DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
FACULTY OF PHILOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF BELGRADE, SERBIA

BELGRADE
ENGLISH
LANGUAGE &
LITERATURE
STUDIES

VOLUME X
2018

SPECIAL ISSUE
IN HONOUR OF RANKO BUGARSKI
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 85TH BIRTHDAY

Belgrade, 2018

Belgrade English Language and Literature Studies (Belgrade BELLS)
2018 – Volume X
Special Issue in Honour of Ranko Bugarski on the Occasion of his 85th Birthday

Published by:
Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade

Graphic design:
Biljana Živojinović

Printed by:
Čigoja štampa, Belgrade, Serbia, 2018

ISSN 1821-3138 (Printed volume)
ISSN 1821-4827 (Online text)
UDC 811.111+82

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EDITORIAL PREFACE

It is with great pleasure that the Department of English Language and Literature, Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade, dedicates the 10th volume of the *Belgrade BELLS* journal to Professor Ranko Bugarski, on the occasion of his 85th birthday.

Ranko Bugarski, whose scholarly work enjoys a remarkably high international standing, has already been the recipient of three festschrifts[1] (each featuring different contributors, all in all 57 scholars from 41 universities and research institutions from 25 countries), which bear clear witness to his lasting imprint in many different areas of language study. He has enriched the life of the English Department in Belgrade in many ways for almost six decades. This volume of BELLS is a small token of the Department's appreciation of and commitment to the academic values that Professor Bugarski epitomizes.

The two opening texts highlight Professor Bugarski's academic and personal profile. First comes **the interview with Ranko Bugarski by Katarina Rasulić**, entitled **"Linguistics as a Science of Man"**, in which Bugarski answers (in his well-known smart, candid and witty style) a comprehensive range of questions pertaining to his life as a linguist and public intellectual. Then follows **Ivan Čolović's** article **"The Ranko Bugarski Library"**, in which the author – the founder and editor of the "20th Century Library", a long-established beacon of excellence in the field of the social science and humanities literature – explains why Ranko

[1] (1) *History and Perspectives of Language Study – Papers in Honor of Ranko Bugarski* (eds O. Mišeska Tomić and M. Radovanović), Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2000; (2) *Jezik, društvo, saznanje: Profesoru Ranku Bugarskom od njegovih studenata* [Language, Society, Cognition: To Professor Ranko Bugarski from his Students] (eds D. Klikovac and K. Rasulić), Belgrade: Faculty of Philology, 2003; (3) *Jezik u upotrebi. Primenjena lingvistika u čast Ranku Bugarskom / Language in Use. Applied Linguistics in Honour of Ranko Bugarski* (ed. V. Vasić), Novi Sad/Beograd: Društvo za primenjenu lingvistiku Srbije, 2011.

Bugarski is "one of the most significant followers of the enlightenment tradition in Serbia and the region as a whole".

The following thirteen contributions deal with topics which resonate with Professor Bugarski's impressively rich opus, bringing together fresh insights from the fields of theoretical, descriptive and contrastive linguistics, sociolinguistics and discourse analysis – all fitting under Bugarski's umbrella notion of "linguistics as a science of man".

Luna Filipović discusses cognitive and practical consequences of language contrasts in translation, examining the cognitive domains of motion and causation and means to lexicalize them in English, Spanish and Serbian, within her originally developed framework of Applied Language Typology as a novel platform for investigation of language contrasts in different practical contexts of multilingual use.

Tvrtko Prćić explicates and discusses the theoretical assumptions underlying a projected ideal general-purpose dictionary, in line with the principles of modern lexicography, highlighting the general characterization, typological identification and prototype specification of the ideal dictionary and pointing to the perspectives of its practical implementation.

Vladan Pavlović deals with the blurred boundaries between English superordinate and subordinate clauses from a discourse perspective, showing that structures which are syntactically superordinate may turn out to be discourse subordinate, and vice versa, and highlighting their gradient contribution to overall discourse progress.

Ksenija Bogetić presents the notion of 'discursive metaphorical frames' as an analytical tool instrumental in capturing the social meaning of metaphor, based on her analysis of metaphorical representations of language in British and Serbian newspaper discourse, in which the VIOLENCE OVER LANGUAGE frame is found to prevail in both metadiscourses, but with significant internal structure differences in the two language contexts.

Ivana Trbojević Milošević explores linguistic exponents of evidentiality in English and Serbian political interviews, within the framework of interactive modality, interpreting evidential markers as indicators of interactants' epistemic stance and showing that, contrary to the assumed contrast between English preference for indirectness and Serbian preference for directness, both English and Serbian interviewees employ the same repertoire of evidential markers to signal relative (un)reliability of evidence, shifting between subjectivity and intersubjectivity.

Olga Panić Kavgić examines the phenomenon of hedging in oral disagreements exemplified by selected US film dialogues, through the prism of varied qualitative politeness research and within a wider socio-pragmatic context, showing that the contradictory nature of hedging can be better understood if viewed as a manifestation of politic identity-preserving and identity-enhancing verbal behaviour.

Motoki Nomachi and **Bojan Belić** deal with the notion of standard language ideology in the 21st century, examining it through the lens of the status of two European minority languages, Bunjevac in Serbia and Kashubian in Poland, and drawing attention to the varied current challenges concerning the notions of standard language ideologies and language standardization.

Andrej Bjelaković provides a comprehensive overview of the extant urban dialectology and variationist sociolinguistics research in Serbia (and former Yugoslavia), showing that little has been done since Bugarski's 1965 original call to study urban speech, and highlighting the need for a more systematic study of stylistic and social variation in the urban areas of the Serbian-speaking world.

Costas Canakis provides an ethnographically-based analysis of the semiotic means employed in the linguistic landscape of central Belgrade, with the focus on those aspects that pertain to ideologically laden identitarian concerns (in particular the interplay of digraphia and heteronormativity with national identity), highlighting the dynamic indexical relations between space and language in the framework of superdiversity.

Andrijana Aničić examines the public discourse related to the appointment of the current Serbian prime minister Ana Brnabić and introduces the notion of 'nesting pedagogy' to explain the similarities between the disciplinary mechanisms observed in wider discourses of Europeanization and in the rhetoric of pro-European political elites in Serbia, and their fusion into a common language of discipline that yields an alternative subject position in power.

Boban Arsenijević addresses the issue of gender-sensitive language from the point of view of the lexico-grammatical structure of Serbo-Croatian, arguing that the social and cultural treatment of genders cannot really be improved by linguistic intervention advocated by feminist ideology, and emphasizing that language can only reflect, rather than shape, changes in the socio-cultural reality.

Tanja Petrović explores two instances of creative language use from the Southeastern periphery of the Serbian linguistic space, interpreting creativity as a strategic mixture of the local dialect with various widely recognizable discourses and highlighting the ways in which the linguistic practices under examination shift the established ideological frames of urban-rural and local-national-global, thus subverting the preset relationship between the linguistic centre and the periphery.

Gordana Lalić-Krstin examines the strategies used in the English-Serbian translation of wordplay in dystopian fiction (as a genre particularly rich in puns) – specifically, wordplay correspondence at the structural and semantic level, absence of wordplay in the target language texts, and direct copy – highlighting the exploitation of the expressive potential of lexical blending as a conspicuous way of achieving wordplay correspondence (and hence contributing to further entrenchment of this word-formation process in Serbian).

When we invited contributions to this Volume, we had in mind the scholars whose work builds on and/or features a dialogical exchange with Ranko Bugarski's opus, from universities in Serbia and internationally, including in particular the young scholars from the English Department in Belgrade. This more than ample choice was narrowed down in an attempt to exclude the scholars who had already contributed to one of the previous three festschrifts, with only a few warranted exceptions (including the editors of this Volume).

The invited contributors responded wholeheartedly, dealing with topics of their own choice. The resulting mosaic has turned out to reverberate the themes that have featured prominently in the honouree's opus, including the interfaces between language and conceptualization, language structure and language use, language and discourse, and, in particular, language and society.

At this point, we would like to extend our sincere gratitude to all the authors – and to many other people who have contributed to this Volume: (i) the reviewers (Ivan Đorđević, Jelena Filipović, Sabina Halupka Rešetar, Dunja Jutronić, Duška Klikovac, Igor Lakić, Biljana Mišić Ilić, Zoran Paunović, Slavica Perović, Biljana Sikimić, Vera Vasić), whose insightful and constructive comments have enhanced the quality of the articles; (ii) the proofreaders (Clare McGinn-Zubac, Jonathan Pendlebury, Charles Robertson), for their meticulous work; (iii) the Faculty of Philology, and its present Dean Prof. Ljiljana Marković, for the continuing support for

the publication of BELLS; (iv) the *Čigoja* printing house (in particular, the executive director Žarko Čigoja, the technical director Branko Knežević, and the prepress team, Biljana Živojinović and Leposava Knežević), for the long-lasting professional and reliable cooperation.

Above all, our thanks go to the honouree, Professor Ranko Bugarski, on behalf of many generations of students and colleagues, for being such an untiring path-breaker, bridge builder and torchbearer in linguistics as a science of man.

Belgrade, 15 March 2018

Katarina Rasulić
Ivana Trbojević Milošević

UDC 81:929 Bugarski R.
https://doi.org/10.18485/bells.2018.10.1

BELLS INTERVIEW: RANKO BUGARSKI

LINGUISTICS AS A SCIENCE OF MAN

by Katarina Rasulić

BELLS: **Your academic career as a linguist is truly impressive, not only in terms of its duration and the number of your influential publications, but also in terms of the range of linguistic and interdisciplinary fields in which you have been active. These include English linguistics, general linguistics, contrastive linguistics, applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, language policy and planning, language in relation to identity, culture, ethnicity and nationalism, written language and literacy, political manipulations of language, terminology and bibliography, history of linguistics – and the list is not exhaustive. In retrospect, what do you see as the main driving force in the development of your scholarly interests in the study of language?**

BUGARSKI: In the endeavours listed I was basically driven by my early acquired and continuing fascination with language in its many and diverse aspects. As a linguist I am naturally committed to my profession, but I often feel – if I may put it this way – that language is even more wonderful than linguistics. It is this sense that has taken me from one facet of language to another, and correspondingly from one of the linguistic subdisciplines to the next. This constant urge, however, has been a mixed blessing. On the one hand, given such a broad range of interests my scholarly contributions, whatever merit they may have, have necessarily remained more restricted in impact than they might have been had I from the start focused on a few selected fields and delved far deeper into them, which is what most properly trained linguists do. But my linguistic training was anything but proper. I studied English language and literature and German language and literature as one of the first generation of students enrolled in the newly opened Faculty of Philosophy in my hometown, Sarajevo, in l951, and graduated with full marks practically without ever hearing of linguistics. There were courses in the phonetics, grammar and history of these languages, to be sure, but no introductory linguistics course of the kind that would now be taken for granted in most universities. However, towards the end of my studies I found a copy of Sapir's *Language* of 1921 in the poorly equipped departmental library; I still wonder how it ever got there, but it certainly played a part in my later decision to focus on linguistics (my first publications had been in the field of literary studies).

Actually, it was only after I moved to Belgrade as a newly appointed assistant lecturer in the Department of English in 1961, at the not-so-young age of 28, that I properly discovered linguistics, but thereafter I enthusiastically embraced it, greatly aided by a scholarship that soon took me to University College London, with Professor Randolph Quirk and other well-known linguists, and with libraries in which I eagerly went through the main linguistics journals in a ferocious attempt to make up for lost time. This is where I started work on my PhD dissertation – and finally became a linguist in the process. Yet on the other hand, while I might have achieved more had I controlled my interests and narrowed down the scope of my research, I don't regret having spread myself over the whole range you indicated, as it simply gave me satisfaction to take a keen look "here, there and everywhere".

BELLS: In your book *Language and Identity* (Bugarski 2010) you describe how you grew up virtually bilingual, acquiring English as "the second family language". What was that experience like and what role has the English language played in the formation of your identity?

BUGARSKI: It's no exaggeration to say that this experience was a vital one in my formative years. I am convinced that early bilingualism is one of the best things that can happen to anyone, for several very good reasons related to cognitive development, outlook on life, tolerance of differences, range of choices available when considering one's future profession, etc. It is sometimes said that science begins with comparison: if only a single species of tree existed, or only one kind of crystal, there could be no botany or crystallography as we know them, since science implies generalizations made by comparing different items of a relevant class for similarity and difference, and one can't usefully generalize over a single item. Similarly with language: I believe that monoglot individuals, constrained by their single mother tongue, are hardly equipped to appreciate to any significant degree the wonders and splendours of human language. Correspondingly, the history of linguistics teaches us that, with all the glories of the great individual languages of ancient civilizations and the early landmarks of their separate descriptive and normative studies, no general linguistics was possible before the knowledge of scores of genetically and typologically different languages across the world had accumulated sufficiently in the post-Renaissance period to give rise to nineteenth-century comparative linguistics.

And as to my own identity, I have been most grateful for the circumstances which have allowed me to enrich it with an additional language, an added bonus being that this was English, then on its way to becoming the leading world language. But more generally, it is a mainstay of European cultural history, dating back to late eighteenth century Romanticism and the related rise of nationalism, that the mother tongue of a person or nation is an exclusive sanctity which must be preserved by all means in the face of competing alien tongues. Strong echoes of this long outdated view reverberate even today in educational circles, where it is frequently claimed that learning a second language should be put off until the precious mother tongue as the principal safeguard of identity has been "stabilized" enough to be able to resist the allegedly harmful intrusions of the other language. In sharp contrast to this singular mother-tongue myth, I have always considered my linguistic identity to consist precisely of all the languages and scripts that I have some knowledge of: no doubt a minority view, but one which I hold to be the only reasonable one in this day and age.

BELLS: Which (three) linguists have influenced your work the most and in what ways?

BUGARSKI: This is a difficult question for somebody who is to a signficant degree a self-made linguist and has never been a member of any particular school of thought or convinced follower of a leading luminary. However, I have been influenced in my work by a considerable number of linguists of a variety of shades. My greatest debt I owe to Randolph Quirk, my first mentor, for his guidance in the early stages of work on my dissertation and friendly encouragement later on. As I write I recall how much his support meant to me in connection with my first major article. In 1967, while spending a year at Columbia University in New York, I sent him a draft of a long paper on the interrelatedness of grammar and lexis in the structure of English, asking for his opinion. His anxiously awaited verdict began with these words: “I haven’t had the time to read the whole article, but I’ve seen enough of it to be convinced that it must be printed”. What sweet music to my ears! The paper was indeed published the following year in *Lingua*, Amsterdam, an international journal of high repute (Bugarski 1968) – and I have preserved this letter from London to this day...

And having mentioned Columbia, I think it proper to add at least two names from there. One is Uriel Weinreich, a pioneer of contact linguistics and noted lexicographer and semanticist, whose work and personality I admired, but who unfortunately died at the age of forty, in the middle of a course on semantics which I was attending. The other is William Labov, a founder of sociolinguistics, whose ground-breaking studies of the speech of New York City and of Martha’s Vineyard, an island off the coast of Massachusetts, had done much to inspire my interest in the links between language and society. There is also Noam Chomsky, whose revolutionary studies of the syntactic structures of natural languages and of the relationship between language and mind opened up new vistas for me, vitally enriching my English syntax courses here as well, though after a while I found the rigid formalism too demanding for me to follow. I even came to challenge one of Chomsky’s fundamental claims by arguing that his generative grammar was an offshoot of structural linguistics rather than a replacement for it – and did so long before it became fashionable in some theoretical circles to be anti-Chomsky: at the Copenhagen meeting of the European Linguistic Society in 1981 (Bugarski 1982). Nevertheless, I gained a great deal from Chomsky’s powerful ideas even while questioning some of them. I could of course go on in this vein, but I must stop here, having already exceeded my allowance of three names!

BELLS: Your recent book on Serbian lexical blends (Bugarski 2013) opens with a prologue in which you reflect on one sentence from your student essay written long ago – “Over the entrance

to the shop, pink neon spelt BEAUTILITY". What makes this sentence special in your life as a linguist?

BUGARSKI: Ah, yes – that's a nice little story. The sentence you quote is from an essay I wrote on 8 October 1962 for Professor Quirk's class, entitled "An afternoon in Oxford Street: Reflections of a linguistically-minded foreign visitor", where I jotted down various items of what would today be called the linguistic landscape of that street and commented on them. The advertisement caught my physical eye at the time as worthy of attention, but I saw it again in my mind's eye no less than half a century later, while I was finishing the book you referred to. So what is so special about it? Well, I sensed in it an almost uncanny symbolic power, in that it seemed to overarch and condense half a century of my grappling with the mystery of language in some of its widely different manifestations. Namely, by sheer accident (or maybe not quite so?) its very first word is *over*, which was subsequently to become my favourite item in the system of English prepositions covering vertical orientation in space, the subject of my dissertation. While at its very end (once again, how accidentally?) we see the light of a blend, *beautility* – and a few decades later blends would constitute the main topic of my investigations of the contemporary Serbian lexicon. All this is contained in the sentence with maximum economy, and furthermore in the correct chronology of my preoccupations: first English, linguistic theory and prepositions, then Serbian, sociolinguistics and blends. In this way substantial segments of my long career of linguistic research have been symbolically copied into a short and banal English sentence, which simply says that at the entrance to a shop there is a rosy neon advertisement for a certain cosmetic product which combines beauty with utility! Small wonder I got hooked on blending...

BELLS: As Professor of English Linguistics and General Linguistics (and one of the founders of the Department of General Linguistics at the Faculty of Philology, University in Belgrade in 1988), how do you see the relationship between the two today? Is the field of general linguistics Anglo-centered?

BUGARSKI: To begin with, for me English linguistics has always meant 'the linguistics of English', i.e. the application of the concepts and research methods of general linguistics to the study of this particular language, whereas general linguistics implies empirically valid generalizations about the essential properties of human language, linguistic structure and change, language functions, etc., based on the investigation of many genetically and typologically diverse languages, often – or nowadays perhaps even mostly – including English. So the two are naturally interlinked; that is why, for example, my own courses in the structure of English have from the start been designed as introductions to English linguistics, with a liberal amount of general linguistics being taught through the lens of English.

Now as regards "Anglo-centered", in the sense of being largely occupied by scholars from English-speaking countries, I would say yes, to some extent, but less so than in the second half of the twentieth century, when Chomskian linguistic theory ruled the scene. Thereafter we witness more diversity and variation, owing especially to the Internet and related technologies which make it much easier for voices from any corner of the earth to be readily heard; in other words, general linguistics has become more international. But I would add that it is definitely and increasingly English-centered, referring to the language of linguistic publications across the world, as it has already become imperative for authors seeking an international audience to publish in English, even as against such formerly leading languages of science as German, French or Russian – to say nothing of the multitude of smaller national languages, in this respect mainly reduced to domestic consumption. Many linguists outside the English-speaking orbit find this state of affairs regrettable, and with good reason. Yet one positive aspect of the worldwide dominance of English is that it forces previously reluctant nationally-minded scholars into more than a nodding acquaintance with this language if they wish to make their research known to the world beyond the confines of their nations.

BELLS: What is your stance with regard to the general distinction between formal and functional approaches to language study (cf. e.g. Newmeyer 1998, *Language Form and Language Function*)? Is the distinction appropriate, can the two approaches be reconciled, which perspective do you advocate and why?

BUGARSKI: Briefly, the formalist approach rests on the claim that linguistic form can and should be characterized independently of meaning and function, as against the functionalist approach, which takes the position that considerations of meaning and function can be influential in shaping linguistic form. But both these approaches come in several different versions, so that they are highly general orientations rather than specific tightly knit theories. In the book you cite, Newmeyer, himself a convinced generativist and formalist, points out that their proponents have tended to cluster in mutually antagonistic camps and mainly work in disregard of each other. After a thorough analysis he concludes that their respective arguments are not necessarily in contradiction, so that a unification of the two basic positions is both possible and desirable. As for me, I have – as already noted – given up following the intricacies of generative grammatical theory and thus cannot be the judge of the respective virtues or vices of the two positions: this simply isn't my cup of tea. All I can say is that, speaking quite generally, as a non-formalist I find the opposed view more to my taste, especially as in my own work I have always relied heavily on both the meaning and function of linguistic items and structures.

BELLS: Over the past three decades, one of the most rapidly expanding linguistic paradigms has been Cognitive Linguistics. Your work on English prepositions from the late 1960s (Bugarski 1968, 1969, 1973) was in many ways a visionary anticipation of the subsequent cognitive-linguistic turn, highlighting the general principle of gradience in language and the interrelatedness of grammar, lexis and semantics. How so and how do you see this aspect of your work today?

BUGARSKI: First off, I seem to be by temperament a "gradient" kind of person: in linguistics as in life, I have as a rule tended to reject "either/or" options in favour of "both/and" ones, preferring expressions like *some*, *more or less* to *all or none* and recognizing continuities, shades and fuzziness where many theoreticians would posit sharp divisions and rigid boundaries. This inclination informed the work you refer to, at a time well before such considerations were built into the foundations of cognitive linguistics. Which, as you imply, and as several other observers have noted, would make me a cognitivist *avant la lettre*. While such a status may fill me with a moderate amount of pride, the feeling is somewhat overshadowed by the unfortunate fact that some of my relevant research, including the dissertation itself, was published in Serbo-Croatian, therefore reaching only a highly limited audience. I had in fact contacted Longman on Professor Quirk's suggestion, but they found the text too technical for a commercial publisher. Later on I had another opportunity to publish an English version of the book: in 1972, at the Bologna International Congress of Linguists, I talked to the editor of a reputable North-Holland book series, who made me such an offer right away. I said I would consider it, but this consideration took much longer than expected, as I was busy finishing my book *Language and Linguistics* (Bugarski 1972), which was to win the highly regarded Nolit prize for that year. The publicity surrounding that event, coupled with the publication of my selection of Chomsky's writings that same year, kept me away from other projects for quite a while – long enough for me to quietly forget about the possibility. In subsequent years my interests went in other directions, and I never came back to my beloved prepositions. So that was it, and I have only myself to blame for missing a good chance. But how was I to know at the time that my work would be relevant to a new and influential paradigm that took shape a dozen or so years later? And in response to the last part of your question, all I can say is that I now regard this aspect of my work with not a little nostalgia...

BELLS: Your work unites theoretical and applied linguistics in many different ways, whereby you interpret "applied linguistics" as "linguistics applied". What is the essence of the shift of perspective in the conception of "linguistics applied"?

BUGARSKI: Up until the mid-twentieth century, the phrase "applied linguistics", especially in English and French usage, was normally understood to refer to foreign language teaching, and in some versions also to machine translation. But the decades that followed gradually brought with them the realization that this was far too narrow, that linguistics had much to offer (in terms of insights, basic concepts, terminology and methodology) to a wide variety of areas beyond these two. So there occurred a major shift of focus, or paradigm change if you like, from seeing applied linguistics as a restricted branch of linguistics to regarding it as an approach to linguistics as a whole, spreading itself outward to meet a whole range of language-related problems in human societies; this is what I attempted to capture with my reversal of the two words in the discipline's name (see esp. Bugarski 1987). While certain theoretical and methodological problems remain, it is safe to say that this broader and more productive interpretation of applied linguistics, to which numerous scholars and practitioners across the world have contributed, has become widely accepted.

BELLS: In the 1970s and 1980s you were especially dedicated to defining and organizing applied linguistics as an academic discipline in Yugoslavia and internationally. What was that experience like and how do you see the regional and global development in that field today?

BUGARSKI: That experience was challenging but also highly rewarding. I remember those years as a time of fervent activity – organising the first congress of applied linguistics in Yugoslavia, coordinating the work of the scientific commissions of AILA (International Association of Applied Linguistics), preparing and attending AILA's world congresses, editing national and international publications in the field, etc. I had a strong sense of participating in a truly worthwhile endeavour which united dedicated individuals and groups from many countries. My AILA engagements ended in 1990, and a year later, with the breakup of Yugoslavia, my role in domestic developments followed suit, to be revived in Serbia only occasionally and briefly. There are now regional associations in several of the post-Yugoslav states, but I have only scant information on their activities. AILA, on the other hand, seems to be flourishing, and applied linguistics as a field of research and action on a global scale has more than achieved its long-sought universal affirmation.

BELLS: An important aspect of your work concerns mediating knowledge between the international and Yugoslav linguistic communities. Specifically, as translator and editor, in the 1970s and 1980s, you acquainted the Yugoslav public with the works of Noam Chomsky, Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf, and with the basic tenets of some important linguistic disciplines, such as transformational-generative grammar, sociolinguistics or psycholinguistics. What was this experience like? Given the global spread of the English language and the availability of information through the Internet, how important is this kind of mediating work today? Is enough attention paid to the development of linguistic terminology in Serbian?

BUGARSKI: This too was an experience I cherished. I just felt it was up to me, given the knowledge of linguistics that I had acquired and a missionary fervour of sorts, to help in acquainting the Yugoslav public with some major modern figures, ideas and developments out there, on the great linguistic scene. It wasn't an easy task, though, especially in the case of Chomsky and TG grammar, because of the novelty and unfamiliarity of the field, the technical apparatus employed, and the utter lack of corresponding Serbo-Croatian terminology. But I never for a moment regretted the effort it all took; on the contrary, I was satisfied that I was doing something of value to many scholars, students and other interested readers in my country. Now about the global spread of English and the Internet, of course you are right in suggesting that mediating work – of this and perhaps any other kind – has in this day and age lost much of its former significance. Much, but not all, I would say: we still need translations, explanations and interpretations of academic works, not only in order to advance what is usually called the national culture but also in the service of disseminating reliable expert knowledge, which is not always easily found by taking Internet shortcuts. And lastly, as just intimated, Serbian linguistic terminology is still underdeveloped, particularly in the more technical areas of modern language study, so that such mediation remains useful.

BELLS: Your role as mediator between the international and Yugoslav communities goes in the other direction as well. Specifically, you have kept the international linguistic community informed about the changing language situation in the former Yugoslavia and its successor states, with a special focus on the politically-determined dissolution of the Serbo-Croatian language, as evident in the two volumes you co-edited with Celia Hawkesworth (Bugarski and Hawkesworth 1992, 2004), published by the leading American publisher devoted to Slavic studies. Thereby, you advocate a conception of Serbo-Croatian as a polycentric standard language, linguistically one but politically dissolved into different national languages. What are the main arguments for this conception?

BUGARSKI: As is well known in sociolinguistics, a polycentric standard language is one that is standardised in two or more centres, so as to fill the specific needs of the different nations using it. The resulting forms of the language, usually called its standard variants, necessarily exhibit certain peculiarities but these are not sufficient to make them distinct languages. The phenomenon is quite common, as all the widespread languages tend to develop variants (such as British, American, Australian etc. English, European and Canadian French, European and Brazilian Portuguese, German in Germany, Austria and Switzerland, and so on). The main argument proving that these variants are not different languages from a linguistic point of view is easy communication among their speakers. In the case of standard Serbo-Croatian there was full mutual understanding among its variants, and this remains true even after its recent dissolution, for political reasons and by administrative means, into its officially recognized national heirs: Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian and Montenegrin – despite all the linguistic engineering with the aim of making them as different as possible. I have therefore advocated the view that Serbo-Croatian is linguistically still one language (though with several variants), even if it is politically a group of separately named languages.

BELLS: In your sociolinguistic considerations of English as a global language, you drew some comparisons to Serbo-Croatian, in terms of the centripetal and centrifugal forces regulating unity and diversity. How does English compare to Serbo-Croatian in this respect?

BUGARSKI: As just observed, both English and Serbo-Croatian belong to the class of polycentric standard languages. However, as your question correctly implies, there are differences between them in the way their polycentricity is manifested, caused by various historical, political and social psychological factors. In both cases we may envisage an overarching entity covering a range of subentities, but the relations among them are different. To take English first, the existence of national variants is regarded as normal and unproblematic, since "no English-speaking nation feels threatened or even uneasy about sharing both the language itself and its name with other nations". Accordingly, there is no political or psychological need to blow up the differences and give the variants of English separate names, like the British, American or Australian language; when necessary, corresponding attributes can be used (British English, American English, etc.). Hence it is normal to regard a speaker of, say, Australian English as a speaker of English. In contrast, "the dissolution of Serbo-Croatian as the principal linguistic symbol of a recently destroyed federation of several nations stirs up collective emotions in a way unthinkable in the English-speaking world" (quotations from Bugarski 2004). So the umbrella term itself has been officially eradicated, with the former or newly recognised variants elevated to the status of distinct national languages. Consequently, there are claims that the officially non-existent Serbo-Croatian cannot be spoken or written, and that therefore a speaker of Serbian, Croatian etc. is not simultaneously a speaker of Serbo-Croatian.

This, then, is the basic difference: in the first case the hyperonym comfortably subsumes its hyponyms, whereas in the second instance it has been deleted, leaving its offspring as orphans, so to speak. The latter picture, of course, represents the official position, contrary to my own view as sketched out in answer to your previous question. I'd also like to stress that the use of four language names (Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian and Montenegrin) by no means implies that what we have in fact are four languages; obliterating this distinction opens the way to all kinds of manipulation. Lastly, I wouldn't speculate about the stability or otherwise of the current situations. How far Serbo-Croatian can in the long run resist the concentrated pressures on its fundamental unity remains to be seen; and there are indications that the centrifugal machine which has dealt with Serbo-Croatian has been at work on English too, as shown by the well-known English vs Englishes debate.

BELLS: You have also been concerned with the notion of *linguistic nationalism*. How do you define linguistic nationalism?

BUGARSKI: Briefly, this is nationalism expressed through a dedicated and often fiery concern with language, seen as the principal, vital and irreplaceable symbol of the respective nation, and the safeguard of its special values or even of its very existence. It typically seeks to achieve its goals by manipulating that same language, extolled as older, purer and more authentic than other competing languages, which represent a constant threat to it; this national sanctuary must therefore at any cost be guarded against alien influences. Its roots are in the already mentioned European Romantic and nationalist cultural tradition, which upheld the "Holy Trinity" of language, nation and state as the natural and ideal entity of human social organisation (although it never in fact existed in anything like its desired pure form). Linking language with nation stirs up emotions and leads to the politicising of linguistic differences, as we have seen in the destruction of Yugoslavia, a process to which the several aggressive linguistic nationalisms on its territory made a substantial contribution. It seems appropriate to notice with a touch of melancholy that Serbo-Croatian, manipulated in fanning hate speech on all sides in the conflict, itself fell victim to these forces, so that the four national languages established in its place can be justifiably regarded as the children of linguistic nationalism.

BELLS: In addition to your academic work, you have also been actively engaged in the public sphere, critically reflecting on current political and social issues. Especially during the 1990s, which saw the rise of militant nationalisms and the tragic break-up of the former Yugoslavia, you raised your voice against war and nationalism, in opposition to the current political regime. This sort of public intellectual engagement is not uncommon for prominent linguists, with notable examples including Noam Chomsky and George Lakoff. What do linguistics and politics have in common? What have you gained and what have you lost due to your public engagement?

BUGARSKI: I don't see any immediate or necessary link between linguistics and politics as areas of human activity, but it may be possible to relate specific kinds of one and the other. Thus the leading American scholars whom you mention do seem to show that avant-garde concern with linguistic creativity (Chomsky) and theoretically informed investigation of linguistic manipulation (Lakoff) tend to go with broadly leftist political activism, as against more traditional approaches to language study, usually associated with more conservative views. Also, owing to their specialist knowledge linguists are better equipped than other professionals to identify, analyse and counteract various manipulatory misuses of language. As to me, while I am naturally flattered by being placed in the same context with these two high priests of theoretical linguistics, I must say that I never thought of myself as a lower-case local chomsky or lakoff. However, my own public engagement as an outspoken critic of the regime from expressly anti-nationalist and anti-war positions may perhaps be related to my broad cosmopolitan and liberal mindset, in which my training in languages and linguistics certainly had a share.

Now what did I gain from this engagement? Well, in effect not much, especially when I see how essentially futile it all was in view of later developments. But at the time there was a satisfying feeling that I was on the right side of history during those turbulent years. I stood up and was counted, which nurtured my self-respect as a man who acted in accordance with his convictions; also, if nothing else, I felt that my family and friends would have no cause to be ashamed of my behaviour in a time of crisis. And what did I lose? Two things readily come to mind. First, although nominated, I wasn't elected to membership in the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts: I was written off as nationally suspect before my professional qualifications were even considered. Given the circumstances this didn't bother me much, but I suffered a far more serious blow when I was fired from the Faculty of Philology, along with several distinguished colleagues, in a scandalous "cleansing" campaign launched by a dean newly appointed by the Milošević-Šešelj government. (I was reinstated a year later, after winning my case in court and the downfall of that regime, including the notorious dean). So my balance sheet registered some gains and some losses; let's leave it at that, without calculating their relative weight.

BELLS: Dating from the 1990s are your books *Language from Peace to War* (Bugarski 1994) and *Language in a Social Crisis* (Bugarski 1997), in which you provide a comprehensive and cautioning account of hate speech and political manipulations of language. How do these books resonate with the current global development, when we are living in what has been termed "the age of post-truth politics"?

BUGARSKI: In those two books and other writings of the period I provided a detailed exemplification, analysis and classification of techniques of manipulating language for political purposes. In that capacity I'm amused to see the current upsurge, in the best tradition of Orwell's doublethink, of phrases like *alternative facts*, *post-fact* or *post-truth politics*: all of them, I suppose, "politically correct" euphemisms for misconceptions, delusions or – probably most often – downright lies. (And when I say amused, I mean it: at a protest against this usage in America a dog was seen wearing the label "Alternative cat"). There is certainly resonance here with the misuses of language that I studied twenty years ago, the difference being that previously facts were deliberately distorted whereas they are now simply ignored and replaced with populist appeals to emotions and stereotypical personal beliefs; Brexit and the US presidential election campaign are notorious examples. This is frequently accompanied by wholesale Trumped-up charges against political opponents, journalists and other dissenters – in the US but also elsewhere, notably including Serbia. This country is apparently developing into a post-truth society where it is quite normal to routinely and consistently falsify facts and figures, and practice wholly groundless but vicious slander against any challengers in the public arena (including, as we have seen, even their innocent families), with the slanderers being actively encouraged rather than told off by the regime. And taking a global perspective, one wonders what is next, what new types of discourse we are yet to be exposed to in an increasingly fake world behind the looking-glass.

BELLS: As a pioneer of sociolinguistics in Yugoslavia and a decade-long national correspondent of the *Soziolinguistische Bibliographie Europäischer Länder* in the yearbook Sociolinguistica (Tübingen/Berlin), how do you see the current global trends in sociolinguistics compared to the early development of this field?

BUGARSKI: Sociolinguistics as an academic discipline originates from about the mid-1960s. In its formative years it was mostly seen as a part of linguistics dealing with the social basis of language, and contrasted with the sociology of language as a part of sociology concerned with the linguistic markers of society. This distinction, necessarily rather loose from the start, was further weakened with the growth and maturation of sociolinguistics, so that nowadays this field is generally regarded as dealing with all aspects of the relations between language and society. Indeed, in the view of Labov already in the 1970s, the very segment socio- in its name is superfluous, since it is clear that the primary task of linguistics itself is to study the normal, everyday use of language in social communication ("linguistics as sociolinguistics"). Today sociolinguistics is a broad, differentiated and vital area of language study, duly institutionalised through its own specialists, university chairs, serial publications, conferences, etc. A good example is the European bibliography you refer to, for which I have served as a national correspondent from its first issue in 1987 until today – that is to say, for thirty years without interruption. Leafing through these volumes gives a good impression of the rich present coverage of the field. An important change in comparison with its beginnings is that it is no longer a mere collection of individual empirical studies with little reference to any underlying theoretical framework ("a mile wide and an inch deep"), but a fully-fledged scholarly discipline with its own practitioners, theory and methodology. As such it has definitely come of age and is recognised all over the world.

BELLS: Over the past decade, in your capacity as Council of Europe Expert on Regional or Minority Languages, you have been concerned with the European language policy, with a special emphasis on multilingualism, multiculturalism, the relation of language to ethnicity and nationality, and the protection of minority languages. The title of your latest book – *Languages in the Attic* (Bugarski 2016) – symbolically indicates that minority languages are crammed in the attic of the common European house. How so and what should be done in this regard?

BUGARSKI: Practically all European countries have minority languages within their borders, which are treated differently in line with the general policies of the respective states (ignored, tolerated, or actively supported). European institutions have for several decades insisted on the need to safeguard these languages, many of which are threatened with extinction, as valuable segments of Europe's linguistic and cultural heritage. In 1992 the Council of Europe issued a comprehensive major document called The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, inviting all its member states to accede to it. It entered into force in 1998, after the first five states had ratified it, thus undertaking to support all such languages on their territories by applying a set of specified measures. (By now all the post-Yugoslav states except Macedonia have joined the Charter). This process has been monitored by a special committee of independent experts on the Charter, of which I have been a member for over a decade. In the course of our work we have evaluated the measures taken by each individual state during a reporting period of three years and suggested improvements. The general idea, reflected in the title of my book, is that the numerous but often neglected small languages, seeking protection under a common European roof, should be given more space and visibility than they have been granted in the past. In the two decades of the Charter's operation much has been achieved in most of the member states, but a lot still remains to be done in this unbounded process of securing the continued existence and advancing the use of these languages.

BELLS: One of your notable contributions to the study of language concerns your notion of *graphic relativity* (Bugarski 1970, 1993). How does it extend the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of

linguistic relativity, and what is your stance regarding the universalist vs. relativist perspective in language study?

BUGARSKI: The intriguing and controversial Sapir-Whorf hypothesis posits that the structures of particular languages influence or even condition the way their speakers experience reality, so that speakers of, say, English, Arabic and Chinese do not see quite the same world. While preparing for a course in the history of linguistics which I taught in Chicago in 1969/70 I came upon the idea of applying this kind of thinking to written languages, and later on developed the notion of graphic relativity, suggesting in roughly parallel fashion that the typologically different systems conventionally used for writing the various languages may direct their users' perception of the linguistic units (or "building blocks") of the languages themselves, thus channelling the course of native traditions of linguistic thought. This idea didn't attract worldwide attention, but it has been cited and seriously considered by several scholars investigating the cognitive effects of writing. As to universalism vs. relativism, a topic I was interested in at the time but haven't followed closely later on, I can say that it hasn't been a hot one since then. The study of language universals saw its heyday in the 1960s and 1970s, prompted in a theoretical way by Chomsky's concept of universal grammar, and in empirical terms by the cross-linguistic typological research of Joseph Greenberg; the debate about linguistic relativity is likewise not very high on the current agenda. But this of course does not mean that these issues are dead, far from it: they may well surface again at any time, depending on the direction that future research in general linguistics and the philosophy of language takes. As to me personally, I believe that universalism and relativism alike remain relevant and stimulating concepts.

BELLS: In your book on Serbian slang (Bugarski 2003) you state that "experimenting with words is one of the more pleasurable ways to know the world". Anyone who has had the pleasure of communicating with you is well aware of your special gift for experimenting with words in thought-provoking and often humorous ways. Could you share some illustrative examples with us?

BUGARSKI: How nice of you to quote that statement! You may not believe it, but this must be one of my most cited sentences. And I do believe what

I say there! For me *Homo loquens* is at the same time *Homo ludens*. From my earliest years on I have been fascinated by words, their forms and meanings, and have experimented by playing with them, breaking them up and recombining their parts – the first inkling, I suppose, that I had in me the makings of a future linguist. Later on came idioms, translations, metaphors, verbal humour, puns, limericks, funny blends ... There is room here for only a few examples from this rich array. In December 1969 in San Francisco, after the annual meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, I spent a few hours chatting and joking over wine with the newly elected President, Archibald A. Hill, a lover of limericks like myself. So we exchanged a few increasingly bawdy ones, whereupon he recited the beginning of one started by Thackeray (about *The Young Countess of Wycherley*) but left unfinished, apparently because of the difficulty of finding good rhymes for the second and last lines. Later that night I found a solution involving the words *itchily* and *twitchily* (or was it *bitchily*?), but unfortunately I no longer remember the whole text, as I foolishly never wrote it down. Professor Hill evidently liked it, for when I arrived at the University of Texas at Austin some months later to give a lecture on his invitation, he introduced me as “the man who after 150 years completed a limerick by William Makepeace Thackeray”!

In 1992, at a conference of the European Linguistic Society in Galway, the participants in the plenary sessions were seated in somewhat uneasy chairs which threatened to collapse unless handled with care. At one point in the middle of somebody’s paper, Werner Winter, then secretary of the Society, came crashing down, whereupon I exclaimed “Professor Winter is practicing for a question from the floor!” – and had the hall roaring with laughter. In cognitive linguistic terms, the humorous effect here is due to a reversal of the usual order from a concrete source domain to an abstract goal domain, thereby literalizing conventional metaphorical usage. And quite recently, my obsession with blends carried over into my dreams, so I literally dreamt up items like *splicijaliteti* (‘Split specialties’ – after my return from Split, where I had sampled some of the local cuisine) or *Slika Dorijana Geja* (‘the picture of Dorian Gay’ – upon recalling Wilde’s life and work). A veritable *pundemonium* in my mind, you might say!

BELLS: Many generations of students have learnt many important things from you, in linguistics and in life. What is the most important thing that you have learnt from your students?

BUGARSKI: This question doesn't really apply to my big undergraduate classes, where it was difficult to establish individual contact, so I will limit myself to my experience with postgraduate students only. In the course of my academic career I supervised 12 PhD dissertations and 46 'old-style', pre-Bologna MA theses, a track record I'm quite proud of. Working with all these students, and especially the dozen or so best ones, has taught me that any effort invested in their training tends to pay off handsomely. And in the process, their keen interest and clever questions and comments have often sharpened my own thinking about various linguistic issues. Given the right circumstances, teaching is a two-way avenue.

BELLS: You have authored over 20 books. Which of them was the most difficult to write and why?

BUGARSKI: The first, and for two reasons. Firstly, precisely because it was the first: I had no experience of that kind, and as we say, every beginning is difficult. But more importantly, my dissertation was the result of several years of meticulous research and hard thinking in a complex area of language structure, with no ready guide to follow; I had to work out a multi-dimensional analytical system all my own, consistently integrating the grammatical, lexical and semantic levels of analysis. So as far as I'm concerned, it really was a ground-breaking effort. It may not seem so to a present-day observer, comfortably taking for granted the facilities undreamt of at the time (computers, electronic corpora, the Internet, etc.), but half a century ago research of this kind was considerably more difficult and time-consuming, to say the least.

BELLS: One of your books is entitled *Linguistics on Man* (Bugarski 1975) – a formulation that reflects your understanding of linguistics as a science of man in psychological, sociological, pragmatic and cultural contexts. From today's perspective, what would you point out as the three most important things that linguistics reveals about the human being?

BUGARSKI: There you are again – you do seem to like the number three! Well, let me have a go. Linguistics reveals that the human being is (1) unique, in possessing language as a wonderfully rich and intricate system capable of performing a range of functions vital to human societies, far beyond that of communication which man shares with other species; (2)

creative, in the non-trivial sense of producing infinite combinations of finite means, as a true *Homo syntacticus*; and (3) imaginative, as unfettered by the chains of the here-and-now and thus able to conceive and interpret not only what is but also what was or will be, or is not, or cannot be – in a word, to experience different possible worlds. Insights like these are of course not the exclusive privilege of linguistics, but the science of language has, especially in the modern era and along the lines suggested, made an important contribution to a broadly conceived and comprehensive science of man, as yet largely nonexistent but perhaps ultimately possible. At any rate, this vision engendered an article of mine first published in 1973 on "Linguistics as a science of man", and reprinted in the book you cite as its first, tone-setting chapter.

BELLS: What is your message to prospective linguistics scholars?

BUGARSKI: Quite briefly and simply: don't allow yourselves to be put off by traditional and usually uninspiring teaching methods associated with school grammar; find your own angle; learn to enjoy language as you study it and you will see that linguistics, in addition to providing a precious window on the world, can be fun.

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And thank you, Katarina, for this artfully designed interview, which so elegantly summed up me and my work!

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UDC 016:81(497.11)
https://doi.org/10.18485/bells.2018.10.2

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THE RANKO BUGARSKI LIBRARY**

1.

Since its foundation in 1971 the Twentieth Century Library has published the majority of Ranko Bugarski's monographs; in total thirteen books.[1] No other author has contributed as many volumes to the edition, which means that we would be justified in calling it the Ranko Bugarski Library. This would be logical not simply because of the number of Bugarski's works the Library contains, but also because it was with his assistance and cooperation that I was also able to introduce several other important writers in the field of linguistics and sociolinguistics.[2] When invited to give

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** Translated from Serbian by Charles Robertson.

1 *Lingvistika o čoveku* [Linguistics on Man] (1975, 1983), *Jezik u društvu* [Language in Society] (1986), *Jezik od mira do rata* [Language from Peace to War] (1995), *Lica jezika* [Facets of Language] (2001, 2002), *Nova lica jezika* [New Facets of Language] (2002, 2009)*, Žargon* [Slang] (2003, 2006), *Jezik i kultura* [Language and Culture] (2005), *Evropa u jeziku* [Europe in Language] (2009), *Jezik i identitet* [Language and Identity] (2010), *Portret jednog jezika* [The Portrait of a Language] (2012), *Sarmagedon u Mesopotamaniji* [Sarmageddon in Mesopotamania] (2013), *Putopis po sećanju* [Travel Memoirs from Memory] (2014), and *Jezici u potkrovlju* [Languages in the Attic] (2016).

2 In two instances Bugarski collected and introduced the works of other authors: Edward Sapir, *Ogledi iz kulturne antropologije* [Essays in Cultural Anthropology], selection and introduction R. Bugarski, trans. A. I. Spasić, 1974, 1984; and Benjamin Lee Whorf, *Jezik, misao i stvarnost* [Language, Thought and Reality], selection and introduction R. Bugarski, trans. S. Sinđelić, 1979.

an example of a work of linguistics characteristic of the Twentieth Century Library I usually mention the title of the first work that Bugarski published with us in 1975 – *Linguistics on Man*.

The Twentieth Century Library edition does not focus solely on linguistic and sociolinguistic literature, it also introduces authors from a wider field, expounding on anthropological and cultural themes, dealing with man, society and culture. Although it is largely thanks to Bugarski that, for many years now, works on language have enjoyed the most prominent place in the Library, there are, nonetheless, objective justifications for what we might term the 'privileged status' of linguistics. At the time of creating this Edition, at the beginning of the 1970s, general linguistics was considered a pilot science, a science which served as an example, in terms of theory, to many other social sciences including ethnology, anthropology, psychoanalysis, history, and also philosophy. This was the time of structuralism. From the mid-1960s researchers of society and culture had had to gain a familiarity with the basics of structural linguistics and the related semiotics (semiology), theory of signs, the difference between signum and signatum, syntagm and paradigm, the way synchrony and diachrony are determined by linguistics, and the basics of generative grammar. You had to know your Saussure, Jakobson, Benveniste, Hjelmslev, Martinet, Lotman, and later on Chomsky. At that time I considered myself sufficiently familiar with the literature to prepare a thematic section for the magazine *Delo* entitled *Trends in Modern Linguistics* (*Putevi moderne lingvistike*) (July, 1969). This led to my first meeting with Ranko Bugarski. In response to a request from me he introduced Noam Chomsky's basic linguistic concepts for the section in *Delo*.

The influence of linguistic structuralism and semiology is still felt in the social sciences today, though doubtless far less so than before. New circumstances arose in the meantime, and with them new reasons for the necessity of linguistics, and its importance in studying society and the world in which we live. After the end of the Cold War, the processes of globalisation accelerated and the mobility of the world population grew apace. The links between different cultures also intensified, prompted by new forms of electronic communication via the internet. Such a situation created the need to research the relations between cultures more thoroughly, and various models of these relationships were offered: multiculturalism, interculturalism, transcultural communication and so on. The issues of relationship between different languages, between language and culture, language and identity, the problems of language policy in different cultures, and the way language issues are viewed by European Union institutions, came to the fore. With the growing strength of nationalism in Yugoslavia, until the war and break-up of the united state, it became important to research the role of language and linguists in this context, and to critically present examples of the language of nationalism and political manipulation of languages, and also to follow and analyse the processes which led to an official rejection of the most widely used language in Yugoslavia, Serbo-Croatian. The greatest contribution to research on these topics came from Ranko Bugarski. By listing them I am in fact summarising the content of the books that he dedicated to these topics.

2.

Ranko Bugarski is one of the most significant followers of the enlightenment tradition in Serbia and the region as a whole. It is, of course, the European Enlightenment that I refer to, which can be seen at work in our region, but which mostly remains in the shadow of its ideological antipode, European romanticism and nationalism, the most radical seedlings of which form the basis of today's ethno-nationalist ideology. This is why it has never been easy to represent the enlightenment tradition in Serbia. But there have always been those who persisted in spite of everything. One of them is Bugarski. His intellectual and ethical position could be explained in the same way Ernest Gellner described his own position in science and society, in one of his last books, saying he was a follower of "enlightenment scepticism", i.e. "an enlightened rational fundamentalist".[3]

Where is this concretely observable? In the fact that in Bugarski's work, knowledge on language, on language and culture, on language and society, his scientific, reliable, well-founded, trustworthy, lucid and systematic scholarship, as a rule, is drawn out in opposition to some form or other of ignorance, or false knowledge. Moreover, Bugarski offers this real knowledge in answer to concrete manifestations and forms of ignorance, here and now.

Ignorance or fallacies about language, about language and culture are numerous. For example in the book *Language and Culture*, Bugarski speaks

[3] Ernest Gellner, *Posmodernizam, razum i religija* [Postmodernism, Rationality and Religion], trans. Silva Mežnarić, Jesenski Turk, Zagreb 2000, p. 99.

of "deep-rooted fallacies and prejudices", of "amateurish categorization of things", of "well-established stereotypes and prejudices", of "pure ignorance and prejudice", of the "irrational prejudices of the uninformed", of "clichéd thinking", of "over-simplified popular understandings", of what "people take for granted", of a "narrow and deceptive frame of mind" and "well-established lay beliefs".[4]

Of course not all these fallacies and prejudices are of the same kind or significance. They vary according to the genre of speech in which they occur; they are to be found in folk lore and traditional culture, in particular forms of magical and religious practice but also in academia, politics and the media. These fallacies can be harmless, comical – Bugarski often gives examples of this ilk – but also highly dangerous. One of the most dangerous and oft-exploited in contemporary political discourse is the stand on the supposed 'organic unity' of language and nation. Speaking of the manipulation of language, culture and identity, he says in one place that "the reduction of a complex identity to one dimension, the ethnic, is both scientifically and ethically indefensible, but nonetheless, thanks to inherited stereotypes it is also very useful when the goal is manipulation, for which there is ample evidence in the recent experience of war undergone by the peoples of Yugoslavia, herded as they were, without pardon or appeal, into their respective ethnic pens in order to fight, even to the death, for the national cause."[5]

Ranko Bugarski proffers his services then, as a guide through the "verbal fog", a tireless interpreter and critic of prejudices about language and culture, of the manipulation of language and culture, a follower of the best traditions of education and intellectual engagement. This consistent and unflagging commitment to the fight for affirmation of the critical analysis of language and its place in culture and society has won him extensive recognition among his colleagues. This is apparent in the three collections of papers which have been published in his honour, presenting the work of linguists and sociolinguists the world over.[6]

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[4] Ranko Bugarski, *Jezik i kultura* [Language and Culture], Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd, 2005, p. 31, 43, 75–77, 94.

[5] Ranko Bugarski, *Jezik i kultura* [Language and Culture], Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd, 2005, p. 69.

[6] *History and Perspectives of Language Study – Papers in Honor of Ranko Bugarski* (eds O. Mišeska Tomić and M. Radovanović), Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2000; *Jezik, društvo, saznanje: Profesoru Ranku Bugarskom od njegovih studenata* [Language,

In this region too, he has a relatively wide circle of admirers, not among linguists alone. I have kept an e-mail I received from the writer Miljenko Jergović, overjoyed with Bugarski's book *Travel Memoirs from Memory*:[7] With Jergović's permission, I read this communication at the promotion of the book and publish it again here:

> I have just finished *Memoirs*, an amazing achievement from an amazing individual. I have always envied (and I mean quite literally envied) those multitalented people who dedicate their life's work to one vocation, leaving two or three other talents aside as unworthy of their condescension. For me, as someone who can do nothing but the one thing I know, and am wholly untalented for anything else, this is a kind of miracle. Bugarski writes like a force of nature, as if he had spent a lifetime in nothing but the production of prose and memoir. But to the same degree that he is unpretentiously well-educated, knows so much and understands his fellow men so well, he is also a witty, often a wickedly witty provocateur... I really love the way that, in the additional segments of the book, Bugarski continues his previous or several previous works. This goes beyond all established literary standards, from Gutenberg to the present day, but it is brilliant and wholly justified.[8]

But it is only to be expected that, in official linguistic circles, among linguists with a decisive influence over language policy in Serbia, Bugarski

Society, Cognition: To Professor Ranko Bugarski from his Students] (eds D. Klikovac and K. Rasulić), Belgrade: Faculty of Philology, 2003; *Jezik u upotrebi. Primenjena lingvistika u čast Ranku Bugarskom / Language in Use. Applied Linguistics in Honour of Ranko Bugarski* (ed. V. Vasić), Novi Sad/Beograd: Društvo za primenjenu lingvistiku Srbije, 2011.

7 Ranko Bugarski, *Putopis po sećanju* [Travel Memoirs from Memory], Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd, 2014.

8 [The original quote] "Dočitao sam *Putopis po sećanju*. Nevjerojatna knjiga, nevjerojatnog čovjeka. Uvijek sam zavidio (ali, zaista i bez pretjerivanja – zavidio) tim multitalentiranim ljudima, koji se jednim poslom bave cijeli život, a preostalih dva-tri talenta ostave po strani, onako gospodski ih prezru. Meni koji ne znam ništa osim onoga čime se bavim, i savršeno sam netalentiran za ostala umijeća, to djeluje k'o neko više čudo. Bugarski piše k'o zmaj, k'o da se cijeloga života bavio samo pisanjem proze i memoara. Ali kako je samo nenametljivo obrazovan, kako sve zna i svakog razumije, kako je samo duhovit, kakav zajebant i provokator... I strašno mi se sviđa to što Bugarski u ovoj knjizi, u dodatku nastavlja prethodnu, ili nekoliko prethodnih. To je potpuno izvan svih standarda knjiških, od Gutenberga do danas, ali je sjajno i ispravno."

has remained undesirable, silently, and on occasion openly rejected. In this too he shares the fate of many an enlightened educator, people who, in spite of powerful resistance from the political and cultural elites in their own environment, nonetheless broaden the space for knowledge and freedom.

UDC 811.111'373
https://doi.org/10.18485/bells.2018.10.3

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LANGUAGE CONTRASTS IN TRANSLATION: COGNITIVE AND PRACTICAL CONSEQUENCES[1]

Abstract
Can language differences bring about different conceptualisations of events? We shall see in this paper that they can, in the context of translation and also in some other contexts of language use, such as memory and judgment. The focus here is primarily on translation and its relationship with other research areas such as contrastive and cognitive linguistics. I illustrate how all these areas can be mutually informative and benefit from a closer interaction. The theoretical background for the analysis is given within the framework of Applied Language Typology, which is a novel platform for investigation of language contrasts in different practical contexts of multilingual use, such as interpreting, translating, language learning and teaching or legal communication such as police interviews and evidence-gathering. Two cognitive domains, motion and causation and the means to lexicalise them in different languages are discussed, including contrasting features at the morphological, syntactic and semantic level. I conclude that a holistic approach to language contrasts, which involves use of different empirical approaches that probe for their cognitive and practical consequences, is the way forward for contrastive applied language research.

Key words: causation, deixis, intentionality, motion, translation

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1 To Professor Ranko Bugarski, my first mentor, with gratitude and affection.

1. Introduction

Languages differ in many ways and many language contrasts have direct consequences for a variety of language-driven activities. For instance, in the context of translation, the presence of a lexical or grammatical category in one language and their absence in another can lead to a variety of issues, such as how to convey the exact original meaning in the translated text without making the narrative sound awkward, or how to keep the form without losing the entirety or parts of the original meaning. In some cases the choices we make in translation can affect not only the intended meaning or style but can also have important effects on concrete outcomes of events in real life that go beyond communication *per se*. It is these kinds of effects that we highlight in this paper.

Our focus is on cognitive and practical consequences of typological differences between languages that arise in the context of translation. We are particularly interested in conceptual differences induced by linguistic differences between the original (source) language and the language of the translation (target) as well as language-specific effects on how the described events are remembered depending on the language of their description.

For the purpose of the current discussion, I first introduce the relevant theoretical framework, *applied language typology* (Filipović 2017a, 2017b), within which emphasis is put on those typological contrasts between languages that result in significant practical problems and require difficult decisions to be made in order to overcome them in cross-linguistic communication (Section 2). The applied language typology approach helps us identify the key contrasts, document their effects empirically and raise awareness about their impact and importance in communication and language education. The examples discussed are taken from two different linguistic and cognitive domains in order to illustrate the relevance of an applied typology approach at different levels of analysis. I discuss the morphosyntactic and semantic contrasts in the lexicalisation and translation of *deictic motion* in English, Serbian and Spanish (Section 3) and expression of *intentional vs. unintentional causation* in these three languages (Section 4). I also highlight some important effects of these language contrasts beyond the conflict in translation and illustrate their impact on witness memory and judgment, which may be impacted differently depending on whether they are guided by the language of the original statement or that of the translation. Section 5 offers conclusions and recommendations for further research.

2. Language contrasts from an applied language typology perspective

2.1. Contrastive and cognitive approaches: A brief overview

The study of language contrasts has been taking place for many years within different theoretical and practical frameworks. This paper explores the possibility of a unified approach to the study of language contrasts that pulls together key insights from different sources and that is both theoretically sound and practically useful. In what follows I provide a brief introduction to the background for the current analysis, which originally combines typological descriptions of language contrasts with knowledge about how language is represented in the mind and the effects that the contrasting linguistic framing of experience may have on how experience is conceptualised. This innovative framework, applied language typology, brings to the fore the crucial importance of empirical testing of typological predictions in concrete contexts of use with the purpose of identifying the effects of typological similarities and differences on the way speakers think, remember and learn.

The study of language contrasts was of central concern within the contrastive linguistics paradigm (at least since Lado 1957), guided by a contrastive analysis approach, which was used to describe categories and rules in two different languages and highlight the contrasts between them. It was soon criticised due to both overprediction and underprediction regarding when and where difficulties in language learning may occur (see Odlin 1989: 17; see also James 1990 for a comprehensive account of contrastive linguistics). For instance, certain pedagogical assumptions were made, such as that if similarities existed between two languages those features would be easier to master in L2 acquisition, and vice versa, differences meant difficulties in L2 acquisition. It was demonstrated by empirical testing of such assumptions that the picture was not that simple. Sometimes similarities did not lead to easy or fast acquisition because learners would avoid the structures that they considered L1-specific even though the same or similar ones existed in L2 (which is captured by the notion of psychotypology (Kellerman 1983)). Similarly, some features that are very different in L2 from those in L1 tend to be acquired very early and very fast if they are indispensable for making oneself understood in L2 (see Filipović and Hawkins 2013). Yet, many valuable recommendations coming from this tradition are still valid today. For example, Eric Hawkins (1984) proposed raising language awareness in the classroom, which involves incorporating simple contrastive analysis to serve as interface between mother tongue and foreign language study. Experimental teaching that raises foreign language learners' awareness of contrasts between the mother tongue and the foreign language was shown to facilitate the learning of difficult foreign language structures (Kupferberg and Olshtain 1996).

Importantly, focusing on systemic differences just between two languages and not including information about how those systems are actually used appeared to be problematic for the contrastive approach. The advent of generative linguistics did not help either because, in addition to focusing almost only on English for many years, it also brought an exclusive focus on what may be universal in languages, which in practice ended up being an attempt to impose categories from English in the analysis of other languages. Thankfully, the tide shifted again and the work on language typology that comprised both language contrasts and language universals started to emerge (Greenberg 1964, 1966; Hawkins 1983, 1986). Cognitive approaches to the study of language, such as cognitive linguistics (see Ungerer and Schmidt 1996 for an overview), also supported the idea that the study of language contrasts is of key importance for linguistic theory and our knowledge about the relationship between language and the mind. In general, the cognitive turn across disciplines has incited renewed interest in language contrasts and their cognitive consequences in different context of language use.

Precursors of these progressive research ideas in both contrastive and cognitive camps can be traced to Bugarski's impressive and versatile opus. As early as in his PhD study in 1969 of a subsystem of prepositions in English, Bugarski (1996 [1969]) showed how differences in linguistic framing can lead to differences in conceptual framing. This work was an early account of how language relates to conceptualisation of domains of human experience, such as spatial or temporal. Cognitive linguistics and other usage-based frameworks have been exploring these domains extensively, as illustrated in recent studies (see e.g. Filipović and Jaszczolt 2012a, 2012b; Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2017). Furthermore, Bugarski (1991) proposed a reformed definition of the contrastive analysis approach whereby contrastive linguistics would be defined as "the systematic study of similarities and differences in the structure and use of two or more language varieties, carried out for theoretical or practical purposes". This reconceptualisation of contrastive linguistics actually cures all its past ailments, namely the narrow approach of contrasting just two systems. Crucially, as proposed by Bugarski, contrastive studies should include *language in use* rather than lists of features in vacuum, as it were, stripped of any context. Thus, practical purposes are put on an equal standing with theoretical goals, where they should be, and it is this kind of purposes that the current paper is focused on.

Another general point is worth making here. Contrastive linguistics has reclaimed its practical significance with the rising interest in Interlanguage studies. The traditional approach was to compare the learner's mother tongue (L1) with the language (L2) to be learnt. Current approaches within Interlanguage research contrast the learner's version of the L2 with the standard version of that L2 and discuss the influences of many factors on the learners' L2s (including L1 transfer in particular; see Odlin 1989). More recently, contrastive linguistics practices have been adopted by psycholinguistics, which previously addressed prevalently monolingual language processing, working mainly on English. The value of bilingual and multilingual data for the study of language processing in general, and the relationship between language and cognition is becoming increasingly documented (e.g. Athanasopoulos 2016; Filipović 2011, 2013; Lai *et al.* 2014; Pavlenko, 2014). It is essential to study language contrasts in a variety of contexts, such as interpreting, translating, language learning and teaching, since language contrasts may manifest themselves differently. For example, what is problematic in interpreting (e.g. Japanese word order translated into English) may not be difficult in acquisition (e.g. Japanese learners of English master the English word order early; see Filipović and Hawkins 2013 for details).

Translation is one of the fundamental areas of language use that provides examples of language contrasts and their effects. The cognitive turn in translation studies has contributed to the treatment of translation data as significant for our understanding of bilingual language use and bilingualism more generally (see House 2013; see also Halverson 2014 for a succinct and insightful overview). Furthermore, translation is a prolific testing ground for predictions arising within the field of cognitive linguistics, as has been demonstrated by numerous studies in Rojo and

Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2013 (see also Rojo and Cifuentes-Ferez 2017; Ibarretxe-Antuñano and Filipović 2013; Filipović and Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2015). The results of these studies provided new knowledge into how translation can impact a number of cognitive functions, such as witness memory and judgment. Use of experimental and corpus approaches in translation research has offered novel ways in which to seek empirical confirmation for effects of differences between languages, document their manifestations and assess their relevance for different language-driven activities, such as interpreting, translating, language learning, language teaching, witness interviewing, political or business negotiating, and possibly others.

Overall, translation data are a rich source of information that can be used for testing of numerous hypotheses related to both linguistic theory and language use in bilingual and multilingual communication. This paper is a contribution in this vein.

2.2. Applying language typology

The backdrop for the current discussion is the *applied language typology* approach, a framework first proposed by Filipović (2008) and developed in Filipović (2017a, 2017b). Applied Language Typology is grounded in the cognitive linguistic belief that there is a close relationship between how objects and events are described in language and how they are conceptualised, and it contrasts languages on a large typological scale in order to probe for effects of different linguistic typological framing of categories and events. Apart from the original combination of multiple perspectives and sources of insights, the novelty is reflected in the research goals that lie in the essence of this framework, namely the empirical documentation of effects that typological similarities and differences have in different contexts of language use, e.g. translation, second language acquisition, witness memory, etc. This approach helps us identify more precisely *when and how various factors will facilitate or impede successful language use in different contexts*. These features of languages relevant to professional practice may vary from context to context (e.g. as mentioned in the previous section, what is easy in language learning may still be difficult in translation and vice versa; see Filipović and Hawkins 2013 for details), but all applications can benefit from a clear and general classification scheme that identifies the precise points of contrast between languages (see further below). This applied typology approach aims to add the crucial empirical feedback element on the effects of the typological language contrasts for different language-driven activities and in different professional contexts (e.g. medical, legal, educational), and for a variety of languages from different typological groups.

