi komentarji vnesejo svoj odnos do problematike in čustva, ki jih le-ta poraja. Menijo, da si prevajalci s strategijo, ki v osnovi deluje kot samoobrambni mehanizem za ohranitev poklicnega obraza, delajo medvedjo uslugo, saj s tem zaničujejo svoje kognitivne sposobnosti, to pa lahko škodljivo vpliva na percepcijo prevajalskega poklica. Na podoben način člani skupine uporabljajo tudi frazem imeti prazno/polno glavo.

4.3 »Prazna glava«

Frazem imeti prazno glavo pomeni vedeti zelo malo ali nič, medtem ko imeti polno glavo *česa* pomeni biti v mislih popolnoma zavzet s čim. Uporaba teh frazemov (5 primerov) signalizira obremenjenost in je posledica skrajno napornega intelektualnega dela prevajalcev.

- (25) AN-SL: *Glava je prazna*, pa je komi ponedeljek. Zgodba se dogaja nekje v 16. stoletju [...]
- (26) ANG-SLO Another shiver skipped along her pleasure centre and settled [...]. *Prazna glava*...
- (27) HRV-SLO: *totalno mi je zaštekala glava*, zato prosim, za kak slovenski izrek o tem.
- (28) EN-SL *Čisto polno glavo* imam že ... kaj bi bila [...]

Podoben učinek imajo tudi primeri, v katerih prevajalci neposredno opisujejo svoje počutje, bodisi utrujenost bodisi stres zaradi časovnega pritiska (trije primeri).

- (29) ANG>SLO [...] kaj je administration department v podjetju? *Ne morem več razmišljat.*
- (30) *lovim rok in sem popolnoma zablokirala.*

Primeri kažejo, da prevajalci prevajanje dojemajo kot izjemno zapleten miselni proces, pri katerem morajo nenehno sprejemati odločitve, ki jih morajo znati utemeljiti. Obenem zavedno ali nezavedno ubesedijo tudi psihofizične posledice tega poklica, kot so utrujenost, zmedenost, stres.

4.4 »Meša se mi«, »blede se mi«

Še večjo intenzivnost počutja nakazujeta izraza »meša se mi« in »blede se mi«. V korpusu je bilo skupno deset takšnih primerov. Sporočevalci želijo z njimi prav tako opravičiti svoj klic na pomoč, in sicer tako, da se sklicujejo na posledice procesa prevajanja:

- (31) Sklanjanje.. *meša se mi že*. Pridruži se več kot 6.000.000 ljudi ali [...].
- (32) SLV Zarad smotanih imen *se mi že meša*... Če imamo firmo Adriatic Slovenica, kako se sklanja?

- (33) *Rablo se mi že blede* in nikakor ne vem, kako bi tole prevedel: [...].
- (34) Eno hitro vprašanje, se opravičujem, ker je banalno, ampak *se mi že malo blede*.

4.5 »Butasto/neumno vprašanje«

Nadalje smo v korpusu naleteli na strategijo, s katero prevajalci pri iskanju pomoči svoje vprašanje označijo kot potencialno neumno (12 primerov), butasto (6 primerov), ali blond (1 primer). Uporaba teh jezikovnih sredstev je presenetljiva, saj gotovo ni želja prevajalcev, da bi kot profesionalni prevajalci izpostavljali svoje negativne lastnosti (npr. da so neumni ali butasti). Zato sklepamo, da ta strategija deluje kot samoobrambni mehanizem za ohranjanje poklicnega obraza z namenom, da že vnaprej razoroži tiste člane, ki bi na vprašanje reagirali negativno (glej primer (2)).

- (35) Mogoče je *butasto vprašanje*, ampak ko začne človek preveč premišljevat, več nič ne ve.
- (36) ANG-SLO Ok, *morda neumno vprašanje*, ampak [...]
- (37) Pozdrav vsem skupaj. Sicer je moja *vprašanje lahko neumno*, ampak vprašati ni greh
- (38) Ang-Slo Imam mogoče *nekoliko butasto vprašanje*: [...]
- (39) *Popolnoma blond vprašanje* nekoga, ki nima izpita za avto

V primerih 35, 36 in 39, v primerjavi s primeroma 37 in 38, prevajalci ne uporabijo svojilnega zaimka, kar jim omogoča, da se distancirajo od dejanja oz. da dejanje ni dojeto kot nekaj, kar bi lahko kontrolirali. S tem obraza ne ogrožajo v enaki meri kot v primerih, ko uporabijo zaimek. Menimo, da je na izbiro te strategije vplivala pretekla komunikacija v skupini (gl. primera (1) in (2)).

5 Diskusija in zaključki

V članku smo analizirali strategije prevajalcev pri objavi prošenj za pomoč pri prevajalskih problemih, pri čemer smo izpostavili identitetne označevalce v zahtevah. Analiza je pokazala, da prevajalci izražanje zahtev pogosto doživljajo kot grožnjo svojemu obrazu in da temu primerno izbirajo jezikovna sredstva, ki sicer niso relevantna za razumevanje in potek interakcije. Korpusni primeri so pokazali, da prevajalci govorno dejanje izpeljejo na način, ki bi jim omogočil določene možnosti za pogajanja v primeru konfliktne situacije. Menimo, da so te

strategije razvili na podlagi preteklih konfliktnih primerov. Tako zaščitijo svoj obraz, s tem da vzrok za iskanje pomoči pripišejo zunanjim dejavnikom (npr. delu pod pritiskom zaradi upoštevanja rokov; utrujenosti in izčrpanosti zaradi napornega dela; mukotrpnemu iskanju terminoloških ustreznih, besednih iger ali drugih kulturnih in slogovnih posebnosti za zagotavljanje razumljivosti) in posledično stanju, v katerem se znajdejo zaradi njih (npr. meša se mi/blede se mi, prazna glava, skisani možgani ipd.). Uporaba te strategije jim omogoča doseganje vsaj dveh ciljev hkrati: s tem ko se postavijo v vlogo prevajalca v stiski, vplivajo na čustva drugih članov skupine in povečajo možnosti za pozitiven odziv na izraženo zahtevo, obenem pa se zaščitijo pred morebitnimi negativnimi reakcijami, ki v skupini niso redke (prim. primera (1) in (2)). Učinek je toliko večji v primerih, kjer ne gre zgolj za izrekanje zahtev, temveč govorno dejanje vključuje tudi elemente tarnanja (npr. nad splošnim počutjem, ki je posledica prevajanja).

Poklicna identiteta se izraža prav z osredotočanjem na omenjene dejavnike, ki ponazarjajo prevajalčev vsakdan. To se uresničuje s pomočjo jezikovnih sredstev, s katerimi prevajalci izražajo svoje trenutno mentalno stanje. Menimo, da identificirane jezikovne prakse vplivajo na to, kakšno predstavo imajo posamezniki o prevajalcih. Zato dejstvo, da nekateri člani uporabo določenih strategij izrecno zavračajo, ni presenetljivo in kaže na to, da se zavedajo, da je identiteta dinamičen večsmerni proces, ki občinstvu tako zavedno kot nezavedno sporoča, kakšno mnenje imajo o sebi, to pa lahko negativno vpliva na celotno poklicno identiteto.

V prihodnosti bi lahko poleg zahtev v raziskavo vključili tudi odgovore članov ter raziskali njihove jezikovne prakse. Zanimivo pa bi bilo raziskati tudi strategije prevajalcev na sorodnih forumih in jih med seboj primerjati.

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Kulturno-specifični izrazi u srpskim i hrvatskim prevodima Cankarovog „Sluge Jerneja“

GJOKO NIKOLOVSKI

Rezime U radu su predstavljeni književni prevodi Cankarove pripovetke Sluga Jernej in njegovo pravo prevodilaca Đuze Radovića u srpski jezik i Branka Brajenovića u hrvatski jezik. Cilj rada je utvrditi najčešće prevodilačke strategije korišćene pri prevođenju kulturno-specifičnih izraza sa slovenačkog jezika u srpsku i hrvatsku verziju srpskohrvatskog jezika, kao i to kako su izbrane strategije uticale na ciljni tekst.

Ključne reči: • Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo • kulturno-specifični izrazi • srpski jezik • hrvatski jezik • srpskohrvatski jezik • Ivan Cankar • književni prevod •

Cultural-specific Expressions in Serbian and Croatian Translations of Cankar's „Hlapec Jernej“

GJOKO NIKOLOVSKI

Abstract The article deals with literary translations of Cankar's short story “Hlapec Jernej in njegova pravica” into Serbian, as made by the translator Đuza Radovića, and into Croatian, by Branko Brajenović. The aim of the paper is to identify the most common strategies for translating culture-specific elements from Slovene into Serbian and Croatian and to establish how the selected translation strategies influenced the target text.

Keywords: • Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo • cultural-specific elements • Serbian • Croatian • Serbo-Croatian • Ivan Cankar • literary translation •

1 Uvod

Književni prevod je najznačajniji oblik posredovanja među kulturama na području beletristike, još od vremena od kada postoji književnost u današnjem značenju te reči (Grosman, 1997, 11). Književno prevođenje utiče na nastajanje različitih kultura, istovremeno otvarajući mogućnost za upoznavanje i razumevanje interkulturalnog sveta, i ima ključnu ulogu u komunikaciji između kultura (Grosman, 1997, 11). Život u nekadašnjoj zajedničkoj državi Slovenaca, Hrvata, Srba, Bošnjaka, Crnogoraca i Makedonaca, u svim njenim oblicima: Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca (1918–1929), Kraljevini Jugoslaviji (1929–1945), Federativnoj Narodnoj Republici Jugoslaviji (1945–1963) i Socijalističkoj Federativnoj Republici Jugoslaviji (1963–1991) predstavlja odličan primer komunikacije između kultura šest različitih naroda, koji su se poznavali, razumeli, komunicirali i stvarali u tadašnjem srpskohrvatskom, slovenačkom i makedonskom jeziku (u vreme zajedničke države) i u slovenačkom, srpskom, hrvatskom, bosanskom, crnogorskom i makedonskom jeziku po raspadu zajedničke države. U času zajedničkog suživota nastao je veliki broj književnih prevoda, koji su predstavljali značajan element međusobnog povezivanja jugoslovenskih književnosti i kultura.

U radu je predstavljena problematika prevođenja kulturno-specifičnih izraza (u nastavku KI), koji se pojavljuju u socijalnoj pripovetki *Sluga Jernej* i njegovo pravo (u nastavku SJ) slovenačkog pisca Ivana Cankara (u nastavku IC) u srpskim i hrvatskim izdanjima. SJ je na srpski jezik preveo Đuza Radović, dok je na hrvatski jezik pripovetku preveo Branko Brajenović. Cilj rada je utvrditi koje prevodilačke strategije (u nastavku PS) su izabrali prevodioci i kako su one uticale na ciljni tekst.

2 SJ u srpskim i hrvatskim izdanjima

IC jeste jedan od slovenačkih pisaca čija su dela najčešće prevedena na prostoru nekadašnje Jugoslavije. Do danas su prevedena sva njegova dela u srpskohrvatski/srpski/hrvatski jezik. O Cankaru u Hrvatskoj enciklopediji je zapisano sledeće:

U književnom razdoblju moderne afirmirao je nov način pisanja u kojem prevladava čovjekov unutarnji svijet, ali i svijest o socijalno i materijalno

zatiranom narodu i cijelom čovječanstvu. Za intimističke teme najpogodniji mu je književni oblik bila crtica, a društvenokritičke teme obrađivao je u noveli, romanu ili drami. Prikazujući teške stvarne životne prilike, Cankar se služio simbolističkim snovima i metaforikom kao izrazom čežnje za ljepšom budućnošću. Često je svoje simbole preuzimao iz pučkoga pjesništva (Kralj Matijaš, Kurent, Lijepa Vida, Petar Klepec). Tematski je raspon njegove pripovjedne proze i drama velik; on promišlja bitne probleme svojega doba i prostora: uloga klasa u društvenom i povijesnom kretanju, uloga radnika i radništva, uloga intelektualca i kulture u razvoju naroda, sudbina preranih ili prekasnih pokretača novih ideja, isprepletenost ekonomske moći i morala, propadanje starih društvenih i idejnih struktura. Dominantno mjesto u njegovoj poetici ima refleksija o trima pojmovima: mati–domovina–Bog; na podlozi tih pojmova izgrađena je izvorna osobna filozofija.¹

Za srpske literarne istoričare, Ivan Cankar se ubraja u književne stvaraocce, koji su se odlučno suprotstavljali nepravdi i nejednakostima i koji su se borili svojim književnim delom i neposrednim zalaganjem za promenu društvenog uređenja. Kovačević (Kovačević 1961, 124) smatra da je sasvim opravdano svrstan među najveće slovenačke pisce, s obzirom da je u svojim delima dotakao sva pitanja koja je mogao postaviti duhovno budan čovek njegovog vremena.

Zbog ovakve recepcije, Ivan Cankar jeste najčešće preveden slovenački pisac na prostoru nekadašnje Jugoslavije. O tome govore i sledeći pregled.

U Tabeli 1 prikazana su sva izdanja koja je preveo Đuza Radović, a jezik prevoda označen je kao srpski, dok je u jednom izdanju označen i kao bosanski. Za potrebe rada koristimo poslednje izdanje iz 1986. godine.

¹ <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=10654>.

Tabela 1: Srpska izdanja HJ

Naslov na stranom jeziku	Jezik	Godina
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo, Kralj Betajnovce	srpski	1986
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo	srpski	1982
Kralj Betajnovce; Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo	srpski	1980
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo; Pripovetke	srpski	1977
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo	srpski	1974
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo; Pripovetke	srpski	1971
Martin Kačur; Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo	srpski	1970
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo	srpski	1970
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo	bosanski	1967
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo; Pripovetke	srpski	1966
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo	srpski	1966
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo	srpski	1965
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo	srpski	1963
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo; Pripovetke	srpski	1963
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo	srpski	1962
Novele	srpski	1961
Sluga Jernej: pripovetka	srpski	1946

vir: www.cobiss.si

U Tabeli 2 prikazana su sva izdanja koja je preveo Branko Brajenović i u kojima je jezik prevoda označen kao hrvatski. Za potrebe rada koristimo izdanje iz 1985. godine.

Tabela 2: Hrvatska izdanja HJ

Naslov na stranom jeziku	Jezik	Godina
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo	hrvatski	1985
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo	hrvatski	1984
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo	hrvatski	1983
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo	hrvatski	1982
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo	hrvatski	1981
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo	hrvatski	1980
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo	hrvatski	1979
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo	hrvatski	1977
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo	hrvatski	1973
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo	hrvatski	1969
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo	hrvatski	1966
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo	hrvatski	1964
Sluga Jernej i njegovo pravo	hrvatski	1960

vir: www.cobiss.si

Na osnovu podataka prikazanih u tabeli 1 i tabeli 2 možemo zaključiti da se za jezik prevoda koriste termini srpski jezik i hrvatski jezik (čak i bosanski jezik) i pored postojanja termina kojim se označavao zajednički srpskohrvatski jezik. U prevodu Đuze Radovića zastupljen je ekavski, dok je u prevodu Branka Brajenovića zastupljen ijekavski izgovor. Stoga, u radu jezik prevoda Đuze Radovića označavamo kao srpski jezik, dok jezik prevoda Branka Brajenovića označavamo kao hrvatski jezik.

