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LAUGHTER IN WRITTEN SERBIAN LANGUAGE [*]

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Abstract. *Laughter is an expression of a person's mood. It belongs to the vocal articulation in humans. In literature (and in dictionaries) sometimes this manner of articulation needs to be depicted in words. Different languages have different inventories of sounds which evoke laughter in written language. In this paper, we discuss the inventory of sounds by which laughter is represented in writing in the Serbian language. Data were compiled from published dictionaries and literary works, and some were obtained through a survey. The data were analyzed to compile the inventory of this function and to record spelling practices and nuances in transcribing various forms of laughter (loud, silent, etc.).*

Key words: *laughter, sound inventory, transcription, Serbian*

1. INTRODUCTION

In the dictionary *Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika* (RMS), *смех* (Eng. *laughter*) is defined as the expression of good mood, pleasure or similar feelings in intermittent characteristic sounds, usually followed by short and expressive movements of the lips, face, eyes, etc.[1]. It represents an involuntary reaction, unlike *осмех* (Eng. *smile*), which is defined as a manifestation of kindness, joy, pleasure or ridicule, expressed by the particular movement of facial muscles and the stretching of the mouth[2]. Accordingly, we can conceive of *смех* within the auditory domain, and of *осмех* within the visual. However, it would be more accurate to say that laughter is expressed by both voice and body movements, and can be perceived through the sense of sight and the sense

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[*] This article is dedicated to Maja Vukić, who was always smiling.

[1] [ИЗРАЖАВАЊЕ, ПОКАЗИВАЊЕ ДОБРОГ РАСПОЛОЖЕЊА, ЗАДОВОЉСТВА ИЛИ СЛИЧНИХ ОСЕЋАЊА ИСПРЕКИДАНИМ КАРАКТЕРИСТИЧНИМ ГЛАСОВИМА, ПРАЋЕНИМ ОБИЧНО КРАТКИМ И ИЗРАЗИТИМ ПОКРЕТИМА УСАНА, ЛИЦА, ОЧИЈУ И СЛ.] (*смех* RMS)

[2] [ИЗРАЗ ЉУБАЗНОСТИ, РАДОСТИ, ЗАДОВОЉСТВА ИЛИ ПОДСМЕХА, КОЈИ СЕ ИСПОЉАВА НАРОЧИТИМ ПОКРЕТОМ МИШИЋА ЛИЦА И РАЗВЛАЧЕЊЕМ УСТА, СМЕШАК] (*осмех* RMS)

of hearing, while a smile is a non-verbal facial expression manifested by movements only, and is perceived by the sense of sight.

In the entry of [SMILE], RMS includes words such as *хохот* and *хихот* [LOUD LAUGHTER], as well as *кикот*. The words *полуосмех* and *полусмех* are defined as [BARELY NOTICEABLE LAUGHTER]. Also in the sense of *осмех* (along with the meaning *подсмех* [SNEER]), Serbian lexis includes *посмех*, as well as *осмешак* and *осмешкај*, within whose entries one is referred to *осмех*. Certain dialects employ *сме/смеј*, *усмивка*, *лезење* (Stojanović, 2010). The dialectal form *смеј* is included in RMS.

In RMS, the entry *прасак* includes the sense [VOICE HEARD WHEN A SUDDEN LAUGHTER ERUPTS]; yet, the word *прасак* in this particular sense is commonly found in co-occurrence with the word *смех*, which is illustrated by the examples in the entry, such as *Још један прасак бучнога смијеха тамо доље кад је махнита младост изишла из пусте куће* and *Тек што затворих за собом врата, а оно у ложи пуче трећи прасак смеја*. The sound of *прасак*, namely the manner of transcription of the sound in written language, is the topic of this study. In different circumstances, different literary works and authors, the transcription is relatively different. The inventory of sounds used to represent this type of expression of human feeling points to the difficulties associated with this issue, as one must take into account the fact that there are different types of laughter, as well as the fact that different people laugh in different ways.

2. DICTIONARY DATA

In order to obtain the graphemic sample, we referred to dictionaries and a corpus of literary works. We also devised a questionnaire based on the data collected. Subsequently, the students of Serbian studies at the Faculty of Philosophy in Niš[3] were interviewed and the data analyzed. The objective was to demonstrate the inventory of graphemic units, the spelling of their usage, and semantic modifications. In collecting the sample, we first referred to RMS. The following entries were found:

1. *ха* (repeated multiple times), onomatopoeia [IMITATING GIGGLE OR LAUGHTER]; the dictionary records the verbs *хахакати*, *хахакнути* and *хахати*;
2. *хе* interjection (usually repeated twice or multiple times) [IMITATING GIGGLE OR LAUGHTER]; e.g. — *Хе, хе!* — *насмија се постолар. Шен. Хе, хе, хе* — *задовољно се поче смешкати газда Симо*;
3. *хи* interjection (usually repeated twice) [IMITATING SHY, LIGHT AND RESTRAINED LAUGHTER];
4. *хо* interjection (repeated multiple times) [IMITATING LAUGHTER]; e.g. — *Хо, хо, хо! надре се смијати*;
5. *иха* interjection (prolonged: *ихааа*) [IMITATING SUDDEN AND LOUD LAUGHTER];
6. *ихаха* interjection [EXPRESSING LAUGHTER AND SHRILLS IN DANCE AND FESTIVITY].

The form *ху* (sometimes repeated multiple times) is described as an interjection, but not in the sense of laughter of any kind; it is used to describe a) anger, reprimand, criticism, b) an unpleasant physical sensation, tiredness and the like, or c) as onomatopoeia to imitate a hooting sound. The interjection *охо-хо* has a vowel at the initial position and is used to express dissatisfaction or a pleasant surprise, but there is no evidence that it may refer to

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[3] For this we acknowledge our colleagues Tatjana Trajković and Aleksandra Janić.

laughter. The interjection *аха, ах* expresses surprise, wonder, pleasure, joy, or contempt[4], while *хм* is an interjection which expresses ridicule. However, mockery is not the topic of this research[5].

The data described is frequently absent from dictionaries of dialects. The reason for the exclusion of such material lies in the fact that the sound /x/ is not present in Serbian vernaculars, and quite often in the dictionaries there may be no entry under this particular letter. We have noted only *а-ха-ха* as an interjection for imitating laughter, in Jovanović (e.g. *Расмејал се: а-ха-ха, а-ха-ха*) and in Stojanović (e.g. *Гушу-етел да си исцепи како ми се смејал*). In the dictionary *Rečnik srpskih govora Vojvodine* the interjection *ха* is described as imitation of laughter. The entries *хе* and *хи* refer to *ха*, which indicates identical senses. In this dictionary *хо* is an interjection used in stopping a horse, while *ху* is not recorded. In *Govor Zaplanja*, Marković (2000, 75) considers the sound *х* absent from onomatopoeia, so that *оп* is an interjection in jumping, while *ки, ки* is the imitation of laughter[6].

In view of that, judging by the lexicographic evidence, laughter is represented by the combination of graphemes *ха, хе, хи* and *хо*. In the particular function there is no combination with the sound *у*.

3. LITERARY DATA

This section will describe a sample of illustrations from literary works; it should be noted that some examples may also be found in the dictionaries described above. There are many examples in *Zona Zamfirova* by S. Sremac, such as the following:

– *Хахаха!* – смеје се чорбаџија;
– *Хехе!* – смеје се Мане; –*Хехе,* – осмехну се Васка; – *Хехе!* – осмехну се презриво Таска;
– *Хе-хе!* – осмехну се Зона;
– *Ихаа!* – засмеја се тетка Дока;
– *Ихаха!* – засмеја се Зона;
– *Ухухуху!* – прсну у глуп смех измеђарка на ове последње речи.

In *Ibiš-aga* by Sremac we found the example – *Ех* – смеје се Ибиш-ага.

As the examples demonstrate, the writer regularly emphasizes that he is describing laughter with this form. Examples of such laughter-free forms testify to the need for this:
– *Ха!* – одобрава Замфир; – *Ха!* – врти главом стари Замфир; – *Ахаха!* – зева Замфир; – *Хехе!* – снебива се Мане; – *Хе, лагала је што је зборила? Не ли?*

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[4] The noun *ахалук* is described as shouting *аха* in ridicule, e.g. — *Велики ахалук и смијех око Гана.*

[5] The data in the six volume dictionary are sometimes updated in the one volume dictionary *Rečnik srpskoga jezika*, as the following:

1. *ха* узв. (поновљено више пута) 'оном. за подражавање кикотања, гласног смејања'.
2. *хе* узв. (обично поновљено више пута) 'за подражавање смејања'.
3. *хи* узв. (обично поновљено више пута) 'за изражавање уздржаног, стидљивог смејања'.
4. *хи-хи* узв. 'оном. за изражавање хихотања, кикотања'.
5. *хо* узв. (понекад поновљено) 'за подражавање смеха'.
6. *ихаха* узвик за изражавање смеха, кикотања у игри и весељу.

[6] The entry *загрохтати* in *Rečnik srpskohrvatskog književnog i narodnog jezik* as an illustration contains *ха...! Ки-ки...!* (RSANU 1968).

In the short story *Čiča Jordan*, Sremac provides the following examples: – *Ахааа! Тој ли учите у чкољу, тој ли ве је учитељ научио? – дере се чича Јордан; – А гле, Гила! Пази Гила! Хахаха! Пази га како се сплео! – продера се чича Јордан.* Obviously, the former does not constitute imitation of laughter, but in the latter there is reason to claim that it was either mockery and ridicule or pure laughter by Uncle Jordan regarding what happened to Gile.

Sremac uses these forms of laughter imitation in *Pop Ćira i pop Spira*:

− *Хахаха!* − *насмеја се ђа Габриела онако уплакана.*

Бар ће имати ко ће обријати поп-Спиру. Хахаха! Његов рођени зет!

− *Ха, ха, ха!* − *смеје се поп-Олуја.*

− *Хе-хе!* − *смеје се Нића.* − *„Све по 'ладу, да га не познаду!" Ааа! Синовче, не ваља ти пос'о!*

− *Хе, хе! Фрајла-Јуло, а ви канда завирујете! Канда мене тражите! Баш сте најгириг! Ту сам, ту* − *смеје се Шаца демонски.*

− *Хе, хе! Ту сам, ту* − *понавља Шаца.*

− *Хе, хе!* − *смеје се и снебива Аркадија.*

– *Хехе* − *смеје се домаћин* − *како не би', како не би'!*

− *А, није, мама! А шта ће ти наочари! Кога си требала да видиш, видела си га пре толико година. Хехехе.*

−*Ил' ако није био баш код самог господин... хе-хе, а он и није ту, него на путу,*− *вели Нића, па врти главом.*

Еј, да нисам само на дужности, дошло ми је да се и ја овако матор кеша прођаволим мало... Хе, хе! А шта би ми к'о фалило!?

− *Охо-хо!* − *смеје се госпођа Перса.* − *Шта ми се то дало на смеј. Чисто вас преставњам и гледам како, тако дебела, бацате кегле!! О жено, жено!*

In this work, as in all others, the writer "must" emphasize that it is laughter because he uses the same or similar forms which do not evoke laughter, as in the example − *Охо* − *узвикну зачуђено и увређено поп Спира, па остави шешир.*

Sterija Popović in *Pokondirena tikva* uses similar expressions, but less frequently than expected in the subject matter. His heroine Sara laughs *xa* (repeatedly or once), as in the following: *Ха, ха! Ја немецки питам како се находите*; *Ха, ха, ха! Ја мислим да се наши заљубљени нећеју посвађати*; *Ха, ха, ха, наш младожења хоће своју супругу с комплиментом ала бонер да пробира!*; *Ха, ха, ха! Ma chère, једва чека прстен*; *Ха, ха, ха! Ја мислим да се наши заљубљени нећеју посвађати.*

Jovan and Fema laugh in a different manner:

Jovan: *Хе, хе! Тако би' најпосле ја морао обући сукњу, кад би' се на моду дао*; Fema: *(Сари) Хи, хи, хи! ... Сун паурентр.* As this is a dramatic act, it is not necessary to emphasize that it is laughter – as in the previous examples – these forms should actually be a laughter on stage, i.e. in reading.

As the examples indicate, Sremac's characters are characterized by laughter with *xa* and *xe*, while Steria's characters also use *хи*. Sremac employs *ихаа*, *ихаха* and *ухухуху*, and Steria uses *охо-хо*. It could therefore be said that the basic type of laughter is the one marked with *xa*, *xe*, *хи*, while other forms illustrate the author's creativity, such as *Ихаа*, *Ихаха*, *Ухухуху* and *Охо-хо*.

4. SURVEY DATA

For this study, with reference to the data collected from dictionaries, we devised a questionnaire which included a possible way of transcribing laughter. The questionnaire was distributed to students of Serbian. For laughter of the *xa* type, all the respondents replied it was possible. In the opinion of 30% of the respondents, such laughter is used by (almost) everyone; 17% replied it was the manner of laughter of most people. The *xu* laughter was considered possible by 88% of the respondents. This is mostly the laughter of children (30%), and, according to some respondents, of women (7%). Although 75% replied that *xo* laughter was possible, 93% believed that such laughter belonged to Santa Claus. As many as 97% of the respondents answered that *xe* laughter was possible, although this type of laughter did not belong to a particular type of speaker. The answers were mostly individual (e.g. evil individuals, children, the elderly, nobody, etc.).

That *xy* laughter was not possible was the answer of 57% of the respondents, while 38% of the respondents considered possible. The answer to the question who laughed in this type of laughter was absent in 38% cases, 25% answered that no one laughed in such a manner and the other answers varied. In the opinion of 70% of the respondents, the laughter of the *ки* type was possible and mainly belonged to children (25%), babies (11%) or the elderly (8%). Other answers varied.

Laughter recorded by the initial vocals of the type *uxaaa* was not possible in the opinion of 85% of the respondents, while laughing in *uxaj* was not possible in the opinion of 90% of the respondents. The possibility of transcribing laughter with the initial vocal of the *uxaaa* type was slightly higher (41% of the respondents were in favor and 58% against). Suggestions for laughter transcription models could include the following: *xaxaxa*; *xaxaxaxa*; *xaxaxaxaxa*; *xa-xa-xa*; *буахаха*; *буахахаxa*; *ayyy*, *xa*, *xa*, *xa*; *xaa*, *xaa*; *xye*, *xye*; *xye*, *xye*, *xye*; *xxxx*; *ке*, *ке*, *ке*; *ксе*, *ксе*, *ксе*.

Xa laughter was loud (31%), normal (13%), ordinary (10%), honest (8%), joyful (8%), while 11% of the respondents considered it ironic. *Xu* laughter was said to be quiet (15%), secretive (15%), shy (13%), while 8% considered it ironic. The laughter of the *xo* type was roaring (27%), joyous (15%), loud (8%), festive (3%), New Year's (3%). The laughter of the *xe* type was secretive (15%), quiet (7%), malicious (10%), ironic / sarcastic / insidious (27%), and there were numerous other individual responses (loud, nervous, humorous, etc.). Although the laughter of the *xo* type was attributed to Santa Claus, the answers to the question about what that laughter was were not general; apart from repulsive (7%) and loud (5%), there were many individual descriptions (perverted, sneaky, elderly, etc.). The *ки* laughter was defined as quiet laughter (20%), as a giggle (15%), with a lot of individual responses (affectionate, loud, harmless, timid, etc.).

Obviously, the most acceptable form of transcription of laughter, according to the survey, was laughter of the *xa* type; the respondents believed that was how most people laugh and that it was a representation of ordinary loud laughter. The forms of *xu* and *xe* type were considered quiet, hushed, or ironic laugh. Other forms belong to individual usages.

5. GRAMMATICAL AND STYLISTIC STATUS

The question of a grammatical definition of these forms may be raised. However, if the definition in RMS is taken as a relevant example, the question will seem superfluous, since in the dictionary all these forms are unambiguously classified as interjections within their entries.

Some entries emphasize that the lexemes represent onomatopoeia, although the definition of onomatopoeia offers no such possibility. Namely, it is usually defined as a set of sounds mimicking sounds from nature or sounds produced by animals by transforming them into articulate human speech. There is no mention of laughter in the definition of this figure of speech, and laughter is not used to illustrate this phenomenon. However, to support the fact that the aforementioned forms represent a certain form of onomatopoeia, we claim that onomatopoeia is the transformation of unarticulated cries and noise into articulated sound. Onomatopoeia is classified into the phonetic-phonological system of a particular language, but the choice of sounds in this function, if not already established, can be an individual realization. In relation to this problem, it should be noted that onomatopoeia is used to imitate sounds both in spoken and written language in an (almost) identical way, so we may say that when a stone falls into the water, *бућ* (Eng. *splash*) is heard, which will be written down as such in Serbian. However, when it comes to laughter, we have to bear in mind that the vocal realization and the written form do not coincide and that in fact the writing should evoke the vocal realization.

In the discussion of written language, we have noticed slight hesitation regarding the transcription of laughter. There are indications that transcription of laughter necessarily involves the grapheme *h* combined with a vowel. As a rule, a vowel follows a consonant. All Serbian vowels can be found in this function, i.e. *ха*, *хе*, *ху*, *хо*, and Sremac used *Ухухуху* as well. The monosyllabic forms (*ха*, *хе*, *ху*) are found as dictionary entries, but in the examples and literary texts discussed in this article, the forms are repeated twice or multiple times. There are also differences in the repetition. Sometimes such forms are separated by commas: *ха*, *ха*; *хе*, *хе*; sometimes written as one word, e.g. *хехе*, *хехехе*, *хахаха*, and sometimes separated by a hyphen (as a half-word), e.g. *хе-хе*. This points to the fact that in the case of the usage of monosyllabic forms with commas we can speak of the use of two (three, or more) words, in the case of composite writing of two or more compound words, and in the case of writing with a hyphen, we can speak of a half-syllable if the combination is disyllabic. The use of multisyllabic forms, such as *ха-ха-ха-ха* leads to a discussion beyond our study[7]. Vowels may sometimes be found in the initial position. A particular vowel can be repeated, e.g. *Охо-хо*, *Аха*, *Ахаха*, *Ухухуху*, or combined with another vowel, e.g. *Ихаа*, *Ихаха*. Only *u* can be found in the role of another vowel. A vowel following a consonant can also be doubled or repeated multiple times, e.g. *Ихаа*, *Ихааа*.

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[7] The possibility of multiple hyphens is described in *Pravopis srpskoga jezika*, but the examples cited do not correspond to this model (*Pravopis* 2010: 128).

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Laughter in the Serbian language is transcribed by the combination of the letter *x* and vowels in a position following this consonant. In that position one usually finds the vowel *a*, and sometimes the vowels *e* and *u*. The use of the vowels *o* and *y* is rare, but it is not unusual. In dialects, it is also possible to use *к* as a substitute for the lost *x* since the sound *x* is almost non-existent in the Serbian vernacular.

Spelling patterns are numerous and they are the result of individual realizations (*xa*, *xa*, *xa*; *xaxa*; *xa-xa*; *xa-xa-xa*, etc.). In fact, such forms are constrained by the phonological system of a language and their understanding is conditioned by the knowledge of the content of such a word in a particular language, in accordance with de Saussure's view that the connection between sound and meaning is arbitrary. This is the reason why in literary works the explanation is almost regularly added to such forms to explicitly state that it is laughter. The most common pattern representing typical laughter is *xaxa*; *xa*, *xa*. The second most frequently used types are *xe* and *xu*, which, as a rule, represent a quiet laughter.

As our resources have suggested, writers try to depict laughter of different people and different forms of laughter through the use of various sound patterns. The choice may be individual, as indicated by the survey, but it must be functional, i.e. clear to the reader to a certain extent.

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SMEH U PISANOM SRSKOM JEZIKU

Smeh predstavlja izražavanje, pokazivanje dobrog raspoloženja. Obično se ispoljava isprekidanim karakterističnim glasovima. Uprkos činjenici da se svi ljudi smeju slično, u pisanom jeziku se u različitim jezicima smeh beleži različitim glasovima. Za analizu u ovome radu glasovni inventar kojim se beleži smeh u srpskom jeziku preuzet je iz publikovanih rečnika i književnih dela, a do nekih se došlo putem ankete. Tako prikupljena građa pokazala je inventar leksičkih modela u ovoj funkciji, a analizirana su i pravopisna rešenja i semantičke nijanse označene različitim glasovnim kombinacijama. Pokazalo se da je po pravilu smeh označen grafemom h u kombinaciji sa jednim od pet standardnih vokala srpskog jezika iza suglasnika. Najčešće se kombinacijom ha (haha; hahaha; ha, ha; ha, ha, ha; ha-ha; ha-ha-ha i sl.) beleži uobičajeni smeh i tako se, po mišljenju anketiranih ispitanika, smeje većina ljudi. Sledeći su po frekventnosti oni označeni sa he i hi, za koje ispitanici tvrde da predstavljaju pritajeni, tihi smeh. Raritetno se smeh beleži sa ho i ispitanici tvrde da takav smeh odlikuje Deda Mraza. Veoma retko je smeh označen sa hu. Po anketi, tako se niko ne smeje (ili im nije poznato ko se tako smeje), ali

da i ova kombinacija bude uvrštena, pobrinuo se Sremac – u njegovoj Zoni Zamfirovoj tako se smeje izmećarka Vaska. Manje je kombinacija sa inicijalnim vokalom tipa: oho-ho, aha, Ahaha, uhuhuhu, a drugi vokal mogao je biti i udvojen (ihaa).

Ključne reči: *smeh, inventar glasova, tip, transkripcija, srpski*

FANTASTIC STORYWORLDS AND TRANSFICTIONALITY OF LITERARY CHARACTERS

UDC 82.0

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Abstract. *The interpretation of a literary character in the context of the distinction between the multiple storyworlds is connected with the phenomenon of "transfictionality" (Saint–Gelais 2005). When the same characters inhabit more possible worlds, they become travelling narrative individuals. If they originate as a 'transfer' of real historical persons through different fictional and non-fictional genres, "real individuals" represent extratextual versions (Margolin 1997, Dannenberg 2008). We refer to intertextual versions in case of variants of unreal individuals in different fictional genres. When we talk about variants of characters within a text created due to "travels" of characters from realistic to fantastic worlds, or through many virtual worlds, then we refer to intratextual versions. Our starting hypothesis is that transgressiveness of a character is an immanent characteristic of heroes in fantastic fictional worlds, regardless of the type of the fantastic. Modification appears as a compulsory factor of any type of transgression. The range and intensity of heroes' changes, as we know, show high variability, from the oldest and most explicit metamorphoses to partial or soft and barely visible modifications, from bodily transformations to psychological and mental variations, from sudden shapeshifting to gradual changes. Special intention will be paid to the counterfactual aspect of fantastic narrative world in the short stories by Radoje Domanović, Dejan Vukićević and Neil Gaiman. In line with that, we will briefly outline the intratextual relations which originate between the doubles of actual realistic fiction world and virtual/fantastic worlds. In that vein, one can consider the significant role of techniques of the fantastic in switching between storyworlds.*

Key words: *literary character, transfictional identity, storyworld, the fantastic*

1. INTRODUCTION

The development of literary theory, which in the last several decades has called attention to the semantic domain of literary text, began with the concept of storyworld, which underwent theoretical proliferation mostly due to the Theory of Possible Worlds and various types of probabilism which occupied attention of philosophers and linguists, especially in the last century. As Marie–Laure Ryan (1991, 4) claims, "the semantic domain of the text is thus a collection of concatenated or embedded possible worlds". This theoretical platform found its applicative value mostly within the modern tendencies of postclassical and cognitive narratology.

The narratological turn has led to the revision and redefinition of many classical, mostly structuralistic viewpoints and results pertaining to nature of literature.[1]The genre grouping of works belonging to the fantastic proved to be challenging for new approaches. At this point, we will not present the complex premises of the newer, cognitive theories of this genre; instead, we will point out that the focus on the semantic aspects of text resulted in the reinterpretation in genre theories. One of the canonical books on poetic aspects of the fantastic, *Introduction à la littèrature fantastique* by Tzvetan Todorov, is important for our topic. It has also proved to be inspirational and challenging for new approaches. This was perhaps best demonstrated by Nancy Traill, whose study *Possible Worlds of the Fantastic: The Rise of the Paranormal in Fiction* (1996) has shown the advances of the theory of possible worlds in redefining the fantastic writing. In his study from 1970, Todorov placed the fantastic between fantastic–uncanny and fantastic–marvelous, starting from the criterion of reception, i.e. the effect the text has on the reader regarding the degree of realization of narrated events. By excluding allegory and poetry from the fantastic, Todorov drew a boundary not only between genres but also between their storyworlds which commonly share the very quality that is considered to be *differencia specifica* of the fantastic: physical incompatibility with the real world. Contrary to Todorov, Traill claims that the fantastic is a universal aesthetic category, whose universality allows it to cut across genres and currents therefore, she formed a bridge between the fantastic worlds in stories of different genres and the literary–historical epochs. The typology of fantastic texts includes all three categories set by Todorov: the authenticated mode, the ambiguous mode and the disauthenticated mode, as well as the additional type, paranormal mode. Although Traill also determines the fantastic through the key criterion of physical incompatibility, the paranormal mode removes this sharp boundary: "In the paranormal mode FW is uniregional and the natural is infiltrated by the supernatural"(Ryan 1991, 9).

The theoretical consensus regarding the epistemological and/or ontological[2] delimitation of fictional worlds based on their compatibility with the real world stresses the alethic component as the key differential characteristic of fictional worlds of the fantastic. Starting from the accessibility relations, Ryan (1991, 44) argues that "in its broadest and most intuitive use 'fantastic' is synonymous with transgression of E", when this E is related to the criterion of physical compatibility.

If the dualism forming the foundation of the alethic dimension of fictional worlds is connected to the *principle of minimal departure* (Ryan 1991, 48), which implicitly includes

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[1] Some notable scholars of this orientation include David Herman, Monika Fludernik, Marie–Laure Ryan, Hillary Dannenberg, and Porter Abbott.