Filipović (2017a, 2017b) identified certain general criteria that we can use in order to detect those language contrasts that can potentially result in practical difficulty, regardless of the particular area of grammar or lexicon in which they originate. Not all differences between two languages will necessarily lead to miscommunication and mistranslation or indeed to facilitated communication and translation. The following three general types of contrasts between languages appear to be centrally important for a number of applied domains:

a) the presence vs. absence of a category (lexical or grammatical) in two or more contrasted languages (e.g. evidential marking exists in Turkish and Japanese, but not in English; affective dative construction is found in Spanish and Serbian, but not in English; see sections 3 and 4);
b) more restrictive vs. less restrictive category (lexical or grammatical) that is present in two (or more) contrasted languages (for example, kinship terms or colour terms across languages);
c) complementarity relations in concept or event lexicalisation (whereby the same or similar concept is expressed using different patterns available in two or more contrasted languages; for example path-in-the-verb vs. path-out-the-verb in motion expressions; see Slobin 2017 for the most recent overview).

These types of contrasts pose substantial difficulty in translation, especially when certain meanings are lexicalised or grammaticalized in one language but not the other. For example, the evidential marker *mış* in Turkish can refer to numerous different types of evidence for the source of the speaker's knowledge (e.g. retrospective, reflective, observable or third-hand/hearsay; see Aikhenvald 2003; also Aikhenvald and Dixon 2003 for further details). Many other languages require that the main verb or the sentence as a whole is marked for evidentiality, or offer an optional set of affixes for indirect evidentiality. In English, this category is not grammaticalised, but there are a number of optional ways in which similar meaning of indirect evidence (though less precise or informative with regard to the source of information) can be expressed, such as *Bobby seems/looks/would be tired*.

Translations from a language with grammaticalised evidentiality into English will have to involve decisions based on additional information available in individual situations (such as narrative context or knowledge about the semantics of the evidential). Very often the information from the evidential is simply not translated. For example, in literary translations from Turkish into English there is a tendency to omit the indications about the source of information even though the original text contains them (Sumeyra Tosun, pers. comm.). This may be understandable since a constant addition of modal verbs or constructions such as *it seems / it appears* etc. in order to render the approximate meaning of the Turkish suffix *miş* may be oppressive to the reader and not in line with the English narrative style. A similar difficulty was noticed in the translation from Turkish into Swedish (Csato 2009). Csato (2009) notes that while it is possible to render the evidential information from Turkish in Swedish, "no Swedish device can render the threefold ambiguity of the Turkish indirectives" because the inherent vagueness in the semantics of Turkish indirectives will generally be translated by Swedish forms with explicit meaning.

These contrasts are of particular relevance to certain communicative contexts, such as legal communication and evidence gathering. For instance, it may be important to state and translate, in a witness testimony, where the witness gets his or her knowledge from: personal experience or a third party source. Evidentials may make that information automatically available in Turkish, whether the evidence has been observed by the speaker or was available via a third party or hearsay, while that kind of information may not be readily or habitually available in English and may be challenging, or even impossible, to translate into English properly (see Givón 2009: 337). Applying language typology in different contexts of use probes for these kinds of difficulties, going beyond the statement that contrasts exist. It involves drawing conclusions with regard to what the contrasts mean, what impact they have. Contrasting languages without seeing how those contrasts are manifested in practice is only partially informative. That is why the practical usefulness of any language typology increases in value when the effects of the typological contrasts are tested and assessed in practical domains of use.

We now turn to two case study examples of the ways in which conceptualisation of events differs based on habitual ways of referring to those events in three languages, English, Serbian and Spanish, and how the relevant information about the events gets re-shaped in translation due to typological constraints that engender usage habits.

3. Morphosyntactic contrasts and their translations: Translating deictic meanings

3.1 Motion event typology

One of the more recent language typologies was based on semantic differentiations in the lexicalisation of motion events. Motion events are ubiquitous in human life and this domain is therefore perfect for contrasting how different languages map onto it. Motion events typically have Figure, Path, Ground, and Manner components, and all languages of the world can be classified depending on where in the sentence these components are lexicalised. Len Talmy (1985) was the first who noticed that all languages opt for the expression of the central motion event component, path, either in the main verb or out of it.

We have to emphasise here that typological classifications, including this one, are based on typical / habitual / most frequent / unmarked lexicalisation patterns. Languages often have more than one lexicalisation alternative but it is what we consider the typical ones that form the basis for a typology. The examples from English, Spanish and Serbian below illustrate this central contrast.

(1a) Mary skipped into the house

(1b)	Mary	entró	en la casa	brincando.
	Maria	enter.PST.3SG	in the house	skipping.G

'Mary entered the house skipping.'

(1c)	Meri	je	uskakutala	u	kuću.
	Mary	be.COP	into-skip.PFV.3SG.F	into	house.

'Mary skipped into the house.'

Based on the examples (1a)–(1c) above, we can infer that English and Serbian pattern similarly, with the manner component expressed in the verb and path out of the verb, while Spanish expresses path in the verb and manner out of the verb. Both English and Serbian have the possibility to use the Spanish pattern as in (1b) but this possibility is not considered typical/habitual/the most frequent, which are the essential criteria for the typology (Talmy 1985).

There is a difference between Serbian and English however. While there are no restrictions on the use of manner verbs in English, there are some restrictions in Serbian. Serbian has to employ the Spanish-like pattern of path in the verb rather than the English-like manner in the verb on certain specific occasions due to strict morphosyntactic restrictions where manner verbs cannot be used (as shown in Filipović 2007a). Serbian (as well as possibly some other languages from the Slavonic family) is best positioned on a typological cline between English and Spanish (see Filipović 2007a for a thorough discussion; see also Verkerk 2015 for a confirmation of the in-between position of Slavonic languages). For instance, the following translation of the English sentence would require a path verb in Serbian, just like the Spanish pattern, because an adequate prefixed manner verb in the required (imperfective) form (*išepavajući = out-limp.IPFV) cannot be derived due to morphological blocking:

(2a) John was limping out of the building when I saw him.

(2b) Juan estaba saliendo del edificio cojeando
John be.IPFV exit.G out-of-the building limping
cuando le ví.
when him saw.PFV.1SG
'John was exiting the building limping when I saw him.'

(2c) Jovan je izlazio iz zgrade šepajući
John be.COP exit.IPFV.3SG.M out building limping
kada sam ga ugledao.
when be.PRS.1SG him saw.PFV.1SG.M
'John was exiting the building limping when I saw him.'

We can say that this typology is best conceived of not as a strict dichotomy but rather as a continuum, as originally proposed in Filipović (1999). These insights bear relevance to both translation and second language acquisition and these contrasts between Serbian and English have been shown to cause difficulties for English learners of L2 Serbian (see Filipović and Vidaković 2012). Intratypological contrasts and their relevance for translation are discussed in more detail in Ibarretxe-Antuñano and Filipović (2013) and Filipović and Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2015).

3.2 The effects of typological language contrasts

The differences between what is habitually expressed and what tends not be expressed in a language can have consequences for the quantity and quality of information in the original text vs. translation. If a sentential constituent is obligatory, such as the main verb, then the component it lexicalises is also more likely to feature in the motion expression. If a component is expressed in an optional constituent, such as manner in an adjunct in Spanish, then it may be possible not to include it in the motion expression with the same consistency. In fact, this is what research has shown (see Ibarretxe-Antuñano and Filipović (2013) and Filipović and Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2015) for a detailed overview). When this typology is applied in the context of translation, these important consequences are revealed. Slobin (1996, 1997, 2003, 2006) showed that the difference in lexicalisation patterns between Germanic (and also Slavonic and a number of other groups) and Romance (Spanish and other languages in this typological group) conditions the presence of manner information in the original English texts and their absence in Spanish translation. The English-like pattern favours manner information in the obligatory sentence constituent, the verb, while the Spanish-like pattern requires the use of path verbs and the information about manner is given in optional elements such as adjuncts (as illustrated in the previous section, example (1b)). Adding an optional manner adjunct should not be a problem. However, there are situations where doing so may impact the narrative in translation in a negative way. Consider the expression of continuous motion in English, such as (3a). Its translation into Spanish would require three verbs and either multiple gerunds to accompany each verb (3b) or the gerund put at the beginning of the sentence in order to convey the precise meaning that the Figure was running all the time (3c).

(3a) The man <u>ran</u> out of the post office, across the street and into the park.

(3b) El hombre <u>salió</u> de correos corriendo, <u>cruzó</u> la calle corriendo y <u>entró</u> en el parque corriendo.
'The man exited the post office running, crossed the street running and entered the park running.'

(3c) Corriendo, el hombre salió de correos, cruzó la calle y entró en el parque.
‘Running, the man exited the post office, crossed the street and entered the park.’

Both these options however go against the Spanish habitual language use and overburden the expression in that language. It is cumbersome to add a manner gerund after each path verb and also it is not typical to constantly start sentences with gerunds in Spanish, or any other language for that matter. This is why manner information is often left out in translation from English to Spanish (see Filipović 2008 for a discussion; see also Slobin 1996, 2003). Translation choices, especially in the literary context that Slobin and his associates studied, have to address the question of rhetorical style and translators have to make sure that their translated rendition does not sound unnatural in the target language, which would make it difficult to follow the narrative, or enjoy it. Consequently, the information about manner is often not present in Spanish translations of English texts even though it is given in the original language, as Slobin illustrates with the following example:

(4a) I ran out the kitchen door, past the animal pens, towards Jason’s house.

(4b) Salí por la puerta de la cocina, pasé por los corrales y me dirigí a casa de Jasón.
‘I exited through the kitchen door, passed by the animal pens and directed myself towards Jason’s house.’

The official Spanish translation in (4b) contains three path verbs and no information on manner, while the English original has just a single manner verb. The information about the manner of motion is completely omitted in the translation in (4b), and this tendency is evident in over 50% of the cases in Slobin’s extensive corpus of examined translations. Slobin explains that the imagery that is evoked by the original and the translation is completely different, and we can see why. The situation is much more dynamic in English than in Spanish as a result of a dynamic manner of motion verb being used. This dynamicity is absent in translation. Interestingly, Slobin also observed based on his study of translated novels, that the translation in the opposite direction, from Spanish into English, contains numerous additions of manner information even though none is present in the original (Slobin 1996).

It is important to highlight that effects of these typological contrasts can be found in texts other than literal – for example, legal. Filipović (2007b) analysed a large corpus of Spanish to English translations of police witness interviews. She noticed numerous spontaneous manner additions that are only present in the translated, English version but not given in the original Spanish. This is illustrated in the following example from Filipović (2007b):

(5a) Pero <u>salió</u> por la siete.

(5b) And then he <u>ran</u> onto the 7th street. [official translation]

(5c) But he <u>exited</u> onto the 7th street. [correct translation]

The sentence in (5a) is the original witness statement. Example (5b) is the official transcript translation and (5c) is the literal translation of the original. We can see that a different meaning and a different conceptualisation of the same event is caused by the difference between the information in the original and the translation. This is not a matter of style but rather of content. The use of bare path verbs is not the common English pattern, as it is in Spanish. This is why translators spontaneously use manner verbs when the target text is in English, more in line with the target language patterns. The two descriptions, the original and the translation, result in different conceptual representations, which may have practical consequences for subsequent events. For instance, a police officer may understand from the translation that the suspect was running based on the translated statement of the witness, while the original statement did not actually mention running. Further inferences can be made as to how far the suspect may have gone, which differs depending on whether he was running or not. These practical implications for the professional context of police interviews with an interpreter need to be emphasised and incorporated in the training of both officers and interpreters.

Another practical context where the consequences of language contrasts can have an impact is jury judgment. Ibarretxe-Antuñano and Filipović (2013) report on a translation and mock jury judgment study, driven by the applied typology approach advocated here. The authors discuss the typological contrasts between languages that lead to contrasts between judgments made in the two languages. For instance, language can impact our judgment of the severity of violence and estimates of its outcomes depending on how semantically rich the verbs used in the descriptions are. Specifically, in the study by Ibarretxe-Antuñano and Filipović (2013), manner-rich English translations elicited higher ratings on the severity of violence and the consequences of the violence than the manner-scarce original descriptions in Spanish.

3.3 Focus on deixis

When we apply the typology in the context of translation from English into Serbian we notice that there are some contrasts that are not captured by the key typological parameter of *path in the verb / path out of the verb*. Serbian makes extensive use of deictically prefixed manner verbs, such as: *otrčati* ("from the speaker/scene-run") and *dotrčati* ("to-the speaker/scene-run"). The OD-/DO-prefixed verbs are the least restricted ones morphosyntactically, because they can be combined with any other preposition without any restrictions and can accumulate numerous prepositions if necessary to express a multi-part path of motion (see examples (6b) and (6c)). These verbs are the most frequent in dictionaries (Filipović 2007a) and they also have higher corpus frequencies than verbs prefixed otherwise. The advantage of using a manner verb in translation is illustrated below:[2]

(6a) He staggered out of the kitchen, through the corridor and into the bathroom.

(6b)

Oteturao	se	iz	kuhinje,
from-speaker/scene-stagger.PST.3SG.M	REFL	out	kitchen

kroz	hodnik,	u	kupatilo.
through	hall	into	bathroom

'He staggered out of the kitchen, through the hall and into the bathroom.'

2 It is important to note here that manner verbs prefixed with the deictic prefixes OD- and DO-, in spite of their less restricted use, cannot be used in the situations such as those expressed in the example (2c) when the moment of change of location is communicated and an imperfective path verb must be used instead (see Filipović 2007a for details).

(6c) Doteturao se iz kuhinje,
to-speaker/scene-stagger.PST.3SG.M REFL out kitchen
kroz hodnik, u kupatilo.
through hall into bathroom
'He staggered out of the kitchen, through the hall and into the bathroom.'

(6d) Isteturao se iz kuhinje,
out-stagger.PST.3SG.M REFL out kitchen
proteturao se kroz hodnik
through-stagger.PST.3SG.M REFL through hall
i uteturao se u kupatilo.
and into-stagger. PST.3SG.M REFL into bathroom
'He staggered out of the kitchen, through the hall and into the bathroom.'

(6e) Teturajući se, izašao je iz kuhinje,
staggering REFL exit.PST.3SG.M COP out kitchen
prošao kroz hodnik
pass.PST.3SG.M through hall
i ušao u kupatilo.
and enter.PST.3SG.M into bathroom
'Staggering, he exited the kitchen, went through the hall and entered the bathroom.'

(6f) Izašao je iz kuhinje teturajući se,
exit.PST.3SG.M COP out kitchen staggering REFL
prošao kroz hodnik teturajući se
pass.PST.3SG.M through hall staggering REFL
i ušao u kupatilo teturajući se.
and enter.PST.3SG.M into bathroom staggering REFL
'He exited the kitchen staggering, passed through the hall staggering and entered the bathroom staggering.'

(6g) *Isteturao se iz kuhinje kroz hodnik
out-stagger.PST.3SG.M REFL out kitchen through hall
u kupatilo.
into bathroom.
'He staggered out of the kitchen, through the hall into the bathroom.'

We can see that of all the possible translations from English into Serbian the options with OD-/DO-manner verbs (6b and 6c) are closer to the English original and they also package the intended meaning from the original more efficiently than the others. Other translation options range from infelicitous to ungrammatical. If OD-/DO- verbs are not used, then multiple manner verbs prefixed with a different prefix (instead of a single OD-/DO- verb) would be needed because none of these verbs on its own can be combined with all the different prepositions that are necessary for the whole path of motion to be expressed (see 6d). Options (6e) and (6f) are comparable to the options in Spanish in (3b) and (3c) and suffer from the same problems: (6e) displaces the manner information from the manner verb into a gerund that is placed at the beginning of the sentence, putting more emphasis on this component than originally intended. If this translation option were chosen often, which it would have to be considering the frequency with which manner is expressed in English, the narrative would sound awkward, to say the least. In the case of (6f), we see that gerund repetition with each verb is also not a felicitous option: it overburdens the sentence structure and the whole narrative (see also (3c) for the same situation in the Spanish translation of a similar example above). Finally, (6g) shows that a single manner verb prefixed by a different prefix (IZ- 'out of') and not the deictic OD-/DO- cannot successfully be used to capture both the manner and the multiple paths of motion. A verb prefixed by IZ- cannot accumulate all the necessary path prepositions in order to lexicalise the whole path (see Filipović 2007a for details on this phenomenon called *combinatory potential*).

Overall, the use of three verbs instead of one to convey the same or very similar meaning makes such translation options less efficient and in general speakers want to be efficient unless they have a reason for verbosity (see Filipović 2014 on bilingual efficiency). The economical packaging of information is one of the big advantages of the English lexicalisation patterns in general. It has been noted that Spanish translations of English texts are always longer, in both literary (Slobin 1996) and legal contexts (Berk-Seligson 1990). Thus, the choice above is really between (6b) and (6c), since multiple manner verbs prefixed with different prefixes for each portion of the path and also multiple path verbs are significantly less optimal. The key point of relevance here is the fact that the position of the speaker or witness would be inferable in the translation in Serbian but not in the English original. In (6c) the movement happened away from the speaker (the speaker/scene focus was out of the kitchen) and in (6b) it happened towards the speaker (the speaker/scene focus was in the kitchen). There is a particular dearth of manner verbs prefixed by *up* and *down* prefixes in Serbian (Filipović 2007a) and OD-/DO-deictic verbs are used in the absence of deictic-neutral manner verbs. Motion along the vertical scale is much less often analysed, and it should receive more attention because it can reveal numerous linguistic contrasts that are relevant for the relationship between language and conceptualisation as well as for translation (see in particular Bosque 2015 for an insightful and detailed discussion of lexicalisation of vertical motion in Spanish). In Serbian, there are no "up-stagger" or "down-stagger" prefixed verbs, and the deictic "oteturao se uz stepenice" (from-the speaker/scene-stagger up the stairs) or "doteturao se uz stepenice" (to-the-speaker/scene- stagger up the stairs) would have to be used instead for verbalisation of such motion events (ditto for most other manner verbs in vertical motion scenes in Serbian; see Filipović 2007a; Filipović and Hijazo-Gascón (in press)).

Why is deixis relevant for lexicalisation of motion events and for translation? Deixis is the process of referring to an object or an event that is positioned or is occurring at a certain point with relation to the speaker or hearer in a communicative situation. Therefore, it is not an inherent part of events as such, as the other components defined by Talmy (1985) are. However, the importance of deictic viewpoint cannot be underestimated because it is an important indication of the position of the speaker who is describing the event. Both Spanish and English have the possibility to express deixis by using the verbs *come* and *go* (e.g. by saying *He came up running* or *He went up running*). However, this is not the most frequent or preferred pattern for motion lexicalisation in these two languages and if constantly used, such use will be marked. In Serbian, prefixed manner verbs are a habitual pattern and the deictic information from the OD-/DO-prefixes is often an addition in translation from English. Conversely, the deictic information conveyed by the OD-/DO- manner verbs in Serbian is often omitted in translations from Serbian to English (Filipović 1999, 2007a). Furthermore, these subtle yet important linguistic features pose substantial practical difficulty in an L2 acquisition context (see Section 5 for further details). Filipović and Hijazo-Gascón (in press) point out that linguistic elements for the expression of deixis similar to the ones discussed here are used in Japanese (Matsumoto, Akita and Takahashi 2017) and German (Bamberg 1994). These devices present a complex difficulty for language learners (see Yoshinari 2015 for learners of Japanese and Liste-Lamas 2015 for learners of German). Knowing where the language we are learning or translating from and into belongs typologically is helpful because it can add focus and alert us about the potential ease or difficulty that we will encounter in our linguistic activities. Teaching and training plans can then be made accordingly, depending on different typological parameters (see Filipović 2017a, 2017b).

The consequence of importance here is also that the description of an event in the original language and the translation may lead to a difference in the conceptual representation of these events. For example, it may be important to understand, in a witness testimony, where the witness was located when observing the event that he or she is describing. The positioning of the witness is relevant for the ascertaining of the fact that the witness was indeed capable of seeing the relevant aspects of the witnessed scene (e.g. conditioned by a viewing angle, distance, etc). The role of applied language typology is to document these effects that go beyond the mere language contrasts themselves and this can have further consequences for our understanding of witnessed and described events, in the original and in translation. This is why applying insights about typological similarities and differences across different contexts of use is fundamental for a proper understanding of their effects and their potential practical impact.

4. Semantic contrasts and their translations: The case of intentional vs. non-intentional causation

Another typological language contrast that illustrates the importance of studying its consequences in concrete practical contexts in context is causation, or more precisely, the typological tendency to specify whether causation was intentional or not. In this domain, Slavonic and Romance languages pattern similarly, while English differs from both. Namely, Serbian and Spanish have different constructions that are used to distinguish between two different types of events, intentional (7a and 8a) vs. non intentional (7b and 8b), as illustrated below:

(7a)	Razbio	sam	čašu.
	break.PFV.1SG.M	cop	glass.ACC.F
	'I broke a glass.'		

(7b) Razbila mi se čaša.
break.PFV.1SG.F I.DAT REFL glass.NOM.F.
'A glass broke to me.'

(8a) Rompí un vaso.
break.PFV.1SG a glass
'I broke a glass.'

(8b) Se me rompió un vaso.
REFL I.DAT break.PFV.1SG.F a glass
'A glass broke to me.'

English, on the other hand, normally uses the same construction for both event types, as in:

(9) I broke a glass.

There is also the possibility to use the inchoative constructions such as *The glass broke* but this construction does not express all the necessary event participants, such as the involuntary agent that was involved in the unintentional breaking, so it is not quite the same as the expressions in Serbian and Spanish above. Crucially, unlike Serbian and Spanish, the English inchoative construction is not used only for accidental, non-intentional events. It is rather unspecified for native speakers of English since it can be used to express actions that may have happened either with or without intent (e.g. *She pushed the glass off the table and it broke* [intentionally or not?]). Moreover, recent research (Filipović 2016) has shown that the inchoative construction is not consistently used by native speakers of English to discriminate intentional from non-intentional acts but is rather used interchangeably as a description of both intentional video stimuli, e.g. *The girl pushed the doll and it fell off the bed*, and non-intentional video depictions of actions, e.g. *The woman knocked the bottle off the table and it fell down*.

There are ways in which English can express this distinction of presence vs. absence of intentionality, for example by adding an adverbial or adverbial phrase, such as *She broke the glass inadvertently/accidentally/ by accident*. However, this is not consistently and habitually done for each event in English by native speakers, it is an optional dimension.

The constructions in (7b) and (8b) in Serbian and Spanish respectively are *the affective dative* constructions. We can see how the original sentence in English can legitimately receive two different translations in Spanish and Serbian, one which indicates that the action described was intentional and one that specifies that the action was unintentional. In the following example, different verbs are also needed for each of the two constructions in Serbian and Spanish, unlike the examples in (7) and (8) above, where the same verb with different morphological marking could be used:

(10a) The man dropped the pencil on the floor.

(10b)

Ispala	mu	je	olovka	na	pod.
out-fall.PFV.3SG.F	he.DAT	COP	pencil.NOM.F	on	floor

'He dropped the pencil on the floor.'

(10c)

Bacio	je	olovku	na	pod.
throw.PFV.3SG.M	COP	pencil.ACC.F	on	floor

'He threw the pencil on the floor.'

(10d)

Se	le	cayó	el	lápiz	al	suelo.
REFL	he.DAT	fall.PFV.3SG	the	pencil	on-the	floor

'He/She dropped the pencil on the floor.'

(10e)

Tiró	el	lápiz	al	suelo.
throw.PFV.3SG	the	pencil	on-the	floor

'He/She threw the pencil on the floor.'

It should not be up to the interpreter to make the decision of whether the action was intentional or not, and this is precisely what happened in the forensic linguistic context of a witness testimony discussed in the next section. It is easy to see how translation can sway interpretation towards intentional meaning in the target text while unintentional meaning is given in the original. Events can be conceptualised in a completely opposing fashion as a result. For instance, Filipović (2007b) has shown that a suspect in a police interview was repeating "se me cayóen las escaleras" (= 'me it happened that she fell on the stairs') when she was explaining how the victim she was carrying down the stairs ended up sustaining her (sadly, fatal) injuries. This was translated as the underspecified "I dropped her on the stairs" and taken to be a confession of an intentional act, which in the state of California, where the research was undertaken, carries the most severe punishment.

Thus, we can see how the consequences of such conceptualisation disparity between the original and the translation can be more serious than a mere difference of style. Here, it is rather *a matter of difference in content*, and an important matter as well. Namely, if proclamation of innocence can be interpreted as admission of guilt as a result of translation, we need to be alert and vigilant when translating. It is important to emphasise that it is not bad translation that we are highlighting here but rather the typological differences between languages that create language-specific narrative habits to constantly mention or not mention certain information about events or to consistently make or not make certain distinctions. These contrastive habits in lexicalisation patterns and typological preferences can also have a further effect that goes beyond linguistic differences *per se*.

Psycholinguistic research has detected an impact on witness memory based on the language in which the witnessed events are described. Crucially for us at present, it seems that if the speaker's L1 has the benefit of encoding certain distinctions like those in the domain of intentionality we discussed, they tend to reap that benefit even when speaking an L2 that does not grammaticalise or lexicalise the relevant distinctions. These speakers tend to find a way to translate the relevant meanings from their L1 into their L2. Language-specific effects on memory for intentional vs. non-intentional causation were first detected by Filipović (2013), in a study which involved monolingual speakers of English and Spanish and which demonstrated that Spanish speakers always expressed the differences in intentionality while English speakers did not. The memory for intentionality vs. non-intentionality was better in Spanish speakers as a result. These cross-linguistic differences in the domain of intentionality have also been captured in the context of second language acquisition (Filipović 2016). Namely, L1 English learners of L2 Spanish did not regularly and explicitly distinguish between intentional and non-intentional actions in L2 Spanish and their memory for causation was worse than those of L1 Spanish learners of L2 English, who always explicitly distinguished intentional from non-intentional events even in L2 English, where the relevant distinctions are not lexicalised. The L1 Spanish/L2 English speakers found some meaning equivalents, which are practically translation equivalents for intentional and non-intentional meanings lexicalised in their L1, and which convey the meaning of their L1 category distinctions in their L2 English. This was achieved by a consistent introduction of adverbs such as *accidentally* if the action was non-intentional and *on purpose* if it was intentional. Another strategy was the use of inchoative constructions such as *The glass fell* exclusively for non-intentional events. In contrast, there was no consistent intentionality differentiation by L1 English/L2 Spanish speakers. When they spoke L2 Spanish they used intentional and non-intentional constructions interchangeably, without paying attention to the intentionality of the stimuli. English speakers overall tend to use the SVO constructions such as (10a) in their language as underspecified and applicable in both intentional and non-intentional situations. Intuitions about intentionality may vary with individual verbs. For example, some verbs like *drop* may be understood to refer primarily to non-intentional events, while some others like *push* may imply intentionality as a default. In any case, it is clearly not a specified grammatical, lexical or usage feature of English to consistently specify intentionality as Serbian and Spanish apparently do.

5. Conclusions and directions for future research

We can conclude that the explicit insights made available within the applied typology framework can lead to a better understanding of what can go wrong in translation and cross-linguistic communication and the consequences of unresolved typological conflicts between languages. Sometimes the costs of mistranslation or miscommunication are too high to ignore, and thus raising awareness about them, preventing them and successfully resolving them as soon as they arise should be an important part of the training of translators and language teachers and should be integrated into teaching materials for learners. More efficient and better quality of learning and use of languages would be the result, as well as avoidance of inequality in access to justice, medical, educational and other social services. In this way, the pedagogical ideals of contrastive linguistics and the cognitive importance of language contrasts can be united towards an important practical goal of better communication, which benefits individuals and societies.

Linguistic theory also stands to benefit from research in this vein. Empirical insights from applied typology research can feed back crucial information that can contribute to better theoretical formulations, especially regarding the extent to which language and cognition interact and influence each other.

The crucial role of translation in applied language typology research, and in any kind of investigation involving contrasting of languages, is evident in our discussion in this paper. Explicit teaching of language contrasts and their cognitive and practical consequences in translation is paramount not only for professional interpreters and translators but also other professionals who communicate multilingually using translation and interpretation services.

Further research along these lines should consider the many diverse aspects of lexicons and grammars across languages still not contrasted from an applied linguistic viewpoint. Insights from different language typologies can also be applied together so that the interactions between morphological, syntactic and semantic features used for different typological classifications can be properly captured. A typological approach helps us make our claims more generalisable, though we have to bear in mind that intratypological variation means that some subtle differences may still exist among the languages that are classified into the same group under a typology. The study of language contrasts in translation exemplified here hopefully paves the way for future discoveries about the similarities and differences among different languages in different contexts of use as well as about the effects of language-driven conceptual representation.

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Received: 23 September 2017
Accepted for publication: 31 January 2018

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ЈЕЗИЧКИ КОНТРАСТИ У ПРЕВОДУ: КОГНИТИВНЕ И ПРАКТИЧНЕ ПОСЛЕДИЦЕ

Сажетак

Могу ли језичке разлике довести до различитих концептуализација догађаја? У овом чланку ћемо видети да могу, у контексту превода и у неким другим контекстима употребе језика, као што су меморија и доношење одлука. Фокус је првенствено на превођењу и његовој повезаности са другим подручјима истраживања, као што је контрастивна и когнитивна лингвистика. Овде илуструјемо како све ове области могу бити међусобно корисне. Теоријска основа за анализу дата је у оквиру *примењене типологије језика*, која представља нову платформу за испитивање језичких контраста у различитим практичним контекстима вишејезичне употребе, као што су превођење, учење језика и правна комуникација (полицијски интервјуи и сакупљање доказа). Анализирамо два когнитивна домена, кретање и узрочност, и начине њихове лексикализације на различитим језицима, укључујући контрастне карактеристике на морфолошком, синтаксичком и семантичком нивоу. Закључак је да холистички приступ анализи који који укључује когнитивне и практичне последице језичких контраста представља пут напред за контрастивно примењено језичко истраживање и студије превођења.

Кључне речи: кретање, узрочност, интенционалност, деикса, превођење

UDC 811.111'374
https://doi.org/10.18485/bells.2018.10.4

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THE MAKINGS OF AN IDEAL GENERAL-PURPOSE DICTIONARY: THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS[1]

Abstract
This paper presents and discusses the theoretical assumptions underlying a projected ideal general-purpose dictionary. After Section 1 and some scene-setting remarks, which include a working definition of the ideal dictionary, in Section 2 the principles of modern lexicography will be concisely explained. In Section 3 the theoretical framework of the ideal dictionary will be developed in three parts dealing with its general characterization, its typological identification and a prototype specification of the ideal dictionary. By way of conclusion, in Section 4 a recapitulation of the theoretical foundation of the ideal dictionary will be accompanied by a short overview of the perspectives of its practical implementation.

Key words: ideal general-purpose dictionary, modern lexicography, general characterization, typological identification, prototype specification

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[1] To Sir, on his 85th birthday, and many more to come, in my profound gratitude for his being so motivating and obliging an MA and PhD adviser, a dedicated teacher and mentor, and a true friend for over three decades.
This paper is part of the research on Project No. 178002, entitled *Languages and Cultures in Time and Space*, which is financially supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia. For valuable comments and suggestions the author's sincere thanks go to Professor Vera Vasić, Dr Jasmina Dražić and Dr Gordana Lalić Krstin.

1. Opening remarks

This paper is an attempt at a description of *an*, or is it *the*?, ideal general-purpose dictionary, concentrating on its theoretical aspects. The ideal dictionary has, of course, not yet been produced anywhere, although existing features of some current print and electronic dictionaries do qualify as conducive to the makings of an ideal dictionary. However, there are still a number of design features, sorely lacking but highly desirable, that are patiently waiting, as it were, to be recognized as necessary and/or helpful, and implemented in the ideal dictionary – of today and for the future.

Before proceeding, it may be as well to put forward a working definition of an ideal dictionary, where the modifier 'ideal' should not be interpreted as meaning, explicitly or implicitly, '(a dictionary) that is imaginary, illusory, idealistic or even quixotic, and therefore unrealistic, impracticable, utopian and, in fact, merely wishful thinking'. Rather than being chimerical, the ideal dictionary builds on down-to-earth realities, on the latest tendencies in practical and theoretical lexicography,[2] which are enhanced with the author's personal observations and conceptions of what design features a *really* usable and useful modern dictionary should have in order to provide its potential and actual users with a wide array of options for exploiting, i.e. displaying, finding, selecting and, ultimately, benefiting from a considerably wider array of information made available to them.[3]

And it is the optimally balanced interplay between these two arrays, of information on offer and of options on offer, that crucially determines how well a dictionary complies with the prototype of an ideal dictionary, where 'ideal' should be construed in the sense intended here and deriving from these two fundamental design principles of the dictionary. In briefest and broadest terms, the ideal dictionary could be defined as *the one that puts at users' disposal the maximum amount of information and the maximum number of options for exploiting that information*. As can be inferred,

[2] For extensive, detailed and useful discussions, see Al-Kasimi 1977; Atkins 1996; Atkins and Rundell 2008; Béjoint 2000, 2010; Cowie 1999; Čermák 2010; Durkin 2015; Fontenelle 2008; Hanks 2010; Hartmann 2001; Hausmann et al. 1991; Jackson 2013; Klotz and Herbst 2016; Kövecses and Csábi 2014; Landau 2001; Roberts 1992; van Sterkenburg 2003; Svensén 2009; Yong and Peng 2007; Zgusta 1971.

[3] Most of these observations were made earlier, unsystematically though, in papers of diverse topics, scopes and focus, viz. Prćić 1999, 2002 / 2011: Chapter 19, 2004, 2005, 2008a, 2008b, 2010, 2012, 2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2016, 2017a, 2017b.

the prime, and sole, purpose of the ideal dictionary is the benefit of its potential and actual users, who are provided with a powerful explanatory and educational tool made to meet as fully as possible all kinds of users' communicative and reference needs – in the ways chosen by themselves and thus achieving individualization of user experience and user exploitation of the vast resources at their fingertips.

In the upcoming paragraphs, this basic idea will be elaborated in varying degrees of generality – starting with a bird's-eye view of modern lexicography and concluding with a prototype specification of the ideal dictionary. Bearing the above fundamentals in mind, this paper has two aims: its explicit and immediate aim is to lay the theoretical foundation for the ideal dictionary, and its implicit aim is to contribute, at least modestly, to planning, devising and creating the ideal dictionary. The exposition will be organized in three sections: the principles of modern lexicography will be surveyed in Section 2; the theoretical framework of the ideal dictionary will be elaborated in three parts in Section 3; and in the concluding Section 4, a summary of the key theoretical points will be accompanied by pointers on the practicalities of producing the ideal general-purpose dictionary as conceived and depicted here.

2. Principles of modern lexicography

Modern lexicography, that was taking shape during the last decades of the 20th century and is seeing its rapid, dynamic, innovative and many-sided advances in the first decades of the 21st century, appears to be guided by several (unwritten) principles, which are inferable by careful observation of the dictionaries latterly and presently produced in print and/or electronic form, mostly in Britain and the United States. The central defining property of modern lexicography is, of course, *modernization* of the traditional lexicographic process, which is being superseded by the computer-assisted approach to doing lexicography. Even though this modernization is just an evolution of the prevalent theoretical and methodological paradigm, it has brought about, and is increasingly bringing about, revolutionary results, undreamed-of until quite recently. Thanks to global computerization and digitalization of almost all segments of the life today, making and using dictionaries in digital form have become the two hallmarks of modern lexicography – besides modernization, it is *digital implementation* of the entire lexicographic process, as its logical and ultimate outcome. There now follows the author's understanding and formulation of the principles of modern lexicography (cf. Prćić 2016b, 2016c, on which this account draws):

(1) Modern lexicography is founded on SCIENTIFIC PRINCIPLES AND METHODS, which means the application of the latest theoretical, methodological and practical achievements of current lexicography and lexicology, as well as corpus, cognitive, contrastive and contact linguistics. The unifying research basis to all these disciplines is *pragmaticization* (alternatively, *contextualization*, or *concretization*, *of meanings*), consisting in the examination of language phenomena as they manifest themselves in real-life linguistic and extralinguistic contexts, which makes it possible to carry out analyses of authentic, naturally occurring stretches of written and spoken language at all levels of their use. As a result, linguistic researchers, including lexicographers, can obtain objective insights into actual lexical, grammatical and other usage phenomena, and can thus assure their full and reliable lexicographic treatment, freed from subjective and intuitive judgements of dictionary editors and compilers regarding acceptable and/or recommended usage.

(2) Modern lexicography assists in producing FUNCTION-DRIVEN DICTIONARIES, which means focus, firstly, on the *passive* (*receptive*) function, related to users' understanding of written and spoken texts in L1; and/or, secondly, on the *active* (*productive*) function, related to users' expressing themselves in speech and writing in L1 or, when translating or learning a foreign or second language, in L2; and/or, thirdly, on the *mediatory* function, related to users' understanding of texts with the aid of translation and/or to users' translating of texts from L1 into L2. In recent decades there has been a marked tendency, initiated in British learner's dictionaries, to conflate passive and active functions within one dictionary, and even all three functions within hybrid bilingualized dictionaries, in which the text of a monolingual, typically learner's, dictionary is enhanced with translations of definitions, word senses and examples into another language, typically the learner's mother tongue.[4] And the fourth, *metalexical* function, related to providing users with insights into form- and content-based workings of vocabulary, is implicitly covered in all dictionaries and

[4] For pioneering reports on the compilation, exploitation and assessment of bilingualized EFL dictionaries, see Baker and Kaplan 1994; Hartmann 1994; Laufer and Hadar 1997; Laufer and Kimmel 1997; Laufer and Melamed 1994.

explicitly in specialized dictionaries, dealing with segments of vocabulary, like synonyms, collocations or affixes.

(3) Modern lexicography focuses on producing USER-ORIENTED DICTIONARIES, which means fulfilling users' expected communicative needs in terms of completeness, accuracy and usability of the information offered, in accordance with the type, purpose and function of the dictionary. In addition to customary linguistic information about the forms, functions, meanings and uses of words, and their combinations and components, it is desirable also to include, where/when necessary and feasible, encyclopedic information on the cultural and even conceptual system of L1 and, in bilingual dictionaries, of L2.

(4) Modern lexicography focuses on producing USER-FRIENDLY DICTIONARIES, which means fulfilling users' expected reference needs in terms of accessibility of dictionaries and, particularly, quick and effortless findability of the information sought. This is achieved, firstly, with a detailed user's guide, explaining the methods of processing, editing and presenting the information offered; secondly, with an easily navigable multi-paragraph layout of a dictionary entry; thirdly, with effective typography, employing, in moderation, fonts of various faces, sizes and colours; and fourthly, with abstruse abbreviations and symbols reduced to an absolute minimum, if not eliminated altogether.

The latter two principles, user-orientation and user-friendliness, are two complementary facets of one unique property of modern lexicography – user-centredness, directed towards meeting the needs of potential and actual dictionary users, who represent the primary goal and motivating force of every modern dictionary planned and/or implemented today.

(5) Modern lexicography promotes DIGITAL IMPLEMENTATION of the lexicographic process, which means computer-assisted lexicography, discharged in digital, or electronic, form during all four stages of this process: firstly, in collecting and selecting written and spoken language material to be used as an electronic reference corpus; secondly, in processing, editing and presenting information in dictionaries; thirdly, in producing, realizing, publishing and distributing dictionaries; and fourthly, in utilizing dictionaries as final products. Digital implementation is subsumable under the concept and term *electronic lexicography*, or *e-lexicography*,[5] for short,

[5] For groundbreaking contributions to theoretical, methodological and practical aspects of electronic lexicography, see Fuertes-Olivera and Bergenholtz 2013; Gouws et al. 2013; Granger and Paquot 2012; Kosem and Kosem 2011; Kosem et al. 2013, 2015, 2017.

which highlights and determines the theoretical, methodological and practical identity, and intrinsic nature, of modern lexicography.

With the above five principles in full swing, the way could be seen to be paved for the recognition, in time, of a sixth, brand new, principle of modern lexicography, which says:

(6) Modern lexicography stimulates INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF DICTIONARY CULTURE, which consists in popularization of lexicography, firstly, by acquainting would-be users with different types and purposes of dictionaries and, secondly, by teaching and monitoring efficient dictionary use, especially within the educational system, starting from senior classes of the primary school onwards, and culminating at the university – specifically in courses on language(s) and linguistics. In this manner, forming part of general language culture (cf. Bugarski 1997a, 1997b), the foundation would be laid for the establishment and institutional development of dictionary culture, particularly among people professionally engaged in using language publicly, often to linguistically receptive and impressionable audiences. *Dictionary culture* could be defined as an acquired ability to use dictionaries efficiently coupled with the habit of resolving all usage-related problems (about vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation, spelling, etc.) and filling gaps in linguistic knowledge by regularly consulting dictionaries and other reference tools rather than pursuing the self-deceptive practice of relying only on one’s own shaky personal intuition.

3. Theoretical framework of the ideal dictionary

This section brings in-depth discussions of three important and interconnected sets of theoretical issues related to the organization of the ideal dictionary, each within its own separate subsection: its general characterization (3.1), its typological identification (3.2), and a prototype specification of the ideal dictionary (3.3).

3.1. General characterization of the dictionary

At the outset, it is necessary to determine the TARGET AUDIENCE OF USERS of the ideal dictionary and their communicative and reference needs, because together they dictate the overall structure and organization of any dictionary. Here, the audience is projected to consist of a very wide spectrum of users, of various ages, vocations and interests, typically starting from those around the age of 15, at senior classes of the primary school onwards, catering for native speakers and foreign learners of a language, or languages, alike. Users' communicative needs are seen to comprise all four dictionary functions mentioned above – passive, active, mediatory and metalexical, and to cater equally for the practical, everyday needs of ordinary, non-specialist users and for the theoretical, research needs of extra-ordinary, specialist users, chiefly professional linguists. Users' reference needs are tuned to ensure that the information put at their disposal is attractively presented, quickly accessible, readily understandable and easily applicable by potential and actual users.

With this projection of target users and their communicative and reference needs, it is now possible to set the aims that the compilation of the ideal dictionary should accomplish (the inventory of aims and their naming build around the model originally presented in Prćić 2012 and the formulations, in part, follow those in Prćić 2016c).

(1) The dictionary's COMMUNICATIVE, AND PRINCIPAL, AIM is to construct a complete picture of the vocabulary of one individual language, here referred to as the *primary language*, coupled, if so desired by the user, with at least one other language, or more languages, up to five, here referred to as the *secondary language(s)*. The vocabularies analysed and described would be treated as intralingually *and* interlingually connected lexical networks and, for this reason, the information offered would be composed of three interconnected dimensions:

- information about forms, functions, meanings and uses of words and idioms, as word combinations, in the primary language and, if so desired, in comparison with at least one secondary language,
- information about forms, functions and meanings of affixes and combining forms, as word components, in the primary language and, if so desired, in comparison with at least one other language, and
- information about paradigmatic, syntagmatic and word-formational interrelations of words, word combinations and components in the primary language and, if so desired, in comparison with at least one secondary language.

When the dictionary is set to display information about one language, it works in the monolingual mode; when two languages are selected, it is in the bilingual mode; and when between three and five languages are active, it is in the multilingual mode. The inclusion of these three dimensions of information – equally in mono-, bi- and multilingual modes – would help users in three intended respects:

- to appropriately understand written and spoken texts in one or more languages,
- to appropriately create written and spoken texts in one or more languages, and
- to appropriately translate written and spoken texts from one language into another, and vice versa.

(2) The dictionary's DESCRIPTIVE AIM is to offer a comprehensive, detailed and reliable account of the authentic use of words, their combinations and components by codifying their typical behaviour in one or more languages, individually and/or contrastively, at the levels of graphology, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, stylistics and pragmatics, as well as on the planes of paradigmatics, syntagmatics and word formation.

(3) The dictionary's PRESCRIPTIVE AIM is to indicate systematic departures from the standard usage of words and their combinations in one or more languages, individually and/or contrastively, and to recommend their standard uses when there are cases of variation or misuse in terms of graphology, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, stylistics and pragmatics.

(4) The dictionary's METALEXICAL AIM is to afford a revealing insight into the functioning of the lexical system of one or more languages, individually and/or contrastively, especially in respect of the form- and/or content-based interrelations of words on the paradigmatic, syntagmatic and word-formational planes.

(5) The dictionary's LEXICOGRAPHIC AIM is to present information about words, their combinations and components in an easily navigable, typographically effective and, above all, user-friendly manner, in conformity with the latest design trends of modern practical and theoretical lexicography.

(6) The dictionary's EDUCATIONAL AND, PARTLY, SOCIOLINGUISTIC, AIM is to raise users' awareness about the importance of developing a regular habit of resolving lexical and other usage-related problems and of filling gaps in linguistic knowledge by consulting dictionaries and other reference books, thereby contributing to the building and fostering of dictionary culture – rather than relying only on their own subjective, and often shaky, linguistic intuitions and judgements.

3.2. Typological identification of the dictionary

Typological features of the ideal dictionary have been determined in accordance with the customary criteria and standards laid out for classifications of dictionaries (cf. Atkins and Rundell 2008; Hartmann 2001; Lipka 2002; van Sterkenburg 2003; Svensén 2009; Zgusta 1971). The typological profile of this particular dictionary, as it has been conceived, can be created with the following ten defining lexicographic features (the inventory of feature types also builds around the model originally presented in Prćić 2012):

(1) A MONOLINGUAL dictionary, with an integrated BILINGUAL AND/OR MULTILINGUAL dictionary, in that it will contain information about the primary language and between two and five secondary languages contrastively.

(2) A SYNCHRONIC dictionary, in that it will cover current, turn-of-the-century lexical resources of each language, spanning roughly a fifty-year period, from the 1970's until the present.

(3) A GENERAL-PURPOSE dictionary, in that it will cover general, everyday, non-specialist vocabulary of each language.

(4) A DICTIONARY, with elements of a THESAURUS, in that it will include information about content-based interrelations of words, their combinations and components.

(5) A SEMASIOLOGICAL dictionary, with elements of an ONOMASIOLOGICAL dictionary, in that sense-relatedness of clusters of words starts from the shared meaning and goes towards words expressing nuances of shared meaning, unlike the other method which starts from words and goes towards the meanings they express.

(6) A dictionary combining THREE METHODS of dealing with linguistic data, in that it will employ descriptive, prescriptive and metalexical approaches, to account for actual language use, to point out systematic errors in use and recommend standard uses, and to picture the paradigmatic and syntagmatic organization of vocabulary, respectively.

(7) A dictionary combining FOUR FUNCTIONS, in that it will be designed so as to serve passive (receptive), active (productive), mediatory and metalexical dictionary functions and in this way to satisfy all communicative needs of potential and actual users.

(8) A MEDIUM-SIZED dictionary, in that it will comprise between 100,000 and 150,000 headwords per language, inclusive of words and word components, and exclusive of word combinations, being treated as subheadwords.

(9) A DIGITAL, or ELECTRONIC, dictionary, in that it will be realized in electronic form and adapted to be utilized either online or offline.

(10) An ALPHABETICAL dictionary, with elements of a CONCEPTUAL dictionary, in that thesaural information about content-based interrelations of words will be organized around sense-relatedness of clusters of words.

It can be noticed in the above typological identification that as many as six of the ten lexicographic feature types have at least two correlative features merged within one type. Typological features like these contribute to the *hybrid nature* of this dictionary (cf. Hartmann 2005), which is a more than welcome and desirable characteristic of any modern dictionary, especially one which aims to become an ideal general-purpose dictionary.

3.3. Prototype specification of the ideal general-purpose dictionary

Having hitherto dealt with the distinguishing characteristics of modern lexicography and, from two viewpoints, of the ideal general-purpose dictionary, it now becomes possible to identify the characteristics that would uniquely determine the makings of the prototypical ideal general-purpose dictionary. Without aspiring to either exhaustiveness or definitiveness, but rather to a realistic and representative design feature specification, it will be suggested here that the ideal dictionary is prototypified by the following ten essential and salient design features (cf. Prćić 2014a, 2014b, 2016, 2017a, 2017b):

(1) DIGITAL (ELECTRONIC) FORM of compilation, realization, distribution and exploitation, online and/or offline, of the dictionary – this involves paperless lexicography, characterized by the use of latest computer technology in all four stages of the lexicographic process.

(2) UNIVERSAL FREE ACCESSIBILITY of all the content made available to users – this involves open and unrestricted access over the internet to the full dictionary content without obliging users to pay, subscribe or register in any way in order to become entitled to consult it.

(3) CORPUS-BASED METHODOLOGY for collection, extraction, description and codification of lexical and other information made available to users – this involves exploitation of large electronic reference corpora, of no fewer than 500 million words per language, with each corpus containing written and spoken samples of authentic use.

(4) USER-CENTREDNESS in selection, preparation, organization, presentation and, above all, exploitability of the content made available

to users – this involves tailoring the design of the dictionary so as to meet as best as possible users' communicative and reference needs, firstly, by offering as much as possible relevant information about words, their combinations and components, and secondly, by offering as many as possible options for fully customizing the quantity and quality of the information shown to users. With a focus slightly shifted, the totality of the information at users' disposal is intended for *all potential* users, whereas the totality of customization options is intended for *single actual* users and their individual(ized) preferences for receiving new information.

(5) User-controllable interactivity in selection of dictionary modules and features – this involves individualization of user exploitation and user experience of the dictionary, which is achieved by letting users set the primary and secondary language modules, most of the information types to be displayed and ways of their typographical presentation on-screen; with the inescapable exception of the default and lexicographically indispensable headwords, their parts of speech, definitions and, when bilingual modules are on, their translations into the secondary language(s), users are in full control of the appearance of all microstructural features regarding the lexicographic treatment of phonology, morphosyntax, semantics-cum-pragmatics, stylistics, exemplifications, cross-references and, within dedicated thematic boxes, of paradigmatic, syntagmatic and word-formational interrelations, and of moot usage points.

(6) Multimedia enrichment of textual content with illustrative audio, video and graphic content, retrievable internally or externally – this involves segments of recorded speech, sounds and music, of moving visual images and of still visual images, respectively, either incorporated into the dictionary itself or accessed from a remote computer.

(7) Hyperlinked cross-referencing to specific portions of textual and/or multimedia content, internally or externally retrievable – this involves extensive interconnection of both headwords and information about them, presented in textual and/or multimedia form, largely for comparative and/or illustrative purposes, and activated either by clicking or by touching highlighted on-screen links.

(8) Easy searchability of headwords according to simple or complex preset criteria, including wildcard searches for word beginnings, middles and endings – this involves user-selectable isolation from words of specific prefixes, initial combining forms, infixes, suffixes and final combining forms, their combinations and/or other letter or sound patterns.

(9) User collaboration in contributing to dictionary editors documented candidates for new headwords and/or new meanings of existing ones – this involves crowdsourcing in obtaining potential additions, i.e. formal and semantic neologisms, and thus approaching to a moderately controlled open dictionary, where users' input is subject to editors' approval and corpus-based lexicographic treatment.

(10) Periodic editorial updatability of the content with new headwords, information about them or emendations of existing information – this involves regular, at least biannual, revision process which consists of adding fresh content and correcting inaccuracies, so as to ensure that the information made available is always up-to-date, precise and reliable, as much as this is attainable.

4. Closing remarks: summing up and looking ahead

This paper has proposed and examined the theoretical underpinning behind the makings of a future ideal general-purpose dictionary, which has been conceived in keeping with the principles of modern lexicography. The ideal dictionary has been described from three angles: firstly, the set of aims to be accomplished by its compilation (under the heading of general characterization); secondly, the set of its defining lexicographic features (under the heading of typological identification); and thirdly, the set of essential and salient design features of a prototypical ideal general-purpose dictionary (under the heading of prototype specification).

Following naturally from this theoretical analysis of the makings of the ideal dictionary would be the making of the ideal dictionary. Its practical implementation would entail, firstly, a carefully built macrostructure, i.e. an ordered list of lexical items that are the object of lexicographic description (cf. Hartmann and James 1998) – comprising words, affixes and combining forms, serving as headwords, and idioms, serving as subheadwords; and, secondly, a meticulously thought out microstructure, i.e. an ordered set of information types provided on words, affixes, combining forms and idioms, and their form- and content-based interrelations (cf. Hartmann and James 1998) – in the domains of graphology, phonology, morphosyntax, semantics-cum-pragmatics, stylistics, exemplifications, cross-references, of paradigmatic, syntagmatic and word-formational planes and of usage / misusage points. However, because of their great importance and complexity, the practicalities of the ideal general-purpose dictionary would call for, and deserve, a separate paper-length treatment, in which sorely lacking but highly desirable design features, mentioned at the very beginning of this paper, would be given due consideration and in-depth coverage.

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Received: 15 November 2017
Accepted for publication: 31 January 2018

Тврткo Прћић

СУШТИНСКА СВОЈСТВА ИДЕАЛНОГ ОПШТЕГ РЕЧНИКА:
ТЕОРИЈСКЕ ОСНОВЕ

Сажетак

У овом раду представљене су и размотрене теоријске претпоставке које би чиниле темељ неког будућег идеалног општег речника. Након Одељка 1 и неколико уводних напомена, које укључују и радну дефиницију идеалног речника, у Одељку 2 укратко су објашњени принципи савремене лексикографије. У Одељку 3 разрађен је теоријски оквир идеалног речника, у три дела која се баве његовом општом карактеризацијом, типолошком идентификацијом и прототипском спецификацијом. У виду закључака, у Одељку 4 рекапитулацију теоријских основа идеалног речника следи сажет преглед перспектива његове практичне реализације.

Кључне речи: идеални општи речник, савремена лексикографија, општа карактеризација, типолошка идентификација, прототипска спецификација

UDC 811.111'367.335.2
https://doi.org/10.18485/bells.2018.10.5

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ON THE BLURRED BOUNDARIES BETWEEN SUPERORDINATE AND SUBORDINATE CLAUSES IN ENGLISH[1]

Abstract
The paper addresses superordinate and subordinate clauses in English. It focuses on how blurred the distinction between the two categories becomes when syntactic criteria are paired with discourse ones – the structures that are syntactically superordinate may turn out to be "discourse subordinate", and vice versa. More generally, the paper aims to show that the various aspects of linguistic analysis, in this case primarily the syntactic and discourse ones, are tightly intertwined, and that viewing syntactic structures in terms of their discourse functions may help us perceive the gradient and fuzzy nature of the boundaries of linguistic categories, and point to their gradient contribution to overall discourse progress.

Key words: superordinate clauses, subordinate clauses, syntax, discourse, complements, adjuncts, gradience, intersubjectivity.

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[1] This is a revised version of the paper presented at *Third International Conference on Science and Contemporary University*, held at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia, in November 2013, and published as Pavlović 2014.

1. Introduction

The paper deals with what are traditionally taken to be superordinate (matrix) and subordinate (complement and adjunct) clauses. It has two aims. The first is to show that the terms *superordinate* and *subordinate* might not be appropriate enough in the designation of different types of clauses, as structures that are syntactically superordinate may be “discourse subordinate”, while structures that are syntactically subordinate (such as complement clauses) may be “discourse superordinate”, but need not be (as in the case of adjunct clauses). It does so on the basis of Langacker 2008, Verhagen 2005 and Pavlović 2014, all of whom address the difference between (finite) complement and adjunct clauses, both of which are traditionally taken to be subordinate clauses, and their relation to superordinate clauses, from the perspective of interplay between syntax and discourse. The second aim, not dealt with in Pavlović 2014, is to build on such insights by showing that viewing syntactic structures in terms of their discourse functions, i.e. viewing the syntactic and discourse aspects as being tightly intertwined, may help us perceive the gradient and fuzzy nature of the boundaries of the relevant linguistic categories.

In this paper, complement clauses will be taken to mean all the (syntactically subordinate) clauses functioning as the direct object, indirect object, retained object, subject complement, object complement, complement of the noun, complement of the adjective, and restrictive relative clauses. Adjunct clauses will be taken to mean all the (syntactically subordinate) clauses functioning as the adverbial modifier, sentence modifier and non-restrictive relative clauses (for clause types see Quirk *et al*., 1985: 1047–1076 *et passim*, Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 853–945 *et passim*).

2. Theoretical background

This part of the paper will first address the relevant works of Langacker and Verhagen, two authors who come from the fields of Functional and Cognitive Linguistics, respectively. Then it will address the concept of gradience (and the related concept of multiple analysis) in grammatical categories.

Langacker, a well-known representative of Cognitive Linguistics in general (and Cognitive Grammar in particular), presents two quite different views of the discourse role of complementation structures in his monographs from different periods. Namely, he first says that the profile[2] of a complement clause is overridden by that of the superordinate clause (for example, a sentence such as *I know she left* designates the process of knowing, not of leaving) (Langacker 1991: 436 *et passim*), which implies that it is the superordinate, rather than the complement clause, that is more discourse-prominent. However, in his later books (such as Langacker 2008: 418–419), he puts forward the view that, from the discourse perspective, the content presented in subordinate clauses is often more important, and provides the following short discourse as an example: *There's something* [*you simply have to know*]. *It seems* [*that Gerald's trophy wife is really a transsexual*]. *I suppose* [*they'll get a divorce*]. *I am telling you because* [*he'll need a good lawyer*]. In other words, if one were to rely on the syntactically superordinate clauses only (*There's something*, *It seems*, *I suppose*, *I am telling you*), one would realize that the discourse hardly makes any progress. On the other hand, if one relied on the dependent (syntactically subordinate) clauses, one would get what could count as a relatively coherent discourse: *You simply have to know – Gerald's trophy wife is really a transsexual. They'll get a divorce. He'll need a good lawyer*. In that sense, Langacker concludes that this questions whether the clauses traditionally labelled as subordinate actually deserve that label. Namely, he adds, when it comes to conveying essential content, it is often the so-called subordinate clause that plays the leading role. Conversely, it is common for a superordinate clause to have a secondary function, such as indicating the status of that content (*It seems*, *I suppose*, etc.) or managing the discourse interaction (*I am telling you because*…).

Verhagen, a functional-cognitive linguist belonging to the European branch of Cognitive Linguistics (Nuyts 2005: 546), in Verhagen 2005, starts from the presented theoretical perspectives and extends them to written discourse. In this respect, he also introduces the concept of *intersubjectivity*, which is also quite important for the purposes of this paper.

Namely, he says that language use is intimately tied to the fundamental human ability to coordinate cognitively with others (*ibid*., p. 8). That cognitive coordination for the speaker / writer means an attempt to influence somebody else's thoughts, attitudes and immediate behaviour, whereas for the addressee it means finding out what kind of influence it is that the speaker / writer is trying to exert and deciding whether

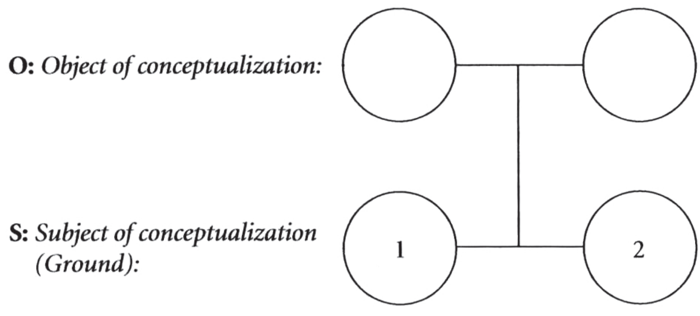
2 For this author's definition of the concept of *profile*, see *ibid*., 66–70 *et passim*.

to go with it or not (*ibid.*, p. 10). The default condition for ordinary expressions is that they provide an argument for some conclusion, and this argumentative orientation is constant in the function of the expression, while its information value is more variable (*ibid.*). In this sense, this author claims, ordinary linguistic communication is basically argumentative, not primarily informative (*ibid.*, 22/23), and human language is fundamentally a matter of regulating and assessing others, of mutual influencing, not of information exchange; in addition, grammatical elements and syntactic constructions in general, have systematic, conventional functions in the dimension of intersubjective coordination (*ibid.*, p. 9).

To exemplify this, Verhagen gives the following example (among others): *There are seats in this room. But they are uncomfortable.* Namely, the second sentence here (*But they are uncomfortable*) shows that the first one (*There are seats in this room*) induces an addressee to make positive inferences about the degree of comfort of the seats, which, in turn, can be proved if the first sentence were followed by either of the two following ones: ?*And moreover, they are uncomfortable.* ?*But they are comfortable*. In this sense, Verhagen claims that this is an operation in dimension S (i.e. the subjective dimension) of the construal configuration.

Diagram 1 below shows what Verhagen considers to be the construal configuration and its basic elements:

Diagram 1: The construal configuration and its basic elements (Verhagen 2005: 7)



Even when an actual speaker / writer is absent, an addressee (numbered 2 in the diagram above) takes a linguistic utterance as having been intentionally produced as an instrument of communication by another human being (with the same basic cognitive capacities as the addressee) and thus always engages in cognitive coordination with another subject of conceptualization (numbered 1 in the diagram above). Along the same lines, even when the addressee is absent, a speaker / writer assumes that their utterance is in principle interpretable by somebody else sharing the knowledge of certain conventions. It is in this sense, as already stated above, that language use is intimately tied to the fundamental human ability to coordinate cognitively with others (*ibid*, p. 7/8). That is what the "S-level" (at which there are two circles representing two subjects of cognitive coordination in the lower part of the diagram above) refers to. On the other hand, the "O-level" refers to an object of conceptualization regarding which the speaker / writer and the addressee(s) actually cognitively coordinate.

It can happen that certain utterances pertain primarily to the O-level, as in a sentence such as *John owns a horse*, whereas other utterances may focus entirely on the dimension of cognitive coordination between / among the subjects of conceptualization, i.e. on the S-level, as when people say *Hi*, *Sorry*, *Hey*, or use other phatic expressions (in Malinowski's well-known terms). The former case is represented in Diagram 2 below (in which the S-level, as the less important one, is depicted by a dotted line), whereas the latter case can be graphically represented as in Diagram 3 below, in which case it is the O-level, as the one that plays a lesser role in such utterance types, that is shown by a dotted line.

Diagram 2: The construal configuration in maximally "objective" expressions (e.g. *John owns a horse*) (Verhagen 2005: 17)

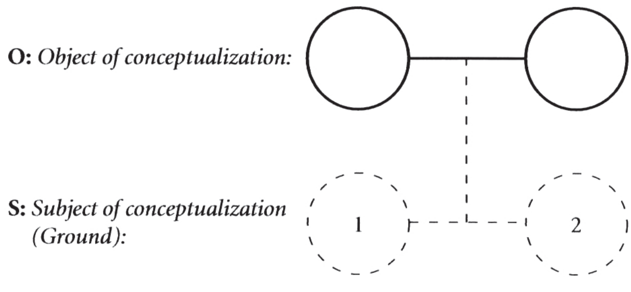
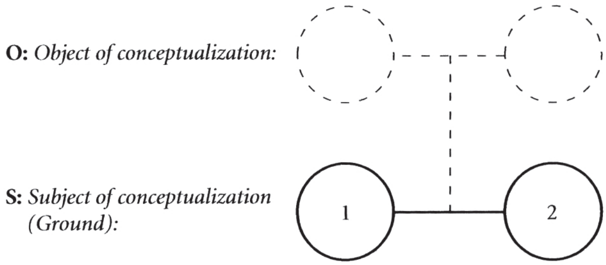


Diagram 3: The construal configuration in maximally "subjective" expressions (e.g. *Hi*, *Sorry*, *Hey*) (Verhagen 2005: 18)



We will now show how the notions of cognitive coordination, the S-level and the O-level, are linked to the topic of this paper.

Namely, according to Verhagen, the primary function of superordinate (also referred to as complement-taking / CT) clauses of the complementation construction is at the S-level – they operate in the domain of intersubjective coordination, they provide specifications of perspectives rather than descriptions of events / situations (e.g. *I believe…*, *He thinks…*), and they invite an addressee to identify with a particular perspective on an object of conceptualization presented in the embedded clause (*ibid.*, p. 79).

Most importantly for the purposes of this paper, such clauses are taken not to present the main line of discourse. Namely, a CT clause is said to specify how to engage in cognitive coordination with another subject of conceptualization, but on its own it does not constitute a complete, relevant contribution to a discourse.