3 Srpskohrvatski – srpski – hrvatski jezik

Sredinom XIX veka, srpski pisci i lingvisti, predvođeni piscem i folkloristom Vukom Stefanovićem Karadžićem i većina hrvatskih pisaca i lingvista koji su zastupali Ilirski pokret, predvođen Ljudevitom Gajem i Đurom Daničićem, predlažu upotrebu štokavskog narečja za osnovu zajedničkog jezika. Vuk Karadžić je standardizovao srpsko ćirilično pismo, dok su Ljudevit Gaj i Đuro Daničić standardizovali hrvatsko latinično pismo. Oba pisma bila si bazirana na osnovama narodnog govora i principima fonološkog pravopisa. Godine 1850. srpski i hrvatski pisci i lingvisti potpisali su Bečki književni dogovor u kojem su izrazili interes za stvaranje zajedničkog standardnog jezika (Greenberg 2004, 188). Tako je nastao kompleksan jezik koji je u svojoj osnovi sadržao dve

varijante, koji se u Srbiji pojavljivao pod nazivom „srpskohrvatski“ odnosno „srpski ili hrvatski jezik“, dok se u Hrvatskoj koristio izraz „hrvatskosrpski“ odnosno „hrvatski ili srpski jezik“. U praksi, dve varijante istog književnog jezika funkcionisale su kao dve književne varijante, koje su se uglavnom razlikovale u leksičkoj i stilskoj ravni. Ova situacija opisivana je jednostavnim zaključkom, a to je da je srpskohrvatski odnosno „hrvatski ili srpski jezik“ jedan jezik. Tokom austrougarske okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine, jezik sva tri naroda nazivan je „bosanski jezik“, sve do smrti grofa fon Kalaja 1907. godine, kad je ime jezika promenjeno u „srpskohrvatski“ (Sugar 1963, 201; Rame 2008, 74–76. Velikonja 1992).

S proglašenjem zajedničke države, Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, zajednički jezik ove države nazvan je „srpsko-hrvatsko-slovenački“ ustavom iz 1921. godine (Busch in Kelly-Holmes 2004, 26). Ovaj ustav je ukinut 1929. godine (Tomašević 1969, 8) kada je ime države promenjeno u Kraljevina Jugoslavija, dok je ime jezika, srpsko-hrvatsko-slovenački jezik, zadržano i u ustavu iz 1931. godine (Busch in Kelly-Holmes 2004, 26).

15. januara 1944. godine Antifašističko Veće Narodnog Oslobođenja Jugoslavije (AVNOJ) odredilo je da su hrvatski, srpski, slovenački i makedonski jezik ravnopravni jezici na teritoriji Jugoslavije (Greenberg 2004, 115). Odluka o priznavanju srpskog i hrvatskog jezika kao posebnih jezika je revidirana 1945. godine, pri čemu je ponovo proglašen zajednički srpskohrvatski odnosno hrvatskosrpski jezik (Greenberg 2004, 115).

Posle svestrane diskusije, održane 8., 9. i 10. decembra 1954. godine u Novom Sadu, većina² srpskih i hrvatskih pisaca, lingvista i literarnih kritičara, podržanih

² Potpisnici: Ivo Andrić, književnik i akademik iz Beograda; dr Aleksandar Belić, profesor univerziteta i predsednik Srpske akademije nauka iz Beograda; Živojin Boškov, književnik i urednik »Letopisa Matice srpske« iz Novog Sada; Mirko Božić, književnik i predsednik Društva književnika Hrvatske iz Zagreba; dr Miloš Đurić, profesor univerziteta iz Beograda; Marin Franičević, književnik iz Zagreba; dr Krešimir Georgijević, profesor univerziteta iz Beograda; Miloš Hadžić, sekretar Matice srpske iz Novog Sada; dr Josip Hamm, sveučilišni profesor iz Zagreba; dr Mate Hraste, sveučilišni profesor iz Zagreba; dr Ljudevit Jonke, sveučilišni docent iz Zagreba; Marijan Jurković, književnik iz Beograda; Jure Kaštelan, književnik iz Zagreba; Radovan Lalić, profesor univerziteta iz Beograda; Mladen Leskovac, književnik i profesor univerziteta iz Novog Sada; Svetislav Marić, profesor i potpredsjednik Matice srpske iz Novog Sada; Marko Marković, književnik iz Sarajeva; Živan Milisavac, književnik i urednik »Letopisa Matice srpske« iz Novog Sada; dr Miloš Moskovljević, profesor i naučni saradnik Srpske akademije nauka iz Beograda; Boško Petrović, književnik i urednik »Letopisa Matice srpske« iz Novog Sada; Veljko Petrović, književnik i akademik, predsednik Matice srpske, iz Beograda; Đuza Radović, književnik iz Beograda; dr

od strane Matice srpske i Matice hrvatske, potpisala je Novosadski književni dogovor³ koji je imao sledeće zaključke:

1. Narodni jezik Srba, Hrvata i Crnogoraca jedan je jezik. Stoga je i književni jezik koji se razvio na njegovoj osnovi oko dva glavna središta, Beograda i Zagreba, jedinstven, sa dva izgovora, ijekavskim i ekavskim.
2. U nazivu jezika nužno je uvek u službenoj upotrebi istaći oba njegova sastavna dela.
3. Oba pisma, latinica i ćirilica, ravnopravna su; zato treba nastojati da i Srbi i Hrvati podjednako nauče oba pisma, što će se postići u prvom redu školskom nastavom.
4. Oba izgovora, ekavski i ijekavski, takođe su u svemu ravnopravna.
5. Radi iskorišćavanja celokupnog rečničkog blaga našeg jezika i njegovog pravilnog i punog razvitka neophodno je potrebna izrada priručnog rečnika savremenog srpskohrvatskog književnog jezika. Stoga treba pozdraviti inicijativu Matice srpske koja je u zajednici sa Maticom hrvatskom pristupila njegovoj izradi.
6. Pitanje izrade zajedničke terminologije takođe je problem koji zahteva neodložno rešenje. Potrebno je izraditi terminologiju za sve oblasti ekonomskog, naučnog i uopšte kulturnog života.
7. Zajednički jezik treba da ima i zajednički pravopis. Izrada toga pravopisa danas je najbitnija kulturna i društvena potreba. Nacrt pravopisa izradiće sporazumno komisija srpskih i hrvatskih stručnjaka. Pre konačnog prihvatanja nacrt će biti podnet na diskusiju udruženjima književnika, novinara, prosvetnih i drugih javnih radnika.
8. Treba odlučno stati na put postavljanju veštačkih prepreka prirodnom i normalnom razvitku hrvatskosrpskog književnog jezika. Treba sprečiti štetnu pojavu samovoljnog »prevođenja« tekstova i poštovati originalne tekstove pisaca.
9. Komisiju za izradu pravopisa i terminologije odrediće naša tri univerziteta (u Beogradu, Zagrebu i Sarajevu), dve akademije (u Zagrebu i Beogradu) i Matica srpska u Novom Sadu i Matica hrvatska u Zagrebu. Za izradu terminologije potrebno je stupiti u saradnju sa saveznim

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Vir: http://hjp.znanje.hr/index.php?show=povijest&chapter=28-novosadski_dogovor

³Pravopis srpskohrvatskoga književnoga jezika, 1960:

<http://zaprokul.org.rs/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/1954-novosadski-dogovor-u-pravopisu-matice-srpske-matice-hrvatske.pdf>

ustanovama za zakonodavstvo i standardizaciju, kao i sa stručnim ustanovama u društvima.

10. Ove zaključke Matica srpska će dostaviti Saveznom izvršnom veću i izvršnim većima: NR Srbije, NR Hrvatske, NR Bosne i Hercegovine, NR Crne Gore, univerzitetima u Beogradu, Zagrebu i Sarajevu, akademijama u Zagrebu i Beogradu i Matici hrvatskoj u Zagrebu, te će ih objaviti u dnevnim listovima i časopisima.

Jonke (1968) potencira da je dogovorom predviđeno i to, da je ime jezika, koje se koristi u službenoj upotrebi „srpskohrvatski“, dok se u neformalnoj upotrebi mogu koristiti i tradicionalni nazivi „srpski“ i „hrvatski“ jezik.

Na osnovu kratkog pregleda normiranja srpskohrvatskog jezika, zaključujemo da je srpskohrvatski odnosno hrvatskosrpski jezik bio zvanični jezik nekadašnje SFRJ pored slovenačkog i makedonskog jezika. Termin srpskohrvatski/hrvatskosrpski jezik je u vreme zajedničke države opisivao srednji južnoslovenski jezički sistem kojim su govorili Hrvati, Srbi, Bošnjaci i Crnogorci.

Raspad SFRJ doneo je kraj postojanja tog zajedničkog jezika. Hrvatski, srpski, bosanski i crnogorski jezik se po prestanku postojanja države definišu kao samostalni jezici. Pojedini lingvisti smatraju da je srpskohrvatski jezik i po raspadu SFRJ još uvek jedan jezik, odnosno policentrični standardni jezik, poput nemačkog, engleskog ili francuskog jezika, koji se govori u više država i zato ima više centara, pri čemu svaki centar ima svoju nacionalnu varijantu sa sopstvenim kodifikovanim distinktivnim normama (Kordić, 2003, 362; Bunčić, 2008, 93; Kafadar, 2009, 103; Gröschel, 2009). Za Ammona (Ammon 1995, 46) sve do 1990. godine srpskohrvatski jezik bio je netipični policentrični jezik, koji se koristio unutar jedne države, dok je po raspadu SFRJ postao tipični policentrični jezik zbog svoje upotrebe u više država (Kordić 2010, 78). O tome govori i sledeća etno-politička podela nekadašnjeg srpskohrvatskog jezika:



Slika 1: Etno-politička podela nekadašnjeg srpskohrvatskog jezika

4 Kulturno-specifični izrazi

Pri prevodenju književnih dela, koja sadrže KI, neophodno je da prevodilac izuzetno dobro poznaje izvorne i ciljne kulture. KI su za prevodioca jedan od najtežih zadataka, pre svega zbog načina na koji ih treba prevesti u ciljni jezik i time zadovoljiti ciljnu grupu odnosno stanovništvo koje je krajnji korisnik i ocenjivač prevoda. Pri tome se stalno nameće pitanje: da li prevesti tako, da prevod svi razumeju, ili ostaviti strani KI i čekati da postane odomaćen u kulturi prevoda, ili možda dodati napomenu?

Književno delo je nedvosmisleno značajan deo kulture jednog društva. Newmark (2000, 151) kulturu definiše kao „način života i njegove pojavne oblike, značajne za društvo, koje kao sredstvo izražavanja koristi sebi svojstven jezik“. Književno delo u izvornom jeziku je pojavni oblik značajan za društvo koje se izražava u jeziku izvornog teksta, dok je književni prevod pojavni oblik koji je značajan za društvo koje se izražava u ciljnom jeziku. Književno delo ima svoju refleksiju u prevodu i obrnuto.

Newmark (2000, 151) pravi razliku između kulturnog, univerzalnog i ličnog jezika. Pri prevodenju univerzalnih reči, kao što su: sto, umreti, zvezda, ne vidi teškoće prilikom prevodenja. Teškoće opaža pri prevodenju kulturno-specifičnih izraza (npr. monsun, dača, taljatele) u slučajevima kada nema preklapanja između izvornog i ciljnog jezika. Newmark (2000, 151) smatra da do poteškoća može

doći pri prevođenju ličnog idiolekta (»spet pleteš (ne nehaš govoriti) kot ponavadi«). KI spadaju u Newmarkov kulturni jezik koji ponekad nije jednostavno prevesti.

Newmark (2000, 152) zaključuje da je moguće da i unutar istog jezika dođe do određenih poteškoća prilikom prevođenja, pri čemu navodi primer nemačkog jezika i razlike između austrijske, nemačke i švajcarske kulture. Teškoće se pre svega pojavljuju pri prevođenju KI koji su nastali u austrijskoj, nemačkoj ili švajcarskoj kulturi istog jezika. Newmark (2000, 152) takođe objašnjava i pojam kulturni fokus, koji objašnjava slučaj kada se određeno društvo usmeri samo na određeno područje i u okviru tog područja stvara leksiku, naglašavajući na taj način svoju specifičnost i stvarajući svoju terminologiju (Englezi o sportu, Nemci o kobasicama, Francuzi o vinima, Eskimi o snegu).

Newmark (2000, 152–153) smatra da „većinu „kulturnih“ izraza lako prepoznamo, pošto su povezani sa specifičnim jezikom i ne možemo ih doslovno prevesti“. Zapravo, radi se o posebnoj definiciji KI. Kulturne kategorije su podeljene, po primeru E. Nidea na sledeći način: ekologija (biljni svet, životinjski svet, vetrovi, ravnice, planine: npr. kvinoja, kapibara, pampa, monsun, bura), materijalna kultura (hrana, garderoba, kuće i gradovi, saobraćaj: sake, anorak, pagoda, rikša), društvena kultura (posao i slobodno vreme: ajah (dadilja u Indiji), rok), organizacija, običaji i delatnosti (politička i administrativna, religiozna, umetnička), pokreti i navike (Newmark 2000, 152–153).

Pri poređenju dvaju jezika i njihovih kultura zapažamo da određeni pojmovi postoje samo u jednom od njih, dok ih u drugom nema. To su izrazi koji odražavaju specifičnosti određenog jezika i kulture. Za njih upotrebljavamo izraz leksičke praznine. Leksička praznina odražava nepostojanje nekog izraza u određenom jeziku odnosno situaciju kada za sadržaj u jednom jeziku ne postoji odgovarajući izraz u nekom drugom jeziku (Forko 2009, 95). U okviru leksičke praznine bavimo se frazemima i kulturno-specifičnim izrazima koji predstavljaju neodvojiv deo jezika i kulture. Zato je i više nego očekivano da se prevodioci suočavaju s problemima prilikom njihovog prevođenja.

5 Prevodilačke strategije

Prevodioci pokušavaju da stvore prevod, koji bi bio jednostavan za čitanje i koji bi se u što većem obimu mogao čitati kao izvorni tekst. S tim u vezi treba napomenuti PS koje predstavljaju različiti translatozozi.

Venuti u svom delu *Translator's Invisibility* (1995) navodi da su prevodioci u državama u kojima se govori engleski jezik počev od 17. veka stvarali transparentne prevode, koji su bili čitljivi jednako kao i izvorni tekst (i time bili od pomoći hegemoniji engleskog jezika) (Kocijančić Pokorn 2003, 246). Prema Venutiju (1995, 19–20) sve PS se mogu podeliti u dve grupe: strategije potuđivanja i strategije podomaćivanja. Strategije potuđivanja u jezik donose stranu kulturu, dok strategije podomaćivanja stranu kulturu prilagođavaju kulturi ciljnog jezika.

Vinay in Jean Darbelnet (1995, 31) navode dva načina prevođenja: (1) direktni (kada u izvornom i ciljnom jeziku postoje paralelne kategorije i paralelni koncepti) i (2) indirektni (kada u izvornom jeziku i ciljnom jeziku postoje kulturno-specifične razlike za čiji prenos iz izvornog jezika u ciljni jezik zahteva modifikaciju strukture pasusa ili vokabulara u ciljnom jeziku). Upotreba pozajmljenica, kalkova i doslovnog prevoda pri prevođenju kulturno-specifičnih izraza su PS direktnog načina prevođenja, dok su transpozicija (promene u gramatici), modulacija (drugačiji oblik poruke zbog promene ugla gledanja), adaptacija (koristi se kada je vrsta poruke u izvornom jeziku nije prepoznata u kulturi ciljnog jezika) i ekvivalencija (izražavanje iste situacije u izvornom i ciljnom jeziku s potpuno različitim stilskim i strukturnim strategijama).