[2] Ryan defines the distinction between the natural and the supernatural in literature as an epistemological difference before postmodernism, and as an ontological difference since the postmodernism.

the process of differentiation of worlds as a reception possibility, and if we simultaneously adopt the theoretical platform about plurality of worlds, the approach to fantastic worlds will undoubtedly be marked by transgression and different forms of fictional re-centering. The nature and degree/intensity of this transgression depend on a complex set of elements, and the most important elements are genre and predominating poetic and cultural paradigms. However, regardless of their specific and historical context–dependent characteristics, the differentiation of the fantastic as a *different* world implicitly assumes the transgressive relationship between the objects and the individuals as the main narrative entities of the worlds. This transgressiveness, as a dynamic cognitive reception component, indicates the interconnection and instability of fictional worlds, in contrast to the assumption of their stable or static nature. This view is strongly supported by characters as the most important entities of worlds within the story (Fludernik 2005).[3]

Our starting hypothesis is that transgressiveness of a character is an immanent characteristic of heroes in fantastic fictional worlds, regardless of the type of the fantastic. Modification appears as a compulsory factor of any type of transgression. The range and intensity of heroes' changes, as we know, show high variability, from the oldest and most explicit metamorphoses to partial or soft and barely visible modifications, from bodily transformations to psychological and mental variations, from sudden shapeshifting to gradual changes.[4]

As the new concept of a literary hero as an individual dwelling in the worlds of the story was also introduced to the narratology research by the theory of possible worlds, a thesis on transworld identity (tw) of the hero was also postulated as a result of this approach. According to Doležel (2008, 126), "Fictional persons of a natural world are possible counterpart of real persons, and their characteristics and abilities are fictional projections of attributes of real persons". The supernatural counterparts of the real worlds are inhabited by individuals of different alethic abilities. In this paper we will not refer to the extensive research in the last few decades dedicated to the phenomenon of tw identity of literary heroes, but we will provide a short overview of several notes relevant for our research topic.

When the same characters inhabit more possible worlds, they become travelling narrative individuals. According to Margolin (1997) and Dannenberg (2008), when they originate as a 'transfer' of real historical persons through different fictional and non–fictional genres, "real individuals" represent *extratextual* versions. In case of various variants of unreal individuals in different fictional genres, we refer to *intertextual* versions. When we talk about different variants of characters within a text that are created due to "travels" of characters from actual to virtual worlds, or through many virtual worlds, then we refer to *intratextual* versions. This typology can be made even more complex by various intertwining of the relations due to "multiple travels" of the characters – for example, extratextual and intertextual versions may have their intratextual doubles. A recent contribution to the typology of characters has been given by Marie-Laure Ryan. Ryan (2006, 659–644) distinguishes among three types of double relations: 1. characters who exist only within one copy: when found in one world, they are absent from the other; 2.

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[3] Ryan (1991, 364) defines "storyworld through a static component which precedes the story and a dynamic component which captures the unfolding of the events". Individual characters who act as protagonists are part of the static component.

[4] This type of gradual changes was named *morphing* (Ryan 1999, 113).

multiple individuals embodied and materialized in a different manner in each new world while their knowledge, memory and awareness of the identity remain a mutual feature and belong to the individual from the old world; 3. individuals who possess only one copy in each world, but their memory is reversible, which causes the division of identity.

According to Ryan (2006, 656), "multiverse narrative overlaps with three types of story common in fantasy and science fiction, namely, the narrative of transworld exploration, the narrative of alternate history, and the time-travel narrative. But it cannot be reduced to any of them, because these story types exist in both a one-world and a many-worlds version." In line with these statements, Ryan (2006, 657) "uses transworld travel for narratives with a classical cosmology and cross-world travel for multiverse stories".

The phenomenon of tw relationships is further specified by the concept of transfictionality (tsf). According to Sant Gilley (2008, 612), who coined the term, "when two (or more) texts exhibit a transfictional relation they share elements such as characters, imaginary locations, or fictional worlds. Transfictionality may be considered a branch of intertextuality, but it usually conceals this intertextual link because it neither quotes nor acknowledges its sources. Instead, it uses the source text's setting and/or inhabitants as if they existed independently".

For the transgressive nature of heroes of fantastic worlds, the transfictional identity of counterparts is at the second level (and following the logic, always metatextual), regardless of the placement of the previous native home of the hero in a mimetic or a supernatural world. This issue will be further discussed below, on the subject of a short story by Radoje Domanović.

Even when we put aside Doležel's (2008, 129) remark that "alethic potential of natural (human) persons is of greatest importance for fictional semantics", the transgressiveness of a character in fantastic worlds is not questioned. All three categories of inhabitants of supernatural worlds indicated by Doležel (2008, 127) support our thesis: "physically impossible beings: gods, ghosts, monsters", the so–called "hybrid persons" (heroes of myths, fables and legends) and "inanimate objects personified in the supernatural world" all achieve their (unnatural) markings due to *deviations*, which are recursively discovered by the reader during the process of naturalization[5] during activation of a certain reference level[6]. Therefore, even in the cases when tsf relations are missing, when dichotomy between mimetic and supernatural worlds of the narrative universe is annulled, or when the anthropocentric attributes of the heroes are minimized, the very fact that a character is a narrative entity activates the cognitive protoframe as the epistemological frame which implies trans-world relationships. This is a basic, default position, which in a literary text or any genre is an integral part of much more complex, but also more concrete proto-portraits or native homes of the individuals.

This type of approach to the tw potential of characters in fantastic worlds[7] is partially similar to the criterion of taxonomic compatibility introduced by Ryan regarding the accessibility relations between "actual world" and "textual actual world" (1991, 34). Furthermore, it may partially explain why the characters of fantastic worlds are so different

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[5] Cf. Culler (1990, 197) and Ryan (1991, 48).

[6] The reference level is most commonly the real world, but there may be many other reference points, like cultural models, natural and artificially conventional etc.

[7] Anthropologically limited cognitive protoframe of a character is activated during the perception of the character in any genre or media. For example, the mimetic worlds of a story, such as those in the realistic literature of the second half of 19th century, establish the equivalence between realistic and fictional worlds regarding this analogy (world of text as an accurate picture or copy of reality).

from us, in contrast to the analogous heroes of mimetic genre we find very close. The modification of character, which is based on previously mentioned tw relations, may be also connected to the effect of middle genre, which was the only one to which the status of the fantastic was assigned by Todorov. If, according to Todorov (2010, 33), "fantastic assumes pulling the reader into the characters' world", the impossibility of clear delineation between that world and our world, caused by rationalization, may turn the tw journey into something unpleasant and dangerously reversible.

Here the term of modification was used in general sense, as a synonym for a change in general. However, if we consider Doležel's typology of tw relationships, "a fictional world can be linked to another world by three kinds of relations: expansion, modification and transposition" (Ryan 2013, 366). This counterpart relationship among the worlds also holds true for tw and tsf versions of characters in fantastic worlds. The aspects of tw versions of fantastic heroes may be also connected to the typological tripartite division of worlds according to the following three variables: (1) Distance from the actual world - a criterion which raises the question of how far one has to travel from the world made familiar to us by life experience for the notion of world to become inapplicable; (2) Size - a variable which leads from the small worlds of micro–narratives to the large worlds of transmedia franchises; and (3) Ontological completeness - a variable which leads from worlds assumed to share the ontological status of the actual world, despite gaps in their representations, to worlds (or quasi–worlds)which present ontological gaps that cannot be filled by the principle of minimal departure (Ryan 2016, 11).

While the first and the third criterion may be effortlessly applied in the analysis of any tw aspect of fantastic characters, the criterion of size is much more useful in explaining their tsf status.

We will now present the applicative possibilities of previously postulated theoretical overviews through analysis of several texts belonging to different types of fantasy.

2. TEXT ANALYSIS

The short story *Kraljević Marko po drugi put među Srbima*, by the best–known Serbian satire author Radoje Domanović, is directing attention to the tw status of the hero in the very title. This literary work from the late 19th century[8] belongs to the genre of allegorical fantasy. The plot is simple and includes several chronologically arranged events: for 500 years, Serbs have been calling Marko Kraljević to come and free Kosovo; Marko rises from his grave and asks God for a permission to go to Serbia. In the new environment everything is unknown, while people are afraid of his appearance and declared him insane. After various disagreements and several murders, Marko was able to work as a street policeman for a short time, but finally he was placed into an asylum. The story ends with Marko's returning to the Other World and meeting God.

Marko Kraljević is the greatest hero in Serbian cultural and oral literary tradition, and the most famous epic hero of Serbian folk poems. His epic biography represents a hybrid symbiosis of various tw identities; he enters the epic world of folklore both as an

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[8] In the note before the story was written, Domanović wrote: "Postoje razlozi za sablasnu priču. Oživelog ga suočiti sa današnjim čudima života. Na tome raditi." (Timić 2009, 350).

extratextual individual of the real historical person[9] and as an intertextual multiplication of the hero of various poetic and genre matrices, where the predominant one is the literary profile of the typical epic hero[10]. Therefore, not only due to the counterfactual version in contrast to the realistic prototype[11], but also due to various contaminations with other identity markers in various narrative worlds (poems, stories, legends, folk sayings), the character of Marko is paradigmatically transfictional. According to Nortrop Frye's taxonomy, he belongs to the third type of hero according to the degree of superiority in comparison to real persons, which provides him with significant potential for inhabiting supernatural fantastic worlds. As the epic storyworlds are not subject to mimetic narrative conventions, Marko's supernatural attributes and acts are an integral part of the referent world of an epic text.

The existence of this hero in the Domanović's storyworld is primarily authenticated through the key criterion of identification of tw and tsf identities: the personal name as a rigid designation. However, hero transgression now assumes overcoming various limits: spatial, temporal, ethical, cultural, political. Instead of seamless alterations that followed tsf counterparts of the epic Marko, in Domanović's work there is an antagonistic relationship between the worlds, so that Marko's tw counterpart is also drastically different. The mimetic storyworld, which is easily mapped in geographic, historical and ethnic classification (the storyline is placed in Serbia vaguely at the end of 19th century), is countered by the opposite epic world and their intertwining in the referent world of text activates a hybrid fantastic world. In this case, the fantastic appears as a result of tw transition of the hero and strong interworld dissonance (similarly to humor), enabling Domanović to combine two registers: comical-satirical (perverting the high and the low) and fantastic (by widening the ontological boundaries of the world). Furthermore, the tsf vertical of Marko's character is additionally complicated by the genre context of allegory as a basically two-headed figure, as well as the antithetic pair of epic and satirical, which in the early phase of "folklore character of sjuzhet and genre" led to "double perception of life" (Frejdenberg 2011, 378, 379).

In addition to this transgenre re-signifying of the epic matrix, the author also builds the supernatural storyworld through other genre citations and thematic topoi which carry fantastic semantic potential. Such is the international motif of the dead returning to the world of the living, already known in the Serbian folklore fantasy through the motif of vampires, while in Domanović's work it was matched with the biblical motif of meeting with God on the Other World. At the beginning, it is mentioned that Marko rose from the grave and begged the Lord to allow him to go "down" among the Serbs. This beginning provided explicit thematic and concrete placement of the tw identity of the hero.[12]

The discrepancy between different worlds is manifested in changes in Marko's new tw identity. He becomes a special "alethic stranger" (Doležel 2008, 129) among his people,

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[9] Marko Kraljević was the son of Vukašin Mrnjavčević, the ruler of one part of Serbian territory. After the victory of Turks in the battle on the river Marica in 1371, Marko became a Turkish vassal, and in that status he died in the battle at Rovine in 1396.

[10] There are extensive references on the epic literary biography of Marko Kraljević within the Serbian literature criticism. In this paper, we present the most pronounced epic attributes which have shaped his epic tsf identity.

[11] Epic glory status that does not match the historical fate of real Marko Kraljević.

[12] Numerous topoi are already a rich database of tsf heroes. In most cases, where the prototext is not explicitly referred to, the new version of the hero is leaning against the general cognitive frame of the topos, without the direct citation used for identification. This issue is also discussed by E. Panagiotidou in the cognitive–narratological discussion of intertextual relations in literature.

and the degree of his modifications is proportional to the mismatch between his native home and the modern world he visits. The reminiscences of the international sjuzhet about a stranger among his own people are again supporting the complex nature of his multiplied tsf identity. In comparison to other characters, Marko's physical superiority is illustrated by the following citation: "Svaki mu brk koliko jagnje od po godine, a brada do pojasa, kao jagnje godišnjače. [....] sve oko sebe za čitavu glavu i više, nadvisio" (Domanović 1974, 24). By using the epic paraphrase, not only did the narrator point out the supernatural attributes of the hero, but the same hyperbole also alluded to both physical and spiritual (moral) inferiority of court officials. This is supported by the description of the district official who is supposed to proclaim the verdict for Marko's misdeeds: "sreski načelnik, mali, žurav čovečić, upalih grudi, tupa pogleda, kašljuca pri govoru, a ruke mu kao štapići" (Domanović 1974, 24). The examples cited also indicate tsf potential of analogy and antithesis within the intratextual relations of characters; the character of district official thus becomes a reversed tsf version of Marko Kraljević, his negative counterpart who appears in the process of inertia transfer as an integral part of cognitive blending.

From the very beginning, Marko's *return to the future* was marked by the impossibility of his adaptation and numerous misunderstandings; the rider of a velocipede was identified as an enemy and decapitated, other people were addressed in decasyllable like an epic character would speak, he stood speechless due to amazement when he saw rifles and cannons. His deterioration in the new world, both physical and spiritual, unfolds simultaneously with his adaptation to that world. Instead of wine, he must drink water, instead of heroic battles, he must be occupied by minor and insignificant tasks (watering and weeding the garden, making knives and brushes), then he becomes a street policeman, disguised so that he is not recognized, while the peak of Marko's character's degradation is when he is declared insane and placed into an asylum. The storyteller manages this perverting of the hero's identity masks precisely due to his tsf status as the background protobiography. It belongs to the cognitive framework, contextually much wider than the explicit citational textual clues (name of character, decasyllable verses, and lexical fund) which function as triggers to the prototypic version. The tsf status of Marko is paralleled by that of his horse Šarac, as his tw pathway is marked by similar regressive steps: in poems, a winged horse faster than a fairy, in the new world Šarac is but an old nag, "sama koža i kost", left to dream about the former golden times.

Transposition of the hero to another world does not only initiate his alteration, but the reversibly also includes his protoversion. Another intratextual version of Marko's character appears in this transfer, and its mimetic potential was used by the author in order to criticize his contemporary society. It turns out that constant calling for Marko to return to his people and revenge Kosovo is just a rhetoric gesture, so this virtual counterpart of Marko's character (constantly present in the awareness of descendant-compatriots) is shown as empty of meaning and ideology, just a mere convention. Finally faced with himself as a (textual) construction which exists in the memory of others, completely de-authenticated, without the referent fullness, Marko disappointedly returns to the *Other World* and, in before God, renounces his people.

The fantastic world formed by fusion of two models of storyworld through the tw journey of the main character has a pronounced critical and satirical function in Domanović's short story. The dethroning of the highly mimetic type of hero by his placement into low mimetic context leads to grotesque shapeshifting and devaluation of the *real world*, which has unrealistic outlines suggesting various forms of societal deviations targeted by the author's

satire. This ideological instrumentalization of the fantastic paradoxically shows all porosity of distinction between the real and the impossible which may be absorbed by the potential of fictional worlds.

In the analyzed Domanović's short story, tw and tsf status of the hero are followed by a clear distinction between the worlds, enabling easier readability/differentiation of the fantastic world. In modern literature, where fictional worlds also contain the fantastic ones, the tw character of the hero is not always so explicitly differentiated in meaning or rhetorically (figuratively) re-signified. We will illustrate this with texts starting with the "primarily double structure of the alethic type of mythological world (Doležel 2008, 139), creating, according to Doležel (2008, 195), not a "heterogeneous world" but a new type of supernatural "hybrid world". However, although Doležel (2008, 195) claims that in the hybrid world the physically possible and physically impossible events are "spontaneously and randomly generated within the same domain", we cannot completely accept his thesis that in this type of world "the boundary between the natural and the supernatural domain is removed, and their modal opposition is neutralized" so that the "alethic conditions of the hybrid world demand that we should abandon the opposition natural/supernatural". Actually, the latent, implicit existence of this opposition forms the foundation of the cognitive frame enabling the reception of the fictional world as the hybrid world or as a "secularized counterpart of the classical myth" as Doležel (2008, 203) rightfully claims regarding the literature of 20th century.

For example, the short story *Kentaur* by Dejan Vukićević introduces the supernatural world gradually, with transgression of the hero through mythological–fantastic citation. Instead of a sudden metamorphosis, the re-signification of the new identity is acquired gradually, through the strategy of "morphing" (Ryan 1999, 113). The transition from realistic to supernatural was again implicitly strengthened by the cognitive frame triggered by the tsf status of the mythical hero. His arrival (or rather, arrival of his tsf version)[13] to the storyworld, which until that point is limited by otherwise realistic coordinates, is a crucial factor of mimetic destabilization of this world and the change in its ontological status.

The cognitive transfer enabling a mythological subtext was also used to construct the supernatural world of Neil Gaiman's short story *Problem sa Kasandrom*. At the beginning just an imaginary person inside the mind of a shy teenager, a girl named Cassandra later becomes an integral, materialistic, physical part of this real world in a naturally inexplicable way, replicating the anticipated route of his destiny. This modern version of the mythical prophetess has an important role in the interpretation of the semantic base of this story, but it is also a marker of a tension between the "disauthenticated" and the "supernatural domain" (Traill 1996, 14), as she also simultaneously appears as her intratextual counterpart due to the hero's journey through the internal (mental) subworlds.

The possibilities of tw alterations of characters in the fantastic worlds may be also discussed without a clear tsf citation. In another Gaiman's short story *Narandžasta* there is an opposite alteration as now the female hero changes her materialistic, physical form into immaterial reflections due to the effect of self‑tanning cream. Both examples from modern literature call attention to the importance of bodily metamorphoses as more visible indicators of tsf or tw alterations. The myths on metamorphoses, the use of a mask as an accompanying prop, or most commonly a combination of bodily characteristics

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[13] In spite of the citation in the title, the story was not reproduced completely and the mythological sjuzhet is varying; the supernatural being is born after the owner of the house has a sexual relationship with a cow.

with parts of animal body, support this thesis. Unlike bodily changes, mental changes may always be naturalized, no matter how radical they may be, as we know from innumerous examples in psychologically well–shaped characters in literature.

3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In a wider genre classification, the literary texts analyzed in this paper may be taken as examples of allegorical, mythological and psychological fantasy, which is present as a layer in stories by N. Gaiman. The more detailed literary–historical and theoretical discussion of these fantastic subtypes could very well specify the role of tw and tsf statuses of heroes. In this paper, at least in broad remarks, we tried to point out the tendencies and main methodological assumptions of such identity multiplications.

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FANTASTIČNI SVETOVI PRIČE
I TRANSFIKCIONALNI KNJIŽEVNI LIKOVI

Tumačenje književnog lika u kontekstu distinkcije aktuelnog i virtuelnog narativa povezano je sa fenomenom „transfikcionalnosti" (Saint–Gelais 2005). Kada isti likovi naseljavaju više mogućih svetova, oni postaju putujuće narativne jedinke koje se tipološki mogu razvrstati na ekstratekstualne, intertekstualne i intratekstualne verzije. Mari–Lor Rajan izdvaja tri tipa parnjačkih odnosa: 1) karakteri koji egzistiraju samo u jednoj kopiji i, kada su u jednom svetu, odsutni su iz drugog; 2) multiplikovane individue koje se otelotvoruju i materijalizuju drugačije u svakom novom svetu, dok njihova znanja, sećanja i svest o identitetu ostaju zajednička i pripadaju jedinki iz starog sveta; 3) individue imaju samo po jednu kopiju u svakom svetu, ali je njihovo sećanje reverzibilno što uzrokuje raspolućenost identiteta (Ryan 2006). Naša polazna pretpostavka je da je transgresivnost lika imanentno svojstvo junaka u fantastičnim fikcionalnim svetovima bez obzira na to o kom tipu fantastike je reč. Analiza izvornih tekstova, pripovedaka R. Domanovića, D. Vukićevića i N. Gejmena pokazuje da je raspon i intenzitet promene junaka visoko varijabilan: od najeksplicitnijih metamorfoza do parcijalnih ili mekih i jedva vidljivih modifikacija, od telesnih transformacija do psiholoških i mentalnih varijacija, od naglih preobražaja do postepenih promena. Dok je u Domanovićevoj pripoveci transfikcionalni status junaka praćen jasnom distinkcijom među svetovima, što omogućava veću čitljivost/diferencijaciju fantastičnog sveta, u savremenoj književnosti, čiji fikcionalni svetovi sadrže i one fantastične, transsvetovni identitet junaka nije uvek tako eksplicitno značenjski diferenciran ili retorički (figurativno) preoznačen. Analizirani književni tekstovi mogu se u širem žanrovskom ključu uzeti i kao primeri alegorijske, mitološke i psihološke fantastike.

Ključne reči: *književni junak, transfikcionalni identitet, svet priče, fantastika*

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY IN THE LUŽNICA REGION

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Abstract. *The paper offers an analysis of the kinship terminology for the relations by blood or marriage in the Lužnica region compiled in* Rečnik govora Lužnice *(The Dictionary of the Lužnica Dialect, 2018) by Lj. Ćirić. Along with a lexico-semantic analysis of about one hundred lexemes excerpted from the dictionary, some linguistic and etymological notes are also provided. The objective is to demonstrate that in collecting dialect-specific lexemes systematic lexical* Rečnik govora Lužnice *inventorying using questionnaires enables an almost perfect reconstruction of the particular terminological system of a dialect.*

Key words: Rečnik govora Lužnice, *kinship, terminology, lexico-semantic analysis*

1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper, the terminological system of the kinship lexis of the Lužnica region will be presented, with reference to *Rečnik govora Lužnice* (*The Dictionary of the Lužnica Dialect*, 2018) by Ljubisav Ćirić. The terminology analyzed refers to relationships based on ties of blood (consanguineal kinship) or ties of marriage (affinal kinship). These two types of relationships are intertwined because blood relations multiply through marriage. The main aim of the paper is not just to present the above-mentioned terminological system of the Lužnica dialect, but also to emphasize the fact that the use of questionnaires in inventorying dialect-specific lexemes supports a complete reconstruction of the terminological system based on the material from a dialect dictionary.

The study of kinship terminology in the Slavic and South Slavic regions so far is not negligible (Bjeletić 1994, 206) and it suggests that kinship terminology is preserved through the preservation of traditional kinship relations (Bjeletić 1994, 199; Petrović-Savić 2011, 181). Considering the fact that this terminology system is one of the key indicators of the social and spiritual code (Nedeljkov 2012, 109–111), it was included in *Upitnik za*

srpskohrvatski/ hrvatsko srpski dijalektološki atlas (*The Questionnaire for the Serbo-Croatian / Croato-Serbian Dialectological Atlas*). In addition to nominal terms, terms of address were noted (Bjeletić 1994, 200; Dunjić 1996, 316; Petrović-Savić 2011, 187–188); therefore, they will also be discussed in this paper whenever they occur in *The Dictionary of the Lužnica Dialect*.

Lužnica is a region in southeastern Serbia which belongs to the Timok-Lužnica dialect. However, since it is fragmented, according to the distribution of its linguistic features, it is divided into Gornja (Upper) and Donja (Lower) Lužnica (GL, DL) – with Lužnica linguistic features, and Lužnica-Zaplanje (LZ), where the Lužnica dialect features are mixed with the Zaplanje dialect features (Ćirić 2018, 6–7). Thus, Timok-Lužnica palatalization is used in Gornja and Donja Lužnica, but not in Lužnica-Zaplanje, which is seen in the phonetic differences in certain terms, which appear as lexical variants in *The Dictionary* (e.g.: *мáјка / мáјћа*, *мáћа*, *ýјка / ýјћа*, *ýћа, сúнке / сúњђе, снáјка / снáјћа*, etc.).

In the Introduction to *The Dictionary*, the author emphasizes that the lexemes were recorded not just in casual conversation, for the purposes of writing a master's thesis (Ćirić 2013), but also using *Upitnik za srpskohrvatski/ hrvatsko srpski dijalektološki atlas* (*The Questionnaire for the Serbo-Croatian/ Croato-Serbian Dialectological Atlas*), and a questionnaire designed for collecting various thematic vocabulary items (home and household items, "слава" and wedding customs, food and drink, hunting and fishing, farming, etc.). Also, the lexemes were collected from literary works written in the Lužnica dialect (Ćirić 2018, 6). The use of various questionnaires for collecting lexemes suggests systematicity in inventorying particular sets of thematic vocabulary. On the other hand, given that *The Dictionary of the Lužnica Dialect* is conceived as a differential dictionary, as opposed to the six-volume *Rečnik srpskohrvatskog književnog jezika* published by Matica Srpska (RMS), it may not have included the terms which could not be classified as dialexemes by any criteria, whose meanings, however, were well-known (Ćirić 2018, 7–8).

2. The Kinship Terminology

Kinship terminology which refers to blood relations includes the terms for the family in the narrow and broad senses, spouses – female and male parents, female and male offspring in relation to the parents and each other, the father and mother of each parent in relation to their children, the parents' brothers and sisters in relation to the parents' children, third-degree (and fourth-degree relatives) relatives, etc. General terms related to relatives include the following lexemes: *вамúлија*, *фамúлија* [A NUMBER OF FAMILIES DESCENDED FROM THE SAME ANCESTOR] and *рóд*[2], *родá*, *својúна*[2] [RELATIVES, RELATIONS]. The term *родá* refers to both male and female blood relationship (consanguinity). Cf. the illustrative material: *Мојá родá је големá и по мáтерину и по бáштину стрáну*.