In this sense, complementation constructions are not structural devices to present one objectively construed event as subordinate to another, but devices to invite an addressee to consider an object of conceptualization (presented in a complement clause) from a particular perspective in a particular way (as specified in the superordinate clause / CT clause); they are directly and primarily related to mutual management and assessment (*ibid.*, p. 215). Along the same lines, complementation constructions instruct the addressee of an utterance to coordinate cognitively, in a way specified by the superordinate clause, with another object of conceptualization in construing the object of conceptualization (represented by the superordinate clause) and not that of representing an object of conceptualization (*ibid.*, p. 109). In addition, they can be viewed as general grammaticalized expressions for intersubjective coordination or as a form of grammaticalization of a dimension of discourse structure that is orthogonal to its informational content, i.e. they pertain to intersubjective coordination of cognitive systems (*ibid*., 97). This cognitive coordination can be direct, as when somebody says *I promise that…*, where the argumentative strength of the first-person, present-tense utterance is maximal; however, in the example such as *John promised that…*, the argumentative strength of the third-person, past-tense utterance is weaker, so that the cognitive coordination between author and addressee can be considered to be more indirect. On the other hand, with complement clauses (as opposed to superordinate / CT clauses), the discourse develops at the O-level.

In addition, the degree of integration into a superordinate clause is higher for a complement than an adjunct clause. In other words, an adjunct clause is more loosely connected to its superordinate clause, so that both the superordinate and the adjunct clause are taken to be separate discourse segments instead of specifying another dimension of a single segment (*ibid*., p. 150 *et passim*).

The following observations by Verhagen (2005: 100) are also important for the purposes of this paper. He says that the *S V DO* (subject / predicator / direct object) is too high a level of abstraction for a proper characterization of complementation constructions, i.e. the constructions consisting of a superordinate and a subordinate complement clause. In other words, whereas it is indeed plausible to analyse a (syntactically simple) sentence such as <u>*John*</u> <u>*owns*</u> <u>*a house*</u> as consisting of the given functional elements, the same cannot and should not be applied to a sentence such as <u>*I*</u> <u>*know that John owns a house*</u>, which is also typically analysed functionally as *S V DO*.

In this sense, Verhagen insists that using simplex clauses (such as *John owns a house*) as the structural model for an analysis of complementation constructions (as in *I know that John owns a house*) implies imposing the structure of an object of conceptualization on those constructions, which, in turn, obscures the fact that such syntactically complex constructions serve to link the intersubjective and objective dimensions of linguistic communication. So, whereas simplex clauses are primarily related to an object of conceptualization, the latter type of sentences does that as well (in the complement clause), but also presents an addressee as coordinating cognitively with an object of conceptualization (in the superordinate clause). In other words, the primary function of superordinate clauses of complementation constructions is located at the S-level. They provide specifications of perspectives rather than descriptions of events or situations, and the grammatical roles of subject, object, and predicate from simplex clauses have no straightforward application in these constructions, which have a function sui generis (*ibid*, p. 26, 27).

To try to provide evidence for this, Verhagen gives, among others, the following examples. Firstly, he says that complement clauses can appear in environments in which a noun phrase or a pronoun is impossible – compare *He was afraid <u>that he was not going to make it</u>* and **He was afraid <u>defeat</u>*; *Experts warned <u>that the profit would turn out to be lower</u> and *Experts warned <u>a lower profit</u> / *Experts warned <u>this</u>* (*ibid*, p. 82). In addition, one might add, prototypical transitive verbs (e.g. *make*, *build*, *give*) do not take complement clauses (compare: *He made a mess* and **He made that she be there on time*). Moreover, superordinate clauses can behave like parentheticals (parts of sentences that can be placed in various positions in a sentence) – compare: *<u>I'm not sure</u> how he managed to do that* and *How he managed to do that, <u>I'm not sure</u>*.

As indicated above, we will now briefly focus on the notions of gradience and multiple analysis as they are also important for the purposes of this paper.

Grammar is to some extent an indeterminate system, in the sense that linguistic categories, structures and levels often do not have neat boundaries (Quirk *et al*., 1985: 90). A number of linguists (typically those working outside the field of generative grammar[3]) have thus emphasized that various linguistic disciplines and levels of analysis are tightly intertwined, that the nature of the structure of language is essentially gradient, and that positing sharp dichotomies in linguistics (including those between syntax and semantics, and we would add, syntax and discourse) can often prove misleading (cf. Bugarski 1969a, Langacker 1987). Verhagen's analysis presented above of how syntactic forms such as main and subordinate clauses (complement and adjunct clauses) contribute to cognitive coordination appears to corroborate such a standpoint. In addition, authors relying on the

[3] Gradience as a term is also used in generative grammar but in a different sense. Namely, it is used to refer to various levels of grammatical correctness of various examples (various syntactic structures are seen as not necessarily either completely grammatical or completely ungrammatical, but also as somewhere in-between – *perform the task / ?*perform leisure / *perform compel*). As opposed to generative grammarians using the given term in such a sense (Chomsky 1961, Fanselow *et al*. 2006, Keller 2000), the authors cited above explore a different sort of gradience, one in which all the examples analysed are generally fully grammatically correct.

concept of gradience in their work have stressed that instead of analysing carefully selected (sometimes even carefully constructed) examples that aim to present the theoretically postulated poles of a linguistic phenomenon in their purest realizations, a linguistic analysis should strive to broadly encompass broad continua that can be found in-between these poles and that can be approached from the viewpoint of various linguistic disciplines. Such an approach would enable researchers to posit both more central and more peripheral examples of various linguistic categories. In other words, such an approach would enable linguists to show that a particular category can be taken to have the linguistically relevant traits pertaining to that category in different degrees and that linguistic categories need not have clear-cut boundaries. In addition, such a broadly encompassing approach would bring into focus the important and yet possibly insufficiently clear rules of language structuring whose functioning and variability can be seen more easily only through such approaches (cf. Bugarski 1969a).

In addition to the listed sources, the concept of gradience in grammatical categories has also been dealt with in Aarts *et al.* 2004, Aarts, 2007, Bugarski 1968, 1969b, Pavlović 2017, Piper 2002a, 2002b, 2002c, and Radovanović 2008, 2007a, 2007b, *inter alia*.

Another kind of indeterminacy that is important for the purposes of this paper is multiple analysis. It essentially means proposing two or more different analyses of the same linguistic phenomenon (such as sentence structure). Such alternative analyses may be needed on the grounds that some of the generalizations that have to be made require one analysis, while others require another. In addition, a gradient may be established between the alternative analyses, so that specific examples may vary in the degree to which one analysis is more appropriate than another (Quirk *et al*., 1985: 90-91).

In view of the above, it will be one of our aims in this paper to give additional theoretical credence to analysing one and the same group of syntactic structures making up a discourse as discourse superordinate or subordinate, and syntax superordinate or subordinate (with various combinations thereof). We will try to establish a gradient of such groups of examples on a cline pertaining to the contribution of such structures to overall discourse progress, starting with those that significantly contribute to it, and ending with those that contribute the least.

3. The corpus and the method

The corpus of this paper consists of written texts that are stylistically varied. The corpus resources used are as follows:

a) an excerpt from a book of fiction: Baldacci, D. (1999): *Saving Faith*. New York: Warner Books. p. 140–196;
b) an academic paper: Bencini, G. M. L. / Goldberg, A. (2000). The Contribution of Argument Structure Constructions to Sentence Meaning. *Journal of Memory and Language*, 43, 640–651;
c) select articles from the Inc. online magazine (available at: https://www.inc.com/).

Approximately 100 pages of text were sampled from the given resources.

For the analysis of the excerpted materials, this paper first relies on the framework adopted in Verhagen 2005: 94–97 and 149–151. Namely, the clauses commonly analysed as subordinate (i.e. complement and adjunct clauses) were first separated from the superordinate clauses. Then the contribution of both types of subordinate clauses, on the one hand, and of the superordinate clauses, on the other hand, was analysed with respect to their role in providing coherence and the "overall progress" of the discourse. Naturally, there were always some parts of the excerpted texts that contained no complement or adjunct clauses at all (i.e. those where there were no syntactically complex / compound-complex sentences), but that consisted only of what can be taken to be syntactically independent (i.e. simplex) clauses. As such clauses were also a part of the examined texts, their contribution to the coherence and the overall progress of the discourse was also taken into consideration.

As indicated in Section 2, once the overall contribution of various types of clauses to overall discourse progress has been established, the paper then presents a possible gradient of such groups of examples on a cline pertaining to the contribution of such structures to overall discourse progress, starting with those that significantly contribute to it, and ending with those that contribute the least.

4. Data and discussion

This part of the paper will analyse a part of the materials listed above and will do so along the lines presented.

The sample text below is the abstract from Bencini / Goldberg (2000: 640).

> *What types of linguistic information do people use to construct the meaning of a sentence? Most linguistic theories and psycholinguistic models of sentence comprehension assume that the main determinant of sentence meaning is the verb. This idea was argued explicitly in Healy and Miller (1970). When asked to sort sentences according to their meaning, Healy and Miller found that participants were more likely to sort sentences according to the main verb in the sentence than according to the subject argument. On the basis of these results, the authors concluded that the verb was the main determinant of sentence meaning. In this study we used the same sorting paradigm to explore the possibility that there is another strong influence on sentence interpretation: the configuration of complements (the argument structure construction). Our results showed that participants did produce sorts by construction, despite a well-documented tendency for subjects to sort on the basis of a single dimension, which would favor sorts by verb.*

The first part of the analysis carried out consisted of separating complement clauses (presented in the right-hand column of Table 1 below) from the superordinate clauses (presented in the left-hand column of the same table) and exploring how each of them contributes to the coherence and "overall progress" of the discourse. Adjunct clauses were grouped with superordinate clauses. The basic conclusion that can be reached on the basis of the given data is that the given string of syntactically superordinate clauses (sometimes accompanied by adjunct clauses), when viewed from the discourse perspective, can be said to contain practically no semblance of any coherent discourse at all: *Most linguistic theories and psycholinguistic models of sentence comprehension assume / When asked to sort sentences according to their meaning, Healy and Miller found / On the basis of these results, the authors concluded / In this study we used the same sorting paradigm to explore the possibility / Our results showed* (?).

On the other hand, when the syntactically subordinate (i.e. syntactically dependent) complement clauses alone are taken into account, and when they are viewed from the same perspective, it can be concluded that it is they, rather than the syntactically superordinate ones, that present the basic content of the discourse, and that, generally speaking, it is they that constitute a more or less coherent piece of text: *the main determinant of sentence meaning is the verb / participants were more likely to sort sentences according to the main verb in the sentence than according to the subject argument / the verb was the main determinant of sentence meaning / there is another strong influence on sentence interpretation: the configuration of complements (the argument structure construction) / participants did produce sorts by construction, despite a well-documented tendency for subjects to sort on the basis of a single dimension, which would favor sorts by verb.*

Table 1. The sample text with complement clauses separated from the rest of the text

SUPERORDINATE (AND SUBORDINATE ADJUNCT) CLAUSES	COMPLEMENT CLAUSES
Most linguistic theories and psycholinguistic models of sentence comprehension assume	*(that) the main determinant of sentence meaning is the verb*
When asked to sort sentences according to their meaning, Healy and Miller found	*(that) participants were more likely to sort sentences according to the main verb in the sentence than according to the subject argument*
On the basis of these results, the authors concluded	*(that) the verb was the main determinant of sentence meaning*
In this study we used the same sorting paradigm to explore the possibility	*(that) there is another strong influence on sentence interpretation: the configuration of complements (the argument structure construction)*
Our results showed	*(that) participants did produce sorts by construction, despite a well-documented tendency for subjects to sort on the basis of a single dimension, which would favor sorts by verb.*

Something quite different can be observed when *adjunct* clauses (rather than complement ones) get separated from the rest of a text. The excerpt below comes from Baldacci (1999: 195):

> *Although Faith felt her heart in her throat the entire time, they went through the security gate without incident. As they passed the flight information monitors, Lee spotted their gate. ”Down this way.” Faith nodded as she noted how the gates were configured here. The departure gate for the San Francisco flight was close enough to easily get to, but far enough away from the Norfolk gate. She hid a smile. Perfect. As they walked along, she looked over at Lee. He had done a lot for her*.

As can be seen from Table 2 below, the adjunct clauses are now given in the right-hand column, whereas the remaining part of the text – the superordinate and subordinate clauses, as well as syntactically simple and compound sentences, are presented in the left-hand column of the same table. What can be observed now is that the text in the left-hand column provides the main part of the discourse – that which is (relatively) coherent and indispensable to the overall progress of the discourse: *they went through the security gate without incident / Lee spotted their gate / ”Down this way.” / Faith nodded / The departure gate for the San Francisco flight was close enough to easily get to, but far enough away from the Norfolk gate. She hid a smile. / Perfect. / she looked over at Lee. He had done a lot for her.*

On the other hand, the adjunct clauses merely provide additional pieces of information, and their sequence does not constitute any coherent piece of discourse: *Although Faith felt her heart in her throat the entire time / As they passed the flight information monitors / as she noted how the gates were configured here / As they walked along* (?).

Table 2. The sample text with adjunct clauses separated from the rest of the text

SIMPLEX AND COMPOUND CLAUSES AND VERBLESS UTTERANCES	ADJUNCT CLAUSES
they went through the security gate without incident	*Although Faith felt her heart in her throat the entire time*
Lee spotted their gate	*As they passed the flight information monitors*
"Down this way."	
Faith nodded	*as she noted how the gates were configured here*
The departure gate for the San Francisco flight was close enough to easily get to, but far enough away from the Norfolk gate. She hid a smile.	
Perfect.	
she looked over at Lee. He had done a lot for her.	*As they walked along*

To summarize, the data above show that there is indeed a considerable distinction between the syntactic and the discourse status of the various types of clauses presented here. They also testify to the importance of relying on Verhagen's notion of intersubjectivity or cognitive coordination, alongside the related notions of the S-level and the O-level, which have helped significantly in shedding light on the above distinctions.

On the one hand, as indicated above, *complement* clauses can be considered to be more tightly integrated into their superordinate clauses than adjunct ones and to present the main line of discourse – that developing at the O-level. In addition, the primary function of superordinate clauses in the syntactic structures that contain a complement clause can indeed be said to operate at the S-level, i.e. in the domain of intersubjective coordination. They can be taken not to present the main line of discourse (they do not constitute a complete, relevant contribution to it); instead, they specify how one is to engage in cognitive coordination with another subject of conceptualization.

On the other hand, an *adjunct* clause can be viewed as more loosely connected to its superordinate clause, so that each of these, both the superordinate and the adjunct clauses, are taken to be separate discourse segments instead of specifying another dimension of a single segment. In addition, the latter (the adjunct clause) can indeed be said to relate to its superordinate clause as a satellite discourse fragment to its nucleus, the nuclei constituting the text's main line. In this sense, the (syntactically) superordinate clauses provide the skeleton of the discourse, determining its overall structure, whereas the (syntactically) subordinate adjunct clauses provide additional pieces of information, and are thus not crucial in the overall progress of a discourse.

Using the distinctions thus established, we will now try to posit a gradient relating to how much each of the given clause types contributes to overall discourse progress. To start with, it is simplex (syntactically simple and independent) clauses, clauses comprising compound sentences, and (subordinate) complement clauses that contribute most to discourse progress. On the other hand, it is superordinate clauses appearing with complement clauses and (subordinate) adjunct clauses that contribute to a somewhat lesser extent, and are thus to be located towards the end of the gradient. This once again testifies to how blurred the boundary is between what is commonly referred to as a superordinate and subordinate clause when the interplay of syntactic and discourse considerations is considered, and to the gradient nature of the contribution of different types of clauses to overall discourse progress.

In addition, the distinction between superordinate and subordinate clauses, as well as the various distinctions among the subordinate clauses themselves (the nominal, the adjectival / relative and the adverbial ones), may be quite useful and quite appropriate syntactically speaking. However, in view of the discourse considerations presented above, these distinctions may be misleading, because, as we can see, structures that are syntactically superordinate may be discourse subordinate, while structures that are syntactically subordinate (such as complement clauses) may be discourse superordinate, but need not be (as in the case of adjunct clauses). In short, the relation between the syntactically superordinate and subordinate clauses (and among the types of subordinate clauses themselves), in cases where that status is viewed against the background of the discourse they appear in, need not necessarily reflect their discourse status. This also justifies the reliance on multiple analysis in analysing language phenomena.

5. Concluding remarks

This paper has dealt with what it actually means to say that a clause is subordinate or superordinate and concluded that, from the perspective of interplay between syntax and discourse, the boundaries between the two are blurred, and that their contribution to overall discourse progress can be construed as a gradient.

There are several directions in which such an analysis can be elaborated. Firstly, it can be performed on a much broader corpus in English than the one covered here to check how tenable the conclusions drawn here are. For example, the paper considers adjunct clauses as those that do not contribute much to overall discourse progress. Still, there is evidence available in the literature that there are cases when, contrary to the views put forward in this paper, for example, non-restrictive relative clauses, as a type of adjunct clauses can actually be taken to present the speaker's central communicative message (see Živković, 2016). In addition, there are cases where the semantics of the main verb crucially affects the meaning of the main verb in the complement clause (compare for example *Imagine that somebody gave you $1,000* and *Somebody gave you $1,000*, *It would appear that this question is impossible to answer* and *This question is impossible to answer*). In other words, the failure to consider the broader sentential context in which a specific type of clause appears may possibly lead to mistaken conclusions about the importance of various clause types in discourse progress. What is more, the paper has addressed only finite subordinate clauses, rather than not finite ones as well. In this sense, more research is clearly needed so as to establish more tenable conclusions and preferably rule-governed generalizations in this area. Secondly, it may be worthwhile examining other languages along the lines presented in this paper so as to possibly arrive at some typologically-relevant conclusions. And thirdly, the paper also has pedagogical implications. Namely, the standpoints presented above are typically not dealt with in syntax classes, and should therefore (at least briefly) be presented to students, as such an approach could enhance their knowledge of the given phenomena and make them more aware of the complex relations that can be found when the same linguistic material is viewed from the perspective of two (or more) different linguistic disciplines.

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Received: 6 October 2017
Accepted for publication: 31 January 2018

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О НЕЈАСНИМ ГРАНИЦАМА ИЗМЕЂУ СУПЕРОРДИНИРАНИХ И СУБОРДИНИРАНИХ КЛАУЗА У ЕНГЛЕСКОМ ЈЕЗИКУ

Сажетак

Рад се бави суперординираним и субординираним клаузама у енглеском језику. Посебно се разматра то колико граница између два дата типа клауза постаје нејасна када се синтаксички критеријуми укрсте са погледом на дата два типа клауза из дискурсног угла. Тако се неретко испоставља да структуре које су синтаксички суперординиране могу заправо бити дискурсно субординиране, и обратно. Шире посматрано, рад настоји да покаже да различити аспекти лингвистичке анализе, у овом случају посебно синтаксички и дискурсни аспекти, јесу тесно испреплетени, као и да посматрање синтаксичких структура у светлу њихових дискурсних функција може помоћи да се боље увиди градијентна природа граница лингвистичких категорија као и њихов градијентан допринос укупном току неког дискурса.

Кључне речи: суперординиране клаузе, субординиране клаузе, синтакса, дискурс, комплементи, адјункти, градијентност, интерсубјективност

UDC 811.111'367
811.163.41'367
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https://doi.org/10.18485/bells.2018.10.6

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DISCURSIVE METAPHORICAL FRAMES: *THE VIOLENCE OVER LANGUAGE* FRAME IN SERBIAN AND BRITISH NEWSPAPER DISCOURSE

Abstract
This paper proposes an approach to analyzing systematic metaphorical representations in discourse, introducing the notion of discursive metaphorical frames to capture the different levels of conceptualization and generality that contribute to the social meaning of metaphor. The approach is illustrated through an analysis of metaphorical representations of the position of Serbian/English language in Serbian and British newspapers, in light of the growing interest in language observable in European public discourses more recently. One conceptualization, based on the metaphor domain of VIOLENCE, is found to stand out in both Serbian and English articles, but analysis of the VIOLENCE OVER LANGUAGE frame shows that it is nevertheless radically different in the two language contexts, reflecting the different ideologies that may shape contemporary media metadiscourses. The value of the proposed approach in revealing the full cross-discursive metaphorical frame and its more subtle social meanings is discussed.

Key words: metaphor, framing, language ideology, newspaper discourse

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1. Introduction

Language is possibly the most seemingly non-sensational topic that has always engaged the popular imagination. From the arrival of the printing press bemoaned as Satan's invention to destroy language and communication (Crystal 2001) to the late 20th century public discourse on language and technology in the hands of "idiot teenagers" (Thurlow 2007), the fact that language has provoked "extraordinary surges of passion" (Cameron 1995: 85) many times in history has often been acknowledged by sociolinguists, especially in the anglophone world. The beginning of the new century, however, appears to have brought unprecedented public interest in language across Europe, partly in light of demographic and political changes (see Cameron 2013). In the context of Serbia, the politically long-instrumentalized media discussions on language (Bugarski 1997, 2001, 2013) do seem to be taking on new forms, reflecting new anxieties over the future of language. Even in the context of Britain and the world's major global language, public focus on language use is similarly on the rise, linked to increasing emphasis on "community cohesion" predicated on the use of good English by all citizens (Cameron 2013). In these shifting public discourses, the exact representations of language in the media are of great interest from the sociolinguistic perspective, especially if we understand that metadiscourse often works as a code for discussing more complicated or more sensitive social matters.

One unique insight into language perspectives and ideologies is granted by exploring the way language is discussed using metaphor in public discourse, given that media discourse is highly metaphorical (Krennmayr 2011), and discussions on language are no exception (Argent 2014). Recently, discursive aspects of metaphor use have gained a prominent place in metaphor studies (eg. Cameron & Deignan 2006, Cameron 2016, Musolff 2006, Semino 2008), as it is increasingly emphasized that metaphor is not just a matter of language and thought, but also of argumentation as well as ideology. In this respect, the discursive representation of language via metaphor in particular contexts is a productive object of analysis, reflecting the specific metaphorical frames (Ritchie 2010, Burgers et al. 2017) within which aspects of language are locally presented.

Still, exploring the metaphorical frames of language in newspaper discourse is a complex task, given the increasingly emphasized conflicting understandings of metaphor and framing, as well as the conflicting views of how cross-discursive representations may best be approached in analyses (Semino et al. 2016, Ritchie 2017). In this paper, I aim to address this problem by proposing the notion of *discursive metaphorical frames* as an appropriate apparatus for capturing the complex functioning of metaphor across discourse. I will draw on it to emphasize the different levels of conceptualization and generality that contribute to the social meaning of metaphor. The approach will be applied in an analysis of metaphorical representations of the national language in Serbian and British newspaper discourse. The newspaper discussions of language and the two-language focus are seen as providing appropriate material in which to illustrate the proposed approach, expected to bring deeper insights into both metaphorical framing in discourse and contemporary language ideologies.

2. Background: metalanguage and metaphor

Metalanguage[1], or talk about talk, has been attracting more scholarly attention recently, as it reveals much about how people view language and its role in their lives (Squires 2010, Jaworski et al. 2004). Still, the relevance of metalanguage for socially oriented scholarship goes far beyond this. In many local and national contexts, questions of language are sparking passionate public debates, which spill into realms that have seemingly little to do with language. Ideologies about language are inseparable from other ideologies regarding social organisation and control, and they draw on the powerful symbolism by which language represents identity, group belonging, social and moral order. In 21st century Europe in particular, public discourse on language has become both widely pervasive and politically salient (Cameron 2013). It is this specific cultural and political significance that discourse on language tends to assume which makes metadiscourse worthy of study.

It has often been noted that discussions on language are a field rich in metaphor, language being a complex abstract phenomenon open to figurative representations and primarily discussed metaphorically (Seargeant 2009, Argent 2014). Metaphor analysis thus provides a good

[1] The term "metalanguage" is used in a number of ways in linguistic literature. In this paper, I will use it to refer to those instances where language is explicitly thematized in people's language use (Thurlow 2006, 2007); for many other understandings of metalanguage, see Jaworski et al. 2004.

path for studying metalanguage, though it has been used to different aims – to provide insights both into how we understand the abstract concept of language itself and into how language is represented in particular discursive contexts.

Metaphorical conceptualizations of language as an abstract phenomenon have long been studied in the philosophy of language and in linguistic theory. The most important early paper in this field of research is Reddy's (1979) study, which argues that the major way in which we conceptualize language and communication is based on the conduit metaphor, i.e. by understanding language as a conduit that carries reified thoughts and feelings (e.g. *get your thoughts across)*. Reddy focused on English language examples, but very similar conceptualizations have been found to operate in Serbian as well (Živanović 2014, Klikovac 2006). Later studies further revealed the complexity of these representations, highlighting some other prominent perspectives. Jean Aitchison (2003) shows that expert discourses on language historically involved several different metaphors, all of which corresponded to the current social theories and world views (including metaphors of CONDUIT, TREE, FAMILY, PLANT and BUILDING). When it comes to folk linguistic discourses, existing findings further point to the prominence of reification metaphors (Seargeant 2009, Blommaert 2008) as well as personification metaphors (Strenge 2012, Đurović 2009, Bogetić 2015).

Another line of research, more akin to the present analysis, has examined the specific representations of language in particular social discourses. Argent (2014) thus stresses that the choice of metaphors in talk about language can reveal what characteristics are ascribed to language and how it is viewed in relation to speakers and society. In her analysis of Russian newspaper metalanguage, she shows that Russian is predominantly conceptualized as ill and infected by Anglo-American influences, and she argues that language matters are instrumentalized in Russian newspapers primarily for the purpose of strengthening the national consciousness. A large body of work has similarly focused on language representations in mass media. In the anglophone world, analyses reveal a major concern about language in digital media as threatening the notions of good communication (Thurlow 2007, Herring 2011). Also, various aspects of political discourse may be productively analyzed via metalanguage and metaphor. For example, Tatjana Đurović identifies several conceptual metaphors dominant in EU discourse, and points to their clear pragmatic role in more persuasively highlighting particular sociopolitical stances (e.g. acknowledging the importance of national languages within the EU, or easing the potential members' concerns over losing their national identity).

While this line of research is comparatively smaller, it is clear from existing studies that dominant metaphorical representations in a particular metadiscourse offer a unique view of the dominant language representations and language ideologies. Still, the socially oriented work on metaphor in discourse has generally been more prone to methodological tensions between understandings of conceptual and discursive metaphor, and privileging one over the other has often led to one-dimensional or reductionist accounts. To address this issue, in the present analysis I propose a specific theoretical approach, as discussed in the following section.

3. Theoretical framework: from conceptual metaphors to discursive metaphorical frames

In the conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), our conceptual system is shown to be substantially structured by metaphor. Extensive work in this tradition has demonstrated that the way we talk, as well as think and act, is shaped to a great extent by metaphor. In this sense, metaphor is seen as the understanding of one conceptual domain in terms of another: it involves a mapping (or a set of correspondences) from a more concrete, experientially familiar, source domain to a more abstract, target domain. For example, in expressions such as 'Tomorrow is a big day' or 'I enjoy the small things in life', one domain of experience (importance) is understood via another domain of experience (size). In this metaphor, important things correspond to big things, unimportant things correspond to small things, becoming more important corresponds to growing in size, etc.

While Lakoff and Johnson's theory remains a pillar of cognitive linguistics, the past couple of decades have also seen a growing awareness of the discursive importance of metaphor. The appealing premise that metaphor shapes the conceptual structures of our perception of the world has led many researchers to emphasize that metaphor is a "way of thinking and a way of persuading as much as it is a linguistic phenomenon" (Charteris-Black 2004: 22, cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 155-159). At the turn of the century this perspective also engendered a lot of criticism of CMT's reliance on decontextualized and elicited metaphor examples, but these debates now seem to have been abandoned in favour of a more appropriate integrative understanding of metaphor studies.

Partly in response to the challenges of integrating CMT and discourse studies of metaphor, a concept that is currently witnessing renewed interest is that of *framing*. Most simply put, the contemporary analytical metaphor of a "frame" can be understood as a "way of seeing things", operating in two related senses, as Ritchie (2017) succinctly explains: one is that of a *picture frame,* calling attention to certain aspects of a situation depicted, i.e. those that are inside the frame, and diverting attention from other aspects of that situation, i.e. those that are outside the frame; the second sense is that of *physical structure,* representing the bits and pieces that give structure, shape, and strength to a concept. The notion is by no means new, with roots in sociology (Goffman 1974), communication studies (Schön 1993, Druckman 2001, Iyengar 2005), and cognitive semantics (Fillmore 1975), as well as being mentioned in CMT itself (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 10-13, Lakoff 2003; though CMT operates on the level of domains). What it promises to bring to studies of metaphor in discourse, however, is a more adequate tool for describing the ways metaphor choices reflect and reinforce particular ways of perceiving issues. To give just one example: if media discussions consistently represent language by drawing on metaphors from the PLANT domain (language *blossoming, withering*) this can be said to create a frame for understanding language that highlights only some of its properties, particularly those in relation to self-regulation and growth, implying a specific way of reasoning about language – one of natural development, transformation and growth. On the other hand, using MACHINE metaphors, for instance, would bring a whole new frame for thinking about language, one based on regulation and control (see Bogetić 2017). In addition, there may be only some aspects of the PLANT domain that are relevant at the discursive level, e.g. if the metaphorical expressions solely relate to *withering away* or *drying out*, and to no other aspects of plant life. What is crucial here is that different aspects of metaphor use can create jointly specific frames for reasoning about abstract issues, reflecting positions that may not be overtly expressed in discourse and may not be adequately captured at the level of conceptual metaphor or conceptual domains only. The term "frame" can be used to capture this complex conceptual structure, while "framing" refers to the process of representation building with an impact on reasoning.

However, it is clear even in this brief description that metaphorical framing is still a problematic analytical tool. Metaphorical frames have been related to different levels of conceptual structure and described at different levels of generality, from metaphorical sub-domains (e.g. Sullivan 2013), through structures equivalent to domains (e.g. Croft & Cruse 2004), to overarching structures built via metaphor (e.g. Musolff 2006). Also, the relationship of metaphorical frames and conceptual metaphor, and of framing and other functions of metaphor has remained rather unclear, though many studies discussing frames seem to avoid references to conceptual metaphor.

This paper adopts a discursive view of metaphorical frames, seen as necessary if we are to describe systematic metaphorical representations across discourse. Specifically, the concept of *discursive metaphorical frames* (DMF) is proposed as a way to distinguish them from other types of frames, and as a useful theoretical and methodological abstraction for the discursive analysis of metaphor. In relation to existing approaches, its productivity lies in allowing us to capture the full systematic cross-discursive meaning of metaphor, based on the assumption that the meanings of metaphor in discourse include multiple levels of conceptual structure; these may not only involve the conceptual domain, but also particular domain elements and prominent sub-domain roles, which build a frame of reasoning together. Still, the perspective draws on traditions of framing in cognition and communication studies, and is by no means in conflict with traditional approaches to conceptual metaphor. In what follows, I will illustrate the applicability of the DMF approach in describing the systematic multi-level metaphorical meanings relevant across discourse. The metaphor-rich media discourse on language is expected to be a good site for such investigation, and the focus on two different language/national contexts may be especially productive when trying to pinpoint the composition of metaphorical frames.

4. Data and method

The present analysis draws on a corpus of 100 English and 100 Serbian newspaper articles (approximately 60,000 words in each set). The texts were published between 2011 and 2015 in major national daily newspapers: *Politika, Blic, 24 Sata, Novosti* and *Pres* (Serbia); *The Times, The Guardian, The Daily Mail, The Telegraph* and *The Independent* (UK). The material includes only the texts that directly discuss the Serbian/English language, excluding those written for purely instructional purposes. The corpus is large enough for some basic quantitative observations, but also allows in-depth discursive analysis.

The analysis involved three steps: identification of metaphorical expressions to do with language, identification of dominant source domains, and analysis of the discursive metaphorical frames based on the dominant domain(s).

Since the focus is on metaphorical expressions to do with language, the starting point of the analysis was to identify key discourse terms, i.e. those language-related terms in connection with which metaphors were used in the two corpora. They include the following: (i) (*srpski*) *jezik, pismo, govor, izraz, ćirilica, latinica, reč, gramatika* in the Serbian corpus, and (ii) (*English*) *language, speech, word, sentence, punctuation, grammar, vocabulary, apostrophe, comma* in the English corpus.[2] Identification of the pertinent metaphorical expressions was then conducted according to the guidelines of the now well-established Metaphor Identification Procedure VU (Steen et al. 2010).

Source domain classification/identification of dominant domains was conducted following the discursive approach of Low and Todd (2009) and the "wisdom of sticking to more specific labels" (Dancynger & Sweetser, 2014: 52) when classifying domains. While bearing in mind the hierarchical nature of all metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1980), this approach identified only the contextually-specific source domains, rather than broader conceptualizations such as personification or reification.

Finally, upon identification of the dominant, most frequent source domain(s) used in the discussions of language, the analysis turned to exploring these in discourse and describing the full discursive metaphorical frames that they constituted in the two language corpora. The in-depth analysis of discursive metaphorical frames was exploratory and deliberately left partly open at the initial stage, looking into the discursive realizations of the domain-level mappings and the potentially relevant sub-domain elements.

[2] Key discourse terms were identified upon an initial reading and re-reading of the whole corpus; the selection comprises terms used at least 10 times in the Serbian/English corpus.

5. Results

5.1. Analysis of source domains: one stand-out representation

The metaphorical expressions used in relation to the Serbian and English language in the Serbian and British newspapers (a total of 901 and 739 instances respectively) involve a variety of source domains (60 and 66 identified domains respectively). However, not all of them are of equal discursive importance. Namely, a large majority of source domains are represented with just one or two instances of use (e.g. SPORTS, FOOD, WATER). A few domains are indeed realized with more examples, pointing to some cross-linguistic similarities: in both corpora, language is metaphorically construed via the domains of WEALTH (e.g. *the richness of our language, the value of language, enriching language*), MACHINE (e.g. *the language mechanism, the cogs and bolts language, language breaking down*) or BUILDING (e.g. *building sentences, the foundations of language*). In addition, the English corpus contains expressions from the domain of EVOLUTION, not observed in Serbian. However, even these repeated representations occur in 15-30 instances, each comprising about 2% of the metaphorical expressions in total, which is insufficient for a more thorough discursive analysis using the present corpus.

In fact, only one metaphorical representation is clearly found to be prominent in both datasets – that involving the source domain of VIOLENCE (eg. *killing our language, butchering language*). It occurs about 130 times in the English corpus and 180 times in Serbian (comprising roughly one-fifth of all metaphorical expressions identified), which is more than all the other source domains taken together. What emerges from the quantitative analysis, therefore, is that both Serbian and English newspaper discourse about language are characterized by the prominence of VIOLENCE-based metaphors. Of course, VIOLENCE is a productive conceptual source for representing a variety of phenomena (Charteris-Black 2004, Ritchie 2003), but it has not been observed in existing analyses of metadiscourse.

While the other metaphorical representations may certainly be worthy of study in different types of analysis, we will here focus on VIOLENCE OVER LANGUAGE as the salient discursive metaphorical frame (if cross-discursive systematicity is a criterion, these other representations do not form a DMF in the present sense). The analysis allows us to further illustrate the approach to DMFs and examine the full frame produced in the observed context along with its deeper socio-ideological implications.

A final note before embarking on the analysis: another pattern that emerges from this preliminary observation is thematic, but nevertheless relevant for understanding the corpus as well as the stand-out DMF. The texts in both corpora tend to discuss not just language in general, but specifically the position of language and language change (a somewhat unexpected finding given the range of language and communication questions that could be of interest for media discussions). These concepts constitute the specific target in many of the metaphorical expressions identified and are certainly central to the VIOLENCE OVER LANGUAGE frame, as will be seen below.

5.2. Domain-level representations in the VIOLENCE OVER LANGUAGE frame

Analysis of the metaphorical representations based on the VIOLENCE domain is telling of the general attitudes to the position of language and to language change. Both the Serbian and English newspapers discuss language by drawing on a variety of metaphorical expressions from this domain, contributing to an overall narrative of threat that is rather similar in both contexts. Such representations are clear from the very titles of the articles, which commonly include metaphorical references to beating, general violence or wars and invasions:

S:

(1) *Udarali* po jeziku (*Novosti*, 13/8/2011)
(2) Srpski jezik je *napadnut* sa svih strana (*Novosti*, 15/01/2012)
(3) Neizdrživo *nasilje* nad jezičkom kulturom (*Politika*, 12/08/2012)
(4) *Okupacija* stranih reči (*Novosti*, 14/11/2013)

E:

(5) Want to *mangle* the English language? There's an app for that. (*The Daily Mail*, 16/6/2012)
(6) Ploddledygook is *murdering* the English language (*The Times*, 9/05/2013)
(7) Emoji *invasion* (*The Guardian*, 25/06/2015)
(8) *War* of the words (*The Guardian*, 26/09/2012)

These are some very typical titles in the material, reflecting what seems to be a general tendency for article titles to be metaphorical – almost half of the titles contain metaphor, and the majority of these are metaphors of VIOLENCE. The rhetorical force of titles such as the above comes from the expressivity of the VIOLENCE domain. The type of language phenomena referred to is at first glance very diverse, but all the titles demonstrate a clear conceptual link between violence and non-standard language use/ unwanted language influences. In this conceptual metaphor, the role of a target or victim of violence is mapped onto aspects of language, with great conceptual overlap on the level of metaphorical interpretation between Serbian and English. Within the texts, the description is often more elaborate and extended through several metaphorical expressions from the domain:

S:

(9) Pored tuđica koje su ga *opkolile* sa svih strana, srpski jezik našao se pred još jačim *neprijateljem* i uveliko *gubi bitku*. (*24 sata*, 25/12/2012)

These metaphorical expressions also carry war associations, where language is seen as a victim[3] of a war attack, influences over language are the attacker, the introduction of foreign words is besieging, and the attempt to resist language change is a battle. Similar metaphorical analogies are common in the English corpus, based on the same general mappings of LANGUAGE AS A VICTIM OF VIOLENCE and UNWANTED INFLUENCES ON LANGUAGE AS AGGRESSORS. One difference that can be observed between the Serbian and English articles is that even when they employ the same metaphorical representations, these tend to be more frequently and more richly elaborated in the English corpus, often involving intertextually specific images of attack that can be quite dramatic and colourful:

E:

(10) It is the relentless onward *march* of the texters, the SMS (Short Message Service) vandals who are doing to our language *what Genghis Khan did to his neighbours eight hundred years ago*. They are destroying it: *pillaging* our punctuation; *savaging* our sentences; *raping* our vocabulary. And they must be stopped. (*The Daily Mail*, 20/06/2015)

(11) Make no mistake. These are dark times for the English language. The *barbarians* are at the gates. Right now, *marauding* grammatical *Goths* are *encircling* our linguistic *Rome*. We must act now to prevent disaster. We must valiantly

[3] A single person or a collective body; both interpretations are often possible.

defend the apostrophe against those who seek to *attack* her. We must don our grammatical *armour* and *man* the linguistic *barricades*, as an *onslaught* of grammatical philistinism will soon upon us. (*The Daily Mail*, 13/01/ 2012)

The first excerpt presents a very elaborate picture, an entire metaphorical story (Ritchie 2010) of the atrocities of war that language is exposed to. The attackers are presented as vandals, and their language influence is depicted through the implicit metaphor 'what Genghis Khan did to his neighbours eight hundred years ago' that relies on a cultural understanding of the reference. The second excerpt illustrates similar representations, with its opposition of a *linguistic Rome* and *Goths* as *barbarians* seeking to attack. The image of besieging automatically implies the need for audacious defence, emphasized through romantic references to a *grammatical armour* and *linguistic barricades*, and to the female-presented apostrophe evoking images of a "damsel in distress" from chivalric romance fiction. Together with the opposition of "us" and "vandals" or "barbarians", the metaphorical image clearly reflects "verbal hygienic" (Cameron 1995) ideological representations of culture and tradition threatened by "barbaric" disrespect for language norms. In this kind of conceptual frame, language change corresponds to war, while those who ignore the rules of language correspond to enemies or vandals/barbarians.

At this point we need to note that the observed metaphorical depictions are by no means only related to source representations of war and military activity, but often involve less specific acts of violence that may or may not be war-related. This includes a range of images of fights, beatings or unspecified acts of violence that may evoke any kind of non-military attack or conflict:

S:

(12) *Nasilje* koje nad jezičkom kulturom vrše brojni medijski vulgarizmi i jezičke i stilske greške u žutoj štampi […] prosto je neizdrživo. (*Politika*, 8/12/2012)

(13) Mogu li strane reči, kao moćno *oružje*, *„ubiti"* neki jezik? (*Novosti*, 09/05/2011)

(14) Živimo u vremenu u kojem jezik trpi i *meta* je raznih izazova i *napada*. (*Novosti*, 09/04/2015)

E:

(15) We are not alone in the *fight* against American linguistic domination. (*The Telegraph*, 12/06/2014)

(16) Mencken argued that […] his language *outgunned* ours. (*The Daily Mail*, 29/5/2012)

(17) It is impossible to record every act of *violence* done to the English language. (*The Daily Mail*, 02/05/2014)

In all examples of this kind it is hard to say whether the metaphorical expressions come from the source domain of WAR or individual acts of violence and fighting. This is not about different levels of generality, but about the fact that conceptual sources often have fuzzy boundaries, despite clear conceptual representations. While this kind of metaphor was traditionally linked to the domain of WAR, our analysis shows that this label choice, or a separate WAR grouping, is not justified. What is more, for most people the source notions of VIOLENCE or FIGHT are experientially more basic than those of war (Ritchie 2003). On the whole, this is why the label VIOLENCE is preferred here.

Generally, by examining the domain-level representations in the material, we can observe an overarching metaphor UNWANTED INFLUENCE OVER LANGUAGE IS VIOLENCE, with the various influences over language corresponding to the ATTACKER, and aspects of language corresponding to the ATTACKED. The discursive effect produced is both evaluative and emotional, carrying a negative evaluation of the situation and accentuating an anxiety over language that implies the need to react. This creates a specific frame for looking at the language position and language change that is strangely similar in the two rather different national contexts, possibly in part the result of VIOLENCE being a productive domain for representing competing ideologies in contemporary Western culture (Ritchie 2003). However, this does not mean that the metaphorical use demonstrated above is merely a reflex of a culturally ingrained conceptual metaphor, or that this metaphor creates the same discursive meanings in all contexts. The above examples already suggest that the full frame may be more complex and more interesting in the present data. In particular, some aspects of violence are prominent, while some seem virtually absent (e.g. the idea of a *fight* between language and its enemy); there are various concepts that map onto the roles of ATTACKER and ATTACKED, or onto VIOLENCE itself. Simply put, what kind of violence is it? Is it the same in the English and Serbian data? Answering these questions may lead us to some more subtle ideological meanings that may be locally constructed and locally relevant, and not necessarily evident on the conceptual domain level. In order to explore them, however, the possibility of contrastive models on the sub-domain level needs to be taken into account, which will be explored in the following section.

5.3. Sub-domain representations in the VIOLENCE OVER LANGUAGE frame

In this segment of the analysis, we look closely at the source and target concepts, the referent roles and focal elements *within* the VIOLENCE domain. The underlying assumption is that these sub-domain aspects contribute to the full discursive metaphorical frame and that they may reveal more specific social meanings. In this perspective, a concept of great value is that of *metaphor scenarios* as developed by Andreas Musolff (2006, 2015), used to represent the level of sub-domain conceptual structures. In brief, Musolff has emphasized that not all aspects of source domains are equally important and equally prominent in discourse; the focal sub-domain elements and mappings can create entire mini-narratives, and the term "scenarios" captures these. Thus, in the VIOLENCE domain, we can ask e.g. 'what *kind* of violence?' / 'what *kind* of attacker?' Importantly, it is these scenarios that link the conceptual side of metaphor with usage patterns in discourse, facilitating descriptions on both cognitive and discursive levels of analysis.

While the VIOLENCE domain is a rich conceptual schema, in the observed Serbian and English newspapers it is realized solely through aspects of the conflict itself and the opposing sides (covering over 95% of all metaphorical expressions in both datasets; other elements of the domain, e.g. weapons, or truce, are either present in just a couple of instances or absent altogether[4]). From the present perspective, these are the elements whose discursive realization deserves further exploration, from the particular representation of violence to the referent roles of the opposing sides.

When it comes to the nature of the violence itself, two scenarios can be clearly observed in both Serbian and English newspapers, labelled as

[4] Coding all metaphorical expressions in a separate table at the metaphor identification stage allowed for these observations to be checked quantitatively; still, in the present discussion, the quantitative results will occasionally be mentioned for illustration, though the focus is not on detailed quantitative findings.

ATTACK and DEFENCE BY OTHERS[5]. Interestingly, the standard source concept of FIGHTING, with two sides opposed in a struggle, is overridden via these conceptualizations. Language is never a side that fights or responds to violence in the conflict, but can only be defended by others. The metaphorical expressions that refer to violence always refer to an ongoing or imminent attack, be it a simple beating, or cruel mutilation, or an invasion/occupation/attack/siege:

S:

(18) Imamo *atak* na jezik sa praktično najmerodavnijeg mesta. (*Politika*, 03/07/2013)

(19) Tako i srpski trpi *okupaciju* od strane engleskog kao lingua franca. (*Politika*, 10/09/2015)

(20) Svesni smo da je to *udar* na srpski jezik. (*Blic*, 11/09/2014)

E:

(21) The *violence* the internet does to the English language is simply the cost of doing business in the digital age. (*The Guardian*, 20/05/2013)

(22) I hate to see language *butchered* like this. (*The Guardian*, 28/12/2014)

(23) Well done smart phones – you're on your way to fulfilling your mission of *murdering* the English language. (*The Daily Mail*, 18/05/2015)

In this kind of frame, *DEFENCE* becomes an important segment of the narrative, as the expected way to react to *ATTACK*:

S:

(24) Još je pre devet vekova Stefan Nemanja preporučivao da jezik treba *čuvati* kao zemlju, kao grad. Ali jezik se ne može braniti veštački merama (*Politika*, 03/06/ 2011)

(25) Vreme je za akciju *spasavanja* jezika (*Blic*, 21/02/2015)

E:

(26) The texters have many more arrows in their quiver than we who *defend* the old way [of language]. (*The Daily Mail*, 17/12/2014)

(27) However, *defenders* of the apostrophe are *fighting back*. (*The Times*, 04/02/2014)

[5] Following Musolff (2006), italics will be used to represent scenarios.

On the whole, this narrative of "attack and defence" often evokes events of war, though it can refer to any kind of attack and defence of a victimized person. It operates in very similar ways in the Serbian and English texts, activating the meanings usually associated with defending others, such as audacity, moral righteousness, and protection of the weak. The given scenarios bring a novel dimension to the violence metaphors and add a specific moral note to the discussions of language.

What is also noticeable from the above examples is the variety of concepts that take the referent roles of attacker (the internet, media, texting, youth, foreignisms), whereas those of the attacked seem rather uniform as referring to our key discourse units of language, at least at first glance. However, the attempt to classify these in more detail revealed some important differences between the frames in Serbian and British texts.

Importantly, while in the English dataset the attacker role is indeed taken by a range of concepts, without separate scenarios that could be identified by frequency, the target onto which attacker features are consistently mapped in the Serbian newspapers can most adequately be described as *foreign influence*. These specific mappings create a prominent scenario of a *FOREIGN ENEMY*, which covers almost 90% of concepts seen as doing violence to language in the Serbian texts, and which does not feature prominently in the English texts (less than 10%, mostly references to Americanisms). The data show that this is a fundamental element of the discursive metaphorical frame in the Serbian corpus. The focus seems to be on influences from English or from the ex-Yugoslav nation states, though they can also be various foreign influences and are sometimes left unspecific:

S:

(28) Strane reči „*okupirale*" su srpski jezik. (*Pres*, 14/11/2013)

(29) Lingvisti upozoravaju da je pred sve većom *navalom* engleskog jezika, srpski ugrožen u meri u kojoj su to i drugi jezici. *Blic*, 21/02/2013)

(30) Na srpski jezik u celini, kao i na srpski narod, *obrušili su se* i ala i vrana i doveli nas u situaciju da se nemamo kuda okrenuti. Zbog toga Hrvati, kroz istoriju provereni *neprijatelji* našeg jezika i identiteta, mogu da trijumfuju. (*Novosti*, 30/07/2011)

The final example is indicative of another major scenario present in the Serbian corpus and not noted in English. Namely, in a vast number of examples, the role of the victim or the attacked side is mapped onto the target not only of language, but of language and nation together. One in every two or three metaphorical representations mentions the Serbian nation and the Serbian language together as victims. In this *LINGUISTIC-NATIONAL VICTIM* scenario, the mapping is extended to include language *and* nation as a kind of inseparable victim of foreign violence:

S:

(31) Zaperci *guše* srpstvo i srpski jezik *(Novosti, 09/11/2013)*

(32) Remetić ocjenjuje da se tamo dešava *nasilje* i nad jezikom i nad srpskim narodom *(Politika, 08/04/2013)*

(33) To je i više od ironije, to je greh, jer u raspadu Jugoslavije nisu *stradali* samo država i narodi, već i jezik (Novosti, 09/11/2013)

Collocations of this kind are very common in the corpus, sometimes fusing metaphorical and literal meanings. This may involve non-figurative references to actual past wars, creatively mixed with figurative representations of violence over language. In this frame, violence over the language means violence over the nation, as nicely summed up in this quote:

S:

(34) Uzmeš li tuđu reč, znaj da je nisi *osvojio*, nego si sebe potuđio. Znaj da te je *neprijatelj* onoliko *osvojio* i *pokorio* koliko ti je reči *potro* i svojih poturio. (*Politika*, 25/08/2014)[6]

This kind of symbolic association between language and nation is prominent in many examples, often followed by conclusions such as “dokle god živi jezik, [...] živi i narod” (*Politika* 26/01/2014), and it forms a central part of the metaphorical frame observed in the Serbian newspaper discourse about language. This representation was not noted in the general analysis of mappings in this domain, but became clear in more detailed coding of sub-domain referent roles and scenarios.

[6] The quote in the *Politika* article is from the book *Zaveštanje Stefana Nemanje* by Mileta Medić.

5.4. Implications: VIOLENCE OVER LANGUAGE as a multilevel frame

The analysis of prominent domains in the corpus has shown that there is a strong tendency in both Serbian and British newspapers to discuss matters of language using the metaphor of VIOLENCE. This is a major similarity in the two media contexts, both in terms of domain frequency and the general conceptual mappings. However, the findings clearly show that metaphorical argumentation based on this domain is not just a reflex of a culturally entrenched conceptual metaphor. The deeper ideological meanings in the two national contexts are uncovered only after considering the prominent elements on the sub-domain level.

Analysis on the sub-domain level highlights the true complexity of the VIOLENCE domain, as a rich schema of relations and elements available for selection in discourse. It is the specific choices made *within* this domain that crucially contribute to creating social meaning across discourse. In this respect, the elements that are left out may be just as important as those that are highlighted, as illustrated by the noticeable absence of two-sided fighting scenarios and the prominence of *ATTACK* and *DEFENCE* scenarios in discussions on language. Using two-language data confirms the relevance of sub-domain representations further, revealing significant cross-linguistic differences despite a similar reliance on the VIOLENCE domain. Namely, the scenarios of a *FOREIGN ATTACKER* and *LINGUISTIC-NATIONAL VICTIM* are central in the Serbian newspaper metadiscourse, but unnoted in the English texts. Ultimately, analysis at this level shows that the anxiety over language in Serbian print media is to do with anxiety over national identity, while superficially similar concerns in English newspapers are broader and mostly lack the national dimension. Such subtle political or attitudinal meanings are evident only when we consider both the metaphor domain level and sub-domain source to target concepts, scenarios and referent roles.

This is where the notion of metaphorical framing and metaphorical frames becomes particularly useful. As is clear from the present findings, understanding the social meanings of metaphor across discourse requires analysis on multiple levels of conceptual structure, and the notion of discursive metaphorical frames offers an adequate way to capture this kind of overarching representation notable across discourse. The multi-level frame of VIOLENCE OVER LANGUAGE observed in this analysis is a very good illustration of a DMF, reflecting the importance of contrastive submodels in this (or any other) conceptual domain (cf. Musolff 2006). The productivity of the VIOLENCE metaphor in contemporary thought makes it even more necessary to explore the full discursive metaphorical frame it creates in a specific context. Its sub-domain scenarios, such as those of *ATTACK* and *DEFENCE* found in this analysis, can be powerful rhetorical devices in media and political discourse, highlighting stances or courses of action distinct from those implied by other equally possible scenarios (e.g. a *TIGHT FIGHT OF EVEN SIDES* or a *TRUCE* scenario). While the VIOLENCE and WAR metaphors have traditionally been widely explored, the cognitive and discursive relevance of such mini-narratives in building overarching frames of reasoning deserve attention in future research.

Finally, at this point, the discursive metaphorical frames identified in the present analysis merit a brief general commentary.

6. The VIOLENCE OVER LANGUAGE frame and the ideologies of language in contemporary Serbian and British print media

On the whole, the major discursive metaphorical frame in both Serbian and British newspaper discourse on language is built on the VIOLENCE conceptual domain. The presence of metaphorical representations of violence and war in this type of discourse is in itself not hard to explain. The idea of a "just war", with aggressors and victims as protagonists, has long been recognized as entrenched not only in media discourse, but in the sociopolitical paradigm of the western world (Burns 2011, Lakoff & Johnson 1999). The general concerns over language also figure in other European languages (Argent 2014, Cameron 2013), so thematic similarities are not surprising. However, the frequency of metaphorical expressions from this particular domain in both language contexts and their domination over other equally available metaphorical representations (e.g. language change as a competition, a complex system, a journey) point to important, and similar, tendencies of language ideologies in Serbia and Britain.

Most notably, in both sets of data the full discursive metaphorical frame implies an imminent threat to language that needs to be taken seriously. While the metaphorical use involves a wide range of expressions, they all contribute to a master narrative of language being in danger but unable to resist or defend itself. Evocative images of one-sided violence add a dash of sensationalism to the otherwise relatively un-newsworthy topic of language change (Argent 2014), with strong agenda-setting effects instructing the readers to think about language matters more seriously. Adopting this frame can have actual consequences in the social world, though it is not entirely clear what the solution to the problems described should be. The *DEFENCE* of language may come from speakers themselves, but along with the *ATTACK* scenario may also imply the need for more regulation and control and work to justify stricter language policy in the coming years (as potentially evidenced in e.g. language requirements for citizenship in Britain, or the stricter enforcement of the Cyrillic script for official use in Serbian).

Importantly, as clearly felt in many of the above examples, this frame echoes "verbal hygienic" (Cameron 1995) debates over the nature and state of language, where the order of language corresponds to the order of society; "fixing" language thus becomes a symbolic way of "fixing" society. However, despite some striking similarities between the two language data, a deeper analysis of metaphorical frames has shown that the verbal hygienic language ideologies in these two national contexts are very different. In fact, two fundamentally different metaphorical frames feature in Serbian and English newspapers.

In Serbian newspaper metadiscourse, language-related metaphorical descriptions are centrally interlaced with an internal-external dimension of the national and the foreign. This is implicitly felt in most examples of metaphor use, but can be identified in scenarios of *FOREIGN ATTACKER* and *LINGUISTIC-NATIONAL VICTIM* that clearly stand out in the corpus. Such conceptualisation slants the entire frame of language change, as scenarios rarely operate in isolation from one another – in the Serbian texts, unwanted influence on language is crucially conceptualized as a foreign enemy of the nation. The frame carries strong emotional and moral implications, naturalizing the need to halt the external language influences that threaten national identity. In a way, the prominence of this perspective in the Serbian data and its absence in the British corpus needs to be understood against the local political backdrop, particularly in the context of globalization and the influences of English over other languages. As many examples suggest, it must also be seen in the context of heavily mediatized debates on language, language development and language naming in ex-Yugoslav nation states (Bugarski 2001, 2013), and the adversarial relations that still permeate their popular discourse. Linking the frame to the continuing discourse of war and conflict is nevertheless somewhat reductionist, although the many examples of overlapping literal and metaphorical meanings (such as the "killing our people and language" representations) show that traces of non-figurative war representations do play a part in metaphorical construction of the Serbian language situation. In particular, what this metaphorical frame reflects is the symbolic view of language as a factor uniting the "imagined community" of the nation (Anderson 1991) and distinguishing it from other nations. In this respect, it is also worth noting that the dominance of the broader VIOLENCE frame gives the discourse a different social and emotional meaning from other possible representations of threats to language and nation, such as the frame of ILLNESS found to predominate in contemporary media representations of the Russian language and nation "infected" by anglophone influences (Argent 2014).

While the underlying impact of the VIOLENCE OVER LANGUAGE frame in Serbian newspapers is thus fundamentally about anxiety over Serbian national identity, an equivalent association is not noted in English newspapers. Contrary to some recent findings on British metalanguage practices reflecting a growing anxiety over Britain's demographic changes, immigration and its position in the global order (Cameron 2013), current newspaper discourses on language do not seem to centre primarily on questions of the national and the foreign. While the metaphors include sporadic references to foreign, mostly American and sometimes migrant influences, such examples are a small minority. The notions that take the ATTACKER role in the corpus include a diverse mix of references to technology, new language forms and speakers themselves, especially youth or the "uneducated". While none of these are found to form a prominent scenario in the present material, they do point to potential links between language and broader social concerns, always in relation to an imagined "other". One such concern is the anxiety over rapid technological developments, recently argued to have formed a novel extension of standard language ideology in Britain, in what could be seen as a form of digital normative linguistics (Heyd 2012). The youth are one notable "other" in this ideological framework (cf. Thurlow 2007), seen as doing violence to language through technology-linked practices that threaten conventional linguistic and communicative norms. Finally, the class dimension that is clear in references to the less educated, the less refined, "barbarians" and "illiterates" intertwines with many of these metaphorical representations. What can be concluded at least from newspaper metaphor use is that the British metalanguage reflects a diversely oriented moral panic (Thurlow 2007) about social decay and declining standards, including society-internal age and class dimensions, but with no notable emphasis on nation and the national, at least in the time period analysed.

More broadly, the analysis of metaphor and metalanguage confirms the view that language ideologies are never about language alone (Woolard 1998). Discussions of seemingly trivial issues of language often function as a code for expressing various social concerns that may be more sensitive and harder to discuss overtly. From this perspective, differences in the framing of language change in Serbian and British newspapers can be seen as a reflex of the differences in the two political and media cultures. Nevertheless, the intriguing similarities most notably highlight the importance of some imaginary Other as a threat to language, which can be instrumentalized in various ways, but is likely to represent a major feature of all metadiscourse in the public sphere.

7. Concluding remarks

On the whole, the analysis of the VIOLENCE OVER LANGUAGE frame in Serbian and British newspapers has revealed the full complexity of metaphorical frames in discourse, seen to function as a composite mosaic, one in which a different selection and combination of pieces could have formed a very a different image. The proposed approach to discursive metaphorical frames has proven productive in capturing such systematic, multi-level structures that are prominent across discourse, and is shown to be a useful theoretical abstraction among the still conflicting understandings of metaphor and framing. While the approach is yet to be applied and tested in other types of discourse, it is hoped that the present discussion provides a step towards more nuanced methodologies for analyzing metaphor in the social context.

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Received: 6 November 2017
Accepted for publication: 31 January 2018

Ксенија Богетић

ДИСКУРСНИ МЕТАФОРИЧКИ ОКВИРИ: *НАСИЉЕ НАД ЈЕЗИКОМ* У СРПСКОМ И БРИТАНСКОМ НОВИНСКОМ ДИСКУРСУ

Сажетак

У овом раду предлаже се приступ за анализу систематичних метафоричких представа на нивоу дискурса, увођењем појма *дискурсних метафоричких оквира*, којим се наглашавају различити нивои концептуализације и општости који сачињавају друштвено значење метафоре. Приступ је илустрован кроз анализу метафоричких представа положаја језика у српском и британском новинском дискурсу, посматраних у светлу појачаног интересовања за језик које се може приметити у јавним дискурсима у Европи у скорије време. Анализа показује да се и у српским и у енглеским новинама издваја једна метафоричка представа, заснована на домену НАСИЉА, али да се оквири НАСИЉА НАД ЈЕЗИКОМ радикално разликују у дата два језичка контекста. Вредност предложеног приступа за описивање целокупног метафоричког оквира и његових дубљих друштвених значења разматрана је на основу добијених резултата.

Кључне речи: метафора, језик, новински дискурс, српски, енглески, дискурсни метафорички оквир

UDC 811.111'36:811.163.41'36
https://doi.org/10.18485/bells.2018.10.7

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CORPUS EVIDENCE FOR EVIDENTIALS IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN POLITICAL INTERVIEWS

Abstract
The article presents a small-scale contrastive analysis of evidential markers carried out on a sample of political interview discourse in English and Serbian. Methodologically, the so-called independent approach in contrastive analysis is taken, as the research starts from the notion of evidentiality as a *tertium comparationis* and looks for its linguistic expressions in two corpora of political statements, interviews and speeches given by prominent English (speaking) and Serbian politicians over a period of three years (2014-2017). The approximate size of the corpus is 150,000 words; it consists of 20 samples for each language, the average sample length being around 3000 words.

On the theory front, the article tries to bridge the gap between the two opposing schools of thought concerning the status of evidentiality – whether it is a linguistic category in its own right (Aikhenwald 2004, Cornillie 2009, Popović 2010) or whether it can be subsumed under epistemic modality (Chafe 1986, Palmer 1986). Evidentiality in this paper is understood in its 'broader' sense: evidentials are taken to be linguistic markers that indicate the speaker's type of evidence *for her claim and/or degree of its reliability, probability or certainty* (Diewald & Smirnova 2010: 159). Therefore, the linguistic exponents of evidentiality investigated in the paper are taken to be expressions of interactants' *epistemic stance*, spanning

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a value-range from full commitment to full detachment. Within the framework of interactive modality, epistemic stance may be viewed as an expression of speaker/writer attitudes residing not only in individual speakers/writers, but being dynamically constructed in response to the interactional requirements of the social/situational context and aiming at either establishing or disclaiming responsibility and authority. For this reason, they may be considered 'evidential strategies' (Aikhenvald 2014).

The aim of the research is at least fourfold:

1. to identify, describe and classify the markers of evidentiality in the discourse of English-speaking and Serbian politicians;
2. to identify patterns in the evidential strategies used by the speakers in this particular type of discourse;
3. to compare the relative frequencies of occurrence of the evidential markers and the strategies behind them in order to draw inferences of (intercultural) pragmatic nature;
4. to establish contrasts and similarities in the patterning of evidential strategies used in constructing social meaning in the discourse of politics in order to draw inferences of a typological nature.

Key words: contrastive analysis, corpus, discourse, epistemic stance, evidentiality, evidential strategy, frequency

1. Theoretical background

1.1. Evidentiality and epistemic modality

Although evidentiality as a formal, functional and semantic category has been thought about and written about sporadically for practically a century (Jespersen 1924 on 'indexical particles', Boas [1911] 1947, Jacobson 1957 on 'shifters', Lee 1959), only since 1986, when Chafe and Nichols edited *Evidentiality: The linguistic coding of epistemology*, has evidentiality, grammatical or lexical marking of source of information presented in a proposition, become a subject of systematic research and debate in contemporary linguistics, primarily owing to intensive cross-linguistic and typological studies. Quite inevitably, the focus on the source of knowledge and information to be presented in an utterance has related evidentiality to other notions, especially to those concerning the speaker's attitude towards the epistemic status of the information presented, i.e. to the domain of epistemic modality. Recognition of such a close relation has come naturally, since both domains – that of evidentiality and that of epistemic modality – make use, at least to a certain degree, of similar, if not the same linguistic markers. However, it also sparked a dispute over the nature of this relation, especially over the primacy of one category over the other, which, in turn, led to three different views, which, inspired by the division offered by Dendale and Tasmowski (2001) I shall refer to as 'exclusivist', 'inclusivist' and 'intersecting'. The first was held by those linguists who saw the domains of evidentiality and modality as separate, strongly maintaining that only languages that feature explicit grammatical means of marking the source of information and mode of knowledge acquisition have the category of evidentiality (most notably Aikhenvald 2004, but also Cornillie 2004, though his views have evolved in a different direction lately, and Popović 2010). Even so, they admitted to the existence (in languages with no grammaticalized markers of evidentiality) of linguistic expressions marking the knowledge/information source lexically ('evidential strategies'). The 'inclusivist' view acknowledged the relation between evidentials and the reliability of the speaker's knowledge and consequently related it to the degree of the speaker's commitment to the propositional content (i.e. modality). However, the 'inclusivist' view ramified in two directions: one that considered modality as part of the semantic scope of evidentiality (Mithun 1986, Matlock 1989), and another, rather prevalent for a certain period of time, that saw evidentiality as a 'type of' epistemic modality (Palmer 1986, Willet 1988) or that acknowledged the relevance of evidentiality in defining epistemic modality (Nuyts 2001). The third camp, most prominently van der Auwera and Plungian (1998), claimed that evidentiality and epistemic modality 'overlapped' or 'partially intersected' (Dandale & Tasmowski 2001), particularly in the 'inferential' domain (most notably in modal verbs, such as MUST, where evidence provides premises enabling deduction or, to some extent, in mental predicates such as THINK and BELIEVE). In recent years, work and research by Boye (2012) has reconciled the opposing camps quite successfully by arguing that both domains, that of evidentiality and epistemic modality, represent subdomains of a superordinate category of epistemicity.