Javier Franco Aixelá (Aixelá 1996, 57–62) predlaže dva načina za prevođenje KI: postupci koji omogućavaju očuvanje KI, u koje spadaju: (1) repeticija (potpuno preuzimanje KI), (2) ortografska adaptacija (transkripcija i transliteracija), (3) lingvističko (nekulturno) prevođenje (davanje ciljne jezičke verzije), (4) ekstratekstualni glosar (upotreba napomena, komentara, prevoda u zagradama), (5) intratekstualni glosar (korišćenje glosara unutar teksta) i postupci nadoknade KI, u koje spadaju: (1) sinonimija (upotreba sinonima), (2) ograničena univerzalizacija (zamena KI razumljivim izrazom u ciljnom jeziku), (3) apsolutna univerzalizacija (zamena KI neutralnim izrazom, bez stranog prizvuka), (4) naturalizacija (zamena KI iz izvornog jezika za KI u ciljnom jeziku i kulturi), (5)

izostavljanje (izostavljanje KI u ciljnom tekstu odnosno prevodu), (6) autonomna kreacija (kreiranje KP od strane prevodioca, koje se ne mogu naći u originalu).

Baker (2011, 23–43) govori o PS koje prevodioci koriste pri prevođenju KI na leksičkom nivou, pri tome nudeći sledeće PS: (1) prevođenje korišćenjem opštih reči, (2) prevođenje korišćenjem neutralnih reči, (3) prevođenje korišćenjem odgovarajućeg KI, (4) prevođenje korišćenjem pozajmljenice (i dodatnog objašnjenja), (5) prevođenje pomoću parafraziranja, (6) prevođenje s objašnjenjem, (7) prevođenje s izostavljanjem i (8) prevođenje pomoću ilustracije.

Sledeća diskusija se usmerava na analizu prevoda SJ u srpski i hrvatski jezik iz ugla prevođenja KI.

6 Analiza prevoda KP

U analizi smo izabrane KI (neke frazeme i kulturno-specifične izraze) iz originala upoređivali s jednim srpskim i jednim hrvatskim prevodom i utvrdili koje PS su navedeni prevodioci izabrali.

(1) Zazdelo se mu je, da nima već tal pod nogami /.../ (82, XV.)	ĐR: ЧИНИЛО МУ СЕ КАО ДА МУ ЈЕ ЗЕМЉЕ НЕСТАЛО ПОД НОГАМА /.../ (148) BB: Причинило му се да више нема тла под ногам /.../ (67)
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Prevodioci su izabrali PS doslovnog prevođenja (Vinay in Darbelnet, 1995, 33). Radi se o PS koja se koristi u slučajevima kada oba jezika pripadaju istoj porodici jezika i izviru iz istog kulturnog južnoslovenskog okruženja odnosno u slučajevima kada postoji opšti lingvistički koncept u obe kulture (Vinay in Darbelnet, 1995, 33).

(2) /.../ moškim vino, solze babam! (2, I.)	ĐR: /.../ мушки нек пију, а бабе нек плачу! (88) BB: /.../ мушкарцима вино, babama suze! (3)
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Prevodioci su izabrali PS doslovnog prevođenja (Vinay in Darbelnet 1995, 33), pri čemu su izabrali doslovni prevod slovenačke reči „baba“, koja u slovenačkom jeziku ima pežorativno značenje, dok u srpskom i hrvatskom jeziku znači „baba“. U pitanju je lažni prijatelj oba jezika. Pravilni par u srpskom i hrvatskom jeziku je reč „žena“.

(3) Narobe hiša , kjer sedi hlapec na zapečku /.../ (3, I.)	ĐR: Тешко кући где слуга седи у запећку /.../ (89)
Narobe voz , ki ga vleče gospodar /.../ (3, I.)	Тешко колима која господар вуче /.../ (89) Тешко имању које господар оре /.../ (89)
Narobe kmetija , kjer orje gospodar /.../ (3, I.)	BB: Теško куći гдје слуга сједи у запећку /.../ (11) Тешко колима која вуче господар /.../ (11) Наорпакo господарство гдје оре господар /.../ (11)

U izvornom jeziku radi se o tri anaforične fraze, koje bi trebalo prevesti korišćenjem anaforičnih fraza, zbog očuvanje stila, ritma i dosadašnjem značenja u ciljnom tekstu. ĐR je izabrao PS prevođenja s kulturnom zamenom čime je očuvan stil, ritam i značenje. BB nije sačuvao anaforu, tako da je u ciljnom tekstu došlo do modifikacije ritma, koji ima izuzetno veliki značaj u izvornom tekstu.

(4) Ne stoj tam kakor lipov bog! (13, III.)	ĐR: He cpoj ty као кладa! (96) BB: Ne stoj tu kao klada! (18)
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Utvrđujemo upotrebe PS paradigmatске ekivalencije, koja je česta u idiomima, poslovicama i frazama (Vinay in Darbelnet 1995, 38). Pomenuta PS prepliće se s PS s kulturnom zamenom (Baker 2011, 31; Aixelá 1996, 63). Najprimerniji prevod u srpski i hrvatski jezik su fraze: *stajati kao drveni (lipov) svetac; ukipiti se kao drveni svetac; ukipiti se kao lipov svetac; držati se kao drvena Marija; sjediti kao drvena Marija*.

(5) /.../ mlad kmet, ki je Bogu dan kradel /.../ (50, X.)	ĐR: /.../ млади сeљак који је кpao богу дане /.../ (123) BB: /.../ mlad seljak koji je krao Bogu dane /.../ (44)
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Prevodioci su izabrali PS doslovnog prevoda, pošto je radi o jezicima iz iste porodice jezika i istog kulturnog okruženja odnosno postoji opšti metalingvistički koncept u svim kulturama (Vinay in Darbelnet 1995, 33).

(6) /.../ kakor da bi iskal deveto deželo /.../ (82, XV.)	ĐR: /.../ као да тражим златну земљу а не правду/.../ (148) BB: /.../ kao da tražim zvijezde s neba а не pravdu/.../ (67)
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Prevodioci su izabrali PS ekvivalencije s kulturnom zamenom, s obzirom da bi s doslovnim prevodom „deveta zemlja“ došlo do nerazumevanja ciljnog teksta. Prevodioci se nisu odlučili da prevod „obećana zemlja“ koji u potpunosti odgovara značenju slovenačkog frazema.

(7) Ali si prišiel norce brit ? (22, V.)	ĐR: Зар си дошао да тераш шалу са мнош? (103) BB: Zar si došao da zbijaš šalu ? (25)
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ĐR i BB su izabrali kombinaciju tri PS i to PS podomaćivanja, PS ekvivalncije i PS prevođenja s kulturnom zamenom. Značenje slovenačke fraze je *šaliti se* tako da su oba prevodioca dolovila značenje u originalu.

(8) /.../ sem dobil brco v pozdrav. (45, IX.)	ĐR: /.../ примао сам ударац као поздрав. (120) BB: /.../ dobio sam udarac za pozdrav. (41)
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Prevodioci su izabrali PS doslovnog prevoda, koja u ciljnom tekstu u potpunosti funkcioniše, s obzirom da se radi o KI, koji je prisutan u izvornoj i ciljnoj kulturi.

(9) /.../ da bi se pogovarjal z vami o steklem polžu in o jari kači! (40, VIII.)	ĐR: /.../ да млатим празну сламу . (116) BB: /.../ da s vama mlatim praznu slamu! (37)
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ĐR i BB su izabrali PS s kulturnom zamenom, koja uključuje zamenu KI izrazom iz ciljnog jezika, koji nema jednako izvorno značenje, ali će verovatno imati isti uticaj na čitaoca (Baker 2011, 29).

(10) Kaj je Kurent stopil v hišo? (11, III.)	ĐR: Није, ваљда, сеоска будала ушла у кућу? (94) BB: Zar je pokladna luda* došla u kuću? (17) <i>*pokladna luda - maskara, šareno odjevena i maskirana osoba koja o pokladama nasmijava ljude.</i>
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ĐR i BB su izabrali PS s kulturnom zamenom, koja uključuje zamenu KI izrazom iz ciljnog jezika, koji nema jednako izvorno značenje, ali će verovatno imati isti uticaj na čitaoca (Baker 2011, 29). BB je takođe izabrao PS ekstretektualnog glosara, koja predviđa upotrebu dodatnog objašnjenja (Aixelá 1996, 62).

(11) /.../ bomo živeli bolj veselo, kakor je živel sam Kurent! (69, XIII.)	ĐR: /.../ живећемо веселија него што је живео сам принц Карневал . (138) BB: /.../ ра ćemo živjeti veselije nego je živio sam Kurent! * (59) <i>*Kurent - legendarna ličnost, javlja se kao pokladna maska.</i>
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ĐR je izabrao PS s kulturnom zamenom, koja uključuje zamenu KI izrazom iz ciljnog jezika, koji nema jednako izvorno značenje, ali će verovatno imati isti uticaj na čitaoca (Baker 2011, 29). BB je izabrao PS ortografske adaptacije KI iz izvornog u ciljni tekst i PS ekstretektualnog glosara, koja predviđa upotrebu dodatnog objašnjenja (Aixelá 1996, 62).

(12) /.../ zakopano, pač za klaftro globoko /.../ (61, XII.)	ĐR: /.../ закопано, читав хват дубоко /.../ (132) BB: /.../ zakopano, dapače hvat* duboko /.../ (52) <i>*hvat - starinska mjera za duljinu od šest stopa (oko 190 cm)</i>
(13) /.../ sto klafter pod zemlju /.../ (92, XVII.)	ĐR: /.../ сто хвати под земљу /.../ (156) BB: /.../ sto hvati pod zemlju /.../ (74)

U prethodna dva primera radi se o strategiji apsolutne univerzalizacije, koja predviđa zamenu kulturnospecifičnog izraza neutralnom vezom bez strane konotacije (Aixelá 1996, 63).

(14) Če ti vino ne diši, Bog s teboj! (3, I.)	ĐR: Ако ти вино не прија, бог био с тобом! (89) BB: Ако ти вино не прија, Bog s tobom! (11)
(15) Bog s teboj , malič bosopeti, prešerni (29, VII.)	ĐR: Бог био с тобом , мали босоноги, несташни! (109) BB: Bog s tobom , bosonogi, jogunasti dječaće! (30)
(16) Do Resja te spremim, tam pa Bog s teboj! (90, XVII.)	ĐR: До Ресја кy те пратити, а тамо, како ти бог да! (155) BB: Отпратит ćу те до Resja, а тамо Bog s tobom! (73)

Hrišćanska fraza „Bog s teboj“ jeste deo uobičajene svakodnevne slovenske poslovice. Prevodioci su izabrali PS doslovnog prevođenja, s obzirom da se radi o slovenačkom, srpskom i hrvatskom jeziku, koji pripadaju istoj jezičkoj porodici i vezani su za isto ili slično kulturno okruženje (Vinay in Darbelnet 1995, 33).

(17) /.../ in glejte, ljudje božji /.../ (5, II.)	ĐR: /.../ и, пазите, људи бојжи /.../ (90) BB: /.../ i gledajte, ljudi božji /.../ (12)
(18) Ljudje božji , glejte ga /.../ (13, III.)	ĐR: Људи бојжи , гледајте га! (96) BB: Ljudi božji , gledajte ga /.../? (18)
(19) /.../ ljudje božji , zdaj presudite! (24, VI.)	ĐR: /.../ људи бојжи , па просудите! (104) BB: /.../ ljudi božji , sad prosudite! (26)
(20) Kam, ljudje božji? (89, XVII.)	ĐR: Куда, људи бојжи? (153) BB: Камо, ljudi božji? (72)

Hrišćanska fraza „ljudje božji“ je takođe i danas deo uobičajene slovenačke poslovice. Prevodioci su izabrali PS doslovnog prevođenja, s obzirom da se radi o jezicima koji pripadaju istoj jezičkoj porodici i sličnom kulturnom okruženju (Vinay in Darbelnet 1995, 33).

(21) Bog vas varuj, otroci! (32, VII.)	DR: Очувао вас бог, децо! (111) BB: Neka vas Bog čuva, djeco! (32)
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Prevodioci su izabrali PS doslovnog prevoda, s obzirom da se radi o mentalnoj i jezičkoj podudarnosti kultura (Vinay in Darbelnet 1995, 33).

(22) Bog daj, Gostačev! (15, IV.)	DR: Бог дао добро, Гостачев! (98) BB: Bog dao, Gostačev! (20)
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I u ovom slučaju prevodioci su izabrali PS doslovnog prevoda, s obzirom da postoji mentalna i jezička podudarnost kultura (Vinay in Darbelnet 1995, 33).

Zaključujemo da su prevodioci najčešće birali PS doslovnog prevoda (Vinay in Darbelnet 1995, 33), koja je u potpunosti zadovoljavajuća, s obzirom da se u oba slučaja odnosi na jezike koji pripadaju istoj porodici jezika i njihovu osnovu predstavlja isto kulturno, južnoslovensko okruženje, postojanje opšteg metalingvističkog koncepta u obe kulture i sličnost procesa mišljenja i jezičkih struktura u obe kulture (Vinay in Darbelnet 1995, 33).

Druga najčešće korišćena PS je prevod s kulturnom zamenom (Baker 2011, 31; Aixelá 1996, 63), koja se vrlo često koristi pri prevođenju idioma, klišeja, poslovice, fraza, kao npr. prevod frazema „deveta dežela“ (Vinay in Darbelnet 1995, 38).

U slučaju prevođenja kulturno-specifičnih izraza (npr. Kurent) prevodioci su izabrali kombinaciju PS s ekstratekstualnim glosarom s PS prevoda s ortografskom adaptacijom.

7 Zaključak

Prevođenje je proces u kome se jezička jedinica iz izvornog jezika zamenjuje odgovarajućom jezičkom jedinicom u ciljnom jeziku. To nije jednostavno, s obzirom na činjenicu da je svaki jezik sistem za sebe, u kome govornik raspolaže elementima koji su mu neophodni za potpuno razumljivo izražavanje i razvijanje uspešne komunikacije.

Književni prevod jeste jedan od najznačajnijih oblika interkulturalnog posredovanja umetničke literature, koji utiče na stvaranje različitih kultura i otvara mogućnosti za upoznavanje i razumevanje interkulturalnosti i komunikacije između kultura. Međutim, do poteškoća u ovom vidu komunikacije često može nastati prilikom prevođenja KI.

Pri poređenju dva jezika i dve kulture koje su s njima povezane, postoje pojmovi koji u jednom jeziku postoje, dok ih u drugom nema, s obzirom da KI označavaju specifičnosti izvornog jezika i kulture za koje upotrebljavamo termin leksičke praznine. Leksička praznina jeste nepostojanje određenog izraza u ciljnom jeziku, odnosno situacija kada za sadržaj iz jednog jezika ne možemo naći odgovarajući izraz u drugom jeziku. U okviru leksičkih praznina svakako spadaju frazemi, koji su okarakterisani kao neodvojivi deo kulture, zato je očekivano da su se prevodioci HJ suočavali s problemima prilikom njihovog prevođenja.