The semantic field which refers to the founders of a family includes the names for spouses (*жена*, *човек / муж*) and parents (*мајка*, *башта / татко*). The terms that are also included in this semantic field refer to the new spouse of one of the parents in relation to a biological child with the previous spouse (*мáћија*, *очув*). [A FEMALE SPOUSE, WIFE] is called *женá*, and [A HUSBAND, HOST] is called *човéк*, *мýж*. The basic meaning of this word is [A GROWN MAN]. [THE ONE WHO GAVE BIRTH TO THOSE SHE GAVE BIRTH TO, MOTHER] is called *мáјка* in LZ, *мáјћа* in DL, *мáћа* voc. *мáћо* in GL; *мáтер*; *мáти* voc. *нáне*; *мáма* voc. *мáмо*; *нáна* voc. *нáне*. The term *мáма* is polysemic and refers to kinship based on

blood and on marriage: *ма́ма* [1. HYP. OF MOTHER (USUALLY USED BY CHILDREN). 2. THE OLDEST AUNT IN THE FAMILY COMMUNITY] (see below). The word for [FATHER] is *башта́*, pl. *баште́ви*; *та́тко*, hyp. *та́та*, voc. *та́те, та́тће* [A TERM OF ENDEARMENT FOR A FATHER AND FATHER-IN-LAW] (see heading 3). The lexeme *татко́вина* is used for [THE INHERITANCE FROM THE FATHER]. According to M. Bjeletić (1994, 204) the term *башта́* was borrowed from Bulgarian. A [STEPMOTHER] is called *ма́ћија* in DL, whereas a [STEPFATHER] is *о́чув*.

Offspring are first-degree relatives to their parents. The general term for [FEMALE OFFSPRING] is *же́нска стра́на*, and for [MALE OFFSPRING], it is *му́шка стра́на* (see *стра́на*). Special terms may be used for children born in wedlock (*син, черка*), depending on their birth order, the number of children, the death of a parent, etc., in relation to the parents (*првенче, истришче*), as well as to one another (elder / younger brother, elder / younger sister). [A NEWBORN] is called *при́нова, бебе́*. [A MALE CHILD, A MALE OFFSPRING] is called *му́шко*. [A SON, A SONNY] is called *синьк*, voc. *си́нке* in LZ, *си́њће* in GL, DL hyp. of son. This lexeme (*син*) is not mentioned in *The Dictionary*, considering that it is not a dialexeme, except prosodically, but it does occur, for example, in the exemplification of the lexeme *о́чув*: *Очув ми је би́л, али је до́бар чове́к би́л, и ко роце́ног си́на чува́л и саве́тувал.* [A DAUGHTER] is called *че́рка*. Special names for offspring with respect to their birth order, twin pregnancy, whether the parent is alive, etc. are: [FIRSTBORN] – *првенче, пр́ва̄нче*; [THE PARENTS' YOUNGEST CHILD, THE FAVOURITE] – *истри́шко, истри́шљак* or *истри́шче*; [ONE OF THE TWINS (OF EITHER SEX)] – *близне́*, [A TWIN, ONE OF THE TWIN BROTHERS] – *близна́к*; [A CHILD WITHOUT PARENTS OR WITHOUT ONE PARENT] – *сироче́*; [A CHILD BORN AFTER THE FATHER'S DEATH] – *по́смрче*, [A SON FROM A PREVIOUS MARRIAGE TO THE SPOUSE FROM A NEW MARRIAGE, TO HIS STEPFATHER OR STEPMOTHER] – *па́сторак*, [A DAUGHTER FROM A PREVIOUS MARRIAGE TO THE SPOUSE FROM A NEW MARRIAGE] – *па́сторћиња*, [A CHILD FROM A PREVIOUS MARRIAGE TO THE SPOUSE FROM A NEW MARRIAGE] – *па́сторче*. The 3. person singular verb *приведе́* means [BRINGS A CHILD FROM A PREVIOUS MARRIAGE BY REMARRYING].

The names for the offspring of the same parents or one mutual parent (brother, sister), may have different forms depending on birth order (elder / younger brother; elder / younger sister). [A MALE TO OTHERS BORN TO THE SAME PARENTS OR HAVING ONLY ONE MUTUAL PARENT (FATHER OR MOTHER)] is called *бра́т* or, if it is [A BROTHER BORN TO THE SAME PARENTS], he is called *роце́ни бра́т*. (See the entry *брат*.) The lexeme *сестра* [SISTER] is not mentioned in *The Dictionary*, but it can be found in the illustrative material in the entries for a number of lexemes. E.g. with *да́да*, [ELDER SISTER], see: *Ја́ и дань, а́ко сам ста́ра жена́, по́старога бра́та о́кам ба́те, а по́стару сестру́ да́де.* [AN OLDER BROTHER TO A YOUNGER BROTHER AND HIS WIFE, I.E. HIS SISTER AND HER HUSBAND] is called *ба́та*, hyp. *ба́тка* (voc. *ба́тће*). In the words *бате, даде, сека*, the terminology of consanguineal and affinal kinship are intertwined. [AN OLDER SISTER TO A YOUNGER SISTER (also cf. да́да)] is *се́ка, да́да*, voc. *да́де*. The vocative form is given in the illustrative material together with the lexeme *да́да*. The term *се́ка* is also a bridal name (see heading 3). This distinction is common is Serbian dialects, therefore, the relationship *дада: сестра* is observed in Veliki Krčimir, Bučum and Vranjsko Pomoravlje (Bjeletić 1994, 203).

The terms used for the relationship of the spouses' parents to the spouses' children are *баба, деда* for second-degree kinship, *прабаба, прадеда* for third-degree kinship, and *парабаба, парадеда* for fourth-degree kinship. The terms used for the father's and mother's ancestors are the same, which is common in Serbian-speaking areas (Bjeletić 1994, 201). The

term used for [THE FATHER'S AND MOTHER'S MOTHER] is either *бáба* or a compound lexeme *роѓéна бáба*. This is a secondary meaning of the word *бáба*. The primary meaning is [AN ELDERLY WOMAN, AN OLD WOMAN]. In affinal kinship terminology, this lexeme means [MOTHER-IN-LAW]. [THE FATHER'S OR MOTHER'S FATHER] is called *дéда*. This is a secondary meaning of the word. The primary meaning is [AN OLD MAN], whereas in affinal kinship terminology, *дéда* also means [3. FATHER-IN-LAW] (see heading 3). In Lužnica, [THE INHERITANCE FROM A GRANDFATHER] is called *дедéвина*. [A GRANDMOTHER'S OR GRANDFATHER'S MOTHER] is called *прáбаба* or *прéбаба*. The name for [A GRANDMOTHER'S OR GRANDFATHER'S FATHER] cannot be found in *The Dictionary*, however, it can be assumed, with a high degree of certainty, that it is analogous to *прáбаба*, *прéбаба*, and is therefore *прáдеда* or *прéдеда*. [A GRANDFATHER'S OR GRANDMOTHER'S GRANDMOTHER] is called *парáбаба*, and [A GRANDFATHER'S OR GRANDMOTHER'S GRANDFATHER] is *парáдеда*.

To their parents and more distant ancestors the children are grandchildren, and no distinction is made in terms of whether they are the children of a son or daughter, as is usually the case in the Serbian language (Bjeletić 1994, 201). The terms for the male and female descendants in relation to the spouses' parents, *унук* and *унука*, are not inventoried as dialexemes, but are mentioned in the illustrative material with the lexeme *унýче* [DIM. OF GRANDCHILD]: *Имáмо трú унýчета, унýка и двé унýђе*. The definitions and forms of the terms used for descendants in the third and fourth degrees of kinship are analogous to the terms for ancestors in the third (*прáбаба* / *прéбаба*) and fourth degrees of kinship (*парáбаба*, *парáдеда*): [A GRANDSON'S OR GRANDDAUGHTER'S CHILD] is called *прáунуче* and *прéунуче*; [A GRANDSON'S OR GRANDDAUGHTER'S SON] is called *прáунук* and *прéунук*; [A GRANDSON'S OR GRANDDAUGHTER'S GRANDDAUGHTER] is called *парáунука*, [A GRANDSON'S OR GRANDDAUGHTER'S GRANDSON] is called *парáунук.*

As in the majority of Serbian dialects (Bjeletić 1994, 202), different names are used for the mother's or father's brother or sister in relation to the parent's children, depending on the line of kinship: the male line (*старко* / *чича*, *тетка*) or the female line (*ујка*, *тетка*), but also on whether the uncle, as a prominent figure in the patriarchy, is older or younger than the father. The lexeme used for [AN UNCLE IN RELATION TO HIS YOUNGER BROTHER'S CHILDREN] is either *стáрко* or a compound lexeme *стáри баштá* (see *баштá*), voc. *стáри тáте*, *стáрко*. [AN UNCLE YOUNGER THAN THE FATHER] is called *чúча*. The secondary meaning of this word is [ANY ELDERLY MAN]. [AN UNCLE'S WIFE, THE WIFE OF THE FATHER'S BROTHER] is called *стрúна*, voc. *стрúно*. The secondary meaning of this word is [A FORM OF ADDRESS FOR ANY OLDER WOMAN], (cf. *стрúц*). In the illustrative material it can be seen that the oldest aunt was called *стáра мáјћа* (see also *мáјћа*), *стáра мáма*,[1] voc. *стáра мáјће*, *мáмо*, cf. the exemplification of the term *стрúна* 1: *Некадá је нáјстара стрúна билá стáра мáјће, и свá децá су ју окáла „стáра мáмо", а дрýђе су бúле стрúне, и окáле се „стрúно".* [AN UNCLE] is called *ýјка* in LZ, *ýјћа* in DL, *ýћа* in GL. The term for an uncle's wife is not listed in *The Dictionary*, but it can be assumed that it is not a dialexeme, except in prosodic terms, and that it is *ујна*. [THE FATHER'S OR MOTHER'S SISTER] is called *тéтка*. The secondary meaning of this lexeme is [A FORM OF ADDRESS FOR ANY ELDERLY WOMAN]. [THE AUNT'S HUSBAND, UNCLE], who is not related through blood to the children of the spouse of the family founder, is called *тетúн*. The names for the children of a brother or sister of one of the spouses of the family founder

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[1] [THE OLDEST AUNT IN THE FAMILY COMMUNITY] is observed as a secondary meaning of the lexeme *мáма*, while, in the illustrative material, it can be seen that it is a compound lexeme *стáра мáма*, voc. *стáра мáмо*.

differ depending on the sex of the relatives (brother / sister and son / daughter), which is in accordance with the situation in a wider Serbian-speaking area (Bjeletić 1994, 202): [A BROTHER'S SON, NEPHEW] is called *брáтанац*, [A BROTHER'S DAUGHTER, NIECE] is *брáтаница*; [A SISTER'S SON, NEPHEW] is called *сестрúчич*, [A SISTER'S DAUGHTER, NIECE] is called *сестрúчина* in GL, DL, *сестрúчна* in LZ.

In Lužnica, kinship based on vows is denoted by the lexemes *побрáтим*, [THE FRIEND CHOSEN BY HIS FRIEND AS A BROTHER, OR USED ONLY IN COURTEOUS ADDRESS] and *посéстрима*, [ANY FEMALE WHO IS RESPECTED AS A SISTER]. [FRATERNIZE IN THIS WAY (3. person singular)] is said *братúми се*, *побратúми се*. The vocative form *брáтми*, [MY BROTHER], has the same root.

3. MARRIAGE RELATIONS

When a couple gets married (*венча се* or *венчује се*), each of the spouses [BECOMES RELATED BY MARRIAGE] – *орóди се*. These terms are part of the lexicon of wedding customs (Petrović-Savić 2009, 81–82; Jović 2020), but also of the lexicon of family relations (Dunjić 1996, 320–322; Petrović-Savić 2011, 182–185). The lexicon of wedding customs includes terms which denote different roles at a wedding, thus they can have a temporary nature: e.g. [THE BRIDEGROOM AND BRIDE DURING THE WEDDING CEREMONY] – *младéнци*, [MAN ON HIS WEDDING DAY] – *младожéња*, [BRIDE UNDER THE VEIL DURING THE WEDDING CEREMONY] – *млáда невéста* (see *невéста*), which is a compound lexeme, consisting of the sememe [GIRL WHO SOMEONE INTENDS TO MARRY, FUTURE WIFE] – *млáда* and *невéста* [daughter-in-law in the first year of marriage]. The names of some of the prominent participants in a wedding ceremony, e.g. *кýм*, *кумúца*; *старójко* in LZ, *старójћа* in GL and DL, *стáри свáт*, *старосватица*, strictly speaking, do not belong to kinship terminology, although the one of two godfathers (*стáри свáт*) had to be the bridegroom's relative, usually his uncle.

Since the parents of the newlyweds played an important role in the traditional marriage, the terms used for the newlyweds' parents are included in this semantic field. [THE FATHER OF ONE SPOUSE IN RELATION TO THE FATHER OF THE OTHER SPOUSE] is called *прúјетељ*, whereas [THE MOTHER OF ONE OF THE SPOUSES IN RELATION TO THE PARENTS OF THE OTHER SPOUSE] is *пријетељúца*. The verbs *пријетéљи се*, *опријетéљи се*, *спријетéљи се* mean [BECOME RELATED TO SOMEONE BY THE CHILDREN'S MARRIAGE (3. p.sg.)]. The more general terms for relatives by marriage are: *свáт*[2] – [A MALE RELATIVE BY MARRIAGE] and *свájа* – [A FEMALE RELATIVE BY MARRIAGE].

The key kinship relationships based on marriage are established between the newlyweds and their families. The most important person in these relationships is the new member of the family who is, as a rule, the bride. [THE DAUGHTER-IN-LAW, THE SON'S WIFE] is called *снájка* in LZ, *снajħа* in DL, *снаа* in GL, with [THE DAUGHTER-IN-LAW IN THE FIRST YEAR OF MARRIAGE] being called *невéста*. The secondary non-terminological meaning of this lexeme is [A YOUNGER WOMAN IN GENERAL], while the expressive, derogatory meaning is [A GROWN ALTHOUGH STILL CHILDISH YOUNG WOMAN]. [THE DAUGHTER'S OR SISTER'S HUSBAND] is called *зéт*. [THE HUSBAND WHO CAME TO THE WIFE'S HOUSE] is called *дозéтак* and *призéтко*.

The parents of the newlyweds on the bridegroom's side are: [THE HUSBAND'S FATHER, THE FATHER-IN-LAW], who is called *свéкър, свéкр*, *тáта*, voc. *тáте* and [THE

HUSBAND'S MOTHER], who is called *свекр́ва* (see *свекр́ва*[1]). The term *т́ате* is a [TERM OF ENDEARMENT FOR THE FATHER AND FATHER-IN-LAW] (see heading 2). In the Lužnica dialect there is a homonym meaning [A WOMAN WHO COOKS AT WEDDINGS], found in the terminology of wedding customs (see *свекр́ва*[2]). For the groom, the bride's parents are [FATHER-IN-LAW] – *д́еда*, and [MOTHER-IN-LAW] – *б́аба*. For the other meanings of this lexeme see heading 2. In the terminology of kinship based on blood, the term *д́еда* also means [THE FATHER'S OR MOTHER'S FATHER] (see heading 2).

Some of the terms used for the newlyweds' brothers and sisters and their spouses are of foreign, Turkish origin (*балгъза*, *б́аца*). Cf. Škaljić 1989, *bàlduza* [THE WIFE'S SISTER, SISTER-IN-LAW] < Tur. *baldız*; *badžànak*, *badžènok...* [THE HUSBAND OF THE WIFE'S SISTER (IN RELATION TO THE OTHER SISTER'S HUSBAND)...] < Tur. *bacanak*. [THE HUSBAND'S SISTER, SISTER-IN-LAW] is the bride's *з́ьлва*, whereas in *The Dictionary* there is no information about the term used for the husband of the husband's sister in relation to the bride.[2] The lexeme which means [THE HUSBAND'S BROTHER, BROTHER-IN-LAW] is not inventoried in *The Dictionary*, but the form *д́евер* is confirmed in the illustrative material with the lexeme *прод́ава* [2. THE PART OF THE WEDDING RITUAL WHEN THE BRIDE'S BROTHER RITUALLY SELLS HIS SISTER TO HER FUTURE BROTHER-IN-LAW]. The same conclusion can be drawn from the derivatives *девер́ичич*, *девер́ичина* (see below). A similar deduction can be made about the sememe [THE WIFE OF THE HUSBAND'S BROTHER, SISTER-IN-LAW], which, based on the derivatives *јетрв́ичина* (see below) and *јетрв́етина* [PEJ. OF THE WIFE OF THE HUSBAND'S BROTHER], would read *јетр́ва* in the Lužnica dialect. In Lužnica, [THE WIFE'S SISTER IN RELATION TO THE WIFE'S HUSBAND] is *балгъза*, *бълѓьза*, *сваст́ика*, whereas [THE WIFE'S SISTER'S HUSBAND, SISTER-IN-LAW'S HUSBAND] is called *б́аца*, *бацан́ак*. The secondary meaning of the lexeme *б́аца* is [THE LOVERS OF THE SAME WOMAN]. The sememe [THE WIFE'S BROTHER] and the lexeme *шур́ак* are not mentioned in *The Dictionary*, but can be found in the illustrative material for the lexeme *шурњ́аја* [THE WIFE OF THE WIFE'S BROTHER]. Cf.: *В́олим да ми д́ојде шур́ак, али п́овише в́олим да д́ојде шурњ́аја*. For the children of her husband's brothers and sisters, the bride uses derivatives of the above-mentioned names for the groom's brother and sister: [THE HUSBAND'S SISTER'S SON] is called *з́ьлвичич*, [THE HUSBAND'S BROTHER'S SON] is called *девер́ичич*, [THE HUSBAND'S BROTHER'S DAUGHTER] is *девер́ичина*, which is the same as [THE DAUGHTER OF THE HUSBAND'S BROTHER'S WIFE] – *јетрв́ичина*.

In Lužnica, too, it is customary for the bride, who comes to a new home, to give the so-called bridal names to the younger members of her husband's family. This custom had a preventive character and was widespread among the South Slavs (Sikimić 1998, 29–30). Under the entry for *name*, *The Dictionary* mentions 36 female and 16 male bridal names, all of which have a positive connotation, and can be classified into several semantic groups which are mostly magical-symbolic in character (Bjeletić 1996: 97–99).[3] Most often, female names are inspired by the names of plants or parts of plants: *Бож́урка*, *Вилд́анка*, *Врб́ица*, *Ј́абука*, *Ј́агода*, *Л́озица*, *Мал́ина*, *Пловд́ина*, *Транд́авилка*, *Ћ́итица*, *Шамш́ирка*. M. Bjeletić (1996, 98) makes the same conclusion based on more extensive material, observing that plant names are used exclusively for women, as well as that they

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[2] In the Željn Župa region (Dunjić 1996, 321) he is *зет* to the bride as well as to her husband.
[3] Cf. Sikimić 1998, 32–33 and the list of bridal names from a wider Serbian-speaking area, as well as Dunjić 1996, 322 and the data collected in the Željn Župa region, and Petrović-Savić 2009, 84 and the data from Radjevina.

are the names of those plants that have special symbolism in folk tradition. Some female bridal names are inspired by the names of toponyms: *Београ́тка*, *Вароша́нка*, *Ду́навка*, *Мора́вка*, *Студе́нка*, *Шумади́нка*; bird names: *Голуби́ца*, *Гр́лица* or *Гр́личка*, *Гугу́тка*, *Је́ребица*; kinship terminology: *Се́ја*, *Се́ка*, *Сестри́ца* [THE BRIDAL NAME THAT, UPON COMING TO THE NEW HOME, THE BRIDE GIVES TO HER HUSBAND'S YOUNGER SISTER (cf. also Сека)], and, in general, the names with various positive associations: *Вр́вурка* (*вр́вуран* [DILIGENT, FAST]), *Големи́ца*, *Дука́тка*, *Краљи́ца*, *Ла́лка*,[4] *Левте́рка* (*ле́втеран* [SUITABLE FOR HANDLING, EASY TO USE, WHICH FITS NICELY IN THE HAND]), *Пи́сарка* [THE BRIDAL NAME GIVEN TO THE HUSBAND'S BROTHER'S OR HUSBAND'S SISTER'S OLDER DAUGHTER], *Пра́порка*, *Таврали́ја*, *Таврали́ка* [FOLLOWING THE LATEST FASHION TRENDS, BEING VERY/TOO STYLISH, ADORNMENT], *Убави́ца*. Male bridal names are usually inspired by the names of desirable occupations or titles: *Вези́р*, *Војво́да*, *Ови́цир*, *Пи́сар*; kinship names: *Ба́јћа*, *Ба́јча*, *Бра́ца*; bird names: *Го́луб*, *Славе́јко, Со́кол*, or they have other positive connotations: *Да́са*, *Дели́ја* [A HEALTHY AND ATTRACTIVE PERSON], *Ћиди́ја*, *Меракли́ја*, *Таврали́ја*, *Убаве́нко*.

4. CONCLUSION

Based on around 80 analyzed terms, which, together with their phonetic and derivational variations, amount to around 100, and the additional 36 female and 16 male bridal names, it can be concluded that *Rečnik govora Lužnice* proved to be a very exhaustive and useful source of kinship terminology. It is a terminology which, as shown in this paper, in its essence coincides with the terminology used in a wider Serbian-speaking area and the standard Serbian language. A term can be a dialexeme[5] based on its contents originating in its secondary meaning, which is very common in the Lužnica dialect (Ćirić 2013, 373), but also owing to its derivational morphology, phonetics and prosody. According to the phonological criteria, the dialexemes analyzed in this paper are usually characterized by the following: Timok-Lužnica palatalization, typical of the GL and DL dialects (*ма́јћа*, *ма́ћа*, *па́сторћиња*, *сна́јћа*, *у́јћа*, *у́ћа*); the presence of semivowels (*балгъ́за*, *бългъ́за*, *зъ́лва*, *зъ́лвичич*, *сињк̄*, *све́к̄р*); the absence of the consonant *h* (*ма́ћија*, *о́чув*, *сна́а*); the substitution of the consonant *f* (*вами́лија*); the consonant *č* instead of *ć* <*tj* (*девери́чич*, *зъ́лвичич*, *че́рка*); and also *dž* < *dj* (*роце́ни бра́т*, *роце́на ба́ба*), which are the most striking phonetic features of the Timok-Lužnica dialect.

As only the prosodic criterion was used to determine whether a dialexeme would be included in *The Dictionary*, certain lexemes, e.g. *девер, јетрва, сестра, ујна, унук, унука, шурак*, were not included. However, they are present in the illustrative material with other, mostly related lexemes so that they too can be excerpted, through careful reading. Some terms could be reconstructed with great certainty, e.g. *пра́деда* / *пре́деда*, *ујна*, based on inventoried lexemes (*пра́баба*, *пре́баба*, *ујка*), which are their pairs in the system.

A special advantage of the insight into the terminological system of a dialect through a dialect dictionary is in the fact that secondary meanings of lexemes are inventoried in

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[4] In the Lužnica dialect, *ла́ла* is [THE NAME OF A PLANT], whereas *ла́ле* is both [THE NAME OF A PLANT] and [A TERM OF ENDEARMENT FOR A CHILD]. Other interpretations are possible, e.g. *лалка* means [OLDER SISTER] in Vranje (Bjeletić 1994: 203).

[5] The author of *The Dictionary* defines this term as a lexeme which is formally and semantically marked compared to a standard lexeme (Ćirić 2013: 371).

the dictionary, but are usually not obtained through collecting vocabulary using a questionnaire. In that sense, dictionaries provide wider possibilities for the study of thematic vocabulary, which is particularly true for *The Dictionary of the Lužnica Dialect*, which, due to its underlying idea and scope, as well as a wide exemplification of entries, provides possibilities for linguistic and other research.

RESOURCE

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TERMINOLOGIJA RODBINSKIH ODNOSA U LUŽNIČKOM KRAJU

U radu je na materijalu Rečnika govora Lužnice (2018) Lj. Ćirića, odakle je ekscerpirano oko 100 leksema, predstavljena terminologija rodbinskih odnosa na osnovu krvnog srodstva i na osnovu braka u lužničkom kraju. Izvršena je leksičko-semantička analiza uz koju su date jezičke i etimološke napomene. Cilj je bio pokazati da sistematsko popisivanje leksike pomoću upitnika prilikom prikupljanja dijalekatske leksike omogućava veoma potpunu rekonstrukciju određenog terminološkog sistema jednog govora.

Ključne reči: *Rečnik govora Lužnice, rodbinski odnosi, terminologija, leksičko-semantička analiza*

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS IN SERBIAN LANGUAGE TEACHING PRACTICE

UDC 371.3:811.163.41

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Abstract. *The subject of this paper is the implementation of theoretical knowledge in the processes of teaching practice realization, while the focus of the research is on identifying the causes of students' most common mistakes during the realization of the course* Professional (methodological) practice of Serbian language teaching *at philological faculties. By analyzing the records and material (student portfolios for the realization of the teaching practice) from the exam classes provided by students of the Serbian language and literature from the Faculty of Philosophy in Niš during four academic years (from 2015/16 to 2018/19), we found and analyzed characteristic beginner mistakes, and classified them into six categories: methodological mistakes in class realization, a lack of compliance with teaching principles, a lack of required class structure, unskilled application of teaching forms and methods, unskilled application of teaching aids (and technical aids) and mistakes in behavior and communication. The results obtained point to the complexity of teaching theory (developmental and pedagogical psychology and didactics), which needs to be linked to academic disciplines (linguistics, science of literature and the literary art itself) during the methodological formation of Serbian language and literature classes.*

Key words: *teaching theory, methodological practice, successful class, Serbian language, most common mistakes, reflexive practice*

1. APPROACHING THE PROBLEM

It is a fact that, despite the acquired theoretical knowledge on the basics of the Serbian language and literature teaching methodology, students often have doubts about how to organize and present a class. This is especially evident in Serbian language and literature classes where the existence of three teaching areas requires additional skills. Practice has shown that although students master the course material from pedagogy,

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psychology and methodology classes well, the complexity[1] and nature of the subject itself influence the occurrence of beginner mistakes in the realization of language and literature classes in elementary or high schools. The subject of this research paper is the implementation of theoretical knowledge in the processes of practical realization of the teaching practice of the Serbian language. The problem of research is focused on diagnosing the students' most common mistakes during the realization of the course Professional (methodological) practice of Serbian language and literature teaching.

The aim of the study is to analyze the materials with comments and critical attitudes towards the observed Serbian language exam classes in order to diagnose the most common mistakes which students make during the organization and presentation of classes. Based on this, we will provide specific advice on how it is possible to prevent the occurrence of mistakes, that is, offer the best (and the easiest) solution for their eradication.

We started with the hypothesis that Serbian language students make the same mistakes when they take Serbian language exam classes, i.e. that the same beginner mistakes are repeated from generation to generation.