The primacy dispute – of either modality or evidentiality over the other – developed as a result of the fact that both evidentiality and epistemic modality had (or rather have) been understood in their broader and narrower senses, both domains being particularly difficult to define. It is the holders of 'exclusivist' views that mostly understand evidentiality in its narrower sense, i.e. as grammaticalized markers of the source of information and the 'mode of knowing'. Still, even the most fervent advocates of evidentiality as a category in its own right admit to '*epistemic extensions*' of evidentiality and *evidentiality strategies*. It is in this broader sense that I will regard evidentiality in this paper.

If the understanding of epistemic modality is narrowed to the *chances, likelihood* or *probability* that some state of affairs will, is or has become actualized (Nuyts 2001), the speaker who assesses such chances, likelihood or probability (and therefore takes an epistemic stance) is taken out of the picture; though such an understanding of epistemic modality presupposes the existence of premises upon which inference is drawn, it is not surprising that epistemic modality is taken to be a separate category from evidentiality.

A broader understanding of epistemic modality, as the *speaker's* commitment regarding the truth of the proposition, inextricably relates evidentiality to modality, without necessarily subsuming one under the other. Making an epistemic qualification of the propositional content, or passing an epistemic judgment, is inferential in nature; as said above, it presupposes the existence of premises upon which inference is drawn. The nature of premises, or 'mode of knowing', however, can be experiential (therefore, evidential) or rational (encyclopaedic).

In the epistemically qualified utterance

(i) *Lola must be at home. The light's on.*

the speaker relies on direct sensory, visual evidence (standing in the street and looking at Lola's lit window) – she *can see*, and her first-hand perception ('I can see') serves as the basis for the premise 'the light's on'. Visual evidence acquired through direct, first-hand perception is as reliable as it can be, but still not sufficient to allow for strong inference as in (i): at least one more premise is necessary for the speaker to infer (i), i.e. *'[I know] Lola lives here'*; the other premise must be at least as reliable to allow for an inference of such strength (i.e. '*Lola must be home* '). The other premise originates in the speaker's knowledge of the reality around her. The strength and reliability of visual evidence as well as the reliability of the other premise (knowledge of the fact [*Lola lives here*]) determine the strength of the epistemic judgment , i.e. the strength, or degree, of the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition 'Lola is at home'; in other words – the strength of both premises will shape the speaker's *epistemic stance*.

The ‘interaction’ of the epistemic and evidential qualification “in the sense that epistemic qualification is based on the quality and status of sources (evidence)” (Nuyts 2001: 35), as well as van der Auwera & Plungian’s (1998: 85) welcoming of “the subtype of evidentiality termed ‘inferential’” (i.e. acquiring evidence through reasoning), justify the view that I shall hold here and that I shall call *‘interfacing’*: *evidence* (direct or indirect, sensory/experiential, reportive or rational / encyclopaedic), *provides the [necessary] epistemological basis* upon which epistemic judgment of the proposition is offered. In other words, there is no epistemic qualification of the utterance unless there is some kind of evidence, no matter whether its nature is direct (perceptual) or rational. Evidentiality, then, can be said to ‘*precede*’ or ‘*underlie*’ epistemic modality; the two domains are therefore related, but the relation is not and should not be understood as a ‘type-of’ hierarchy. The ‘interfacing’ relation between evidentiality and epistemic modality allows for ‘evidential strategies’ to be interpreted as *stance markers* in discourse, as will be explored in this article.

At this point, it is worth noting that evidentiality markers do not necessarily trigger the taking of an epistemic stance – they prototypically mark the source of information or mode of knowing and often do only that. Take the following dialogue between A and B:

B: The Smiths left the UK for good.

A: How do you know?

B: My mother-in-law *told me*.

The focus of A’s question is the source of the information / the mode of B’s knowing, and the evidentiality marker remains just that – a marker of the source of information.[1]

[1] Even so, it can be argued that speaker A requests verification of the truth of the proposition ‘The Smiths left the UK for good’ and needs to check the reliability of the source. Though her utterance in form is rogative, it can be interpreted as a dubitative speech act, and therefore epistemic. On speaker B’s side, the reportive marker (*told me*) may trigger the implicature [and she is a trustworthy source]. However, this analysis would require the building of much more context, so I would rather take the reportive verb as a ‘pure’ evidentiality marker.

1.2. Epistemic stance

The construct of *stance* presents no less of a challenge in linguistic literature than the related concepts of evidentiality and epistemic modality. Extensive research of stance has related it to hedging, vague language, evidentiality, modality, attitude, and affect. Biber and Finegan (1989) and Biber et al. (1999) differentiate between three categories of stance: *epistemic*, which relates to the *state of speakers' knowledge* in terms of certainty, doubt, actuality, source of knowledge, imprecision, viewpoint and limitation; *affect*, which relates to emotions, attitudes, states and evaluations; and *manner*, or rather, the style of speaking. In this study, I shall focus on markers of epistemic stance understood as the measure or function of speaker's modality whose epistemological basis is (at least in part) evidential. Also, within the framework of interactive modality (Nuyts 2001), epistemic stance is viewed as an expression of speaker/writer attitudes, residing not only in individual speakers/writers, but being dynamically constructed in response to the interactional requirements of the social/situational context and aiming at either establishing or disclaiming responsibility and authority. Such an understanding of epistemic stance becomes particularly suited to the research of evidential expressions as markers of epistemic stance in the discourse of political interviews presented below.

Relying on a deictic account of epistemic modality, I shall adopt the view that stance is conceptualized as *distance* between the expressed and reference worlds[2] (Chung & Timberlake, 1985); also, depending on the status of the information / knowledge, which can be direct or indirect and therefore more or less reliable / unreliable, stance can take *values on the distance gradient*, spanning a value-range from full commitment to full detachment (to and from the truth of the propositional content). A proportional relation establishes itself here: the directness and reliability of knowledge stand in direct proportion. In other words, the more direct the evidence, the more reliable the mode of knowing. On the other hand, the more direct/reliable the knowledge is, the stronger speaker's commitment to the propositional content, which stands in inverse proportion to the distance between the expressed and reference worlds – the closer the distance, the stronger the commitment to the propositional content and vice versa. Therefore, 'I know that p' (based on reliable evidence) encodes the closest possible distance, where the expressed world and the reference

[2] i.e. between the speaker's epistemic modal qualification and the proposition content.

world practically converge. Practically, but not quite: 'I know' still explicitly points to the status of knowledge – the epistemic stance then takes the lowest value on the distance gradient.

1.3. Scalar nature of epistemic stance

That stance may take different values on the distance gradient points to its scalar nature, within and across evidential categories and paradigms. The two basic categories of evidentials are defined according to the directness of access to knowledge/information (Willet 1988): knowledge is directly accessed through perception (primarily through the visual mode, but others as well); while indirectly, knowledge is accessed either through reports by others, or is arrived at through the process of reasoning/inference.

A. Direct access (through perception; sensory evidence)
B. Indirect access, either through:
   a. Reports from others (hearsay; quotative)
   b. Reasoning (inferential evidence)

(Papafragou et al. 2007: 256)

It seems that cross-linguistic research into evidentials has established that evidential subcategories form a scale defined by the reliability of the information source/mode of knowing; direct evidence (especially that acquired through visual perception) ranks the highest and much above the reliability of inferred evidence.

i) 'It's raining heavily outside, I can see it'
ranks higher in terms of reliability than
ii) 'I can hear the rain outside'
which triggers implicature [but I haven't seen it].

Both rank higher than

iii) 'I've been told it's raining outside'.

Reasoning such as

iv) 'The coat-stand is full of dripping raincoats – I guess it's raining outside' should rank the lowest, as the circumstantial evidence may prove to be a wrong premise [everybody's raincoats got wet because the sprinklers in the elevator went off by accident].

Within the three main subcategories of evidentials, the scalar values that the epistemic stance takes may be illustrated as follows:

a) Sensory evidence paradigm
   - a1. Well, I entered the race because I *really saw* that this district needs a representative very quickly.
   - a2. Well, I entered the race because *it seemed to me* that this district needs a representative very quickly.
   - a3. Well, I entered the race because *it sounded to me* that this district needs a representative very quickly.

Stance value a1-a3	Reliability a1-a3	Distance on gradient
Strong[3]	High	Close
Weaker	Lower	Farther
Weak[4]	Low	Far

Table 1.

b) Reportive evidence paradigm
   - b1. Well, I entered the race because many people *insisted* that this district needs a representative very quickly.
   - b2. Well, I entered the race because many people *said* that this district needs a representative very quickly.
   - b3. Well, I entered the race because *rumour had it* that this district needs a representative very quickly.

[3] Shows commitment.

[4] Shows detachment.

Stance value b1-b3	Reliability b1-b3	Distance on gradient
Strong	High	Close
Weaker	Lower	Farther
Weak	Low	Far

Table 2.

c) Inferential evidence paradigm
   c1. Well, I entered the race because I *really knew* that this district needs a representative very quickly.
   c2. Well, I entered the race because I *assumed* that this district needs a representative very quickly.
   c3. Well, I entered the race because I *thought/believed* that this district needs a representative very quickly.

Stance value c1-c3	Reliability c1-c3	Distance on gradient
Strong	High	Close
Weaker	Lower	Farther
Weak	Low	Far

Table 3.

1.4. Evidence, epistemic stance and (inter)subjectivity[5]

Another dimension of evidence that influences the speaker's stance and that needs to be included in any account of it is one of intersubjectivity.[6] Epistemic qualifications of a state of affairs are necessarily subjective if the speaker herself is the source of knowledge. According to Nuyts (2000, 2001),

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5 The term *(inter)subjectivity* stands for the opposition *subjectivity vs intersubjectivity*.

6 Intersubjectivity is first mentioned in Benveniste (1971, in Traugott & Dasher 2002), where he draws a distinction between the notions of subjectivity and intersubjectivity and the latter is seen as ground for linguistic communication within the speaker-hearer dyad. His views largely influenced further elaborations of the opposition *subjective vs intersubjective* and departed from traditional semantic and philosophical accounts of subjectivity/objectivity.

intersubjectivity is a dimension of evidence/knowledge that is accessible to, known to or shared by a larger group of people, who, consequently, arrive at the same epistemic qualification of the information. It also implies that the speaker knows about the hearers' epistemic evaluations of the information presented, or even that they are generally known (Traugott and Dasher 2002). For that reason, unlike subjective expressions of stance, (in which the speaker takes full responsibility for her claims), in intersubjective ones the speaker's commitment may get so 'blurred' and hidden that they become almost descriptive. Therefore, intersubjectivity is often used as a pragmatic and discursive strategy when the speaker tries to reduce her responsibility for what she says. (Inter)subjectivity, therefore, stands in relation to the source of knowledge (the speaker or others/ individual or collective) and concerns the state of evidence in the interaction.

Within the three main categories of evidentials, (inter)subjectivity varies: in the sensory evidence paradigm, both realizations are possible – subjective ('*I* see [that]', '*I* hear [that]', '*I* feel [that]') and intersubjective ('*we* hear [that]', etc.); in the inferential evidence paradigm, again, stance will be marked for subjectivity in expressions such as '*I* think [that]' or for intersubjectivity when the premises are shared and inference carried out by many ('*we* know [that]', '*we* think [that]', etc. As for the reportive evidence paradigm, the speaker stance is either neutral or could be taken as intersubjective (if intersubjectivity includes the speaker's knowledge of other people's epistemic qualifications of the state of affairs), as in 'It is said [that], It is generally known [that]'.

1.5. Evidentiality, epistemic stance and discourse modality

In languages like English and Serbian that do not have anything close to a grammaticalized system of evidence markers, marking the source of information /knowledge, i.e. evidential marking is not formally obligatory. However, in both languages (as in many others), speakers often resort to lexical markers of evidentiality in discourse, which means that their use is motivated and purposeful. By using markers, speakers do something to the content of the message they are sending to the interlocutors, readership, audience, viewers or general public. Depending on the situational context, speakers deliberately and strategically take care to preserve their face, credibility, integrity or authority and (among other means) they can do so by reaching out for evidential markers, which Aikhenwald (2004) so conveniently terms “evidentiality strategies”. Another theoretical framework, which is detached from propositional modality, comfortably accommodates and accounts for such strategies in discourse – namely Maynard’s (1993) concept of *discourse modality.* This framework takes into account “the speakers’ subjective, emotional, mental or psychological attitude toward the message content, the speech action itself or toward his/her interlocutor in discourse” (Maynard 1993: 38). Discourse Modality Indicators take various linguistic forms and comprise four different aspects : 1) information qualification, 2) speech act declaration and qualification, 3) participatory control and 4) interactional appeal. For the purposes of this research, I shall focus specifically on 1), i.e. how markers of evidentiality qualify information in terms of epistemic stance towards achieving a higher or lower degree of personalization/impersonalization of the discourse in question. Within the combined frameworks of interactive and discourse modalities, I shall regard epistemic stance as an expression of speaker/writer attitudes, residing not only in individual speakers/writers, but being dynamically constructed in response to the interactional requirements of the social/situational context and aiming at either establishing or disclaiming responsibility and authority.

2. Research and corpus data

The aim of the research presented in the article was fourfold:

1. to identify and classify the markers of evidentiality in the discourse of English-speaking and Serbian politicians in the sampled political interviews;
2. to compare the relative frequencies of occurrence of the evidential markers and the strategies behind them in order to draw inferences, if possible, of (intercultural) pragmatic nature;
3. to identify patterns in the evidential strategies used by speakers/participants in this particular type of discourse (interviewers and interviewees);
4. to establish contrasts and similarities (Bugarski 1991) in the patterning of evidential strategies used in constructing social meaning in the discourse of politics in order to draw inferences of a typological nature.

For the purposes of this research, two smaller corpora were compiled; both consist of samples of interviews and commentaries from Anglo–American and Serbian media (interviews in quality weeklies and transcripts of TV interviews); both corpora cover the same topics (election campaigns, economic reforms, political affairs, and religious issues, in interviews with high-ranking politicians, business people and people active in the respective socio-cultural settings).

The samples were collected randomly and cover a period of three years (2014-2017). The approximate overall size of the entire corpus is 150,000 words; each subcorpus consists of 20 samples, the average sample length being around 3,000 words. The English corpus is somewhat larger (around 77,000 words), while the Serbian corpus amounts to approximately 73,000 words. Altogether, there are 31 speakers whose linguistic output has been examined for evidential markers (11 interviewers and 20 interviewees, since some interviews were carried out by the same journalist; there are 6 male and 5 female interviewers, and 10 male and 10 female interviewees). Since the interviews vary considerably in length (some amount to more than 5,000 words, while some are less than 2,000 words long), the frequency of occurrence of the evidential markers has been normalized to 1,000 words and represented as f/1000 wds.

3. Findings

Through observing the criteria that the markers need to indicate and qualify the source of information, to be deictic in nature (in the sense that they encode greater or less distance towards the propositional content) and therefore signal the speakers' epistemic stance with the ultimate effect of constructing social meanings in discourse through its personalization/impersonalization, a number of lexical markers that qualify the source of information/mode of knowing were identified in both corpora:

1. Verbs (lexical)[7] (including the very rare, in fact insignificant occurrence of modal verbs as evidence markers) – by far the most preferred type of evidentiality markers in both corpora;

[7] Although I expected to find a more significant presence of modal verbs such as the English *must* / Serbian *morati*, I identified only one occurrence of epistemic/evidential *must* followed by the perfect infinitive.

2. Adverbs
3. Adjectives
4. Nominal phrases and phrases of clausal origin[8]

The verbs identified as evidentials in the corpora are marked for person, number, tense, aspect and voice, and are occasionally further modified by means of distal modals in the English corpus; the verbs in the Serbian corpus are marked for the same/or equivalent grammatical categories, such as the 'impersonal active construction'[9], or non-indicative moods, such as Potential[10]. Apart from encoding their primary grammatical meanings, the formal markers also contribute to signalling epistemic stance dimensions, such as distance/commitment and (Inter)subjectivity. The person marking in the verbs that occur in the corpus (especially the choice between 1st person singular, 1st person plural and 2nd person) is particularly important to follow throughout the interviews, as it reveals the (inter)subjective dimension of the markers chosen to signal the speakers' stance, and, in consequence, it allows the recognition of signals of personalization or impersonalization, i.e. of the speakers' participatory control in terms of responsibility, and authority. The person marking will be commented on in subsections 3.1.and 3.2., where the distribution of evidential markers between the participants in the interviews is discussed.

3.1. Frequency of the evidentiality markers in the corpus

The frequency of the chosen evidentiality markers was found to be fairly balanced between the two corpora: in the English corpus, the normalized frequency was 8.5 per 1000 words (ptw), whereas in the Serbian corpus it was 8.1 ptw. The difference in frequency is too slight to point to any distinctive cultural differences as regards the use of evidentiality markers to signal epistemic stance (like tentativeness or hedging), although I did

8 See Tables 4. and 5. below for the full list of evidential items identified in both corpora.

9 Impersonal construction (e.g. 'priča se' [da] (*it is being said[that]*)) formed by adding the reflexive clitic/particle 'se' to the transitive or intransitive verb, sometimes referred to as 'impersonal active'.

10 What English achieves in terms of epistemic distance encoding by means of distal modals, Serbian does by the grammatical finite verbal form of Potential or Conditional; unlike English, through the Potential Serbian can encode distance directly on the lexical verb.

expect the difference to be greater, considering the Serbian preference for directness and the English preference for indirectnes.

Also, I assumed that my corpus findings would show a more significant difference in the use of evidentiality markers to signal a weaker epistemic stance in female than in male speakers of both languages. But it turned out that the frequency of the evidentiality markers chosen by the speakers of both languages varies insignificantly between males and females, and, quite opposite to my expectations[11] the men used more evidentiality markers as signals of stance than the women; in the English corpus, the men used 9.4 ptw, and the female speakers 7.7 ptw. In the Serbian corpus, the difference is even less marked, as the male speakers used 8.6 evidentiality markers ptw, and the female speakers 7.6 ptw. This even balance of evidentiality markers to signal stance may be explained by the equality of the social roles that interviewers and interviewees assume in the situation of conducting/giving an interview, a role that is not affected by the gender of the participants.

However, a closer look at the frequency and distribution of the individual classes of markers reveals interesting differences and insights. Of all the evidential markers (sensory, reportive and inferential), the non-factual mental state predicate THINK turned out to be the speakers' most frequent choice in both corpora; the non-factual BELIEVE and the factual KNOW followed, but were not as frequent and their frequency was not as balanced between the two corpora as in the case of THINK. The English speakers showed greater preference for KNOW than BELIEVE, while the order was reverse in Serbian, where instances of VEROVATI ('BELIEVE') outnumbered instances of ZNATI ('KNOW'). The frequency of KNOW in the English corpus (KNOW primarily signalling the *self* as the source of information/mode of knowing) was such that I thought it might be a signal of greater self-confidence and authority of the speakers in question.

[11] True enough, my expectations of women expressing a weaker epistemic stance and thus greater insecurity and less self-confidence as a consequence of their subdued social position have been influenced by rather blanket assertions in gender-oriented studies in linguistic pragmatic literature; these assertions have in fact been proven wrong in a number of corpus-based studies.

Sensory	Reportive	Inferred
Verbs See (12) Feel (6) Hear (3) (Seem (12)) Look (9) Sound (3) Recognize (1)	**Verbs** Say (51) Tell (3) State (3) Talk (about) (3) Show (3) Advocate (2) Indicate (1) Point (1) Insist (1)	**Verbs** Think (114) Know (27) Believe (15) (Seem (12)) Guess (3) Hope (2)) Deem (1) Must (have been) (1)
Adverbs Obviously (9) Clearly (6) Actually (6)	**Adverbs** Allegedly (3)	**Adverbs** Consequently (1)
Adjectives	**Adjectives** So-called (1)	**Adjectives** ....
Other: based on our statistics/study/research; according to the polls/report, rumour has it; following XY; it is common knowledge [that]		

Table 4. English corpus: evidential instances in 77,000 words

However, a closer reading of the utterances in which this inferential marker occurred showed that in only a small number of instances (4) was KNOW used with the 1st person singular pronoun signaing the speaker as the source of information/knowledge and thus maintaining the authoritative voice in the discourse, as in:

vi) *I know* that he is very eager to hear what all of us (….) think.

In two instances, negated KNOW was used with the 1st person singular pronoun, as in:

vii) *I don't know* whether that's an accurate historical perception.

In these utterances, the speaker signalled a strong detachment from the propositional content, and consequently took a weak epistemic stance, which could not contribute to her authoritative voice.

In all the other instances of KNOW used to mark evidentiality in the English corpus, the verb was either marked for the 2nd person[12] or for the 1st person plural:

viii) *[…] you know* Hezbullah has operatives all throughout Latin America…

ix) *[…] we also know* that we have to begin networking more effectively with a lot of other people and institutions.

In this way, the subjectivity dimension is shifted to intersubjectivity; the speaker disowns herself of the information/knowledge and presents it as collective and shared and reduces her responsibility, so the stance, in a way, takes a neutral value. The authority of the speaker is preserved as part of collective authority. Throughout the interviews, the speakers rate the information content by importance and the possible consequences it may have on their credibility, integrity, responsibility etc. and alternate the person marking accordingly.

On the whole, markers of inferential evidentiality were the most frequent in both corpora, then came markers of reportive evidentiality, with sensory evidentiality markers in third place.[13]

On the Serbian side, the figures reveal a very similar picture: in the sensory evidentiality column, the equivalents of FEEL and SOUND were not found in the corpus, but the number of visual perception verbs SEE/VIDETI was the same, with approximately the same ratio of shift from subjectivity to intersubjectivity as in the English corpus, as well as in the semi-copulative SEEM[14] (see Table 5. below). As already mentioned above, the most frequently used evidentiality marker was the mental predicate MISLITI/THINK, whose frequency of occurrence topped not only the inferential evidentiality column, but outnumbered all other markers.

[12] Not as a parenthetical discourse marker 'you know' – these occurrences were not taken into account.

[13] Given the nature of the discourse examined and the cognitive and semantic potential of the verbs of perception, it can also be argued that the sensory verbs are actually used as markers of reasoning and inference, but for the purposes of this research I shall keep the distinction as presented above.

[14] Serbian shows a little bit more variety, but the verbs IZGLEDATI, ČINITI SE, DELOVATI all share the meaning of SEEM.

SENSORY	REPORTIVE	INFERRED
Verbs Videti (12) *see* Čuti (2) *hear* .... (Izgledati (6)) *seem* Čini se (3) *seem* Delovati (2) *look,seem* Steći (utisak) (1) *feel, get the impression* Zapažati (1) *observe*	**Verbs** Reći (16) *say, tell, state, claim* Kazati (4) *say, tell* Pričati (8) *talk* .... Komentarisati (2) *comment* Objaviti (2) *announce, declare* Najavljivati (2) *announce* Ukazivati (2) *point to* Pozvati (1) *call* Insinuirati (1) *insinuate* Insistirati (1) *insist*	**Verbs** Misliti (103) *think* Verovati (18) *believe* Znati (6) *know* Smatrati (4) *believe, contend* Spekulisati (2) *speculate* .... (Izgledati(6)) *seem* Podrazumevati (2) *imply* .... Setiti se (1) *remember*
Adverbs …………..	**Adverbs** Navodno (5) *allegedly*	**Adverbs** Možda (1) *maybe*
Adjectives Očigledan/a/o (3) *obvious*	**Adjectives** Takozvani/a/o (3) *so-called* Navodni/a/o (1) *alleged*	**Adjectives**
Other: prema rečima XY *according to XY's words*; prema izveštaju *according to the report*; ima naznaka da *there are indications [that]*; ispostavilo se *it turned out that* ; na osnovu X *based on X*; rašireno je uverenje *it is widely believed*; kao što je poznato *it is widely known [that]*; sve procene ukazuju *all estimates point to*; kako [XY] kažu *as XY say*		

Table 5. Serbian corpus: evidential instances in 73,000 words

3.2. Distribution of evidentiality markers between the interactants in the discourse

As mentioned above, the data obtained for both corpora present a balanced contrastive picture for the two languages. However, the picture gets more complex and reveals certain patterns of the interactants' behaviour when the distribution of evidentiality markers is analyzed in the interviewers' and interviewees' discourses respectively. I shall present the findings for the English and Serbian interviewers first, and then do the same for the interviewees. As will be shown, the basic contrast in evidentiality marker usage to signal the speaker's epistemic stance does not lie between the two languages, but rather between the interactants, namely the interviewer and the interviewee.

3.2.1. Distribution: English interviewers

The frequency of evidentiality markers in the English interviewer subcorpus was higher than the figures for the entire English corpus – it rose to slightly over 10 ptw (compared to 8.5 ptw). This can be accounted for by the size of the interviewer subcorpus – interviewers' portion constitues approximately 25% of the text – the rest is produced by interviewees.

By far the most frequent evidentiality markers in the interviewers' turns were the reportive verbs SAY, TELL, and SHOW, followed by SEEM; the verbs were marked for either 2nd or 3rd person (singular and plural); also, they often appeared in non-agentive passive constructions, or if active, the agents were indefinite; occasionally they were further modified by distal modal verbs:

x) *You said* that you'd had two, in fact...

xi) *They said* that was what [XY] would want to say

xii) *Polls show* that...

xiii) *Some seem* to be advocating...

xiv) *I was told* that...

xv) *Some would say* that...

By using reportive markers, the speakers (interviewers) maintain a steady detachment, or distance, from the propositional content, as they try to avoid subjectivity and strive to achieve objectivity and neutrality of stance; the passive and prevalent markedness for the 2nd and 3rd person, as well as pointing to indefinite agents as the source of information/knowledge further mark the distance towards the propositional content and produce the effect of an impersonalized tone in the discourse (see Figure 1. below)

The occurrence of other classes of evidentiality markers in the interviewers' discourse was quite rare; out of the rather wide range of inference markers, the subjective THINK, for instance, appeared only *once* in the entire English interviewer subcorpus:

xvi) *I think* you know [that the ratings…]

signalling, again, a weak epistemic stance; and, from the sensory class, SOUND occurred once:

xvii) *Sounds to me* [as if…]

where the interviewer also takes a subjective, weak and personalized stance.

Similarly, the adverbs from the sensory class, apart from single occurrences of CLEARLY, OBVIOUSLY and ACTUALLY, were all used by the interviewees. No occurrences of reportive adverbs and adjectives (ALLEGEDLY, SO-CALLED) were noted in the English interviewer subcorpus.

3.2.2. Distribution: Serbian interviewers

The frequency of evidentiality markers in the Serbian interviewer subcorpus was somewhat lower than in the English one – around 9 ptw; still, the pattern of the interviewers keeping a steady stance by predominantly using reportive verbs was repeated. The range of lexical reportive verbs in the Serbian interviewer subcorpus was somewhat wider than in English, as the *manner* of delivering the information by the source is more specified (komentarisati/ *comment*, insistirati/insist, pozvati/ *appeal, call*, *ask* objaviti/*announce* etc).

xviii) *[građane]* ***ste pozvali*** *na strpljenje i* ***najavili*** *donošenje teških odluka…*[15]

Although the reportive evidential strategies themselves signal detachment from the propositional content and a mid-value, neutral epistemic stance, the interviewers frequently 'reinforce' the distance by resorting to the 'impersonal active' and, occasional passive constructions, giving their discourse an impersonalized tone:

xix) Priča se u javnosti [da]...[16]

xx) Na Vladi je rečeno [da]...[17]

---

[15] You asked the citizens for patience and announced that serious decisions would have to be made...

[16] Rumour has it that...

[17] It was said at the Cabinet meeting...

As in the English interviewer subcorpus, the subjects of these verbs were often indefinite agents, such as 'neki' (*some*), 'ljudi' (*people*) or 'mnogi ljudi' (*many people*). Not only do such strategies contribute to the impersonalization of the discourse tone, but they also imply the speaker is disclaiming responsibility for the content presented and, consequently, attempting to save face.

3.2.3. Distribution: English and Serbian interviewees

In both subcorpora, English and Serbian, the interviewees show the same pattern of stance taking: the predominant evidence markers fall into the inferential category (*think, believe, know ; misliti, verovati, znati*), with THINK / MISLITI having the highest number of occurrences. It is interesting to note that in both corpora, the inferential markers are practically encountered only in the interviewees' discourse (with the exception of the two examples mentioned above in 3.2.1.). Also, the semi-copulative SEEM / ČINITI SE (and other related indirect perception verbs in Serbian), which follow in terms of frequency, exhibit a very similar, practically identical pattern, revealing two types of strategies that differ in the (inter)subjective dimension, visible in the alternation of person marking between the 1st person singular and 1st person plural. As I have argued above, the 1st person singular identifies *self* – as the source of information/knowledge, is subjective and suggests a weak epistemic stance, a greater distance towards the propositional content and consequently relieves the speaker of a portion of responsibility. The 1st person plural, however produces a shift from subjectivity to intersubjectivity, pointing to a collective source of information/knowledge, and the shared knowledge implies further hedging from the propositional content and the speaker's responsibility also becomes shared. This '*we*'–strategy is mostly exclusive of the interviewer, but inclusive of 'others of the kind' (voters, citizens, members of the Cabinet, party members, etc.).

By closely following the alternation of the 1st person singular and 1st person plural in the interviewees' answers (i.e. the shift from subjectivity to intersubjectivity) and the related stance changes (conceptualized as distance from or commitment to the propositional content), it is possible to observe the following pattern: when the interviewer's questions directly require the interviewee's opinion (as they usually do) on more sensitive or provocative topics that imply the interviewee's responsibility, the interviewee might 'oblige' by starting with 'I think' and switch to the 1st person plural as early as the complement clause, or he/she immediately shifts to the intersubjective 'we':

xxi) So *I do think we* all believe we are the right side, aligning *ourselves* ...

xxii) But *we think* it is important to have the opportunity to make the case...

xxiv) *Hoću da kažem* da *znamo da to šta radimo* u ovim okolnostima…[18]

xxv) *Smatramo* da *smo* realno *projektovali* [inflaciju]…[19]

The KNOW markers in the English corpus have already been discussed in 3.1. In the Serbian subcorpus, the KNOW marker was invariably used intersubjectively, either as the active 1st person plural ('svi znamo' '*we [all] know*'), the active 3rd person plural ('svi znaju' *'everybody knows'*), or in the construction with the adjective 'poznato' ('svima je poznato' *'it's known to everybody'*).

The Serbian interviewee subcorpus showed more occurrences of the reportive adverb 'navodno' (*allegedly*) and the adjective 'takozvani' (*so-called*). Although the terms 'navodno' / 'navodni/takozvani' originally do mark an unspecified and unverifiable source of information, and in that sense the speaker's low commitment to the propositional content, the interviewees in the Serbian subcorpus used them for qualifying purposes – to qualify the propositional content as false. They all occurred in the answers of high-ranking politicians commenting on criticisms and accusations coming from the opposition.

4. Concluding remarks

The analysis of the English and Serbian corpora of political interviews confirmed that the evidentiality markers resorted to by the interactants consistently qualified the epistemic stance towards the information presented in the interviews: both English and Serbian interviewees employed the same repertoire of markers to signal relative (un)reliability of evidence, shifting from subjectivity to intersubjectivity (and back) using the same formal signals (such as alternating between the grammatical persons and

18 I'd say that *we know* what to do...

19 *We believe* that we've made realistic estimates...

accordingly alternating between expressing themselves in the personal or collective voice); marking indefinite agents as sources of information, the passive in English and corresponding impersonal active constructions in Serbian contributed to the personalization and impersonalization of the discourse.

Going back to the observed steady stance to the propositional content maintained by the interviewers (see 3.2.1 and 3.2.2), the pattern of the *interviewer : interviewee* interaction in both corpora could be graphically represented as in Figure 1 below (where C stands for the propositional content):

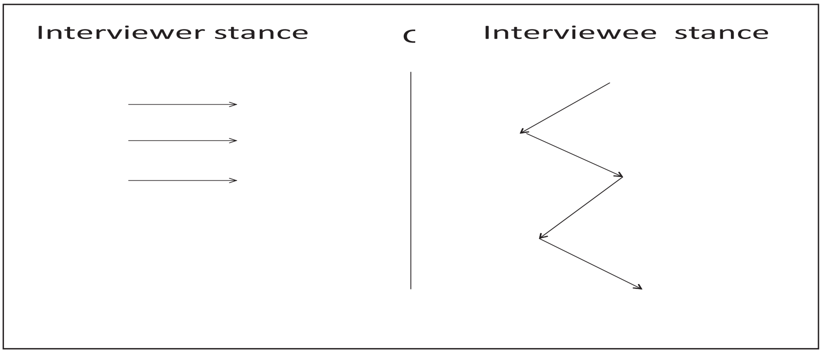

Figure 1.

The speakers' stance value conceptualized as distance from the propositional content (strong commitment – closer distance; weak commitment – farther distance) also accounts for the speakers' readiness to accept (share or shed) responsibility for the information presented; the same pattern was identified in both samples.

The findings and results obtained in the analysis of the two corpora lead to the conclusion that, if evidentiality strategy marking is taken to be the *tertium comparations*, contrastive analyses of evidentiality strategies as markers of epistemic stance and interactants' behaviour yield practically no contrasts or differences. My assumptions that the English would manifest a preference for indirectness and the Serbian a preference for directness have not been confirmed. On the contrary, the results rather suggest a conclusion in favour of the highest degree of typological similarity between the two languages in the domain of evidentiality marking.

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Received: 20 November 2017
Accepted for publication: 31 January 2018

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ЕВИДЕНЦИЈАЛНЕ СТРАТЕГИЈЕ У ДИСКУРСУ ЕНГЛЕСКИХ И СРПСКИХ ИНТЕРВЈУА ПОЛИТИЧКЕ САДРЖИНЕ: ДОКАЗИ ИЗ КОРПУСА

Сажетак

Овај рад представља резултате контрастивне анализе мањег обима у чијем су фокусу маркери евиденцијалног значења у узорку интервјуа политичке садржине на енглеском и српском језику. Методолошки, примењен је принцип ‘независне контрастивне анализе’, с обзиром да истраживање полази од појма *евиденцијалности* као ‘трећег елемента поређења’ и трага за језичким изразима евиденцијалности у два корпуса интервјуа политичке садржине које су дали истакнути англоамерички и српски политичари у периоду од три године (2014–2017). Укупна величина оба корпуса износи око 150.000 речи; састоји се од по 20 узорака за оба језика, при чему је просечна дужина узорка око 3.000 речи.

С теоријске стране, чланак покушава да премости јаз између две опречне школе мишљења у лингвистици а које се тичу статуса евиденцијалности – да ли је или не евиденцијалност формална граматичка категорија (Aikhenwald 2004, Cornillie 2009, Поповић 2010), односно да ли се може подвести под категорију епистемичке модалности (Chafe 1986, Palmer 1986). Евиденцијалност се у овом раду разуме у њеном ‘ширем значењу’: сматра се да су евиденцијали језички сигнали који указују на доказе којима се подржава говорников исказ у смислу његове поузданости, вероватноће и извесности (Diewald & Smirnova: 2010: 159). Стога се језички експоненти евиденцијалности у овом раду схватају као изрази *епистемичког става* учесника у језичкој интеракцији, чија се вредност креће од пуне опредељености према истинитости пропозиције до потпуног одсуства опредељења. У теоријским оквирима интерактивне модалности, епистемички став се посматра као израз говорникових или пишчевих ставова који се динамички конструишу као одговор на интеракционе захтеве друштвеног/ситуационог контекста и којима се успоставља или одриче одговорност и ауторитет саговорника. Из тог разлога, ови се сигнали могу сматрати ‘евиденцијалним стратегијама’ (Aikhenvald 2014).

Истраживање има вишеструки циљ:

1. да идентификује, опише и класификује маркере евиденцијалности у интервјуима англоамеричких и српских политичара;
2. да открије обрасце у евиденцијалним стратегијама којима се служе говорници/учесници у овом типу дискурса;

3. да упореди релативну фреквенцију јављања евиденцијалних маркера и стратегија како би се извукли закључци (интеркултурне) прагматичке природе;
4. да уочи контрасте и сличности између образаца евиденцијалних стратегија како би се извукли закључци типолошке природе.

Кључне речи: дискурс, евиденцијалност, евиденцијалне стратегије, епистемички став, фреквенција, контрастивна анализа, корпус

UDC 811.111'367.624
https://doi.org/10.18485/bells.2018.10.8

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HEDGING IN DISAGREEMENTS IN US FILM DIALOGUES: A SIGN OF (SELF-)POLITENESS, POLITIC BEHAVIOUR AND AN IDENTITY MARKER[1]

Abstract
The paper deals with the concept of hedging in disagreements in selected US film dialogues, from pragmatic and culture-specific points of view, through the prism of qualitative politeness research. Following the introductory remarks on the linguistic phenomena of hedging and disagreement, as well as a socio-culturally based description of the research corpus, the paper aims at providing representative examples of hedging viewedfrom a number of different, often conflicting, theoretical angles. These include the Cooperative Principle, modern approaches to politeness, self-politeness, identity-related aspects of rapport management, and a view of politeness as politic behaviour. The assumption is that the contradictory nature of hedging can best be accounted for by observing

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[1] This paper is part of the research on Project No. 178002, entitled *Languages and Cultures in Time and Space*, which is financially supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia. Some of the theoretical observations in this paper are largely based on the analysis of the language material, as well as the discussion and conclusions presented in the author's unpublished doctoral thesis (Panić Kavgić 2014).

it as a manifestation of politic identity-preserving and identity-enhancing verbal behaviour.

Key words: hedge, hedging, film dialogue, disagreement, mitigating strategy, politeness, self-politeness, politic behaviour, identity, society

1. Hedges and hedging

This paper aims at observing the phenomenon of hedging in instances of oral disagreements in selected US films, within the theoretical frameworks of both earlier and more recent politeness research, as part of a wider socio-pragmatic pattern of verbal behaviour.

Hedges represent one of the linguistic concepts most difficult to define and an elusive category whose scope is exceptionally difficult to delimit. As stated by Aprónë (2011), "throughout the past 40 years a number of different but related, and often partly overlapping categories and classification systems have been proposed [...] the concepts of hedge and hedging having evolved and widened" (2011: 3633). One of the earliest definitions that best illustrates the elusiveness of the concept is Lakoff's claim that hedging means "making things fuzzier or less fuzzy" (1972: 195). A more precise, but nevertheless general definition was later proposed by Yule (1996: 130), who sees hedges as "cautious notes expressed about how an utterance is to be taken, used when giving some information", employed to protect the speaker from a possible non-adherence to one of Grice's maxims within his Cooperative Principle. Blum-Kulka and Olshtain's (1989) explanation is that a hedge is a linguistic device that enables the speaker to avoid commitment related to the illocutionary force of the utterance. Hedges are thus often observed as a conventionalized strategy reduced to fixed formulaic expressions, such as *All I'm saying is...* or *This may sound strange, but...*

Moving on to the studies of the topic in the 21st century, Kaltenböck, Mihatsch and Schneider (2010) provide one of the most comprehensive contributions to defining and describing the concepts of hedges and hedging, with the basic claim that today they are mainly used for approximating and attenuating expressions. In line with the approach that will be taken in this paper, the explanation that is closest to what the author sees as a satisfactory operational definition of hedging is that it is "a discourse strategy that reduces the force or truth of an utterance and thus reduces the risk a speaker runs when uttering a strong or firm assertion or other speech act" (Kaltenböck, Mihatsch and Schneider 2010: 1).

A phenomenon closely linked to hedges are discourse markers or discourse particles, such as *well*, *oh*, *you know*, *I mean*, which are "… elements that signal relations between units of talk by virtue of their syntactic and semantic properties and by virtue of their sequential relations as initial or terminal brackets demarcating discourse units" (Schiffrin 1987: 40). Hedges and discourse markers are often discussed together, since, regardless of certain formal differences, there are numerous cases in which they perform the same function – that which is otherwise primarily ascribed to hedges. Namely, discourse markers, or as Brown (1977) calls them – discourse fillers, or, even more appropriately for this discussion, in Holmes's terms (1995) – pragmatic particles, have the selfsame pragmatic function of expressing caution and achieving a mitigating effect.[2] This explains why they are sometimes also termed 'hesitation markers'. Earlier views of the functional overlap between hedges and discourse markers were best exemplified, reaffirmed and complemented by Locher (2004: 115), with a relevant statement that "a discourse marker can be a hedge, but does not necessarily have to be one." This is in line with Lakoff's (1972) treatment of expressions such as *sort of*, *kind of*, *technically speaking*, *strictly speaking*, which have the capability to modify the category boundaries of a concept and will, thus, in this paper also be treated as instances of hedging.

The following section will look into disagreements in oral communication as a kind of speech act that will afterwards serve the purpose of exemplifying the use and role of hedging in verbally expressed politeness.

2. Disagreement with the interlocutor

In socio-pragmatic literature, disagreement is an umbrella term, a hyperonym, for various acts that represent the opposite of 'agreement', including 'dispute', 'conflict', 'argument', 'confrontation', etc. (Angouri 2012, Locher 2012). Two of the most concise definitions and, at the same

2 In this paper, hedges and hedging will primarily be viewed as pragmatic phenomena. Formal aspects, such as their syntactic realization or position within a sentence, are beyond the scope of this discussion.

time, ones that are broad enough to cover most of the cases analyzed in this paper, are offered by Kakavá (1993) and Sifianou (2012). According to these authors, disagreement is “an oppositional stance (verbal or non-verbal) to an antecedent verbal (or non-verbal) action” (Kakavá 1993: 326) or, alternatively, “the expression of a view that differs from that expressed by another speaker” (Sifianou 2012: 1554). In terms of the speech act theory, disagreements, as a rule, belong to the functional class of representatives. Without going into detail about the nature and various formal and semantic manifestations[3] of this phenomenon, it should be stressed that the degree of tolerance towards disagreeing with the interlocutor varies greatly depending on the situational, and, even more so, cultural context.

When it comes to the preference structure of the entire further talk exchange, i.e. the preference orientation of disagreements (as well as agreements), Pomerantz (1984) discusses preferred and dispreferred second turns as the two possible reactions of the hearer, agreements usually being perceived as preferred, as opposed to disagreements, typically seen as dispreferred responses. Notwithstanding the fact that disagreements, in Locher’s terms, inherently include conflict and a clash of interests, and lead to the interactant’s action-environment restriction (2004: 93), the question arises as to what, in fact, is to be understood as preferred or dispreferred if the speaker’s own unexpressed opinion, different from that of the hearer, is constantly undermined and neglected by the speaker himself, just in order to avoid disagreeing with the other. From the point of view of self-politeness and individual identity largely based on one’s sense of self-esteem, such verbal behaviour is equally damaging to the further development of interpersonal relations, and may thus be viewed as dispreferred. It should, however, be emphasized that not all instances of disagreement are dispreferred from the hearer’s point of view and that there is a substantial, be it relatively smaller, number of cases where disagreement is seen as the preferred response.

This leads the discussion to the ultimate issue of the role of hedges in statements of disagreement, which will be exemplified by cases of expressing opposing opinions in five selected US films.

[3] Disagreements cover an entire array of expressions ranging from direct and/or explicit, to mitigated and indirect and/or implicit ones. Content- and implication-wise, they include a varietyof verbal contributions, from arguments to fierce confrontations, leading to long-lasting damaging consequences for interpersonal relations.

3. Research corpus and methodology

Hedging in film scripts has already been the subject of analysis in several recent papers (El Farra 2011, Panić Kavgić 2010, 2013, 2014). The corpus for this research includes 53 examples of hedging in oral disagreements with the interlocutor – both dispreferred and preferred ones, found in dialogues extracted from the following five feature-length US motion pictures released in the past two decades:

F1 – *Crash* (directed by Paul Haggis 2004)

F2 – *Noel* (Chazz Palminteri 2004)

F3 – *Thirteen Conversations about One Thing* (Jill Sprecher 2001)

F4 – *Magnolia* (Paul Thomas Anderson 1999)

F5 – *Playing by Heart* (Willard Carroll 1998).

As pointed out in Panić Kavgić (2013), the chosen works belong to the category of multi-protagonist (inter-action) films, whose characters appear in a series of seemingly unrelated episodes, amidst circumstances leading to certain critical moments in their lives. The films offer a vivid depiction of the present-day middle class in the two largest and most vibrant American cities – New York and Los Angeles. The plots each involve up to twenty characters whose intricate relationships and ambivalent feelings have one common denominator – they stem from similar cultural milieus and share a common core of expected patterns of social and linguistic behaviour. The protagonists, whose verbal contributions provide the linguistic data for this study, speak informal contemporary varieties of English. Therefore, the selected dialogues lend themselves well to the kind of analysis carried out in this paper.

In sociolinguistic and socio-cultural terms, US society, which is portrayed in the films, is predominantly seen as a volitional, low-context, guilt-driven[4] and highly individualistic culture. The stated labels would mean that, unlike, for instance, in the Japanese cultural model, the speakers' linguistic behaviour largely depends on their own free choice in a particular situation. In other words, it is the individual who is responsible for shaping and negotiating new and emergent social relations and roles, regardless of possible pre-existing matrices of social structure. When it comes to

[4] The listed terms were introduced and discussed by Hill et al. 1986, Ide 1989 and Hall 1976, respectively.

verbal politeness, the fact that a society is mainly individualistic, unlike the predominantly integrative, Mediterranean, Central- and Eastern-European cultural frameworks, would mean that it is characterized by more indirect verbal behaviour whose aim is to respect and protect the personality and face wants of every individual. There is a greater need to please the interlocutor who would thus preserve his positive self-image, often at the cost of not revealing his true intentions, by hiding them or stating them in a highly indirect and disguised manner. In terms of politeness, such language behaviour is characterized by a high-considerateness conversational style marked by the frequent use of negative politeness strategies and indirect, highly conventionalized forms. Hedging is seen as one of the primary language tools to achieve the aforementioned interaction goals.

4. Hedging in speech acts of disagreement – different points of view

In this section hedging will be observed within the theoretical frameworks of Grice's Cooperative Principle, politeness and self-politeness research, identity-related rapport management issues, as well as a more recent view of politeness as a positively marked form of politic verbal behaviour.

4.1. The Cooperative Principle and hedging

Within the Gricean paradigm, hedging is seen as a protective language device that prevents the speaker from blatantly violating the Cooperative Principle.[5] In other words, the principle's underlying conversational maxims of quality, quantity, relation and manner are more often than not in danger of being disregarded, especially in dispreferred disagreements, and, as already mentioned in the introductory section, it is frequently by means of hedging that the speaker tries not to fully commit himself/herself to the truth value (example (1)), the quantity of information (2), the relevance (3) or the clarity (3) of their contribution to the current talk exchange.

[5] "Make your contribution such as it is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged." (Grice 1975: 45)

(1) F3 DORRIE: These rich people, they got it easy. They ain't gotta worry about nothing.

BEA: People with money worry about other things, *I suppose*.

(hedging used to avoid potential non-adherence to the maxim of *quality*)

(2) F1 FRED: Is there a problem, Cam?

CAMERON: No, we don't have a problem.

FRED: I mean, *'cause all I'm saying is*, it's not his character.

(hedging used to avoid potential non-adherence to the maxim of *quantity*)

(3) F1 CAMERON: That looked pretty terrific, man.

FRED: *This is gonna sound strange*, *but* is Jamal seeing a speech coach [...]?

(hedging used to avoid potential non-adherence to the maxim of *relation* and *manner*)

Approached from this angle, hedging may seem a purely self-protective device and, as such, from the viewpoint of verbally expressed politeness, would be closer to being considered a self-face saving strategy, within the framework of self-politeness, rather than an aid to the interlocutor and a negative politeness strategy towards the other, within the more traditional other-oriented framework. The two aspects of hedging from the perspective of politeness will be discussed in the following sections.

4.2. Politeness and hedging

The 1980s saw an increasing interest in the study of verbally expressed politeness, articulated in the so-called modern approaches to the phenomenon, two of which were especially influential: the conversational maxim view, with Leech as its most prominent representative, and Brown and Levinson's face-saving view, which would make a lasting impact on all subsequent research in the field. Leech's Politeness Principle was based on complementing Grice's Cooperative Principle founded on four conversational supra-maxims. Without going into detail about Leech's theoretical explanation of the need to upgrade Grice's principle, for the purposes of the current discussion on hedging it will only be stated that Leech proposes six maxims – Tact, Generosity, Approbation, Modesty, Agreement and Sympathy Maxim – only two of which are directed at the *self* and not the *other* and have considerable significance for the topic of hedging. Namely, the Generosity Maxim says: *Minimize benefit to self / Maximize cost to self*, while the Modesty Maxim states: *Minimize praise of self / Maximize dispraise of self*.

Brown and Levinson's seminal work on politeness treats hedging as one of the exit strategies within the suprastrategy of committing a face-threatening act softened by negative politeness as a redressive action. As a reminder, the Brown-Levinsonian paradigm is known as the face-saving view of politeness, its central concept being that of showing face concerns. Goffman's (1967) previously defined notion of face as the public self-image of a person, or, more precisely, "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (1967: 5), provided the core for establishing the concepts of positive and negative face (reflected in one's need to be liked and accepted as a member of the group, as opposed to the co-existing need for independence and freedom of action), face-saving and face-threatening acts, and, consequently, introducing positive and negative politeness strategies as the means of softening the threat to the other person's face.

To put it simply, according to both Leech's and Brown and Levinson's approaches, politeness, in whatever verbal form it takes, is primarily employed tomake the other person feel better and save their face – an approach which is better applicable in cases of what is traditionally seen as preferred, rather than dispreferred disagreement, such as the examples of hedging in (4), where a doctor comforts his patient's daughter, (5), in which a young woman consoles her desperate friend, in (6), when a young man finds an older woman attractive, and in (7), when she advises a bride-to-be not to give up on her fiancé:

(4) F2 ROSE: I just don- I- I don't know that she knows that I am here though, you know.

DR BARON: She knows you're here though, Rose. *I know that's hard to see, but* she knows. Your mother's lost her memory and her ability to recognize people. But one thing she'll never lose is her emotion. [...] *I know I'm telling you things you already know, but, you know,* sometimes you forget.

(5) F3 BEA: [...] And then I realized... There is no reason.

DORRIE: *Well, I just think that, you know,* you never know what's gonna be around the corner.

(6) F2 ROSE: You know, I have to say that I – I'm... Well, I just don't feel like I'm really your type.

MARCO: *I think* you should let me decide that.

(7) F2 NINA: [...] Besides, I know I'm just nauseous from all the stress of everything going on.

ROSE: Look, *all I know is that, um...* nobody's perfect, and if you find love, I mean real love, you just don't throw it away without a hell of a fight.

Among numerous subsequent objections to both Leech's and Brown and Levinson's views of politeness, one affects the treatment of hedging as a mitigating device – the negative self-oriented approach in Leech's maxims of Generosity and Modesty and in a similar vein, Brown and Levinson's insistence on 'threat to the other person's face'.

4.3. Self-politeness and hedging

Leech's and Brown and Levinson's concepts of politeness are almost exclusively based on showing respect and considerateness towards the other, while *self-politeness*, i.e. consideration towards the speaker's own face, has been largely neglected (Chen 2001). As the most prominent advocate of highlighting the importance of self-politeness, Chen (2001) accepts the face-saving paradigm, but suggests a set of exit strategies along the lines of those proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) which would be directed towards the speaker instead of the hearer. Chen rightly notes that "the speakers' need to save their own face also has a bearing on their linguistic behaviour" (2001: 87), but that it has been marginalized in all previous research studies of politeness. Following Brown and Levinson's model, Chen proposes four supra-strategies that would minimize or soften the force of a *self-face threatening act (SFTA)*, which are similar and could exist in parallel with the previously established other-oriented supra-strategies. They include the following:

1) bald on-record self-politeness
2) self-politeness with redress
3) off-record self-politeness
4) self-politeness by means of withholding the SFTA.

Chen (2001) lists the following, sometimes even contradictory, exit strategies of self-politeness with redress, which take on the form of metaphorically addressing oneself in the imperative mood: 1) Justify. 2) Contradict. 3) Hedge. 4) Impersonalize. 5) Use humour. 6) Be confident. 7) Be modest. 8) Hesitate. 9) Attach conditions. The first five strategies listed would belong to those employed to achieve positive politeness, the last two lead to negative politeness, while strategies 6) and 7) reflect certain socially desirable modes of behaviour that benefit the speaker. Needless to say, Chen's contribution also relativizes Pomerantz's traditional division into preferred and dispreferred disagreements, which primarily takes into account the hearer's viewpoint. Thus, although examples (8), (9) and (10) are traditionally seen as instances of mitigated dispreferred disagreements, from the perspective of self-politeness, they could be seen as preferred, as they save the speaker's own face, while, at the same time, the force of the disagreement is softenedby the employment of hedging:

(8) F2 DENNIS: What are you saying, Mikey? Tha-that guys… don't notice me? Is that what you're saying? Tha-that I walk down the street and… guys don't turn their head to take look at me?

MIKE: No, I'm not saying that at all. *I just think* the guy's interested in me and not you.

(9) F1 DIXON: That's not a good enough reason.

HANSEN: *Then I guess* I should think of a better one and get back to you.

(10) F4 FRANK: You see, I have more important things to put myself into.

GWENOVIER: Frank, *I think* this is something very important… you might need to think about putting yourself into.

When it comes to maxims, Chen explains that, for instance, the 'be modest' maxim is adhered to "when the speaker decides that, in the given situation, modesty is the best alternative to enhance their face" (Chen 2001: 100), and thus sees it as a self-face saving act, rather than an act that saves the face of the other, as is the case in example (11).

(11) F5 VALERY: You seem to be so good at this.
HUGH: *Maybe* I'm just better at pretending I'm someone else.

As Panić Kavgić (2014) points out, Chen's crucial contribution is his conclusion that the relationship between politeness and self-politeness should be viewed as a continuum where one end is marked by the speaker's primary motivation to achieve self-politeness, while the opposite end represents politeness towards the other. The imaginary line between the two extreme points on the scale is marked by an array of cases characterized by varying degrees of influence and importance of these two types of motivation. When it comes to hedging in dispreferred disagreements, in the author's opinion, examples (8), (9) and (10) have shown that it can be at the same time both a politeness and a self-politeness marker – it may save the speaker's face, but also lessen the damage inflicted upon the hearer's face.

Finally, the difference between hedging employed as a politeness device towards the other and its use as a means of expressing self-politeness is perhaps best seen when hedges as mitigating devices are realized as question tags. As such, they belong to one of the four categories of question tags discussed by Holmes (1995: 80–82) – to facilitative or invitational tags, which represent a positive politeness strategy, since under the right circumstances, they act as hedges that may motivate the hearer to give a positive contribution to a friendly conversation, such as in example (12), even when the wider context is generally not one of agreement with the interlocutor:

(12) F3 DORRIE: You have returned everything from the hospital?
BEA'S MOTHER: Just what was in her purse. Some of the clothes you worewere discarded. You're not missing anything, *are you?*

On the other hand, epistemic modal tags, which are more numerous in the selected dialogues, are neutral concerning the expression of politeness towards the interlocutor, but may represent a sign of self-politeness as the speaker expresses his or her uncertainty in connection with their own knowledge or experience and thus checks with the interlocutor whether he or she is in possession of the right information, as is the case in examples (13) and (14):

(13) F2 DR BARON: Everything okay?

ROSE: I'm fine. Just maybe a few too many Christmas parties, but... You meant me, *didn't you?*

(14) F5 MARK: He was just here a minute ago. *No?*

MILDRED: No.

MARK: It was... you who were here. [...] You are here, *aren't you?*

4.4. Identity and hedging

Hedging as a mitigating strategy can also be perceived from the point of view of managing interpersonal relations, which refers to the use of language with the aim of enhancing, maintaining or endangering harmonious social relationships. This is what Spencer-Oatey (2008) refers to as 'rapport management', which consists in regulating and coordinating three mutually complementary components: management of face, management of sociality rights and obligations and management of interactional goals (Spencer-Oatey 2008: 13). For the discussion in this paper, the most relevant aspect is the management of face, as it includes three identity-related aspects, depending on whether face is related to a person a) as an individual, considered separately from the rest of the group or society they live in, or b) as a member of a group, or c) in relation to others. Based on these premises, respectively, Spencer-Oatey (2008) establishes three types of identity: a) individual, b) group or collective identity and c) relational identity.

When it comes to hedging, based on examples (1) – (14), the author of this paper suggests that its function as a self-politeness strategy could be seen as fitting into the frame of preserving one's a) individual identity, while hedging as an other-oriented politeness strategy would serve the purpose of constructing one's b) relational identity, in concrete communication situations that are part of a larger socio-cultural context which, in turn, shapes one's c) group or collective identity.

4.5. Politic behaviour and hedging

The previous discussion on politeness towards the other as opposed to self-politeness may rightfully raise the following questions: can the two modes of face-saving views of politeness always co-exist or are they, more often than not, mutually exclusive? What, in fact, is considered to be polite behaviour and where are its limits if one tries to save the face of the interlocutor, to the detriment of one's own self-image, and vice versa? Which of the mentioned identities prevails and is given primary status in the former, and which in the latter type of situation? Is dispreferred disagreement with the interlocutor automatically to be perceived as such if one takes into account self-politeness concerns? Consequently, what is the place and function of hedging if one applies it in a self-face saving situation? Some of the answers can perhaps be found in works belonging to the so-called postmodern approach in politeness studies.

In the 1990s a number of authors seriously questioned the then dominant Brown-Levinsonian paradigm, pinpointing a number of theoretical, practical and terminological flaws in the modern approach. One of the most important objections concerned the very concept and term of *politeness*. Rather than split the spectrum of human verbal behaviour into polite and impolite, Watts (2003, 2005a, 2005b) proposed a new division into *politic* and *non-politic* language, as manifestations of socially appropriate and inappropriate linguistic behaviour. Politeness would, in that case, only be seen as a positively marked form of politic behaviour, whereas impolite language (with rude being its extreme case), as well as over-polite, would be perceived as two manifestations of non-politic behaviour (Watts 2005: xliii).

In other words, politeness is seen as a marked version of socially acceptable behaviour and, as such, it represents a marked surplus which Watts sees as a consequence of the speaker's egocentric motivation and wish to be seen as better by others. This view is contested by Locher (2004), who otherwise agrees with Watts's novel approach and his politic vs. non/politic matrix of verbal behaviour, but believes that the communicator's motives may also be of an altruistic, rather than, allegedly, egocentric nature. Finally, both Watts and Locher emphasize the dynamic nature of human interaction and they see language, both politic and non-politic, as a means of negotiating and re-negotiating relationships through relational work.

Bearing in mind this new position of politeness in recent research, as well as the complex and somewhat contradictory and ambiguous nature of both politeness and hedging as they were discussed and exemplified in sections 4.2 and 4.3, it would seem more appropriate and less problematic, in future research on the topic, to view and analyze hedging as a dynamic phenomenon representing politic, socially acceptable, rather than conspicuously polite linguistic behaviour. Examples (15)–(18) illustrate the point that certain cases of hedging in their contexts are not clearly polite (or, for that matter, impolite) in the traditional sense, but may represent a kind of transitional or auxiliary device in negotiating and re-shaping the relationships between the interlocutors:

(15) F2 MARCO: You're not attracted to me?

ROSE: No, *um*... I'm attracted to you, But this, *you know*, it's going a little fast for me.

(16) F2 DENNIS: *Well*, at least we know who the nut is now, *right*?

MIKE: Naw, he's not nuts.

DENNIS: Yeah, all right. *Whatever*. Let's get out of here. I'll take you home.

(17) F3 GENE: Our payout on claims is very, very low… and they're all legitimate.

LEW: *Well,* they're not quite low enough.

(18) F5 MEREDITH: *I mean*, I know this must be *kind of* unusual.

TRENT: It's not unusual.

MEREDITH: *I mean*, I'm sure that most women don't turn you down.

Moreover, reverting to a number of examples of disagreement in this paper, especially those which relate to the speaker's uncertainty about the truth value of the utterance or about their own knowledge or experience, it again becomes evident that they are instances of neutral, politic, rather than of emphatically polite behaviour, regardless of whether the use of hedging, if viewed as a mitigating strategy, is directed at the hearer's or the speaker's own face. Therefore, reducing and delimiting the use, scope and effects of hedging to those of a traditionally established static politeness device would deprive the researcher of observing and realizing its broader dynamic function and implications in various instances of politic (or non-politic) communication.

5. Concluding remarks

The most usual case of disagreement in the selected films, which is in line with the predominant conversational style and cultural pattern in US society, is mitigated dispreferred verbal disagreement, which can be defined as "a case of disagreement whose potential face-threatening force has been softened or, even, minimized by means of employing mitigating strategies for avoiding straightforward disagreement" (Panić Kavgić 2010: 431) and which was also labelled 'polite disagreement' (Holmes 1995). Several mitigating strategies for softening disagreements with the interlocutor and thus achieving a greater degree of indirectness have been detected in the selected film dialogues, based on the categorizations proposed by Panić Kavgić (2010, 2013, 2014) and Locher (2004), among which hedging was found to be the most frequent. However, it is of utmost importance to stress that not one of those mitigation strategies, hedging included, isin itself a sign or marker of politeness – it may only become one in a specific linguistic and extralinguistic (situational and cultural) context that has to be taken into consideration in the analysis of each and every example of human communication.

It proved relatively difficult for the researcher to estimate and determine the extent to which a particular conversational contribution seen as an oppositional stance and mitigated by hedging is regarded as polite or impolite in a particular situational or cultural context. It is more appropriate to perceive the phenomenon within Watts's framework of politic and non-politic, i.e. socially acceptable and unacceptable verbal behaviour typical of a particular cultural setting, in this case the US individualistic social matrix. Furthermore, as Watts and Locher (2005) point out, it is of utmost importance to analyze disagreement through the aforementioned relational view, i.e. to perceive it as a means of negotiating relationships through relational work, starting from a mutually shared and previously established common core that serves as a foundation for the further development of interpersonal relations in the course of a particular communication event. Bearing in mind this dynamic nature of human relationships, any contribution to a particular conversation, mitigated disagreements included, may have a face-aggravating, face-maintaining or face-enhancing effect on the other. Once again reverting to Chen (2001), the three kinds of effect could also be applied to the speaker's own face.

Finally, from the point of view of identity, the selected examples testify to the assumption that the manner and situations in which hedging is used contribute to the construction of each character's identity – be it individual, in cases of hedges that mostly attempt to save the speaker's own face, in line with the American individualistic ethos; relational – by means of hedges that contribute to preserving and enhancing the speaker's relationship with the other, by saving the hearer's face, seemingly paradoxically in line with the same prevailing individualistic tendency; or group or collective identity – when it comes to hedging that fits into a more general cultural framework that favours mitigated and less direct communication, as is the case with contemporary US society as depicted in the selected films.

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Received: 29 October 2017
Accepted for publication: 31 January 2018

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ОГРАЂИВАЊЕ ПРИЛИКОМ НЕСЛАГАЊА СА САГОВОРНИКОМ У АМЕРИЧКИМ ФИЛМСКИМ ДИЈАЛОЗИМА: ЗНАК (САМО-)УЧТИВОСТИ, ДРУШТВЕНО ПРИХВАТЉИВОГ ПОНАШАЊА И МАРКЕР ИДЕНТИТЕТА

Сажетак

Рад се бави прагматичким и социо-културним аспектима употребе дискурсних ограда приликом неслагања са саговорником у америчким филмским дијалозима, из угла језички испољене учтивости. Уводни одељак посвећен је кратком прегледу најважнијих појмовних и терминолошких запажања о дискурсним оградама, што је праћено освртом на феномен говорног чина неслагања са саговорником, који је веома често ублажен управо применом стратегије ограђивања од изнетог, потенцијално конфронтирајућег, става говорника. У наставку рада описан је корпус квалитативног истраживања заснованог на одабиру и опису дијалога из пет новијих америчких филмских остварења чији ликови и радње носе типична обележја америчке индивидуалистичке културне матрице, која почива на слободној вољи појединца и индиректној комуникацији са саговорником. Централни део рада сагледава примерима поткрепљену употребу дискурсних ограда, и то из пет углова: Грајсовог принципа кооперативности и кршења конверзационих максима; такозваног модерног приступа језички испољеној учтивости, кроз одређења, с једне стране, Лича и, с друге, Браунове и Левинсона; из угла самоучтивости, односно, обзира говорника према сопственом лицу; из позиције разматрања говорниковог идентитета – индивидуалног, групног или колективног, као и идентитета у односу на друге, те, коначно, из угла новијег, такозваног постмодерног приступа, чији је зачетник Вотс, који учтивост види као позитивно обележен вид друштвено прихватљивог, тј. пожељног вербалног понашања. Смештањем употребе дискурсних ограда у наведене појмовно-терминолошке оквире, у завршном одељку изнете су закључне напомене о комплексности сагледавања анализираног феномена као стратегије за ублажавање неслагања са саговорником, те је истакнут ауторкин став да је, услед многих размотрених противречности, ограђивање сврсисходније посматрати као динамичан појавни облик друштвено прихватљивог вербалног понашања него као појаву омеђену оквирима старије и традиционалније дихотомије учтивост / неучтивост или, пак, учтивост / самоучтивост.