Prevođenje frazema kao KI spada u sadržajno prevođenje, što znači da je sadržaj frazema zapravo predmet prevođenja. To je za prevodioce jedan od najvećih izazova, s obzirom da zahteva izuzetno poznavanje stranog, kao i izvornog jezika i njihovih kultura. Za razumevanje poteškoća pri prevođenju frazema neophodno je poznavanje pravila prevođenja i imati u vidu činjenicu da je pri prevođenju nije važno preneti samo značenje, već i zadržati što više karakteristika originala, kao što su stil, kulturne asocijacije i oblik. Frazem bi morao biti zamenjen frazemom koji mora biti upotrebljen na način na koji se zapravo i upotrebljava. U suprotnom, čitaoci će vrlo lako uočiti grešku i prevod oceniti kao loš. Veliki broj frazema i nedovoljno poznavanje jezika i kultura su glavni razlozi za postojanje nerazumljivih prevoda odnosno, drugim rečima, nerazumevanje je jedna od glavnih karakteristika loših prevoda.*

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Športnice v slovenskem tiskanem mediju: primer poročanja o olimpijskih igrah v Riu 2016

MELITA KOLETNIK IN DENIS VAGNER

Povzetek Po podatkih projekta Global Media Monitoring Project za leto 2015 (Macharia 2015) so športnice in njihovi dosežki v tiskanih in drugih medijih po svetu danes deležni manj pozornosti kot sredi 90. let 20. stoletja. V globalnem merilu je šport med medijskimi temami, v katerih so ženske najredkeje prisotne in se je razkorak med zastopanostjo ženskega in moškega spola v zadnjih dveh desetletjih le še povečal, na tretjem mestu. Analiza korpusov Cambridge English Corpus in Sports Corpus za angleški jezik je obenem pokazala, da so moški v športnem kontekstu večinoma opisani s pridevniki »strong« [močan], »big« [velik], »real« [pravi], »great« [največji] ali »fastest« [najhitrejši], medtem ko so pri ženskah pogosto navedeni njihov zakonski stan, starost ali videz (Aesthetics over athletics 2016). Tudi za slovenski prostor sta, denimo, Ličen in Billings (2013) na podlagi analize športnih komentarjev dogodkov na olimpijskih igrah v Pekingu 2008 ugotovila, da je bilo o športnikih več komentarjev kot o športnic. Prispevek se opira na njihove ugotovitve in na podlagi analize poročanja novinarjev časnika Večer ugotavlja značilnosti prikaza žensk v tem tiskanem mediju v prispevkih o poletnih OI v Riu 2016. Podrobna analiza člankov na to temo je pokazala na določene spolno zaznamovane razlike.

Gljučne besede: • medijska reprezentacija športnic • spolno zaznamovane razlike • tiskani mediji • Večer • olimpijske igre •

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Sportswomen in a Slovenian Print Medium: A Case Study on Reporting from the 2016 Rio Olympics

MELITA KOLETNIK & DENIS VAGNER

Abstract According to the Global Media Monitoring Project 2015 reports (Macharia 2015), sportswomen and their achievements today receive less attention in print and other media across the world than they did in the 1990s. On a global scale and in terms of women's presence in news topics, sports are among the bottom three topics to be covered, and in the last two decades the gap between male and female representation in the media has only widened. Furthermore, the analysis of the corpora Cambridge English Corpus and the Sports Corpus has shown that, in sporting contexts, men are generally described as "strong", "big", "real", "great" or "fastest", while articles about women frequently state their marital status, age or appearance (Aesthetics over athletics 2106). The same may be tentatively applied to the Slovenian context, where, e.g., Ličen and Billings (2013) analysing sports commentary on events at the 2018 Beijing Olympics concluded that Slovene male athletes received more attention than their female counterparts. This chapter extends their arguments by analysing representations of sportswomen in the Slovenian daily *Večer*. The articles under analysis are limited to reports on the Rio 2016 Summer Olympics and demonstrate certain gender-based differences.

Keywords: • representation of sportswomen in media • gender-based differences • print media • *Večer* • Rio 2016 Olympics •

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1 Uvod

Ko je ameriška letalka Amelia Earhart 17. junija leta 1928, potem ko je kot prva ženska preletela Atlantik – resda kot potnica z dodatno nalogo, da piše dnevnik o poletu –, pristala v Walesu – namenjeni so bili sicer na Irsko –, so ji novinarji menda zastavili dve vprašanji: Kdaj boste leteli ponovno? in Kaj boste oblekli?

Pristransko in subjektivno poročanje o dosežkih žensk v športu, med drugim tudi z osredotočanje na to, kako so videti, kaj so oblekle in s kom so poročene, torej drugačna reprezentacija oziroma predstavitev in ne nazadnje tudi nizka zastopanost športnic v medijih v primerjavi z moškimi kolegi očitno nista nekaj novega. Kot meni Wenner (2002, 74) moški pogosto predstavljajo normo, ženske pa »tisto drugo« (angl. the other), pri čemer se mediji tudi pri predstavljanju ženskih športov praviloma ravnajo v skladu z moško normo. Zaskrbljujoče pri tem je, kot piše Pedersen (2002), da so mediji ena izmed najpomembnejših oblik socializacije v današnji družbi, ko gre za oblikovanje vrednot, ki so povezane z zaznavanjem spolnih vlog. Še zlasti množični mediji, kot so televizija, časniki in v zadnjem času v vse večji meri tudi elektronski mediji, imajo po Trolan (2013, 215) pomembno vlogo pri propagiranju razlik med spoloma ter ustvarjanju in širjenju neenakosti.

Neenaka obravnava športnikov in športnic se kaže na različne načine. Po podatkih projekta *Global Media Monitoring Project* za leto 2015 (Macharia 2015) so športnice in njihovi dosežki v tiskanih in drugih medijih po svetu danes deležni manj pozornosti kot sredi 90. let 20. stoletja. V globalnem merilu je šport med medijskimi temami, v katerih so ženske najredkeje prisotne in se je razkorak med zastopanostjo ženskega in moškega spola v zadnjih dveh desetletjih le še povečal, na tretjem mestu (*ibid.*, 34). Ženske so v primerjavi z moškimi najredkeje omenjane v medijskih naslovnicaх z dveh tematskih področij: obrambe, vojske in varnostnih vprašanj, kakor tudi nasilja oblasti nad pripadniki oz. pripadnicami določenega spola. Ženske se sicer najpogosteje znajdejo na naslovnicaх kot lepotne kraljice in manekenke ter v povezavi z modo in lepotnimi operacijami.

Poleg tega, da so redkeje prisotne na športnih naslovnicaх oziroma na naslovnicaх nasploh, novinarji o ženskah v športu – pri čemer gre ponovno pretežno za moške – tudi pišejo drugače. Analiza korpusov *Cambridge English Corpus* in *Sports Corpus* za angleški jezik je pokazala, da so moški v športnem

kontekstu večinoma opisani s pridevniki »strong«, »big«, »real«, »great« ali »fastest«¹, medtem ko so pri ženskah pogosto navedeni njihov zakonski stan, starost ali videz (*Aesthetics or athletics?* 2016), pojavljajo se pridevniki »aged«, »older«, »pregnant« in »married« ali »unmarried«².

Kaj pa Slovenija? Doupona Topič (2004) je v monografiji *Ženske in šport*, ki velja za prvo slovensko delo na področju sociologije spolov v športu, v poglavju Mediji in ženski šport izpostavila, da mediji na oblikovanje ženskega športa vplivajo na dva načina, in sicer s pogostnostjo poročanja in vsebino prikazovanja športa ter športnic v medijih. Pomemben del dosedanje analize športnega diskurza v slovenskem prostoru predstavljajo prispevki Lična o športu na televiziji in v tiskanih medijih. V sodelovanju z Billingsom je denimo na podlagi analize športnih komentarjev slovenske javne televizije dogodkov na olimpijskih igrah v Pekingu 2008 ugotovil, da so bili športniki nasploh deležni več komentarjev kot športnice (Ličen in Billings 2013).

Nezadostno oziroma relativno manj pogosto predstavljanje in zastopanje žensk v tiskanih medijih je potrdila tudi mednarodna primerjalna raziskava športnega tiska ISPS 2011 (Ličen 2013), v okviru katere je bilo analizirano poročanje o športu v *Delu*, *Slovenskih novicah* in *Primorskih novicah*. Ugotovitve so pokazale, da je 84 odstotkov analiziranih prispevkov s prepoznanim individualnim protagonistom poročalo o športnikih, le 14 odstotkov pa o športnicah.

Bejek (2016, 218) je z analizo reprezentacije športnic in športa v časnikih *Delo* in *Slovenske novice* v letu 2015 ugotovila marginalizacijo športnic, tj. dejstvo, da novinarji namenjajo športnikom in športu moških večjo pozornost in več poročevalskega prostora. O športu moških je tako poročalo sedemkrat več prispevkov kot o športu žensk, marginalizacija žensk v športu pa se je kazala tudi v osredotočanju na štiri panoge: alpsko smučanje, tenis, rokomet in odbojko, še zlasti na obe individualni panogi. Bejek nadalje poroča tudi o trivializaciji športnic, ki se kaže predvsem v nižji kakovosti novinarskih prispevkov o ženskah. Ti so v povprečju krajši, le izjemoma imajo dodano več kot eno fotografijo, prav tako imajo redkeje dodan kak dopolnitveni element.

¹ »Močan«, »velik«, »pravi«, »največji« ali »najhitrejši«.

² »Postarana«, »starejša«, »noseča« in »poročena« ali »neporočena«.

2 Analiza

2.1 Metodologija

Glede na ugotovljeno drugačno in predvsem manj pogosto poročanje o ženskah v športu v svetu in v Sloveniji sva se avtorica in avtor odločila trditve preveriti tudi z analizo poročanja o dosežkih športnic na poletnih olimpijskih igrah v Riu de Janeiru v Braziliji avgusta 2016 v časniku *Večer*. Študije, ki so v preteklosti analizirale športni diskurz v tiskanih medijih v Sloveniji, so namreč zajele le časnike *Delo*, *Slovenske novice* in lokalne *Primorske novice*, dnevnik *Večer* pa v analize ni bil vključen, zato sva na tem področju zaznala raziskovalno vrzel.

Po podatkih Slovenske oglaševalske zbornice, ki spremlja prodajo in distribucijo slovenskih tiskanih medijev,³ so imeli v tretjem četrtletju leta 2016, ko so potekale OI v Riu, med dnevniki najvišjo prodano naklado *Slovenske novice* (okoli 71.000), *Delo* (okoli 36.000) in *Dnevnik* (28.000). *Večer* je sledil na četrtem mestu s prodano naklado okoli 25.800 izvodov. V nasprotju s tabloidnimi *Slovenskimi novicami* sodi *Večer* skupaj z *Delom* in *Dnevnikom* med netabloidne⁴ oziroma »resne« medije, prav tako so njegove vsebine regionalno obarvane, saj se osredotoča na slovenske regije Podravje, Celjsko, Koroška in Pomurje. V tej zvezi je denimo Ličen (2013) ugotovil, da so regionalne *Primorske novice* o športu poročale bolj pestro od osrednjega slovenskega dnevnika *Delo*, kar bi utegnilo vplivati na dobljene rezultate.

Odločitev, da raziskovalno pozornost usmeriva na poletne olimpijske igre v Riu, je temeljila na nekaj medijsko odmevnih primerih neustreznega poročanja⁵ o teh OI, ki so jih »zakrivili« ameriški novinarji. Šlo je zlasti za primere poročanja o športnicah Corey Cogdell (streljanje glinastih golobov), Katinke Hosszu in Katie Ledecky (obe plavanje). Poročevalec televizijske mreže *NBC* Dan Hicks je tako zmago plavalke Katinke Hosszu, ki je na 400 metrov mešano podrila svetovni

³ http://www.soz.si/novice/objavljeni_podatki_rpn_za_3_cetrletje_2016.

⁴ O razlikovanju med tabloidnimi in netabloidnimi mediji glej denimo Luthar 1998.

⁵ Glej npr.: <https://www.vox.com/2016/8/8/12402450/rio-olympics-2016-katinka-hosszu-women-husbands-media>; <http://whomakesthenews.org/articles/a-long-road-ahead-gender-and-the-rio-2016-olympics-news-coverage>; https://www.huffingtonpost.com/samantha_levine-/women-media-bias-and-the-_b_11459540.html.

rekord, komentiral, da je z njo tudi »moški, ki je odgovoren za [zmago]«,⁶ pri čemer je imel v mislih njenega moža in trenerja Shana Tusupa. Podobno negativno je bila sprejeta tudi naslovnica časnika *Chicago Tribune*, ki v naslovu članka o tretjem mestu strelke Corey Cogdell ni pozabil omeniti njenega moža Mitcha Unreina, ki je igral ameriški nogomet za moštvo Chicago Bears. Za tretji odmevni primer pa je poskrbel manjši časnik *Bryan-College Station Eagle*, kjer so o drugem mestu plavalca Michaela Phelpsa na 100 metrov delfin pisali v naslovu, medtem ko sta si zmaga in svetovni rekord Katie Ledecky na 800 metrov mešano prislužila le podnaslov.⁷ Še zlasti ostro so se na tako neustrezno poročanje odzvali v družbenih medijih, denimo na Twitterju in Facebooku, zato meniva, da bi bilo to zanimivo izhodišče za nove raziskave.

V najino analizo so bili zajeti članki o poletnih OI v Riu, ki so bili izšli v *Večernu* med 5. in 21. avgustom 2016 (čas, ko so potekale OI), pa tudi prispevki pred OI in po njih, ki so se nanašali nanje. Skupaj je bilo tako pokrito obdobje med 1. in 22. avgustom, saj se po tem datumu članki o olimpijskih igrah v Riu v *Večernu* niso več pojavljali. Posebej velja omeniti, da je 4. avgusta 2016 *Večer* izdal prilogo z naslovom OI 2016, namenjena izključno olimpijskim igram v Riu. Obsega je 36 strani in zajema dvanajst člankov, tematsko vezanih predvsem na slovenske športnike in športnice ter pričakovanja pred olimpijskimi igrami. Priloga je prav tako vključena v analizo.

2.2 Vzorec

Za potrebe te študije je bilo analiziranih skupno 145 člankov oziroma vsi prispevki, ki so izšli v opredeljenem obdobju in obravnavajo OI. Vzorec je torej sistematično zajel vse relevantne preučevane enote v izbranem obdobju. *Večer* je olimpijskim igram v tem času namenil skupno 7 strani v rubriki *Šport*, 2 strani v rubriki *Pogledi*, 2 strani v rubriki *Pogledi na OI* in 4 strani v rubriki *V žarišču*. Pisanje o OI v drugih *Večerovih* posebnih izdajah, denimo v Sobotni prilogi, v analizo ni bilo zajeto. V vzorec raziskave so bili vključeni izključno članki, ki poročajo o dosežkih športnikov in športnic ter o rezultatih. Kolumne bivših športnikov in splošni članki o zgodovini olimpijskih iger, državah udeleženkah ter prizoriščih so bili iz raziskave izvzeti.