Given that the writing of this paper involved conducting theoretical and descriptive research, the sample consisted of records from the field of Serbian language study during a period of four academic years, namely from 2015/16 to 2018/19. The documentation was based on the analysis and concrete observations of 198 Serbian language exam classes passed in the classrooms of the Faculty of Philosophy in Niš by four generations of fourth-year students of Serbian language and literature at the Faculty of Philosophy, the University of Niš.

During the research, the theoretical analysis method was used, i.e. a descriptive method combined with the qualitative processing of data and the results obtained. The technique we used during the realization of the research was content analysis.

2. THE RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

2.1. The most common mistakes made by student-teachers while presenting Serbian language exam classes

The majority of beginner mistakes occur on the borderline between theory and practice, where the student-teacher represents the last link in that relationship. In fact, no mistake exists just by itself because it leads to new ones. By analyzing the records of language classes presented, it can be noticed that all beginner mistakes can be classified as follows: methodological mistakes in class realization, a lack of compliance with the teaching principles, a lack of required class structure, unskilled application of teaching forms and methods, unskilled application of teaching aids (and technical aids), and inappropriate behavior towards and communication with the learners.

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[1] The course Serbian Language and Literature implies the teaching of two subjects within one course. It is known that in the majority of European countries the school system requires a separate course for the mother tongue and a separate course for literature since they are related but still separate scientific fields (linguistics on the one hand and literature and the science of literature on the other). In Serbia, these two courses were united in the years after World War II.
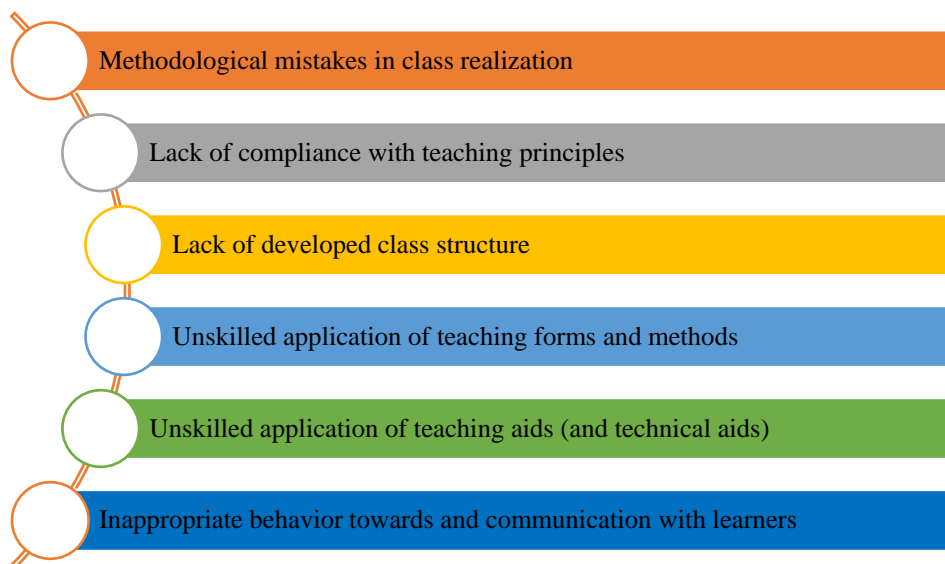
Fig. 1 A list of the most common mistakes made by student-teachers in Serbian language practical classes

2.1.1. Methodological mistakes in class realization

Since presenting an exam class implies a variety of activities (from reading the literature to writing the class preparation), any deviation from the planned course of the class created in the student-teachers a feeling of unease and anxiety, i.e. methodological anxiety. In practice, this is manifested in the following two ways: a) the student-teacher completely loses control of the class, and has the desire to finish the class as soon as possible, and b) the student-teacher shows resentment, with a clear desire to remove the "disobedient" learners from the class. According to the *Rulebook on the Manner of Regulation of Student Absences*, it is explicitly stressed, in words (and images), that the teacher is not allowed to remove the learner from the class (RMRSA 2017, 1), which practically means that the student-teachers must adjust their actions to the demands (and responses) of the learners, as well as demonstrate resourcefulness. We noticed another extreme as well, which is very common in student-teachers' actions during the practical class. Namely, the student-teacher often falls into the trap of their own need to be friendly to the learners, adjusting his/her own behavior to the learners' behavior, which leads to the emergence of an uncontrolled working environment and the impossibility to cooperate. What occurs is a lack of discipline, time is lost, as is energy, but also the focus shifts from important teaching materials. In such situations, an important role is placed on the advice received from the mentor, professors and teaching assistants, who know the discipline models aimed at learners' behavior control (Tadić 2014, 142): "Some advice that the student-teachers received from university professors was also helpful to the mentors, as well as the general philosophy of teaching that the university professors seek to impart to their students" (Petrović 2009, 64). However, it may happen that the student-teacher does not accept such advice. As a consequence of this type of behavior, a number of new mistakes emerge, such as the disregard of the principle of appropriateness, i.e. the discontinuation of the learners' thinking process.

In connection with the foregoing, the student-teacher seeks to show to the class assessors that he/she skillfully manages the class. However, some actions say to the contrary. One of the most common mistakes in teaching is holding the lesson plan in one's hands as a reminder – the sequence of questions that the learners need to be asked. Observations of such classes show that, conditionally, the student-teacher admits to the class that he/she has mistakenly forgotten what he/she needs to do.

As a common beginner mistake, there is an absence of eye contact with the learners. Specifically, the teacher is expected to maintain eye contact with all learners, monitoring their reactions and behavior in order to complete the class successfully (Barati 2015, 222). However, the presence of the class assessors, the existence of stage fright[2],and learning the class scripts by heart, lead to the situation in which the student-teacher, while presenting the class, focuses his/her gaze only on one classroom row, disregarding the others. Closely related to this mistake is also focusing on a smaller number (or just one) of learners during class communication, usually the ones who participate in the class. Seeking to get a grade as high as possible and present, to his/her understanding, a good class, the student-teacher is inclined to ask just the learner who regularly volunteers to answer, creating an apparent sense of learner activity. The student-teacher forgets that he/she must also 'activate' those learners who do not actively participate in the class (Abdullah et al. 2012, 520) in order to be able to snap them out of lethargy and engage them to share their thoughts. Eye contact is, in addition, very important when conveying important information. Unfortunately, in terms of quantity, the analysis of the records from exam classes shows that talking without keeping eye contact with the learners occupies the top position, and that happens in two cases: when writing on the blackboard, and when entering the aisles. In order to prevent these mistakes, the student-teacher must know that he/she must not talk with his/her face turned to the blackboard, nor can he/she enter the aisles because, in that case, a part of the learners will not understand what the teacher is talking about (so-called "unintelligible speech"). Aside from that, what often occurs as an unconscious reaction of the student-teacher is sitting at the teacher's desk, because of which the aforementioned eye contact with the learners is obstructed. During the interpretation of the teaching material during class, the teacher is obliged to stand in front of the learners in the front part of the classroom – in front of the blackboard (except in the case of group work when he/she visits them and checks the results of their work).

In order to create a positive and working atmosphere in the classroom, while taking the exam class, the student-teacher must with his/her energy and dedication serve as a motivation to the learners. However, sometimes student-teachers, because of a large number of obligations as part of their university lectures, understand the exam classes as an obligation and approach them with no energy. That kind of attitude also brings about the appearance of a "failed class" in which the expected outcomes are not achieved. Practice has shown that, in such classes, the teacher is almost invisible and inaudible, given that, in the majority of cases, he/she speaks silently[3] and lifelessly, leaving room for the learners to overpower him/her. That is why it is expected from the teacher to be the leader in the class, to initiate work and creative energy in the true sense of that word.

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[2] Stage fright represents a very important factor that influences student-teachers' success in a particular class. The amount of its impact on the student-teachers' achievement can be seen in the fact that 75% of classes can be divided into two parts, where the second part of the class is always more successful. Namely, as the student-teachers usually say, stage fright is mostly present in the first five minutes of the class.
[3] With voice not adjusted to the circumstances he/she is in.

2.1.2. Lack of compliance with teaching principles

The second group of characteristic mistakes is related to non-compliance with the teaching principles, above all, with the principle of conscious activity in teaching, which is the basis of contemporary teaching. Because they want to introduce the learners to all the characteristics of the teaching unit they are studying in class, student-teachers often resort to the dysfunctional use of the monologue method, which entails the passivity of learners in the class. Similar effects are caused by the use of presentations which do not have the necessary didactic-methodological design, which is why learners are put in the position of listeners instead of equal participants in the teaching process.

It is often the case that the principle of the appropriateness of the material for learners is not followed either. "The essential requirement of the principle of appropriateness is that the learners' capabilities should not be either overestimated nor underestimated, but that the material and their age need to be matched as much as possible" (Ilić 2006, 39). Failure to comply with this principle occurs in two ways: 1) as a disregard of the age capabilities of the learners and their interests, and 2) by not adjusting the volume of content with the cognitive apparatus of the learners. The Disregard for the learners' age abilities occurs when giving (too) easy or (too) difficult work orders and tasks: *How many cases are there in the Serbian language?* When renewing the knowledge of cases, that is, *Interpret the following formula: Apposition = renaming a noun*, in the fifth grade of elementary school. Also, student-teachers sometimes pick inadequate language items for grammatical analysis in class, guided by the principle of their own choice rather than the principle of the interests of learners of a certain age, as should be the case. The second aspect is a consequence of faculty teaching and reading more extensive literature, which occurs when student-teachers go beyond the structure and requirements prescribed by the curriculum: explaining the third palatalization from the point of view of diachrony when teaching palatalization or sibilarization. This form of error entails a reduction in comprehensibility and a failure to comply with the principle of economy. The disregard of the principle of economy by the student-teachers is a consequence of an unskilled realization of the class. It most commonly occurs in the form of overemphasis, which means that the scope of the study material is not adjusted to the age and abilities of the learners, as well as due to writing in block letters on the blackboard[4], which requires extra time.

The exactness as a specific characteristic of language requires the use of relevant literature in the field of language science. Even though student-teachers write a preparation before presenting classes, and their professors check it, the real conditions of the class (the teaching situation, learners' questions, etc.), due to the appearance of anxiety or some other reasons, influence the occurrence of material errors. A material error implies an error which impairs the scientific basis of student-teachers' work (the disregard of the principle of science). For example, in a grammar lesson, a student-teacher claimed that in the sentence: *Не храни се прасе уочи Божића* [NB: a Serbian phrase which means "do not wait until the last minute to do something"], the underlined word was an adverb. Very often, student-teachers mistake the possessive adjective for the possessive pronoun and mistakes with grammatical cases happen during communication in the exam class. Such mistakes lead to the incorrect adoption of the material and later to the violation of the accuracy of the standard Serbian language in everyday use.

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[4] Writing in block letters is recommended only when it is necessary to emphasize the importance of a particular part of the material studied.

Being systematic in teaching plays a key role in achieving its goals, i.e. in achieving success in the learning process. The quality of a Serbian language class depends on the way in which the student-teachers organize the class, that is, on the degree of adherence to the rule "from what is more to what is less understandable", "from the familiar to the unfamiliar" (Ilić 2006). A Failure to comply with this principle rarely comes to light because of its very nature. It is logical, for example, when the class deals with sound changes, to work first with the classification of sounds in the Serbian language, and then with every phenomenon individually, or, when the types of word formation in the Serbian language are explained, to explain first the term *word family* and its function, and then to talk about different models.

2.1.3. Underdeveloped class structure

A mistake which is very common in the student-teachers' work is the lack of a necessary lesson structure, which is why, as a consequence, the discontinuation of the thinking process occurs. In their book *Nastavno dizajniranje časova srpskog jezika* [*Lesson Design of Serbian Language Classes*], Janjić and Novaković (2015) highlight the obligatory stages through which a language class must pass, where a three-part structure of the lesson is advocated, which encompasses a higher number of steps: motivating learners, announcing the teaching unit and highlighting the lesson goal (introductory part); using the language teaching methodology template, analysis of examples, derivation of the characteristics of the phenomenon studied, the existence of the phase of knowledge insurance and synthesis, i.e. generalization (operative part of the lesson); a creative application of knowledge and homework assigned within the evaluative part (final part of the lesson). However, practice has indicated that student-teachers (sporadically) make mistakes in all lesson stages. Thus, a non-functional introductory or final part of the class occurs. For example, using the associations game, as a form of playful teaching, does not in any way mean that the introductory part of the class will, by default, be functional: it will be such if, while working on palatalization, the associations game is used for the repetition of the material on the division of consonants, and it will not be such if the associations game is only used for fun. In addition, student-teachers often, after the motivation and the announcement of a new teaching unit, revise the part of the study material which is necessary for the adoption of a new one. This disrupts the thought process of the learners, because everything that needs repetition should be revised in the introductory part of the class. Therefore, after the announcement of the teaching unit, the material learned previously should not be repeated, except in special cases. Also, as an unavoidable phase during the announcement of the new teaching unit, the lesson goals are highlighted, which implies giving the answer to the question: *Why is today's teaching unit important to the learners?* However, the most common mistake is leaving out the synthesis, which implies the definition of the teaching unit taught in class.

Closely related to not complying with the lesson structure is also the lack of compliance with the time structure of the lesson. Inexperience in teaching causes two situations: the premature termination of the class or leaving out the final part of the class (due to a lack of time). The first case occurs if the student-teacher (together with the learners) moves too fast through the content or does not adjust the scale of the content to the time available, and the second case occurs due to the extension of the introductory or operative part of the class (not complying with the principle of economy). In order avoid such a scenario, the student-teacher should have a good understanding of the instructions for curriculum implementation, that is,

the student-teacher should use the textbooks as a framework (in the choice of content and the depth of its interpretation) through which he/she should navigate.

2.1.4. Unskilled application of teaching forms and methods

Teaching implies interaction between teachers and learners, where communication goes two ways. It is interesting that during the expected flow of conversation in a Serbian language class, the teacher's question – learner's answer model tends to appear. However, the content, and also the teacher's method of choice, can often be a trigger for a large number of learner questions, which is actually desirable in contemporary teaching. However, the nature of the exam class and the specific circumstances of its realization lead to student-teachers' disregarding learners' questions, considering them less important (and not functional) for the continuation of the class, even though Vilotijević (2008) states that learner questions represent the essence of heuristic teaching. Thus, it may happen that during the use of the language teaching methodology template the learner asks the student-teacher where the excerpt was taken from, and that the student-teacher does not respond, trying to direct his/her class towards the previously-decided goal. It also happens that the student-teacher does not pay enough attention to the learners' answers, so as to, for example, disregard the existence of the difference between the words *rečica* (a small river) and *rečca* (a type of word), which later leads to the misuse of the term by the learners. In addition, related to the achievement of interaction, the student-teachers often, unknowingly, resort to the use of monotonous and banal questions.

When it comes to the use of terminology, the most common mistake that the student-teacher makes during the exam class is the use of terminology not appropriate for the learners' age (for example, *renaming of a noun* when marking the apposition), i.e. the terminology which indicates methodological steps in the lesson (*And now we will use mnemonics.*). It is interesting that the student-teachers often use the term "typical example" to label the most frequent form of a particular language item. However, the use of typical examples also brings about learners' thought inertia, because it is easier for the learners to learn one example by heart than to search for new examples.

As they have prepared, and carry with them to class, a detailed description of the flow of conversation, the student-teachers aim to get the responses that they had assumed the learners would provide. Because of this, they often **do** not let the learners express their opinion regarding the material being discussed, seeking exactly the kind of opinion that matches the imaginary one (from their lesson plans). As a consequence of such a method, the demotivation of learners for further class work occurs, as well as the overuse of the monologue method. However, it should be noted here that, even though the monologue method is usually seen as a traditional one, student-teachers resort to it in order to achieve the efficiency of class and respect the planned time structure of the class. This happens especially in the synthetic phase of work, when the studied linguistic phenomenon needs to be defined. Instead of the learners being the ones to define the linguistic item, student-teachers, in order to save time, give their own definition unfamiliar to the learners.

In contemporary methodological manuals, group work is highlighted as the most functional and the most effective (Janjić and Novaković 2015, 27). However, in order to take advantage of group work, certain experience is necessary, which cannot be expected from the student-teachers, and this leads to mistakes. Mistakes happen for at least two reasons: firstly, they happen in situations when the learners have never before been organized into groups, so they consider this form of work to be play, and secondly, which

often happens, the student-teachers cannot activate all the groups' members equally, due to the lack of authority.

2.1.5. Unskilled use of teaching and technical aids

Unskilled application of teaching aids and technical aids implies their non-functional use in teaching. The application of information and communications technology can have a positive or negative impact on teaching achievement. When it comes to the negative impacts, two cases should be pointed out: excessive use of computers and inappropriate use of computers. The excessive use of computers implies a frequent use of the computer as a blackboard replacement. Their use, usually via a PowerPoint presentation, directly influences a reduced use of the blackboard, which the learners see as an important source of information in Serbian language classes. Using presentations reduces the amount of information which the learners write down, so they do not have examples, rules and definitions of the studied language phenomenon in their notebooks. On the other hand, given that a computer (with a projector) should be used to achieve clarity, the lack of projectors in schools forces student-teachers to put their computers (laptops) on the desk (or on a raised chair). However, such an act is not only useless, but also harmful: not all learners in the class can see the monitor and understand what is being presented on it. Such situations suggest that computers are not all-powerful and that the fact that they are used in class in no way guarantees that the class will be successful. In other words, computers can do as much harm as good. Milutinović (2009, 177−178) writes that there is a need for teachers to learn about new technologies but that they also have to adjust "their current use of information technologies in the classrooms (i.e. knowledge on how to use a projector, electronic board or the text of a book) to integrate these new practices into the existing knowledge of the presented content, pedagogical knowledge, and pedagogical knowledge of the content in practice".

The use of computers and projectors in teaching results in a reduced use of the blackboard, which is also a characteristic student mistake during teaching. Thus, for example, during the processing of a teaching unit on word formation, besides the title, a greater number of examples (taken from the language teaching methodology template) should be written on the blackboard. However, a list of examples related to word formation does not mean anything if the structure of the given word is not written on the blackboard, according to the model: *prefix + root + infix + suffix*, which the student-teacher usually forgets to do or does it orally. In addition, using abbreviations with foreign learners, as well as excessive colorfulness due to the use of multicolored markers, can result in the learners' disorientation due to the "abundance of data". Namely, the proper use of the blackboard implies finding a balance between necessary and sufficient data, which the learner will copy, in order to have the material to work on (and study) at home, respecting the principle of consistency. This is especially important in elementary school education.

2.1.6. Inappropriate behavior towards and communication with learners

One of the most respected professions is that of a teacher, which carries with it responsibility and respect for ethical and moral standards (Župljanin 2013, 163). However, aside from the ethics and morals, the teacher is a role model for the learners also in terms of the way he/she dresses, not only in school but also outside of it. Even though it rarely happens, it is important to advise the student-teachers to respect the dress-code appropriate for their profession.

On the other hand, a Serbian language teacher is expected to respect the orthographic and orthoepic norms, but "more than that, the awareness of the fact that they, as future educators (teachers), are entering the ranks of very special users of language" (Čutura et al. 2009, 339). However, the anxiety which the student-teachers experience during their first classes in the role of teachers influences the use of filler words and hypercorrected forms:

"Often, this anxiety stems from the belief that its use is not in accordance with the language standard or style which is expected from the speaker. The standard language form is a codified form that is used in public discourse, whereby it represents a prestigious form of linguistic variety. The variables that differentiate the standard form from the non-standard form are related primarily to the phonetic realization, vocabulary, syntax and many other linguistic factors" (Novaković 2016, 338).

3. CONCLUSION

The analysis of the records of exam classes of the students of Serbian language and literature of the Faculty of Philosophy in Niš has shown that all beginner mistakes can be classified as follows: methodological mistakes in class realization, lack of compliance with the teaching principles, lack of a developed class structure, unskilled application of teaching forms and methods, unskilled application of teaching aids (and technical aids) and inappropriate behavior towards and communication with the learners.

Mistakes in methodological class realization suggest the existence of anxiety, a lack of discipline and energy, or a lack of visual contact with the learners, due to talking with one's head turned away from the learners and sitting in the teacher's chair. Non-compliance with the teaching principles of appropriateness, science and efficiency is classified into one of the most common student-teachers' mistakes in exam classes, which is frequently the consequence of the lack of the required (time) structure of the class. Unskilled application of teaching forms and methods is most evident in the use of the monologue and dialogue method, because of which student-teachers often disregard the learners' questions and answers, ask uniform and banal questions and, by doing so, limit the learners' activity. In a quantitative sense, the biggest share of student-teachers' mistakes are related to the unskilled application of teaching aids and technical aids, which is manifested through the overuse and misuse of computers, that is, the lack of use of the blackboard. The use of filler words and hypercorrected forms appears as a characteristic mistake in addressing the learners.

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IMPLEMENTIRANJE TEORIJSKIH POSTAVKI UNUTAR NASTAVNE PRAKSE SRPSKOG JEZIKA

Predmet ovoga rada jeste implementacija teoretskog znanja u tokove realizacije nastavne prakse, dok je problem istraživanja fokusiran na identifikovanje uzroka najčešćih grešaka studenata u okviru realizacije predmeta Stručna (metodička) praksa nastave srpskog jezika na filološkim fakultetima. Analizom evidencionog materijala (studentskih portfolija za realizaciju nastavne prakse) o održanim ispitnim časovima studenata Srbistike Filozofskog fakulteta u Nišu tokom četiri akademske godine (od 2015/16. do 2018/19), autori pronalaze i analiziraju karakteristične „početničke" greške, klasifikujući ih u šest kategorija: greške u metodičkom vođenju časa, nepoštovanje nastavnih principa, nepostojanje potrebne strukture časa, nevešta primena oblika i metoda nastavnog rada, nevešta primena nastavnih sredstava (i tehničkih pomagala) i greške u ponašanju i ophođenju. Kako do sada ne postoji referat koji se bavi sličnom temom u oblasti lingvometodike srpskog jezika, ovo istraživanje može biti dragocen materijal koji bi pružio instrukcije studentima o čemu bi trebalo da vode računa prilikom organizacije i polaganja ispitnih ili državnih stručnih časova za rad u školi. Dobijeni rezultati ukazuju na kompleksnost nastavne teorije (razvojne i pedagoške psihologije i didaktike) koju treba povezati sa predmetnim disciplinama (lingvistikom, nauka o književnosti i samom književnom umetnošću) prilikom metodičkog oblikovanja časa srpskog jezika i književnosti.

Ključne reči: *nastavna teorija, metodička praksa, uspešan čas, srpski jezik, najčešće greške, refleksivna praksa*

GRAMMAR OF THE DETECTIVE GENRE

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Abstract. *The paper describes the grammar of the detective genre. This is done on the basis of formalist-structuralist poetics, by extracting the actants of detective syntax. It involves: the plot, enigma, secret, solution, crime, and the detective. The plot is determined both on the basis of the main stages of the detective narrative (crime, investigation, explanation) and depending on the reader's reading experience. An enigma is the absence of information about someone/something, but it is also part of the plot - it hides events which led to a specific crime. The secret is connected with the enigma and concerns both the crime and the detective. The solution is considered by many to be the most important feature of the detective genre, which has a distinctly ideological character. A crime is a motive, not a goal - it happens outside the text, and is transmitted through the text. The detective is a distinctive figure of this genre, determined by intellectual and scientific abilities, but also by eccentricity and fragmentation.*

Key words: *plot, enigma, secret, solution, crime, detective*

1. INTRODUCTION

There are different ways of studying each genre, i.e. a variety of aspects can be the focus of research. They all fall into four categories: a) syntactic, which deals with the formalistic sides of the genre, b) semantic, which emphasizes its meaning, c) pragmatic, which considers the position of the genre within discourse practices, and d) cognitive, which studies the relations between genre and cognition.[1]

It can be observed that most traditional poetics is predominantly based on the syntactic approach. This is understandable because only with a defined syntax of the genre can one speak of its other characteristics: cognitive, semantic, and pragmatic. Therefore, in this paper we will deal with the syntax, that is, the grammar of the detective

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[1] This is an analytical systematization since in the poetics of the genre there is mutual interaction between (almost) all these aspects.

genre. By emphasizing the notion of grammar, we emphasize that it is the poetics of formalists and structuralists who considered each detective story to be a part of the larger abstract structure and took as their primary task the description of that structure in an effort to arrive at the grammar of the detective narrative. The "main character" of the study is the plot (story) which is singled out as suitable for explicating general principles by which narratives operate.

Such studies date back from the 1930s when significant works in French appeared over the span of three decades: François Fosca, *Historie et Technique du Roman Policier,* Paris, 1937; Roger Caillois, *Le Roman policier,* Paris, 1941; Thomas Narcejac, *Esthétique du roman policier,* Paris, 1947; Fereydoun Hoveyda, *Petite Histoire du roman policier,* Paris, 1956; Boileau-Narcejac, *Le roman policier,* Paris, 1964. The basis of the formalist-structuralist study of the detective genre can be found in papers written by Viktor Shklovsky and Tzvetan Todorov.

Shklovsky's work "Новелла тайн" appeared in 1929 (Шкловский 1929, 125–142). Starting from Conan Doyle's story, Shklovsky analyzes the construction of the detective novella. He considers the basic problem to be the possibility of "drawing two lines normal to one line" from one point, which implies that the primary characteristics of this type of novel are related to the necessity of logically uniting seemingly unrelated things. In his description, Shklovsky uses the names "сыщицкие рассказы", "сыщицкий роман" because the term detective was not in use at that time in Russia.

Shklovsky (Шкловский 1929, 125–142) assumes that all narratives can be presented in two ways. The first is a chronological one, when an action causally unfolds before the eyes of the reader without significant disturbances in temporal continuity. In the second, the events are unknown, the story is based on a mystery and its closure; in this case, a time clip, that is, an event left out and described after it has taken place serves to create secrets.

Analyzing Conan Doyle's stories, Shklovsky outlines aspects characteristic of the genre as a whole. These include expectations, referring to previous work, analysis; client appearance, the business part of the conversation; the introduction of clues, which are material for logical reasoning so that essential facts are not noticed by the reader; a bureaucratic (police) detective giving a false dismissal, and if there is none, the newspapers do so; unexpected untangling; detective data analysis.