Кључне речи: дискурсна ограда, ограђивање, филмски дијалог, неслагање са саговорником, стратегија за ублажавање неслагања, учтивост, самоучтивост, друштвено прихватљиво понашање, идентитет, друштво

UDC 811’26(497.11)
811’26(438)
https://doi.org/10.18485/bells.2018.10.9

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21st CENTURY STANDARD LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY IN SERBIA AND POLAND

Abstract
The present paper examines standard language ideologies in Serbia and Poland. We look closely at the weight that standard language ideology carries in both nation-states by analyzing those languages which are not accorded the highest status: in Serbia – Bunjevac, and in Poland – Kashubian. We demonstrate how – in both Serbia and Poland – standard language ideology appears to be challenged on various grounds, yet it is almost indisputably enforced at the same time. In the end, we conclude that our examination contributes to the latest observations regarding the notion of language standardization, which appears to have been changing before our very eyes.

Key words: standard language ideology, Serbia, Poland, Bunjevac, Kashubian, language standardization

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1. Introduction

In the present paper, our examination of standard language ideology (hereafter, SLI) in general zeroes in on two European nation-states in particular, Serbia and Poland, aiming to scrutinize only certain SLI aspects of the two nation-states.

According to Amon (2004: 273), "[t]he term *standard* with respect to language was only established over the course of the 19th century." It is, however, in the 21st century that this otherwise "technical term used by linguists" (Auer 2011: 486) has become considerably more prominent in some linguistic (and not only linguistic) accounts of late modernity. Milroy's (2001:530) portrayal of what he refers to as the ideology of the standard language suggests that "[c]ertain languages … are believed by their speakers to exist in standardized forms, and this kind of belief affects the way in which speakers think about their own language and about 'language' in general. We may say that speakers of these languages live in *standard language cultures*."

By looking at two specific standard language cultures, Serbian and Polish, we specifically examine the weight that SLI carries by analyzing the ways in which the cultures behave toward languages, which – in those cultures – are not accorded the highest status: in Serbia – Bunjevac, and in Poland – Kashubian. We demonstrate that, while SLI in both Serbia and Poland appears to be challenged on various grounds, its enforcement in the instances of Bunjevac and Kashubian still paints the picture of an undisputed rationale.

In the section immediately following, we provide an outline of what we suggest can be considered the basis of SLI in Serbia and Poland. Then, in section 3, we detail the two respective case studies of Bunjevac and Kashubian, showing the effects of SLI on them. After the role that SLI plays has been shown, in section 4, based on examples unrelated to Bunjevac and Kashubian, we reveal just how easily this role is undermined, which is why we eventually question the need for SLI. We summarize our findings in the concluding remarks.

2. SLI in Serbia and Poland

From what we present in this section, it is clear that both Serbia and Poland champion what Gal (2006:163) recognizes as "a common sense view widely held by European elites that languages are organized systems with centrally defined norms, each language ideally expressing the spirit of a nation and the territory it occupies." In fact, in both nation-states, only the status of the selected languages is regulated by the supreme laws of the two lands – their constitutions.

2.1. SLI in Serbia

Article 10 of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia reads, in part, that "[i]n the Republic of Serbia, the Serbian language and the Cyrillic alphabet are in official use."[1] Serbian is, thus, the only language with a constitutionally recognized status; while there are other languages also in official use, they are not regulated by the constitution, but by various lower laws, and the status of those languages does not apply to the whole of Serbia; it applies only to specific geopolitical units.

In the Serbian standard language culture, the most compelling explication of SLI is found in the works of the Committee for the Standardization of the Serbian Language (*Odbor za standardizaciju srpskog jezika*), particularly in its foundational principles. The Committee was established on December 12, 1997. On that day, the Agreement Establishing the Committee for the Standardization of the Serbian Language (*Sporazum o osnivanju Odbora za standardizaciju srpskog jezika*), the Operational Plan of the Committee for the Standardization of the Serbian Language (*Program rada Odbora za standardizaciju srpskog jezika*), and the Bylaws (*Poslovnik*) were signed.

According to Article 1 of the Agreement (Brborić et al. 2006: 17), one of the Committee's goals is "to systematically establish the norms of the Serbian language, both ekavian and ijekavian,[2] generally speaking and in detail, as well as to produce the documents and manuals and also to

1 All translations into English are ours unless noted otherwise, M. N. and B. B.

2 Ekavian and ijekavian are two pronunciations of the so-called Neoštokavian dialect reflecting present-day pronunciations of what is traditionally known as the *jat* sound (hence, 'child' is *dete* in ekavian pronunciation and *dijete* in ijekavian pronunciation).

create bills to allow for approved innovations from everyday language to enter the norm." The Operational Plan states (Brborić et al. 2006: 21), among other things, that "[t]he Committee will follow and support the work on the major projects that have already been accepted (two syntax volumes, a word formation volume, a phonology volume, a one-volume dictionary, a reverse dictionary, bilingual dictionaries, the completion of the orthographic complex). The Committee will also strive to find working groups for major projects that have not yet been considered (a morphology volume, an accentual dictionary, etc.)." It eventually delves into the essence of how the Committee itself understands the concepts of the standard language and standardization (Brborić et al. 2006: 22):

> The Committee expects that its members and members of the subcommittees will contribute to the necessary terminological differentiation (language standard/standard language : language of literature/literary language : substandard linguistic expression(s) : dialects) as well as to the understanding of the work on standardization in the manner outlined in the Committee's Decision #1 (final section, right after subsection 3.6),[3] which, in no way, means "giving chase" to anything, "persecution" or "discontinuation" of anything, including the traditional meaning of the term literary language. In a nutshell – the Committee is not tasked with abolishment, but with arrangement of the standard Serbian language, including both its dialects (ekavian and ijekavian) and both its alphabets (Cyrillic and Latin).

Crucially, the view of the standardization process, as outlined here, is overall an affirmative one.

[3] This section, in part, explains that "[s]tandardization prohibits and annuls nothing, let alone 'burns' that which exists in human brains and their linguistic creations, immortalized in books, journals and newspapers, on celluloid, diskettes, and compact discs. Standardization simply establishes a certain order of linguistic units in the public use, particularly that described as official (language use). … In better social circumstances, those who know and respect linguistic norms could gain a higher social reputation, as well as other conveniences, as is indeed the case elsewhere, particularly in the more developed world.

2.2. SLI in Poland

Article 27 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland (1997) declares: "Polish shall be the official language in the Republic of Poland. This provision shall not infringe upon national minority rights resulting from ratified international agreements."[4] Thus, the Polish language is the only official language that the Constitution recognizes.

In the past, the Polish standard language culture was developed by experts specializing in the Polish language, particularly individual eminent linguists (cf. Lubaś 2013: 202) and various associations such as the Association of Admirers of the Polish Language (*Towarzystwo Miłośników Języka Polskiego*) based in Cracow and the Association of Culture and Language (*Towarzystwo Kulturyi Języka*) based in Warsaw, all of which have published manuals, dictionaries, and journals focusing on the Polish language. This tradition continues today, with the most important and authoritative organization in this respect being the Council of the Polish Language (*Rada języka polskiego*) which was established in 1996 and started to operate in 2002, according to the Act of the Polish Language (*Ustawa o języku polskim*). The organization's tasks are as follows:[5]

(1) spreading the knowledge of the Polish language, its varieties, norms and evaluation criteria, and suggesting proper linguistic forms in various situations;

(2) resolving linguistic doubts with regard to lexicon, grammar, pronunciation, orthography, and punctuation, as well as the appropriateness of stylistic forms of expression;

(3) searching for solutions in the usage of the Polish language in various fields of sciences and technology, particularly in new scholarly disciplines such as informatics;

(4) expressing opinions on the linguistic form of texts for public communication, especially in the press, on the radio and TV, and in administration;

(5) establishing the orthography and punctuation of the Polish language;

[4] <http://www.sejm.gov.pl/prawo/konst/angielski/konse.htm>. Web. November 14, 2017.

[5] <http://www.rjp.pan.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=212&catid=36&Itemid=73>. Web. November 14, 2017.

(6) expressing opinions on the names (and their grammatical and orthographic forms) proposed for new goods and services; and
(7) nurturing the culture of the Polish language in schools.

Although the Council does not explicitly address the standardization of the Polish language, it is clear that the activities of the Council are closely related to the standardization of the Polish language and its implementation.

3. Bunjevac in Serbia and Kashubian in Poland

We now turn to the two case studies, where we examine Bunjevac in Serbia and Kashubian in Poland, and particularly highlight the weight that SLI carries in both nation-states.

3.1. Bunjevac

According to the latest census, the 2011 Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Serbia, one of the languages spoken in the country – and listed in the census results – is Bunjevac. In fact, compared to the previous census, Bunjevac is one of three so-called new modalities (including also Armenian and Montenegrin) found in the classification of mother tongue (Census: 13). This fact alone implies that the status of Bunjevac is not a particularly high one.

The 2011 Census results indicate that there are 6,835 speakers of Bunjevac in Serbia, of whom almost all – 6,821 – reside in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. The vast majority of them are concentrated in Vojvodina's municipalities of Subotica (6,313) and Sombor (387). While the Bunjevac language as such is documented in the 2011 Census, it is not documented in any of the major Serbian laws focusing on the official use of languages and alphabets.

In their study on national minorities exercising their rights to have their languages and alphabets in official use in Serbia, Bašić and Đorđević (2010: 83-85) examined 43 different Serbian legal documents in various capacities. Only five major ones were consulted for the present examination of the status of Bunjevac: the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia; the Statute of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina; the Law on the Official Use of Languages and Alphabets; the Law on the Ratification of the

European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages; and the Provincial Parliamentary Decision on the Closer Arrangement of Various Issues of the Official Use of Languages and Alphabets of National Minorities on the Territory of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. Not one of them documents the Bunjevac language in any capacity even though some do, indeed, document languages other than Serbian.

One of the lower laws examined signals that Serbia is one of the countries which have ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Even though Article 3 of the Law on the Ratification explicitly states – in part – that "articles of the Charter apply to the Albanian, Bosnian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Hungarian, Romani, Romanian, Ruthenian, Slovak, and Ukrainian language", Bunjevac is one of the languages subjected to the Committee of Experts' monitoring cycles on the application of the Charter in Serbia. In their report issued in 2013, after the 2nd Monitoring Cycle, the Committee of Experts additionally noted the following:[6]

> 10. A particular problem exists regarding Bunjevac. However, the Serbian authorities have informed the Committee of Experts that Bunjevac [is] not officially used in any unit of local self-government because [it has] not yet been standardised. The Committee of Experts notes that the concept of "official use" in Serbia covers not just written, but also oral communication with citizens for which standardisation is not necessary.

Clearly, the status of Bunjevac in Serbia depended solely on the fact that the language was considered not to be standardized. The report also provided guidelines for "clarify[ing] the status of Bunjevac … in consultation with representatives of all speakers [and] in cooperation with the speakers."

Exercising their right to respond to the Committee of Experts' report, the Serbian authorities only confirmed the weight that SLI carries in Serbia by stating that "the non-existence of standardised Bunjevac [language is] a realistic obstacle to [its] introduction into official use," declaring that it is "incontestable that the existence of standardised language is a prerequisite for the implementation of this provision."

Not only is Bunjevac facing the issue of not being introduced into official use anywhere in Serbia; Bunjevac's languagehood – despite its being mentioned in the 2011 Census and discussed in the Committee of

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6 <https://rm.coe.int/16806dba31>. Web. September 22, 2017.

Experts' reports – is also outright denied. In their ethnodialectological study of Bunjevacs in Serbia, Bošnjaković and Sikimić (2013: 190), in the chapter authored by Žarko Bošnjaković, address the issue of classifying Bunjevac, concluding that "considering the fact that the Bačka Bunjevacs do not have a standardized language, the idiom that they use can only be called speech/lect (*govor*)." Clearly, yet again, the decisive factor in what exactly constitutes language was the role played by SLI.

3.2. Kashubian

According to the 2011 Polish Census of Population and Housing,[7] 108,140 people declared Kashubian as their language of everyday contact,[8] the vast majority of whom – 107,742 (99.3%) – dwell in the Pomeranian Voivodeship.

The Kashubian language has been recognized as a regional language since 2005 by the Bill on Ethnic and National Minorities and Regional Languages (*Ustawa o mniejszościach narodowych i etnicznych oraz o języku regionalnym*), its status and use being observed in the Pomeranian Voivodeship only (for instance, there are bilingual place-name signs). In spite of the fact that Kashubian does not have an established standard variety, judgments regarding its languagehood (as well as, of course, its status) – unlike the case of Bunjevac in Serbia – turned out to be affirmative. Indeed, the standardization of Kashubian, or to put it differently, efforts invested in forming a codified written variety have been ongoing since the middle of the 19th century, with some intervals. Today the Kashubian standard is often described as *in statu nascendi*, that is, it is still being formed (cf. Obracht-Prondzyński 2007: 19). According to Tréder (2014: 183), "the norm in Kashubian is not quite clear yet, while it is also very vague, depending quite a bit on the language spoken or written in each individual home."

In 2006, tasked with standardizing Kashubian, the Council of the Kashubian Language (*Radzëzna Kaszëbsczégò Jãzëka*) was formed as an organization attached to the Kashubian Pomeranian Association (*Zrzeszenie Kaszubsko-Pomorskie*). The members of the Council discuss

7 <http://stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/gus/LUD_ludnosc_stan_str_dem_spo_NSP2011.pdf>. Web. November 14, 2017.

8 Of them, 3,802 people indicated that Kashubian is the only language they use.

concrete problems related to specific language forms and, based on their discussions, the Council then issues its suggestions. These suggestions are regarded as the norm of the standard variety of Kashubian.

In this context it is worth noting that there are two recent publications aimed at standardizing the language: the 2005 Kashubian Normative Dictionary (*Kaszëbsczi słowôrz normatiwny*) by Eugeniusz Gołąbek and the 2016 Grammar of the Kashubian language (*Gramatika kaszebsczégò jãzeka*) by Hanna Makurat. Gołąbek was a former member of the Council, and Makurat is an active Council member. However, neither publication represents the Council's suggestions; they are, rather, the authors' personal ideas on the lexicon and grammar of Kashubian.

4. Challenging SLI

In this section, we show how the apparently forceful, and monolithic, SLI in both Serbia and Poland is rather easily challenged. The examples chosen are exactly that – examples; they are to be taken as a way of showing that the essence of SLI – the speakers' belief that their language exists in a standardized form – is not unshakeable after all.

4.1. Example from Serbia

One of the tasks of the Committee for the Standardization of the Serbian Language, as was illustrated in 2.1 above, is arranging the standard Serbian language, the language with the highest status in Serbia. This, from the Committee's point of view, includes arranging both the ekavian and ijekavian dialects, as well as the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets. In fact, of the two alphabets, one is accorded a higher status than the other: the Cyrillic alphabet is constitutionally recognized as the one in official use. However, the implication that what made Cyrillic available for such a high – in fact, the highest – status was its being standardized was recently called into question.

In early 2015 at least two media reports explained how certain levels of Serbian society, all of them in close connection with the education system, asked for the Cyrillic alphabet in Serbia to be standardized. It all began with a request from the Association of Teachers of Vojvodina:

> On January 8, International Literacy Day [*sic!*], the Association of Teachers of Vojvodina submitted to the Ministry of Education and to the Matica Srpska a request for the final standardization of the Serbian language alphabet in school primers. /…/
> It is both inexcusable and utterly irresponsible that we still do not have an officially standardized school-primer alphabet.[9]

At least according to this association, Cyrillic is not yet officially standardized. Moreover, the association also informed the public that it has been pointing to this particular problem since 2003, additionally contacting the Committee for the Standardization of the Serbian Language as well as various textbook publication houses. Four days after the request was made public, Serbia's Ministry of Education, Science, and Technological Development reacted to it:

> Yesterday [January 12, 2015, M. N. and B. B.] the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technological Development forwarded an initiative to the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts and the Committee for the Standardization of the Serbian Language in which it asked them to raise the question of standardization of the Cyrillic alphabet.[10]

It seems that the Ministry concurred with the Association's stand toward the Cyrillic alphabet and its standardization. What is even more striking is the headline, under which the Ministry's concurrence appeared: *Verbić*[11] *in favor of the standardization of the Cyrillic alphabet*.

What came out of all of this is unclear and also irrelevant for the present paper. This example simply shows that what might be expected to be – the pun is, of course, intended – a standard for how the standardization of the Serbian language (and its alphabet) works, conversely proves that the apparent monolithic weight that SLI carries in Serbia is ever so slightly wavering.

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9 *Politika,* 8 January 2015: <http://www.politika.rs/sr/clanak/315602/Drustvo/Ucitelji-traze-standardizaciju-bukvarskog-pisma> Web. September 23, 2017.

10 *Politika,* 13 January 2015: <http://www.politika.rs/scc/clanak/315984/Verbic-za-standardizaciju-cirilicnog-pisma> Web. September 23, 2017.

11 Mr. Srđan Verbić was the Minister of Education, Science, and Technological Development at the time.

Along the same lines of questioning the standardization of Cyrillic in Serbia, on two occasions in 2015 (April 22-May 6, and November 16-December 14), a questionnaire on the topic of what the standard Serbian language is was administered among 70 faculty members and students at the University of Belgrade's Faculty of Philology. One of the questions specifically asked whether the Cyrillic alphabet was standardized or not. While 87.1% answered in the affirmative, 2.9% said that Cyrillic was not standardized, and 10.0% said that they did not know the answer to the question. Again, although the Cyrillic alphabet is the one with the highest status in the Serbian standard language culture, its users are not unequivocal with respect to the issue of its standardization.

4.2. Example from Poland

Contemporary Polish shows a relatively high degree of uniformity (Buttler, Kurkowska and Satkiewicz 1971). According to Gajda (2001: 209), after WWII, thanks to the changes in social structures inaugurated by the then communist Poland, the literary variety (*język literacki*) – which in the present paper is referred to as the standard variety – that had been used particularly by Polish elites expanded into the other social classes very quickly. According to Lubaś (2013: 203), between 70% and 85% of Polish citizens were capable of using the literary variety after WWII. However, Poles, particularly linguists, are aware that the standardization is still an ongoing process. For instance, Lubaś (2009: 443) opines that "[t]he changes that took place in the history of literacy over a period of several centuries caused a myriad of inconsistencies and practical troubles in everyday usage, with which codification could not deal to this day." Indeed, standardizers of the Polish language are typically influential linguists often working in teams, but representative specialists in "correctness" when it comes to language usage such as Jerzy Bralczyk, Jan Miodek, and Andrzej Markowski often do not agree with each other in many respects (cf. Bralczyk, Miodek, Markowski: 2014). Another specialist, Bugajski (1993: 110), when speaking about the role of mass media in the integration of individual linguistic varieties, admits that the process "is related to … issues of language integration and the normalization of a language, unification – eliminating differences among variants, the establishment of general norm on correctness, the liquidation of whatever kind of fluctuation. It is often said that the standardization of a language or a standard or median language can be handled by an entire multimillion society."

5. Whence the need for SLI?

Now that examples have been presented of just what weight SLI carries in both Serbia and Poland, we ask the question of where this necessity for SLI comes from.

The answer is found in the fact that both Serbia and Poland are part of what Gal (2006: 164) names "the European linguistic mosaic [which is] the product of language standardisation, a sociocultural process that accompanied and often legitimated the making of European nation states." It then makes sense that both the nation-states that are the focus of our interest insist on enforcing SLI, thus legitimizing not only their languages, but even more so their very states. One way of demonstrating the weight that SLI carries – as we have outlined above – is by pointing out the shortcomings of the standardization of languages other than the selected few. The standard language cultures in question will continue to be dominated by this particular view until the latest scholarly views of the concepts of standardization and standard language are introduced and given sufficient power to change the existing state of affairs.

It is, therefore, worth remembering the words of James Milroy, who indicated that "standardization [is] a process that is continuously in progress in those languages that undergo the process (Milroy 2001:534)." It now seems that it should come as no surprise that we were able to show examples of just how shaky the role that SLI plays in both Serbia and Poland is. In fact, standardization should not be used as the decisive factor in linguistic examinations, for it itself is an ever-so-changing notion. In the words of Milroy (2001: 539), again, "[s]tandardization of language is not a universal."

The notion of a standard language is equally hard to define. It was explained above that the term is a technical one used by linguists. Smakman (2012: 26) indicated that "[t]he standard language … is subject to a wide array of descriptions, making this language more elusive," with which Coupland and Kristiansen (2011: 11) also agreed, suggesting that "[s]tandard language is itself a slippery concept, and it is in need of further critical consideration." Hence, standard language cannot serve as the foundation of the role that SLI plays – as we have demonstrated it does in Serbia and Poland – as if it were a notion of unchanging assumptions. The mere fact that its establishment closely follows the establishment of nation-states of approximately two centuries ago suggests that standard language as a concept came into being with a clear purpose.

6. Conclusion

By using two European nation-states as the focus of our attention, we attempted to add our own contribution to an ever-emerging image of the weight that SLI carries. We have demonstrated that both of the standard language cultures examined are characterized by the fact that – as was to be expected – the processes of standardization of the languages with the highest status are still ongoing, no matter how the languages are actually regarded (and – for that matter – politically verified). In fact, even agencies concerned with standardization often admit to that. This, of course, is not so because of the standard language cultures examined. It is rather the result of the way in which the process of standardization itself is evolving. Thus, Kristiansen and Coupland (2011: 28), in their own account of various European standard languages, speak of the phenomena of destandardization ("a possible development whereby the established standard language loses its position as the one and only 'best language'") and demotization ("the possibility that the 'standard ideology' as such stays intact while the valorisation of ways of speaking changes"). On the other hand, or – in fact – additionally, Matras (2015: 306, 307, 308) – when addressing issues surrounding the Romani language – reminds us of just how crucially the notion of standardization appears to have been changing before our very eyes:

> [T]he Committee of Experts' view on the issues of standardisation underwent a significant paradigm shift. … [W]e witness the emergence of a different kind of language policy discourse that departs from conventional language planning strategies and views pluralism of form as enabling domain expansion. This position seeks to override the view put forward by some states, which see the absence of a standard as hindering the promotion of Romani. … Altogether, then, we see the gradual emergence of a language policy that may be characterised as nonterritorial in its

outreach, transnational in its strategic approach, and pluralistic in its practical implementation.

The two standard language cultures examined were, however, also different to a certain extent. While the weight that SLI carries is undeniable, it is exercised differently in the two instances examined here, that of Bunjevac and Kashubian. With the former, the role that SLI plays was used – in part – to deny Bunjevac its languagehood; with the latter this was not the case: not only was Kashubian's languagehood affirmed, but its status was also granted at the level of regional language, the only language with such a status in Poland.

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Received: 30 November 2017
Accepted for publication: 31 January 2018

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ИДЕОЛОГИЈА СТАНДАРДНОГ ЈЕЗИКА У XXI ВЕКУ
У СРБИЈИ И ПОЉСКОЈ

Сажетак

У раду се испитује идеологија стандардног језика у Србији и Пољској. Конкретно, посматра се моћ коју идеологија стандардног језика поседује у обе државе тако што се у њима детаљно анализирају они језици који не поседују највиши статус: у Србији – буњевачки, а у Пољској – кашупски. Показује се да и у Србији и у Пољској постоје изазови за идеологију стандардног језика обеју земаља. У исто време, међутим, та идеологија је готово беспоговорно примењена у обе државе. На крају, закључује се да је испитивање представљено у раду још један допринос најновијим размишљањима у вези са концептом стандардизације језика – концептом који делује као да се мења пред нашим очима.

Кључне речи: идеологија стандардног језика, Србија, Пољска, буњевачки, кашупски, стандардизација језика

UDC 811.163.4’28
https://doi.org/10.18485/bells.2018.10.10

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WHITHER VARIATIONIST SOCIOLINGUISTICS IN SERBIA?

Abstract
Little has changed since 1965 and Bugarski’s original call to study urban speech in Yugoslavia (and his subsequent reporting of new advances regarding the birth of variationist sociolinguistics). We still do not know how the majority of Serbs speak, nor what the scope of stylistic and social variation is in towns and cities of the Serbian-speaking world. This paper will try to show how sociolinguistics in the narrow sense of the term has been largely absent in Serbia; it will try to provide some reasons for this; and it will outline what little has been done in terms of urban dialectology and variationist sociolinguistics.

Keywords: sociolinguistics, Serbian, dialectology

1. Introduction

First, we will outline the possible meanings of the term *sociolinguistics*, and then focus on one particular type of sociolinguistics, namely variationist sociolinguistics. We shall then examine whether this discipline has been present at all in the Serbian-speaking world and which attempts got the closest, and try to point out some of the possible reasons for this state of affairs.

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2. The meaning of *sociolinguistics*

Sociolinguistics is, famously, a very broad field, and the term is used to cover many disparate ways of studying language (Meyerhoff 2011: 1–2). This is why Trudgill, somewhat tongue in cheek, entitled the introductory chapter to *Sociolinguistic Patterns in British English* “Sociolinguistics and sociolinguistics” (1978). He divides studies of language and society into three categories: “those where the objectives are purely sociological or social-scientific; those where they are partly sociological and partly linguistic; and those where the objectives are wholly linguistic” (1978: 2). The first category is not sociolinguistics, according to Trudgill, while the second category comprises fields such as discourse analysis, ethnography of speaking, anthropological linguistics, sociology of language, social psychology of language, etc. (1978: 4–9). It is the third group that is of interest to us. This is the group Trudgill sometimes refers to as “sociolinguistics proper”, and which largely stems from the framework originally established by William Labov. Labov himself sometimes referred to this type of linguistics as “secular linguistics”, and had resisted the term “sociolinguistics” as he believed there could be no “successful linguistic theory or practice which is not social” (Labov 1972a: xiii). In fact, Chambers and Trudgill suggested in 1980 that “sociolinguistics” is “perhaps too general to be meaningful” and proposed some alternatives, but to no avail (1980: 205). According to Trudgill, the best concise description of this type of linguistics is “the study of linguistic variation and change” (2000: 22), and as Foulkes and Docherty point out, the term that is virtually synonymous with variationist (or quantitative) sociolinguistics is urban dialectology (1999: 2, 4). One may find recent representative work in this field in, amongst others, the *Language Variation and Change* journal as well as the proceedings of the NWAV conference (New Ways of Analyzing Variation, held annually).

Let us now take a look at what sociolinguistics has usually meant in Serbia, when Labovian, variationist sociolinguistics was first mentioned there, when urban dialectology started being written about, and how dialectology has traditionally been done in Serbia and why.

3. The usual meaning of *sociolinguistics* in Serbia

There are two works that could be said to provide a paradigmatic insight into what linguists in Serbia, and before that in Yugoslavia, usually meant by *sociolinguistics* (or rather *sociolingvistika*).

The first work is *Selektivna sociolingvistička bibliografija SFRJ/SRJ–SCG/Srbija 1967–2014* [Selective Sociolinguistic Bibliography SFRJ/SRJ–SCG/Serbia 1967–2014] (Bugarski 2015). This bibliography comprises 1428 entries by 580 authors. Looking at the titles, it soon becomes apparent that what preoccupied Yugoslav linguists were primarily sociolinguistic issues, such as bilingualism/multilingualism (mostly at the societal level), language contact, language standardization, language policy and planning, the relationship between language and nation, etc. (this is confirmed by Radovanović and Major 2001). At the forefront was the relationship between Serbo-Croat and other languages spoken in Yugoslavia, as well as the relationship between the so-called "western" and "eastern" varieties of Standard Serbo-Croat. The second work is *Sociolingvistika* [Sociolinguistics], a textbook by M. Radovanović, originally published in 1979, with the second edition published in 1986 (Radovanović 2003 is a reprint of the second edition). We should note that this is the only textbook/monograph in Serbian bearing such a title, and there are no works titled e.g. *Uvod u sociolingvistiku* [Introduction to Sociolinguistics], *Sociolingvistički priručnik* [A Handbook of Sociolinguistics] or the like. Running at around 280 pages, Radovanović's *Sociolingvistika* mentions Labov (his seminal 1966 study of NYC speech) only once (2003: 242), while there is no mention of Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1968), the importance of which as one of the founding texts of variationist sociolinguistics we will note below (Weinreich is only mentioned in the context of his 1953 *Languages in Contact*). Radovanović, however, rightly points out the importance of certain works by Martinet and Meillet as the forerunners of contemporary sociolinguistics (Radovanović 2003: 230). In other words, the general impression one gets from Bugarski's *Bibliografija* regarding the type of sociolinguistics typically practised in Yugoslavia is confirmed here. We can see, in other words, that even when Yugoslav linguists did engage in sociolinguistics it was mostly macrosociolinguistics and qualitative sociolinguistics. Quantitative, empirical studies were almost completely absent.

Now, variationist sociolinguistics, which usually but not always comes in the guise of urban dialectology, can be said to be different from traditional dialectology in two separate ways: in terms of its usual object of study (typically urban vs. rural speech), and, more importantly, in terms of the methodology and theory behind it (more on this below). It is certainly possible to use the methodology of traditional dialectology to study urban speech, just as it is possible to use variationist methodology to study rural communities.

So now we shall first see when the news of this new way of studying language reached Yugoslav shores, so to speak, and then we will look at when certain linguists began calling for urban studies.

4. The introduction of variationist sociolinguistics in Yugoslavia

In 1974 Bugarski edited the thematic issue of the journal *Kultura* (no. 25), containing translations of various sociolinguistic papers, one of which was Labov's "The Study of Language in Its Social Context" (later to become the eighth chapter in Labov 1972a). This was the first time Yugoslav readers had been introduced to concepts such as the Saussurean paradox, indicators, markers, and stereotypes (translated by Bugarski as "pokazatelji", "označivači" and "stereotipi"), as well as the outline of Labov's pioneering 1963 study of Martha's Vineyard.

About a decade later, Bugarski published *Jezik u društvu* [Language in Society] (Bugarski 1986; the second edition came out in 1996, and was reprinted in 2004), an important work when it comes to popularizing sociolinguistics in the broader sense in Yugoslavia. In addition to mentioning Labov several times (1986: 54–56, 111, 134, 136, 179, 182, 256, 276, 278–279), Bugarski also talks about research by Howard Giles and the matched guise technique, as well as the concept of covert prestige (1986: 146, 141–142). Nevertheless, this book, on the whole, devotes comparatively little attention to empirical, quantitative sociolinguistic studies.

5. Calls for studies of urban speech

According to Jutronić-Tihomirović (1983) and Bugarski (2009: 14), the very first call to study urban speech in Yugoslavia came from Bugarski in

1965, in the article “Grad i jezik” [The City and Language] in the journal *Izraz* (later published in *Lingvistika o čoveku* (Bugarski 1975 (1st ed.), 1983 (2nd ed.), 1996 (3rd ed.)). Talking about Yugoslav cities, Bugarski writes:[1] “At present, however, we don’t know much, and what we do know is neither organised nor documented, but rather intuitive and based on desultory personal observations” (1983: 219), and adds:[2]

> Not wanting to focus on the relatively distant future, we would note that we are in need, in desperate need even, of analyses of the present situation. And we do not have such analyses. We simply do not know how we speak in cities today. We have had expertly conducted studies of certain provincial dialects, even of those in remote villages, but the only way to inform ourselves about the way people speak in Belgrade or Sarajevo is through diligently listening and recording what we hear.[3] (Bugarski 1983: 220–221)

Also in 1965 Milka Ivić published “Jezička individualnost grada” [The Linguistic Individuality of the City] in the same journal (the article later reappeared in *O Vukovom i vukovskom jeziku* (1st ed. 1990, 2nd ed. 1997):

> We are not familiar enough with the extent of nonconformity to the prosodic norm, first of all because, preoccupied with the mission of maintaining the “decasyllabic language”, our grammarians were losing their grip on some of the things happening in the linguistic reality of our time. But, regardless of the grammarians and their persistence, events are regularly developing in the direction the general linguistic theory predicts: real command over the linguistic mainstream is being inexorably taken over by the primary disseminators of culture – the cities. [...] In our country, however, it is not clear enough even to all the linguistic experts (then how could it be clear to the wider audience?) that

1 All translations are by A.B. but the originals will also be provided.

2 “Zasad, međutim, ne znamo mnogo, i ne znamo organizovano i dokumentovano, već mahom intuitivno i na osnovu nepovezanih ličnih zapažanja.”

3 “[N]e želeći, dakle, da okrećemo pogled relativno daljoj budućnosti, napomenuli bismo samo da su nam potrebne, čak preko potrebne, analize današnje situacije. A mi tih analiza nemamo. Mi jednostavno ne znamo kako danas govorimo u gradovima. Kod nas postoje znalački rađene studije o pojedinim pokrajinskim govorima, pa i o govorima zabačenih sela, ali o tome kako se govori u Beogradu ili Sarajevu možemo se obavestiti uglavnom samo upornim slušanjem i beleženjem onoga što čujemo.”

> urban speech should be taken very seriously into consideration as the one crucial phenomenon on which the linguistic future of our culture is based.[4] (M. Ivić 1997: 165–166)

At the beginning of the following decade, in 1971, outlining the main issues Yugoslav dialectologists would need to deal with, Pavle Ivić writes:

> The study of the social stratification of urban speech has become the central topic among dialectologists in the United States in recent years[.] A completely new methodology of such studies has also been developed, using sociological procedures. The achieved scientific results are tremendous. There has been no such research in our region to this day – this is partly because the social differentiation of language has much shallower roots than the geographical one, and is also somewhat due to our dialectologists, even if they are familiar with recent American achievements, never having tried to apply them to the speech in our cities, where there are, after all, problems worthy of attention. These accents, as we all know, are amalgams, just like the population of our cities in which the number of newcomers often exceeds the number of those born in the city. But how does this blend crystallize itself, which linguistic characteristics in it make ground, which of them become general, and which disappear? To what extent does the standard variety win out, and to what extent are features foreign to it adopted in the process of dialect levelling? Are there more noticeable differences in these processes between social classes which, in the end, are not foreign even to us? How quickly are those citizens who came to a city as adults included in its linguistic makeup? What happens to their children, do they retain any trace of their parents' origin, or are they assimilated completely? Answers to such questions

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4 "Domašaj […] nesaobraznosti s prozodijskom normom nije nam dovoljno poznat, u prvom redu zbog toga što su naši gramatičari, obuzeti misijom održavanja 'deseteračkog jezika', gubili kontrolu nad po nečem što se dešava u jezičkoj stvarnosti naših dana. No bez obzira na gramatičare i njihove upornosti, redovno se događaji razvijaju u pravcu na koji ukazuje opštelingvistička teorija: stvarnu komandu nad glavnim tokovima jezika neumitno uzimaju osnovni rasadnici kulture – veliki gradovi. […] Kod nas, međutim, još nije ni svim jezičkim stručnjacima dovoljno jasno (a kako tek onda može biti jasno široj publici?) da treba zaista sasvim ozbiljno uzeti u razmatranje jezik grada kao onaj bitni fenomen na kojim izrasta jezička sutrašnjica naše kulture."

> are awaiting our dialectologists in the future.[5] (P. Ivić 2001: 105–106)

In 1978 the American linguist Thomas Magner writes:

> This focus on the village dialect was certainly relevant up until World War II. However, despite population changes which now favor the city, Yugoslav dialectologists have maintained Vuk's village orientation and largely ignore the speech of city-dwellers. Ironically, the typical Yugoslav dialectologist today is quite likely to have been born in a city but still feels drawn to the rural dialects. (Magner 1978: 465)

At several points in the 1970s, Dušan Jović also points to the need to study urban speech (Jović 1975, Jović 1976a, Jović 1976b, Jović 1978, and Jović 1979):

> While dialect systems are most often described with the intention of determining processes and states of historical development, the speech in urban environments usually remains beyond the planned systematic scientific research. [...] The many changes in the stratification of the population, in the material and intellectual domain, lead to very complex hybridization. Features

5 "U Americi je poslednjih godina proučavanje socijalne stratifikacije gradskih govora postalo centralna tema dijalektologa[.] Razrađena je i sasvim nova metodologija ovakvih istraživanja, uz primenu prosedea sociologije. Postignuti naučni rezultati su veoma krupni. Kod nas ovakvih isproučavanja do danas nema – donekle zato što socijalna diferencijacija u jeziku ima kudikamo pliće korene i kraći domašaj od teritorijalne, a pomalo i zato što naši dijalektolozi, ukoliko su i upoznati s najnovijim američkim ostvarenjima, dosad nisu pokušali da ih primene na govore naših gradova, gde ipak ima problema dostojnih pažnje. Ti su govori, to svi znamo, prepuni mešavine, kao što je izmešano i stanovništvo naših gradova gde došljaci najčešće brojno pretežu nad onima koji su rođeni u samom gradu. Ali kako se ta mešavina kristališe, koje jezičke crte u njoj osvajaju teren, koje se uopštavaju, a koje opet nestaju? U kojoj meri pobeđuje književni jezik, a u kojoj se prilikom dijalekatske nivelacije usvajaju i neke pojave koje su mu tuđe? Ima li osetnijih razlika u ovim među društvenim slojevima koji, na kraju krajeva, nisu tuđi ni našoj stvarnosti? Kojom se brzinom uključuju u jezičku sliku nekog grada građani koji su u njega došli kao odrasli ljudi? Šta biva s ljihovom decom, čuvaju li oni još poneki trag porekla svojih roditelja, ili su asimilirana bez ostatka? Odgovori na ovakva pitanja očekuju naše dijalektologe u budućnosti."

which determine the future physiognomy of the language are being born.[6] (Jović 1975: 35)

The most important phenomenon of our era must be the fact that, depending on the speed of urbanisation, the centre of linguistic changes is moving into urban communities. It can almost certainly be said that it is there that linguistic processes which determine the future of a language are starting. And it is paradoxical that in many countries it is exactly the speech of those environments that is relatively little researched.[7] (Jović 1976a: 734)

Our dialectology doesn't have enough insight into what kinds of linguistic processes exist in dialects. Apart from certain rare exceptions, dialectological work strives to reconstruct an earlier state. As a rule, the real synchronic dialect situation is missing.[8] (Jović 1978: 497)

Our contemporary dialectology usually does not provide an adequate picture of the state of the language. In dialectological research, the fact that the speech of middle and younger generations is to a greater or lesser extent different than the speech of older generations is rarely taken into account. Obviously, the problem lies in the approach to the given questions, and of course in the aims of the research. Researchers are striving to describe all that has existed in dialects since ancient times, in order to thus preserve it. Sociolinguistic research remains a task for better and more favourable circumstances.[9] (Jović 1983: 40)

6 "Dok se dijalekatski sistemi opisuju najčešće s ciljem da se utvrde istorijski razvojni procesi i stanja, dotle jezik urbanih sredina ostaje uglavnom izvan planskog i sistematskog naučnog izučavanja. […] Silne promene u stratifikaciji stanovništva, u materijalnom i intelektualnom domenu dovode do veoma složenih ukrštanja. U jeziku se rađaju fenomeni koji određuju njegovu fizionomiju i u budućnosti."

7 "Najbitniji fenomen naše epohe sigurno je to što se u zavisnosti od tempa urbanizacije težište jezičkih promena pomera u urbane zajednice. Gotovo se bez rezerve može reći: u njima se stvaraju jezički procesi koji određuju budućnost jezika. I paradoksalno je što se u mnogim zemljama upravo jezik tih sredina srazmerno malo izučava."

8 "Naša dijalektologija nema dovoljno uvida u to kakvi sve jezički procesi u dijalektima postoje. Sem retkih izuzetaka dijalektološki radovi nastoje rekonstruisati neko starije stanje. Po pravilu, izostaje stvarna sinhrona dijalekatska situacija."

9 "Naša savremena dijalekotlogija uglavnom ne daje pravu sliku stanja jezika. Retko se u dijalektološim istraživanjima uzima u obzir činjenica da se jezik srednjih i mlađih

At the same 1983 conference, P. Ivić again points out:

> In our field, sociolinguistics has often been on the agenda lately. Plenty of accurate things have been said, but we mostly stopped at competently reporting the scientific results from the rest of the world, or contemplating our situation, in general, most often adequately, but by guessing, impressionistically, without any empirical results. It would be good if that first phase of approaching the problem were followed by the phase of concrete studies.[10] (P. Ivić 1983: 204)

Also in 1983 Dunja Jutronić-Tihomirović joins the calls:

> The ways of evolution, or change, of the dialectal and of the standard in the urban environment are still waiting to be described. This hybridization is noticeable in the speech of the middle and young generations with clear changes in the dialect, so it can rightly be said that our dialectology does not provide us with the true state of things in the dialects. [....] Other researchers have agreed that important linguistic processes which impact contemporary language development do not take place in rural areas anymore, but in our cities.[11] (Jutronić-Tihomirović 1983: 201)

In the early 1990s, P. Ivić repeats that "a great future" lies in store for sociolinguistic research and, commenting on the thesis by the French linguist Paul-Louis Thomas, adds that "what Thomas did in Niš should be done in all cities" (Ivić 1994: 70) (see below for more on this work by Thomas).

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generacija više ili manje razlikuje od jezika starijih. Očigledno je problem u pristupu datim pitanjima, i naravno ciljevima istraživanja. Nastoji se opisati sve što u dijalektima od starine postoji da bi se tako zapisano sačuvalo. Sociolingvistička istraživanja ostaju kao zadatak za neku bolju i povoljniju priliku."

10 "Kod nas je u poslednje vreme sociolingvistika često na dnevnom redu. Rečeno je mnogo tačnih stvari, ali se uglavnom ostajalo na kompetentnom prenošenju rezultata svetske nauke, ili se razmišljalo o našim prilikama načelno, uopšteno, najčešće opravdano, ali napamet, impresionistički, bez empirijskih rezultata. Dobro bi bilo kad bi iza te prve faze prilaženja problematici sad odmah sledila faza konkretnih proučavanja."

11 "Kako se razvija, tj. mijenja dijalekatsko a kako standardno na urbanom prostoru još čeka da bude opisano. Ovo ukrštanje uočljivo je u govoru srednje i mlađe generacije s jasnim promjenama u dijalektu tako da se s pravom može reći da naša dijalektologija ne daje pravu sliku jezičnog stanja u dijalektima.[…] Sudionici su bili saglasni da se važni jezični procesi koji utječu na današnji razvoj jezika ne odigravaju više u seoskoj sredini već u našim velikim gradovima."

We will finish this overview by citing Rajić, writing at the turn of the century, many decades after the first calls:

> Our dialectology is timeless, because there are no longitudinal studies (studies of changes in dialects). There are also no significant studies of urban speech. For example, a quarter of Serbia's population lives in Belgrade and we can ask with justification if it is more important, both from the viewpoint of the history of language and of dialectology to research the speech in Belgrade or the speech of a demographically insignificant village in Šumadija.[12] (Rajić 2000: 117)

So it seems that at least some linguists were aware that "[n]o serious perspective on dialectology can grant urban research and variation theory less than a central role" (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 188). However, all of these calls, until very recently, fell on deaf ears.[13]

6. On the main differences between traditional dialectology and contemporary dialectology

Dialectology as a separate field, at least in Europe, is usually tied to the work of Georg Wenker in Germany and Jules Gilliéron in France from the last quarter of the 19th century.[14] The pioneering efforts of Milan Rešetar and Aleksandar Belić in what today would be called the BCS-speaking area (Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian) followed shortly thereafter. The primary motivation of these early dialectologists was closely related to the history of language. Namely, studying the speech of small, rural, isolated communities

[12] "Dijalektologija nam je vanvremenska, jer nema longitudinalnih istraživanja (istraživanja promena u dijalektima). Nema ni značajnijih istraživanja gradskih govora. Na primer, Beograd ima četvrtinu stanovništva Srbije i opravdano je postaviti pitanje da li je važnije i sa tačke gledišta istorije jezika i sa tačke gledišta dijalektologije istraživati govor Beograda ili govor nekog demografski beznačajnog sela u Šumadiji."

[13] We will note here that even in recent dialectological handbooks and surveys published in Serbia, there is typically no mention whatsoever of urban dialectology (e.g. Simić 1995, Bogdanović and Marković 2000, Remetić and Dragičević 2001, Marković 2007, Remetić 2016).

[14] For more on the beginnings of continental and British dialectology, see respectively Malkiel (1984: 37–40) and Malkiel (1984: 43–45), and also Chambers and Trudgill (1998: 13–20).

was a window to the past, and the features in informants' speech were living fossils, remnants of days gone by. This synchronic research, simply put, provided insight into the diachrony of the language (Stoddart et al. 1999: 82, Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 30). In accordance with that, Remetić, writing about the beginnings of *Južnoslovenski filolog* says that contributions to the journal were, from the start, "[in] accordance with the principles of the dialectological school of Belić (and P. Ivić) by which two national linguistic disciplines, complementary to each other – history of language and dialectology – create a natural unity" [15] (Remetić 2013: 13–14).

Regarding informant selection, P. Ivić, describing Belić's work, says he would choose older farmers, noting "and those, as a rule, serve as informants when we study the linguistic features of dialects"[16] (P. Ivić 1999: 413–414). Similarly, describing his own methodology at the very end of the 20th century Bukumirić writes: "In the choice of informants, we started from familiar criteria. It was desirable that they be illiterate older women, born and married in the same village, who hadn't spent much time away, where they could have been exposed to the influence of a different dialect" [17] (Bukumirić 2003: 48).

To sum up, traditional dialectology is characterized by studying rural speech and focusing on the oldest generation of usually non-educated speakers. Once the "ideal" informants are located, their speech is usually portrayed as homogeneous and described qualitatively — the features are merely listed, and variation is suppressed and omitted from the description, thereby eliminating the need for the quantitative component (features are portrayed as either present or absent, so there is no need to introduce frequency).

So then, what are the most important methodological and theoretical differences between traditional dialectology and variationist sociolinguistics (regardless of whether one employs the latter to study urban or rural speech communities)? The key variationist axiom is that "a language system that

[15] "[u] skladu sa načelima belićevske (i ivićevske) dijalektološke škole, po kojoj dve nacionalne, međusobno komplementarne, jezičke discipline – istorija jezika i dijalektologija – čine prirodnu celinu."

[16] "a to su, po pravilu, informatori o jezičkim osobinama dijalekata"

[17] "[U] izboru informatora polazilo se od poznatih kriterijuma. Bilo je poželjno da to budu nepismene žene u odmaklim godinama, rođene i udate u istom selu koje nisu duže vreme boravile na strani da bi mogle biti izložene uticaju drugog govora."

did not display variability would not only be imaginary but dysfunctional, since structured variability is the essential property of language that fulfils important social functions and permits orderly linguistic change" (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 4). Thus, instead of shoving linguistic variation under the proverbial carpet, sociolinguists embrace it:

> [T]he variable elements [...] have traditionally been relegated to a kind of linguistic scrap heap, under the name of "free variants," "social variants," "expressive variants," and similar terms.
>
> In the approach we shall now follow, no such liberties with the data will be permitted. Whenever we hear an inconsistency in someone's speech, we must ask: Is this variation consistent? Is it part of a larger pattern? This attitude is grounded in the conviction that language is no less determinate than other forms of social behavior. The amount of randomness in this system is relatively small: behavior that seems at first to be "free" or "random" is discovered on closer examination to be determined by factors accessible to the linguist. (Labov 2006: 31–32)

Now, these linguistic variables (the presence or absence or the relative frequency of variants in an individual's speech) will correlate with factors such as age, sex/gender, class, ethnicity, religion, membership in certain social networks and communities of practice (Wolfram 2006: 336), and crucially, the style of speaking, because, lest we forget, there are no single-style speakers (Labov 1972a: 208). Of course, linguistic variables also correlate with purely linguistic factors such as:

> [P]honetic environment (e.g., preceding and following segments, stress patterns), hierarchical status (e.g., syllable position), and grammatical status (e.g., type of morpheme)[.] There also may be other factors, such as the lexical condition that high frequency words favor a variable process over low-frequency words[.] For morphological and syntactic variables, lexical category (e.g., noun vs. verb), phrasal composition (e.g., NP vs. VP, heavy vs. light phrases), co-occurrence relations (e.g., concord, phrasal complements), embedding (matrix vs. embedded clause), and adjacency conditions (proximate vs. distal) may be relevant factors affecting the relative usage of fluctuating variants. (Wolfram 2006: 335)

This synchronic variation is often a reflection of diachronic change (Bailey 2013: 85), as all linguistic change involves variability, but not all instances of variability involve change (Weinreich et al. 1968: 188). Variationist sociolinguistics has thus helped solve some of the most important puzzles of historical linguistics regarding language change (see Weinreich et al. 1968: 187–188, and Labov's three-volume magnum opus *Principles of Linguistic Change*, Labov 1994, 2001, and 2010). As Wolfram and Schilling point out:

> A traditional dialectologist, frozen in the time frame of half a century ago, would hardly recognize what constitutes dialect study today. The underlying motivations for studying dialects in the present day may be well established in the historical record, but the field has undergone some profound changes in its foci and methods. (2015: 24)

7. Some possible reasons for the current state of affairs

Now we shall turn to some possible reasons why variationist sociolinguistics and urban dialectology have been absent to such a degree first in Yugoslavia and then in Serbia.

The first reason, which we may call ideological, refers to the concern about the "impurity" of urban dialects and generally about the speech of anyone who is not a non-mobile older rural speaker. As Milroy and Gordon put it:

> One of the most pervasive assumptions underlying the traditional dialectological method is that a particular form of a dialect – usually represented by the speech of a conservative, socially marginal speaker – is in some sense the "genuine" or "pure" form. The main difference between early and more recent (variationist) urban studies is that by employing the concept of the linguistic variable the latter examine *alternative* linguistic forms, seeing this alternation as a significant property of language rather than admitting the concept of the "pure" or "genuine" dialect. This difference in the conception of what constitutes a dialect has important implications for subject selection procedures. (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 16)

A paradigmatic example of this attitude we find in Ćupić (1983):

> Regardless of all of this, we are certain we will not be wrong to conclude that only rural environments are areas that can have compact dialects, or microdialects, while the same cannot be said of cities [...] Still, it is only in rural environments that we can come across pure vernacular unspoiled by urbanisation.[18] (Ćupić 1983: 56)

> Cities are places where people from the most remote and dialectically very diverse regions meet, therefore there is not a single city left whose dialect compactness has not been broken into pieces. [...] So, today they are ruled by a dialect mixture; their speech is an amalgam of different dialects and literary language. [...] The old citizens cannot provide compactness of any sort; amalgamations are multilateral, or better yet – versatile. [...] Given that our cities develop under such conditions, is it possible to develop a thesis about speech in those cities? Definitely not, or at least not until cities are finally formed and their physical spread has stopped and, along with that, until citizens have spent multiple decades in such conditions. Only then could it impact the 'levelling' of speech characteristics.[19] (Ćupić 1983: 59–60)

To which P. Ivić replied:

> The challenges a researcher of urban speech faces have been justifiably stressed here, with urban speech being ungraspable because of its deep stratification, and this in two dimensions, the social dialectal one, which comes about in the clash between

[18] "No, bez obzira na sve to, sigurni smo da nećemo pogriješiti ako konstatujemo da su samo seoske sredine područja koja mogu imati kompaktne govore, ili mikrodijalekte, dok se za gradove to ne može reći […] Pa ipak, isključivo u seoskim sredinama možemo nailaziti na čiste narodne govore, nenatrunjene urbanizacijom."

[19] "Gradovi su stjecište stanovnika najudaljenijih i dijalekatski vrlo različitih teritorija, tako da nije ostao skoro ni jedan čija dijalekatska kompaktnost nije razbijena u paramparčad. […] Tako da u njima danas vlada govorni amalgam, njihov govor je smješa različitih dijalekata i književnog jezika. […] Staro stanovništvo ne može da obezbijedi kompaktnost nikakve vrste, miješanja su višestrana, bolje reći – svestrana. […] Ako je riječ o takvim uslovima razvoja naših gradova, da li je moguće razvijati tezu o govorima tih gradova? Svakako – ne, ili ne makar sve do onda dok se konačno ne oforme gradovi i ne zaustavi njihovo fizičko širenje i, uz to, ne prođe više decenija života stanovništva u takvim uslovima. Tek bi to moglo da utiče na „nivelaciju" govornih osobina."

> native and immigrant speech, and in the mixing of the various accents of the immigrants themselves. However, I would like to point out that there does exist a subvariety that can be considered the most typical for the given city. That is the speech of the youth born in the city, which is (provided that all are equally educated) fairly unique, no matter where their parents came from. That is what 'grows from the ground', or better yet 'from the asphalt', and is strengthened and evened out when the children or the youth talk among themselves. At the same time, this is also the kind of speech the future belongs to. [20] (P. Ivić 1983: 205)

Škiljan on the other hand correctly pointed out:

> But in order to actually achieve [the development of our sociolinguistics], one deep-rooted belief must be overcome: namely, under the influence of tradition, but also for different ideological and petty political reasons which would deserve a separate analysis, in the minds of those who deal with language in any way (but also in the minds of 'ordinary' speakers) a horizontal diversity still often prevails over the vertical.[21] (Škiljan 1980: 959)

Related to this is the tacit presence of the "pastoral tradition", the ideological stance that relates the countryside with purity and authenticity (Petrović 2003, Petrović 2009: 20). As Bugarski states "in a typically romantic view, idealised and even mythologized, the village is seen as the

[20] "Ovde su s pravom isticane teškoće s kojima se sukobljava proučavalac gradskog govora, neuhvatljivog zbog svoje duboke raslojenosti, i to u dve dimenzije, socijalnoj dijalekatskoj, onoj koja nastaje u sudaru između zatečenog i došljačkih govora, i u ukrštanju raznorodnih govora samih doseljenika. Ipak, skrenuo bih pažnju na to da postoji govorni sloj koji se može smatrati najtipičnijim za dati grad. To je govor omladine rođene u gradu, koji je (pod uslovom jednake školovanosti) prilično jedinstven, bez obzira na to odakle potiču roditelji. To je ono što „izrasta iz tla", tačnije „iz asfalta", i što se učvršćuje i ujednačuje u dodirima među decom, odnosno omladinom. To je ujedno i govor kojem pripada budućnost."

[21] "No da bi se [razvitak naše sociolingvistike] uistinu ostvario, treba prevladati jedno duboko ukorijenjeno uvjerenje: naime, pod utjecajem tradicije, ali isto tako i iz različitih ideoloških i politikantskih razloga koji bi zasluživali zasebnu analizu, u svijesti onih koji se bilo na koji način bave jezikom (pa i u svijesti „običnih" govornika) nerijetko horizontalna raznolikost i dalje znatno preteže nad vertikalnom."

sources of pure, genuine and unspoiled speech”[22] (2009: 16). Or as Gal summed up Williams: “[a] rhetorical convention which continually looks back, often nostalgically and for moral guidance, to a lost, but supposedly more pristine, rural, homogeneous, and authentic past” (Gal 1996: 587, Williams 1973).[23]

Related to this is also the view that if an idiom (dialect, language, etc.) is not “pure” and “authentic” it is not, in a sense, real; it does not exist as a separate entity.[24] Finally, there is the underlying assumption that time starts passing only after a dialect has been encountered for the first time, i.e. that at the moment of its first being described it is “crystalized” and “pure”, while all subsequent innovations are in fact corruptions:

> Gal (1989: 315–316) notes that “announcing the extinction of cultures, languages and dialects at the moment they are first described by outsiders has been a rhetorical construct central to Western ethnography”; the same constructs are met in the writings of ethnographers and dialectologists in the Balkans, where any kind of language change is seen as a positive sign of extinction and corruption of a genuine language form. (Petrović 2003)

> There is a kind of folk-myth deeply embedded among linguists that before they themselves arrived on the scene there existed a homogenous, single-style group who really “spoke the language.” Each investigator feels that his own community has been corrupted from this normal model in some way – by contact with other languages, by the effects of education and pressure of the standard language, or by taboos and the admixture of specialized jargons. (Labov 1972a: 203)

[22] “u jednom tipično romantičarskom viđenju, idealizovanom i čak mitologizovanom, selo je sagledano kao izvorište čistog, nepatvorenog i neiskvarenog jezika”

[23] According to Petrović (2009: 21) the characterization of certain varieties as “corrupt” begins in Serbia with Vuk Karadžić, who was famously disparaging of the Serbian spoken in Vojvodina.

[24] As Friedman puts it: “contact = impure = bad = illegitimate”, adding “if a language is portrayed as not having a distinct lexicon owing to being hopelessly mixed as the result of prolonged contact and subordination, then it can be treated as not being a ‘real’ language and thus unworthy as the characteristic of a nation, which in turn has no right to territory or a state” (1997: 7).

One of the things this leads to is the false dichotomy between two supposedly monolithic entities: the "književni jezik" as described in the normative works, and the "pure", "authentic" dialect. [25]

An example of this confused view is found in Tomić (2012a). The author describes the speech of Vranje children, aged six, and observes how they tend to use more non-standard features talking to one another than when addressing the teacher or when they pretend to be adults while role-playing. This leads her to conclude that the children use "two linguistic systems depending on the situation" (Tomić 2012a: 253), whereby the aim of her research and many other similar studies is to determine "to what extent standard speech disturbs the dialect system".[26] In other words, she envisions two separate systems, the "true" *prizrensko-timočki* dialect as first described by Belić more than a century ago, and the standard language. Of course, there are no two systems; there is only one system which is, as all language systems are, heterogeneous, displaying structured variability. The children were merely exhibiting normal stylistic variability according to the situation.

As we have seen, Serbian linguists have considered the language of cities and towns to be a kind of patchwork of features present in either rural dialects or the standard variety, thereby ascribing the creative power to the "authentic" language of rural communities and the autochthonous linguistic development therein. However, sociolinguistics has shown that it is precisely the cities, and the type of social contact and social structure typical for urban communities, that encourage linguistic innovation (Milroy and Milroy 1985, Milroy 1992: 175–200), meaning that it is precisely there that we may expect completely new forms to arise.

Since all varieties of all languages are changing all the time (Milroy 1992: 1–4, Aitchison 2001), then the variety spoken in each community, urban or rural, is undergoing linguistic change with every passing moment, and has been doing so since time immemorial (cf. the uniformitarian principle, Labov 1972b: 101, Labov 1972a: 275, Lass 1997: 28). This

[25] Cf. Milroy et al. (1994: 1–2): "for both methodological and analytic reasons, the simplistic opposition between standard and non-standard should be superseded by an approach that recognises gradations in terms of local and non-local, with the standard (in so far as it can be defined as a variety) being perhaps the ultimate in a non-localised variety of language".

[26] „dva jezička sistema u zavisnosti od situacije"; „u kojoj meri standardni jezik narušava dijalekatski sistem"

means that every single community, no matter how small or isolated, at every point in its history, has displayed linguistic variation. The first traditional dialectologist to notice and fully address this is said to be Louis Gauchat, while studying the language of the small Alpine village of Charmey (Gauchat 1905 [2008], Bugarski 1986: 243, Chambers 2008, Chambers and Schilling 2013: 3–4). The Neogrammarians of Gauchat's time wrote this off as "dialect mixture", being theoretically ill-equipped to deal with the implications of his description, but as Labov points out:

> [W]e find that most investigators describe their own community as exceptional, rife with dialect mixture and chaotic variation as compared to the homogeneous nature of traditional speech communities. But such homogeneous communities are also myths. As Gauchat showed (1905), even the most remote Swiss village shows systematic variation across sex and age group (Labov 1972b: 109).

What we need to do, then, is to "dissolve the assumed association between structure and homogeneity" (Labov 1972a: 204). Once these theoretical and ideological hurdles are overcome, a new world of data regarding changes already finished and those currently under way would become available:

> But if new data has to be introduced, we usually find that it has been barred for ideological reasons, or not even been recognized as data at all, and the new methodology must do more than develop techniques. It must demolish the beliefs and assumptions which ruled its data out of the picture. Since many of these beliefs are held as a matter of deep personal conviction, and spring from the well-established habits of a lifetime, this kind of criticism is seldom accomplished without hard feelings and polemics, until the old guard gradually dissolves into academic security and scientific limbo. (Labov 1972b: 99)

The other major reason for the described state of affairs that suggests itself is the fact that, on the one hand, Yugoslav linguists seem to have been mostly ignorant both of the sociolinguistic theory and of the finer points of methodology that follows variationist research, while, on the other hand, those few who were aware of it never employed it. This has been pointed out by Jutronić-Tihomirović:

> There is an additional reason why dialectological studies have not progressed: The Slavists who do most of the dialectological work are not very well acquainted with the most recent advances in Anglo-American (socio) linguistics. On the other hand, general linguists, most of whom are Anglicists, do not feel they should intrude on the territory of the Slavists. (Jutronić-Tihomirović 1989: 147)

Two factors, we would say, conspired here: the tribalism and isolationism in the Yugoslav scientific community when it comes to linguistics, i.e. the division into groups based primarily on university department (one was primarily a "Serbo-Croatist" or a "Romanist" or an "Anglicist", instead of a syntactician, a phonetician, etc.); and the unwillingness of a part of the said community to keep abreast of the new developments in linguistics as such (partly, perhaps, because these developments were coming from the English-speaking part of the world).

In other words, linguists who used to do thorough field work and research tended to be ignorant of post-1960s theory and methodology, and those who were not ignorant of these advances seemed, for various reasons, to lack the impetus to go out and conduct proper empirical investigation.

8. What little has been done

Even though thus far we have talked about Yugoslav linguists, primarily because the original conditions that led to a lack of variationist studies were more or less the same throughout Yugoslavia, we shall now focus only on Serbia[27], and try to determine to what extent urban speech has been studied and to what extent researchers have moved away from the methodology of traditional dialectology. Most of the works listed below were cited in Bošnjaković (2009a), Marković (2012), Marinković and Marinković (2012), Vasić et al. (2007) and Vučković (2009).

First of all, we will put aside the works that deal with regional vocabulary in towns, i.e. dialect lexicography. Furthermore, we will not concentrate on the works that deal with language in the media, even though these often effectively talk about the features of more formal, careful styles

[27] Though we feel we would be remiss not to at least mention in passing Dunja Jutronić's monograph about the speech of the Croatian city Split (Jutronić 2010).

of Belgrade and Novi Sad speech, depending on which TV and/or radio stations are under consideration; for a list of these see Bošnjaković (2009a: 66). Finally, before we turn to our main groups of studies, the existence of the Novi Sad speech corpus should be mentioned (see Savić 1999 and references therein.)

The first group of studies we will look at are those that examine the Serbian spoken in towns or cities in Serbia, but which definitely do not use and make no attempt at using variationist methodology.

A subgroup within this group comprises studies which fall within the domain of acoustic phonetics (but not sociophonetics), which nonetheless used informants from urban centres; this means they provide us with at least some data on urban speech in contemporary Serbia. Of these we will mention Sredojević (2017), which used 45 informants, almost all students, from Novi Sad (see also Sredojević 2005a, Sredojević 2009a and Sredojević and Subotić 2011), Sredojević (2015b), which examined a feature in the speech of Southeastern speakers studying in Novi Sad (Sredojević's work focuses on pitch-accents), Marković and Bjelaković (2009a) and (2009b), which looked at vowel length in 10 Novi Sad speakers, Gudurić (2009), which examined /ž/ and /š/ in 13 Novi Sad speakers, Lončar Raičević (2016a) and the latter portion of (2016b), which used informants from Užice, and Batas (2014), which used 14+24 student informants from a variety of towns, mostly from Western Serbia, Vojvodina and Belgrade.

The next subgroup comprises papers which briefly cite some features that the author has noticed typically while living in the city in question (usually these are impressionistic remarks about some of the speech features of Belgrade or Novi Sad). In other words, there is no mention of the research methodology etc., rather just some off the cuff observations, superficial sketches of the accent/dialect in question. Often the first person credited for describing urban features of a Serbian variety is Miloš Moskovljević, who in a short 1921 paper listed some of the features he had noticed in the speech of Belgrade; Moskovljević (1939/1940) carries on in a similar vein, focusing on phonetics, as do Belić (1929: 1073) and Belić (1939). Miletić (1952: 101–102) also briefly lists some accentual features he had noticed in the speech of Belgraders, as does Vukomanović (1967). Rajić (1980–1981) briefly reports on the general results of the survey he conducted among a few dozen speakers of varying backgrounds regarding attitudes to the standard variety and regional dialects.