⁶ »And there's the man responsible.« https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/rio-2016-sexism-media_us_57a840dbe4b056bad215f03c. (Vsi navedeni prevodi so delo avtorjev poglavja.)

⁷ <https://mic.com/articles/151670/katie-ledecky-s-record-breaking-win-only-took-second-place-in-this-sexist-headline#.zMY7eNSuK>.

Med analiziranimi 145 članki je bilo 97 avtorskih člankov, tj. člankov z znanim avtorjem,⁸ člankov športne redakcije⁹ je bilo 13, člankov, povzetih (v celoti ali delno) po Slovenski tiskovni agenciji (STA) pa 18. Skupno se je pod članke podpisalo 11 novinarjev in novinark; 9 avtorjev in 2 avtorici. Pod 17 člankov sta se podpisali športna redakcija *Večera* in STA. Preliminarno lahko neenakost žensk v športnem poročanju ugotovimo torej že na začetku poročevalskega procesa, saj je o športnih temah pisalo veliko več avtorjev kot avtoric (v *Večeru* sta bili to zgolj dve novinarki, in sicer Anja Poznič ter Gordana Possnig). Razmerje med športnimi novinarkami in novinarji v obravnavanem gradivu je torej grobo posplošeno znašalo 8 proti 2 v korist moških.

Kot raziskovalno omejitev naj navedeva, da npr. Delorme (2014) navaja, da lahko največji športni dogodki, kot so OI ali svetovna prvenstva, popačijo rezultate. Za poročanja o OI naj bi bilo namreč značilno poročanje o športnicah v bolj pravičnem ali izrazito večjem deležu glede na število sodelujočih športnic.

2.3 Raziskava

V skladu s Trolan (2013, 216) sva članke analizirala z naslednjih zornih kotov:

- zastopanost (reprezentacija) v mediju,
- trivializacija,
- seksualizacija.

V nadaljevanju so predstavljene ugotovitve po posameznih kriterijih.

2.3.1 Manjša zastopanost (reprezentacija) v mediju

V tem delu raziskave sva poskušala ugotoviti, ali športni novinarji in uredniki v *Večeru* ženskam v primerjavi z moškimi namenjajo manj prostora oziroma kakšno razmerje med pisanjem o športnikih in pisanjem o športnicah. Kot ugotavlja Trolan (2013, 216), pri primerjalno manjši zastopanosti v medijih ne gre zgolj za »poročanje o ženskah nasploh, temveč tudi o ženskih športnih dogodkih«. Ker

⁸ Avtorji člankov (po abecednem vrstnem redu) so bili: B. Bauman, Z. Gomzi, U. Gramc, M. Kovačević, Z. Mijatović A. Mišič, U. Mlinarič, V. Paveo, G. Possnig, A. Poznič in B. Planinšič ml.

⁹ Pri tem gre za neidentificirane avtorje, članki pa so lahko prevodi in/ali povzetki prispevkov domačih in tujih medijev ter agencij.

so posamezni članki ponekod omenjali tako športnike kot športnice ali več športov obenem, so bili pri kvantitativni analizi upoštevani podatki na podlagi posameznih omemb, tj. kolikokrat so v člankih omenjeni moški in kolikokrat ženske, pri čemer lahko posamezen članek vsebuje obe omembi. Podatki so prikazani v tabeli 1

Tabela 1: Omembe moških in žensk v proučevanem obdobju

	Moški		Ženske	
	Domači	Tuji	Domače	Tuje
	71	55	51	30
Skupaj	126		81	
Delež (%)	61		39	

V proučevanem obdobju je bilo v *Večeru* torej skupno 207 omemb športnikov in športnic. Iz tabele 1 je razvidno, da so Večerove novinarke in novinarji v 61 % primerov (126 omemb) pisali o moških športnikih in v 39 % primerov (81 omemb) o ženskih športnicah.

Da bi lahko bolje interpretirala podatke in jih postavila v širši kontekst, je smiselno predstaviti še število vseh udeležencev na OI v Rio. Podatki o skupni in slovenski udeležbi so predstavljeni v tabelah 2 in 3.

Tabela 2: Število udeležencev OI po spolu

Vsi udeleženci OI	11.288	
	Moški	Ženske
	6.182	5.106
Delež (%)	55	45

Vir: Slovenski olimpijski komite. <http://rio2016.olympic.si>.

Tabela 3: Slovenski udeleženci OI po spolu

Vsi udeleženci	63	
	Moški	Ženske
	39*	24
Delež (%)	62	38

* Število vključuje roketno ekipo, ki je štela 17 članov.

Vir: MMC RTV Slovenija. URL: <https://www.rtvlo.si/sport/preostali-sporti/na-oi-v-rio-de-janeiro-bo-odpotovalo-vsaj-59-slovenskih-sportnikov/397961>.

Na podlagi primerjave podatkov iz tabel 1, 2 in 3 lahko torej ugotoviva, da je razmerje med omembami žensk in moških v *Včer*u primerljivo z razmerjem med številom slovenskih udeležencev in udeleženk na OI in da v kvantitativnem pogledu slovenske športnice v *Včerovih* člankih med OI v Rio načeloma niso bile zapostavljene. Je pa to razmerje nekoliko bolj v prid moškim, če primerjamo odstotka moških in žensk med vsemi udeleženci in udeleženkami OI v Rio.

Kljub temu da so bile v kvantitativnem smislu ženske v poročanju *Včera* sorazmerno enakovredno zastopane glede na moške udeležence OI, pa sva s kvantitativno analizo omemb ženskih športnic prišla tudi do nekoliko manj razveseljivih zaključkov. Ženski šport namreč v veliko primerih ni bil predstavljen samostojno, tj. v okviru samostojnega sestavka, ki bi bil namenjen zgolj ženskam, temveč praviloma v okviru člankov, ki so sicer v ospredje postavili rezultate tekmovanj moških. Ženskim športnicam je bil v teh člankih pogosto namenjen le okvirček z nekaj vrsticami ali odstavek na koncu članka. Ta ugotovitev ni bila odvisna od narodnostne pripadnosti oziroma »tujosti« športnic, saj je bil tak okrnjen okvirček 16. avgusta 2016 denimo namenjen tudi »domačima« jadralkama Tini Mrak in Veroniki Macarol, ki sta bili vse do zaključnih etap v boju za medaljo.¹⁰

Obratno je bilo zgolj pri poročanju o teniških tekmovanjih. Poročanje o ženskem finalu 10. avgusta 2016 je bilo tako postavljeno v ospredje, medtem ko je bil moškemu finalu presenetljivo namenjen le odstavek na koncu članka.¹¹ Razlog

¹⁰ ŠR, »Slovenski jadralki izgubili eno mesto«, *Včer*, letnik 72, št. 190 (16. 8. 2016), str. 19.

¹¹ O manjšem pomenu ženskih teniških tekmovanj v angleškem govornem prostoru pričajo tudi običajno uporabljena spolno zaznamovana imena moških in ženskih delov turnirjev. Moški teniški finale je denimo velikokrat poimenovan »men's final(s)«, medtem ko je ženski »ladies final(s)« (in ne npr. »women's final(s)«). (BBC Radio 4 Woman's Hour, 6. avgust 2016). Atudi na tem področju je trend uporabe enotnih poimenovanj vse bolj izrazit: pri tekmovanjih štirih *grand slam* turnirjev

za postavitev ženskega finala v ospredje morda tiči v tem, da je zlato olimpijsko medaljo osvojila Portoričanka Monica Puig, takrat 38. igralka sveta, kar pomeni, da je šlo v določeni meri za senzacijo.¹²

Najbolj prepričljiva ugotovitev o tem, da so bile športnice v primerjavi s športniki v *Večerovem* pisanju kljub navidezni kvantitativni enakosti vseeno slabše zastopane, pa je priloga Rio 2016, v kateri so si na 36 straneh in v dvanajstih člankih prislužile zgolj eno (!) omembo.

2.3.2 Trivializacija

Kot navaja Trolan, se trivializacija športnic odraža predvsem v dejstvu, da so te v medijih obravnavane v prvi vrsti kot »ženske in šele nato kot športnice« (2013, 217). V tem okviru novinarji velikokrat zapostavljajo njihovo kakovost in športne dosežke ter namesto tega v ospredje postavljajo druga, s športom nepovezana dejstva, medtem ko se pri moških osredotočajo izključno na njihove uspehe. Ko gre za trivializacijo, *Večerovi* novinarji sicer v svojih člankih navajajo dejstva, ki niso neposredno povezana z olimpijskimi igrami, a to počnejo tako pri športnikih kot športnicah. Velikokrat gre pri tem za navedbe starosti in kraja prebivališča oziroma rojstnega kraja. Nekateri primeri navajanja dejstev, nepovezanih s samim tekmovanjem, so:

V Riu je to uspelo Ashtonu Eatonu, 28-letnemu Američanu iz **zvezne države Oregon, kjer domuje tudi korporacija Nike**. Prva, ki je namreč čestitala Eatonu za zgodovinski dosežek, je bila Brianne Theisen Eaton. /.../ Ja, priimek je zgovoren, **to je njegova žena, pa tudi kanadska tekmovalka v sedmerboju, ki je v Riu osvojila bronasto medaljo**.¹³

Ne nazadnje je tekmovalka, ki nastopa na svojih že tretjih olimpijskih igrah, **in to prvič kot mamica**, tekmo ocenila kot svojo najboljšo letos /.../¹⁴

(Odperta prvenstva ZDA, Anglije, Francije in Avstralije) se po podatkih, pridobljenih z njihovih uradnih strani (<https://www.usopen.org/>, www.wimbledon.com/, <https://www.rolandgarros.com/> in <https://ausopen.com/>) v avgustu 2018, uporablja bodisi poimenovanje men's/woman's (ZDA, Avstralija) bodisi gentlemen's/ladies' (Anglija, Francija).

¹² STA, »Puigova ponos Portoričanov«, *Večer*, letnik 72, št. 190 (16. 8. 2016), str. 21.

¹³ Zoran Mijatović, »Družinska idila za anale«, *Večer*, letnik 72, št. 193 (20. 8. 2016), str. 14.

¹⁴ Zoran Mijatović, »Odločile so desetinke«, *Večer*, letnik 72, št. 191 (17. 8. 2016), str. 15.

Uvodoma je varovanca Urške Žolnir, **inženirja živilstva in prehrane**, izločil dve leti starejši /.../¹⁵

2.3.3 Seksualizacija

Seksualizacija športnic v medijih se lahko izraža na več načinov. Kot navaja Trolan (2013, 220), je njen najbolj izrazit vidik osredotočanje na to, kako so videti ali kaj oblečejo, in postavljanje njihovih športnih dosežkov ter sposobnosti v ozadje. Za neslovenski prostor je več študij (npr. Harris 2005; Messner, Duncan in Jensen 1993) ugotovilo prisotnost seksualizacije v tiskanih medijih, denimo pri pisanju novinarjev o pričeskah, ličenju in postavi športnic. Drugi vidik seksualizacije je izpostavljanje heteroseksualnosti žensk (Vincent 2004, 444), o čemer pričata denimo tudi uvodoma navedena primera poročanja ameriških medijev o uspehih strelke Corey Cogdell ali plavalke Katinke Hosszu in njuno povezovanje s »pomembnimi moškimi v njunem življenju«.

Seksualizacijo pri pisanju *Večerovih* novinark in novinarjev sva ponovno ugotavljala s kvantitativno analizo rabe pridevnikov in samostalnikov v raziskovalnem vzorcu. Ugotovila sva, da so novinarji med olimpijskimi igrami o športnicah pisali načeloma korektno in se osredotočali na tekmovanje ter njihove dosežke. V člankih nisva našla nobenega primera, kjer bi avtorji in avtorici poudarjali heteroseksualnost udeleženk, izmed vseh omemb v 145 analiziranih člankih pa je isti avtor le dvakrat poudaril videz oziroma zunanjo podobo športnic:

Lucija Polavder, **pupa milega obraza**, si je s kimonom otirala solze razočaranja /.../¹⁶

Tina Trstenjak, **huda Štajerka** /.../¹⁷

¹⁵ Vlado Paveo, Marko Kovačević, »Prehitele Španke«, *Večer*, letnik 72, št. 186 (11. 8. 2016), str. 14.

¹⁶ Borut Planinšič ml., »Tudi bojavniki jočejo«, *Večer*, letnik 72, št. 181 (5. 8. 2016), str. 10.

¹⁷ Borut Planinšič ml., »Še Brazilci so vse bolj Slovenci«, *Večer*, letnik 72, št. 180 (4. 8. 2016), str. 1.

V tem okviru naj se dotakneva še rabe pridevnikov. V tujejezičnem prostoru (npr. *Aesthetics over athletics* 2106) ugotavljajo, da so za opisovanje športnic rabljeni drugi pridevniki kot za opisovanje športnikov. Čeprav podrobnejša diskurzna analiza v okviru pričujoče raziskave ni bila narejena, se zdi, da je trend uporabe pridevnikov za moške in ženske športnike v Sloveniji drugačen od tistega v tujini. Pridevniki, ki jih v tujini uporabljajo le za moške športnike (»strong«, »experienced«), se pri nas načeloma uporabljajo tudi za športnice (npr. »izkušena«, »hitra«). Tako njihove telesne sposobnosti, znanje in sposobnost strateškega načrtovanja niso spregledane in upava, da bodo lahko tudi te ugotovitve uporabljene kot izhodišče za nove raziskave.

3 Ugotovitve in zaključki

Na podlagi kvantitativne analize poročanja o športnicah in njihovih dosežkih na OI v Rio avgusta 2016 v časniku *Večer* sva ugotovila, da je bilo razmerje med prispevki, ki so poročali o športnicah in športnikih, primerljivo razmerju med deležema dejanske udeležbe slovenskih športnikov in športnic na teh OI. Razlika se je pokazala glede na kvalitativno merilo (prostor, odmerjen poročanju o športnicah), saj so bile omembe žensk v prispevkih, ki so govorili o športnikih obeh spolov, načeloma na koncu ali v posebnih okvirčkih z »dodatnimi« informacijami. Na podlagi ugotovljenega je mogoče sklepati, da so bili moški udeleženci OI s kvalitativnega vidika deležni večje pozornosti kot ženske. Pri primerjalno manjši zastopanosti žensk v tem mediju je še posebej eklatanten primer *Večerove* posebne tematske priloge Rio 2016, ki je izšla pred olimpijskimi igrami. V njej sva opazila le eno omembo žensk. Pri tem je zaskrbljujoče tudi dejstvo, da sta med enajstimi *Večerovimi* novinarji in novinarkami, ki so se v proučevanem obdobju podpisali pod članke, zgolj dve ženski.

Tudi analiza *Večerovih* člankov po kriterijih trivializacije, tj. zapostavljanja kakovosti in dosežkov oziroma postavljanja drugih, s športom nepovezanih dejstev v ospredje, in seksualizacije, tj. osredotočanja na zunanji videz in heteroseksualnost žensk, ni pokazala večjih razlik v poročanju o športnicah in športnikih glede na njihov spol. V analiziranih prispevkih sva sicer zasledila nekaj primerov trivializacije, vendar se je ta nanašala na oba spola, kar lahko morda prepoznamo kot značilnost slovenskega (športnega?) novinarstva. Ko gre za seksualizacijo, pa je v vseh 145 analiziranih člankih isti avtor le dvakrat poudaril videz oziroma zunanjo podobo športnic, o katerih je poročal, kar ne dovoljuje negativnega posploševanja.