The most significant and influential work which sought to describe the grammar of detective syntax is the 1966 study by Tzvetan Todorov, "Typology of Detective Fiction", (Todorov 1987, 42–52). Like Shklovsky, Todorov believes that the basic feature of detective stories is a time-shift, i.e. the fact that an incident has already taken place, which begins to unravel its nature and the circumstances under which it had occurred. He distinguishes between a whodunit, hard-boiled thriller, and suspense novel, pointing out that the evolution of the genre has passed through these stages. Each uses a different form of temporal displacement, and is delivered through two separate stories located at different narrative levels: a crime story (resting on action) and an investigation story (dealing with knowledge).

In addition, Todorov also points to *verisimilitude* (authenticity), which represents the reader's ability to identify the action and the overall structure of the detective genre as a typical narrative. In other words, it is a set of procedures and assumptions through which the reader sees the text as a detective. Todorov states that a whodunit rests on curiosity, and starts with the consequences (the corpse and clues) and proceeds to the cause (the perpetrator and motive), while a hard-boiled thriller rests on suspense, moving from the

cause (the gangster gets ready for a crime) to the consequence (the realization of a plan leading to killings and fighting). This divergence of the two sub-genres relates to the theme, since a whodunit resembles a puzzle, while a hard-boiled thriller emphasizes violence, crime, and amorality.

Todorov stresses that the basis of a whodunit is duality.[2] Classic detective novels contain not one but two stories: a crime story and an investigation story. The first story, the one about the crime, ends before the second begins. On the other hand, nothing particular happens, as the protagonists, the investigators, are not acting but learning. More specifically, the story of the investigation has a separate status and it is often told by a detective's friend who explicitly reveals that he is the writer of the book; the second story is based on the principle of explaining how the book was written. In this sense, the first story ignores the book completely, never acknowledging its literary nature, because the crime story tells what really happened, while the story of the investigation explains how the reader (the narrator) came to know the truth.

This distinction between the two storylines is not specific to the detective genre. These are the traits, according to Todorov, which formalists have identified as characteristic of each narrative and which pertain to the distinction between the story (*fabula*) and the discourse (*sjuzhet*): the story is what happens in life, and the discourse is the way the author presents the story.

In a whodunit, the crime story is absent but real, while the story of the investigation is present but irrelevant, as its sole purpose is to bring past events to the present. The neutral, transparent mode of storytelling further underscores the secondary role of the story of the investigation. The effect created by the reader is curiosity (which arises because the story unfolds from consequence, the body, and clues, and goes to the cause, the villain, and his motives).

A thriller (hard-boiled) vitalizes the story of the investigation by moving the crime story to another place: what happens as a private detective solves the case is primary, while the events of the past are marginalized. The crime is not reported after it has been committed, but prospection replaces retrospection, so there is no story to guess at and discover, no mystery. Contrary to the classic story, here is the effect of suspense, uncertainty, as it develops from showing the cause (the criminal, gangster preparing a crime) to the consequences (the victims, crimes).

The suspense novel has been described as the hybrid of a thriller and whodunit: the story of the investigation occupies a central place, but the events of the past have not been neglected, namely they play an equally significant role. Hence the effect is compounded: there is curiosity about what happened in the past, i.e. how these events will be explained, as well as concern (tension) about what will happen to the main character. Unlike in the whodunit, the mystery lies in the present. Todorov distinguishes

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[2] Dichotomies are the essential structuralist methodological starting point, and it is not surprising that poetics about the detective genre is conceived upon them. For example, A. Vulis (Вулис) believes that this genre is characterized by a twofold structure: external and internal. An outside *sjuzhet* includes a detective and an inside criminal. The events of the inside line are hidden from the reader and reduced to the details through which the events played are assumed. These details are the clues which connect the two flows through a tangle which elucidates all the mysterious and confusing elements (Vulis 1978, 244–258). This principle of reflection is also used by Mikhail Veller (Михаил Веллер). He identifies a detective type of storytelling characterized by a "mirror" nature: one discourse line is about the murder and it is hidden but reflected through another line, a quest. Only in the end, the true truth about the front line becomes available ().

between two forms of the suspense novel: the story of a vulnerable detective, as written by Hemmet and Chandler, in which the detective is often beaten, threatened, he may fall in love, and risk his life constantly. The second form is a novel about a suspected detective – a crime happens at the beginning and all the evidence points to one person (the main character) and he/she is forced to capture the perpetrator in order to prove his/her innocence. A character like this is at the same time a detective, a criminal (in the eyes of the police), and a victim (a potential target of real killers).

Although Todorov tried to provide the poetics of detective literature, the basic drawback is that his model is not dynamic, regardless of the three subgenres mentioned. The most problematic is that the same criteria, in his opinion, cannot be used for popular and artistic literature.[3]

Following the studies of Shklovsky and Todorov, the interest in detective stories during the 1960s and 1970s spread throughout Europe and America, and a greater number of papers appeared which, in one way or another, varied the views of these authors.

One of more significant studies is by Julian Symons (1975), who identifies eight constituent elements of the detective genre. The Events (realized through a locked room or missing verbal segment and related to forensic medicine or ballistics), a detective (amateur or professional, the central figure of the story, who notices details which went unnoticed), the method (most often in the form of ingenious or confusing procedures), the clues (the essential elements by means of which the detective and the readers come to a solution), the characters (whereby only the detective's characterization is shown in detail, while other characters are simplified to the level of functionality in the plot and to complete expectation and recognition), a chronotope (mostly related to the time and place of the crime, that is, to the period before the crime) and the riddle (the most valuable segment of the text, because detective creations are remembered by the detective and the puzzle).

As a rule, studies from the 1960s and 1970s have described the grammar of a detective narrative by distinguishing distinctive features. Depending on which element is foregrounded, we can discern poetics which emphasize the primary properties: the plot, enigma, secret, solution, crime, and detective.

2. THE PLOT IN DETECTIVE FICTION

Wystan Hugh Auden (1988) gave the most famous, so-called "vulgar" definition of detective fiction based on the "developmental phase of the plot". According to him, the detective narrative begins with a peaceful state that is disturbed by the murder; this is followed by a phase of false leads and more murders, leading to the removal of the perpetrators from the suspect's circle. Finally, there is the arrest (or death) of the killer, an explanation of the crime, and a return to the initial peaceful state.

Auden's definition clearly indicates that the notions which bring the detective genre to action do so on the basis of distinctive discourse motives. However, there is no agreement in the literature on either the nature or the number of these motives. So, for example, back in 1931, Karel Čapek identified 8 motives which define this genre: the criminal motive, since crime is at the heart of the story; a judicial motive, because it depicts the struggle between crime and human justice; the riddle motive which establishes relations with the

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[3] "The same measurements do not apply to 'high' art and 'popular' art." (Todorov 1987, 44)

previous two motives; the venture motif which emphasizes that it is an epic composition which portrays an unusual individual endeavor, although detective literature is puzzle-solving. Till Eulenspiegel points to the topos of a sympathetic cunning;[4] the essence of the method defines the detective as a modern man, who does not close himself off or think about himself and solve cases not instinctively, like Eulenspiegel, but methodically; the motive of the case points to the fortunate circumstances which accompany a detective and without which all reason, all method, and all universal knowledge would be futile. Bertillonage (ascertainment of identity) characterizes the detective's world as a scene of action covered in clues: a detective's reality is marked by bertillonage, it simply goes on record. The latter is the motive for uniqueness, since detective cases are criminally unique, evading all established rules, generalizations, and patterns.

Similar to Čapek, almost half a century later, George Dove (1990, 57) noted that detective stories consist of 7 stages: 1) – a crime alert, 2) – the start of an investigation, 3) – an encounter with the wrong suspect, 4) – gathering information, 5) – setting a trap to prove the detective's theory, 6) – catching the killer, and 7) – explaining the case.

On the other hand, there is a tendency to reduce the detective narrative to a smaller number of stages. For example, Lyubov Romanchuk (Романчук internet) identifies three distinctive stages of a detective story: the offense, the investigation, and the explanation.

Critics agree that the detective genre determines a coherent action and clearly achievable stages through which it develops. Such traits enabled comparisons with Aristotle and his concept of tragedy. Dorothy Sayers was the first to use the similarity in "Aristotle on Detective Fiction" (1988, 25–34), to apply Aristotle's definition of tragedy to show that action is the most important segment of detective stories: its structure has a clear beginning, middle (peripeteia, the reversal of happiness which triggers the reading) and end (a scene of suffering which rests on the discovery and possible punishment). However, unlike the tragedy, the detective does not rest in this last stage.

Geoffrey H. Hartman (1983, 211–212), who distinguishes between the Aristotelian categories of peripeteia and recognition in order to determine the characteristics of the detective genre, did something similar. Although both peripeteia and recognition are present in this genre, they are not as tightly knit as in tragedy. Peripeteia has more of an unmasking function, while recognition is free from tragic irony. That is why the author dwells on the third category of Aristotle's poetics – pathos, in terms of destructive or painful action, such as death on stage, bodily agony, wounding, etc. What is specific about the detective genre is that scenes of suffering, murder, etc. do not have to be or are not explicitly displayed, but are, like in *Oedipus*, behind the scenes.

But their preparation and impact are directly reflected in the scene. Peripeteia and recognition are nothing more than the means for a more powerful and clear evocation of pathos (violent scenes). Detective crime is an unusual kind of epiphany because it isolates one point in space from the usual time-space continuum. Therefore, solving a crime is nothing more than determining the exact location, not only of the killer and his motives but also of a specific place, room, ingenious or brutal circumstances, based on visible evidence. Revelations through the obvious are the basis through which "explained mysteries" are realized and supernaturally revealed as logical and explanatory. Because in the end, it turns

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[4] "Detective literature is the modern personification and heroization of this autonomous and practical translation." (Čapek 1967, 179, translated by D. M.)

out that all the perplexing and unusual phenomena could only fit into a rational and realistic pattern.

After the 1970s, more attention was paid to the discourse, rather than the story, i.e. to the processes through which the story is transmitted, starting from the discourse, with the intention of eliciting a certain effect. For example, Donna Bennett (1979, 233–266) uses *scionarrative* to refer to events leading to a crime, while the events related to the very commission of the crime and its possible concealment are *the core event*. Mysterious motivation stems from a narrative which portrays crime as a puzzle and the detective as the one who solves the puzzle. One of the essential conditions of the mysterious narrative, according to Bennett, is fragmentary: it is a method which breaks the story into parts arranged in different places and ways in the discourse. The goal of this fragmentary approach is to discover the crime, but also to connect it all together – the purpose is to test the reader's ability to combine narrative fragments, which is rendered more difficult by the fact that the fragments are presented chronically and incompletely.

The Fragmentation is done through two basic processes: *drawing attention*, where the reader's interest shifts from the scionarrative to the inquiry. Another possibility is ambiguity, which means opening up different possibilities of understanding fragments by introducing new or erroneous clues. Besides fragmentation, the following essential procedures for revealing hidden narrative segments are what Bennett (Bennett 1979, 233–266) calls *confidence* and *confidentiality*. *Confidence* is the degree to which the reader can rely on, trust in the truth of the events presented – it controls the quality of information the reader is conveyed. *Confidentiality* regulates the amount of information the reader and detective share. While the first procedure, once established, tends to be constant throughout the story, the second is significantly more flexible and depends largely on focalization. According to Bennett, there are five levels of confidentiality, ranging from zero (which implies that the reader is completely in the dark about what the detective knows) to almost complete, but the same level of reader and detective knowledge are never attained until the end. The reader's disclosure of the crime depends not only on the degree of confidentiality but also on how experienced he is in reading detective stories.

3. THE ENIGMA IN DETECTIVE FICTION

The grammar of the detective genre is closely linked to the understanding that it is a genre that rests on a mystery, that is, an enigma (mysterious crime). So, John T. Irwin (1994) called the whole classic period, similar to Poe, the age of the analytical story, pointing out that the central mystery encourages the reader to duel with a detective in discovering clues to see who will solve the enigma first. Therefore, these clues must be visible and are usually hidden on the surface of the text.

Volsky (Вольский, internet) singled out the puzzle as distinctive to the genre, not the crime. Based on this, he builds a theory of detective hyperdetermination. The puzzle is what sets the detective genre apart from the rest. Even on the basis of its novelty, i.e. not to be found in the work of other authors, readers judge the quality. The detective genre rests on two basic elements without which it cannot function. The first is transgression – a discourse that depicts the unraveling of a crime so that the love of this genre expresses an eternal desire (the "Western" view) or one nurtured in bourgeois society (the Marxist understanding), to violate legal and moral norms. However, the mere presence of the

crime and its disclosure is not enough (e.g., of the 80 stories in the Sherlock Holmes collection, 5 are not based on the disclosure of the crime). This genre is often identified with police, adventure, and thrillers on the basis of an unexpected and dynamic twist, crime, involvement of the police and detectives, an atmosphere of fear and secrecy, scenes of a chase, fight, etc. Therefore, it is necessary for the crime to be related to the puzzle – if it does not or does not play a dominant role in the story (for example, if it is revealed immediately), then there is no detective story.

Volsky emphasizes that the detective's puzzle is special because it is not just the absence of information about something/someone – it is also the subtlety, i.e. it hides a series of events which lead to a concrete one – for example if a corpse is found on the street and one does not know who performed the killing and with what motive, it is not enigmatic, but if a corpse was found with a knife in its back in a locked room, then it is. The puzzle should also have a solution because, in the end, the detective has to solve everything. The riddle must be based on thought and logic, i.e. its solution must be present, but in hidden and encrypted form. If there is no solution, there is no puzzle – that is the rule of classic detective fiction.

In addition to crime and riddle-solving, detective stories, according to Volsky, must fulfill some other requirements: 1) immersion in the ordinary way of life, there must be nothing exotic because the reader would then not understand the characters, their motives, social circumstances, etc.; 2) stereotypical character behavior, they are predictable and not so much characters as social roles; the more common their motives are, the more effective they are; money is most often involved; 3) the existence of characteristic rules for the realization of sums, i.e. unwritten laws of the genre – although they are not mentioned explicitly anywhere, after reading a few of the good ones, that is, the works built on properly constructed plots, the reader intuitively knows what will happen in others. These three traits make up the hyperdeterministic world of the detective genre in relation to reality, and it is necessary to set the puzzle. In this world there is no possibility of accidental error – the detective genre is realized through two lines: one is the puzzle and everything connected with it; the second, the special "non-hinged" elements of the plot. There must be a balance between them because by overcoming the enigmatic, a pure rebus is obtained, otherwise, the detective's credibility is lost. The detective's primary weapon in this world is opinion, logic, and observation: the detective must come up with a logical method, not accidentally or intuitively, and it is clear why the world in which he moves is hyperdeterministic, of the most precise order. Because logic is only possible in such a context. The firmer the order of the world, the more successful and convincing the logic.

Michael Holquist (1983, 149–174) singled these out as the primary feature, and that the mystery revolving around the detective story refers exclusively those who convey the puzzle itself. This excludes gothic romances, psychological crime studies, or hard-boiled thrillers. The reasons and explanations for why there was no detective genre before the nineteenth century are numerous and varied, but it is obvious that there can be no detective genre without detectives, and they appeared at that time. The detective, as an instrument of pure logic, is able to triumph because he is the only one in a world of naive and gullible people who adheres to the scholastic principle of *adaequatio rei et intellectus*, the power of the mind over things, the belief that the mind if given enough time, can understand everything. Basically, there are no mysteries but just incorrect reasoning.

4. THE SECRET IN DETECTIVE FICTION

In addition to the enigma, criticism has long been secretive about the genre's distinctive grammar feature. Nikolai Toman (Томан) states that detective narratives are those in which the method of logical analysis reveals some complex and complicated secret: the secret of criminal or political transgression, difficult to explain natural phenomena, deciphering manuscripts or historical documents, the secret of the cosmos, etc. (Томан 1960, 278).

A. G. Adamov (Аркадий Адамов, internet) thinks similarly, but more specifically. He believes that the grammar of classic detective fiction accomplishments is clear and rigorous: the detective novel is a kind of novel in which the secret of some dangerous and complicated transgression occurs as the basic material, and all summaries and all events are organized to resolve it. The offense which underlies these novels must bear a personal, private seal, and must not have anything to do with political, social, and economic reasons. As a rule, it is murder because death is the biggest taboo for a man – to explain this secret means to unravel the meaning of life. That is why the effect of the detective depends not only on the subset but also on the way in which the author presents the secret, depending on his social, ideological, and ethical position.

A. A. Gozenpud (Гозенпуд, 1967, 84–111) used the motive of a secret to question established interpretations of the detective novel. It originates from the French critic R. Mesak, who defined the genre in the work "Detective Novel and the Emergence of Scientific Thought" as narratives of the gradual unraveling of mysterious events by means of reason. He also cites Boileau-Narcejac, who believe that it is a matter of exploring and explaining a secret through analysis because there is a hidden link between it and its exploration: the author creates a secret solely for the purpose of its disclosure, but also merely reveals the benefits of making it a secret. The term detective itself comes from the English word detection – exploration, revelation.[5]

The "evolution" of the genre also implies a change in the methods used by detectives on their way to a solution: from Holmes' magnifier, intuition and psychology emerged as the clues point to the depth of the human soul, which became the scene of the detective's and criminal's struggle. Therefore, the detective's function no longer boils down to solving the mystery. Nevertheless, new forms of the detective genre are replacing the logical and orderly world of the classical school with chaos and violence, i.e. organized crime as a typical form of capitalist society. This caused the characters of the detective and the villain to change dramatically and get closer, leaving fair play completely aside. The detective genre in this form is a thriller in which everything is based on the gross effect and the desire to shake and scare the reader. Interestingly, Gozenpud puts parodies side by side with literal detective creations and speaks of them as forms which enrich the genre.

Vulis (Вулис 1986, 254–279) offered a genre theory which rests entirely on secrecy. He finds the detective genre unique in that it is completely identical to the mystery. Based on the relationship between mystery and composition, Vulis distinguishes between two types: one in which the offender is known and one in which he is unknown. And the secret of detectives, especially the classic ones, is twofold: at first, it represents some far-off hidden thing. But in the end, it turns out that the mechanism of his disclosure has always been present, from the very beginning. The basic element of this mechanism is the trace, characterized by its threefold relation to the past, present, and future. The villain

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[5] Cf. Jacques Barzun and W. H. Taylor: "A detective story should be mainly occupied with detecting." (Barzun, Taylor 1971, 5)

leaves him in the present, revealing to the detective the past and pointing to the future, i.e. the discovery of the perpetrator. The secret is unevenly distributed: it is fully understood by the author, not the narrator: the more the former knows, the less the latter.

Vulis points out that the search for a solution to the mystery involves two types of detectives. The first covers the range from the intuitive-artistic (Holms, Poirot, etc.), to a journalist on vacation. The other is more scientific, and the focus is on an inspector with police service. A traditional detective scheme is usually based on the following: first, a mystery emerges as a depersonalized fact or event; in the second phase it is personalized, then becomes complete and a whole ensemble associated with it occurs, but it is not known how, actively (perpetrators, witnesses, participants, victims) or passively (falsely accused, accidentally involved). In the third stage, there is a false division of roles achieved through character testing and misconceptions. The fourth is the movement from the first impression (reception) to the main event, and it realizes the dialectics of the event and the possible finale. The fifth stage is a complement to the personification of the mystery: a new hero enters the scene and through retrospection presents a different perspective. The last stage focuses on unraveling the mystery like the relationship between the characters and it becomes a memory of the collective dreams of authors, characters, and readers.

A somewhat different definition of detective fiction and its connection to the secret was given by Mihalko Skalicki (Мыхалко Скалицки, internet). According to him, the detective narrative is no secret in the sense that it depicts the disclosure of a crime, the intentions, and the motives. The subject of the detective narrative is a secret crime and an activity – an investigation – which turns into a public crime. Public crimes differ from covert ones in that they are determined by witnesses and clues which unambiguously and infallibly associate the crime with the criminal, the man with the act. Witnesses and clues are verified by the court, at least by the reader, and the elementary search procedures are examination and analysis. The perpetrator is always discovered, so the crime of the detective is never mysterious. Skalicki insists that the mystery of this genre concerns only the initial situation when the perpetrator is unknown, but witnesses, clues and ultimately discovery make it impossible to declare the detective narrative as such in its entirety.

Glenn W. Most (1983, 341–365) associates the mystery of the genre not with crime but with the detective. She believes that the real mystery in a mystery novel is not related to the crime committed at the beginning and resolved at the end, but rather that the problem depends on the personality of the detective. Crime is always mysterious, either for its bizarreness or simplicity, and the plot of the novel ranges from a lack of answers to the puzzle, through a series of wrong answers, to the final true answer. The essence of the genre is that this response causes the reader to wonder how he could not have come to the same conclusions. Although murder, the most common crime in the detective genre, is mysterious, the biggest mystery is the detective himself, especially the things he does between two incidents. In any case, he is a marginal figure: his profession is to examine the affairs of others, he is able to move through all walks of life, though in no sense does he feel it like his own; he is mostly single, unmarried or divorced, his parents are never mentioned and he is irreparably childish.

5. THE SOLUTION IN DETECTIVE FICTION

A considerable number of works imply that the solution is the most important for the detective genre and that all other characteristics are built on it. Julian Symons (1975) states

that for most critics, the detective genre is singled out as central and the one based on which other crime stories and thrillers make variations. Therefore, they sought to set strict rules about what is and what is not a detective story. In this sense, two characteristics are imposed as necessary. The first is that there is a problem, and the second is that it has to be solved by an amateur or professional detective through the deduction process.

Roger Caillois (1983, 1–12) emphasizes that although the detective asks himself the usual questions: Who? When? Where? Why? They are not of equal importance to the story. The most important is How? because it rarely happens that a murder is committed in ordinary, non-mysterious circumstances; it is always enigmatic. The author's ingenuity is reflected in the realization of such circumstances and their solution in the end as unexpected and simple. Thus, the pleasure one gets from reading is not in the story itself but in the illusion which the author creates. In order to determine the time and place of the crime, the manner in which it was committed, the motive and identity of the killer, consciously or unconsciously, certain rules are followed: the separation of a particular group of people from the surrounding world so that no one can leave or come; the absence of simple solutions using the *deus ex machina* procedure; the facts behind the mystery are the principles on which the mystery is built. Detective fiction is therefore not a game, but a problem which must be solved.

Stefano Tani (1984) summarizes the conventional detective story definitions of a fictional narrative in which an amateur or professional detective tries to rationally solve a mysterious event – mostly crime, usually murder. This definition rests on three elements: the detective, detection, and solution. Their order is distinctly chronological, and any disturbance of that order causes the whole sequence to be altered or undermined. Other than these basic features, there is the explanation of crime-mysteries, suspense (interaction between detection and solution, and their play with the expectation of the reader), and the delay in the solution (usually caused by a mistake).

Tani believes that the solution is the most important element because it is the last and roundest connection to the remaining sequences, part of which confirms and realizes genre identity and meaning (Tani 1984, 41). It is curious that contrary to the usual sense of discovery, and the scientific first and foremost, there is a detective turned to the past. This means that the detective uses scientific methods, but his discovery is from the past, archeological.

Stefania Ciocia (internet) looks at the so-called metaphysical, metafictional, or anti-detective literature and its position in the history of this genre within the ideological interpretation of the solution. The prefixes anti-, metaphysical or meta-fictional, indicate how contemporary authors have managed to unify the post-modernistic loss of end and completeness, as well as the lack of solid, secure ontological categories by a literary formula which has traditionally been based on solution-conclusion and logical interpretation of reality, and provided answers regarding the problem of order and order disruption in the form of an explanatory end. These prefixes indicate a modification of the detective formula and a shift from epistemological (whodunit) to ontological concepts. In the postmodern literature, there is a revision of the detective genre in terms of replacing epistemological aspirations with questions related to the post cognitive.

Ciocia states that each period, i.e. the detective school has a different (ideological) attitude toward the solution. In classical detective fiction, there was an ideology which rested on the belief in the detective's epistemological powers. Detection was presented as an elite, moral, and conservative intellectual game. The detective relied on a rational and

contemplative approach to the case, remaining completely emotionally distant from it, with no personal interest. The ultimate goal of the game is to return, not to re-examine the status quo, whose ideology *a priori* is not questioned.

The postmodern antidetective fiction emphasizes the significance and effect of the detective's hermeneutic act through a provocative lack (or suspension, or parody) of the solution. Postmodern detectives apply hard-boiled epistemological and moral skepticism to the literary medium itself. To show this, Stefania Ciocia uses Bart's picture from "The Literature of Exhaustion", in which Dariasada realizes that the key to the treasure is the treasure itself. In this sense, the solution in the postmodern detective genre is not achieved by connecting pieces of the puzzle, but through imagination. Calvino calls it a mental model through which events are lived, that is, a mental model through which events are ascribed meaning (Calvino 2001, 141). The act of detection becomes an act of invention, both in the epistemological sense of retrieval as well as in the sense of *ex novo*: the task of the detective/writer is not to reconstruct the existing order. On the contrary, he has to let reality pass through his own narrative filters which make life understandable and therefore possible to live.

6. THE CRIME IN DETECTIVE FICTION

Interestingly, although the detective genre has something to do with crime, it is never viewed separately, but always in the context of a mystery and/or solution. Also, almost everyone agrees that homicide is primary among other crimes. For example, Lyubov Romanchuk believes that the detective genre depicts the process of exposing a crime. Ernest Bloch (1970, 421–426) singled out the development of the judiciary as essential to the emergence of the detective genre: before the introduction of indications, it was tried "by feel" or by duress. It was only with the inclusion of the judiciary which insisted on proper procedure that the arrest warrant and the court proceedings were created. Therefore, even an account of the detective's work on indications cannot be older than the indicative procedure.

According to Bloch, the features of the detective genre are threefold. First, there is the tension of the prosecution. The second is uncovering, discovering, and the third deals with events which need to be extracted from the untold event, the one before the story. The last feature is most characteristic of detective fiction and is exceptional, even more so than the character of the detective – before the first chapter, before the first word of the text, something happened and is to be sought and to be discovered, but no one, not even the narrator, knows what. The crime took place outside the text and should be reported through the text – that presentation is also the main theme of the detective genre. Although built on blood and corpses, these attractions do not really matter to a good detective story. They just cause a purely intellectual effort, figuring out who the perpetrator is. A forensic amateur is often a bohemian, unemployed and lives in leisure, but what catches his eye is what no one notices according to habit or scheme. Aside from being talkative, the detective also has another trait which is characteristic of lawyers – suspicion.