Some impressionistic remarks about the non-standard features of the speech of Belgrade and Novi Sad can also be found in Pešikan (1991: 66), Petrović (1996), Petrović (2001), Vasić et al. (2007), Stijović (2009), Petrović and Gudurić (2010: 369–383 *et passim*), and Subotić et al. (2012: 102–103).

An interesting, more or less unique, place is occupied by Magner and Matejka's 1971 study. The two American linguists endeavoured to examine the perception of pitch-accents in several Yugoslav towns. They tested 1600 high school students in 20 cities and towns on the ability to perceive the prosodic distinctions of the Vukovian accentual system by playing them a set of sentences containing minimal pairs. (Also see Ivić's critique thereof, 1996: 165–169).

The remainder of this group consists of studies which use the methodology of traditional dialectology but look at urban speech. In other words, a handful of "representative" informants are chosen and their speech – only one style thereof – is described. In addition to this, many of these studies do not provide a detailed description of the urban idiom in question, but only focus on one or a few features, often comparing them to the standard variety and to the traditional dialect of the region (exceptions are Stevanović (1950), Mihajlović (1977), Remetić (1996) and Toma (1998), which are monograph-length descriptions, characteristic of *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*). In this group we find the following studies:

Stevanović (1950) provides a description of the speech of Serbs from Đakovica, focusing only on speakers who had been living there before World War I.

Mihajlović (1977) is a study of Leskovac speech based on 18 mostly elderly informants, though not all of them uneducated.

Magner (1984) asked university students from Niš to translate a short text into the variety they would normally speak at home; two of the translations are provided in the paper.

Jerković (1992) gives a sketch of Bečej speech based on 20 elderly informants.

Remetić (1996) provides a description of Prizren speech based on seven elderly informants.

Ćirić (2008) reports on the speech of two elderly informants from Pirot.

Lončar Raičević (2014) looked at the presence of the non-initial short falling accent in the speech of Užice.

Miloradović (2014) briefly mentions some of the current features of Paraćin speech.

Bošnjaković (2016) provides a description of the speech of a single elderly Belgrader from Dorćol (b. 1916).

The most detailed traditional description of an urban Serbian variety is provided by the French linguist Paul-Louis Thomas (Toma 1998). His monograph description of Niš speech is also based largely on traditional methodology, but Thomas a) compares elderly speakers from Niš and those from surrounding villages; b) provides a sophisticated phonetic description (he distinguishes 18 vowel qualities: i, i^{e}, e^{i}, e, e^{a}, a^{e}, a, a^{o}, o^{a}, o, o^{u}, u^{o}, u, $e^{ə}$, ə, $o^{ə}$, $ə^{a}$, $a^{ə}$), though still avoiding quantitative analysis; and as an aside (1998: 434), there is a sociolinguistically aware comparative account of two female speakers, one of whom was leading an isolated life, while the other had extensive contact with her children and grandchildren.

This leads us to Bošnjaković (2009), *Govor Novog Sada* [The Speech of Novi Sad]. This collection of papers (the first of two volumes, the second being Vasić and Štrbac 2011), opening with a theoretical chapter by Bugarski, is a landmark in Serbian sociolinguistics. However, while all the papers in the volume obviously deal with urban speech, specifically that of Novi Sad, only a minority use variationist methodology, as we shall now see.

Sredojević (2009a), as mentioned above, belongs to our previously mentioned group of acoustic studies that use informants from urban centres (this paper looks at the short rising accent in the speech of 10 students from Novi Sad), as do Marković and Bjelaković (2009a) and (2009b), which looked at vowel length, both accented and unaccented, in the speech of 10 informants, as well as Gudurić (2009), which examined the production of fricatives /ž/ and /š/.

Bjelaković and Marković (2009) contains an acoustic element related to vowel quality (13 informants), but is otherwise a qualitative/traditional study of the post-accentual length (26 informants).

Dragin (2009) and Sredojević (2009b) both look at the speech of newsreaders on local TV channels, but again neither of them is quantitative.

Stokin (2009) uses two elderly informants and provides a traditional look at their pitch-accent system with regard to different morphological categories.

Ajdžanović and Alanović (2009) look at the accent of adjectives in the speech of students, again, with no quantitative or variationist elements (though information on their and their parents' place of birth is provided).

Štrbac (2009), similarly, just cites examples of ikavisms in her informants' speech (n=15), but information regarding their age, education and occupation is provided.

Finally, Bošnjaković and Radovanović (2009) look at the speech of people, mostly refugees, originally from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina who had settled in Novi Sad. They make sure to provide data on the age of speakers, as well as their occupation and regional background, but otherwise their analysis is qualitative/traditional.

This leaves us with the only three contributions in this collection, namely Bošnjaković (2009b), Bošnjaković and Urošević (2009) and Bošnjaković (2009c), which actually use elements of variationist methodology. Bošnjaković (2009b) correlates the age of his 13 informants with the frequency of one variable, while also providing information about their education and occupation, though the difference in the type of tokens across different speakers was potentially problematic, as the author himself points out. Similar holds true for the other two papers.

Due to space constraints we will only briefly turn to the second volume of *Govor Novog Sada* (Vasić and Štrbac 2011). The crux of this volume is based on an extensive written questionnaire, a lot of which concerned lexis, filled out by 234 informants (a similar but less extensive questionnaire was administered by Bošnjaković (2009d) in a few village and town primary schools in Banat). The informants' age and level of education were provided, and the analysis sections often involved the frequency of each of the offered answers. We would also like to single out Sredojević (2011), an attitudinal study, perhaps the first of its kind in Serbia, which involved playing recordings of Novi Sad speech to a group of informants, a quantitative analysis of whose responses was then provided.

The remaining group comprises studies which make use of the sociolinguistic methodology at least to a degree, if only to acknowledge the differences between speakers of different ages (we will explicitly state if a study provides any quantitative data).

An early example of a researcher who didn't turn a blind eye to variation while using traditional methodology is, according to Bošnjaković (2012), Nevenka Sekulić (1981). We would add to this P. Ivić (1991), written in 1979, in which the author actually provides quantitative data on an unexpected feature he encountered in a Srem village.

Jović (1979) provides a table showing the main accentual differences between three generations in the Aleksandrovačka Župa region. In Marinković (1994), we find brief general remarks on the main differences between older, middle-aged and younger rural speakers in the Vranje region. We find similarly impressionistic remarks on the internal variation in Vlasotince in Stanković (1997). Bošnjaković (2003) provides a more detailed list of examples regarding the pitch-accent system in the village of Batovac, with some of them divided into groups according to the age group; the same approach was used by Čudomirović (2007) in Batuša. Bošnjaković (2012) examines intraspeaker as well as interspeaker variation regarding pitch-accents in a Banat village, using seven informants of varying ages, referring to the variationist concept of apparent time, and Bošnjaković and Knjižar (2012) examine three variables in Bunjevac speech using six informants — these two studies do use the quantitative approach.

Tomić (2012b) looks at the place of accent in the speech of Vranje pre-school children, providing quantitative analysis. Vuletić (2014) conducts a survey (192 informants from Šabac and Sremska Mitrovica) regarding language attitudes (especially with regard to the standard variety and regional varieties) and provides quantitative analysis with regard to informants' location, gender, age, occupation and education. Trajković (2015) devotes most of her thesis to a description of the rural speech of Preševo in a traditional vein; however, the final section (2015: 336–406) uses variationist methodology (taking into account the speakers' age and education, and providing quantitative data as well). Finally, Lončar Raičević (2016b: 34–48) uses quantitative methodology in one of the sections of her thesis to show that a feature is on the decline in rural Zlatibor speech (11 informants are used, born between 1929 and 2004).

9. Conclusion and future goals

We have seen that what few studies of urban speech exist in Serbia tended to use the methodology of traditional dialectology; the use of variationist methodology is as yet sporadic and uncertain. We are still some way away from what Labov achieved for New York City in 1966 (Labov 2006). Researchers are often still engaged in "a kind of linguistic archaeology", eschewing more representative populations (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 30). What Trudgill said of Britain in 1974 is still true of Serbia today: "the considerable amount of rural dialectological work that has been carried out in Britain has left the linguist singularly ignorant about the way in which most of the people in Britain speak" (1974: 4). Indeed the same was said by Bugarski in 1965: "we are in need, in desperate need even, of analyses of the present situation. And we do not have such analyses. We simply do not know how we speak in cities today" (Bugarski 1983: 220–221).

This lack of knowledge, the state of being "safely semi-ignorant" ("bezbedna poluobaveštenost", Bugarski 1986: 44), among other things, allows for untenable claims to be made, and shedding light on the contemporary regional varieties of Serbian could have certain implications for the supraregional standard variety.[28]

Also, a thorough analysis would show us which features of traditional dialects have been abandoned in which region, and which features, some of them perhaps new, have attained local prestige and serve the purpose of reaffirming regional identity (cf. Kerswill 2003: 3 and the young English northerners not wanting to sound like old northerners, but also not wanting to sound like southerners).

Seeing how major urban centres influence the geographic areas around them and how linguistic innovations emanate from them (see Kapović 2004 for a look at the situation in Croatia), and seeing how major levelling processes are taking place all over Europe (Kerswill 2013), we can expect to find out that old isoglosses have shifted, and perhaps disappeared, while new isoglosses may have formed (cf. the criteria used by Labov et al. 2006 to draw regional boundaries).

A useful place to begin, for the uninitiated, would be to read key foundational texts and up-to-date handbooks (e.g. Labov 1972, Milroy and Gordon 2003, and Chambers and Schilling 2013). A potential task would be to collect all the extant tapes made in the course of traditional dialectological research in the previous century and reanalyze the material, paying close attention to intraspeaker and interspeaker variation. The ultimate goal, of course, would be to thoroughly describe the speech of all major speech communities, especially the main urban centres, with all of their internal variation, style shifting, and change in progress (Labov 1972b: 108).

[28] A study similar to Kristiansen (2001) would be very welcome, as it would determine which varieties are actually prestigious, and considered appropriate in various situations.

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Received: 1 October 2017
Accepted for publication: 31 January 2018

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КАМО ВАРИЈАЦИОНИСТИЧКА СОЦИОЛИНГВИСТИКА
У СРБИЈИ?

Сажетак

Мало се променило од 1965. и првобитног позива Р. Бугарског за изучавање градског говора у Југославији (и његовог потоњег извештавања о рађању и развитку варијационистичке социолингвистике). Ми и даље не знамо како већина Срба говори, те који је обим стилистичке и друштвене варијације у градовима српског говорног подручја. У раду ћемо покушати да покажемо како социолингвистике у ужем смислу у Србији углавном није било; покушаћемо затим да понудимо неке од разлога за такво стање ствари; такође ћемо и истаћи оно мало што јесте урађено на пољу урбане дијалектологије и варијационистичке социолингвистике.

Кључне речи: социолингвистика, српски, дијалектологија

UDC 811.163.41’282(497.11 Belgrade)
https://doi.org/10.18485/bells.2018.10.11

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CONTESTING IDENTITY IN THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF BELGRADE: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH

Abstract
This paper investigates aspects of the Linguistic Landscape of central Belgrade between 2009 and 2017, theorizing its findings at the intersection of sociolinguistics, ethnography, and semiotics, which has gained ground as the platform of choice in “second wave” linguistic landscape (LL) research. It focuses on dynamic indexical relations between space and language in the framework of superdiversity, as a way of making sense of language-in-society. To this end, it problematizes how ideologically laden identitarian concerns (such as digraphia/double literacy but also Christian Orthodoxy and heteronormativity as an index of *srpstvo*) find their way onto Stari Grad walls. Such concerns have considerable – and often lasting – effects on the LL which can only be adequately investigated by systematic ethnographic studies of the semiotic means employed in inscribing it.

Key words: linguistic landscape, identity, indexicality, digraphia, homosexuality, Belgrade

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1. Introduction: Language, space, and ethnographic LL research

In the twenty years since Landry and Bourhis's (1997) seminal paper on the linguistic landscape (henceforth LL), scholarship has investigated this multifaceted phenomenon primarily in urban settings producing an impressive body of work (see, e.g., the contributions in Gorter 2006; Shohamy and Gorter 2009; Shohamy, Ben-Rafael and Barni 2010; Pennycook 2009, 2010; Blackwoodet al. 2016 – to name just a few). Indeed, urban space has received the lion's share of LL research to date, although work on non-urban and peri-urban spaces has started gaining ground (Blommaert and Maly 2014: 1). This seems to hold true even as LL research is well into its "second wave", having progressively moved from setting more quantitative to more qualitative goals. And yet, there is precious little work done on the Balkans (e.g. Grbavac 2013; Canakis 2016; Canakis and Kersten-Pejanić 2016), although the Greek financial crisis did precipitate interest in linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of space in the Greek capital and elsewhere (Kitis 2011; Kitis and Milani 2015; Stampoulidis 2016; Zaimakis 2016; Canakis 2012, 2016, 2017a, in press). With few exceptions (Radović 2013; Ivković 2015a, 2015b; Canakis and Kersten-Pejanić 2016), Serbia has become the object of – often field-work based – investigations of public space and semiotic means from a variety of points of view (notably, activist perspectives, e.g., Sombatpoonsiri 2015[1]). And yet, such work often focuses selectively on semiotic production (non-linguistic and linguistic graffiti) which serves as a starting point for discourse analysis (more often of the type connected with non-linguistic work) and emphasizes power struggles over contested space (Johnson 2012). In a way this is how my research started out.[2]

However, I have always felt the lack of a *bona fide* linguistic frame of reference for my work, even as I continued my field work over several long trips, an extended stay of over a month in summer 2011, and frequent returns to Belgrade eversince. And if LL provided this much-needed frame, the work produced on my chosen area of interest (Serbia and

[1] See also Canakis (2017b) on this work.

[2] Visiting Belgrade in November 2009 – for a totally different project – I could not fail to notice the hate graffiti on the city walls in the aftermath of the cancelled September 21 2009 Gay Pride Parade (*Parada ponosa*). I could not fail to notice the sheer ubiquity and high visibility of such written messages, especially since, at the time, I was working intensively on language, gender, and sexuality issues.

the Balkans) was carried out by social scientists, notably historians and anthropologists, whose primary interests lie outside linguistics proper and whose findings require both special handling and a good dose of interdisciplinary translation before being effectively used by sociolinguists. To this day, there is, to my knowledge, little work on the Serbian LL and it would be preposterous to think that this paper will fill the gap (widened and deepened as it has been by years of intense – and methodologically diverse – approaches to LL internationally).

What it does aspire to do, however, is to offer an ethnographically-based overview of Belgrade's LL, focusing on Stari Grad/Dorćol in the city center, pinpointing identitarian concerns as manifested in the LL – and what is more, concerns which have demonstrably galvanized Serbian society at large and have been operative in shaping contemporary identities (*qua* stances and actions, cf. Bucholtz and Hall 2004) in a post-war society within a globalized world(cf. Bjelić 2000; Blommaert 2013).

This work is situated, both chronologically and methodologically, at the intersection of first and second wave LL investigation, but has always assumed the ethnographic point of view, which has become the trademark of second-wave LL research. As I hope to be able to show, this is a more opportune approach (cf. Blommaert 2007) for research aspiring to situate and contextualize its LL findings at a certain point in time, in this case the period from 2009 to date. To this end, in the second section of this paper I will attempt a brief introduction to the LL of Belgrade, focusing on its peculiarities and attempting to anchor my observations on interdisciplinary work on Serbia and the Balkans. In the third and main section, I will concentrate on two aspects of the LL of Belgrade: the interplay of long-standing digraphia (a corollary of *dvoazbučnost* or double literacy in the Latin and Cyrillic alphabets; cf. Bugarski 1997a; 2012) and heteronormativity (the alignment of one's gender and sexuality, given a generalized presupposition of heterosexuality) with national identity (*srpstvo* 'Serbdom') in changing times. Although digraphia and a gendered and sexed sense-of-self may seem strange bed fellows, it will easily become apparent that they are not: for both have been heavily implicated in indexing national identityboth in the LL and in public discourse (cf. Canakis 2013; Canakis and Kersten-Pejanić 2016). In the concluding section, I will show the implications of these findings for an understanding of Stari Grad and Dorćol as lived space in which aspects of social life are inscribed on the city walls.

2. Locating Belgrade in urban LL research

Part and parcel of the move from quantitative to qualitative LL research is an emphasis on the so-called “semiotic landscape” of which language is an integral part. To quote Jaworski and Thurlow (2010: 1)

> […] we are concerned here with the interplay between language, visual discourse, and the spatial practices and dimensions of culture, especially the textual mediation or discourse construction of place and the use of space as a semiotic resource in its own right. The broader context which we are interested in is the extent to which these mutual processes are in turn shaped by the economic and political reorderings of post-industrial or advanced capitalism, intense patterns of human mobility, the mediatization of social life […], and transnational flows of information, ideas and ideologies […].

To the extent that LL research is a reflex of the *spatial turn* in sociolinguistics, we are required to recognize “that space is not only physically but also socially constructed, which necessarily shifts absolutist notions of space towards more communicative or discursive conceptualizations […]” (Ibid.: 6).This is directly manifested in the gradual shift of scholarly interest in “*spatialization,* [i.e.] the different processes by which space comes to be represented, organized and experienced” (Ibid.: 7). This point of view is elaborated further in Blommaert (2013: 1-4), who argues that LLs bring great descriptive and analytical potential to sociolinguistics, urging sociolinguistics to pay more attention to literacy and historicize its analyses, given an understanding of space “as inhabited and invested by people” (Ibid.: 2).

Such a perspective favors a more holistic approach to the LL and underscores its dynamic character. Looking at space not only as physically bounded but also socially constructed allows for a better understanding of the role of the stativity, mobility, or/and evanescence of LL signs as well as of layers of human agency on the LL (cf., e.g., intertextuality). Observing space as dynamic and historical presupposes focusing on LLs as “indexing social, cultural and political patterns” (Ibid.: 3). Viewed in this way, the LL becomes an advantageous arena for the negotiation and contestation of identities (cf. Blackwood et al. 2016; Rojo 2016; Stroud 2016).

Keeping this in mind, researching the LL of Belgrade means researching the LL of a superdiverse metropolis in late modernity (cf. Blommaert and Rampton 2011), in which the tensions of the local and the global are manifested at rapid pace which is characteristic of large urban centers. Even a cursory look at the LL of Belgrade will reveal dense signage of all kinds, notably, public/administrative and private/commercial. Internationally known 'BCNs' (big commercial names; Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael 2016: 201-202) coexist with well-known local brand names in a variety of written messages in the form of printed posters, flyers or stickers and stenciled or free-style graffiti. What is more, these signs are predominantly written in two alphabets. And whereas this is the case in many large urban centers internationally, where a local alphabet coexists with the Latin alphabet, often as the carrier of a *lingua franca*, in Serbia both the Cyrillic and the Latin alphabets are local (Bugarski 1997a). Digraphia is thus one of the most marked characteristics of the Serbian LL (cf. Ivković 2015a, 2015b) and an issue which has often caused conflicts (both within ex-Yugoslavia and Serbia proper) since the 1850 Literary Agreement (Greenberg 2004: 41), especially when reductive alignments have been sought between the Latin and Cyrillic alphabets on the basis of ethnicity and religion as justification for exclusivist policies and practices (cf. the "Cyrillic only" movement) regarding the use of the alphabets (Greenberg 2000, 2004; Bugarski 1997b: 107 quoted in Greenberg 2004: 61-62).

Digraphia, as a particularity of the Serbian LL – indeed as a dominant characteristic of Serbian sociolinguistic reality – rife as it is with (long-standing but also changing) indexical relations to religion, ethnicity, political affiliation, etc., permeates linguistic ideologies in Serbia while also emerging as a theme in other aspects of sociopolitical life. It is not accidental, for instance, that the Cyrillic alphabet seems to be the favorite carrier of signs relating to religious life or nationalist mottos. As I will try to show in the remainder of this paper, the indexical relations of the Cyrillic alphabet to Serbian national identity, to *srpstvo*, seem to license a number of symbolic extensions which may be more "perceived" than "real", but are still "out there". It is in this way that the Cyrillic may end up, for instance, as a symbol for (religious) anti-abortion groups (who advocate pronatalism in the interest of *srpstvo*; cf. Picture 17).

In a seemingly different vein, homophobic attitudes and explicit hate-speech in public discourse and LL signs, often signed by extremist nationalist groups such as *Obraz* or *1389*, have been routinely associated with *srpstvo* (regardless of whether they are written in the Cyrillic or the Latin alphabet). By the same token, local and foreign voices advocating LGBT[3] rights have been routinely cast as serving foreign interests and as undermining both *srpstvo* and Serbian sovereignty (Canakis 2013; Canakis and Kersten-Pejanić 2016). It is interesting that the very same "foreign-mercenary" rhetoric has been noted in the literature in relation to linguistic and political facts in Serbia (Bugarski 1997a) – and it is by no means a Serbian novelty (cf. Canakis 2017a). Still, what this tells us so far is that, at a certain point in time, non-homonormative behavior came to be associated with anti-national behavior, whereas there was scarcely any mention of such an idea before. And, to be sure, if the LL in Belgrade after 2009[4] testifies to this, this is not the case anymore, as I will show in the next section. This conjunction of sexuality and *srpstvo* can only be appreciated in the light of linguistic and social science research on contemporary Serbia in the aftermath of the fall of Yugoslavia – and the same is true of any other issue that one may choose to focus on (e.g. the booming tourist industry in Belgrade, marked by extensive gentrification and development (cf. e.g. *Beograd na vodi*) as well as by the recent placement of signposts marking landmarks in several alphabets, and bearing maps of the surrounding area; see Pictures1 and 2).

This brings us to the relevance of ethnographic investigation of the LL of Belgrade. Despite the undeniable diagnostic merits of a quantitative analysis, a qualitative approach based on ethnographic study of the LL of Belgrade is more likely to provide thicker descriptions of language in lived space. Moreover, it is more likely to foreshadow the concerns of *Beograđani* and *Beograđanke*, as actual and potential LL actors, at a time of increasing globalization but also increasing tensions between the local and the global (cf. Blommaert 2010, 2013), given the competing views of national identity. An investigation of Belgrade's LL will necessarily have to refer to this (as it would in the case of other world cities) – but it will also have to refer to much more: the specifics of what we call "the local".

Belgrade is the biggest city and capital of a country that has changed names three times since the 1990s. It is still the biggest city where a version of (erstwhile) Serbo-Croatian (currently BCMS) is spoken as a native language. The sociopolitical adventures of conflict during (and after)

[3] LGBT stands for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender people.

[4] In September 2009, there was an attempt to organize a Gay Pride Parade in the city for the second time and it failed.

the fall of ex-Yugoslavia have not only been inscribed in the LL, but often provide the necessary context to an understanding of what goes on in the LL today. Such background information will unavoidably have to inform LL research in Belgrade. In fact, some aspects of the LL may make little sense otherwise. It is against this background (and not in Belgrade as "a-chronic" physical space) that digraphia and homophobia may be seen as aspects of national identity at all. And it is highly unlikely that this will remain so, despite the strong indexical relations still holding among them.

The ethnographic approach applied in this work warrants a broader explanation of the themes focused upon and the specific material used. As previously mentioned, I began investigating the LL of Belgrade systematically in late 2009. Although, at the time, my interest lay primarily in hate speech and homophobia, it quickly became apparent to me that it was often co-articulated with a number of other concerns. By 2010 I was already investigating the LL of central Belgrade in a comprehensive way, looking for strands and connections in data which included quite literally everything: from public and commercial signage and football fan graffiti, to political signs and ads for private tutors, painters, and live-in care takers for the elderly. Although my work was never quantitative, I paid particular attention to repeated tokens of the same sign. Among these signs, the ones relating to identity politics in the realms of political life, football, religion, and sexuality were ubiquitous and allowed for interconnections which are best examined *in situ*. These are issues for which research in the LL and the social sciences provides suitable analytic tools and which, given the sheer number of collected data over the years, I feel confident, matter to LL actors in Belgrade.

3. Case studies

3.1. Digraphia: Cyrillic vs. Latin in the LL

To be in the Serbian capital is to witness "a unique case of active digraphia" (Ivković 2013: 335). It is also a rather safe assumption that this is one aspect of Belgrade's LL which is relatively stable. Although one could embark on a quantitative study in order to determine the percentages of use of the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets in specific domains, one could also focus on the irrelative distribution and visibility, based on the order in which they appear on certain types of signs, the font, size, color, and other material aspects of their production (cf. e.g. Backhaus 2007; Grbavac 2013), as potential indexes of both official and unofficial stances towards them. Their long-standing coexistence as functionally equivalent, native vehicles of written language in Serbia is as easily ascertained in the LL as it is in people's private practices (e.g. handwritten shopping lists and reminders on one's fridge; PhD theses submitted in Cyrillic but PhD defense power points in Latin, etc.). And yet, their use suggests the prevalence of one over the other in specific contexts and may be understood as making a political statement, given the history of ideologically driven conflicts around them (Bugarski 1997a, 2001, 2012).

There is no doubt that both the Cyrillic and the Latin versions of the alphabet used in Serbia are highly visible. However, a quick look at official, administrative public signage in various domains indicates a specific alphabetic order. For example, in Pictures (1) and (2) Cyrillic comes first and it is in a larger font. The Latin version of the name of the street appears directly under it, not only in a smaller font, but with *Street* following it. On the other hand, *Knez Mihailova Street* is typographically aligned with Chinese and Russian versions following it in this order. This official sign sets the Cyrillic clearly apart from the Latin script which, given the addition of *Street*, relegates the Latin version to the realm of the foreign. Even if we concede that this choice reflects considerations of economy or/and redundancy in public signage, the absence of a Latin equivalent for *Trg Republike* and the choice of *Republic Square* instead (Picture 3) is semiotically significant. But one should be careful, for *Kosančićev venac* (in Picture 2) is indeed the Serbian Latin version of the place name which appears first in (boldface) Cyrillic and not an equivalent in English. A closer examination of several of these signs points to a state of affairs where Cyrillic always precedes Latin, sometimes clearly meant as an equivalent of Cyrillic and sometimes as a translation in English as the lingua franca *par excellence*. The Latin alphabet is a vehicle for both local and foreign languages, which, in turn, seems to be the driving force behind the choice of Cyrillic as first, i.e. as local. However, although there is a Serbian version of Latin just as there is a Serbian version of Cyrillic, Russian Cyrillic stands apart in all cases. This choice has a double effect: it presents Serbian Cyrillic as the local alphabet of choice, while allowing second place for the Latin alphabet as either local or foreign and global. The particulars of the Serbian version of Latin (such as *ć* and *č*) do not disqualify a place name from the position reserved for English, but Serbian and Russian Cyrillic are systematically set apart.

Picture 1

Picture 2

Picture 3

Picture 4

These newly erected columns, meant to help tourists find their whereabouts in Belgrade, present Cyrillic as the local, native Serbian, script. Seen in a different way, Cyrillic is considered to suffice for addressing locals. At the same time, this state of affairs tells us something about local administrative perceptions regarding the intended recipients of these signs. If the linguistic realm of the local is represented by the Cyrillic alphabet, the realm of the global features English, Chinese, and Russian in this order – and the choice and order of appearance are not accidental. The presence of Chinese has increased commensurately with China's economic power and influence on the world economy. As for Russian, the reasons may be more complex: a perceived affinity with Russia as another Slavic and Orthodox nation since the fall of Yugoslavia has replaced the rather cool relations during Yugoslav times,[5] and evidence of this is available in the LL. In 2011, when the NATO meeting in Belgrade caused vociferous protests, the city was infested with posters and stickers (Picture 4) urging people to say "no" to the EU and proposing a political alliance between Serbia and Russia. Another indication of this perceived affinity is that, at the same time, there was a large graffitied sign in Studentski Trg on how Serbs are the ones paying for Russia's weakness. In Belgrade, as elsewhere, the LL provides dialogic and intertextual evidence of administrative choices as well as stances (cf. section 3.2) to issues attracting public attention. This is an instance of "the city as a text" (cf. Radović 2013).

The primary or exclusive use of the Cyrillic alphabet for administrative uses in the LL is documented by regular street signs (Pictures 5 and 6), official notices on postal boxes (Picture 7), and signs and billboards at the National Theater (Picture 8), to give just a few examples. Street signs, in particular, because of their sheer number in urban LLs, offer a good source of evidence for the principles guiding administrative signage. In central Belgrade, road signs typically feature both alphabets in the same font size with Cyrillic fist, in the upper part of the sign (Picture 5). This order is never reversed, in my experience. Cyrillic only road signs (Picture 6) are rarer in the city center, but more common as we move away from the center. Moreover, they are relatively older and likely to reflect policies which are no longer followed. However, it must be noted that Cyrillic only signs are also to be found on the very same main streets where other signs appear in both scripts.

5 Yugoslavia was not a member of the Warsaw Pact.

Picture 5

Picture 6

Moving to the domain of public services, the vividness of the print on stickers bearing information on collection times on mailboxes (Picture 7) suggests they are a relatively recent addition. Moreover, billboards addressing the public of the National Theater and advertising its program are in Cyrillic only (Picture 8), in contrast to the billboards for the *Jugoslovensko Dramsko Pozorište* which may appear in Cyrillic or Latin (Picture 9). A similar poster bearing relevant information for the National Theater in English (Picture 10) suggests, once more, that an increasing realization of Belgrade's international position and appeal has cast the Latin alphabet as a preferential vehicle for foreign languages, notably English. Last, the Library of the City of Belgrade (Picture 11) is another institution which opts for Cyrillic only, as does Belgrade Public Transport Authority (Picture 12).

Picture 7

Picture 8

Picture 9

Picture 10

Picture 11

Picture 12

While all of this is probably known to locals and foreigners who take an interest in linguistic matters in contemporary Serbia, my experience from researching the LL at home (the Metropolitan area of Athens, Greece and Mytilene on Lesbos) and abroad has made it clear that this kind of micro-documentation of mundane, banal signs (cf. Milani 2014) brings into focus what we, as locals, usually fail to notice, despite its ubiquity. And to be sure, the state of affairs presented here has to be examined in conjunction with wider discourses and stances regarding the use of the two alphabets in Serbia, to which I turn next.

Although use of the Cyrillic or Latin alphabet in the former Serbo-Croatian area was conditioned by religion, the coexistence of Cyrillic and Latin in Serbia dates back to the early 20th century (Bugarski 2012: 224; Greenberg 2004: 41) and, if anything, their officially recognized equivalence by the Novi Sad Agreement in 1954 accorded high status to both. However, after the breakup of Yugoslavia and the intensification of regional nationalisms (cf. Bugarski 2001), while Serbia did not lead in linguistic innovation, it clung to the Cyrillic, which, being "highly valued as a crucial symbol and safeguard of Serb identity, was given priority over the 'Croatian' Latin" (Ibid.: 231; see also Bugarski 1997a). Greenberg (2004: 63) mentions that "[s]ome Serbs have felt strongly that only Cyrillic should be protected and promoted, and they have responded to real or perceived threats to the status of this script". The 2015 campaign organized by the newspapers *Politika* and *Večernje Novosti* for a law which would eliminate taxes for printed material in Cyrillic may not have succeeded, but it is indicative of the continued concern for its protection.[6]

Signs relating to the Cyrillic-only campaign have punctuated the LL of central Belgrade over the last decade (Pictures 13 and 14). Given what we know from the relevant literature, public discourse, and LL research, such LL signs speak for the anxiety over the present and future of the Cyrillic in a LL where its prevalence can hardly be denied.

Picture 13

Picture 14

However, as repeatedly stated here, this prevalence is in the administrative sphere, whereas a charitable interpretation of the signs in Pictures 13 and 14 is that they target the commercial, and, most importantly, the private sphere. It is in the private sphere, and especially in computer mediated communication (Ivković 2013), where the Latin is perceived as prevalent and as threatening the Cyrillic (cf. Greenberg 2004: 41). In public space, the prevalence of the Latin script seems to be largely a result of its being chosen more often for commercial purposes. Ivković (2015b: 99) aptly describes the situation in the Serbian LL as “genre digraphia”, a situation “defined as a tendency of use of one or the other alphabet in a particular domain/subdomain of language use, or genre: context, content, agency, activity, as well as within a particular spatial and temporal frame.” Given its prominence in administrative LL signs, there are good grounds for assuming that exhortations for using the Cyrillic script make sense primarily if understood as enhancing its use in commercial signage and in private practices. This is a move that would restrict the use of Latin, and,

6 See http://serbianmonitor.com/en/society/34998/serbia-an-offensive-to-preserve-cyrillic-alphabet/#.Wiq7K99l_IV

by the same token, enhance a sense of the Cyrillic as the national Serbian script in terms of everyday practice. Put differently, it aims at eliminating what Ivković currently describes as “genre digraphia”.

Such a view seems justified in view of the animosity against the Latin Serbian script, manifested, for instance, in cases where the Latin version of a street-name is purposefully erased (Picture 15).[7] Although it is more than likely that such defacing of signs reflects the attitudes of political extremist minorities, it is nonetheless significant that such groups invest the Cyrillic and Latin script with strong identitarian meanings. Indirect, secondary evidence for such concerns also comes from the more recent *Negujmo srpski jezik* campaign, whose posters in Cyrillic are found in bookstores around the city (Picture 16). Although those signs are puristic directives aimed at regulating language usage in the context of advertising prescriptive manuals, the Cyrillic appears as a self-evident choice of script, since it complements the alphabetic purism documented in other LL signs.

Picture 15

Picture 16

Whereas the examples used so far are straightforward, some uses of the two scripts in the LL point to ideological and identitarian alignments which may need to be unpacked. For instance, preference for the Cyrillic in anti-abortion rallies relies on the privileged links of such groups with the Orthodox Church and the clergy (Picture 17) as pillars of national identity. In a similar vein, the preferential script for graffiti signed by *SNP 1389* and promoting the view of General Ratko Mladić as a hero (Picture 18) is, characteristically, the Cyrillic. The signs in Pictures (17) and (18) condense

7 The sheer number of such cases in Stari Gradi/Dorćol and beyond justifies my treating this as a run-of-the-mill token.

aspects of identity and ideological claims with reference to the nation. That is why I will argue that the Cyrillic and Latin scripts in Belgrade are crucially implicated in the construction of complex orders of indexicality (Silverstein 2003) with local significance.

Picture 17

Picture 18

In his pioneering work on the Serbian LL, using quantitative and qualitative methods, Ivković (2015a, 2015b) also concludes that "an alphabet becomes an index of religion, identity and nationhood, commodification, press tabloidization, and internetization, to name a few" (2015b: 99).[8] The waves of nationalism in the former Serbo-Croatian area have reinforced historical indexical relations between script and ethnicity, typically mediated by religion, and have opened a new chapter for the Serbian Cyrillic script as a symbol of national identity and Serbian citizenship and, therefore, as an eminent index of *srpstvo*. This is in keeping with research from a variety of perspectives (cf. Lampe 1996; Ramet 1996; Štiks 2006; Shaw and Štiks 2013). What is more interesting are the extensions of this symbolic currency to other domains (Canakis and Kersten-Pejanić 2016), which justifies Ivković's (2015a: 109) observation that the choice of alphabet in Serbia is anything but arbitrary, for its consequences go well beyond alphabetic preference.

[8] See also Ivković (2013), who suggests that alphabet use on the internet shows both the dominance of the Latin alphabet as well as the stabilization of its non-standard orthographic variants.

3.2. Sexuality as an index of national identity in the LL

Urban centers in LL research have emerged as arenas of contestation between different groups as LL actors (cf. Shohamy and Waksman 2009; Blackwood et al. 2016). Anything from rivalry between football team fans (cf. Siebetcheu 2016), protests against gentrification and urban development (cf. Papen 2012), social protests and political unrest (e.g., Kasanga 2014; Kitis and Milani 2015; Stampoulidis 2016; Waksman and Shohamy 2016), language conflicts (e.g., Pavlenko 2009, 2010), and the rights of vulnerable social groups (e.g., Canakis and Kersten-Pejanić 2016; Canakis 2017a) may be read off the LL of urban centers around the world. Situating the relevant LL signs in lived space and investigating them in the context of wider local and global discourses has been the hallmark of ethnographic LL research. It is in this intellectual climate that it makes sense to talk of Belgrade's LL as a locus for contestation of the legitimacy of the Latin alphabet as a Serbian script, document the administrative protection of the Cyrillic, and argue for the latter as an index of national identity. It is also in this tradition that it becomes possible to investigate how the inscription of seemingly irrelevant aspects of social life in the LL is ultimately linked to overarching concerns, such as national sovereignty and identity, which have dominated Serbian public opinion and motivated LL actors since the breakup of Yugoslavia. In this section I will attempt to show how public expression of homosexuality in Serbia became the target of extreme nationalist rhetoric and was portrayed as anti-Serb behavior after 2009.

LGBT advocacy groups and an awareness of LGBT rights as human rights gained visibility in Serbia after 2001, when the first Gay Parade in Belgrade was cancelled due to violent protests and, especially, after 2009, when the parade was cancelled yet again for security reasons (cf. Canakis 2013). These events coincided with nascent sociolinguistic interest in language and sexuality (Kulick 2000; Cameron and Kulick 2003; Bucholtz and Hall 2004), and breakthroughs in LL research (cf. Barni and Bagna 2015, Shohamy 2015; Shohamy and Ben-Rafael 2015). Moreover, discourses around these events, both in and out of Serbia, developed in the context of intensified investigation of the interplay of sexuality and citizenship in Central and Eastern European societies (cf. e.g. Kulpa and Mizielińska 2011, especially the contribution by Blagojević). Much of this research was inspired by work on the interplay of nationalism, sexuality, and masculinity (notably, Mosse 1982, 1985a, 1985b, 1996; Nagel 1998; and Pryke 1998) and advocated its relevance in new contexts. Although a thorough discussion of this theoretical background is beyond the goals of this paper,[9] it is important to stress the commonality of such ideological constructs in the Western world, before tracing aspects of the specific polemic in Belgrade.

From November 2009,[10] freestyle or stencil graffitied signs exclaiming *Smrt pederima* 'death to faggots' (Picture 19), *Čekamo vas!* 'we are waiting for you!' (Picture 20), *Neće proći 20.9* '20.9 won't pass', and a variety of other messages (Pictures 21, 22) became ubiquitous in the LL of Belgrade. They were mostly but not exclusively in Cyrillic, they were often signed by the extremist nationalist organizations *Obraz* and *SNP 1389*, and they were meant as intimidating messages to Serbian LGBT people who sought to enhance their visibility through organizing and taking part in Gay Pride Parades in Belgrade. These extremist groups, along with football fans and often connected with them, and maintaining close ties to political elites, were instrumental in spreading these LL signs.[11] Although they were often white-washed, they kept resurfacing. Moreover, they attracted attention in and out of Serbia because of their intensity and, presumably, because they were unprecedented at this scale. Be that as it may, before long, they became emblematic of Serbian intolerance of LGBT rights (cf. the 2009 documentary by Matthew Charles) and were instrumental in creating tension between local and foreign conceptualizations of sexuality vis-à-vis citizenship (cf. Blagojević 2011; Canakis 2013) and even dividing local LGBT advocacy groups. Specifically, given the explicit nationalist ideology of groups such as *Obraz* and *1389*, who orchestrated anti-gay protests and were major LL actors in spreading hate graffiti, homosexuality was pitted not only against traditional family values, but also against *srpstvo*.

9 For a more extensive discussion, see Canakis (2013) and Canakis and Kersten-Pejanić (2016).

10 This date refers to the beginning of my own research and is not meant to reflect the first appearance of such signs.

11 Moreover, as suggested by an anonymous reviewer, political elites and football fans were also instrumental in the disappearance of these signs from the streets of Belgrade in recent years (cf. also Canakis 2013).

Picture 19

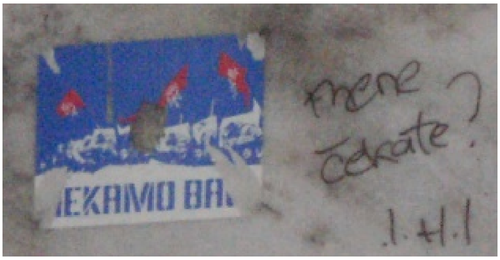
Picture 20

Declarations by representatives of *Obraz* and *1389* (see Canakis 2013: 312ff and Charles 2009 for footage), explicitly stated that they oppose not homosexuality as such, but its visibility in “Serbian streets”, as it goes against religion and “Serbian spiritual identity” (lit. *duhovni identitet*). Not only was there mention that this display was indicative of imported mores, but, as the argument went, “this is just one of many indicators why Serbia should not join such a monstrous project as the European Union.” Last, tolerance for Gay Pride Parades was squarely cast as curtailing the “freedom” of the Serbs. Note that this information was not spelled out as such in the LL. And yet, publicized as it was both in and outside the country, it facilitated the intended reception of the relevant LL signs as nationalist mottos rather than (only as) hate-speech. By the same token, LGBT people were not only stigmatized for their sexual practices, but also for their perceived lack of allegiance to the nation and its values. In this process, which subsided only many years later, LL signs served as shorthand for the wider rhetoric.

One did not have to look far to see the signs, for they were everywhere (see also Pictures 21 and 22 for different versions), just as one did not have to specifically search for the positions of extremist groups, since their members often took to the streets and chanted them while holding banners featuring national symbols. These groups claimed high visibility for themselves, as upholding national values, while casting Serbian LGBT people as anti-national subjects; indeed, a sexualized version of the “foreign mercenary”. Thus, sexuality and national identity became the links of an indexical order with local currency at a historical moment. Given the widespread dissatisfaction in Serbia with the positions adopted by the EU and the international community in negotiations regarding sensitive political matters, such as the independence of Kosovo, extremist voices may have found it easier to appeal to the public. Similar phenomena have occurred elsewhere. For instance, the rapid rise of the Golden Dawn in the context of the financial crisis in Greece after 2010, combined with a widespread distrust of both immigrants and the West *qua* oppressive lenders threatening national sovereignty, led to a deterioration of the status of LGBT citizens as early as 2011 (Canakis 2017a: 169).

Picture 21

Picture 22



Picture 23

Picture 24

It is worth examining the combination of linguistic and wider semiotic means which ended up portraying homosexuality (non-heteronormativity) as anti-Serb behavior. Linguistically speaking, the main mottos issue directive (*Smrt pederima* 'death to faggots') and declarative (*Čekamo vas!* 'we are waiting for you!', *Neće proći 20.9* '20.9 won't pass') speech acts which presuppose an identifiable enemy. The symbolic analogy of *Smrt pederima* to the Partisan motto *Smrt fašizmu* ('death to fascism') is hardly lost on the intended recipients. Therefore, the linguistic content of these messages portrays LGBT people as the enemy. On the wider semiotic plain, the very name of *SNP 1389* and *Obraz* 'honor', along with the latter's symbols (Picture 21), are fraught with national significance for the Serbs and are iconic of national identity. Regardless of whether *1389* and *Obraz* usurp such symbols, the combined effect of the linguistic and semiotic means in the LL is that people who uphold national (and religious) values are ready to engage in physical battle with a foreign enemy force. The sticker in Picture (23), where *Čekamo vas!* is written in Cyrillic under the schematic representation of a rally where a crowd is waving *Obraz* flags, featuring an identifiable symbol of Christian Orthodox iconography, aptly employs verbal and pictorial means to condense this view. However, the *Mene čekate?* 'are you waiting for me?' handwritten in Latin script next to it[12] is also significant.

One of the more interesting aspects of LL is its dialogic construction. Messages invite counter-messages exhibiting various degrees of intertextuality. Johnson's (2012) critical analysis of anti-LGBT graffiti in Belgrade can be fruitfully incorporated in investigating the place of these signs in contesting public space (cf. Pennycook 2009). Specifically, in Pictures 20, 23 and 24, original anti-LGBT graffitied signs are answered. What is more, they are answered in a tongue-in-check manner, making light of the threats. The stenciled graffitied signs featuring Batman and Robin (Picture 23) or a comic-book *femme fatale* (Picture 24) asking *Are you waiting for us/me?* are highly intertextual, as they directly address a declarative with a question featuring the same verb, and are indicative of the intentions of the people using them as situated responses to threats. Such counter-graffiti, replicated all over the city, is indicative of the type of resistance opted for by LBGT Serbs. By juxtaposing good-natured comic book heroes responding to threats at face-value, they assumed a (potentially unnerving) humorous stance while "inscribing non-normative, alternative human experiences, in

[12] Both appear on the marble pedestal of the statue of Mihailo Obrenović in Trg Republike.

a process of claiming visibility by symbolically appropriating public space" (Canakis and Kersten-Pejanić 2016: 136). More importantly, by choosing not to oppose the nation and its values directly, they have made clear their intentions to claim a position as national subjects within *srpstvo*.[13] But it is still noteworthy, and relevant to the discussion in the first section, that these responses are in the Latin script, a choice which contributes to their function as a rebuke.

Concluding this section, we should repeat that the LL data examined here are not ahistorical or achronic. They may have spanned a long period but they were not always there, and neither will they persevere forever. Both graffitied threats and tongue-in-cheek responses have become much less visible. And yet, in the aftermath of this public conflict, those earlier signs provide the context for new, intertextual signs further justifying the view of LLs as dynamic. These new signs (Pictures 25 and 26, shot in 2016), constitute rebukes in a different vein. The stenciled sign in Picture 25 announces, in Latin script, that it is capitalism rather than gay people who "screw you-all". It is intertextual in that it issues an aphorism which makes sense in the context of Belgrade's LL, but is not a response to another sign in its immediate vicinity. In contrast, Picture 26 features a co-constructed, intertextual sign, where a garden-variety token of *Smrt pederima* 'death to faggots' is edited to read *Smrt hejterima* 'death to haters'. Both the original and the edited part are in the Cyrillic alphabet (with the exception of *t* in *hejterima*).

Picture 25

Picture 26

[13] In contrast, given different local histories, Greek LGBT people often opt to explicitly state their distance from the nation with graffitied signs claiming they are the "shame/ dishonor of the nation" and rebuking self-styled patriots as "disgraceful".

Regardless of who the LL actors are in this case, it is still important that the superimposed text identifies the original message as hate-speech – and that it does so in Cyrillic. Despite their differences, both of these signs challenge the exclusion of LGBT people from the national body.

4. Conclusions

In this paper I examined aspects of the LL of central Belgrade as contested space, focusing on conflicting views of national identity as manifested in the choice of script in administrative signage and in graffiti and counter-graffiti on the public expression of homosexuality. Despite extensive digraphia in commercial and private signs, Cyrillic is the alphabet of choice in administrative signage vis-à-vis the key aspects of public life (road signs, public transport, postal service, libraries and other cultural institutions, etc.). Moreover, it is the alphabet indexically linked with religious life and traditional national values. In contrast, the Latin script, depending on the context, may function as local or foreign and may also be used as a way of reaching out to non-local others.

On the other hand, the symbolic power of the Cyrillic as the national script may license its use in cases which are less obvious: as the preferred script for hate speech against homosexuals, at a certain historical moment, precisely due to discourses forwarded by local extremist groups, which cast homosexuality as anti-Serb behavior. This testifies to the dynamic character of indexical relations in general and the existence of complex local orders of indexicality in particular. Indexical relations are dynamic precisely in that they are not achronic, a point which has been underscored in analyzing more recent LL signs dealing with homosexuality in Belgrade.

Linguistic landscapes provide cues for the symbolic construction of public space (cf. Ben-Rafael et al. 2006) by focusing on the dynamic indexical relations between space and language, as a way of making sense of language-in-society. The two examples examined in this paper, situated as they are in the center of a contemporary superdiverse metropolis, bespeak the intentions of competing LL actors to inscribe, contest – and, in doing so, symbolically claim – Belgrade's bustling historical center. Whether representing officialdom (cf. Section 3.1) or driven by individual ideological concerns (cf. Section 3.2), LL actors are motivated by a tacit understanding that claiming and dominating over the LL of Stari Grad effectively links their LL signs to coveted public space, forging indexical links between language and space.

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Received: 13 December 2017
Accepted for publication: 31 January 2018

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ПРЕИСПИТИВАЊЕ ИДЕНТИТЕТА У ЈЕЗИЧКОМ КРАЈОЛИКУ БЕОГРАДА: ЕТНОГРАФСКИ ПРИСТУП

Сажетак

Рад истражује аспекте језичког крајолика централног Београда у периоду између 2009. и 2017. године, уз теоријско разматрање налаза у пресеку социолингвистике, етнографије и семиотике као преовлађујуће платформе у „другом таласу" истраживања језичког крајолика. Фокус рада је на динамичним индексним везама између простора и језика у оквиру супердиверзитета, као начина разумевања језика у друштву. У том циљу проблематизује се начин на који идеолошки оптерећена питања идентитета (као што су диграфија/двоазбучност, али и хришћанско православље и хетеронормативност као показатељи српства) проналазе своја места на зидовима Старог града. Таква идентитетска питања имају знатан – и често трајан – утицај на језички крајолик, који се може адекватно истражити једино систематичним етнографским студијама семиотичких средстава која се користе за његово уписивање.

Кључне речи: језички крајолик, идентитет, индексикалност, диграфија, хомосексуалност, Београд

UDC 811.163.41’38:37(497.11)
305-055.3(497.11)
https://doi.org/10.18485/bells.2018.10.12

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THE COMMON LANGUAGE OF DISCIPLINE: *NESTING PEDAGOGY* AND ALTERNATIVE SUBJECT POSITIONS IN POWER IN SERBIA

Abstract
This paper explores the complexity of the discourses surrounding the choice of Ana Brnabić as Serbian PM in the context of Serbia’s EU accession process. In my analysis I focus on several key concepts: *leveraged pedagogy*, *homonationalism* and *sexual citizenship*. I rely on recent work by scholars who have proposed and explored the dynamic interplay of these concepts (Kahlina 2013; Butterfield 2013; Kulpa 2014, Kahlina 2014). I highlight structural parallels between the disciplinary mechanisms that characterize both wider discourses of Europeanisation and the rhetoric of pro-European political elites in Serbia. My central argument is that the “morphosyntactic” parallels between the two discourses coalesce into a common language of discipline that produces an alternative subject position in power whose agency is essentially cancelled. In conclusion, I propose that the similarities between the disciplining regimes of the two discourses could be understood in terms of a “nesting pedagogy.” For the purposes of this essay, I use this term to denote disciplinary regimes emanating from the EU which, as they cascade south-eastwards toward the bloc’s periphery, produce nested hierarchical binaries marked by the pedagogic and infantilizing treatment of the Other.

Key words: language of discipline, homonationalism, sexual citizenship, nesting pedagogy

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1. Introduction

By a parliamentary majority vote on 29 June 2017, Serbia elected the first lesbian Prime Minister in its history. The former Minister of Public Administration and Local Self-Government, Ana Brnabić, had been nominated by President Aleksandar Vučić to succeed him as Prime Minister (PM). After the Serbian Parliament (in which the ruling Serbian Progressive Party (SNS) led by Aleksandar Vučić holds an overwhelming majority) endorsed the nomination, Ana Brnabić pledged an oath to the National Assembly, thus becoming the fifth gay head of government in European history after Iceland, Belgium, Luxembourg and recently Ireland. The reactions to a lesbian Prime Minister in EU-hopeful Serbia have ranged from celebratory to sceptical and highly suspicious. The choice of Ana Brnabić as the leader of the Serbian Government was lauded in some media as a sign of Serbia's progression to democratisation, modernity and social equality, "accompanied by the sound of glass ceilings being shattered around her" (Wintour 2017). The other end of the media spectrum voiced suspicions of the appointment as an example of "pinkwashing"[1] and as a marketing trick (*Da se zna*! 2017; Stojanović 2017; Dinić 2017) on the part of political elites with an equivocal stand on sexual politics who wish to "endear themselves to the European Union" (Juras 2009, as cited in Butterfield 2013: 20).

A peculiar incident in a parliamentary session in late 2016 illustrates the ambiguous situation in which the Serbian political elites are caught. The incident featured Aleksandar Martinović, leader of the parliamentary caucus of the Serbian Progressive Party, and his party colleague and President of the National Assembly, Maja Gojković, both ex-MPs of the far-right Serbian Radical Party, from which the ruling SNS split in 2008, when they decided to pursue a pro-European agenda. Countering the accusations of opposition MPs, Martinović[2] issued a series of homophobic statements in which he decidedly opposed presenting homosexuality as

[1] Pinkwashing is a term used to denote state practices of covering up wider discriminatory policies and violation of rights by selective and transparent gestures of respect for LGBT rights. It is often attached to Israel's state policy of gay-friendliness that "deflects attention from" or legitimates its occupation of Palestine. (Puar 2013: 32)

[2] Several months later, in June 2017, before the scheduled parliamentary vote on the appointment of Ana Brnabić, Martinović said that the choice of Brnabić is "in Serbia's best interest", and that those who do not vote in favour of Vučić's proposal will thus declare themselves to be against the President (B92 2017a).

equal to heterosexuality in a high school textbook to loud approval from his party colleagues. After Maja Gojković's unsuccessful attempts to stop him from venturing further into his elaboration of normal and abnormal sexual practices, she finally turned his microphone off and a protracted silence ensued, filled with the awkward gestures she used to explain discreetly to her party colleague why she had resorted to such a "radical", disciplining move. Forgetting that she hadn't turned off her own microphone, in a low voice she said defeatedly: "I can't let him go on, Ana is here!"

Ana's presence seems to serve as a corrective mechanism for silencing the statements that would, in "regular" circumstances, be issued freely and without interruption. The semantics of the prolonged silence reveals a wider range of complex issues facing EU-aspiring Serbia that have been pinkwashed by the presence of an openly gay government official, who in this situation, and as will be evident in the discussion that follows, is relegated to a position of a silent presence. This should not be too surprising. The appointment of the first lesbian Prime Minister of Serbia comes from political actors who have recently embraced European values and recognised the EU as the desired destination, ostensibly relinquishing their nationalist political past and dismissing political platforms in which nationalism, homophobia and patriotism are mutually constitutive (Moss 2014). Therefore, the complexity of the choice of Ana Brnabić as Serbian PM and the discourses surrounding it in an EU-oriented Serbia should be addressed by taking into account the broad conceptual link between issues of sexuality and geopolitics (Brković 2014), and specifically by considering the "symbolic nexus" between "Europeanisation" and "gay emancipation" (Bilić and Stubbs 2016). A number of scholars have noted that the biggest impetus for the redefinition of sexual politics in the Central and Eastern European (CEE) and West Balkan countries has been the EU accession process (Kahlina 2013; Butterfield 2013; Kahlina 2014; Kulpa 2014; Brković 2014; Bilić and Stubbs 2016, etc.). Such scholars have considered key concepts including *homonationalism*, *leveraged pedagogy*, and *sexual citizenship* to examine the entanglement of sexual rights and EU accession processes. These concepts help to illuminate an overarching Orientalist discourse that authorizes a disciplining pedagogical treatment of post-communist countries by the EU – on the grounds of their lack of respect for sexual rights – by engendering hierarchical and nesting binaries between the EU 15 and the CEE and Western Balkan Countries.

In this essay, I examine how a "leveraged pedagogy" centring on sexual minority rights has been performed and negotiated in Serbia and how the appointment of a lesbian Prime Minister can be interpreted in this conceptual framework. First, I address the dynamic interrelation between the concepts of leveraged pedagogy, homonationalism and sexual citizenship to highlight the workings of the disciplining discourses of the EU. In particular, I examine discourses of Europeanisation that translate the genuine respect of tolerance and inclusivity into a performative act of adherence to hegemonic constructions of European identity. Second, I closely analyse selected statements issued by President Vučić and his successor and mentee Ana Brnabić. I focus on the mechanism by which the political agency of a gay Prime Minister is disempowered and subdued, drawing on Foucault's classic thesis that the disciplinary effects of discourse produce "docile bodies" that may be "subjected, used, improved and transformed" (Foucault 1979; also cited in Barker 2005: 230). I highlight structural parallels between the disciplinary mechanisms that characterize both wider discourses of Europeanisation and the rhetoric of pro-European political elites in Serbia. My central argument is that the "morphosyntactic" parallels between the two discourses coalesce into a common language of discipline that produces an alternative subject position in power whose agency is essentially cancelled.

In conclusion, I propose that the similarities between the disciplining regimes of the two discourses could be understood in terms of a "nesting pedagogy." "Nesting pedagogy" is a terminological and conceptual hybridization of "nesting Orientalism" (Bakić-Hayden 1995) and "leveraged pedagogy" (Kulpa 2014); for the purposes of this essay, I use it to denote disciplinary regimes emanating from the EU which, as they cascade south-eastwards toward the bloc's periphery, produce nested hierarchical binaries marked by the pedagogic and infantilizing treatment of the Other. Throughout my discourse analysis of statements by Vučić and Brnabić, I bear in mind that discourse is not accidental and neutral, but rather a "place where sexuality and politics exercise some of their most formidable powers" (Foucault 1981:53).

2. Sexual citizenship and European identity

The process of EU accession has come to be characterized by the pressures of conditionality, marked by the "moving target problem", whereby EU requirements may be continually redefined in a game in which the European

Union "is a referee as well as a player" (Grabbe 2002: 251; also cited in Butterfield 2013: 17). Kulpa, for example, argues that the interaction between CEE and West European countries is couched in a "didactical and cultural hegemonic relationship of power" (Kulpa 2014: 432). He defines this power asymmetry as *leveraged pedagogy*, "a discourse of unequally distributed power between the one that supposedly knows better, and assumes itself in the teaching and dominant position (West/Europe), and the one who is discursively overpowered, and is framed as backward, thus in need of being educated up (CEE) by the former" (Kulpa 2014: 441). Underlying leveraged pedagogy is a concept that illuminates the historical shift by which dominant heteronormative paradigms of the nation state have begun to integrate homonormativity and tolerance of gay citizens as a litmus test of national integrity and development (Puar 2007; Puar 2013). Puar has introduced the term *homonationalism* to account for the West's ideology of superiority as measured by their inclusivity of gay subjects and, crucially, as measured against states framed as the homophobic Other. In the European context homonationalism is understood as a discursive tool for "othering" peripheral countries that struggle to prove their progress by improving the citizenship status of sexual minorities.

The concept of *sexual citizenship* could be broadly defined as "membership in a particular polity that has been established on the grounds of sexuality" (Kahlina 2013: 2).The last two decades have seen significant changes in the politics of sexuality in Western liberal democracies as evidenced inthe increasing emphasis on issues of sexual and intimate citizenship. Discourses of tolerance and respect for social diversity have ushered in the perception of lesbian and gay people as "normal good citizens who are deserving of inclusion and integration into the mainstream society" and the nation state (Richardson 2004: 392). The emerging notion of sexual citizenship has revealed patterns of exclusion by pointing to the limited scope of rights granted to sexual minorities across societies. In the post-Yugoslav countries, decriminalisation of minority sexual practices took place at different times. The socialist federal republics of Slovenia, Croatia, and Montenegro decriminalised homosexuality in 1977, whereas in Serbia decriminalisation took place in 1994. Decriminalisation, however, did not result in equal citizenship status for sexual minorities because they were not granted a wide range of rights guaranteed to heterosexual families, such as next-of-kin inheritance and unemployment and pension rights, recognition for immigration purposes, the right to visit partners in hospital, etc. (Richardson 2004, Kahlina 2013, ILGA-Europe 2016). In ex-Yugoslav countries, the equal citizenship status of sexual minorities is still a matter of struggle and negotiation, with Slovenia and Croatia reaching the highest standards by passing the Same-Sex Partnership Act.[3]

Although the struggle over sexual citizenship has facilitated positive global changes in sexual politics by reshaping public debate and legal frameworks, a number of authors have argued that it has also generated further geo-political cleavages and exclusions (Kahlina 2012; Butterfield 2013; Kahlina 2013; Colpani and Habed 2014; Kahlina 2014). Moreover, LGBT civil rights have provided a broad arena for the struggle over EU enlargement and Europeanisation, national identity and modernity (Kahlina 2014: 2). The discourses that have emerged from these struggles focus on the articulation and appropriation of ideologically laden concepts of European identity, European values and human rights. Butterfield (2013), for example, argues that sexual rights have become an effective tool in the discursive construction of European identity and the definition of proper Europeanness. In her view, the discursive construction of European identity through sexual rights has had the effect of redefining the borders of Europe. By re-inscribing Orientalist binaries, discourses of sexual citizenship have sharply distinguished developed West European societies from backward, homophobic East European cultures: "permanently 'post-communist', 'in transition' and 'not liberal enough'" (Kulpa 2014: 432).

Butterfield (2013) also emphasizes that the increasing centrality of "human rights" ideology to the construction of European identity coincided meaningfully with the collapse of socialist regimes across Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union – and with the turbulent processes of "transition" in the region that ensued. Indeed, when the Copenhagen Criteria, the basic requirements for the integration of post-socialist countries into the EU, were set just after the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1993, human rights issues began to play a central role in the effort to distinguish those countries that were ready or unready for membership. In this way, "the EU has positioned itself as the gatekeeper of human rights" (Butterfield 2013: 16): it set for itself the power to define what these rights might be and to evaluate the moral-political progress of entire nations accordingly.

[3] Croatia's parliament endorsed the Life Partnership Act in 2014. This act grants same-sex couples rights equal to those guaranteed to married couples, with the exception of adoption rights.

The field of human rights as a source of civilizational standards has only recently expanded to include sexual rights (Stychin 2004: 953). Prior to the 2000s, the protection of sexual rights had not been a requirement for EU accession. After the turn of the millennium it gradually became a barometer of social equality in the EU, thus rendering provisions against discrimination in the workplace and decriminalisation of homosexuality "explicit requirements for EU accession in 2004 and 2007" (Kahlina 2014: 3), when European countries of the former Soviet Bloc joined the union. However, even stronger emphasis on the treatment of sexual minorities was noted when the post-conflict societies of Serbia and Croatia applied for membership, in 2003 and 2009 respectively. This is when "LGBT rights became part of the 'leveraged pedagogy' of the EU" (Kahlina 2014: 2) and one of its most plastic applications of discipline. The monitoring process of EU institutions in Serbia and Croatia focused particularly on two key points, the adoption of anti-discrimination legislation and the organisation of state-protected Pride Marches (Kahlina 2013; Kahlina 2014).

In 2009, a draft Anti-Discrimination Act that included provisions prohibiting discrimination based on gender and sexual orientation was presented in the Serbian Parliament, but was immediately removed from the legislative procedure as it encountered serious opposition from the Orthodox Church. A vocal opponent of such a provision was the current President, Aleksandar Vučić, then an opposition MP, who feared the protection of minority sexual practices would take Serbia down a slippery slope to the protection of "sodomy and paedophilia" (Stakić 2011: 53). However, after the withdrawal of the Act was met with harsh criticism from European institutions[4] and additionally presented as a "direct condition for lifting the visa requirements" (Kahlina 2014: 5), the Act was returned to Parliament and adopted with some amendments.

The cancellation of the 2009 Pride March due to threats of violence again sparked criticism from EU officials, which as a powerful corrective factor "consequently led to a shift in the discourse of the Serbian political elite regarding the Parade" (Stakić 2011: 54). As Stakić notes, the biggest opposition party at that time, the SNS, changed its stance on LGBT issues and Aleksandar Vučić condemned violence and discrimination against sexual minorities when the first successful Belgrade Pride March took place in 2010. The significance of the Pride March in the EU monitoring

[4] The Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights termed this law a "civilisation achievement" (B92 2009).

process and for Serbia's prospective candidacy was highlighted by the presence of the head of the EU mission in Serbia, Vincent Degert. Degert directly addressed the marchers, fortifying them to persist in their struggle for tolerance, freedom of expression and freedom of assembly (BBC 2010). Violent clashes with ultranationalists and hooligans that erupted during the March subsequently led to a three-year ban on the event being organised.

In response to yet another failure by Serbia to fulfil the requirements regarding the organisation of the Pride March in 2012, EU officials applied additional leverage by drawing on conditions for the commencement of accession negotiations. Reacting to the Serbian government's apparent fearfulness and inability to safeguard the Pride March from potential threats by hooligans, Dutch MEP and a member of the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality, Marije Cornelissen, said that she was going to "recommend to the Commission that they should not allow for accession talks to begin" (Hall 2012). The organisation of Pride Marches in Belgrade resumed in 2014 – when Aleksandar Vučić became Serbia's Prime Minister, the most power he had had in his career up to then.

As we have seen in the examples above, resistance to or lack of compliance with EU standards for sexual citizenship on the part of the Serbian political elites is met with criticism and condemnation from EU officials and direct conditioning connected to the accession process and to benefits that are strategically granted or withdrawn in the course of negotiations. These examples also reveal how Serbian politics is reshaped and swiftly adapted in accordance with EU demands, and how leading political figures readily yet suspiciously redefine their stances with respect to sexual rights when the main political aim of joining the EU becomes jeopardised. The "whip and carrot" model, as Kulpa (2014) characterises leveraged pedagogy, seems to focus exclusively on the results expected to be delivered (or performed), disregarding the questionable sincerity of Serbian pro-European politicians' sudden embrace of equal rights. Regardless of *actual* improvements in everyday conditions for sexual minorities, the negotiation process is shaped by a relationship of power asymmetry, in which Balkan politicians respond to the EU's disciplinary pedagogy and the expected commitment to European values with performances of European identity. Moreover, by framing the fulfilment of EU conditions as a continual progression towards European values and civilisational standards, the EU engages in a discursive construction of the Western Balkan countries as permanently in transition and in need of guidance and surveillance.