Nakazala sva tudi nekaj primerov, ki bi lahko bili uporabljeni kot izhodišča za nove raziskave na tem področju. Zanimivo bi bilo denimo preučiti tudi zastopanost in poročanje slovenskih športnih novinark v primerjavi z njihovimi moškimi kolegi. Trenutno študijo bi bilo koristno nadgraditi še z natančnejšo diskurzno analizo ali primerjati *Večerovo* poročanje o olimpijskih igrah s poročanjem drugih slovenskih medijev.

Kljub kvantitativno umerjeni in kvalitativno slabši zastopanosti žensk pri poročanju z olimpijskih iger v Rio leta 2016 v *Večeru* ter drugim ugotovitvam naše raziskave, ki so vsaj z vidika načina pisanja o športnicah spodbudne, pa v očeh večine popoln atlet očitno še vedno ostaja moški. Ta naziv je *Večer* namreč namenil drugemu zaporednemu olimpijskemu zmagovalcu v deseteroboju Ashtonu Eatonu (*»Ni bilo treba. Eaton je prebiter, premočan, predober. Preveč popoln atlet«*).¹⁸ Morda pa lahko s to raziskavo in nadaljnjim opozarjanjem na spolno zaznamovane razlike vseeno dosežemo, da bo nekoč naziv športne popolnosti pripadel ženski.

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Rekontekstualizacija v spletnem oglaševanju »superživila«

BRANISLAVA VIČAR IN RENATA ŠTEVANEC

Povzetek Poglavje prinaša kritično analizo spletnih oglasov za »superživila« s poudarkom na različnih kategorijah rekontekstualizacije in njihovih implikacijah. Ugotavljamo, da so spletni oglasi za »superživila« ideološko oprti na zdravizem, ki je v zahodnih neoliberalnih družbah sprejet kot samoumeven del družbenega imaginarija. Lokalna živila nekdanjih zahodnoevropskih kolonij so v spletnih oglasih reprezentirana kot del komercialnega trenda, ki slavi zdrav življenjski slog, eksotično in ekskluzivno. Reprezentacija družbenih dogodkov v oglasih za »superživila« je neizogibno povezana z interesi zahodnih multikorporacij, ki nadzorujejo produkcijo, distribucijo in konzumacijo lokalnih živil na globalni ravni. Rekontekstualizacija v spletnem oglaševanju »superživil« je uporabljena kot sredstvo trženja proizvodov in najpogosteje vključuje: dodajanje legitimacij, razlogov za nujnost uživanja »superživil«, reference na Indijance in njihovo tradicijo ter izbris elementov proizvodnje »superživil« za globalni trg. Spletni oglasi za »superživila« so integralni del korporativnega kapitalizma in imajo zlasti dva družbeno-politična učinka: legitimiranje neokolonialnih politik in utrjevanje klasizma.

Ključne besede: • kritična diskurzivna analiza • rekontekstualizacija • oglaševalski diskurz • »superživila« • korporativni kapitalizem •

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Recontextualisation in Online Advertising of “Superfoods”

BRANISLAVA VIČAR & RENATA ŠTEVANEC

Abstract The chapter provides a critical analysis of online advertisements for “super-foods,” with an emphasis on various categories of recontextualisation and their implications. We find that online advertisements for “super-foods” are ideologically based on healthism, which in Western neoliberal societies has become taken for granted as part of the social imaginary. Local foods from the former Western European colonies in online advertisements are represented as part of a commercial trend that celebrates a healthy lifestyle, exotic and exclusive. The representation of social events in advertisements for “super-foods” is inevitably linked to the interests of Western multi-corporations that control the production, distribution and consumption of local foods on a global level. Recontextualisation in online advertising of “super-foods” is used as a means of marketing products and most often involves the following elements: addition of legitimation, a rationale behind the necessity of consuming “super-foods”, references to the Indians and their traditions, and deletion of elements in the production of “super-foods” for the global market. Online advertisements for “super-foods” form as integral part of corporate capitalism and have two major socio-political effects: the legitimization of neo-colonial policies and the reinforcement of classism.

Keywords: • critical • discourse • analysis • recontextualisation • advertising
• discourse • »superfoods« • corporate capitalism •

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1 Uvod

Beseda »superživilo« je del trženjskega žargona (Gifford) in označuje »živilo, ki ima posebno visoko hranilno vrednost ali je kako drugače koristno za zdravje in dobro počutje« (OED). V različnih življenjskostilnih skupnostih zahodnih družb so »superživila« pojmovana kot eksotični rastlinski proizvodi iz oddaljenih predelov sveta, kot so jagode goji iz Tibeta in s Kitajske, jagode asaj, maka, kvinoja, camu camu in semena čija iz Južne in Srednje Amerike ali kokos iz Jugovzhodne Azije (Gifford). Ko kupujemo te proizvode, ne kupujemo le živil, koristnih za zdravje, ampak kupujemo kulturno izkušnjo zdravega življenjskega sloga (Ayo 2012, 101). Oglaševanje »superživil« odraža in utrjuje ideologijo zdravizma (tj. ideologijo, utemeljeno na predpostavki, da bi moral_a vsak_a živeti tako, da bi dosegel_a najvišjo možno stopnjo zdravja) v prepletu z neoliberalizmom, ki spodbuja nov tip predajanja užitek – tak, ki najbolj ustreza podobi zdrave_ga posameznice_ka. Oglasi za »superživila« reprezentirajo proizvode kot utelešenje kulturnih vrednot zahodnih neoliberalnih družb, kot je zavest o zdravju. Promocija zdravja in novodobno gibanje zavesti o zdravju sta neposredno povezana z neoliberalnim konceptom zdravja kot osebne odgovornosti: s tem ko se je država razrešila odgovornosti za družbene in ekonomske nepravilnosti ter družbene dejavnike neenakosti v zdravju opredelila kot neuspeh posameznice_ka, je odprla prostor industriji zdravja, ki je posegla na vsa področja, povezana s telesom, mislimi in duhom. Industrija zdravja zdravi_emu in odgovorni_emu posameznici_ku ponuja zaščito pred zdravstvenimi tveganji in jo utemeljuje na konzumaciji prevladujočih idealov o zdravju, kakor tudi proizvodov, ki te ideale krepijo (Ayo 2012, 102–103).

Poglavje prinaša kritično analizo spletnih oglasov za »superživila«,¹ ideološko oprtih na zdravizem, ki je sprejet kot samoumeven del družbenega imaginarija. Spletne oglase predstavimo z vidika reprezentacije uporabe in proizvodnje »superživil«. Osrednje raziskovalno vprašanje raziskave je, kako spletni oglasi za »superživila« rekontekstualizirajo proizvodnjo »superživil« v globalnem kapitalizmu. Najprej predstavimo van Leeuwenovo teorijo diskurza kot rekontekstualizacije družbene prakse (van Leeuwen 2008), ki je bila uporabljena kot teoretski model za raziskavo, in osvetlimo sistem proizvodnje »superživil« v

¹ Analiziranih je bilo 11 spletnih oglasov z naslednjih spletnih strani: Barbarella, Bodi eko, Biotopic, EkoMagazin, FengCha, Indigo bio, MACA, Nakupujmo skupaj, Svet je lep, Super hrana.

korporativnem kapitalizmu, nato pa se posvetimo različnim kategorijam rekontekstualizacije v izbranih spletnih oglasih in njihovim implikacijam.

2 Diskurz kot rekontekstualizacija družbene prakse

Družbena praksa kot »relativno stabilizirana oblika družbene dejavnosti«, kot so denimo poučevanje, televizijske novice, družinska kosila ali zdravniško svetovanje (Fairclough 2001, 231), povezuje različne diskurzivne in nediskurzivne družbene elemente v specifična razmerja (Fairclough 2003, 25; Fairclough 2010, 173). Elementi, ki konstituirajo družbeno prakso, tj. vrste dejavnosti, osebe z določenimi prepričanji, stališči in vedenjem, materialni viri, prostorska in časovna razsežnost ter semiotski viri, vključujoč diskurz, so dialoško povezani, tj. vsak element družbene prakse »ponotrnanja« druge, ne da bi bil omejljiv nanje (Fairclough 2010, 173). Vse družbene prakse, kot ugotavlja Fairclough (2010, 172–173), vključujejo oblike produkcije (mišljena je družbena produkcija, tj. produkcija družbenih življenj na vseh področjih življenja, z ekonomsko produkcijo kot zgolj eno od njenih pojavnih oblik), identifikacijo (tj. konstrukcijo družbenih identitet) in reprezentacije družbenega sveta. Van Leeuwen (2008, 6) razliko med družbeno prakso in reprezentacijo družbene prakse ponazori z razlikovanjem med »opravljati kaj« in »govoriti o tem« ter pri tem poudari pluralnost diskurzov – številne različne načine, na katere je lahko reprezentirana ista družbena praksa. Vključitev ene družbene prakse (»opravljati kaj«) v drugo (»govoriti o tem«) ne oblikuje zgolj novih diskurzov (ali celo žanrov), ampak tudi »družbeno konstruirane načine poznavanja določenih vidikov realnosti« (van Leeuwen 2009, 144).

Van Leeuwen razvije teorijo diskurza kot rekontekstualizacije družbene prakse (van Leeuwen 2008) in pri tem izhaja iz koncepta rekontekstualizacije, kakor ga je oblikoval Bernstein (1990), ko je analiziral moč in logiko zgodnje neoliberalne izobraževalne politike v Veliki Britaniji. Bernstein se je ukvarjal s prenosom vedenja iz konteksta, v katerem se proizvaja, v pedagoški kontekst in rekontekstualizacije ni pojmoval zgolj kot proces, ki vključuje prenos določenih delov diskurza (argumentov, idej, konceptov), ampak predvsem kot strateški proces oblikovanja določenih hierarhij diskurzov (gl. tudi Krzyżanowski 2016, 314). Kot je zapisal, »pedagoški diskurz [...] vključuje diskurz kompetenc (različnih veščin) v diskurz družbenega reda na način, da slednji zmeraj prevlada nad prvim« (Bernstein 1990, 183). Rekontekstualizacijo lahko torej razumemo kot oblikovanje horizontalnih diskurzivnih redov: nekateri diskurzi zgolj ne

rekontekstualizirajo delov drugega diskurza, ampak postanejo tudi sredstvo za oblikovanje in ohranjanje hegemonije določenih diskurzivnih okvirov (Krzyżanowski 2016, 314). Van Leeuwen Bernsteinov koncept rekontekstualizacije razširi onstran pedagoškega diskurza in izhaja iz predpostavke, da »vsi diskurzi rekontekstualizirajo družbene prakse« (van Leeuwen 2008, vii). Tudi Caldas-Coulthard poudari, da »v trenutku, ko nekdo piše ali govori o neki družbeni praksi, to prakso že rekontekstualizira« in s tem oblikuje druge družbene prakse (Caldas-Coulthard 2003, 276). Vsaka praksa rekontekstualizira druge družbene prakse glede na zakonitosti, specifične za to prakso. Sporočilo za javnost je denimo praksa, ki glede na lastno logiko in zakonitosti rekontekstualizira druge prakse, na primer tiskovno konferenco ali določeno dokumentarno prakso (Fairclough 2010, 181).

Dogodki so lahko med rekontekstualizacijo družbene prakse reprezentirani na načine, ki določene elemente potiskajo v ospredje in druge pomikajo v ozadje, dogodki so lahko prerazporejeni, lahko so abstrahirani ali posplošeni (Fairclough 2003). Zato van Leeuwen ločuje štiri osnovne kategorije rekontekstualizacije (van Leeuwen 2008, 17–21; glej tudi van Leeuwen in Wodak 1999, 96–98): zamenjavo (angl. *substitution*), izbris (angl. *deletion*), prerazporeditev (angl. *rearrangement*) in dodajanje (angl. *addition*). Temeljna in najpogostejša transformacija je *zamenjava* elementov družbene prakse s semantičnimi elementi. Ko so elementi družbene prakse, na primer udeleženke_ci, dejanja, čas ali prostor, zamenjani, so dodani novi pomeni, saj so lahko ti elementi reprezentirani na številne načine (udeleženke_ci, na primer, so lahko reprezentirane_i kot prepoznavne_i posameznice_ki ali kot generični tipi, lahko so kategorizirane_i glede na funkcijo, ki jo imajo v družbi, ali klasificirane_i glede na spol, barvo kože, družbeni razred idr. – jezikovne izbire določa način, na katerega želimo udeleženke_ce identificirati; dejanja so lahko konkretizirana ali abstrahirana ipd.). Vrsta zamenjave je odvisna od konteksta, v katerem poteka rekontekstualizacija. Rekontekstualizacija lahko vsebuje tudi *izbris* elementov družbene prakse. Nobena reprezentacija družbene prakse ne more reprezentirati vseh njenih elementov; katere_i udeleženke_ci ali dejanja, tipična za prakso, bodo v reprezentacijo vključena in katera bodo so iz nje izključena, je odvisno od namena diskurza. V skladu z namenom diskurza so določeni elementi družbene prakse (na primer dejanja), če imajo stalno zaporedje, lahko tudi *prerazporejeni*, tj. razporejeni v vrstnem redu, ki se razlikuje od dejanskih pojavitev elementov (dogodkov) v družbeni praksi. Lahko so razporejeni po pomembnosti, po kronološkem zaporedju ali glede na vzročno-posledično razmerje.

Rekontekstualizacija lahko vključuje tudi *dodajanje* semiotskih elementov. Diskurzi, ki reprezentirajo določeno družbeno prakso, zgolj ne reprezentirajo dogajanja, ampak dogajanje tudi vrednotijo, mu pripisujejo namen ali ga legitimirajo. Dodajanje torej vključuje naslednje diskurzivne strategije: ponovitev, reakcijo, pripisovanje namena, legitimacijo in vrednotenje. Te strategije so pojmovane kot dodajanje, ker v dejanski izvedbi družbene prakse niso izražene. Kot poudari De Rycker (2014, 52), podkategorije rekontekstualizacije, kot so cilji, reakcije in legitimacije, niso materialna, ampak semiotska dejanja in se kot taka lahko dodajajo rekontekstualizaciji prakse, ne morejo pa se dodajati tudi sami praksi. *Ponovitve* vključujejo večkratne pojavitve istega elementa. Na isti element se je mogoče nanašati tudi z nizom sinonimov, in vsakič, ko je uporabljen nov izraz, so dodane tudi nove semantične lastnosti, kakor tudi zorni kot. Reakcije vključujejo elemente subjektivnih odzivov udeleženk_cev na dejanja, ki konstituirajo družbeno prakso. *Reakcije* so lahko pozitivne (izražajo npr. veselje, srečo) ali negativne (izražajo npr. zaskrbljenost, žalost). *Namen* pojasnjuje, čemu se določena družbena praksa odvija. Ni intrinzičen del dogajanja, ampak je dodan dogajanju v diskurzu. Namen iste družbene prakse je lahko v različnih rekontekstualizacijah iste družbene prakse različno konstruiran. *Legitimacije* dodajajo reprezentaciji družbene prakse upravičenost, razlog za izvajanje družbene prakse (ali katerega od njenih delov) na določen način. *Vrednotenje* vključuje sodbe o tem, kaj je prav in narobe, dobro in slabo. Elemente družbene prakse ali družbeno prakso kot celoto lahko vrednotimo kot dobro ali slabo z moralnega vidika, kakor tudi s funkcionalnega (»uporabno«, »priročno«), estetskega (»lepo«) ali emocionalnega (»vznemirljivo«). Vrsta vrednotenja je odvisna od interesov in vrednot, povezanih z družbeno prakso, ki se rekontekstualizira (van Leeuwen 2008, 19–21).