Jerry McCoy (2003) states that (classic) detective fiction is mostly housed in a segregated setting (e.g., rural England) and includes a small number of characters. Crime is usually murder because it is considered to be worthy of the representation and length awarded in a novel. The detective holds the central position, and through examining and studying clues as well as reasoning ability, solves the mystery. During this process, a large

number of wrong clues and episodes emerge and almost all the characters have some secret which they try to hide, as well as a reason for killing. The detective is forced to sort out the clues, dismiss the irrelevant ones, and dwell on the significant ones. During this, the character who eventually turns out to be innocent initially acts as the culprit. If the author plays by the "rules", the solution will be logical and probably based on the clues shown throughout the text. It is always delivered through dramatic speech which assures the listeners (characters) of the detective's proper explanation of the necessary, real clues.

7. THE DETECTIVE IN DETECTIVE FICTION

From the beginning of detective fiction, the detective has been singled out as a distinctive figure of the genre. As part of his basic background, the first authors-critics (Chesterton, Van Dine, etc.) cited intellectual (and scientific) abilities. Although he did not stand out in anything (Sayers spoke of the tendency of producing detectives striking only in their ordinary ways), Holmes' eccentricity was taken as the dominant characteristic.

Helmut Heissenbüttel (1983, 79–92) states that there are two striking pairs of detectives: one who firmly, even brutally breaks his opponents, occasionally being beaten up until he finds the perpetrator, and the other who, through fact-finding and combinatorial puzzle-solving, turns what at first seems confusing and difficult to understand into something logical and understandable. But the difference between logicians and violent detectives is only apparent and not so pronounced since one method does not excludes the other. Basically, the detective genre is a variation of a single story. All the "realistic" elements in these stories, such as psychological, economic, or social characteristics, are organized to fit a game matrix which can be encoded and decoded. Molding is accomplished through two procedures: reduction and abnormality. In the first case, motives and characters are not examined, but the action is played by a pattern, while the second involves the introduction of strange and bizarre characters or motifs, as is the case with the orangutan from Poe's "The Murders in the Rue Morgue".

Keszthelyi (Кёстхейи 1989, 56–97) offered the following classification of detectives: a puzzle detective (Doyle), a historical detective (John D. Carr), a social detective (D. Sayers), a police story (Edgar Wallace), a realistic (E. S. Gardner), naturalistic (Dashiell Hammett), or literary one (Georges Simenon). Bavin (Бавин 1991, 93) added a (super) intellectual detective to this, and Romanchuk (internet) completed the list by introducing: scientific (O. Friman, F. Krofts), intuitive (G. Chesterton, A. Christie), delinquent detectives (Arsen Lupen, M. Leblanc), black novel detectives and metaphysical detectives.[6]

René Dietrich (internet) uses Lacanian discourse also based on the figure of the investigator, i.e. the relationship between the self and the other, and distinguishes between detective fiction and postmodern noir. The author considers noir a modernist form which portrays the world of shaken moral values and the researcher as the only one who can restore integrity. In the postmodern noir, such a position is abandoned, and a complete disintegration is shown. The difference between these two forms is primarily connected to identity. To prove this, Dietrich distinguishes three types of investigators: the stable, lost, and duplicate.

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[6] In his extensive bibliography, Allen J. Hubin distinguishes between 6 types of serial characters: the adventurer, amateur, criminal, police officer, private detective and spy (Hubin 1984).

The stable investigator dominates the modernist noir, with Spade and Marlowe as characteristic representatives, while the lost and the duplicate occur in the postmodern. In contrast to modernist investigators who are wholly free and independent, postmodernism has shown a lack of control and integrity from the beginning. They are lost both in terms of the lack of some internal principle to rely on, i.e. they are lost in themselves, and in terms of disorientation in the outside world. Investigators in the postmodern are haunted by their past and, in an attempt to break free of addiction and connection to it, portray the usual illusion that one can escape from the past. As the hero brings his whole self into the investigation, the lost investigators are doomed to misinterpret events, lose control of the narrative, and endanger their own identity through corruption and self-deception. In the general neutralization of the dichotomy in the postmodern noir, the shift towards an unstable investigator identity leads to the disappearance of the usual opposition between the investigator and the object of investigation, whether it is a planned-out crime or a missing person. For a lost investigator, this means losing one's identity through identification with the criminal or missing person, or leads to a role reversal when the detective becomes a criminal or missing person.

A duplicate (split) investigator radicalizes the state of the lost. Not only does he lack a complete control and stability from the beginning, but every concept he has about his own integrity proves to be an illusion. More than being persecuted by the fallacies and mistakes of the past, his entire existence is corruption and deception. The failure of the investigation leads him to a state which shows how every concept of identity and self-awareness disintegrates into nothing. The misinterpretations which condition the loss of control over the narrative are based not only on the wrong judgments of what is happening around him but on the misconceptions of one's own existence. The investigator's illusions can be linked to the split of his personality, the fragmentation of identity. He is not fully aware of this split, but in the end, he inevitably faces it. In the wake of the postmodernist state of collapse of the opposition, the split investigator becomes the object of self-inquiry. That is why two classic opposites come together in one person. In the end, either side wins or they neutralize each other. The fragmentation of the character and his status can be linked both to the unsuccessful attempt to reconcile with the past, and can also be used to disclose the pervasive false narratives and evil aspects of self-deception.

8. CONCLUSION

Formalist-structuralist grammars take into account actants, i.e. central elements of the detective genre syntax: the plot, enigma, mystery, solution, crime, detective. These elements are viewed as interdependent – due to the relationships they establish in the text. The role of the reader and the context has only been mentioned and everything stems from and comes down to the detective. Turning to the discourse – contextual and cognitive aspects of the detective genre will bring post-structuralism and post-classical narratology, which will complete the aforementioned research and open the way to new domains: phylogenetic (gender, racial, colonial) and ontogenetic (mental and emotional).

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GRAMATIKA DETEKTIVIKE

U ovom radu bavimo se sintaksom, odnosno gramatikom detektivskog žanra. Naglašavanjem pojma gramatike ističemo da je reč o poetikama formalista i strukturalista koji su smatrali da svaka detektivska priča predstavlja deo jedne veće apstraktne strukture i kao svoj osnovni zadatak uzimali su opisivanje te strukture nastojeći da dođu do gramatike detektivskog narativa. „Glavni junak″ proučavanja jeste zaplet (siže) koji je izdvajan kao pogodan za eksplikaciju opštih principa po kojima narativi funkcionišu. S obzirom na to da su formalističko-strukturalističke gramatike u fokus uzimale aktante, tj. centralne elemente sintakse detektivskog žanra, rad je baziran na prikazu najznačajnijih poetoloških uvida o fabuli (zapletu), enigmi, tajni, rešenju, zločinu i detektivu. Ovi elementi posmatraju se u međusobnoj zavisnosti – odnosima koje uspostavljaju u tekstu. Uloga čitaoca i konteksta samo je pomenuta i sve proizilazi i svodi se na detektiva. Definisanje gramatike detektivskog žanra omogućilo je okretanje diskursnim – kontekstualnim i kognitivnim – aspektima u poststrukturalizmu i postklasičnoj naratologiji što će upotpuniti pomenuta istraživanja i otvoriti put ka novim domenima: filogenetskim (rodnim, rasnim, kolonijalnim) i ontogenetskim (mentalnim i emotivnim).

Ključne reči: *zaplet, enigma, tajna, rešenje, zločin, detektiv*

NUANCE OF ANIMISM IN THE PROSE OF ŽIVKO ČINGO

UDC 821.163.3.09-32 Čingo Ž.

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Abstract. *Starting from the theoretical settings of folklore study, history of religion, anthropology and psychoanalysis, this paper studies the elements of animistic beliefs in the prose of the Macedonian writer Živko Čingo. The research material consists of the short stories "Духови в куќи", "Вљубениот дух", "Лудите роднини во борба со прекобното пиле" and "Пеперуга со златна прав". The aim of this paper is to confirm that these stories establish a link with animism and the belief in the existence of soul in all animate and inanimate entities and phenomena in nature, and the belief that the soul continues to live after death.*

Key words: *Macedonian literature, Živko Čingo, animism, spirit, soul, life*

1. INTRODUCTION

Animism (from the Latin word *anima* meaning BREATH, SOUL, LIFE), in a broader sense, entails the belief that spirits can reside in animate and inanimate entities and phenomena. Pejović (1989: 27) describes it as faith in independent mental or spiritual beings outside or above everything bodily, which act on or govern our lives, namely the initial stage of every religion, i.e. the main feature of primitive mentality. Animism, in Pejović's opinion, should be distinguished from animatism, which refutes the thesis that animism is the initial religious stage. He advocates the theory that the original religion was based on faith in something supersensible, a powerful belief in some spiritual other which permeates everything bodily and is found in everything that surrounds man.

The animistic theory was established by Edward B. Tylor, an evolutionist, historian of religion and anthropologist, in his study *Primitive Culture* (1871). Tylor (1871) defines animism as the first stage of evolutionary religious development. He proposes the hypothesis that the primitive man believed in the existence of a sensual, visible, extrasensory, and invisible world that one enters in a dream. The primitive man believed

that the soul continues to live after death, and that both animals and plants possess a soul. The souls of the dead can visit the living and determine their destiny, which leads further to the idea of immortality and the development of a cult of the dead. Tylor (1871: 260) states the following:

"Animism takes in several doctrines which so forcibly conduce to personification, that savages and barbarians, apparently without an effort, can give consistent individual life to phenomena that our utmost stretch of fancy only avails to personify in conscious metaphor. An idea of pervading life and will in nature far outside modern limits, a belief in personal souls animating even what we call inanimate bodies, a theory of transmigration of souls as well in life as after death, a sense of crowds of spiritual beings, sometimes flitting to the air, but sometimes also inhabiting trees and rocks and waterfalls, and so lending their personality to such material objects..."

Subsequent scientific discussions related to the theory of animism and especially to the theory of the so-called common ancestors of mankind, discussed their, not so naive colonialist background. This would first lead to a partial rejection of the term animism, and then to its revision within various scientific disciplines: philosophy, ethnology, child psychology, studies in folklore (cf. Harvey 2005).

Animistic beliefs are, therefore, present in all nations of the world, and according to most theorists, they appear at the earliest stage of religious development. Among the Slavs, they are also widespread and originate from the distant pagan past. The encyclopedic dictionary *Словенска митологија* states that Slavic paganism carried in itself not only animatistic beliefs (the belief that everything in nature is alive → stone, fire, wood, thunder), but also animistic beliefs (i.e. notions of the soul), which were probably related to later needs concerning the transcendence of the soul (i.e. its ability to pass to another body) and the ability of various metamorphoses of supernatural beings which transform into a goat, a dog, a cat, a child, etc. After the conversion of the Slavs to Christianity, supernatural beings, being given the name unclean force, had a human, anthropomorphic, animal - zoomorphic or mixed anthropomorphic-zoomorphic form. This force, according to the belief of the old Slavs - pagans, inhabited the entire universe, they encountered it, and it was dangerous, although it did not always lead to a bad and tragic end. This force could be propitiated and even scared away, which was done in accordance with special rituals and traditions. It seems that the Slavs in the VI century had not only something like a pantheon of Gods or local "tribal" pantheons, but they were close to monotheism, the belief in the supreme, but not yet a single one, Christian God.

The famous Serbian historian of religion Čajkanović (1994: 71–74), in his writings about the soul, points out that, according to folk beliefs, the soul can be either organic, i.e. dynamic, tied to one part of the body, or to the whole body, or something different from the body, and it can be, temporarily or once and for all, separated. In the latter case, the soul is free, and has the *character of a separate person*; the soul is, for the most part, man's 'spiritual' duplicate, his alter ego, his psyche [...] Our people, starting from various understandings, sometimes refer to that soul by the name (word) of the *duša* (in its narrowest meaning); on other occasions they call the soul by the name *sen* (shadow). The word *duša* (which is, both in its form and meaning, common Slavic word and therefore both the word and the term are very old) is etymologically related to *blowing* [...] therefore, it originally represents human breath, i.e. the *last* breath, with which all life functions are extinguished (Čajkanović 1994: 71–74).

The meaning of the soul as a spiritual duplicate is also found in Jung's reflections on the archetypes of anima and animus. From Jung's point of view, anima is an archetype of the

female and female label in the male psyche, which can have both positive and negative connotations ("The anima is a personification of all feminine psychological tendencies in a man' s psyche , such as vague feelings and moods, prophetic hunches, receptiveness to the irrational, capacity for personal love, feeling for nature , and — last but not least — his relation to the unconscious" (Jung 1988: 176), and vice versa, animus represents the male component of the female psyche ("The male personification of the unconscious in woman — the animus exhibits both good and bad aspects, as does the anima in man. But the animus does not so often appear in the form of an erotic fantasy or mood; it is more apt to take the form of a hidden `sacred` conviction" (Ibid: 189)). Both anima and animus are sometimes demons of death. In fact, Jung (1971: 243) points out that the concept of the soul is subject to multiple interpretations, that the soul is at the same time connected with the maternal aspect of the earth and the sublime aspect of the sky, and that it signifies the personification of unconscious contents:

"Looked at historically, the soul, that many-faceted and much interpreted concept, refers to a psychological content that must possess a certain measure of autonomy within the limits of consciousness. If this were not so, man would never have hit on the idea of attributing an independent existence to the soul, as though it were some objectively perceptible thing. It must be a content in which spontaneity is inherent, and hence also partial unconsciousness, as with every autonomous complex "[...] „As against this historical evolution of the idea of the soul, analytical psychology opposes the view that the soul does not coincide with the totality of the psychic functions. We define the soul on the one hand as the relation to the unconscious, and on the other as a personification of unconscious contents. From the civilized standpoint it may seem deplorable that personifications of unconscious contents still exist, just as a man with a differentiated consciousness might well lament the existence of contents which are still unconscious. But since analytical psychology is concerned with man as he is and not with man as he would like to be, we have to admit that those same phenomena which impel the primitive to speak of "souls" still go on happening, just as there are still countless people among civilized nations who believe in ghosts."

In the context of the theory of animism, the thinking of Émile Durkheim is also important, as presented in the book *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Namely, Durkheim writes about the existence of two closely connected and permeated religions, which, however, differ from each other. These are naturalism and animism. The former addresses things of nature such as great cosmic forces such as winds, rivers, stars, the sky, or it addresses various objects on earth, plants, animals, rocks, while the object of the latter are the spiritual beings as its object, spirits, souls, geniuses, demons, divinities properly so-called, animated and conscious agents like man, but distinguished from him, nevertheless, by the nature of their powers and especially by the peculiar characteristic that they do not affect the senses in the same way: ordinarily they are not visible to human eyes (Durkheim 2012, 49). Animism pays special attention to the cult of spirit and soul, and these concepts, according to Durkheim, cannot be equated. The dream experience suggested the idea of the soul, which could be reduced to the idea of a double. Accordingly, Durkheim (Ibid: 52) points to the connection of the soul and the body, especially in the state of sleep, when the soul leaves the body for a certain period and returns to it at the time of awakening, while the spirit is connected exclusively with the moment of impending death:

"Thus it seems that it too consists in a separation of the soul and the body, analogous to that produced every night; but as in such cases, the body is not reanimated, the idea is

formed of a separation without an assignable limit of time. When the body is once destroyed—and funeral rites have the object of hastening this destruction—the separation is taken as final. Hence come spirits detached from any organism and left free in space. As their number augments with time, a population of souls forms around the living population. These souls of men have the needs and passions of men; they seek to concern themselves with the life of their companions of yesterday, either to aid them or to injure them, according to the sentiments which they have kept towards them. According to the circumstances, their nature makes them either very precious auxiliaries or very redoubtable adversaries. Owing to their extreme fluidity, they can even enter into the body, and cause all sorts of disorders there, or else increase its vitality. Thus comes the habit of attributing to them all those events of life which vary slightly from the ordinary: there are very few of these for which they cannot account. Thus they constitute a sort of ever-ready supply of causes which never leaves one at a loss when in search of explanations. Does a man appear inspired, does he speak with energy, is it as though he were lifted outside himself and above the ordinary level of men? It is because a good spirit is in him and animates him. Is he overtaken by an attack or seized by madness? It is because an evil spirit has entered into him and brought him all this trouble. There are no maladies which cannot be assigned to some influence of this sort. Thus the power of souls is increased by all that men attribute to them, and in the end men find themselves the prisoners of this imaginary world of which they are, however, the authors and the models. They fall into dependence upon these spiritual forces which they have created with their own hands and in their own image. For if souls are the givers of health and sickness, of goods and evils to this extent, it is wise to conciliate their favor or appease them when they are irritated; hence come the offerings, prayers, sacrifices, in a word, all the apparatus of religious observances"

2. ANIMISM IN ČINGO'S STORIES

Within the stated theoretical reflections on animism, we will discuss the stories "Духови в куќи", "Вљубениот дух", "Лудите роднини во борба со прекобното пиле" and "Пеперуга со златна прав" by the contemporary Macedonian writer Živko Čingo. Essentially, the stories are based on the popular belief that the human soul can reside in objects, animals and plants, that the deceased's spirit can wander in the gap between mundane and spiritual reality and that the souls live forever.

With a narrative process based on folklore patterns, mythical-magical and archetypal images and plays, Živko Čingo depicts the period after the Second World War in Macedonia, marked by the differentiation of two dialectics which try to control each other: communist utopias and Pagan-Christian mystics. Although the new communist world seeks to destroy the old traditional religious system violently, it hovers over it like a shadow, penetrating all its pores, since archetypes have a strong energy potential of the past and memory and take place on an impulsive and instinctive, collectively unconscious level. As Jung believed (1990, 224), archetypes are typical forms of understanding, and wherever there are uniform and correctly repeated understandings, it is an archetype, regardless of whether its mythological character is known or not." The collective unconscious consists of the sum of instincts and their correlates, archetypes. As every man possesses instincts, so he possesses primordial images.

The stories of Živko Čingo, the subject of our analysis, establish a strong connection with the animistic beliefs of the Macedonian folklore, which is confirmed by the fact that

the nouns *дух* and *душа* are repeated many times, and the noun spirit even in the titles: "Spirits in the house" and "A spirit in love". Everything animate and inanimate in these tales has a soul, and spirits can be good and evil, come from the other world, and inhabit animals and other beings. The primitive soul, Dil (1991, 21) observes, projects its own intentionality (human motives) not only onto the transcendent image of the deity but also into everything that exists in reality: onto animals, plants, and even inanimate objects as objects of desires and fears. It seems to us that the entire nature is inspired by good or bad intentions towards us, depending on our merits or sins.

With a slight irony, in "Духови в куќи" Čingo writes the short story that spirits, despite the empirical logic of the twentieth century, exist:

> "Сите говореа немат веќе духови, дваесетти век, а ете нив да ги имало. Скриени живееле во разни предмети, во дрвјата, во водите, а некои во животните." (Čingo 1992: 373).

The main source of this story is in the folk belief in the existence of evil spirits, which can occur in various beings, objects and phenomena in nature. In this story, the evil spirit has moved into a dog that howls for weeks, and thus not only invokes and foretells evil and misfortune, but they also reside in himself.

In many mythologies, the dog is identified with the underworld and hell. In Serbian and Macedonian folk beliefs, the dog is also given the power of divination, that is, by his howling he senses the death in the house. The dog is the guardian of the border of social and wild space from the center of the social, where the human house is located, to the border of the wild space (Radenković 1996, 99). The border feature of the dog precisely gives the understanding that the dog can announce illness or death (Ibid), which is also the case in Čingo's short story "Духови в куќи".

The conflict situation in the story arises from confronting two different beliefs. Namely, on the one hand, the dog is given predictive meanings and meanings of a chthonic mythical character, an evil spirit and demon, a messenger of death, a psychopomp who must be destroyed in order for life to continue. On the other hand, there are totemic beliefs that a brotherhood or tribe can be related to an animal, in this case to a dog, and that the animal is a taboo and must not be killed, because that would harm the whole fraternity, i.e. the tribe.

The story of spirits introduces the reader to an inner, immanent narrative, motivated by the arrival of an unknown man on a horse from a "distant, desolate road" to the protagonist's family home, who is a boy who lives in fear and dread because the youngest member of the family lies on his deathbed. In accordance with the folk customs of the special status of the guest and the indication of hospitality, the boy's father allows the stranger to spend the night in the house. The description and metamorphosis of a stranger at the moment when he hears the howling of a dog near the well, determine his mythical and status of a representative of another world, already hinted by the status of a guest and the space from which he comes:

> "Мал, неубав, слабо, грдо човече, со црни болчиња на лицето, лицето му беше како грбот на крастава жаба, но како мавташе со рачињата, како тупотеше со ножињата, како испушташе некои гласови,‒некако почнуваше да се престорува во друг. Како да не беше тој, туку некој друг, поголем, поубав од него, силен, не некој со краста на лицето, туку со добри очи, светли. Едно време толку многу ме занесе што моравме да помислиме, - сигурно тој беше некој старински човек, божем, во старо време малите луѓе биле големи, слабите најсилни, секако се престорувале,‒навистина така

било во старо време,– сосема ја оставивме играта и се загледавме о него сиромашкиот,– како деца проклето кога ќе се загледаат во нешто. Но тој веќе не гледаше во нас, еден момент вресна како јаре, викна: - „Пријателе! Еј пријателе!" – викаше по татко ми сѐ така мавтајќи со малите рачиња час удирајќи по себе, час замавнувајќи во воздухот, со нешто како да се бореше, при секое негово замавнување од лево од десно ќе чуевме пискотница, навистина. После се јави духот." (Čingo 1992, 376)

Judging by the status given to the stranger, he was expected to take the initiative and order the father to kill the dog, which howls ominously in order to save the life of a sick child. The hesitation of the head of the family to kill a dog should be interpreted in the context of taboos, as it was pointed out above; he will do that only at the urging of his wife and the mother of the sick child. This gives preference to the feminine and maternal principle in the structure of the family community.

On the other hand, the place next to the well was not chosen by chance, since the well is at the same time the border between the two worlds, the entrance to the underworld and to the other side (cf. Kulišić, Petrović, Pantelić 1970, 57; Tolstoj Radenković 2001, 58), while water is the element especially attractive for the soul [...] It has the power of attraction because in the underworld, according to the general understandings of both Semitic and Indo-European people, there is eternal thirst (Čajkanović: 82).

The short story "Вљубениот дух", which is a true poetic miniature, is one of Čingo's most successful narrative achievements. Prosopopoeia is the basis of its stylistic formation, permeated with the belief that death does not mean the ending and that great desire and strong love can summon the spirit of the deceased:

"Ѝ зборуваше на покојната, со неа разговараше, како да е жива, како да се сами, како да се во својата куќа, заедно со своето детенце [...] Но тој ништо живо не го делеше од гробот, никого не слушаше, тој ја бараше неа, својата жена, ја колнеше во рожбата да му се врати, зашто дома, рече, ми те чека нашето сунце, нашето дете, тоа само тебе ми те бара, ништо не го смирува [...] Човекот умира, ама духот живее, духот не се закопува, има едни такви души кои остануваат вечно, не се губат..." (Čingo 1992, 403, 404).

The thematic basis is the story of the teacher Cvetan Cvetanoski, who after the death of his beloved wife Ana became estranged from the world and in a remote village shortened his hours of loneliness by writing his own thoughts about life in a diary. In this story, as noted by (Georgievski 1985, 121), Čingo applies a more complex procedure while building the hero's irrationality. By introducing the diary text, the author-witness separates the hero from external events towards the unconscious, towards the obsessive motive, thus deepening his tragedy. (Georgievski 1985, 121)

The figure of the prosopopoeia and the diary are, therefore, the main bearers of the narrative flow, motivated by the arrival of hunters in the mountain village of Zovič and meeting the teacher Cvetan Cvetanoski and the school servant Jančulo. In the middle of horrible winter devastation of a mountain village, the teacher tells the story of a young woman from Zovič Ana who died after giving birth, whose husband could not get over it, and every day, as someone called him, he went to the grave and returned from the cemetery happier, pronouncing aloud and writing down in a notebook always the same verse: "Зимско цвеќе, зимско цвеќе некој ти фрлил во гробот, љубов!" (Čingo 1992, 399). Having in mind the words of Radenković (1996, 40) that the other world is seen as the space of eternal silence, one of the fences towards it is the 'sound' wall, the verses

that the protagonist utters aloud obsessively in a certain form represent a defense mechanism and non-acceptance of reality, with which the compulsive action of going to the cemetery is deeply connected. In such a symbolic frame is given the ringing of window panes, which precedes the appearance of a beautiful woman at the window:

> "Тоа беше на годината од смртта на жената, истото време, пролетно, грееше силно сонце на небото, а и врнеше, се топеше снегот, капајците како молзници течеа. Едно време во ушиве ми зазвонија стакленцата на прозорчето, не обратив много внимание првиот пат, не обратив поголемо внимание, оти на клинчина се држеа стаклата, без туткал, па нормално што зазвони. Бележев нешто, што се вели, бев под инспирација, а тоа свони, суни! Просто ме повикува, гледам на стакленцето прекрасен женски лик, непозната ми се смее, ми зборува нешто,... Мислам ми се причинува, виножито, сонцето и дождот се помешале, дури си ги протрив и очиве, нели... А таа се смее, сонце грее, чудесен призрак косата цела во срма, на главата венче, бело променета, невеста... О боже, занемев!" (Čingo 1992, 406)

The peculiarity of the other world, its laws, limited knowledge, but also the mysterious and close connections between the earthly and the otherworldly are reflected in the final segment of the story when the apparition disappears the moment the teacher approaches the window, opens it, and then disappears into the night as if blown away by the wind.

The story "Луди роднини во борба со прекобното пиле" is close to the story "Духови в куќи" and the story "Вљубениот дух". The plot of the story is constructed on the belief that the chicken has the power to predict "time, arrival of a guest, journey or death" (Kulišić, Petrović, Pantelić 1970, 243).