Buden (2010) recognises this pedagogical treatment in the discursive strategies deployed by the democratic West that frame post-communist countries as politically immature children in a perpetual post-communist state. Although these societies might be understood to have proved their maturity by toppling totalitarian regimes, they need to be continually educated in "classrooms of democracy" and prove their progress in "democratic exams" (Buden 2010). Buden argues that the "jargon of post-communist transition" is permeated with child metaphors that are indicative of a "new power relationship" exhibiting a "repressive infantilisation" of these societies (Buden 2010).

In the discussion above we have seen how European values and sexual citizenship have increasingly become discursive instruments for homonationalist practices of dividing European space into the properly European and the homophobic Other whose European identity is yet to be attained.[5] The discursive deployment of unequal sexual citizenship engenders further geopolitical ideological binaries not only between the EU and post-Yugoslav space, but also *within* the former Yugoslavia (Bilić 2016). In a panoramic worldview of nesting Orientalisms, the border between the civilized/tolerant and uncivilized/homophobic space seems to cascade from the West eastwards, engendering further hierarchical divisions on an ever diminishing scale. Thus, on the "imaginary sliding scale of the nesting Balkans", Slovenia and Serbia occupy the extreme ends of the spectrum, both in terms of their status when it comes to EU membership and their tolerance for minority sexualities (Moss 2014: 219). On a smaller scale, the workings of the nesting Balkans have drawn a distinction between the elite "liberal intellectuals and activists" who are "emphasizing the backwardness of the region in the relation to an imagined West" (Bilić 2013: 136, as cited in Bilić and Stubbs 2016: 234) and their homophobic Other, who finds it their patriotic duty to denounce gay rights "as the epitome of the 'Western values' that threaten 'the authentic Serbian tradition and Serbian society'" (Kahlina 2013: 20). For both of these groups the tolerance of non-heterosexual practices has been seen as emanating from European identity; thus, they both use sexual citizenship (albeit at opposite ends of the binary) as a discursive instrument in architecting their

[5] The trouble with such hierarchical binaries is that they are inevitably premised on homogeneously constructed fixed identities that contradict (political) realities, for as Freire notes in the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, "reality is a process undergoing constant transformation" (Freire 2000: 75).

Other, as well as their own identitarian premises. In their pro-European strategies, Serbian political elites are compelled to bear this in mind and balance their statements, both respecting the sensibility of their electorate and discursively moulding it.

2.1. Please allow me to introduce Ana

In August 2016, Prime Minister Aleksandar Vučić nominated Ana Brnabić for the position of Minister of Public Administration and Local Self-Government. Brnabić, a technocrat with an enviable business career, was plucked from relative political obscurity as she was not a member of any political party. As a local director of the American corporation Continental Winds Serbia, she was implicated in a scandal in which Vučić's brother and a close friend were accused of blackmailing the company. By testifying that the company had not been blackmailed, she resolved the scandal, and according to popular belief in Serbia (Gligorijević 2017; Drčelić 2017), was rewarded for her cooperation by becoming a Serbian minister in Vučić's government. To dispel potential suspicion as to the moral legitimacy of an official state promotion of a person who under unclear circumstances had bailed out the Prime Minister's close friends and family, Vučić rushed to announce that the Serbian Government would appoint an openly lesbian minister. In this way, at a single stroke, Vučić deflected attention away from the scandal by spotlighting Brnabić's sexual orientation rather than her credibility – and, more importantly, portrayed himself as a progressive leader committed to European values of tolerance and inclusivity.

In announcing his new cabinet, PM Vučić addressed the National Assembly as follows:

> The Government of Serbia will have a Minister who *publicly* declares herself as a person of homosexual orientation. Ana Brnabić, who will be the Minister for State Administration and Local Self-Government, is a member of the gay population. She doesn't hide it and proudly talks about it. She is so sweet and kind, she told me: 'President, I hope you don't mind, I am certain that this will be a topic for them…' And I replied: 'No, all that is of interest to me is your results, and I know how hard-working and

> dedicated you are.' I don't care, it's her right, I am only interested in her results.[6]

In Serbia, the politics of gay visibility is countered with "stigmatising discourses of 'privatisation'", in which the ostensible tolerance of homosexual individuals is conditioned upon their remaining "in the closet" (Kahlina 2014: 5). In his statement, Prime Minister Vučić pointedly endeavours to dismantle the public/private binary by publicly outing Minister Brnabić and emphasising her sexual identity twice. By using the word "proudly," evocative of the Pride Marches, it is as if he is staging a discursive mini-march with Minister Brnabić parading in the Parliament freely expressing her sexuality. However, this image is far from plausible, for it is through the Prime Minister's words and not from Brnabić that we learn about her pride.She has no agency in this introduction or in her outing by her superior. It appears that Brnabić's sexuality is her most important qualification for the ministerial appointment, since the Prime Minister discloses this aspect of her identity even before mentioning her name. Still, vigilantly keeping in mind that a large part of his electorate would be disturbed by this measure, in a reassuring gesture the Prime Minister describes Brnabić as "sweet and kind," thus re-gendering her by invoking a traditional image of femininity. Through the reported alleged dialogue we also learn that Ana Brnabić is apologetic about her sexuality and insecure, expecting condemnation and disapproval. Again the Prime Minister appears as both a firm and reassuring paternal figure, promising redemption and protection conditioned on the results he expects to be delivered. First, Ana is outed, then re-gendered, and finally presented as a dedicated professional, all to prepare the general public to eventually accept her as their new minister. She is first publicly inspected as a suspicious subject, then neutralised and disarmed, and finally accepted as a valuable staff. What is being signalled in this way is that that Brnabić can be trusted to usher in the transformation of sexual citizenship in Serbia – and even the cultural transformation of Serbian society at large – without seriously

[6] "Vlada Srbija imaće i jednu ministarku koja se javno izjašnjava kao osoba homoseksulane orjentacije. Ana Brnabić, koja će biti ministarka države uprave i lokalne samouprave pripadnik je gej populacije. Ona to ne krije i sa ponosom govori. Ona je toliko fina i ljupka, rekla mi je: Predsedniče, ako vam to smeta, sigurna sam da će o tome sada da govore… a ja sam odgovorio: Ne, mene zanima samo tvoj rezultat, a znam koliko si stručna i vredna. Baš me briga, to je njeno pravo, mene zanima njen rezultat." (*Blic online* 2016)

threatening traditional gender norms or the prejudices of many Serbian constituencies.

The next set of intriguing statements came a year later, following the parliamentary session in which the National Assembly endorsed President Vučić's proposal that Ana Brnabić be appointed Prime Minister. Although his ruling party with its coalition partners held an overwhelming majority of seats in the Parliament and the ratification of the President's decision was never in doubt, several days before the decisive session Vučič and his party comrades raised suspicions as to the Parliament's willingness to give their support to Ana Brnabić. Sensationalist news headlines such as "Tempest in SNS", "Big drama over appointment of Ana Brnabić" and "Vučić appeals to MPs to lend their support to Ana Brnabić" indicated that the stability of the state was at stake since the deadline for the appointment of a new government was approaching and traditional opponents of sexual rights[7] were voicing their opposition to the election of a gay Prime Minister. Tensions were further raised in the print media that featured photographs from parliamentary sessions in which Ana Brnabić was clasping her hands in suspense. Nevertheless, as was to be expected despite the voices of those who opposed Brnabić, the parliamentary majority for Brnabić'selection was easily secured.

Once Serbia had its new Prime Minister, President Vučić gave an interview on state television. Explaining the difficulties and fears he had faced along the way, he said: "[the appointment of Brnabić] was my wish, but I didn't know if I would have the strength to propose it, let alone if the proposition would be passed"[8], and also "I was faced with various kinds of pressure, but it's no use whining about it now".[9] He also said that there were three people in his party who were against the proposition and added:

> I understood their fears for my standing in the opinion polls. A very nice man who has family in the clergy said that it was hard for him to accept, I asked him nicely, and then he said that he would vote in favour and he would do it for me. Ana is a good

[7] The Orthodox Church, opposition parties such as the Serbian Radical Party led by Vojislav Šešelj, together with United Serbia – a minor party led by Dragan Marković Palma forming the ruling coalition with the SNS.

[8] "To je i tada bila moja želja ali nisam znao da li ću imati snage da to predložim, a kamoli da li će to da prođe."(B92 2017b)

[9] "Bio sam sa različitim vrstama pritisaka suočen, ali što sad da kukam?" (RTS 2017)

> creature, a good person, somebody who knows how governance functions… Ana is a capable and hardworking woman. …I told Palma that I disagree with him. Palma acted very correctly towards the government of Serbia and I hope that he will change his stance. I beseech him to change his stance. I can understand, Rističević[10] told me that he would never be in favour of the gay parade. And I told him that he would never see me there either, that it is not my world, but it has to be allowed. How can we obstruct people who want to show themselves at a gathering organised in accordance with the law?[11]

Building on Buden's point evoking Hegel's equation of "nonaction" and innocence (Buden 2010), I suggest that presenting a person as innocent is a discursive method of depriving them of the capacity to be perceived as a mature, autonomous subject, thus erasing their agency. Ana is "desubjectivated" (Buden 2010) and neutralised by being defined as a "good creature," then re-humanised as a "good person", and finally restored to her public function as a high-performing technocrat. Again, the acknowledgement of what she "really" is – a woman – is conditioned upon her hard work and compliance, and the final destination of this discursive identity transformation that she undergoes is the delivery of (unspecified) results.

President Vučić has built a heroic narrative, of which he himself is the protagonist. He is faced with a difficult challenge and so seeks moral guidance from reputable people related to the clergy. While respecting their cultural authority, it is through his powerful charisma that he manages to subordinate their traditional values to the higher interests of Serbia: advancement towards the EU and respect for European norms. Gay pride is not his world, but that world "has to be allowed." This discursive technique pertains to what Kahlina (2014) argues is a common strategy of

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[10] Opponent of Brnabić's appointment and Vučić's coalition partner.

[11] "Razumeo sam njihovu bojazan za moj rejting. Jedan divan čovek koji potiče iz svešteničke porodice je rekao da je to za njega teško, ja sam ga onda zamolio, a on je rekao da će zbog mene glasati za. Ana je dobro stvorenje, dobar čovek, neko ko zna kako stvari u upravi funkcionišu. Ana je sposobna i vredna žena","Rekao sam ja Palmi da se ne slažem s njim. Palma je bio veoma korektan u odnosu prema Vladi Srbije, ja se nadam da će on svoj stav da promeni. Ja ga molim da svoj stav promeni. Ja mogu da razumem, Rističević mi je rekao da nikada neće biti za gej paradu, rekao sam mu da ni mene neće naći tamo, da to nije moj svet, ali da to mora da se dozvoli**.** Kako da ne pustimo ljude koji hoće u skladu sa zakonom organizovanim skupom da pokažu sebe?" (B92 2017b)

pro-European elites in the Western Balkans: externalising the imperative for equal sexual rights by attributing it to EU conditionality, while at the same time preserving their image as grudging yet noble protectors of the very same rights and subjects. Interestingly, this moment of Vučić's discourse resembles the protracted silence described at the beginning of this paper and the discreet signals exchanged between members of the SNS when faced with the necessity to refrain from outspoken homophobia in Parliament. Whether using gestures in non-verbal communication in Parliament or modal constructions that externalise the responsibility for unpopular measures, the pragmatics of their discourse reveals that political actors presuppose the common awareness of the necessity to collaborate in performing acts of tolerance for homosexuality.

Reaching for one of his favourite narrative devices, the President opts for a dialogue with imaginary interlocutors who epitomise particular ideological positions. This narrative device signals that we are in the realms of strategic storytelling, which functions to instruct the nation on how to perceive and react to their new political-sexual reality. In a sweeping nesting pedagogy aimed at the Serbian electorate at large, President Vučić devises dialogic parables that discipline and infantilise both his new Prime Minister and the population she will – at least in name – govern.

2.2 Can the subaltern speak?

In an interview given to CNN in July 2017, responding to questions on how her appointment has been received in a deeply conservative Serbian society, Ana Brnabić says that she has never experienced any discrimination in Serbia and she believes that Serbia is not homophobic or xenophobic, but rather is only perceived as such due to the actions of a "loud minority" (CNN 2017).

In another interview with the Guardian (Wintour 2017), Brnabić reiterates that Serbia is not a homophobic society, but rather a society which is changing quickly, with her being part of that change. She also shares an illustrative anecdote in which a group of journalists interviewed local people from the village Ana's family comes from. She alleges that they said: "Well, listen, in this part of Serbia we grow raspberries, fruit and vegetables, and we do not grow discrimination."

The fact that Brnabić has never experienced discrimination in Serbia is a valuable optimistic insight, albeit entirely contrary to reports made by international organisations whose statistical data has shown that the discrimination and stigmatisation of non-heterosexual citizens is part of their day-to-day reality in Serbia (ILGA-Europe 2016; 2017).[12] Thus, as a representative of a minority group, the Prime Minister seems to show a surprising level of tolerance for Serbia's starkly unequal sexual citizenship.

In tune with Vučić's 2017 SNS presidential campaign slogan "Faster, stronger, better" and his government's optimistic reports that continuously record economic and political improvements in Serbia, Brnabić claims that her appointment demonstrates the progressive changes taking place. However, she not only fails to acknowledge the lived experience of marginalisation faced by sexual minorities, but in fact openly denies this experience, and reiterates the discourse of linear progress. She declares that President Vučić should mentor her work in the first few months (*Danas* 2017) and, mirroring her mentor's didactic techniques, engages in a dialogue with ideological positions that might be suspicious of this pattern of progress. Her dialogic parable seems to instruct farmers that they too should be focused on productivity and delivering results, not discrimination.

Drawing on the work of Katja Kahlina (2013; 2014), in the discussion above I have noted the privileged role that the notion of Gay Pride has assumed in the EU's "leveraged pedagogy". One visible change that did take place upon Brnabić's appointment was her support of and participation in the Pride March in September 2017, whereupon she became the highest ranking Serbian official to make an appearance at the parade. Keeping his word, President Vučić did not participate in the parade, but since "it has to be allowed" – the source of the obligation coming from the outside – his protégé Brnabić did, thus sending a (rather un-)clear message of the Serbian government's commitment to European values concerning the freedom of assembly for sexual minorities.

In one of several recent scandals to shake the media scene in Serbia, an investigative journalism portal revealed that a member of Brnabić's cabinet, the Minister of Defence, who in the 1990s was a close political

[12] It is important to note that this paper does not aim to question findings of international organisations involved in the monitoring process of the EU. It is beyond doubt that their insights are valuable indicators of everyday inequalities experienced by people in South-Western Balkan. The broader discourse in which the monitoring process is implicated, however, remains problematic and subject to analysis.

associate of Slobodan Milošević, had acquired a suspiciously large sum of money that he had not reported to the tax agency. In response to these serious accusations the Defence Minister and his party, the Movement of Socialists, subsequently deployed rhetoric typical of Milošević's era, riven with hate speech and abusive labels centring on the "dichotomy into patriots vs. traitors" (Bugarski 2001: 76). The journalist leading the investigation was exposed to public stigmatisation and accused of being a foreign agent and a drug addict (Pokret socijalista Aleksandar Vulin 2017). Commenting on the affair, Brnabić dismissed the gravity of what seemed to constitute a clear case of the intimidation of journalists, claiming that it was an understandable emotional reaction on the part of the Minister's party. Furthermore, it seems that, contrary to the findings of the European Federation of Journalists (EFJ 2017) and the Reporters without Borders[13], as well as mounting complaints by Serbian journalists that they face constant pressure and threats, Brnabić thinks that the only problem with the media scene in Serbia is that journalists are not objective enough (Fondacija Slavko Ćuruvija 2017).

In her public statements, Brnabić has shown considerable tolerance for the unequal citizenship of sexual minorities, indications of corruption, hate speech, and intimidation of the press, while at the same time positioning herself as indisputable evidence of the progress that Serbia has made in the EU accession process. Her ambiguous position can be understood through the Gramscian model of hegemonic power, in which hegemony is predicated on subordination effected not only through coercion, but, crucially, through consent (Barker 2001). Brnabić's statements reveal her consensual acceptance and identification with the subject position carved out for her by hegemonic disciplinary mechanisms. By reproducing the same disciplinary strategies as her patrons, Brnabić, as a member of a marginalised community, seems to allow "its own marginality to be upheld" (Bogetić 2010: 37). Moreover, she has demonstrated that tolerance of inequality and official commitment to European values as measured by the EU do not appear to be mutually exclusive.

[13] According to Reporters without Borders' report: "Media freedom has declined ever since Aleksandar Vucic, Slobodan Milosevic's former information minister, became Prime Minister in May 2014. The media work under harsh financial and editorial pressure, and those that are most critical of the government are attacked publicly." Available at: https://rsf.org/en/serbia

3. Conclusion

In this paper, I have focused on how discourses of European values and human rights, which have in the past two decades expanded to include sexual rights, have helped to construct and sustain geopolitical divisions that reproduce much older Orientalist hierarchies and ideologies.

These homonationalist discourses have rendered EU accession processes a disciplinary technology aimed at the improvement of democratic standards in candidate countries, primarily the post-socialist states of East Europe. Such disciplinary regimes can be understood as leveraged pedagogies in which the EU is framed as the protector of civilisational standards and social equality, thereby authorizing didactical techniques of conditioning, criticising, educating and infantilising.

Meanwhile, in EU-aspiring Serbia political actors have appropriated a similar set of disciplinary discourses. As President Vučić's public statements reveal, he posits himself as a heroic paternal figure protecting both the traditional values and concerns of Serbia *and* European values, devising narrative strategies in his discourse that educate, instruct, discipline and finally infantilise his audience and electorate.

I propose the term "nesting pedagogy" to account for the process by which the disciplinary regimes of the EU travel eastward and become appropriated by the pro-European political elites whose commitment to European values is largely performative. In a sweeping cascading motion, European nesting pedagogies grounded in the citizenship status of sexual minorities generate geographical hierarchical binaries between civilized and less civilized spaces. As the cascade reaches the Western Balkans and Serbia, in a sequence of repeated reflections these divisions set the boundary between progressive intellectuals and their homophobic, traditionalist Other. Finally, this kaleidoscopic moving perspective of ever smaller dichotomies lands on the homosexual citizen, in this case the final object of nested othering.

Attending to such nesting pedagogies helps to illuminate the significance of the appointment of a lesbian Prime Minister in Serbia. Her statements in the analysis above suggest complete subordination and the fact that, as an alternative subject in power, she is given only enough political legitimacy to perpetuate the dominant discourses of progress. My argument is that nesting pedagogy has enabled a powerful idiom of discipline used by EU and Serbian political elites alike, whose main purpose is to elicit the *performance* of European identity without fully compelling its adoption. It is in this way that the common language of discipline has created a disciplined and "disciplinary gay liberal subject able to perform Europeanness" (Colpani and Habed 2014: 83).

In conclusion, I would like to build on the optimistic trope from the introduction of this paper, by supplementing it with an image from T. S. Elliot's *Waste Land* (Eliot 1999): if Brnabić's becoming Prime Minister of Serbia made the glass ceiling break, it did not break with a bang, but rather – with a whimper.

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Received: 29 November 2017
Accepted for publication: 31 January 2018

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ЗАЈЕДНИЧКИ ЈЕЗИК ДИСЦИПЛИНЕ: *СМЕШТАЊЕ ПЕДАГОГИЈЕ* И АЛТЕРНАТИВНИ СУБЈЕКТИ МОЋИ У СРБИЈИ

Сажетак

Овај рад испитује сложеност дискурса који уоквирују именовање Ане Брнабић за министарку, а затим премијерку Србије, у контексту процеса европских интеграција Србије. Теоријски оквир рада заснован је на неколико кључних појмова – „педагогија условљавања", „хомонационализам" и „сексуално грађанство". Ови појмови су заступљени у новијим истраживањима (Kahlina 2013; Butterfield 2013; Kulpa 2014; Kahlina 2014) на која се овај рад ослања, а која фокус стављају на динамичан однос између права сексуалних мањина и европских интеграција. Намера ми је да истакнем структурне паралеле између дисциплинујућих механизама присутних како у дискурсу о европским вредностима Европске Уније, тако и у реторици проевропских политичких елита у Србији. У том контексту желим да укажем на то да структурна блискост ова два дискурса твори заједнички језик дисциплиновања који ствара алтернативне субјекте у позицији моћи, којима је укинута агентивност. Предлажем да се сличности које се уочавају између ова два режима дисциплине обухвате појмом „смештање педагогије", који у овом раду означава процес у коме се режими дисциплине каскадно крећу од Европске Уније ка југоисточној периферији овог блока, узрокујући смештање хијерархијских бинарних подела које карактерише педагошки и инфантилизирајући однос према Другом.

Кључне речи: језик дисциплиновања, хомонационализам, sexual citizenship, смештање педагогије

UDC 811.163.41'366.52
https://doi.org/10.18485/bells.2018.10.13

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THE LANGUAGE OF DORIAN GRAY: WHY THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL TREATMENT OF GENDERS CANNOT BE IMPROVED BY ACTING ON THEIR REFLECTIONS IN LANGUAGE

Drugo je pitanje da li se u gramatičkoj strukturi jezika,
za koju smo već ranije rekli da je po svojoj prirodi konzervativna,
mogu kriti relikti prevaziđenih društvenih odnosa u vezi s polom.
Odgovor je da mogu, iako često na način koji nije neposredno prepoznatljiv,
i to daleko najčešće u znaku pune dominacije muškog principa.[1]
Ranko Bugarski, *Jezik i kultura*

Abstract
The paper discusses the interaction of the feminist ideology and action on the one hand and the deeper structure of grammar and the lexicon on the other. It is argued that linguistic intervention propagated as a means of achieving a gender-equal and gender-sensitive language can neither be successfully realized, nor can it deal with a projection of language which has the intended properties. Furthermore, the claim that language shapes reality is contested, in favor of a view according to which language reflects our picture of reality and at the very best (or worst)

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1 A different question is whether the grammatical structure of language, which, as we have already said, is conservative by nature, may be hiding relics of obsolete gender-related social relations. The answer is that it may, even if in a way which is not immediately recognizable, and most often through complete domination of the masculine principle.

helps us preserve it. I conclude that in a society in which gender is not an axis of discrimination – any linguistic status of gender would be equally good, yet such a society would probably also end up with a language in which gender has no role in grammar whatsoever.

Key words: grammatical gender, gender-equality, gender-sensitive language, Serbo-Croatian, linguistic economy

1. Gender sensitive language in Serbia

A detailed state of the art description of the area of gender sensitive language in Serbia would require a book rather than the introductory section of an article. My ambition in this section is only to give a relatively superficial overview, and introduce the reader to the ongoing debate around the Resolution of the Committee for Standardization of Serbian Language titled Језик родне равноправности – родно диференцирани језик и граматичка категорија рода у српском језику ('Language of gender-equality – gender-differentiated language and the grammatical category of gender in the Serbian language', available at http://www.isj-sanu.rs/rubrike/odluke-odbora/103/2015/03/11/jezik-rodne-ravnopravnosti.html).

As in a number of other countries, especially those in the area of the former Yugoslavia, society in Serbia is polarized when it comes to gender equality. On the one hand, bearers of the feminist and related social activism are pursuing a program aimed at decreasing the level of inequality and discrimination based on gender. One of the central points of this program is the introduction and normalization of morphologically derived feminine terms (feminatives) for all of the professions, titles, social roles and other notions which include or have no reasons not to include, persons of both genders. The primary targets are terms referring to prestigious and/or positively connoted roles (*akademik* 'member of the Academy', *vođa* 'leader', *borac* 'fighter'), as there is a common understanding that the lack of feminatives for such notions lends support to the view that prestigious roles are reserved for men, or at least that men are more suitable to bear them. Since gender-sensitive principles of language use are still fighting for elementary instantiation – it is as yet unclear what if any limits are foreseen. At the moment, proponents of this struggle set an example in their texts, where indeed any reference to a female person by one of the relevant nouns uses a feminative (*akademkinja* 'female member of the Academy', *vodkinja* 'she-leader', *borkinja* 'she-fighter'). However, relatively few people use a disjunction of pronominal forms for free or bound pronouns (on/ona 'he/she', njega/nju 'him/her' in examples like: *Svakome treba prijatelj koji će da mu(/joj) pomogne* 'Everybody needs a friend to help him(/her)'; note that in Serbo-Croatian the plural form which is indeed gender-neutral is unacceptable in such contexts). Even scarcer is the use of a disjunctive slash for nouns with a free or quantified reference (*Svaki policajac(/policajka) mora da zna da upravlja putničkim vozilom* 'Every policeman(/policewoman) must be able to drive a car'), or of neutral nouns like *osoba* 'person' (*Svaka osoba u policijskoj službi...* 'Every person serving in the police...'), which is often, as exemplified, much more cumbersome in Serbo-Croatian than in English.

As the examples above illustrate, the way to derive feminatives in Serbo-Croatian chosen by virtually all the proponents of their introduction is suffixal derivation. Other possibilities are either grammatically or stylistically degraded (such as the prefixation of a pronoun: *#ona-vođa* 'she-fighter'), or simply ignored/rejected (such as the much more natural constructions of the type *žena-vođa* 'woman-leader').

On the other hand, there is the conservative part of the society, including the institutions which influence the generally accepted view of the standard language: Serbian language departments at state universities, the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (*SANU*) and its Institute for the Serbian Language, *Matica srpska* (a cultural institution with a long tradition). Here, insisting on the use of feminatives is generally seen as a foreign influence which threatens to negatively affect the Serbian language, and as part of a broader ideological influence which endangers the 'Serbian national being'. These institutions are hence a source of strong resistance to the tendency of a consistent use of feminatives.

Through their strongly prescriptive orientation, which they manage to maintain as the dominant ideology throughout primary and secondary education (by schooling teachers with such views), these institutions strive to preserve the status of the authority to decide what is correct and what is not in what they refer to as the Serbian language.

In a relatively recent document entitled Језик родне равноправности – родно диференцирани језик и граматичка категорија рода у српском језику ('Lanuage of gender-equality – gender-differentiated language and the grammatical category of gender in the Serbian language'), the Committee for the Standardization of the Serbian Language – a body established by the above-mentioned conservative institutions, formulates a somewhat softer view. While nothing has changed about the position of a language authority which decides what is and what is not correct, and while the view that grammatical categories are completely disconnected from cultural and social values and relations is explicitly stipulated to disqualify gender-sensitive language – the attitude toward gender-sensitive language is somewhat different than it used to be. This document acknowledges the need for specification of the feminine gender, but proposes that in cases where the derivation through suffixation yields forms which sound grammatically degraded (such as the nouns *akademkinja, vodkinja, borkinja*), the prefix *žena-* ’woman-’ should be used (*žena-akademik* ’*woman-academic’, žena-vođa* ’woman-leader’*, žena-borac* ’woman-fighter’). This presents a considerable compromise compared to the original conservative position, as it accepts the need to establish and use feminatives.

The opposite side, however, immediately dismissed this view. The arguments were mainly that the prefixation of *žena-* is cumbersome, unusual, and even grammatically degraded, as well as that this still implies inequality since there is no counterpart prefixation of *muškarac-* ’man’ for male referents.

2. Complexity of language

Language is one of the objects of the highest complexity among those which are part of the descriptive metaphysics of our everyday life, and even among those which exist in the ontologies of different scientific disciplines. Its complexity is such that the most powerful computational tools available to (wo)man today, able to compute highly accurate predictions regarding the behavior of particles at the quantum level, or the transformations of space, still give relatively poor results when it comes to the structural parsing of language. Extremely complex systems are typically also robust: unless there is a drastic change in the environment, they do not collapse, and they can hardly be controllably changed in a relatively short period of time. Language is also a multi-layered phenomenon along numerous dimensions. For instance, a language typically includes dozens of registers – specific realizations conditioned by particular social factors. Social changes thus often first affect only one register, and then gradually and indirectly the others, which is another mechanism to amortize external effects.

Language is also a phenomenon most pervasively intertwined with the life of the human individual and human society. The amount of linguistic activity in human society is enormous. This results in extreme pressure on language economy. Language needs to reach an equilibrium, an optimal balance between the utmost simplicity (i.e. the fastest possible processing), and the highest quantity of information carried. The robustness of language is a function of its complexity and this degree of pressure towards economy.

Considering the interaction of these extreme properties, it is no wonder language displays a degree of robustness shown by very few other systems. This is the reason why attempts to artificially change a language may make sense when it comes to a few memorized units such as words, or when it comes to a social group switching from one existing register to another, but are futile when it comes to language structure – to the utmost horror of the prescriptive linguist. It is highly unlikely that an artificial change in language could go without affecting its economy even in the smallest structural domain. But due to its interaction with other structural dimensions, and due to the amount of linguistic activity in the individual and in the society, even the smallest decrease in economy quickly causes a restoration of the more economic state.

Language is in constant change, but it is a change sufficiently slow and distributed across the different domains of language, to enable it to change from one to another state of equilibrium. Pressure for a change in one domain triggered typically by a change in the social and cultural embedding of language, pends the emergence of a set of other changes across other domains of language, which will enable the system to preserve its optimal balance between the time and energy required for its processing and realization and the amount and quality of information carried. The external pressure that causes a change in language in such cases is itself also robust: it is instantiated in an abundance of situations, both at the level of the society and of the individual. It acts as soft power: everything functions without the change, but the change offers a somewhat better match to the newly established environment.

In fact, since these changes are slow, there is a permanent state of multiple pressures and multiple changes, in different stages, which also interact with each other, thus representing another level of complexity of language.

3. Economy of gender (in Serbo-Croatian)

The Serbo-Croatian gender system is based on three values, traditionally referred to as neuter, masculine and feminine, and formally analyzed in Arsenijević (2017) as the absence of gender (neuter), the unvalued gender (masculine) and the valued gender (feminine). The reason for this analysis is that except for a closed class of feminine nouns in a consonant, all inanimate and hence irrelevant for the issues of gender semantics and pragmatics, feminine gender always involves morphological marking which is often absent in masculines (*slon* 'elephant' : *slon-ica* 'she-elephant'). This markedness is not dependent on the feminine being derived from a masculine (*muškarac* : *žen-a* 'man : woman', / : *dadilj-a* 'she-nanny'), but simply a property of its realization (more precisely – of its mapping to a marked declension class).

There are two important aspects of economy in the area of gender. One concerns the very formal feature of number, i.e. its values. In general, gender-based systems involve three different values, two of which correspond to actual semantic (biological / anthropological) notions of gender: masculine, related to males, and feminine, to females. However, in addition to referring to male and female individuals, there is also the need to refer to mixed groups. This means that in addition to the neuter, three other types of reference are required: feminine, masculine and mixed. However, these three types of reference are always grammatically realized in only two values of gender. The mechanism is the following.

One value of the formal feature of gender is specified as a disjunction of the two values (as masculine_or_feminine), and another as one particular value – in natural language typically as feminine (Corbett 1991 observes that only one language of all that he has overviewed in his typological study has masculine as the marked gender). Pragmatics does the rest of the work: the value denoting either gender by implicature becomes prone to a masculine interpretation, because if the speaker aimed at the female presupposition, (s)he would have used the marked form. The male interpretation of the masculine gender is thus rather a derived implicature for a value which is otherwise unspecified for gender.

In this way, grammar manages to express all the three meanings: male, female and unspecified/mixed by using only two values: masculine (i.e. unspecified) and feminine. Considering the abundant presence of gender in grammar (in each nominal expression, on all attributive, appositive and predicative elements involving adjectival items be they adjectives proper or participles), this tiny gain results in an enormous overall 'saving' on the side of both processing and memory.

The question emerges why in almost all gender languages of the world it is the male presupposition that is derived from the default value by implicature. The direct reason is most probably that masculine gender is more frequent (my corpus research on Serbo-Croatian shows that the number of feminine nouns is somewhat larger than that of masculine nouns, but the number of masculine nouns occurring per 1000 words of corpus is significantly higher than the number of feminine nouns). It is more economical to have the more frequent value realized in an unmarked way, as the overall gain in economy is then higher. And the fact that the masculine nouns are generally more frequent than feminine in one language after another probably reflects the dominant cultural status of men.

The other aspect of economy in the domain of gender relates to the trade-off between memory and the productive generation characteristic in general of the relation between lexicon and grammar. Lexicon is, roughly speaking, a storage of idiosyncratic sound-meaning pairs, which grammar combines to derive compositional complex expressions (complex expressions whose meaning is a function of the meanings of their parts and the structure in which the parts are fitted). When two concepts are related, such that one can be expressed in terms of the other plus some additional material, there are two options:

1. that both meanings receive independent phonological realizations and are independently stored in the lexicon (e.g. *krava : bik* 'cow : bull'), or
2. that one of them is stored in the lexicon, and the other is derived by grammar and some additional material (e.g. *magarac : magaric-a* 'donkey : she-donkey').

Option 1 is more economical when both these words are highly frequent, so it is 'cheaper' to have them both ready in our memory than to have to derive one of them each time it is needed. The other option is more economical when at least one of the words fails to reach the frequency necessary for lexicalization. In such cases, it will be the more frequent one among them that is memorized, and the less frequent one that is productively derived from it. The number of words frequent enough to be independently lexicalized in spite of the possibility of being derived is small: dozens of thousands times smaller than the number of the ones whose frequency leaves them to be derived.

If it happens that certain derivable concepts, due to social and cultural changes, gain higher frequency, they may end up memorized (e.g. that the complex structure of *magaric-a* 'donkey-Fem' be collapsed and the word thus be memorized as a whole, with an idiosyncratic meaning, fully dissociated from *magarac* 'donkey'). Yet it is an important aspect of the economy of language that each meaning that can be derived from a more frequently occurring meaning which has an own lexical item should also be linguistically realized by an expression derived from that item unless its frequency grants it idiosyncratic memorization.

This holds of gender pairs as well. The reason why *krava* and *bik* 'cow, bull', *svinja* and *vepar* 'pig, boar', *kučka* and *pas* 'female, male dog' have idiosyncratic lexemes and *magaric-a* and *magarac* 'donkey', *zeč-ica* and *zec* 'rabbit', *sokol-ica* and *soko* 'hawk' are derivationally related lies in the high frequency that the former have had for a very long period in human history, unlike the latter. And we should not be surprised if we start hearing about *krav-ac* 'cow-Masc', or *pas-ica* 'dog-Fem' now that the frequency does not entirely support idiosyncrasy any more.

In a vast majority of cases, the masculine term is memorized, and the feminine is derived (probably for the reason that masculine is the default value of the formal feature of gender, as discussed above). In those cases, the former is either without any suffix (*zec* : *zeč-ica*), or sometimes has a masculine suffix to which a feminine suffix gets added (*ov-an* : *ov-ca* 'sheep'). There are, however, also cases where the feminine term is memorized, and the masculine term is derived, as in *lis-ac : lis-ica* 'fox', *gus-an : gus-ka* 'goose'. The memorized member of the pair can be attested by overarching interpretation tests:

Svi zečevi vole repu. (⇒ females too)

'All rabbits like turnip'

Sve zečice vole repu (≠> males too)

'All she-rabbits like turnip'

Svi lisci vole repu. (≠> females too)

'All he-foxes like turnip'

Sve lisice vole repu (⇒ males too)

'All she-foxes like turnip'

Svi bikovi vole repu (≠> females too)
'All bulls like turnip'
Sve krave vole repu (≠> males too)
'All cows like turnip'

On the one hand, these examples show that the masculine gender is not the absolute default at this level of economy (unlike among the values of the formal feature of gender), as there are cases where the feminine form covers both genders and the masculine denotes only males. But on the other, it confirms, or conforms, the default status of the masculine in the sense that feminine can derive from the masculine (*zec>zečica*), but masculine is never derived from feminine – at best both masculine and feminine are derived from a common base (*lis-ac, lis-ica*). This turns out to be a general restriction, as most of the animal terms with a feminine default do not even derive a masculine term (*žirafa> ??žiraf-ac/??žiraf-an, riba> *ribac*).

Let me sum up: it is significantly more economical to have one unspecified formal value of gender, relating by implicature also to the more frequent biological gender, and one marked formal value restricted to the less frequent biological gender, than to have two marked values and an unspecified one; and it is significantly more economical to have female and male terms for the same insufficiently frequent notion derived from one another, or derived both from the same stem, than to have them idiosyncratically memorized.

4. Gender-sensitive language, and gender-sensitive Serbo-Croatian

The battle for a gender-sensitive Serbo-Croatian has mostly been fought with two goals. One is based on the view that language shapes our world views – and that hence the difference in the marking of men and women, or males and females, results in an asymmetric culture, in which men and women are not equal. Consequently, balancing the marking of the two genders in language may create a better society in which men and women will be close to equal. The other goal is based on the fact that masculine terms for humans are significantly more frequent in language, and on the view that the resulting lower visibility of women in language is the cause of a range of stereotypes about their lower participation in society – especially when it comes to prestigious social roles, which is further interpreted as a consequence of their lower abilities in the respective areas. Hence, negative stereotypes about women can be weakened by increasing the visibility of women in the society, which in turn can be achieved by increasing their visibility in language.

Needless to say: these two goals are in mutual opposition. The ideal outcome of the former would be an equal status of the feminine gender compared to the masculine – in terms of markedness, as well as in terms of quantitative representation in language use. The ideal outcome of the latter includes a higher degree of markedness and a denser presence of the feminine terms compared to the masculine counterparts in the language.

As for this latter goal – to increase the marking of women (with prestigious titles, positions, professions) in language, it clearly favors the strategy involving the prefix *žena-* 'woman' to suffixal derivation, for its higher markedness: the prefix explicitly introduces the concept of a woman, it is stressed and forms a semi-composed noun, thus preserving a higher degree of independence and crucially: visibility. Its flaw is that visibility and markedness do not necessarily correspond to a better status. Quite the other way around: in a culture in which the man is dominant and has a more positive image than the woman – increasing the visibility of the woman may additionally stress this asymmetry.

The other goal, aiming for linguistic symmetry, relies on the hypothesis that language shapes our minds and our culture, which is highly controversial. Ever since Sapir and Whorf, it has figured prominently in linguistics, yet every attempt to test it has eventually been proven inconclusive (see for instance Li and Gleitman 2002 for one such episode). If there is a worse destiny for a hypothesis than being proven false – it is failing to generate valid tests.

But one can set a more modest goal than removing asymmetry from language, and go for shallower layers of language than the economy of its asymmetric organization. It is easy to see how the fact that for instance most of the profession terms that only have a feminative are professions of low prestige (*dadilja* 'nanny', *kafe-kuvarica* 'coffee-maker', *kurva* 'prostitute'), while those without traditionally used feminatives are rather balanced between prestigious and non-prestigious vocations (*inženjer* 'engineer', *vođa* 'leader', *ubica* 'killer') may trigger generalizations and associations which are not favorable for women.

Feminists interpret this situation as a direct consequence of gender inequality: there are stereotypical social roles connected with men and with women. The solution is seen in the introduction of feminine counterparts for every masculine term denoting a profession title or other social role, especially for those with positive connotations. However, while the interpretation above is correct, it recognizes only one out of two important factors. The other factor is grammar: its constraints and its economy. Due to the fact that masculine gender is realized though pragmatic implicature, as the interpretation of the disjunctive formal gender (masculine_or_feminine – see section 3), feminatives are universally derived from default/masculine forms. They are therefore not only universally more cognitively expensive, but they also universally involve one additional morphological operation, which comes with its own grammatical constraints. Derivational morphology is generally relatively idiosyncratic in terms of which suffixes can combine with which bases (which is one of the defining properties of morphological derivation, distinguishing it from inflection), and it is for this reason generally full of gaps – items which in principle could be derived, but in reality, due to the selective behavior of affixes and the properties of the respective bases, do not actually exist. Therefore, also in the field of feminatives – there is a large number of those which in principle should exist, but actually cannot be derived, or when derived – give the effect of degraded grammaticality.

In other words, there are a number of expected feminatives whose derivation is blocked by certain morphological or phonological principles. Such is the case with the forms ??*borkinja* 'she-fighter', ??*vodkinja* 'she-leader', ??*lovkinja* 'she-hunter', ??*prevodilica* 'she-translator'which all violate certain grammatical constraints.[2]

This means that the fact that there are fewer feminatives for prestigious social roles than for the negatively connoted ones is a consequence of two

2 It was pointed out to me that *prevodilica* is not the proper way to derive a feminative for the translator, and that *prevoditeljka* is not degraded at all. I agree with this observation, but part of the feminist struggle regarding Serbo-Croatian is exactly in promoting alternative feminatives, hence *psihološkinja* is favored over the less marked *psihologica* 'she-psychologist' etc. I quote an illustrative comment by a woman I found on a social network: „jer stvarno, ja već gubim nadu da će ikada svanuti dan kada ću ja moći visoko uzdignute glave da kažem da sam po zanimanju PREVODILICA, a da moj sagovornik ne otrči bezglavo u toalet zbog iznenadnog naleta dijareje ili me ne isprska sadržajem svoje usne šupljine u nekontrolisanom napadu smeha... stvarno, umreću isfrustrirana" ['because really, I'm already losing hope that the day will ever come when I'll be able to proudly say that I'm a she-translator [i.e. *prevodilica*] by profession, without the hearer running to the toilet for a sudden attack of diarrhea or spraying me with the contents of his mouth in an uncontrolled attack of laughter... really, I'll die frustrated'].

main factors. One is the unequal status of genders, which has prompted the derivation of a higher number of feminatives of the latter type. The other is the combination of a higher grammatical complexity of feminatives with the partial productivity of strategies of morphological derivation. Without the latter component, all the relevant terms would have a derivable feminative, effectively eliminating any asymmetry.

The response from the feminist side is that grammar is irrelevant, since once these terms are introduced and used for a while, they cease to sound degraded and become fully acceptable. And it is correct. So if we really care for equality, we can simply keep on using these words even if we feel them grammatically degraded, until they start sounding neutral.

The problem here is that the degradation is erased by what linguistics refers to as lexicalization – a process whereby the internal structure of a complex word is collapsed and the meaning of the word is memorized as idiosyncratic rather than compositionally derived. Exactly the process that has been described in section 3 as licensed by the sufficiently high frequency of the respective lexical item. Thus indeed, if we keep repeating the respective words often enough, they will join our lexicon as regular nouns. But only on the condition that we use them frequently enough.

This is why *borkinja* 'she-fighter', which is a term used for an activist, and hence very frequent in feminist discourse, feels, within this discourse, highly normalized. As opposed to the noun *lovkinja* 'she-hunter', which, due to its low frequency in more or less any present day discourse, sounds quite unnatural even though it is listed in the reference dictionaries. Frequent words prone to lexicalization like *borkinja* will indeed relatively soon stop sounding degraded even to the conservative ear. For this reason, the real target of discussion are nouns like ??*strelkinja/#strelica*[3]*/*??*streliteljka* 'she-archer, markswoman' or ??*pošiljalica/*??*pošiljalkinja/* ??*pošiljateljka* 'she-sender', which are not highly frequent, and which do sound degraded on purely grammatical grounds. Here the feminist activists are quite unified in considering the use also of the infrequent feminatives a necessary part of a gender sensitive language, and the conservative side suggests that terms like *žena-strelac* 'woman-archer, woman-marksperson' and *žena-pošiljalac* 'woman-sender' be used instead. Feminists, in turn, judge such terms cumbersome, and suggest that we simply use the derived feminatives until they begin to sound normal. However, this is based on an incorrect premise: (most of) these nouns are insufficiently frequent, and since the

3 The word *strelica* exists, but only as the diminutive of the noun *strela* 'arrow'.

amount of derivable nouns that are idiosyncratically memorized is limited by economy, they are not likely ever to be lexicalized. As that means that they can only keep being productively morphologically derived, and in productive morphological derivation grammatical constraints play a crucial role – it is also highly unlikely that they will ever start sounding normal.

In other words, there is no good will strong enough that can force our brain to memorize thousands of derived lexical items – be they derived as grammatical or ungrammatical. The pressure not only of economy, but also of the limitations of our memory, is simply too strong to tolerate this kind of a shift in language.

But at the same time, note also that the limitations on the derivational productivity of feminatives holds equally for all the relevant notions – both the positively and the negatively connoted ones. The percentage of grammatically degraded feminatives among positively and negatively connoted notions is stable – consider these very negative terms without a derivable feminative: *dripac* 'punk', but **dripka/*dripica/*dripkinja* (intended: 'she-punk'), *ubica* 'murderer', but **ubička/*ubičkinja/*ubilica* (int: 'she-murderer); *skot* 'brute', but **skotka/*skotkinja/*skotica*; *seronja* 'asshole', but **seronjka/*seronjkinja/*seronjica*; *bilmez* 'gowk', but **bilmezka/*bilmezkinja/*bilmezica* (int. 'she-gowk').[4]

Morphological limitations in themselves do not contribute to the asymmetric distribution of feminatives across the prestigious and stigmatized social roles – they equally affect both these semantic fields. The uneven distribution is entirely determined by cultural models and views: among the grammatically possible derived forms, there is a higher number of actually derived feminatives with a negative, than with a positive connotation because that reflects the stereotypes and perhaps to some extent the reality in the respective society (there are more women carrying non-prestigious than prestigious social roles, and the other way around for men). The only way to really change this situation is not to have a fully productive derivational system (which is a *contradictio in adjecto*, since derivation is by definition idiosyncratic), but to have a culture characterized by gender equality. Such a reality would relatively

[4] I received comments that *ubica* and *seronja* are already feminine as they end in *-a*, but this is plainly false: these nouns, just like the nouns *deda* 'gradfather', *teča* 'uncle' are masculine even though they end in *-a*, as evidenced by the agreement they trigger: *surovi/*surova ubica* 'cruel.Masc/Fem murderer', *ovaj/*ova seronja* 'this.Masc/Fem asshole'.

quickly get its reflex in language. Language reacts to frequency, and it does not react to artificial interventions and campaigns. Hence the entire idea of reshaping the culture by means of a controlled change of language is a misconception.

Crucially, every asymmetry that grammar shows is neutral when it comes to the system of values, except indirectly: it will often reflect an asymmetry in the frequency of occurrence, and this asymmetry may reflect an uneven status of the corresponding concepts, in particular of the woman and the man. Even then – language only reflects the frequency, it does not determine it. It is perfectly possible that a grammar be organized in the inverse way: that there is a masculine_or_feminine form which is also used for feminines, together with a marked masculine – and that the status of the man and the women in the society still favors men in the same degree and manner as it does in Serbian society. Any grammatical asymmetry is able to encode, i.e. reflect any cultural asymmetry. The grammatical asymmetry is arbitrary with respect to the asymmetry concerning the system of values.

5. Can there be a gender-equal language?

In the preceding sections, I have argued that:

1. Asymmetric organization of grammar (including the gender-system) is more economical, and language undergoes strong pressure for economy – which makes it unlikely that a symmetric structure can be imposed on the gender system of Serbo-Croatian.
2. There are grammatical obstacles to a fully productive system of derivation of feminatives, and only a very limited number of feminatives can be lexicalized – hence there can never be a (Serbo-Croatian) language with both a feminine and a masculine form for each relevant notion.
3. Neither of these asymmetries in and of itself carries or imposes an asymmetrical status of genders in the culture – the latter asymmetry can be projected on any asymmetric linguistic structure, and it would exist to an equal extent without a linguistic carrier too.

4. Consequently, language cannot be instrumental in reshaping the culture – but it will always react, even if relatively slowly, to cultural changes and equally efficiently reflect any system of values that the culture reads into it.

Still, one may argue that the fact that genders are organized in an asymmetric relation in grammar supports their asymmetric status in cognition and culture, and that a symmetric one would make it easier to achieve a higher degree of equality in the society. This poses the question: Can language achieve full gender-equality?

The answer depends on the interpretation of the question. One interpretation targets grammar. And here the answer is very easy: yes, grammar can be gender-neutral, and hence also gender-equal. Corbett (1991) reports that about a half of the world's languages involve a grammatically significant classification of nouns based on sex. This shows how prominent classification based on biological gender is, but also that about one half of grammars in the world are gender-neutral.

If the question also refers to individual lexical items and their gender semantics, then there are probably no languages in the world without any words reserved for women as bearers of social roles. In this interpretation, a gender-equal language would need to have approximately the same number of words reserved for women and for men, and no gender should be derived from the default gender semantics. In principle, there is nothing against the existence of such languages either – but their existence is conditioned by the existence of a gender-equal culture in which they are spoken and a sufficiently long period of time for the language to accommodate to such a culture.

Paradoxically, the feminist action is not bringing Serbo-Croatian closer to a gender-neutral language. A precondition for the emergence of such a language is that the classification of nouns based on gender semantics reaches such a high level of grammaticalization that it gets completely disjoint from the gender component. Giving gender a prominent place in the debate around gender equality secures it a prominent status, and its realization in the domain of language (e.g. the derivation of feminatives) hinders or even reverts the process of grammaticalization in neutralizing gender semantics.

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Received: 14 November 2017
Accepted for publication: 31 January 2018

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ЈЕЗИК ДОРИЈАНА ГРЕЈА: ЗАШТО СОЦИЈАЛНИ И КУЛТУРНИ СТАТУС РОДОВА НЕ МОЖЕ БИТИ УНАПРЕЂЕН ДЕЛОВАЊЕМ НА ЊИХОВ ОДРАЗ У ЈЕЗИКУ

Сажетак

Рад разматра интеракцију феминистичке идеологије и акције на једној и дубље граматичке структуре и лексикона на другој страни. Тврди се да лингвистичка интервенција пропагирана као начин за постизање родне једнакости нити може да буде успешна нити теоријски пројектује језик који карактеришу жељене особине. Понуђени су аргументи против става да језик обликује стварност, а у корист обрнуте ситуације, где језик одражава већ установљену слику света и у најбољем (или најгорем) случају помаже да се она очува. Закључак коме рад води је да је у друштву у коме језик није оса дискриминације – сваки лингвистички статус граматичког рода једнако добар, али да би такво друштво вероватно на крају развило језик у коме род нема никакву граматикализовану улогу.

Кључне речи: граматички род, родна једнакост, родно осетљив језик, српскохрватски, језичка економија

UDC 811.163.41'373
811.163.41'282.3
https://doi.org/10.18485/bells.2018.10.14

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LINGUISTIC CREATIVITY: A VIEW FROM THE PERIPHERY OF THE SERBIAN LINGUISTIC SPACE

Abstract
This article discusses linguistic strategies employed by the authors of the Facebook page *Koe ima po grad* ('What's up in the town'), an urban chronicle of Leskovac, and texts of the hip-hop band *Southentik Crew* from the town of Vlasotince. It offers a view on creativity as the strategic mixture of the local dialect with various, easily recognizable discourses and explores the ways in which it engages with ideologies of authenticity and the centralist ideology of the national standard language. It focuses on the ways in which this creative use of language by speakers from the periphery of the Serbian linguistic-cultural space repositions the already set ideological frames of urban–rural and local–national–global, and thus destabilizes the ideologically fixed relationship between the linguistic centre and the periphery.

Key words: dialect, creativity, Southeastern Serbia, periphery, urbanity, language ideology

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1. Introduction

In the foreword of his seminal book on slang (Bugarski 2003), Ranko Bugarski emphasises that the linguistic approach to this phenomenon is capable of avoiding two extremes: "mere veneration of the linguistic creativity of youth without serious analysis, and technicist grammatical dissection of slang expressions" (p. 5). In this article, taking seriously his call not to uncritically or romantically venerate certain linguistic codes, I explore the nature of linguistic creativity in the linguistic practices of speakers from the Southeastern periphery of the Serbian linguistic space. Starting from Thurlow's (2010) assertion that the cultural politics of creativity unfolds in its capacity to engage with broader social and institutional practices and power relations, I see creativity in the strategic mixture of the local dialect with various discourses and explore the ways in which it engages with ideologies of authenticity and the centralist ideology of the national standard language. In the first section of the article, I outline the specific position Southeastern Serbia occupies in the Serbian linguistic landscape. In the following two sections, I analyse two linguistic practices marked by extensive use of the local dialect: the Facebook page *Koe ima po grad* ('What's up in the town'), an urban chronicle of Leskovac, and texts of the hip-hop band *Southentik Crew* from the town of Vlasotince. I focus on the ways in which this creative use of language by speakers from the periphery of the Serbian linguistic-cultural space repositions the already set ideological frames of urban–rural and local–national–global, and thus destabilizes the ideologically fixed relationship between the linguistic centre and the periphery.

2. Serbia's Southeast and dominant linguistic ideologies in Serbian society

Dialects spoken in Southeastern Serbia bear a heavy tinge of peripherality, ruralness, backwardness, and detachment from modernity. It is difficult, if not impossible, to articulate a neutral and anonymous statement (Woolard 2008) using such dialects, because they are perceived as "private and particular, rather than public and generic" (ibid., 305). For this reason, any ambition to participate in the public sphere and advance in the social hierarchy outside of the local setting is preconditioned by the shift from dialect to an idiom closer to the standard language.

Several linguistic-structural, geographical, historical, and cultural factors contribute to the construction of the peripherality of Southeastern Serbia and its dialects. The linguistic peripherality of the dialects is a consequence of their remoteness from the linguistic idioms in Serbia that are perceived as central and suitable for public use (the standard idiom, vernaculars spoken in Belgrade, and in western and northern parts of Serbia). In the South-Slavic dialectal continuum, dialects spoken in Southeastern Serbia are structurally and lexically closer to nearby Bulgarian and Macedonian dialects than to the northern and western dialects in Serbia that are the foundation for the Serbian standard language. These dialects belong to the East Balkan Slavic part of the Balkan Sprachbund and share many structural characteristics with Romanian, Albanian, and Greek dialects (Alexander 2000; Aronson 2007; Schaller 1975).

Cultural and historical factors also contribute to the peripherality of Southeastern Serbian dialects and the areas where they are spoken. As the Serbian territory where Ottoman rule lasted for a long time (Zlatanović 2003) and where the Ottoman legacy is still present in folklore and architecture, the "authentic Serbian identity" of Southeastern Serbia and its population has frequently been questioned. The region is often perceived as being "ambiguously Serbian" and thus opposed to Western Serbia and the parts of Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina inhabited by Serbs. For example, in 1929, the Serbian poet Jovan Dučić wrote that it is "near Vranje where the epic wave is replaced by the lyric one." He describes Southeastern Serbia as an area dominated by feelings of *sevdah* (passion), *dert* (misery), and *merak*[1] that are characteristic of the Middle East (Zlatanović 2009) and unknown in other Serbian regions. Dučić believed that *dert* is not a "Serbian feeling," and people who surrender to it are not Serbian enough, not even sufficiently Slavic. According to Dučić, "Marko Kraljević drinks, but does not fall into 'dert', and although Vranje is no longer Turkish, it remains at the gates of the Orient" (Dučić 1929). The "Serbian-ness" of language spoken in this area has also been frequently questioned: the entire history of Serbian dialectological research has been riddled with discussions about the proper classification of the dialects of Southeastern Serbia. Some dialectologists consider them a distinct group and call them the Torlak dialect group, placing these dialects at the same level as Štokavian, Kajkavian, and Čakavian dialects, while others argue

1 *Dert* (Persian) 'dolor', 'fatigue', 'misery'; *merak* (Arabian) 'joy', 'hedonism'; *sevdah* (Arabian) 'love', 'yearning', 'passion' (Škaljić 1966).

that they are a subset of the Štokavian dialects (see Alexander 1975; Belić 1905; Ivić 1963, 1982; Toma 1998: 19–20; Rešetar 1907). In his Dictionary of the Serbian Language (1852), Vuk Stefanović Karadžić describes the term Torlak as "a person who speaks neither purely Serbian nor Bulgarian."

Moreover, Serbian society in general is characterized by a sharp contrast between centre and periphery in demographic and economic terms. Belgrade is the largest city in the country, several times larger than the other two largest cities, Niš and Novi Sad. According to the 2011 census, there were 1,344,844 inhabitants in Belgrade, 277,522 in Novi Sad, and 187,544 in Niš (Census 2011). Economic discrepancies are particularly noteworthy when it comes to the country's Southeast, where, according to Serbian National Television, monthly income is below the country's average (ca. 370 EUR), by up to 12,000 Serbian dinars (approximately 100 EUR), and the economic potential of the region is estimated to be eighty percent weaker than in Belgrade and northern parts of the country.[2]

The ambiguous position of Southeastern Serbia and its dialects in Serbian national imagery is closely related to the process of nation building, which is an essential component of European modernity. In accordance with the language ideologies that prevail in Serbia, the people who speak Southeastern dialects are perceived as rural and detached from modernity, despite the fact that Southeastern Serbia was intensively industrialized and urbanized in the second part of the 20th century and that one of Serbia's largest cities, Niš, is located in this region, along with several other large urban centres such as Leskovac, Vranje, Pirot, Zaječar (Petrović 2015). They share the "destiny" of many European local languages, that of being "tarnished with the image of the backward peasant who had failed to modernize with the rest of his or her neighbours" (Cavanaugh 2012: 15; see also Drysdale 2001; Kuter 1989; Timm 2001).

True, the urban life in Southeastern Serbia is often depicted in Serbian literature and filmography, but most of these stories take place during the Ottoman period and its immediate aftermath, and before the formation of the modern Serbian state. Borisav Stanković's (Vranje 1876 – Belgrade 1927) literary depictions of Vranje, and Stevan Sremac's (Senta 1855 – Sokobanja 1908) descriptions of the town of Niš belong to the Serbian literary canon. Stanković's *Koštana* is the most frequently staged Serbian drama ever, and the films *Zona Zamfirova* (Šotra 2002) and *Ivkova*

[2] <http://www.rts.rs/page/stories/sr/story/125/Društvo/2036770/Srpske+opštine,+što+južnije+plate+niže.html> (15 September 2015, accessed 30 October, 2017).

Slava (Šotra 2005) based on Sremac's literary works are among the most popular Serbian films. They depict the cities of Southeastern Serbia as socially stratified, inhabited by people of many professions, ethnicities, and social backgrounds. The local language plays an important role in the depiction of the Oriental atmosphere, which is characterized by hedonism, strong emotions, singing, and dancing. However, these cities and indeed the whole region and the people inhabiting it, when depicted from a contemporary perspective through the lens of modernity, appear different: in these depictions, they have lost their Oriental allure and at the same time have failed to modernize. Speakers of Serbian Southeastern dialects are typically portrayed in popular culture, literature, and film (for example, in the film series *Tesna koža* and the television series *Porodično blago*, *Bela lađa* and *Stižu dolari*) as people who unsuccessfully aspire to higher social status. An iconic personification of such failed modernization is Srećko Šojić, a character featured in several television series and films from the 1980s onwards. Srećko Šojić is a unique character in the popular culture in Serbia because of his long filmic biography: this fictional character has appeared in television series and films over a period of over thirty years, from the movie *Laf u srcu* (Pavić 1981), to the popular film series *Tesna koža* (Pavić 1982–1992), to the recent television series *Bela lađa* (Pavić 2006–2012). Šojić is a morally corrupt, uneducated, and even grotesque businessman and politician who attempts to navigate the murky waters of the Serbian "transition" from socialism to democracy.[3] Created by Siniša Pavić and interpreted by the actor Milan Gutović, Šojić comes "from the provinces" and is involved in dirty business (involving smuggling and corruption) and bizarre political projects (such as running the political Party of Common Sense). The fact that Šojić speaks a Southern dialect, in "a funny way" contributes to the peculiarity of his character and his failure to be a part of modern society.

Srećko Šojić is a popular culture character who epitomizes the ideological process in which the distinct and territorially defined way of speaking in Southeastern Serbia became an index of the social identity of lower uneducated social strata characterized by bad cultural taste and a lack of social skills. Linguists have focused on the relationship between

[3] While many authors who deal with European post-socialism use the term *transition* neutrally (see e.g. Ekman & Linde 2005), several others point to problematic political, ideological, and social aspects of this term and the logic behind it (Buden 2009; Horvat & Štiks (eds) 2015).

ways of speaking and social stratification since the pioneering research of Labov (1963, 1966, 1972) and Bernstein (1971, see Block 2014 for an overview). In the case of Southeastern Serbia, however, territorially defined dialects have been ideologically interpreted in social terms: all speakers of these dialects are perceived as linguistically and culturally homogeneous, regardless of their actual social and educational background (see also Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes 2013: 2).

The authors of the *Koe ima po grad* Facebook page[4] and *Southentik Crew* lyrics write their texts against this ideological background, striving to depict and discuss the current reality of their respective cities (Leskovac and Vlasotince). These cities underwent intense industrialization during much of the 20th century, while the period of post-socialist transition that began in the early 1990s ushered in an era of deindustrialization along with a decline in living standards, suspicious privatizations, and the disintegration of urban infrastructure. These conditions and challenges define the reality of many mid-sized cities in post-Yugoslav societies, but the regions of Southeastern and Eastern Serbia were most severely hit.[5] The devastated landscape of these areas has become a recognizable motif in recent Serbian cinematography: the films *Tilva roš* (Ležaić 2010) and *Beli, beli svet* (Novković 2010) are the most noteworthy examples.

3. *Koe ima po grad*: Relocalization of dialect

Koe ima po grad features visual material and witty texts filled with elements of local dialect. These texts and illustrations depict and discuss the "transitional" post-socialist reality of Leskovac and its inhabitants including shady privatizations, economic decline, dysfunctional municipal administration, environmental neglect and the dangers that accompany them, as well as the devastating consequences of poverty. Although this

4 I interviewed the author of posts at *Koe ima po grad* on several occasions during 2013 and 2014. He insisted on remaining anonymous. He is a university educated male in his early thirties who lives in Leskovac and works as a lawyer. For a detailed discussion of his linguistic strategies from the perspective of place-making, see Petrović (2018).

5 For a perspective on the disastrous dimensions of the late industrial condition in the cities and towns of Serbia along with other former Yugoslav republics and post-socialist countries see e.g. Berge (2012); Matošević & Baćac (2015); Pelkmans (2013); Petrović & Vukelić (eds. 2013); Petrović (2016); Potkonjak & Škokić (2013).

Facebook page is seemingly a marginal and locally oriented phenomenon, it has attracted significant attention and acquired an audience well beyond the local context of Leskovac. From February 2011, when the site was created, until November 2017, it has gained more than 41,000 "followers", and the texts from the page are reposted on several electronic portals and news sites in Serbia such as <www.b92.net>, <www.e-novine.com>, <www.juznevesti.com>, <www.leskovackevesti.rs>, <www.jugmedia.rs>, <www.telegraf.rs>, <www.vesti.rs> etc.[6] This suggests that these locally generated texts address issues that are recognizable and relevant to a wider audience in post-socialist Serbia.

The remoteness of the idioms spoken in Southeastern Serbia from the Serbian standard language informs their general perception as being "distorted" and thus funny. Both the particular lexical items and the structural features of these dialects contribute to this perception. The author of the *Koe ima po grad* texts makes ample use of the structural features of the local dialect (underlined in the examples below):

(1) *Nakon što očistiv drljke od oči i obrnev jednu čašku prepek kreću na stanicu da ispaliv dve rakete koje gi je opština obezbedila za do kraj godinu.*

[After they wipe the sleep from their eyes and drink one shot of brandy, (the technicians from the municipality) went to the anti-hail station to fire the two rockets that the municipality had acquired for protection until the end of the year.][7]

- *očistiv* 'to wipe', *obrnev* 'to turn' (here meaning 'to drink') vs. standard Serbian *očiste, obrnu*;
- *od oči* vs. standard Serbian *sa očiju* 'from eyes';
- jednu *čašku prepek* 'one shot of brandy' *do kraj godinu* 'until the end of the year' vs. standard Serbian *jednu čaš(k)u prepeka, do kraja godine*;
- *gi* vs. standard Serbian *im* 'them'.

[6] However, the author of the page has not been active recently, and the latest post is from October 2015.

[7] <https://www.facebook.com/KoeImaPoGrad/posts/976998305668113:0> (posted 18 June 2015, accessed 3 November 2017).