Rekontekstualizacija je torej zmeraj proces diskurzivne spremembe: izvorna družbena praksa se transformira v diskurz (De Rycker 2014, 51). Rekontekstualizacija in transformacija pa imata ideološke implikacije: »kaj natančno se transformira, je odvisno od interesov, ciljev in vrednot konteksta, v katerega je rekontekstualizacija prakse postavljena« (van Leeuwen in Wodak 1999, 96). Kot potrjujejo raziskave na področju kritične diskurzivne analize, lahko ideološko motivirane transformacije, vključene v rekontekstualizacijo, reproducirajo določene oblike družbene prevlade, neenakosti in zlorabe moči (Wodak in Meyer 2009).

3 Kapitalistični sistem proizvodnje »superživil«: globalna profitabilnost lokalne hrane

V zadnjih nekaj desetletjih so mednarodna kmetijsko-predelovalna podjetja prestrukturirala globalno agrikulturno industrijo (Neve 2016) in korporativni sektor ni prevladal zgolj nad globalno ekonomijo in politiko, ampak je zavzel tudi celoten družbeni in psihološki prostor (Fridell 2011). To je bilo mogoče doseči s tržno močjo, kakor tudi s pomočjo vlad in mednarodnih finančnih organizacij – Svetovne banke, Mednarodnega denarnega sklada in Svetovne trgovinske organizacije (Neve 2016). Korporativna ekspanzija je povzročila transformacijo nacionalnih sistemov kmetovanja ter implementacijo modela proste trgovine in v izvoz usmerjene agrikulture v države »razširjenega perifernega kapitalizma« (Galeano 2010 (1971), 17). Sporazumi o prosti trgovini so odprli vrata multinacionalkam, ki so pričele z »brezprimernim izkoriščanjem [...] virov, delovne sile in trgov« (Petras 2009). Tradicionalno kmetovanje, organizirano v skupnostih in za skupnosti, je zamenjalo industrijsko kmetovanje, usmerjeno v dobiček svetovnih kmetijsko-predelovalnih podjetij (Neve 2016). Svetovni prehranski sistem danes obvladuje peščica multinacionalnih korporacij. Nadzorujejo mednarodne trge z žiti, semeni, gnojili in pesticidi ter so vključene v prehranski sistem od proizvodnje do prodaje (Haynes 2011). Industrializacija svetovne periferije je, kot navaja De Janvry, odvisna od razpoložljivosti poceni delovne sile, ki se ohranja z izkoriščanjem kmečkega prebivalstva in delavskega razreda (De Janvry 1981, 199–200): produktivnost se povečuje in dobički ohranjajo, ne da bi se sočasno dvignile plače (Escobar 2012, 128). Kot poudari Galeano, »[m]oč celotnega imperialističnega sistema sloni na neenakosti delov, ki ga sestavljajo, ta neenakost pa dobiva vedno bolj dramatične razsežnosti« (Galeano 2010 (1971), 17). Družbene strukture korporativnega kapitalizma omogočajo, da države centralnega kapitalizma, tj. države, v katerih so centri korporativne moči, nadzorujejo produkcijo, distribucijo in konzumacijo hrane, kakor tudi velikost trgov, plače in dobičke (Escobar 2012, 128–129). Sistem subvencioniranja je naravnano tako, da se večina subvencij steka k velikim kmetom in v velika kmetijsko-predelovalna podjetja. Sočasno nesubvencionirana lokalna produkcija slabi zaradi izvajanja dampinga: multinacionalke na svetovnem trgu prodajajo presežke proizvedene hrane pod proizvodno vrednostjo in lokalni proizvajalci temu ne morejo konkurirati (Haynes 2011). Poleg tega se v skladiščih vsako leto nakopičijo milijoni ton proizvedene hrane ali so namerno uničeni, da se cene hrane umetno zvišajo (Neve 2016). Posledica vsega tega je, da hrana ni več dostopna najrevnejšim. »Ironija je,« zapiše Haynes, »da 80 odstotkov revnega

svetovnega prebivalstva živi na podeželju, blizu hrane – a brez sredstev, da jo kupi« (Haynes 2011). Globalna lakota je torej le druga plat kapitalistične hiperprodukcije hrane.

Povečane zahteve ZDA in Evrope po »superživilih« so primorale lokalne staroselske skupnosti po svetu v spremembo njihovih tradicionalnih proizvodnih sredstev in industrializirano proizvodnjo lokalnih živil. Lokalne skupnosti v korporativnem kapitalizmu nimajo več nadzora nad lokalnimi prehranskimi sistemi; soočajo se zgolj z dvema možnostma: ali tradicionalno hrano komodificirajo kot vir dobička ali se odpovejo zemlji in tržnemu deležu v korist multinacionalnih korporacij. Večina lokalnih kmetov je obubožala, saj z majhnim obsegom proizvodnje ni bilo moč zadostiti zahtevam globalnega trga. Neenakopravno razmerje med proizvodnjo in konzumacijo povečuje odvisnost regij, ki proizvajajo »superživila«, od zahodnih dobrin (Fabrizio 2016, 2). Zahodna podjetja prodajajo lokalna živila rekoloniziranih držav kot luksuzne izdelke po visokih cenah, in medtem ko ta živila postajajo priljubljena »superživila« zahodnih potrošnikov srednjih in višjih družbenih razredov, si jih velik del lokalnega prebivalstva, ki jih prideluje za globalni trg, ne more več privoščiti ali pa se čuti zavezanega, da proda vsa pridelana živila, da zadosti zahtevam globalnega trga. Namesto tradicionalnih polnovrednih živil je prisiljeno uživati cenejša, predelana in manj hranljiva živila, uvožena z Zahoda (Ettinger 2014).² Kot so zahteve imperialističnih centrov po sladkorju, kavi, bananah in čokoladi v prejšnjih stoletjih destruktivno vplivale na staroselske skupnosti, današnje zahteve zahodnega trga po kokosu, palmovem olju, kvinoji, maki in številnih drugih uvoženih živilih, ki se tržijo kot »superživila«, zadajajo hud udarec lokalnim kulturam in ekosistemom po vsem svetu. Zaradi povečanih zahtev Zahoda po »superživilih« so lokalne skupnosti prisiljene povečati proizvodnjo, tudi ko okoljski pogoji ne podpirajo ekspanzionističnih prizadevanj. Povečujeta se število in obseg plantaž s »superživili«, (pogosto z izsekavanjem deževnega gozda), delo na njih pa temelji na izkoriščanju lokalne (nemalokrat tudi otroške) delovne sile (Gifford).

² Regija Bolivije, kjer pridelujejo kvinojo, je denimo najbolj podhranjena regija, saj so jo zaradi skokovitega porasta cene tega žita na globalnem trgu, tiste, ki jo pridelujejo, prisiljene i zamenjati z rafiniranimi žiti, poceni testeninami in belim kruhom (Ettinger 2014).

4 Rekontekstualizacija proizvodnje in uporabe »superživil« v globalnem kapitalizmu: kritična analiza oglaševalskega diskurza

Pričujoče poglavje prinaša analizo izbranih spletnih oglasov za »superživila« z vidika transformacije družbenih praks. Zaradi prostorske omejitve se osredinja na oglaševanje treh živil, in sicer mace, kvinoje in camu camuja. Gre za lokalna živila iz Peruja, ki so jih imperialne države po rekolonizaciji Peruja usmerile na svetovni trg in so se v dobi neoliberalnega kapitalizma in neoliberalnega spodbujanja promocije zdravja pričela oglaševati in prodajati tudi v Sloveniji.

4.1 »Superživila« kot kupljiva rešitev za težave sodobnega človeka

Najopaznejša vrsta transformacije v spletnem oglaševanju »superživil« je dodajanje. Najpogosteje se nanaša na diskurz predpostavljenih vrednosti, kot sta zdravje in družbeni ideal telesa. Oglasi za »superživila«, oprti na ideologijo zdravizma, dodajajo legitimacije, razloge za nujnost uživanja »superživil«. Legitimacije so utemeljene na poznavanju hranilnih vrednosti »superživil« in učinkov posameznih hranil na zdravje, na primer:

(1) Maca vsebuje tudi histidin, tirozin in fenilalanin, bistvene aminokisljine za izdelavo nevrotansmitterjev (snovi, ki prenašajo signale v živčnem sistemu). Nenasičene maščobe omega 3, 6, 9 in kalij so pomembne pri uravnavanju srčno-žilnega sistema. Vitamini B1, B2, B12 in C zagotavljajo presnavljanje ogljikovih hidratov v energijo, rast celic in zadostno proizvodnjo rdečih krvničk. Sitosterol in stigmasterol znižujeta nivo holesterola. Kalcij, ki ga v Maci najdemo v precej večjih koncentracijah kot v kravjem mleku, ugodno vpliva na delovanje živčnega in krvožilnega sistema ter krepi kosti in zobovje. "Maca Premium" je zato še posebej priporočljiva za otroke in starostnike. Koren Maca vsebuje tudi veliko vlaknin, ki urejujejo prebavo. Bogata je s kvalitetnimi ogljikovimi hidrati, ki zagotavljajo človeškemu organizmu kakovosten in takojšen vir energije. (MACA)

Primeri (2) in (3) kažeta na prenos odgovornosti s systemskega ustvarjanja predpogojev za zdravje in dobrobit na individualno reševanje težav, ki jih ustvarja sistem, »superživila« pa so v neoliberalnem okviru promocije zdravja predstavljena kot »rešitev za številne težave sodobnega človeka«.

(2) Zaradi neuravnotežene prehrane, hitrega dnevnega tempa in izpostavljenosti stresnim situacijam, vedno več moških in žensk v vseh starostnih obdobjih trpi

za različnimi zdravstvenimi težavami, ki so posledice sodobnega načina življenja. Škodljive razvade, kot sta kajenje in prekomerno pitje alkohola, še dodatno oslabijo delovanje naših teles. Maca, rešitev za številne težave sodobnega človeka, raste visoko v perujskih Andih. (MACA)

(3) Njena dobra lastnost pa je tudi ta, da vsebuje občutno manj ogljikovih hidratov, kot ostala žita. To je še posebej zanimiv podatek za tiste, ki se že leta borite z odvečnimi kilogrami. Sedaj imate rešitev – kakšen riž, krompir, pšenica – kvinoja je idealna rešitev za vas! (Bodi eko)

»Superživila« se s strategijo dodajanja ponujajo kot kupljiva rešitev za številne težave zahodne_ga potrošnice_ka, tudi za škodljive razvade, kot sta kajenje in prekomerno pitje alkohola (2), ali za prekomerno telesno težo (3). V slednjem primeru potrošnik_ca motivacijo za doseganje vitkosti poveže s kvinojo. Izguba prekomerne telesne teže je prikazana kot nerešen problem, oglaševano »superživilo« pa kot »idealna rešitev«. Pridevnik idealna sproža predpostavko, da so druge rešitve za izgubljanje prekomerne telesne teže manj učinkovite, in oblikuje predstavo o kvinoji kot nezamenljivem živilu v prizadevanju za izgubo telesne teže. Oglas nagovarja potrošnico_ka sodobne zahodne kulture, ki stremi za zdravo oz. idealno telesno težo z izogibanjem neprijetnostim, ki jih zanjo_zanj predstavljata sprememba prehranjevalnih navad in telesna aktivnost.

Ena od strategij dodajanja v spletnem oglaševanju »superživik« je tudi vrednotenje. Vrednotenje je pogosto uresničeno z leksikalnimi prvimi s pomenom čudežnosti, na primer: »Koren Maca – čudež narave?« (Svet je lep); »Kvinojo bi lahko poimenovali kot čudežno hrano sodobnega časa« (Bodi eko); »Maca črpa svojo moč iz zemlje, bogate z minerali, za svojo zaščito in preživetje pa vsebuje številne snovi, zaradi katerih jo lahko poimenujemo 'čudežni dar narave'« (MACA). Vrednotenje je tesno povezano z legitimacijo uživanja »superživik«, saj vrednotenjski vidik sproža konotacije izrednih, nenavadnih učinkov teh živil na zdravje.

»Superživilom« je pogosto dodana semantična lastnost *ekološki* ali *bio*, npr.: »ekološka maca v prahu iz Peruja« (Super hrana); »ekološki camu camu v prahu« (Barbarella); »bio camu camu v prahu« (Biotopic). Ta je uporabljena za korporativno označevanje živil in potrošnice_ka ne usmerja zgolj k sklepanju o hranilnih vrednostih oglaševanih živil in posledično ugodnih vplivih na zdravje, ampak ji_mu ponuja kulturno izkušnjo zdravega, ekološkega življenjskega sloga.

To je izkušnja, iz katere so izvzeta vprašanja družbene (ne)enakosti, tj. vprašanja prehranske varnosti in trajnostnega preživetja lokalnih skupnosti, ki pridelujejo visokokakovostna živila za zahodni trg.³

V naslednjem primeru je prostorskemu elementu pridelovanja »superživila« dodana nova semantična lastnost *neokrnjen*: »Omenimo še množico mineralov, ki jih rastlina črpa iz še neokrnjenih tal andskih gora« (Svet je lep). S tem je v oglaševanje »superživil« vpeljan esencialistični imaginarij »neokrnjene narave«, ki je po Smithu (2008) značilnost »buržoazne ideologije narave«, tj. modela, ki izhaja iz praks in prepričanj, značilnih za kulturo kapitalizma (Doane 2014, 236). Pojav čaščenja »neokrnjene narave« je, kot trdi Smith (2008), povezan prav s široko razširjeno kapitalistično industrializacijo in urbanizacijo, saj ti procesi zahtevajo koncept protipola industrializiranim področjem. S tem je narava pojmovana kot nekaj, kar je mogoče rešiti, zaščititi in užiti (Doane 2014, 236). Vendar pa je prav v tem ekološka kontradikcija kapitalističnih trgov: prav področja domnevno neokrnjene narave se namreč uporabljajo za kapitalistično proizvodnjo lokalnih živil, ki se na kapitalističnem trgu prodajajo kot »superživila«. Pri tem so iz imaginativne povezave z naravo izvzeti pogoji in družbeni odnosi proizvodnje, ki jih zahteva ustvarjanje dobička, tj. okoljska in družbena cena, ki jo za dobičke zahodnih multikorporacij plačuje lokalno prebivalstvo. Produktivna ruralna področja so transformirana v neoliberalna okolja (Doane 2014, 236) in na novo ovrednotena kot globalna ekološka vrednost (Doane 2012). Čeprav razumevanje delov narave kot ostankov, ki naj bili ločeni od nas, deluje univerzalno (Smith 2008), je dejansko, kot trdi Doane (2014, 236), sestavni del prevladujoče tržne kulture kapitalizma.⁴

4.2 Trivializacija indijanske tradicije za tržne namene

Naslednja oblika dodajanja v spletnem oglaševanju »superživil« je legitimacija, ki se dosega z referencami na Indijance. V naslednjih dveh primerih je vzpostavljena simbolna povezava med »superživilom« in Inki, ki naj bi bili legendarno močni: »Legende o moči inkovskih bojevnikov so se ohranile do današnjih dni, to moč

³ Pridobivanje certifikatov je tudi drag in dolgotrajen proces, zato so te oznake (ki jih na trgu spremlja dvig cen) zunaj dosega malih neodvisnih kmetov (Lovejoy 2015).