The protagonist of the story returns from Frankfurt to his native village to inform Venda, his sister (uncle's daughter), that her fiancé was dead. Venda lived with her grandmother Andja and they were his only relatives. The plan of realistic motivation in the framework segment gives way to the inner story, stylized in the form of a dream, before the magical reality - the boundaries between dream and reality, life and death are completely erased. The real moment is crossed with the irrational. In the attic, Venda virtuously plays some strange instrument while grandmother Andja listens to her carefully and praises her playing. The astonishment is realized by their inability to see the physical presence of the main character in the yard and the family house. In the main character this strangeness will evoke the memory of the war in which his father was killed and the moment when an ominous chicken appeared and the grandmother started fighting him. Transferred to a symbolic level, this conflict meant a battle with an unclean force for the life of another son, who also took part in the war:

> "Од тој момент почна таа ужасна борба меѓу баба и тоа пиле, ни секунда не губеше баба. Како ветар влезе во куќата, најде неке тенеке за жито, го зеде тоа и со него како некоја чергарка тропајќи, викајќи појде низ нашата градина. Одеше од дрво до дрво, удираше сè посилно и посилно, а глас како да имаше за илјада луѓе, и сигурно сите тоа го слушаа во долината, и поблиску и подалеку ечеше." (Čingo 1992, 441)

After the news arrived that Venda's father had returned from the war, the chicken disappeared in order to reappear in the real time frame of the final part of the story, shaped by elements of oneiric fiction. Hero is woken up from the dream by the familiar voice of an ominous chicken and the wondrous music coming from the yard. Down, in the yard, some unknown children were choosing the instruments. Venda, dressed in a white wedding dress, beautiful as a fairy, walks slowly holding a miraculous instrument in

her hands. Behind her, together with other children, runs the grandmother masterfully performing a song on some, strange instrument. The whole valley is filled with that strange music never heard before. It could be concluded that this is, in fact, a ritual of a magical nature, where the impure forces are dispersed by playing miraculous and unusual instruments. According to the *Српски митолошки речник*, sound is used in beliefs to scare and chase evil spirits and demons. It is produced by shouting and using rattles, drums, tree trumpets, banging on metal objects, bell, rifle shooting and pistols (cf. Kulišić, Petrović, Pantelić 1970, 146). At the end of the story, the hero himself becomes part of the magic-ritual, takes the instrument and joins his relatives.

In the short story "Пеперуга со златна прав", the main character, a young man Lem, is described as being the most in love out of all the boys, the most in love in the whole human race:

> "Беше сосема сам. И заљубен. Ох, заљубен, слободно речете луд. Сосема изветреа братучедот Лем, беше заљубен како ѓавол." (Čingo 1992, 308)

Considering that the main character Lem possessed the power to turn into a seed, into a spike, into a grain, and into everything that exists, the Paskvelians were convinced that there was a converted demon hiding in him, who had the ability to enchant girls and who is to be avoided to keep his distance and avoid him. What made Lem different from others and special was his talent for telling stories. He tells stories about a butterfly with gold dust on its wings, about the queen of butterflies, fairies in which all girls believe, and after those stories he is also called a butterfly with gold dust.

Between the butterfly and the soul, in this story, certain analogies have been established, which have their basis in Slavic folk beliefs, where the butterfly is often associated with representations of demons, that is, it represents a soul that can move independently of the body (Kulišić, Petrović, Pantelić 1970, 204-205), then in the belief that the soul that is leaving the body of the deceased has the shape of a butterfly, that is, he is the incarnation of the soul. (cf. Tolstoy, Radenković 2001, 335), as well as in Christian symbolism, where the butterfly symbolizes a soul deprived of its body envelope (Gerbran, Ševalije 2004, 488).

3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Živko Čingo transferred different conceptions and traditional images of spirit and soul to the level of his stories as symbolic signs of an invisible reality which has a strong effect on man. Just leaving Paskvelija - the Garden of Eden, after the communists came to power, is a distant echo of the belief in the duality of the soul and symbolizes the loss of the existential essence of the Paskvelian folklore religious man. Paskvelians are transformed into shadows, into dead souls (which is in accordance with Jung's definition of shadow as a set of hidden, unsuitable properties of the psyche, insufficiently developed functions and contents of the unconscious), and Paskvelija itself into the Desert, into a world of darkness without rays of light.[1]

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[1] Based on the adapted and revised version of the chapter "Animistička verovanja u prozi Živka Činga" in Kostadinović, D. (2014), *Elementi magičnog realizma u prozi Slobodana Džunića i Živka Činga* (Unpublished doctoral thesis), University of Belgrade, Serbia.

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TRAGOVI ANIMIZMA U PROZI ŽIVKA ČINGA

Polazeći od teoretskih postavki folkloristike, istorije religije, antropologije i psihoanalize, u radu se izučavaju elementi animističkih verovanja u prozi makedonskog pisca Živka Činga. Građu za istraživanje čine pripovetke „Duhovi u kući“, „Zaljubljeni duh“, „Ludi rođaci u borbi sa zlokobnim piletom“ i „Leptir sa zlatnim prahom“. Cilj rada je da potvrdi da navedene pripovetke uspostavljaju sponu sa animizmom i verom u postojanje duše u svim živim i neživim stvarima i pojavama u prirodi i verom da duša nastavlja da živi i nakon smrti.

Ključne reči: *makedonska književnost, Živko Čingo, animizam, duh, duša, sen*

THE VERNACULAR OF NIŠ IN CHILDREN'S POETRY
OD MALEČKO DO GOLEMO

UDC 821.163.41.09-93 Vojinović Masončić S.
811.163.41'282.2

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Abstract. *The paper analyses dialectal features of the collection of poems for children* Od malečko do golemo *by Slavka Vojinović Masončić. The collection was published in Niš in 2018, and it represents one of rare examples of literature for children written in a dialect. This collection has caught the public's attention through social networks, primarily because of the poem "Nole, tatko na tenis". The subject matter of the majority of poems refers to childhood, children's joys and tricks. The poems have incited a significant interest with readers, primarily due to the Prizren-South Morava dialect. The aim of this paper is to describe phonetic, morphological, syntactic and lexical characteristics of the poems, to compare the determined linguistic image with the dialectal descriptions of the vernacular language of the city of Niš, and, therefore, to link the language of the poems to the subject matter, which should lead to the conclusions about the stylistic function of dialects in a literary work.*

Key words: *Serbian language, literature for children, literature in dialect, Prizren-South Morava dialect, the vernacular of Niš*

1. INTRODUCTION

The collection of poems called *Od malečko do golemo* was written by a poet from Niš, Slavka Masončić Vojinović, and was published in 2018 in Niš. The book contains fifty poems which are grouped in six units: *Od malečko do golemo*, *Vragolije i drugo ludovanje*, *Dani u nedelju*, *Pesme od živuljke*, *Pesme od kišu i ostale padavine*, *Starovremske rabote*. The poet introduces the reader to her poetry for children through a prologue written in a dialect, *Ja radoznala*, and at the end of the collection she provides a glossary (*Rečnik od manje poznate reči i izrazi*).

The poem through the public attention was directed towards this collection within the wider area of the Serbian language is dedicated to one of our outstanding persons from the tennis world, Novak Đoković. Therefore, it could be said that the verses have also become universal regardless of the fact that they were written in a dialect:

> *Кој ће с тебе Ноле,*
> *Кад ти раван нема?*
> *Тепаш ги сви редом,*
> *Ту нема дилема [...]*

This paper analyses the most pronounced dialectalisms which mark children's poetry. This includes phonetic, morphological, syntactic and lexical dialectalisms and they have a stylogenic function. This stylogenic intention is recognized in the author's words: "Свет си постао баш озбиљан, па с ове неозбиљне песме, што терају у смејање, реши да си на сви заубавим живот" (The world has become quite serious, so through these non-serious poems, which make us laugh, I have decided to make everyone's life better) (Masončić Vojinović 2018, 6). It could be said that the poet's guide is to use the dialect in verses in a humorous way in order to incite laughter and spiritual relaxation in her readers. Her target groups are not only children but also their parents: "Ово што си овде написа, намени си и на родитељи и на деца, да се ово народско, „криво", или „сељачко" зборење сачува, да ни не удави овај модеран језик што га негују по разне телевизије" (What I have written here, I have intended for both parents and children, so that this folk "wrong" or "peasant" talk can be saved, so that we are not choked by this modern language which is nurtured by all kinds of television programs) (Masončić Vojinović 2018, 6). It is possible that parents have read it with understanding and that they have indeed experienced this humorous note, because, in these verses, they have recognized part of themselves, of their birth places and their vernaculars or mother tongues of their own parents. However, we cannot be quite certain that the same reaction has been achieved with children. After all, they are the generation raised along the change in dialects at all levels under the influence of the standard Serbian language. The consequence of creating a new variant of a dialect, and this refers to the way people from Niš talk, i.e. the vernacular of Niš, is the inability to understand the original or, at least, the older variant of the vernacular of Niš. The vernacular of Niš has been present in dialectological studies from the beginning of the last century, and it started with Aleksandar Belić, who included it in the research of the dialects of Eastern and Southern Serbia (Belić 1905). The French linguist, Paul-Louis Thomas, studied the speech varieties of Niš and villages around Niš and compared them with the works of Stevan Sremac (Thomas 1998). The comparison led to the conclusion that the vernacular of Niš in Sremac's day was much different from the vernacular of Niš during the 1980's. Many dialectal features, which distinguished the vernacular of Niš from other Serbian dialects, vanished or they became quite condensed (Thomas 1998, 437).

When it comes to the collection of poems for children, created in the second decade of the 21st century, the opposite has been noted. It seems that the poet has applied the dialect as a poetic language which differs from the language of children from Niš at the actual moment of writing. The fact is that there have lately been more and more authors who create in their mother tongue dialect, they return to their roots and they all have the same tendencies – to preserve their identity contained in language, or, as the author of these poems has pointed out: "Још мало, ови страни речови ће си протерају сви наши убави,

ђе останемо без рођен језик” (Very soon, these foreign words will banish all our beautiful ones, and we will remain without our own language) (Masončić Vojinović 2018, 6).

The collection starts with a convenient dedication, and this convenience is also reflected in the use of language: “На све моје Нишлије, малечки и големи и на моји Новосађани, Душана и Алексу, с љубав и голем радос” (To all my fellow citizens of Niš, small and big, and to my friends from Novi Sad, Dušan and Aleksa, with love and great joy), which confirms that this poetic creation is oriented towards the vernacular of Niš (Novi Sad is chosen due to personal family connections and it distances descendants further from their origin and the language of their ancestors), and the references to Niš are also in the microtoponyms mentioned in the following verses: *од Маргер до Тврђаву (30), одатле Чаир (30).*

2. THE ANALYSIS OF DIALECTALISMS

The analysis of dialectalisms from the collection of poems *Od malečko do golemo* refers to the typical dialectal features of the Prizren-Timok dialect of the Serbian language, particularly the Prizren-South Morava dialect, which includes the vernacular of Niš. The excerpted material is classified into categories, labelled as phonetic, morphological, syntactic and lexical dialectalisms.

2.1. Phonetic dialectalisms

Semivowel is an important feature of the Prizren-Timok dialects, and it is also present in this collection of poems. Although it has been determined that the semivowel (ə) occurs in the vernacular of Niš with a lower frequency than in the speech varieties of the surrounding villages, Paul-Louis Thomas confirmed that this sound also occurred in the city (Thomas 1998, 49–52). The author of the poems marks this sound with an apostrophe, which is the mode used by most of the authors who write in some of these dialects. In addition, the poet also uses the apostrophe in order to mark the place where it is noted that certain sound is missing, so this could lead to the conclusion that the semivowel is a non-existing sound, which it most certainly is not.

The examples in which the semivowel can be recognized: *маше си с'с обе руке (14)*, *т'мнина постаје (20)*, *не с'м бе птица бабче (20)*, *с'м у лето (25)*, *које с'г да радим (26)*, *по цел д'н викате (26)*, *с'м нешто браните (26)*, *с'с глупости (27)*, *с'с ногу (28)*, *туј су с'м приче (51)*, *несу с'г у моду (68)*, but also *па нам баба сад лудује (14)* etc.

The ekavian alteration of yat is a significant characteristic of the Prizren-Timok speech varieties, and the most prominent consistency of such reflex of yat is in the negative forms of the verb *jesam* (to be). The research conducted by Paul-Louis Thomas showed that the ekavian form of the negative form of this verb could most often be heard in the urban areas in its third-person singular form, whereby the form *nesam* was more frequent in villages, and the city of Niš had a universal form *nisam* (Thomas 1998, 217–218). The poems indeed contain the largest number of the form *neje*, but the form *nije* has also been used; *nesam* rarely occurrs:

неје баш млого тежак (10), *неје давно ништа јело (14)*, *ако несу вода (24)*, *несам принцеза (25)*, *несмо научили (27)*, *несам си лоша (26)*, *несам ни цвећка (26)*, *несу нешто (28)*, *неје погрешила (32)*, *деца несу крива (33)*, *неси се поломила (40)*, *неје за кукање (60)*, *несу с'г у моду (68)*, *неје по бонтон (71)*, *ништа неје лако (72)*,

неје ме срам (73), _неје све срећа (47)_, _неје баш млого тежак (10)_; but also _није из наш град (11)_, анђео гу _није раван (12)_, _није лошо (49)_, ни једно _није промашија (41)_.

The confirmed occurrences of syncope, apocope, elision, and haplology are mostly marked by an apostrophe:

од њег' (10), _ил' откривају (10)_, не _мог' да обуздам (13)_, _мож' да средиш (13)_, _ил па ветар дува (16)_, _ил' онда (16)_, _мож' си бидне лако (16)_, _мож ми се тако (25)_, ћу _мог' ли (27)_, _мож' те неко (19)_, не _мог' мусли (22)_, _мож' да бидне (29)_, _мож' млого да боли (29)_, _нит' па знам (32)_, _мож' се вежба свашта (37)_, пред _њег (37)_, _там' се пењу (40)_, _мож' си чујеш (41)_, не _мож' нигде (41)_, мајка ће си _мож' (50)_, _ман' се од астал (57)_, да _мож' да лети (58)_;

онолки апетит (23), _извол'те (30)_, _колко родитељи (33)_; _колки ти је јорган (48)_, _толко ће се пружиш (48)_, _колко може (15)_, _толка бука (15)_;

нема шта _н'уме (12)_, пицамку _д' обуче (16)_, _д' угазим (24)_, _д' учу децу (27)_, _д' остане (28)_, _д' убије (29)_, _н'умем (32)_, _д' оставим (37)_, цел _д'остане (43)_, _д' урадим (60)_, мож' _д' остане (59)_;

ај се јави (18), да _ви'ш с'м на блиц (42)_.

The assimilation of vowels has been observed in the following examples: _деси се_, _ете (9)_, _ене ти га (20)_.

The consonant h is often missing in the vernaculars of Serbia, as well as in the vernaculars of southeastern Serbia. The largest number of examples from this collection does not contain this consonant, although there are cases with the consonant h. The analysis in the monograph by Paul-Louis Thomas indicates that the consonant h was more often lost in the speech of the village, whereby, the h sound could often be heard in the city (Thomas 1998, 100–103). The poet has very often marked the loss of this sound with an apostrophe, but not with consistency, because there are examples without the use of this punctuation mark.

The consonant h has been lost from the initial position in the following examples:

не _раните га (10)_, _'оће му се (16)_, _'оћу брата (17)_, _драге гу аљине (23)_, да купим _леба (27)_, свако би _'тео (37)_, да је само _тео (30)_, _оће ли ми нешто (43)_, добро га _'ране (58)_, вештачка _'рана (58)_, _ранили све живо (61)_, _ладно мож' (42)_.

There are no examples of the loss of _h_ from its medial position. This group could include the form of the first-person plural aorist, which is formed by adding the suffix -_hмо_: само ми _знадо'мо (30)_.

From its final position, _h_ has been lost in the following examples:

одма ће ти рекну (12), ћу почнем _одма' (22)_, по сталан _стра' (26)_, _млати' с руке (38)_, _млати' с ноге (38)_, на _вр' ову танку грану (40)_, _стра ли те (51)_, од утеран _стра (58)_, да оди по равно (60), да _стра' ме од мрак (73)_.

There is only one example of the group _sh_ and the loss of _h_ from it: кад _свати (9)_.

There are also confirmations of the preservation of this consonant:

од храну (14), његов _смех (15)_, сваки _грех (15)_, _храбро викнемо (68)_, _осмех драг (71)_, _храброст стиче (73)_.

The preservation of the final _l_ in the Prizren-South Morava vernaculars is related to nouns and verbs. These are the examples: по _цел д'н викате (26)_, док _петал не закукуриче (52)_, _цел д'остане (43)_.

The loss of _j_ at the end of the word is noted in the imperative form of _немој_: _немо' да смо идиоти (19)_, _немо те срамота (47)_.

The assimilation of consonants is recognized in the adverb *mlogo*: <u>*млого је под*</u> *машту (11)*, *мож'* <u>*млого да боли (29)*</u>, <u>*млого је волео (30)*</u>, <u>*млого добар знак (52)*</u>; but also <u>*много малко*</u> *(38)*. The simplification of the consonant cluster -*st*: <u>*јес да је*</u> *забрањето (16)*, <u>*радос је голем (23)*</u>, *од* <u>*радос'*</u> *све кипим (59)*.

The simplification of the cluster *gd-*: <u>*'де си оћу (40)*</u>.

The preservation of the sound cluster *cvr*: *загрли гу* <u>*цврсто (13)*</u>, <u>*цврсто си стојим (25)*</u>.

Affrication: <u>*љуцку срећу квари (51)*</u>.

New iotation: *нико не* <u>*испушћа (20)*</u>, *не* <u>*скићаш (47)*</u>.

Iotation has not been performed in the examples of the passive adjective: <u>*заглавен у*</u> *место (48)*.

The softening of the sound *l* can be seen in the example *од ту* <u>*библьотеку (30)*</u>.

One example of the Lužnica palatalization indicates that the urban language cannot be isolated from various influences, and in this case, it is probably the consequence of migrations: *од* <u>*сенћу твоју (51)*</u>.

2.2. Morphological dialectalisms

2.2.1. Analytical declension

One of the most important features of all Prizren-Timok speech varieties, including the Prizren-South Morava ones, is the analytical declension which implies the use of the universal case. The poems of this collection contain numerous confirmations of this phenomenon from the Balkans. The most numerous are the examples of the genitive case meanings, and the smallest number of confirmations refers to the accusative case, whose plural form is the same as the nominative case, as in the following:

<u>*од живот*</u> *учи (9)*, *постар* <u>*од Алексу (10)*</u>, <u>*усред лето (10)*</u>, <u>*код баба Миму (10)*</u>, *није* <u>*из наш град (11)*</u>, *из* <u>*Нови је Сад (11)*</u>, <u>*из равницу (11)*</u>, *иде гу* <u>*од руку (12)*</u>, <u>*од њену доброту (12)*</u>, <u>*без моју мајку и њојзину кујну (13)*</u>, *од* <u>*храну (14)*</u>, <u>*из булу*</u> *га треба вадим (14)*, <u>*од хормони (15)*</u>, <u>*без разлог (16)*</u>, <u>*од памет*</u> *бржи (18)*, <u>*због тај пусти језик (18)*</u>, <u>*из руке (20)*</u>, <u>*из школу (20)*</u>, <u>*од фејс (20)*</u>, <u>*од сву муку (21)*</u>, <u>*од ваздух (23)*</u>, <u>*од воду (23)*</u>, <u>*до голу кожу (24)*</u>, *како да сам* <u>*из земљу*</u> *изникла (25)*, <u>*из главу*</u> *кипи (27)*, <u>*од ратови и године (27)*</u>, <u>*код Перу (28)*</u>, <u>*од Маргер до Тврђаву (30)*</u>, <u>*од кафану (30)*</u>, <u>*од лагање (31)*</u>, <u>*из моду*</u> *изаће (33)*, <u>*од главу (37)*</u>, <u>*преко главу (38)*</u>, <u>*без мајкино знање (39)*</u>, *даље* <u>*од капију (39)*</u>, *ни* <u>*код маму (40)*</u>, <u>*код комшију (41)*</u>, <u>*од своју ловачку славу (41)*</u>, <u>*од рано собајле (47)*</u>, <u>*од дрво (48)*</u>, <u>*од свињску плећку (49)*</u>, <u>*од лошо (49)*</u>, <u>*без замајавање (50)*</u>, <u>*нема праштање (50)*</u>, <u>*од помрчину (51)*</u>, <u>*од укућани (51)*</u>, <u>*од смејање (52)*</u>, <u>*од туј лекцију (57)*</u>, *ман' се* <u>*од астал (57)*</u>, <u>*од све (57)*</u>, <u>*од утеран стра (58)*</u>, *од* <u>*радос'*</u> *све кипим (59)*, <u>*од срећу (59)*</u>, <u>*од дедине ципеле (59)*</u>, *баш* <u>*близу море (61)*</u>, <u>*без уши псић (61)*</u>, <u>*без срам (65)*</u>, <u>*до голу кожу (68)*</u>, <u>*од терасу (68)*</u>, *мого си* <u>*без паре (72)*</u>, <u>*од клизаљку (68)*</u>, <u>*од радознäлос' (71)*</u>, <u>*од срећу (71)*</u>, <u>*из реку (74)*</u>, <u>*без муку*</u> *ниже (75)*,

уши <u>*на зеца (19)*</u>, <u>*на мајку*</u> *под јелку (28)*, <u>*на татка*</u> *конци (28)*, <u>*на комшију Перу*</u> *метлу (28)*, *ракију* <u>*на бабу (28)*</u>, <u>*на мене*</u> *барбику (28)*, <u>*на ујку*</u> *давно увенуле руже (30)*, *дал' ће* <u>*на сви*</u> *причаш (42)*, *баба нема да вика* <u>*на деду (49)*</u>, *ће* <u>*на мајку*</u> *поклони (49)*, <u>*на бабу*</u> *душу дала (53)*, <u>*на татка*</u> *дан за недељно бријање (53)*, *кој си* <u>*на ког*</u> *најбоље пристаје (53)*;

as well as with the meaning of possession: *брат* <u>*на Алексу (10)*</u>, *брат* <u>*на Душана (10)*</u>, <u>*на сестру*</u> *кутре (28)*;

све што има <u>точкови</u> (10), има <u>одговори</u> (18), <u>у прсти</u> само дувај (19), зуби има да си перем (21), <u>за сви</u> остали (26), <u>ситни очи</u> има (42), побркамо <u>концú</u> (72), <u>гоблени</u> да везе (28);

с <u>ћутеци</u> (10), <u>са тебе</u> збива (15), <u>с гладовање</u> (23), <u>с њу</u> (23), <u>са своје жеље</u> (23), <u>с'с глупости</u> (27), <u>с ову моју главу луду</u> (27), <u>с туђе</u> (28), <u>с грешку</u> (28), <u>с главу бандоглаву</u> (29), <u>с очи</u> (29), <u>сас они његови очи</u> (32), пуна <u>с кандидати</u> (37), <u>с воду</u> (38), млати' <u>с руке</u> (38), млати' <u>с ноге</u> (38), <u>с јеленски рогови</u> (41), <u>с кљове</u> (41), заклао <u>с рођени зуби</u> (41), <u>с нос</u> (42), <u>с'с главу</u> (43), кој ће <u>с тебе</u> (44), <u>с коју муку</u> (44), <u>с добри другари</u> (47), <u>сас нас</u> (49), <u>с отворени</u> (52), <u>сас убаве приче</u> (52), <u>с другарице</u> (53), <u>с њега</u> (59), <u>с голему машту</u> (61), <u>с јунаци</u> (65), машу <u>с руке</u> (68), <u>с осмеси</u> (72);

млого је <u>под машту</u> (11), збори си <u>за Ленче</u> (12), да <u>на овај свет</u> нађеш (12), <u>по кућу</u> тропа (14), <u>у главу</u> ми само звони (15), <u>по патос</u> се ваља (16), памет је <u>под тешку муку</u> (18), а после се жали на бол <u>у грбину</u> (20), <u>по земљу</u> оду (25), <u>у школу</u> нас учу (27), <u>по варош</u> да ме маје (30), <u>пред њега</u> вежбам (37), <u>под капци</u> (42), макар <u>у шалу</u> (43), све <u>по кућу</u> (47), стоји <u>на врата</u> (47), <u>по могућство</u> (50), <u>у парк</u> јуче нађо (59), <u>по ивицу</u> си оди (59), да оди <u>по равно</u> (60), бањали се <u>у море</u> (61), <u>на нас</u> све мокро (68), <u>по паркови</u> спије (58).

A single example: има ли бе, <u>бабо</u> (20) points to the old form of the vocative case, which, in dialect, is often not equal to the nominative case, as it is expected in the standard Serbian language. The form *babo* in this example does not carry any derogatory meaning.

Besides the analytics in declension, the vernaculars of this area also preserve the traces of the old synthetic declension, which can be noticed in certain examples from these poems. In all those cases, they refer to the forms of the dative case, which is the most frequent form in the varieties of the Prizren-Timok dialect area:

<u>коме</u> ли је и шта дао (14), па <u>нам</u> баба сад лудује (14), благо <u>мени</u> (15), кажи <u>деди</u> (15), тако <u>нам</u> збори̇ше (31), ништа <u>нам</u> неће (31), <u>по детињој жељи</u> (33).

Pronouns in the Prizren-Timok speech varieties can be in various forms. The sample contains the forms of personal and possessive pronouns in the female singular form (*gu, njojzino*), plural forms (*gi, nji, ni, vi*), and interrogative pronouns (*koje, kuj*). A very specific South Morava form *njima* is not used in these verses, which, somewhat, coincides with the findings by Thomas (1998, 303–304), who noted it mostly in villages, and it almost did not exist in the very city of Niš Also, there is no use of the plural enclitics *ne* and *ve*. Again, we should mention the observations by Thomas, who claimed that the forms *ne*, *ve* occurred more often in the villages around Niš, while, the stressed forms were more prevalent in the city; the enclitic *vi* was equally used in the city as the full form *vam* (Thomas 1998: 300). It could be concluded that, in this case also, the poet transfers through her verses the exact condition that exist in the vernacular of Niš.