(2) *Cveće u baštama je procvetalo i ljudi se polako <u>prekačujev</u> preko tarabe da ga <u>obrstiv</u>.*

[Flowers bloom in gardens and people jump over the fences to pick them.][8]

- *<u>prekačujev</u>* 'to jump over', *<u>obrstiv</u>* 'to pick' vs. standard Serbian *preskaču*, *obrste* (or *pokidaju* 'to pull', since *obrste* 'browse' is used in the standard language only for animals feeding on plants)

(3) *<u>Na pijac</u> je sve više ljudi. Početak proleća njima signalizira da treba <u>da prestanev da jedev</u> prženu papriku i ajvar <u>iz teglu</u>, jer će se uskoro na ovom mestu naći sveže prskani proizvodi.*

[There are more and more people at the market. The beginning of spring signals to them that they should stop eating roasted peppers and *ajvar* from jars because soon they will be able to get produce freshly exposed to pesticides.][9]

- *<u>na pijac</u>* vs. standard Serbian *na pijaci*, 'at the market';
- <u>da *prestanev da jedev*</u> vs. standard Serbian *da prestanu da jedu* or *da prestanu jesti*, 'to stop eating';
- *<u>iz teglu</u>* vs. standard Serbian *iz tegle* 'from jar'.

Texts with such lexical and structural dialectal features are "taken seriously" and perceived as authentic if they are in a context related to folk, rural, or pre-modern life, but provoke laughter as soon as they emerge in public communication or in situations characteristic of contemporary interactions. Humour is often based on incongruity, on the "difference between what people expect and what they get" (Berger 1995: 105). In the case of dialects spoken in Leskovac and Southeastern Serbia in general, humour, which is a constant in the perception of these idioms and the main characteristic of their social aesthetics, stems from the incongruity between their forms and the idea of the linguistic forms appropriate for contemporary public communication. This incongruity makes it difficult to articulate serious statements using dialect. According to dialectologist Nedeljko Bogdanović, "the [serious] prose written in this dialect is often on the edge of being transformed to its opposite" (Bogdanović 2006: 93).

8 <https://www.facebook.com/KoeImaPoGrad/posts/948382538529690:0> (posted 22 April, 2015, accessed 1 September 2016).

9 Ibid.

Bogdanović describes the situation in which "an author recited an elegiac story from his homeland, but the audience laughs at the local expressions and dialectisms, which are perceived as caricature" (ibid.).

Particular expressions, word play, and effective lexical combinations are characteristic of both everyday language use and the rich literary production in dialect. This includes novels, short stories, poetry, and satirical texts written by local authors. However, a great deal of this literature is restricted by the widespread perception of "folk identity", and a language ideology that can be found in ethnographic and folkloristic literature (Plas 2007), which sees the use of dialect as authentic because of its local nature (Woolard 2008). Although such language ideology gives local dialect authority based on authenticity (Gal & Woolard 2001: 7), the dialect remains incapable of entering the public sphere on either local or national level and articulating messages related to the current reality of Southeastern Serbian cities and its citizens.

The author of the texts published at the *Koe ima po grad* Facebook page, however, manages to explicitly address issues and problems that significantly shape Leskovac's present and succeeds in escaping the limitations established by an ideology of authenticity in which the use of dialect implies a close relationship between a language and a distinct community, locality (usually meaning rural community), and a nostalgic gaze toward the past. He does so by combining elements of local dialect and local geographical references with fixed, recognizable, and well-defined genres that circulate in the public sphere in standard language (e.g. newspaper reports, fairy tales, descriptions in tourist guides, scientific descriptions of species). For example, he presents localized – both linguistically and thematically – versions of the fairy tales *Beauty and the Beast*,[10] *Three Little Pigs*,[11] *The Princess and the Pea*,[12] *The Emperor's New Clothes*,[13] and *Sleeping Beauty*.[14] The tales are situated in Leskovac, written

[10] <https://www.facebook.com/KoeImaPoGrad/posts/806107359423876:0> (posted 6 August 2015, accessed 3 November 2017).

[11] <https://www.facebook.com/notes/362923340408949/> (posted 7 March 2012, accessed 3 November 2017).

[12] <https://www.facebook.com/KoeImaPoGrad/posts/469398293094786:0> (posted 20 September 2012, accessed 25 March 2016).

[13] <https://www.facebook.com/KoeImaPoGrad/posts/839811492720129:0> (posted 8 October 2014, assessed 3 November 2017).

[14] <https://www.facebook.com/KoeImaPoGrad/posts/753659601335319:0> (posted 30 April 2014, assessed 3 November 2017).

in a combination of standard Serbian language and Southeastern Serbian dialect, clearly articulated in the genre of fairytales with typical formulae (bold in the Example 4, dialect underlined), and finally replete with references to the grim reality of everyday life in the impoverished region of Southeastern Serbia. *Sleeping Beauty* begins in the following way:

(4) ***Nekada davno živeli su kralj i kraljica*** *u Garetovu palatu. Kupiše stan na kredit. Posle mnogo godine rodi gim se ćerka, a još ni pola kredit nesu vrnuli. Nemav pare, koe će radiv, napraviše slavlje. Za sedamsto duše. Dodjoše svi iz Leskovac kravaj da donesev.*

[Once upon a time, there were a king and a queen who lived in the Gare Palace. They took out a mortgage on the palace. After many years, they gave birth to a daughter, but they still had half of the mortgage to pay off. They had no money, so what would they do, they decided to throw a party. For seven hundred people. Everyone from Leskovac came and brought the ritual bread.][15]

- *u Garetovu palatu* vs. standard Serbian *u Garetovoj palati* 'in the Gare palace';
- *posle mnogo godine* vs. standard Serbian *posle mnogo godina* 'after many years';
- *gim* vs. standard Serbian *im* 'them';
- *nesu vrnuli* vs. standard Serbian *nisu vratili* 'did not give back' (here: 'did not pay off');
- *nemav pare* vs. standard Serbian *nemaju para*; 'do not have money';
- *koe će radiv* vs. standard Serbian *šta da rade*; 'what will they do';
- *sedamsto duše* vs. standard Serbian *sedamsto duša*; 'seven hundred souls (meaning people)';
- *iz Leskovac* vs. standard Serbian *iz Leskovca* 'from Leskovac';
- *donesev* vs. standard Serbian *donesu* 'bring'.

[15] Ibid.

When the princess reaches her sixteenth birthday, she falls asleep inside the dilapidated complex of the factory once renowned for its textile production. A prince arrives on a powerful Yamaha motorcycle and rescues the princess. They open a disco club on the premises of the factory and live happily ever after, that is until the State Agency for Privatization comes and kicks them out.

The website also features a text in the form of a tourist advertisement for the Morava River valley, in which the author ironically exposes the pollution and neglect of the river which is the only summer destination that many of the inhabitants of Leskovac can afford. In this text, he also combines dialect and local references with expressions in the standard Serbian language that situate the text in the genre of the tourist advertisement (bold in Example 5):

(5) *Ne <u>propuštite</u> Moravu ni <u>ovoj</u> leto.* ***Ovaj prijatni*** *zmijarnik oduvek je bio <u>zbirište za elitni slojevi</u> Jablaničkog okruga. Brojne vikendice <u>na Crveni Breg</u> ugostiće i <u>ovej</u> godine <u>mnogi tajkuni</u> iz Grajevce i Zlokućane.* ***Očekuje se i pojačan priliv stranih turista*** *iz Frankfurt, Beč, Lucern i Čikago, svi rodom <u>iz Malu Kopašnicu</u>.*

[Do not miss the Morava River this summer. This pleasant snake pit has always attracted elite members from Jablanovac County. Many weekend houses on Crveni Breg will host tycoons from Gajevica and Zlokućane this year, too. An influx of foreign tourists from Frankfurt, Vienna, Luzern and Chicago is also expected, all of them originating from Mala Kopašnica (= "Gastarbeiters")][16]

- *<u>propuštite</u>* vs. standard Serbian *propustite* 'miss';
- *<u>ovoj</u>* vs. standard Serbian *ovo* 'this';
- *<u>zbirište</u> vs*. standard Serbian *stecište* 'place of gathering';
- *<u>za elitni slojevi</u>* vs. standard Serbian *za elitne slojeve* 'for elite society layers';
- *<u>na Crveni Breg</u>* vs. standard Serbian *na Crvenom Bregu* 'on Crveni Breg';
- *<u>ovej</u>* vs. standard Serbian *ove* 'these';

[16] <https://www.facebook.com/notes/koe-ima-po-grad/last-minute-ponuda/458879527479996> (posted 23 August 2012, accessed 3 November 2017).

- *mnogi tajkuni* vs. standard Serbian *mnoge tajkune* 'many tycoons';
- *iz Malu Kopašnicu* vs. standard Serbian *iz Male Kopašnice* 'from Mala Kopašnica'.

One of the texts addresses the invasion of mosquitoes in summer months. The scientific descriptions of mosquito's morphology and biotope in standard language (bold in the Example 6) are combined with expressions in dialect (underlined), expressions and forms typical of casual oral communication (marked with double underlining), local geographical references, and witty mocking of the city authorities for their failure to effectively prevent the spread of the insects:

(6) ***Komarci (familija Culicidae) – vrsta insekata*** *koja tokom letnji' meseci pije krv na narod 'mesto političari koji su na odmor. Sasvim neopravdano* ***svrstani su u red dvokrilaca*** *jer ovija naši garant imav po pešes' krila – ne mož' gi čovek utepa kol'ko begav.*

[Mosquitos (family *Culicidae*) – a species of insects that suck blood from human beings in the summer months, thus replacing politicians who go on vacation at that time. They are classified as two-winged insects, which is unjustified, because ours surely have five or six wings which make them so quick that they cannot possibly be caught and killed.][17]

- *na narod* vs. standard Serbian *narodu* 'people' (here: 'humans');
- *na odmor* vs. standard Serbian *na odmoru* 'on vacation';
- *ovija* vs. standard Serbian *ovi* 'these';
- *utepa* vs. standard Serbian *ubije* 'kill';
- *begav* vs. standard Serbian *beže* 'run/fly away';
- *letnji '*vs. standard Serbian *letnjih* 'summer';
- 'mesto vs. standard Serbian *umesto* 'instead';
- *garant* vs. standard Serbian *sigurno, svakako* 'surely, certainly';

[17] <https://www.facebook.com/KoeImaPoGrad/posts/776028175765128:0> (posted 11 June 2014, accessed 3 November 2017).

- *pešes'*vs. standard Serbian *pet-šest* 'five-six';
- *kol'ko* vs. standard Serbian *koliko* 'how much'.

Koe ima po grad texts, with their combination and mixing of seemingly incompatible codes – local dialect with expressions typical of oral communication and "cosmopolitan" genres in the standard Serbian language such as that found in tourist advertisements, (Disney) fairy tales, and scientific descriptions of species – are thus dialogic and intertextual (see Bakhtin 1981; Pennycook 2010), and provide a way to re-localize the dialect. Elements of the local dialect are framed by recognizable or fixed genre forms that are closely linked both to standard language and to supra-local and public realms of communication. In this context, they become detached from the previous dominant representations of ruralism, locality, backwardness, and bizarreness, and re-linked to the local urban, transitional, post-industrial, hybrid, and fluid reality of Leskovac. Strategic appropriation and combination of "discursive conventions, codes and elements in new ways in innovatory discursive events" produce "structural changes in orders of discourse" (Fairclough 1992: 97). This is a well-documented strategy employed in different domains of language use. For example, Bhatia (2008) reports on the strategic mixing of the discourses of law, accounting, finance, and public relations in corporate disclosure reports.

4. *Southentik Crew*: Globalizing the local

As a global musical phenomenon, hip-hop is tightly connected to perceptions of marginality and peripheriality. With its roots in the USA of the 1980s, where it was a musical idiom of urban ghettos and economically deprivileged Afro-American population (see Banić Grubišić 2013, Kelner 2004: 297), hip-hop is today perceived as a global musical voice of the excluded and discriminated, whereby performance characteristics and songs' themes share many features, regardless of the concrete language in which they are created. This global character of hip-hop significantly contributes to the mobilizing potential of the genre, because it offers to the authors a language for universally recognizable articulation of local narratives on inequality and exclusion, and simultaneously provides a possibility for inclusion into broader social frames and flows. That is why it comes as no surprise that hip-hop is an important musical genre in contemporary Serbia (see Nenić 2006, Banić Grubišić 2013, Vojnov 2004). For the same reasons, hip-hop has become a critically important way of expressing the cultural identity of young people at different peripheries of the Serbian society – particularly in its southeast.[18]

This, however, by no means implies that hip-hop does not have its own "mainstream": it gives a voice to those on the periphery or the margin, but it can simultaneously be a means of affective mobilization of those in the centre. The band *Beogradski sindikat* is an example of such mobilization. A comparison of *Beogradski sindikat*'s repertoire with songs of another renowned representative of the Serbian hip-hop scene, Marčelo, offers an insight into the logics of how centrality vs. marginality of linguistic idioms governs hip-hop production in Serbia. *Beogradski sindikat* uses recognizable Belgrade slang. This idiom may be considered marginal in relation to the Serbian standard, but in the songs of *Beogradski sindikat* it is a "voice of Serbia" and a linguistic expression of national – and often nationalistic ideology. On the other hand, Marčelo's songs articulate a sharp critique of nationalism and related phenomena in Serbian society; he performs in a non-localized, neutral and standard idiom. Marčelo is from Paraćin, but there are no traces of local idiom in his lyrics. He articulates his social critique in a neutral and authoritative language, because it would lose legitimacy if articulated in his local idiom. Despite the marginality of (any) slang as a subcultural idiom, *Beogradski sindikat*'s messages do not suffer legitimation loss – their "Belgradeness" secures their ideologically central position, necessary for the articulation of nationalistic narratives, as well as for their deconstruction.

Although an essentially global phenomenon that can serve as a tool for expression of views from the central/majority position, the key-element in the hip-hop production is its connection to the local: hip-hop is "the most local" modern form of expression (Banić Grubišić 2013, 120) and a tool for negotiation of local identity (Pennycook 2007). For this reason, theoreticians of culture who have studied hip-hop dedicate a lot of attention to dialectics between the local and the global, describing it by means of terms such as *glocalization*, *musical transculturation* or *re-territorialization* (Banić Grubišić 2013: 118; see also Nenić 2006: 160, Pennycook 2007, Androutsopoulos 2003).

[18] Hip-hop authors from Southeastern Serbia often emphasise the parallel between (African American) South of the USA and the south of Serbia (e.g. name of the band *Southentik Crew*, the song *Ovo je jug* ('This is south') by the group N1H1 etc.).

In the case of hip-hip production in Southeastern Serbian urban settings, however, transposition of global patterns into local frames faces several challenges that result from the workings of the dominant language ideologies: here, the notion of the local is not homogeneous, unambiguous and "empty." Prevalent ideologies and power relations are already inscribed into this notion. Using dialect as one of the most salient markers of local identity, hip-hop authors must deal with already fixed meanings of dialects and frames of circulation of dialectal elements.

The hip-hop band *Southentik Crew* from Vlasotince released an album entitled *Najgore iz vlasotinačku kanalizaciju* ('The worst from the Vlasotince sewer') in 2012. Local language features are present in this album at the prosodic, phonological, morphological and lexical levels. Explicit metapragmatic comments often point to these elements. These comments address language, and way of speaking/singing.[19] The opening song *Vlasotince slang like dis* ('Vlasotince slang like this') is an example of such explicit positioning toward language/dialect. According to the authors, this song is "a tribute – remix of P-Money's song *Slang like this* and was made to represent the southern way of speaking. People from different countries have already made remixes, a Serbian remix also exists, so it was time to make a Vlasotince remix".[20] The opposition between the Serbian and the Vlasotince language in this statement appears in the lyrics of the song several times (underlined dialectal lexicon or elements; double underlined are expressions and forms typical of casual oral communication):

(7) *Ovo je druga država iako <u>ne'amo</u> <u>pasoši</u>*
[This is a different state although we have no passports][21]
- *<u>ne'amo</u>* vs. standard Serbian *nemamo* 'we do not have'
- *<u>pasoši</u>* vs. standard Serbian *pasoše* 'passports'

[19] Metapragmatic comments can be *explicit*, in those cases when a speaker comments on her or his language use or language use by others, when (s)he directly refers to particular speech events and dicourse segments, justifying, assessing and defining them by genre (see Lucy 1993, 17, Urban 1984), or *implicit*, which are contained in the very choice of language elements and in signals given by a speaker to interlocutors, suggesting how these elements should be understood (Lucy 1993).

[20] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vuJy-ri2mMo, accessed 3 November 2017.

[21] Transcripts of the lyrics are taken from the "subtitles" embedded in video clips published on YouTube channel Black planet record Srbija (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6iDZTZLVSZw; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qm-IUve0R4g), so the written form of lyrics is presented here according to authors' own representation.

(8) *Vi ste sa juga? Ne, mi smo sa zastavu / vlasotinački uključujemo u nastavu*

[Are you from the south? No, we came by Zastava / we introduce the Vlasotince language in curriculum]

- *sa zastavu* vs. standard Serbian *sa zastavom* 'with the Zastava car' (the pun is based on the reinterpretation of the standard Serbian *sa juga* 'from the south', where the form *sa juga* is homonymous to the local dialect form 'with the Yugo car'; cf. *mi nesmo s autobus, mi smo Southentik* 'we did not come by bus, we are Southentik' in the song *Hejteri ranimo s gomna*)

With these lines, the authors oppose hegemonic views from the centre bringing their own dialect into hip-hop discourse. That act of opposition (in this song effectively described as *introducing Vlasotince language in curriculum*) is inevitably faced with two challenges set by fixed perceptions and evaluative attitudes toward language in Serbian society: the first is conditioned by the ideology in which the dialect of Southeastern Serbia is an index of ruralness and premodernity, and the second stems from the perception of these dialects as comic, funny and bizarre.

One of the ways to respond to these challenges is to emphasize competence in the local dialect as a specific kind of knowledge and virtue that is not available to everyone. The unintelligibility of a dialect is often a reason for marginalization, as described in the following line of *Vlasotince slang like dis*:

(9) *K'd otidnem na stranu, ne znam kvo da rabotim / nikoj ne razbira kad počnem da lomotim*

[When I go somewhere else, I do not know what to do / no one understands me when I start speaking fast][22]

- *K'd* vs. standard Serbian *kad* 'when'
- *kvo* vs. standard Serbian *šta* 'what' (contracted form of dialectal *kakvo* 'what')
- *rabotim* vs. standard Serbian *radim* 'do'
- *nikoj* vs. standard Serbian *niko* 'nobody'
- *razbira* vs. standard Serbian *razume* 'understand'
- *lomotim* vs. standard Serbian *govorim brzo* 'speak fast'

[22] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vuJy-ri2mMo, accessed 3 November 2017.

However, the authors turn this way of speaking into their own advantage, and see the unintelligibility of their idiom not only as a consequence of its remoteness from the standard, but also as a result of their fast way of speaking and linguistic creativity. Thus, it becomes a tool of self-positioning vis-a-vis the hegemonic centre:

(10) *Mno'o mi se ti razmišljaš kolko sam ja pismen / al' i toj ću ti pokažem preko usta kad te šljisnem / Ja tebe sve razumem a ti mene ni osminu*

[You think too much about how literate I am / but I will show you that when I hit you to the mouth / I understand everything you say, and you cannot understand even one eighth of what I am saying][23]

- mno'o vs. standard Serbian *mnogo* 'much, a lot'
- *kolko* vs. Standard Serbian *koliko* 'how much'
- *toj* vs. standard Serbian *to* 'that'
- *šljisnem* vs. standard Serbian *udarim* 'hit'

A reviewer of the *Najgore iz vlasotinačku kanalizaciju* album interprets their linguistic choices in a similar vein: "The advantage of these rappers is in their language and dialect choice, complex meanings of their expressions and their newly-coined words. If you watch (...) their videos which have lyrics added, you understand what they say only at least 3-4-5-6 beats later. If you can understand what they are talking about at all. They are elusive, fast, eloquent, intelligent..."[24]

Another, and for our discussion on linguistic creativity the most important strategy used to challenge dominant language ideologies in *Southentik Crew's* song is strategic combination of diverse discursive frames, through which the authors directly link local dialectal elements (underlined in examples 11-14) with elements from the global hip-hip vocabulary, globalized youth slang and other global references (bold in examples 11-14):

[23] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vuJy-ri2mMo, accessed 3 November 2017.

[24] http://www.terapija.net/mjuzik.asp?ID=17371, accessed 31 October, 2017.

(11) *obukujem* ***genksta*** *kariranu košulju*

[I put on a *gengsta* chequered shirt][25]

- *obukujem* vs. standard Serbian *oblačim* 'dress, put on'

(12) *original južnjak, kažu mi da sam seljak /* ***lejzi*** *strogo* ***kežual**,* ***doesn't give a fuck***

[an authentic Southerner, they tell me I am a peasant (non-sophisticated person) / *lazy* strict *casual*, *doesn't give a fuck*][26]

(13) *Nikad ništa đuture, sve isplanirano,* (...) *pesme snimujemo*

[we do nothing ad-hoc, everything is well planned (...) we record songs][27]

- *đuture* vs. standard Serbian *bez merenja/brojanja* 'without mesuring/counting, ad hoc'
- *snimujemo* vs. standard Serbian *snimamo* 'record'

(14) ***Fejkeri*** *provaljujemo odma /* ***hipsteri*** *šaljemo doma / Southentik* ***in da house**, utepujemo odma*

[Those who are fake we figure out right away / hipsters we send home / *Southentik in da house*, we beat up right away][28]

- ***Fejkeri*** vs. standard Serbian *fejkere* 'fakers'
- *odma* vs. standard Serbian *odmah* 'right away'
- ***hipsteri*** vs. standard Serbian *hipstere* 'hipsters'
- *utepujemo* vs. standard Serbian *prebijamo* 'beat up'

Not only do the authors bring together local dialect and global hip-hop discourses, but they also challenge other hegemonic discursive relations, such as the "mainstream" hip-hop discourse, using dialectal forms of hip-hop vocabulary (e.g. *snimujemo* in Example 13, *fejkeri, hipsteri* in Example 14) and putting global references in direct contact with local, structurally and prosodicaly marked forms, as in the Examples 11 and 12.

[25] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vuJy-ri2mMo, accessed 3 November 2017.

[26] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qm-IUve0R4g, accessed 3 November, 2017.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

Such a strategy enables the authors to avoid self-positioning along the nationally defined dichotomy between the centre and the periphery that locates local idiom into clearly defined interpretational schemes – as rural, pre-modern, bizarre, or funny. However, they do not totally reject the recognizable lexical repertoire indexical for the Serbian south and its language. In the refrain of the song *Vlasotince slang like dis* there is an inventory of local addresses and other dialectal elements which unambiguously position this music into the local context: *A prike (kvo?), snajke (kude?), bracke (z'što?), d'ugare (eve) / rođo (kam si?), vuči (koje?), Vlasotince slang like dis!* Such lexical choice simultaneously localizes and globalizes Vlasotince as an urban space. It also serves as a tool to negotiate positioning of the local cultural space and its idioms outside the fixed centre vs. periphery dichotomy, or to directly oppose it.

5. Conclusion: Linguistic creativity and dialect use

The two practices of local dialect use discussed in this paper – the Facebook chronicle *Koe ima po grad* and lyrics of the hip-hop band *Southentik Crew* – significantly rely on strategic combination of linguistic elements indexing locality with global references. While in the case of hip-hop lyrics this global-local syncretism (Lee 2010; Pennycook 2009, 2010) mainly concerns lexical elements, in the case of the *Koe ima po grad* texts, the local lexical elements are combined with discursive genres that typically do not tolerate local, vernacular, dialectal expressions. The author of the *Koe ima po grad* posts addresses local events and problems, and his texts abound with local references and toponyms. In a similar vein, *Southentik Crew* construes Vlasotince as an urban space by using very local expressions. In this way, the local dialect is transformed into an appropriate code to address actual, present-day urban reality, but does not lose its perceived authenticity stemming from its firm connection to the local. As such, these practices may be understood as place-making practices in which images of the cities of Leskovac and Vlasotince are created outside the fixed frame set by dominant language ideologies.

In both discussed cases, the authors are perceived by readers/listeners as creative and skillful users of language. Stylization and the creative use of language are usually understood as an antipode to authenticity (Hockett 1963; Coupland 2001), as they involve multiple filters and levels of representation (Bell 1991). The texts published at *Koe ima po grad* and *Southentik Crew's* lyrics are the product of stylization, but they do not entirely ignore the ideology of authenticity because they are both created and received in connection to a particular community – the inhabitants of respective cities. These texts rely on what we may call "the authentic meaning" (Coupland 2001: 414) of local linguistic forms. They simultaneously challenge the dominant language ideology in Serbia and hinge upon it.[29] This complex relationship between the linguistic strategies and the dominant ideology prompts the question of the nature of the creativity from which the texts emerge.

The authors' use of elements from the local dialect, and the combining of these elements with recognizable genres and global hip-hop vocabulary is very different from the creative and authentic use of dialect described by dialectologists and others engaged in the study of "folk culture" (Plas 2007). Usually, the ability to use dialect creatively is focused on the creative properties of the products, i.e. the texts (Jones 2010: 5), and not seen as a special capacity of all people, but rather as a capacity of special people (ibid.: 2). These special people are typically elderly speakers with little or no education, but with "natural wisdom" and some literary talent. The Serbian dialectologist Prvoslav Radić describes this romanticized authentic creativity as follows: "An important part of the folk spirit is language in all its forms, including its epic and lyric dimensions – they reveal the narratives of speakers as true artistic works" (Radić 2010: 12). The creative speaker of a dialect is conceived as absolutely isolated from the standard language and other codes and genres that circulate in the social space outside of the local setting.

Such an understanding of the creative use of local dialects has roots in the process of nationalization that started in Southeastern Europe at the end of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century (Rihtman-Auguštin 2001), and should be understood as "part of a programmatic dialogue between the institutional-scholarly center and the rural periphery" (Plas 2007: 2250). Through this dialogue, the creative speaker of a dialect is constructed from above, from the perspective of members of the elite who are cosmopolitan and therefore capable of moving between codes and social settings. In contrast, authentic creative users of dialect need to be socially

[29] On such dual position of local idioms towards centrist ideology and normativity, see also Heller (2006); Jaffe (2000); Moore, Pietikäinen & Blommaert (2010); Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes (2011, 2013).

immobile and fixed in their pre-modern and rural locality. The creative use of dialect in literary production follows this ideological pattern to a great extent: it remains thematically constrained to rural life and locally oriented, which leads to its marginalization. This literature is “either less valued, or seen as an expression of a lack of trust in the standard language” (Stanonik 2007: 467), because it remains outside the cosmopolitan, fluid, and hybrid reality of modern life.

Creativity in the use of dialect by the author of the *Koe ima po grad* texts and *Southentik Crew’s* lyrics is of a very different kind. This creativity does not draw on what is unique and new in dialectal expressions, but on the process of putting what is ordinary and familiar in the local idiom in dialogue with existing and easily recognizable lexical elements and discursive genres circulating in discursive spheres beyond the local. Understood in this way, creativity is not merely an innovative attitude toward the language that remains within the confines of a single communication code. It is revealed on points of the intersection between different codes, and within local, national, and global communication frames. As Negus and Pickering (2004: 68) point out, creativity “is about giving form to the material we draw on and transform, and this cannot be done without reference to existing rules, devices, codes and procedures.” The transformations that underlie creativity “occur not only through great works of art of paradigm-changing scientific discoveries, but also through the incremental everyday actions of individuals as they strategically appropriate and combine elements of different ‘Discourses’ in order to meet the needs of particular moments” (Jones 2010: 8; see also Bohm 1998; Pennycook 2010).

The essential question to ask is how these texts “are used to take actions in broader socio-cultural contexts” (Jones 2010: 4). Do the *Koe ima po grad* texts and *Southentik Crew’s* lyrics, based on the strategic combination of various discourses that allows for the reappropriation and relocalization of the dialects of Leskovac and Vlasotince, have the potential to open up possibilities for “the imagining of new kinds of social identities and new kinds of social practices” (Jones 2010a)? The authors of these texts, through a complex relationship with the centralist nationally-framed language ideology that demotes the local dialect to the level of funny, bizarre, rural, low-culture and backward, manage through the combination of dialect with recognizable genres and discourses to take the local idiom out of its fixed ideological frame, “normalize” it, and make it appropriate for use in diverse realms of communication. These processes provide citizens of Leskovac and Vlasotince (and Southeastern Serbia in general) with the potential to reappropriate their local idiom, which in turn becomes an effective medium for place-making and the ability to imagine local reality outside the predictable folkloristic or rural frames. Leskovac and Vlasotince depicted in the *Koe ima po grad* texts and *Southentik Crew's* lyrics are places deeply rooted in contemporary reality. They emerge in these texts as places defined by the local, real, and symbolic geographies; the local idiom used in them serves as a tool that enables speakers to maintain an "intimate, lived relationship with their language" (Cavanaugh 2012: 12).

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Received: 6 November 2017
Accepted for publication: 31 January 2018

Тања Петровић

ЈЕЗИЧКА КРЕАТИВНОСТ: ПОГЛЕД СА ПЕРИФЕРИЈЕ
СРПСКОГ ЈЕЗИЧКОГ ПРОСТОРА

Сажетак

Чланак се бави језичким стратегијама аутора странице на Фејсбуку *Кое има по град*, урбане хронике Лесковца, и текстова хип-хоп групе *Southentik Crew* из Власотница. У њему нудим поглед на креативност као стратешко мешање локалног дијалекта и других, лако препознатиљивих дискурса, и истражујем начине на које се у ова два примера употребе локалног дијалекта изазивају или потврђују језичка идеологија аутентичности и централистичка идеологија националног стандардног језика. Посебно ме занимају начини на које ова креативна употреба језика на периферији српског језичког и културног простора изазива и реогранизује фиксиране идеолошке односе између урбаног и руралног, локалног, националног и глобалног, те центра и периферије.

Кључне речи: дијалекат, креативност, југоисточна Србија, периферија, урбаност, језичка идеологија

UDC 811.111'367
811.163.41'367
811.111'255=163.41
https://doi.org/10.18485/bells.2018.10.15

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TRANSLATING ENGLISH WORDPLAY INTO SERBIAN: EVIDENCE FROM THREE DYSTOPIAN NOVELS[1]

Abstract
The paper deals with ludic use of language in dystopian fiction, with focus on Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* and Margaret Atwood's *Oryx and Crake* and *The Year of the Flood*, and how instances of wordplay in these three novels are translated into Serbian. As wordplay is a complex phenomenon both from the perspective of specific linguistic mechanisms used to achieve it and from the perspective of various communicative functions it may serve, it is usually considered difficult to translate. After some introductory remarks on the nature of wordplay, a selection of examples will be discussed in order to shed light on the strategies used in the translation of wordplay in these three novels.

Key words: language play, wordplay, translation, dystopia, dystopian fiction, Aldous Huxley, Margaret Atwood

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[1] I am indebted to Professor Bugarski for teaching me that language play is a serious business.

1. Introduction

The propensity to play is a universal human trait, found in all cultures and in all periods of history and is, as Żyśko (2017: 2) says, probably as old as language itself. Huizinga (1949/1980: 1) points out that play actually predates culture "for culture [...] always presupposes human society, and animals have not waited for man to teach them their playing". As such, play is an evolutionary, biological and physiological phenomenon, the purpose of which has not yet been fully understood. Various attempts to explain what makes us play have been made, focusing on different aspects and functions of ludic activity, but the answer to the question why humans and (some) animals play remains elusive (for an overview of different hypotheses, see Blumenfeld 1941, Huizinga 1949/1980, Caillois 1961/2001, Norbeck 1974, Schwartzman 1979, Sutton-Smith 1980, Cook 2000, Elkonin 2005). At the same time, play performs important anthropological, sociological and psychological functions in human societies and can take many diverse forms. One such form, or rather, medium, is language.

Following Jakobson (1960), the functions of language have traditionally been classified as referential, emotive, phatic, conative, metalingual (or metalinguistic)[2] and poetic. But language also has a ludic function, i.e. it is used not only to convey information, express attitudes or emotions, establish or maintain communication, etc., but is also used to play. In order to incorporate ludic aspects of language use into this typology, different authors have linked them to some of Jakobson's functions: metalinguistic, emotive, phatic and poetic. Yaguello (1998, as cited in Kabatek 2015: 221fn) believes that all verbal play is metalinguistic in nature but Kabatek (2015: 221-222) argues that although a general property of wordplay is that it is not only the content of the message, but the message itself which is the focus of attention, this does not automatically subsume language play under the metalinguistic function. Kullman (2015: 52-53) links puns to metalinguistic and emotive functions as they relate to the language and the sender but recognizes that wordplay "might have a communicative and social function which is not quite covered by Jakobson's categories" (Kullmann 2015: 47). In his analysis of wordplay in works by William Shakespeare, Lewis Carroll and Count Baldassare Castiglione, he finds that "most of the puns somehow force the interlocutor to go on talking [...],

2 Although Jakobson (1960) uses the term 'metalingual', there seems to be a preference in more recent publications towards the term 'metalinguistic'.

to continue sending messages, to go on with a social game" (Kullmann 2015: 53), which he finds similar to yet distinct from phatic utterances and proceeds to posit another function of language, which he calls 'ludic' or 'provocative'. Finally, it seems logical to relate wordplay to the poetic function of language, as Maybin and Swann (2007) do. Jakobson himself (1960: 357) uses an example of wordplay (Eisenhower's political slogan *I like Ike*) to illustrate this function and says that "any attempt to reduce the sphere of poetic function to poetry or to confine poetry to poetic function would be a delusive oversimplification. Poetic function is not the sole function of verbal art but only its dominant, determining function, whereas in all other verbal activities it acts as a subsidiary, accessory constituent" (Jakobson 1960: 356). But this relationship is not completely straightforward, either. As Kabatek (2015: 223) points out, "even if wordplay might be an important element of many instances of poetry, there are also many examples of everyday wordplay without any aim at being poetry", reducing the meaning of the term 'poetic' to its narrow sense of a literary form. Perhaps the most balanced approach is taken by Zirker and Winter-Froemel, who say that "in many cases, specific realizations of wordplay seem to oscillate between a metalinguistic and a poetic function, and still other functions may be of even greater importance for certain cases of wordplay" (Zirker and Winter-Froemel 2015: 9-10).

What is clear even from this brief overview is that the ludic aspect of language does not fit neatly into Jakobson's functional model. Different authors relate it to one or the other of the six functions but admit that it cannot be fully equated with any of them, or they solve the problem by introducing an additional function. A more fruitful approach might be to view language play not as one of the functions or a separate function altogether, but rather as a mode of communication that can fulfil any of the six functions in varying degrees in a particular communicative situation while at the same time achieving an additional communicative effect. In other words, the speaker can use language referentially, emotively, conatively, poetically, phatically and/or metalinguistically and choose to do so playfully. To play or not to play is thus a matter of choice.

But why play in the first place? After all, wordplay is "a superfluous ornament not necessary for the basic needs of transmitting a message" (Kabatek 2015: 226). Moreover, utterances involving wordplay require increased cognitive effort from both the addresser and the addressee and as such violate Grice's maxims of manner and relation (Bauer 2015: 269, Kullmann 2015: 48; Żyśko 2017: 5). The answer to why we play with language is – because we can, because it is fun and because it serves a higher purpose, which are not mutually exclusive. That playing with language is fun is a well-known experiential fact, stressed, among others, by Huizinga (1949/1980), Crystal (2001) and Khir (2012). It seems that humans take particular delight in utilizing their linguistic capacity for purposes of enjoyment and entertainment, to "show a mastery of language" and to create "an atmosphere of humour and playfulness" (Kullmann 2015: 47). Language play may also have a purely aesthetic effect, fulfilling our aesthetic needs (Kabatek 2015: 226). Clearly, language play is inextricably linked to humour, creativity and beauty but the discussion of these complex relations is far beyond the scope of this paper.[3] We will focus on what it is that wordplay adds to the message in the communicative sense or, to use Kabatek's words, how it modulates the message, adds or subtracts communicative weight (Kabatek 2015: 226) and how this is transferred in the process of translation.

2. Wordplay and its translation

Wordplay is notoriously difficult to translate, as pointed out by a number of authors (Laurian 1992, Delabastita 1994, 1996, Weissbrod 1996, Alexieva 1997/2014, Díaz-Pérez 2013, 2015, to name just a few) and is thus frequently considered to be a translation problem. As Delabastita (1994: 223) says, "the cause of these (real or alleged, theoretical or practical) difficulties lies in the fact that the semantic and pragmatic effects of the source-text wordplay find their origin in particular structural characteristics of the source language for which the target language more often than not fails to produce a counterpart". Nevertheless, most authors seem to agree that although it does not travel well, it does not mean that it cannot travel at all, as will be shown below. Further difficulty in the case of English-Serbian translation of wordplay is possibly presented by the fact that speakers of Serbian do not seem to be particularly prone to play with language (Bugarski 2013: 22), at least not at the morphological

[3] For different aspects of the relationship between ludicity and creativity, see Cook (2000), Carter (2004), Bagasheva and Stamenov (2013), Jones (2016). Humour and language play are explored by Maybin and Swan (2007), Bell (2016), Kao, Levy and Goodman (2016).

level. Although there are certainly some notable exceptions (for various examples, see Bugarski 2011, Klikovac 2008a, 2008b, Prodanović-Stankić 2014), the reasons for this seem to be both linguistic and cultural. That is why it might be interesting to see how translators cope with instances of wordplay when translating from English into Serbian and what they do to overcome this problem.

2.1. Definition of wordplay

As wordplay is a very complex phenomenon, it is not easy to define. For the purposes of this paper, the terms 'language play', 'verbal play' and 'wordplay' are used interchangeably although it is, of course, possible and necessary to make distinctions.[4] Delabastita (1996: 128) defines wordplay as "various textual phenomena in which structural features of the language(s) used are exploited in order to bring about a communicatively significant confrontation of two (or more) linguistics structures with more or less similar forms and more or less different meanings". Several important features of wordplay are mentioned: it stems from the structural features of a particular language or languages, it is communicatively significant and it relies on similarity of forms and dissimilarity of meaning. Żyśko (2017: 3-17) adds ambiguity, novelty and humour to this list, while Kabatek (2015: 215) stresses the element of surprise without which wordplay cannot achieve its expressive effect. Renner (2015) in his study of blends as instances of wordplay recognizes the following features which contribute to wordplayfulness: formal complexity, structural transgression, graphic play on words, semantic play on words, and functional ludicity.

Wordplay is obviously a multi-faceted phenomenon which operates simultaneously on different linguistic levels, is related to creativity and humour and can perform a variety of communicative functions. In the following section, some of these aspects of wordplay will be surveyed as they are utilized by the two writers in their dystopian novels.

[4] A further terminological distinction made by some but not all authors is that between 'wordplay' and 'pun'. For an overview of terminological issues, see Żyśko (2017).

2.2. Wordplay in dystopian fiction

Literature has always been a domain of creative language play in all its variety. When thinking about wordplay in English-language literature, the first names that come to mind are probably those of the great masters of ludic linguistic expression: William Shakespeare, Edward Lear, Lewis Carroll, James Joyce. More recently, however, a word lover may find the genres of science fiction, fantasy fiction and children's literature particularly rewarding in this respect, as shown by Munat (2007). For this and some other reasons that will be elaborated later, the focus of our discussion will be on three dystopian novels: *Brave New World* by Aldous Huxley and *Oryx and Crake* and *The Year of the Flood* by Margaret Atwood (the first two books of M. Atwood's *MaddAddam* trilogy).

Dystopia is commonly defined in contrast to utopia, as "any alarmingly unpleasant imaginary world, usually of the projected future" (Baldick 2001: 74) and is closely related to sci-fi and apocalyptic fiction.[5] A. Huxley's *Brave New World* is often cited as a classic example of the dystopian science-fiction genre while Margaret Atwood insists that her books are not science fiction because they deal with things that are already possible and happening (see, for example, Atwood 2004, 2005) and labels them instead as speculative fiction or social science fiction. Truth be told, both Atwood and Huxley base most of their pessimistic projections on the existing scientific knowledge of the time – Huxley on Pavlovian conditioning and hypnopaedia and Atwood on genetic modification – and then expand on it, taking the application of that knowledge to the next stage.

These authors were chosen for several reasons. Although Huxley's and Atwood's novels were published some 70 years apart and are very different in many literary aspects, they share a number of common themes: a dystopian view of a totalitarian future society in which unimpeded scientific progress has led to horrifying social and environmental changes, human interference with natural reproduction and development, an authoritarian regime and its close relations with big corporations, mass production and consumerism, objectification of women and children and religion as a social force, to mention just a few. Both authors rely extensively on interpolations of other literary texts (Shakespeare in Huxley; Virginia Woolf, Samuel Beckett, Kurt Vonnegut, Shakespeare, etc. in Atwood) and

[5] For terminological distinctions between "dystopia" and "anti-utopia", see Bould et al. (2009), Živković (2014).

intertextuality with other texts and/or registers (e.g. nursery rhymes and slogans in Huxley, advertising and Christian religious registers in Atwood), which will be of some significance for our analysis.

The reasons why this specific genre tends to be rich in linguistic creativity are manifold and only an overview of some of them will be given here. Firstly, many science-fiction novelists, dystopian or otherwise, create new worlds abounding with new objects and concepts that need to be named (see Stockwell 2000: 113, Bould 2009: 225, Cacchiani 2016). By naming, the words' potential for hypostatization, i.e. their ability to form concepts, is exploited. Hohenhaus (2007: 22) calls this 'functionalized hypostatization', by which he means the hypostatization of "something that does not actually exist but is part of the illusion of a fictional context, thus further increasing the overall fictional illusion" (see also Munat 2007: 178-179). For example, when Atwood uses the word *soydines* (a type of sardine-like food containing soya), she implies that there really *is* such a thing as soydines, at least in the context of the fictional world she is creating. Secondly, the use of language play and other creative linguistic devices can be seen as "deviations from the expected or ordinary use of language that draw attention to an element, foregrounding it against the relief of the rest of the features of the text" (Stockwell 2002: 14). Related to this, albeit viewed from a somewhat different perspective, the use of language play can be treated as an attention seeking device (see Munat 2007). The attention of the reader is captured by the fact that instances of language play are foregrounded, as pointed out by Stockwell, but also by the fact that more processing effort is required for their processing (Tanaka 1992, Lehrer 2003, van Mulken, van Enschot-van Dijk and Hoeken 2005, Yus 2008). Finally, as Bould (2009: 229) observes, "linguistic social-engineering is relatively common in eutopian and dystopian fiction", the evidence for which is found in Huxley's *Brave New World* but is perhaps not so overt in Atwood's novels.

2.3 The translation of wordplay in the three novels

Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* was published in 1932 and has been translated into Serbo-Croatian by three different translators: Vlada Stojiljković (Serbian edition in 1967, Croatian edition in 1985), Stanislav Vidmar (Croatian edition in 1998) and Svetlana Stamenić (Serbian edition in 2009).[6] Of these, we will analyze the translations by Stojiljković (both Serbian and Croatian editions) and Stamenić. During the bibliographic phase of this research, the existence of different translations of Huxley's novel seemed promising for the analysis, both in terms of the analysis of English-Serbo-Croatian translations but also, secondarily, in terms of offering a possibility to compare Serbian and Croatian translations, including a seemingly rare existence of two translations, one Serbian and one Croatian, by the same translator (Stojiljković). But the initial enthusiasm for both of these secondary paths of linguistic pursuit soon waned when it became evident that Vidmar's translation could not be obtained in good time and when Serbian and Croatian translations by Stojiljković turned out to be more or less ekavian/ijekavian versions of the same text, at least with respect to the translation of wordplay, with only occasional lexical differences (e.g. *sala* vs. *dvorana*), as was only to be expected anyway. Further disappointment followed when we looked into the 2009 translation by Stamenić, which features many formulations identical to those by Stojiljković, again with only minor differences. Faced with these unexpected setbacks, we had to settle for what was in essence one target text with slight variations and where these do occur, they will be pointed out. If only one target-text formulation is given, it will be from Stojiljković's Serbian translation (Haksli 2014).

Margaret Atwood's *Oryx and Crake* and *The Year of the Flood* were translated by Goran Kapetanović and Aleksandra Čabraja, respectively. Why the Serbian publisher has not published the third book from the trilogy (*MaddAddam*, published in 2013) is not known.

One final remark has to be made before we proceed to the analysis. The aim of this paper is not to criticize the translations or make any evaluative judgement, but to investigate the transference of wordplay in the three selected novels. As already said, the analysis will focus on communicative effects of wordplay and how and whether it is translated into the target language, rather than on typologies or classifications of specific translation strategies as such.

For this purpose, we will apply the framework developed by Díaz-Pérez (2008, 2013, 2014, 2015) in his assessments of positive cognitive effects of different strategies applied in the translation of ludic elements in various types of texts. He starts from the tenets of Relevance Theory, which

[6] The dates refer to the earliest editions we were able to locate through bibliographic research, which means there may be other translations that we are unaware of.

postulates that "the addressee will make the effort to process a statement if s/he assumes it to be relevant" (Díaz-Pérez 2014: 109). Participants in any communicative process start from the assumption of optimal relevance: the addresser intends his utterance to be relevant, and the addressee expects to derive adequate cognitive effects without investing unnecessary effort (Díaz-Pérez 2014: 110). However, as all wordplay involves increased processing effort on the part of the addressee, there must be other positive cognitive effects that would justify this (Tanaka 1992, van Mulken, van Enschot-van Dijk and Hoeken 2005, Yus 2008). In the case of wordplay, these positive cognitive effects can stem from the appreciation of wittiness or enjoyment of humour (Solska 2012, as cited in Díaz-Pérez 2014), or intellectual satisfaction achieved by successful interpretation of wordplay (van Mulken, van Enschot-van Dijk and Hoeken 2005), which makes the ludic utterance relevant and the necessary processing effort worthwhile.

When translating wordplay, an ideal solution is for the translator to achieve pun correspondence, i.e. to achieve wordplay "based on the same linguistic phenomenon as its original counterpart and reflecting the same semantic ambiguity" (Díaz-Pérez 2013: 284). This, however, is often practically impossible due to a lack of isomorphism between the languages involved. In those cases the translator may need to make a decision on what approach to take: whether to sacrifice the communicative effect or to sacrifice the semantic content, the decision that should be based on the relative relevance of the two in any particular situation. It should be noted that these two approaches are not mutually exclusive and are a matter of degree rather than a yes/no category. In other words, it is possible to maintain both to a degree without completely losing the other, as will be illustrated below.

In accordance with these general principles, Díaz-Pérez (2008) establishes the following general categories in the translation of wordplay: (1) from pun to pun, (2) from pun to no pun, (3) from pun to 'punoid', (4) direct copy, (5) transference, (6) from no pun to pun, and (7) combination of direct copy with another strategy. As Díaz-Pérez (2008) deals with puns, a concept that is somewhat narrower than that of wordplay, for the purposes of this paper his categorization will be slightly modified. We looked into any source-text (ST) sequences that qualify as wordplay, including but not limited to puns, so , although the categories are still based on the same principles as Díaz-Pérez's, their names were changed to reflect the broader scope. The third category, from pun to 'punoid', incorporates target-text (TT) formulations that try to compensate for the loss of pun by substituting it by other rhetoric devices such as rhyme, alliteration, repetition, etc. (Díaz-Pérez 2008: 50), but as we deem all these to be instances of wordplay, examples of this strategy will be discussed under the heading 'from wordplay to wordplay'. Transference, surprisingly, proved to be very rare – found in only one instance in the translation and no instances of direct copy in combination with another strategy were found. Finally, from the methodological point of view, the research was done in such a way that only instances of wordplay in ST were taken into account, which automatically excludes Díaz-Pérez's sixth category, 'from no pun to pun'. This leaves the following strategies: from wordplay to wordplay, from wordplay to no wordplay and direct copy. Due to space limitations, only a selection of representative examples will be discussed.

2.3.1. Wordplay to wordplay

This category includes instances of wordplay correspondence, which means that wordplay in the ST is translated into wordplay in the TT by applying the same linguistic means. As Díaz-Pérez (2008: 39-45) points out, the TT does not need to maintain identical formal mechanisms and/or semantic correspondence – all that is relevant is that wordplay is preserved.

Brave New World

Huxley's linguistic inventiveness permeates the whole novel and, as elsewhere in dystopian fiction, performs different functions in this literary text (different aspects are dealt with in Lange 2013, Živković 2014). It is found in the names of different scientific processes (e.g. *bokanovskification*, *decanting, bottling*, etc.), job positions and offices (*Matriculators*, *Predestinators*, *Deputy Assistant Fertilizer-General*, *Arch-Community Songster of Canterbury*, etc.), objects (*sporticopter*, *Super-Vox-Wurlitzeriana*, *zippicamiknicks*, etc.), slogans (*Ending is better than mending*), modified nursery rhymes (*Bye Baby Banting, soon you'll need decanting*), etc. Of these, particularly interesting for the analysis were words that Huxley coins to denote new objects, various slogans used by the World State and nursery rhyme modifications because it is here that Huxley frequently plays with both the form and the meaning.

With *taxicopter* and *sportscopter* the translator had but little trouble – it was rendered into Serbian as *taksikopter* i *sportikopter*, which makes them early examples of lexical blending in Serbian.[7] The same structural mechanism was used and the same effects achieved. *Super-Vox-Wurlitzeriana* presented more of a problem. It denotes a kind of a music box, whose name alludes to the Wurlitzer organ. The translator seems to have thought this cultural reference to be too obscure for Serbian readers so he translated it as *Supervoks džuboks*, keeping it in the same semantic domain of automatic music boxes and adding rhyme.

The totalitarian World state uses a great number of short, catchy slogans as means of conditioning and controlling its subjects. Many of them feature various rhetoric devices such as rhyme, alliteration, repetition, contrast, etc. and are frequently modifications of existing English proverbs. The function of some of these slogans is to condition the citizens into desired behaviours, such as consumerism or consumption of soma, a euphoric and mildly hallucinogenic drug invented by Huxley. Rhyme and contrast of *A gramme is better than a damn* are retained in the translation, *Bolje gram nego sram*, with some change of semantic meaning, which is also the case with *A gramme in time saves nine*, a modification of a well-known proverb "A stitch in time saves nine", which is translated as *Gram u pravi čas – to je pravi spas*. In the rendering of *The more stitches, the less richies*, a slogan that encourages people to buy new things rather than repair old ones, the translator creates a rhyming, proverb-like slogan in Serbian: *Novu robu u novu sobu*.

In the brave new world of Huxley's novel, God is replaced by Ford (Henry Ford, an industrialist, the founder of Ford Motor Company and a symbol of mass production), and all the linguistic expressions referencing God, lord, etc. are changed in accordance with that. The symbol of the cross is replaced by the letter 'T' (reference to Ford's Model T), a slight visual modification as T resembles the cross with the top part removed. All this is reflected in the use of language, especially idiomatic expressions. Thus *A.D.* ('Anno Domini') becomes *A.F.* ('Anno Fordi', or 'after Ford'), *his lordship* becomes *his fordship*, *thank Lord* becomes *thank Ford*, etc. The translation maintains this transposition quite consistently throughout the novel, managing to achieve more or less the same effects. For instance, *an unfordly example* (a modification of *an ungodly example*) is translated as *fordohulan primer*, where the translator plays with word-formational

[7] *Taksikopter* and *sportikopter* could also be treated as instances of direct copy, but as their semantic transparency is maintained in the translation, we treat them as words formed with Serbian elements, modelled upon the English original.

mechanisms in a very similar way as the author, to achieve a similar effect of surprise, novelty and creativity. Cultural substitution is utilized as means of maintaining the effects of *Young Women Fordian Association*, which is translated as *Kolo fordovskih sestara* (alluding to Kolo srpskih sestara, a Serbian women's charity organization).

Oryx and Crake and *The Year of the Flood*

Hybridization and genetic modification are a prominent theme in M. Atwood's *Oryx and Crake* and *The Year of the Flood*. The names of hybrid and/or genetically modified animals and some genetically modified plants are typically coined by blending (e.g. *rakunk* [raccoon + skunk], *snat* [snake + rat], *beananas* [beans + bananas]), whereby Atwood exploits the conventional method of naming hybrids by blends in English (see Lalić-Krstin 2008a, 2008b), which in turn produces several effects. First of all, she ties it to an already existing discourse tradition, creating the sense of plausibility and authenticity on the one hand, while on the other satirizing the creation of outrageous hybrid forms. Secondly, blends are generally considered to be creative and playful coinages. In his paper on blends as forms of wordplay, Renner (2015: 121) ranks blends very high on the ludicity continuum, saying that "blending can be claimed to be the most complex form of wordplay in word-formation". Both source words are from the same domain of animal/plant kingdom, denoting different species, but their combination into a new concept and into a new word is novel and unexpected, which illustrates Cacchiani's (2016: 322) claim that "ludicity correlates positively with the computation of relatively plausible but unexpected semantic relations and associations between words". Blends are lexical puzzles (Bugarski 2001, 2013) whose reduced morphotactic transparency correlates with an increase in wordplayfulness (Cacchiani 2016: 307) and as such, they require the reader to pause in order to solve the puzzle, which, as Lehrer (2003) claims, creates in the reader a sense of amusement and accomplishment and increases memorability. If we turn now to how the two translators handle these words, we find (like Jovanović 2007) that formally there is a high degree of correspondence in the type of the word-formation process. In other words, in order to translate most of the blends that denote hybrids, the translators coined blends in Serbian too. For example: *rakunk* [raccoon + skunk] – *tvorakun* [tvor + rakun], *snat* [snake + rat] – *zmacov* [zmija + pacov], *wolvog* [wolf + dog] – *psovuk* [pas + vuk], *liobam* [lion + lamb] – *jagnjolav* [jagnje + lav], *beananas* [bean + bananas] – *pasuljane* [pasulj + banane], *spoat* [spider + goat] – *kouk* [koza + pauk], *gider* [goat + spider] – *paza* [pauk + koza],[8] *lumirose* [luminiscent/luminescence + rose] – *svetloruža* [svetleća/svetlo + ruža]. Although structural correspondence is not a necessary condition for wordplay correspondence, like Atwood, both translators coin new words and they do so by using the same structural mechanism, whereby the puzzle effect is maintained, perhaps even more so for the Serbian reader for whom blending may not be as common as it is for the English reader. What is missing, though, is the relationship with the discourse tradition of naming hybrids by blends, which is not as established in Serbian and thus the effect of parody and satire towards hybridization and/or genetic modification is slightly lessened. However, as Kabatek (2015: 215) notes, discourse traditions can spread across languages by translation so the convention of naming hybrids by blends could take root in Serbian.

A very good example of wordplay correspondence without formal correspondence is provided by the translation of *SoyOBoy burgers*, *SoyOBoy wieners* and *SoyOBoy sardines*, which in TT are: *pljeskavice "sojaja"*, *kobasice "sojaja"* and *sardine "sojaja"*. *SoyOBoy* from the ST is a food brand of Margaret Atwood's invention, constructed by applying different formal and semantico-pragmatic mechanisms. First of all, it probably draws on an existing brand name, *Soy Boy*, which immediately activates the necessary association in the mind of a reader familiar with the brand. Then, there is the rhyme in *SoyOBoy*, a well-established and much used poetic and advertising device that deviates from the ordinary use of language and "draw[s] attention to an element, foregrounding it against the relief of the rest of the features of the text" (Stockwell 2002: 14). Furthermore, some believe that rhyme "invites the reader's consideration of semantic as well as of sound similarities" (Fussell 1979: 110, as cited in Pilkington 2000: 138), which in this case would lead to contrasting the meaning of *soy(a)*, traditionally used as meat and dairy substitute in many modern commercially sold foods, with that of the *Oh boy!*, which can express a whole range of emotions, from delight and appreciation to resignation and

[8] For some reason, the translator reversed the order of constituents in these two words, despite having to coin two blends with the same source words in reverse sequence, in order to translate *spoat* and *gider*. Although this may not be crucial in this particular case, it should be noted that in the formation of the names of hybrid species, it is customary for the name of the sire (the male parent) to be positioned initially. Jovanović (2007: 203) notes the same for *rakunk* (=*tvorakun*) and *wolvog* (*psovuk*), where the reversal might have been caused by a desire to achieve euphony.

annoyance. The fact that it is a brand name would, in normal circumstances, probably be aimed at activating the more positive uses of *Oh boy!*, but for the reader familiar with Atwood's avid environmentalism, the irony is all but obvious. Finally, unusual capitalization, which in itself is a form of linguistic deviation from the ordinary, draws attention to common branding and advertising practices. Indeed, as pointed out by Jovanović (2007: 200-201), M. Atwood shows remarkable adeptness in thinking up names for commercial products, many of which, we will add, involve instances of wordplay at different levels of linguistic expression, as shown by the above examples. But how did the translators approach this problem of multiple ludic effects? In the case of *SoyOBoy* words, their brand name status is signalled by the use of inverted commas. At the formal level, the wordplay is achieved by blending *soja* and *do jaja* (informal idiom meaning 'very good') into *sojaja*. Through the use of these source words the semantic content of the original is preserved, while the use of the word-formation process of blending achieves the wordplayfulness effect. Lexical blends in Serbian are quite common in brand names, especially of food products, which helps the translators link it to that particular discourse tradition.

One more illustrative example of this strategy will be discussed. The translator of *The Year of the Flood* keeps most of the very creative coinages of the translator of the first book, which is, of course, highly commendable as it maintains consistency in the sequel. She does, however, make some minor changes in a couple of them. One of these is the translation of *Happicuppa*, a coffee brand, which in the first book was translated as *slatkafa*. In the second book, this is changed to *srećkafa*, which not only corresponds more closely to the original in terms of its semantics, but also fits in more smoothly into the translation of paronymy-based wordplay in *HAPPICUPPA IS A CRAPPICUPPA* (a text on a protest sign) as *SREĆKAFA JE SRAĆKAFA*. Consistent with this is the change of *slatkapućino* into *srećkapućino* as the translation of *Happicuppuchino*. By way of digression, let it be said that in a few instances where the same word in *The Year of the Flood* was translated differently from an earlier occurrence in the same book, the later translation tends to be more playful, as if, emboldened by the writer's creativity, the translator plucked up the courage to be more ludic herself. For example, *pleebmob* is translated as *plebejska mafija* (p. 64) and then later as *plebanda* [plebeja + banda] (p. 167). Likewise, *polyberry* is *višebobični grm* (p. 26) and *višebobice* (p. 198).

Lexical blending as means of achieving ludicity is applied not only in the translation of ST blends but in other cases too, which is further evidence that this word-formation process is becoming more firmly entrenched in Serbian (see Bugarski 2013, 2016). Thus *Mo'hair* ('a species of sheep genetically spliced with humans in order to provide hair replacements'), which again resembles a commercial brand name, is a play on homophony between *more hair* and *mohair*, unachievable in Serbian, so the translator opts for a blend instead and translates it as *perikovca*, perhaps overtranslating a little but still preserving wordplay. The name of a car repair establishment, *Fender-Bender Body Shop* is translated as *Auto-servis Peglokaroserija*, a good example of how despite a minor loss of the semantic content it was possible to maintain both the meaning and the ludic effect.

2.3.2. Wordplay to no wordplay

Díaz-Pérez (2008: 45) defines this strategy as translations where the pun from the ST corresponds to a sequence which has no pun. If it is not possible to maintain both the form and meaning of the original, then, the translator will have to decide whether it is preferable to sacrifice content to the effect produced by a pun or whether, on the contrary, meaning should prevail over the effect of wordplay (Díaz-Pérez 2014: 115).

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As shown above, many of the playful modifications of slogans were translated in such a way as to keep at least some of the ludic effects. In some cases, though, wordplay is lost or greatly diminished. One such example would be the translation of *zippicamiknicks*, a garment whose name is coined by cleverly combining *zipper* and *camiknickers* (itself a blend of *camisole* and *knickers*). The novelty of the coinage (and probably of the concept too) is completely lost for the Serbian reader, who is offered *patent kombine* (*patent kombinezon* in Haksli 2009) as the translation.

Oryx and Crake* and *The Year of the Flood

Although it is evident from the analysis that both translators strive to keep as much of the original cognitive effects as possible when translating playful parts of the texts, there are a few instances where this was not achieved. For example, *Manic Botanics*, the nickname children in the God's Gardeners community gave to a school subject, is translated as *Manijakalna Botanika*; *fleather* ('fake leather') as *veštačka koža*; *furzooter* ('a person wearing a furzoot, a fake-fur costume worn by people employed to advertise products in shopping malls') as *kostimirani reklamer*. In all the cases it was obviously deemed more important to keep the content and sacrifice the wordplay.

A few longer sequences also feature loss of wordplay in favour of semantic content. *BIGZOOT – SAY IT WITH FURRORE!*, an advertising slogan of a furzoot company, features *bigzoot*, coined by combining *big* with *zoot* from *furzoot*, thus producing a whole chain of lexical invention (*fur suit* > *furzoot* > *zoot* > *bigzoot*), and *furrore*, a play on *fur* and *furore*. None of these playful effects were kept in the Serbian translation: *RECITE TO KRZNOM!* Similarly, *Fear no weevil*, which is a play on *Fear no evil*, is translated as *Ne boj se kornjaša*, where the translator opted for literalness thus sacrificing wordplay, the path pursued too in the translation of *I think, therefore I spam* into *Mislim, dakle šaljem mejlove*.

2.3.3. Direct copy

This strategy does not involve translation as such but is instead based on borrowing into the target language.

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Although the translator used this strategy to translate some of the scientific terminology, no instances of direct copy were found in the translation of ludic sequences in this novel.

Oryx and Crake and *The Year of the Flood*

As previously said, it is evident that both translators of M. Atwood's novels try hard to maintain wordplay and reflect cognitive effects created by the author's lexical inventiveness. It is only in a handful of examples that they resort to direct copy: *sus multiorganifier* (as already pointed out by Jovanović 2007), *SeksMart* is retained in the original, whereby the wordplay stemming from two possible interpretations (*sex mart* vs. *sex smart*) is lost. Another case of direct copy would be *Painball* – *Pejnbol*, with its obvious allusion to paintball maintained in the TT but with the semantics of *pain* lost, which is why the translator provided a footnote explaining the wordplay.

3. Conclusion

It is indisputable that wordplay, with all its formal and semantic complexity and rich communicative effects should be translated. Clearly, the three translators were aware of the significance of wordplay in the analysed novels and clearly they tried to recreate it in their translations. They frequently applied the same structural mechanisms but if this was unachievable, they compensated with other means that are typically considered to be ludic, proving Bugarski's statement that "all translation is creation" (Bugarski 1997: 236). Particularly conspicuous in this respect is the exploitation of the expressive potential of lexical blends in the translations of M. Atwood's novel, which surely contributes to further entrenchment of this word-formation process in Serbian.

Although the types of wordplay used by the two writers were not compared and contrasted consistently at this time, the impression is that in M. Atwood's novels ludicity in most cases stems from playing with both form and meaning, whereas Huxley tends to play more with meaning and less with form and relies more on neosemanticization. This, of course, needs to be more thoroughly researched for any valid conclusions to be made.

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Received: 15 October 2017
Accepted for publication: 31 January 2018

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ПРЕВОЂЕЊЕ ВЕРБАЛНЕ ИГРЕ С ЕНГЛЕСКОГ НА СРПСКИ ЈЕЗИК
НА ПРИМЕРИМА ИЗ ТРИ ДИСТОПИЈСКА РОМАНА

Сажетак

Овај рад бави се функцијама употребе вербалне игре у три дистопијска романа на енглеском језику (*Brave New World* Олдоса Хакслија и *Oryx and Crake* и *The Year of the Flood* Маргарет Атвуд) и степеном очуваности тих функција приликом њиховог превођења на српски језик. Након краћег осврта на порекло и улогу игре у антрополошком смислу, нешто већа пажња посвећена је вербалној игри у светлу Јакобсонових функција језика, а конкретни примери сагледани су уз примену теоријског оквира Теорије релевантности. Превођење вербалне игре увек представља потешкоћу јер њени семантички и прагматички ефекти проистичу из структурних особености изворног језика, за које најчешће не постоји кореспонденција у циљном језику те је, у случајевима када је немогуће сачувати и прагматички ефекат и семантичку садржину, преводилац често приморан да бира између ова два, жртвујући једно на уштрб другог. У том смислу, дистопијски жанр, који зна обиловати лексичким иновацијама и вербалним играма уопште, показао се као нарочито захвалан како за анализу функција игара речима у изворном тексту, тако и за анализу степена очуваности тих функција у преводу.

Кључне речи: вербална игра, игре речима, превођење, дистопија, дистопијска књижевност, Олдос Хаксли, Маргарет Атвуд

Notes to contributors

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BELGRADE English Language & Literature Studies / editor-in-chief Jelena Vujić. – Vol. 1 (2009)– . - Belgrade : Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade, 2009– (Belgrade : Čigoja štampa). – 24 cm
Godišnje. – Drugo izdanje na drugom medijumu:
Belgrade English Language & Literature
Studies (Online) = ISSN 1821-4827

ISSN 1821-3138 = Belgrade English Language & Literature Studies
COBISS.SR-ID 170838540