⁴ Tudi Pearce (2013) poudari potrebo po demitizaciji koncepta »neokrnjene narave«. Najnovejše analize namreč kažejo, da so ekosistemi naključni in se konstantno spreminjajo; spreminjajo se s poplavami, požari, prehajani živali posameznih vrst. Tudi ljudje zemljo in ekosisteme spreminjajo že tisočletja; področja Andov in Amazonke so ameriški staroselci preoblikovali že veliko pred evropsko kolonizacijo tega ozemlja.

pa naj bi bojevniki dobili prav iz mace« (Svet je lep); »Maca velja za legendarni izvir inkovske moči« (Super hrana). Skladenjsko-semantično vzpostavljanje povezave med mako in močjo kot legendarno lastnostjo Inkov je uporabljeno kot sredstvo trženja make; potrošnik_ca naj bi namreč to lastnost povezal_a s produktom.

Inkovska tradicija (oz. nekateri njeni vidiki) postaja profitabilna tržna niša Zahoda: uporaba in pridelovanje »superživil« iz Peruja v dobi kapitalistične globalizacije sta v spletnih oglasih reprezentirani z dodajanjem elementov družbenih praks perujskih Indijancev, kot izkazujejo naslednji primeri.

(4) Seveda ni čudež. Je pa hrana in perujski Indijanci jo že stoletja cenijo zaradi njenega podzemnega koreninskega dela, ki upravičeno nosi ime 'čudežna korenina', vendar pa je bila do nedavnega za preostali svet večinoma skrita in neprepoznavna. (Svet je lep)

(5) Maca je korenasta rastlina, ki uspeva v perujskem in andskem višavju, izpostavljena izrednim vremenskim razmeram in velikim temperaturnim razlikam med dnevom in nočjo. Ker je praktično nepremagljiva v preživetju, so že stari Inki izkoriščali njene učinkovine, ki posebej dobro delujejo na moško spolno moč in blagodejno vplivajo na splošno zdravstveno stanje. (FengCha)

(6) Kljub temu, da se je kvinoja na trg razširila šele v zadnjem času, pa so jo poznali in uporabljali že stari Inki. To starodavno ljudstvo jo je namreč že pred 3000 leti gojilo na terasastih poljih v Peruju, Andih, Čilu in Boliviji. (Bodi eko)

(7) Kvinoja je starodavna rastlina, ki so jo na terasastih poljih v Andih, gojili že Inki. (Nakupujmo skupaj)

Učinek dodajanja elementov družbenih praks perujskih Indijancev je, da se zabriše inherentno nasprotje med metodami kulture in nivojem lokalne konzumacije »superživil« pred neoliberalnim kapitalizmom ter načini uporabe in pridelovanja teh živil v neoliberalni dobi (oz. med rekolonizacijo Peruja). S tem sta tako uporaba kakor tudi pridelovanje »superživila« za zahodni trg prikazani kot kontinuiteta. Primeri (4) in (5) in (6) povezujejo lokalno uporabo make pred (neo)kolonizacijo s sodobno uporabo oz. konzumacijo tega živila na globalni ravni in s tem dva inherentno nasprotna procesa, ki imata vsak svoj družbeno-politični kontekst, prikažejo kot kontinuiteto. Eksponentno večanje globalne

priljubljenosti lokalnih živil, ki se na zahodnem trgu oglašujejo kot »superživila«, je namreč zahtevalo neposredne spremembe v proizvodnji, kakor tudi posredne spremembe družbene vrednosti teh živil v družbah, ki jih pridelujejo. Kvinojo, denimo, so na malih kmetijah v Južni Ameriki generacije pridelovale na enak način, a zahteve globalnega trga v zadnjih desetletjih so povzročile velikanske spremembe v načinih pridelave tega živila. Povečano globalno povpraševanje po »superživilih« je na lokalni ravni sprožilo vrsto sprememb: povišane cene, spremembe v pomembnosti teh živil za lokalno prebivalstvo in spremembe nivoja lokalne konzumacije (Lovejoy 2015).

Reference na perujske Indijance in njihovo tradicijo legitimirajo globalne vzorce pridelovanja lokalnih živil v Peruju, kakor tudi nadzor Zahoda nad prehransko politiko rekoloniziranih držav, obenem pa (re)producirajo in utrjujejo zahodno predstavo o posameznih vidikih inkovske tradicije. Ta predstava zmanjšuje kompleksnost inkovskega načina življenja in obenem preosmišlja prioritete Inkov na področju okoljske pravičnosti.

4.3 Izbris vršilcev marketizacije in komercializacije »superživil«

Rekontekstualizacija v spletnem oglaševanju »superživil« vključuje tudi izbris elementov družbenih praks, najpogosteje izbris elementov proizvodnje »superživil« za globalni trg. V naslednjih dveh primerih je to uresničeno s pripisom vršilstva samemu živilu, medtem ko multinacionalne korporacije kot dejanski vršilec marketizacije »superživil«, ki postavlja zahteve po intenziviranju proizvodnje in ustvarja pritisk na kmetovalce, da pridelujejo lokalna živila za globalni trg (tj. multinacionalne korporacije), niso omenjene: »Kljub temu, da se je kvinoja na trg razširila šele v zadnjem času, pa so jo poznali in uporabljali že stari Inki« (Bodi eko); »Gre za starodavno rastlino, katera [kvinoja] se je komaj v zadnjih časih uspela prebiti na prodajne police« (Bodi eko). V slednjem primeru je prodaja kvinoje na globalnem trgu metaforično prikazana kot prebijanje in s tem kot praksa, ki je za to živilo ne le nesporna, ampak celo zaželena. Ekonomsko-politično ozadje promocije in pridelave kvinoje je s tem prikrito, to pa zapira prostor razumevanju sistema kapitalistične eksploatacijske politike pri pridelavi »superživil«, tj. razumevanju vzrokov za ekspanzijo v proizvodnji kvinoje in drugih »superživil« v zadnjih desetletjih, kakor tudi učinkov komercializacije agrikulture in marketizacije »superživil« na lokalno prebivalstvo.

V naslednjem primeru je »superživilo« (maka) vključeno v istovetnostni odnosni glagolski dogodek (angl. *identifying relational process*): »Tradicionalno vključena v prehrano avtohtonega prebivalstva, se je [maka] danes razvila v sodobno 'super hrano'« (Indigo bio). Istovetnostni odnosni glagolski dogodek pokaže na istovetnost make s »super hrano« in s tem je zabrisana ločnica med tradicionalnim in komercialnim živilom, proizvedenim za urbano/luksuzno konzumacijo, spremembe ekonomske in družbene vrednosti make pa so prikazane kot naravni proces.

V spletnem oglaševanju je pogost tudi izbris spreminjajoče se krajine proizvodnje »superživil«:

(8) Kljub temu, da se je kvinoja na trg razširila šele v zadnjem času, pa so jo poznali in uporabljali že stari Inki. To starodavno ljudstvo jo je namreč že pred 3000 leti gojilo na terasastih poljih v Peruju, Andih, Čilu in Boliviji. In tudi še danes jo na teh območjih gojijo tamkajšnji prebivalci. (Bodi eko)

Predstavljeni primer vključuje zgolj omembo tradicionalne kulture kvinoje. Spremembe v proizvodnji kvinoje, kot je menjava tradicionalnega za hibridni sistem z mehanizirano proizvodnjo, v navedenem primeru in tudi na nobenem drugem mestu v oglasu niso omenjene in s tem oglas ustvarja predstavo o kontinuiteti tradicije v proizvodnji kvinoje. A kot potrjujejo raziskave vpliva povečanega povpraševanja po kvinoji na globalnem trgu na proizvodnjo in lokalno konzumacijo tega živila (npr. Lovejoy 2015), so kmetovalke_ci v zadnjih nekaj desetletjih, da bi zadostile_i zahtevam po večji proizvodnji, vpeljale_i vrsto prilagoditev, vključujoč premik proizvodnje s terasastih polj na nižje ležeča področja, ki omogočajo uporabo mehanizacije. Kot zapiše Lovejoy (2015, 53), se kultura kvinoje v zadnjih šestih tisočletjih ni dosti spremenila, a »samo v zadnjega pol stoletja, odkar so kvinojo 'odkrili' ameriški znanstveniki, se je spremenilo vse v zvezi s kvinojo«.

V spletnih oglasih za mako opazimo izbris dejavnosti in udeležencev pobiranja mace v Andih:

(9) PeruMaca, rešitev za številne težave sodobnega človeka, raste visoko v perujskih Andih. Je edina užitna rastlina na svetu, ki uspeva na nadmorski višini preko 4.400 metrov, kjer je izpostavljena ekstremnim vremenskim

pogojem, kot so velike temperaturne razlike, visok UV faktor, pomanjkanje kisika in močni vetrovi. (MACA)

Ker je mako nemogoče gojiti na isti površini več kot dve leti, saj rapidno izčrpava zemljo, perujske_i kmetovalke_ci po dveh letih gojenja te rastline pustijo njive v prahi do 15 let. Da bi zadostile_i zahtevam zahodnega trga, površine za gojenje pomikajo na visoka pobočja. Delavke_ci, ki pobirajo mako, so tako na visoki nadmorski višini izpostavljene_i hudemu mrazu, med pobiranjem make iz mrzle zemlje pa si velikokrat poškodujejo roke. Med delom jim je dovoljen le kratek počitek, nizko plačilo pa jim omogoča zgolj picle možnosti preživetja (Ettinger 2014). Oglas z izbrisom dejavnosti in udeležencev, tj. delavk_cev, ki pobirajo mako, zabriše družbene in ekonomske posledice kapitalističnega izkoriščanja lokalne delovne sile za povečanje proizvodnje lokalnih živil.

Primeri (10) in (11) sta iz spletnih oglasov za camu camu. Vršilec dejanja v materialnih glagolskih dogodkih, tj. delavke_ci, ki ta sadež *gojijo* in *nabirajo*, *pregledujejo*, *perejo*, *lupijo* in *stiskajo* plodove (za globalni trg), prav tako ni neposredno izražen in s tem so prebivalke_ci ruralnih skupnosti, ki živijo v bližini rastišč camu camuja in so vključene_i v intenzivno nabiranje tega sadeža, potisnjene_i v ozadje. To je jezikovno uresničeno s splošnim vršilcem v 1. (primer 10) ali 3. osebi množine (primer 11):

(10) Poleg vsega tega pa je Camu Camu rastlina, ki jo z lahkoto gojimo tudi na tržni ravni. Dandanes podjetja Camu Camu prodajajo globalno in ga gojijo zunaj deževnega gozda. Gojimo ga namreč lahko predvsem v hladnih, deževnih in subtropskih klimah. (EkoMagazin)

(11) Naš camu camu nabirajo med perujsko deževno sezono neposredno v kanuje. To je zahteven proces, saj je zemlja poplavljen in je velik del sadežev potopljenih pod vodo. Vse sadeže nato natančno pregledajo in jih ročno operejo, preden jih olupijo in stisnejo v sok. (Indigo bio)

S tem ko so delavke_ci potisnjene_i v ozadje, bralec_ka oglasa zaobide povezavo med široko dostopnostjo camu camuja in širše lokalnih živil na globalnem trgu ter izkoriščanjem lokalnega prebivalstva rekoloniziranih držav in posledično vprašanje sistematične deregulacije lokalnih gospodarstev v korist zahodnih multinacionalk.

Primer (10) reprezentira gojenje camu camuja zunaj deževnega gozda (ki je sicer avtohtono rastišče tega sadeža), tj. zasajevanje na poplavnih ravninah. Iz reprezentacije so izbrisane spremembe krajine zaradi kulture camu camuja v zadnjih desetletjih, za bralko_ca oglasa pa posledično ostanejo zaprta vprašanja okoljskih vplivov »nove industrije camu camuja« (Penn 2004) in vplivov marketizacije tega sadeža na ruralne skupnosti.

5 Zaključek

V sodobnem diskurzu promocije zdravja in zavesti o zdravju imajo »superživila« funkcijo krepitve prevladujočih predstav o tem, kaj pomeni biti zdrav_a, konzumacija te predstave, kakor tudi »superživil« pa naj bi posameznico_ka obvarovala pred zdravstvenimi in življenjskostilnimi tveganji. Individualizirane prakse v neoliberalni družbeni paradigmi zamenjujejo védenje o družbenih dejavnikih zdravja. Ugotavljamo, da so spletni oglasi za »superživila« ideološko oprti na zdravizem, ki je sprejet kot samoumeven del družbenega imaginarija, kar pomeni, da je prizadevanje za ohranjanje ali izboljšanje zdravja bistveni del naših izbir. Lokalna živila nekdanjih zahodnoevropskih kolonij so v spletnih oglaših reprezentirana kot del komercialnega trenda, ki slavi zdrav življenjski slog, eksotično in ekskluzivno. Reprezentacija družbenih dogodkov v oglaših za »superživila« je neizogibno povezana z interesi zahodnih multikorporacij, ki nadzorujejo produkcijo, distribucijo in konzumacijo lokalnih živil na globalni ravni. Rekontekstualizacija v oglaševalskem diskurzu je uporabljena kot sredstvo trženja »superživil« in najpogosteje vključuje: dodajanje legitimacij, razlogov za nujnost uživanja »superživil«, reference na Indijance in njihovo tradicijo ter izbris elementov proizvodnje »superživil« za globalni trg. Vršilci marketizacije »superživil«, ki postavljajo zahteve po intenziviranju proizvodnje, so potisnjeni v ozadje, spreminjajoča se krajina proizvodnje »superživil« je izbrisana. Implikacije rekontekstualizacije se kažejo v strukturiranju zavesti potrošnice_ka; rekontekstualizacija namreč prikriva družbene, ekonomske, politične in okoljske posledice povečanih zahtev po proizvodnji lokalnih živil za globalni trg, med katere sodijo spremembe v krajini proizvodnje ter spremembe ekonomske in družbene vrednosti lokalnih živil. Kultivacija lokalnih živil, ki se danes na globalnem trgu tržijo kot »superživila«, se je začela, da bi si ljudje, ki so trajno živeli na eni lokaciji, zagotovili zanesljiv vir hrane (Lovejoy 2015, 53), a z marketizacijo in komercializacijo teh živil v globalnem kapitalizmu je živilo, ki je bilo dotlej pojmovano zgolj kot vir hrane, dobilo blagovno vrednost. Spletni

oglasila za »superživila« so integralni del korporativnega kapitalizma in imajo zlasti dva družbeno-politična učinka: 1) legitimiranje neokolonialnih politik, tj. globalnih vzorcev pridelovanja lokalnih živil, kakor tudi nadzora zahodnih multinacionalk nad prehransko politiko rekoloniziranih držav; 2) utrjevanje klasizma, saj je kulturna izkušnja zdravega življenjskega sloga dostopna potrošnicam kom srednjih in višjih družbeno-ekonomskih razredov; ustvarja se vtis univerzalnosti produkta, ki je razredno določen.*

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