анђео <u>гу</u> није раван (12), име <u>гу</u> је Ленче (12), иде <u>гу</u> од руку (12), да <u>гу</u> плати лет (13), загрли <u>гу</u> цврсто (13), да <u>гу</u> питам (15), тешко <u>гу</u> (18), да <u>гу</u> скину (20), што ли <u>гу</u> викају (22), драге <u>гу</u> аљине (23), крив <u>гу</u> фрижидер (23), смртни <u>гу</u> непријатељ (23), да <u>гу</u> верујем (23), да <u>гу</u> питујеш (23), кад <u>гу</u> се обраћаш (23), што <u>гу</u> унуци (75);

тек да <u>ни</u> заплашу (31);

да <u>ви</u> признам (73);

мајка <u>ги</u> (10), кам <u>ги</u> колачи (22), нема му <u>ги</u> брци (58), свашта <u>ги</u> падало (61), нема <u>ги</u> боре (74), шта <u>ги</u> би (38), да <u>ги</u> мучиш (44), разбуцаш <u>ги</u> (44), да <u>ги</u> нижеш (44), да <u>ги</u> зарадиш (48);

по <u>њи</u> штипају (32), цел д'н по <u>њи</u> (32), <u>њи</u>' да је стид (73);

<u>њојзину</u> кујну *(13)*;

<u>куј</u> је то крив *(73)*;

а <u>које</u> бе да радим *(13)*, <u>које</u> ћу *(25)*, <u>које</u> с'г да радим *(26)*, <u>које</u> ће од језик *(29)*, <u>које</u> да мислим *(32)*, <u>које</u> да радим *(32)*, од <u>које</u> смо забрљали *(50)*.

The dative enclitic form of the all-person pronoun *si* in Serbian dialects is used to stress the meaning of what is stated. It is very common in the use of most Prizren-Timok speech varieties and its frequency in the verses of this collection shows the same, as in the following:

ја <u>си</u> с', посматрам *(9)*, свако <u>си</u> дете *(9)*, Душан <u>си</u> је спретан *(10)*, сам' <u>си</u> га пратите *(10)*, кад <u>си</u> дође *(11)*, како сам <u>си</u> само срећна *(11)*, свашта <u>си</u> он смисли *(11)*, док <u>си</u> звезде броји *(11)*, моја <u>си</u> је мајка *(12)*, збори <u>си</u> за Ленче *(12)*, кад <u>си</u> чујем *(15)*, без разлог <u>си</u> рове *(16)*, мож' <u>си</u> бидне лако *(16)*, што <u>си</u> имаш *(19)*, па <u>си</u> сам погледај *(20)*, зуби има да <u>си</u> перем *(21)*, да <u>си</u> мање једе *(23)*, воду <u>си</u> волим *(24)*, да <u>си</u> одим *(25)*, цврсто <u>си</u> стојим *(25)*, да сам <u>си</u> брљива *(26)*, несам <u>си</u> лоша *(26)*, да <u>си</u> буду *(27)*, искриви <u>си</u> шију *(28)*, има <u>си</u> видиш *(29)*, па <u>си</u> разабери *(29)*, мора <u>си</u> знајеш *(29)*, води <u>си</u> ред *(29)*, мој <u>си</u> ујка *(30)*, ал' <u>си</u> зато имам Весну *(32)*, Боле <u>си</u> је крив *(32)*, не мора <u>си</u> магаре *(33)*, искључиш <u>си</u> главу *(33)*, боље да <u>си</u> ћутиш *(33)*, ће си скратиш *(33)*, одувек <u>си</u> волим *(37)*, у њег си видим *(37)*, што си ођу *(37)*, наша си је кућа *(37)*, ћу си славим *(38)*, не смедо си *(39)*, највеће богатсво си је знање *(47)*, ћу си купим *(49)*, моје ће си срце *(49)*, у моју си песму нема *(51)*, нема си ништа *(51)*, светло си сигурно замењује мрак *(52)*, воли си она *(53)*, за ког си душу даје *(53)*, кој си на ког најбоље пристаје *(53)*, кад си сви завршимо *(53)*, срећа си је наша *(53)*, све си забрљамо *(57)*, кад си одремеш *(57)*, туј си кренуше *(59)*, по ивицу си оди *(59)*, сам' си молим Бога *(59)*, ако си полети *(59)*, ће си акне *(59)*, излегоше си јаја *(62)*, ће си падаш *(65)*, ћу си шизим *(65)*, ћу си послушам *(65)*, ћу си отворим *(65)*, ћу си одморим *(65)*, за дом не си знајем *(67)*, шта си је за млади *(71)*, ништа си не фали *(74)*.

ја <u>си</u> с', посматрам *(9)*, свако <u>си</u> дете *(9)*, Душан <u>си</u> је спретан *(10)*, сам' <u>си</u> га пратите *(10)*, кад <u>си</u> дође *(11)*, како сам <u>си</u> само срећна *(11)*, свашта <u>си</u> он смисли *(11)*, док <u>си</u> звезде броји *(11)*, моја <u>си</u> је мајка *(12)*, збори <u>си</u> за Ленче *(12)*, кад <u>си</u> чујем *(15)*, без разлог <u>си</u> рове *(16)*, мож' <u>си</u> бидне лако *(16)*, што <u>си</u> имаш *(19)*, па <u>си</u> сам погледај *(20)*, зуби има да <u>си</u> перем *(21)*, да <u>си</u> мање једе *(23)*, воду <u>си</u> волим *(24)*, да <u>си</u> одим *(25)*, цврсто <u>си</u> стојим *(25)*, да сам <u>си</u> брљива *(26)*, несам <u>си</u> лоша *(26)*, да <u>си</u> буду *(27)*, искриви <u>си</u> шију *(28)*, има <u>си</u> видиш *(29)*, па <u>си</u> разабери *(29)*, мора <u>си</u> знајеш *(29)*, води <u>си</u> ред *(29)*, мој <u>си</u> ујка *(30)*, ал' <u>си</u> зато имам Весну *(32)*, Боле <u>си</u> је крив *(32)*, не мора <u>си</u> магаре *(33)*, искључиш <u>си</u> главу *(33)*, боље да <u>си</u> ћутиш *(33)*, ће <u>си</u> скратиш *(33)*, одувек <u>си</u> волим *(37)*, у њег <u>си</u> видим *(37)*, што <u>си</u> ођу *(37)*, наша <u>си</u> је кућа *(37)*, ћу <u>си</u> славим *(38)*, не смедо <u>си</u> *(39)*, највеће богатсво <u>си</u> је знање *(47)*, ћу <u>си</u> купим *(49)*, моје ће <u>си</u> срце *(49)*, у моју <u>си</u> песму нема *(51)*, нема <u>си</u> ништа *(51)*, светло <u>си</u> сигурно замењује мрак *(52)*, воли <u>си</u> она *(53)*, за ког <u>си</u> душу даје *(53)*, кој <u>си</u> на ког најбоље пристаје *(53)*, кад <u>си</u> сви завршимо *(53)*, срећа <u>си</u> је наша *(53)*, све <u>си</u> забрљамо *(57)*, кад <u>си</u> одремеш *(57)*, туј <u>си</u> кренуше *(59)*, по ивицу <u>си</u> оди *(59)*, сам' <u>си</u> молим Бога *(59)*, ако <u>си</u> полети *(59)*, ће <u>си</u> акне *(59)*, излегоше <u>си</u> јаја *(62)*, ће <u>си</u> падаш *(65)*, ћу <u>си</u> шизим *(65)*, ћу <u>си</u> послушам *(65)*, ћу <u>си</u> отворим *(65)*, ћу <u>си</u> одморим *(65)*, за дом не <u>си</u> знајем *(67)*, шта <u>си</u> је за млади *(71)*, ништа <u>си</u> не фали *(74)*.

Comparison in the speech varieties of the Prizren-Timok area is usually analytical. However, there have been more inflows from the standard language, which is most evident in the urban language. The same conditions apply to the verses as well, when

there are more examples with synthetic comparison than the analytical one. There are similar findings in the studies by Thomas (1998, 288, 290) and Trajković (2018, 95).

 постар од Алексу (10), _најголемог_ вука (41), да је _најубава_ (50), _најголемо_ чудо што видеше (61), _повише_ од чоколаду (68), бут алсо _од памет_ _бржи_ (18), све _гушћа и гушћа_ (20), _теже_ ће се деси (29), деца све _глувља_ (33), од свега _већа_ (38), _даље_ од капију (39), ја све _више_ (43), у _највећу_ кутију (59).

The generalization of suffixes of hard change in adjectives is a common occurrence in these speech varieties, and they were also noted by Thomas (1998: 43–44). These examples in the poems are _бољо_ женче (12), _задњо_ време (20), није _лошо_ (49), _од лошо_ (49), овој време _данашњо_ (72). Verbs most often occur in the form of dialectalisms in cases in which some of their forms are formed with different bases or with the help of different suffixes, which differs from the standard forms. There are examples which indicate the generalization of the suffix -_u_ for the formation of the third-person plural of the present tense. The Future I tense in the Prizren-Timok varieties is most often expressed in the analytical construction of *the enclitic of the verb biti (to be) + da + present*, which is further simplified as *the enclitic + present*, and the form of the enclitic is further simplified. In the last phase of the simplification of the construction of the future tense in certain vernaculars, the enclitic *će* is generalized for all persons, whereby, in some of them, the form *ću* has remained for the first-person singular, which is also the case in the vernacular of Niš, and which is present in the sample. The conjunction *da* is also eliminated from the construction for the formation of other complex verb forms. The expression of the future tense can also be performed in the form of an archaism, with the use of the verb *imati* (to have). Also, the corpus confirms a frequent use of the aorist and imperfect tenses, while the elimination of the sound *h* from the first-person singular is quite apparent. The imperative form for the first-person singular is usually formed by using the suffix -*j*, whereby, with the verb *nemoj*, the final sound *j* is often eliminated. The condition of certain verb forms, which is depicted through the verses of this collection, is, in essence, the confirmation of the condition noted by Thomas (1998: 208–285), for example:

 у кој грм _лега_ зец (9), кад га _дава_ (10), не _признава_ муку (12), ће _бега_ (3), не _давај_ за лет (13), ће _бидне_ бивен (19), мож' си _бидне_ лако (16), _питујем_ вас људи (16), _питујем_ се јадан (20), _отидеш_ ли (21), да _бидне_ (22), док _рекнеш_ (22), не _питуј_ (22), да гу _питујеш_ (23), да _буднем_ мокра (24), да си _одим_ (25), тетка _знае_ (26), мора си _знајеш_ (29), мож' да _бидне_ (29), нема _биднеш_ леп (31), више не _помага_ (33), _трепкам_ на ситно (37), полагачке _диза_ (52), добро _знаје_ (53), кад си _одремеш_ (57), по паркови _спије_ (58), има _бидне_ чудо (66), _стизају_ другари (66), за дом не си _знајем_ (67), сунце _излегне_ (68), по цел д'н _викате_ (26), не смем да _спијем_ (73);

 док ми _цврчу_ црева (20), по земљу _оду_ (25), у школу нас _учу_ (27), да л' _постоју_ (51), које не _постоју_ (51), да _измигољу_ (62), ни како се _множу_ (62), ће да _лету_ (66), мајке џаба _прету_ (68), па _размислу_ дебело (73);

 куде ћу се денем (13), _ћу скренем_ (13), _ћу увенем_ (13), _ћу се придружим_ (13), шта _ћу радим_ (14), _ћу се љутим_ (21), нећу _зборим_ (21), _ћу се сморим_ (21), _ћу те кујем_ (21), _ћу те љубим_ (21), нећу _идем_ (21), _ћу се чешљам_ (21), _ћу опростим_ (15), _ћу те слушам_ (21), _ћу се скрасим_ (21), _ћу почнем_ одма' (22), _ћу си славим_ (38), _ћу се качим_ (40), _ћу сиђем_ (40), нећу _причам_ (43), _ћу узмем_ тањирче (57), _ћу ти турим_ (57), _ћу си шизим_ (65), _ћу си послушам_ (65), _ћу си отворим_ (65), нећу _зборим_ (71), нећу си _кријем_ (73);

 ће _научи_ (9), ће _бега_ (13), ће _одустане_ (13), ће _спремимо_ (16), ће _бидне_ бивен (19), ће _ме воле_ (21), ће _бидне_ (26), ће ти _порасне_ реп (31), ће си _скратиш_ (33), ће

ме *удаву* (38), *ђе паднеш* (40), *ђе личиш* на виц (42), *ђе ти бидне* (42), *ђе заборавимо* (49), *ђе купимо* (49), *ђе* на мајку *поклони* (49), *ђе причаш* (49), *ђе признамо* (50), *ђе кажу* (57), *ђе му треба* (59), *ђе си падаш* (65), *ђе ме мука прође* (65), *ђе правимо* свашта (66), по снег *ђе се ваљамо* (66), *ђе да лету* (66), *ђе заврћу уши* (68);

зуби *има да си перем* (21), *нема више да се дерем* (21), *има си видиш* (29), баба *нема да вика* на деду (49), *нема* ич *да мари* (66), *има* све *да прити* (66), све *се има пуши* (68);

мора идем (15), *мора гу пустиш* (23), *мора си знајеш* (29), *нема биднеш* леп (31), *почнем се тресем* (43), мора бидне (49), *ћу те мора трпим* (65), *немо се досађујеш* (75), *мора прочитам* (71);

а ја се *препадо* (13), *немасмо* ли (22), *научи се* ја (38), *дођо'* кући (38), ја *не смедо'* (38), *слага'* нешто (39), *доби'* поглед прек (39), *скубаше* ми уши (43), *лага* кад *реко'* (50), у парк јуче *нађо* (59), *узо* га у руке (59), *донесо* га дом (59), кад *дођо* дом' (59), најголемо чудо што *видеше* (61), *беоше* заљубљени (61), што *причаше* (73);

презај санке (28), *пружај краци* (28), *бегај* кући (40), *не заглеђуј* (57);

немо' да смо идиоти (19), *немо'* се омакне (59), *немо се досађујеш* (75).

When it comes to verb forms, the Prizren-South Morava dialect is different from the other two Prizren-Timok dialects in two instances. The present tense in the third-person plural has the suffix *-v* (*imav*, *idev*, *misliv*), and the active verbal adjective of male gender in singular ends in *-(j)a*. However, the vernacular of the city of Niš has drifted from such condition, which is common for many speech varieties of this dialect. In the current vernacular of Niš there is no present tense ending in *-v*, nor is there the *-ja* form (cf. Thomas 1998, 209; Trajković 2018, 95). This image is also confirmed by the poems by this poet from Niš, in whose verses there are only two *-ja* forms, as a certain remnant of the previous conditions, while there are no examples of the *-v* present. Thomas reached similar conclusions: „Подвуцимо да се прве две појаве [*gledau*, *petau*] срећу у Нишу и селима, док се трећа (наставак *-av*) у многим примерима бележи искључиво у селима" (It should be concluded that the first two occurrences [*gledau*, *petau*] can be found in the city of Niš as well as in the villages, while the third one (the suffix *-av*) is seen exclusively in many examples from the villages) (Thomas 1998, 209, and footnote 236), and also: „Док је у селима наставак *-ja* врло фреквентан (мада има много примера са *-o*), у Нишу је у употреби једино стд. [стандардни] наставак *-o*" (While the suffix *-ja* is very frequent in villages (although there are many examples with *-o*), the std. [standard] suffix *-o* is the only one in use in Niš") (Thomas 1998, 253). That this was also once present in Niš could be concluded from the examples from the works by Sremac: „Сремац има редовно наставак *-ja* и примери су многобројни" (Sremac used the suffix *-ja* regularly and the examples are numerous) (Thomas 1998: 253), for example *утепаја* вепра (41), ни једно није *промашија* (41).

Both examples are found in the same poem, which describes the events from the life of a neighbor who is a hunter; therefore, this poetic evoking can explain the stylogenity of two dialectalisms: *utepaja* and *promašija*. In other poems, the active verbal adjective has the reflex *-o* of the old final *l*, which has certainly been taken from the standard Serbian language. Certain examples have the contraction of the final vocal group with the preference of *-o*, while, one example points to the possibility of generalizing the suffix *-eo*. It should be noted here that Thomas found that the use of the form with *-eo* was more frequent (Thomas 1998: 255). The examples are the following:

куд сам *погрешио* (20), давно је *обрао* (48), *заурлао* Гавра (58), *заклао* с рођени зуби (41), за гушу *држао* (62);

ма куде <u>*пошо*</u> *(49)*, *куде си* <u>*дошо*</u> *(49)*, *како си* <u>*прошо*</u> *(49)*, <u>*мого*</u> *си без паре (72)*; <u>*зарадео*</u> *славу (43)*.

Adverbs *kude* and *kam* instead of *gde*, which is the standard form, are found in several examples. Thomas suggested that the adverb *kude* was used more frequently in villages, and he discovered numerous examples of the form *(g)di* in the city (Thomas 1998: 43), for example:

<u>*куде*</u> *ћу се денем (13)*, <u>*куд*</u> *су Анди (27)*, <u>*куде*</u> *све то води (29)*, <u>*куде*</u> *да га денем (59)*, <u>*кам*</u> *ги колачи (22)*.

The conjunction *kako* is used in comparative constructions, instead of *kao* which is used in the standard language:

<u>*како*</u> *трен (9)*, <u>*како*</u> *делфинче (10)*, <u>*како*</u> *никад пре (13)*, <u>*како*</u> *шоче неко (24)*, <u>*како*</u> *да сам из земљу изникла (25)*, <u>*како*</u> *што сам ја (26)*, <u>*како*</u> *врела пећка (26)*, <u>*како*</u> *мајмун на банану (40)*, *веје* <u>*како*</u> *лудо (66)*, *пружила се* <u>*како*</u> *мачка (68)*;

There are also examples: <u>*ко*</u> *на слонче (42)*, <u>*ко*</u> *праћи (66)*.

Particles are often used with interrogative and demonstrative pronouns, as well as adverbs. According to Thomas, the interrogative pronoun *koj* with the particle *j* was present in the city (Thomas 1998: 321).

у <u>*кој*</u> *грм (9)*, <u>*кој*</u> *намерно ломи (19)*, <u>*кој*</u> *ће ти више верује (31)*, <u>*кој*</u> *ће с тебе (44)*, <u>*кој*</u> *се маје (53)*, <u>*кој*</u> *по град (53)*, <u>*кој*</u> *си на ког (53)*,

<u>*тој*</u> *је за мене (24)*, *да* <u>*тој*</u> *не си заборавиш (28)*, <u>*онија*</u> *лептирићи (32)*, <u>*тој*</u> *да видиш (41)*, <u>*тој*</u> *си је тако (43)*, <u>*тој*</u> *ич не мари (47)*, *од* <u>*туј*</u> *лекцију (57)*, <u>*онија*</u> *што од љубав ти'о уздисаше (71)*, <u>*овој*</u> *време данашњо (72)*, <u>*тој*</u> *ли су за децу приче (73)*,

<u>*туј*</u> *си му је нане (9)*, <u>*туј*</u> *су с'м приче (51)*, <u>*туј*</u> *делимо радост (53)*, <u>*туј*</u> *си кренуше (59)*, <u>*туј*</u> *је чукнут лонац (67)*, <u>*туј*</u> *написаше (71)*.

Characteristic forms of certain particles and exclamations are recognised in these poems:

које <u>*бе*</u> *да радим (13)*, <u>*ама*</u> *ако бива (16)*, <u>*леле*</u>, *Бошке мили (20)*, *не с'м* <u>*бе*</u> *птица бабче (22)*, *шта* <u>*па*</u> *ту имам (24)*, *много бе ружно (31)*, *а, мори (32)*, *леле, стварно (32)*.

Word formation in the varieties of this area is specific in relation to other dialects in the Serbian language due to the use of certain suffixes. The sample contains the following word-formation forms:

a) The suffix *-iki*, used for the formation of plural forms of nouns of neutral gender, and primarily for those which refer to baby animals: *скупљали* <u>*кутрики*</u> *(61)*, but also *ко мали* <u>*петлићи*</u> *(62)*, *мали* <u>*блаворчићи*</u> *(62)*, <u>*онија*</u> *лептирићи (32)*;

b) The suffix *-ka*, which usually has a diminutive meaning or is used for the transformation of a noun: <u>*пиџамку*</u> *д' обуче (16)*, *шта су* <u>*капке*</u> *кише (24)*, *истрпим* <u>*чарапке*</u> *(25)*, *чизме и* <u>*ципелке*</u> *(25)*, *несам ни* <u>*цвећка*</u> *(26)*, *како врела* <u>*пећка*</u> *(26)*, *коју* <u>*ћошку*</u> *(44)*, *поклони* <u>*цвећку*</u> *(49)*, *уз врелу* <u>*пећку*</u> *(49)*, *па скупља* <u>*мрвке*</u> *(58)*, *да беру* <u>*травке*</u> *(61)*;

c) The suffix *-ce* with a diminutive note: *што гу* <u>*салце*</u> *кипи (23)*;

d) The suffix *-če*, also characterised by diminutive semantics: *како* <u>*делфинче*</u> *(10)*, *ко* <u>*лубенче*</u> *(12)*, *бољо* <u>*женче*</u> *(12)*, *не с'м бе птица* <u>*бабче*</u> *(22)*, *како* <u>*шоче*</u> *неко (24)*, *у* <u>*базенче*</u> *(38)*, *ћу узмем* <u>*тањирче*</u> *(57)*.

2.3. Syntactic dialectalisms

Within the syntactic categories, it should highlighted that there are specific forms which are used in verses, such as duplicating the object, expressing possession with the dative enclitic, using the verbs *misli* and *moli*[1] as reflexive verbs, separating the elements of negative forms of verbs by using a pronoun or verb enclitics, and using interrogative constructions with a displaced particle *li*, for example:

кам *ги колачи* (22), нема му *ги брци* (58), нема *ги боре* (74);

деда ми кроз прозор вири (14), *мајка ми* (23);

молим ти се, татко (13), *па се мислим* (14), *мислим си се* (27), ти *се размисли* (42);

не се то за џаба *збори* (18), *не се гризу* (19), *не се жврља* (19), *не се квари* (19), баба *не ме види* (20), да тој *не си заборавиш* (28), *не си посустаје* (33), *не ме терај* (42), *не се беру* (48), за дом *не си знајем* (67);

били ли смо добри (50), *не ли* савлада'мо (57), *не ли* су те научили (75).

2.4. The lexicon and lexical dialectalisms

The lexicon of the collection of poems for children *Od malečko do golemo* could be observed in three layers: dialectal, contemporary and jargon. The most numerous is the prominent dialectal lexicon which sometimes interferes with archaisms, because some words are no longer in use in that very dialect and are replaced with new words taken from the standard language. The contemporary lexicon refers to the naming of occurrences which are connected to the contemporary way of life, and, very often, these are Anglicisms. The jargon lexicon is a sensitive layer, sometimes hardly noticeable; however, several lexemes which belong to this sphere can be recognized in these poems. Besides the typical dialectal lexicon (*tatko*, *kutre*, *dibiduz*, *ualeno*, etc.), the analyzed sample also contains the examples of the lexicon created in the present times, or there is a parallel use of the "old" and the new lexicon: *hormoni*, *tata* (parallel to *tatko*), *lupa* (parallel to *tropa*). Thomas did not describe the lexicon of Niš in particular, but he made an observation that the dialectal lexicon in Niš was most often replaced by a "standard equivalent" (Thomas 1998, 437, and footnote 452), and this can also be recognized in the examples from this collection. It has certainly been noticed that the lexical dialectalisms are more numerous, which can be explained by their literary-cultural role, for example

од *малечко* до големо (9), *туј си му је нане* (9), како *поје* (9), с *ћутеци* (10), *ич те нема мају* (12), чак и *татко* (12), *збори* си за Ленче (12), *татко* се па понуди (13), куде ћу се *денем* (13), њојзину *кујну* (13), молим ти се, *татко* (13), по кућу *тропа* (14), и *кутре* је огладнело (14), баба *лупа* (15), *уалено* дете (16), без разлог си *рове* (16), ципеле *собува* (16), док *дибидуз* не промукне (16), престаје ли *ровање* (16), *ајеш* ли, бе, тата (17), *кондрц* га баш држи (18), *скрати* бе (18), *ич* не боли (18), *врзује* главу (18), кој намерно *ломи* (19), што *работи* (19), бол у *грбину* (20), нешто за *једење* (20), нећу *зборим* (21), *од собајле* (21), док *излицкам* (21), радос је *голем* (23), тај *мерак* (24), да ми ноге *обувка* стеза (25), да ми ноге обувка *стеза* (25), *ич* не лебдим (25), да бидне *шише* (28), на сестру *кутре* (28), искриви си *шију* (28), *ич* нема срећа (29), срамота је *голема* (31), *бајагим*, причам (32), *татко*, давај кинту

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[1]It is implied that there is no infinitive form in the dialects of the Prizren-Timok dialect area; therefore, the present tense form of the third-person singular is used here, which is a generally accepted approach.

(33), ил рипам у Нишаву (33), ич нико не аје (33), ни један ћутек (33), купуј, татко (37), добар ћутек (39), како си се укачила (40), препелице и зајци (41), од малечко (43), тепаш ги (44), коју ћошку (44), и кутре (47), тој ич не мари (47), што ти зборим (47), народ закасао (48), ил' смо се тепали (50), ич нема да мари (51), скуткамо се срећни (52), дан за мајање (53), много си не аје (53), кој се маје (53), комшијско кутре (53), астал служи (53), големо имање (53), да те карају (57), иди се скуткај (57), гладан џивџан (58), џивџана би изео (58), ој џивџане (58), мачор само рипну (58), донесо га дом (59), куде да га денем (59), тури га (59), ко на корзо (59), ће си акне (59), с голему машту (61), бањали се у море (61), за гушу држао (62), по олуци тропаш (65), да излегнем (66), туј је чукнут лонац (67), кад се дом свртимо (68), кад се дом свртимо (68), тепај, нане (68), нек си туре (73), дајте работу (74), аздисали (74), у работу (75);

немо' да смо идиоти (19), мобилан из руке (20), од фејс (20), сам лајкује (20), па уватим мобилан (20), не мог' мусли (22), на деду парфем (28), на мене барбику (28), уради контра (28), без уши псић (61), неје по бонтон (71), док отима мобилан (74);

сви су пролупали (20), ил' се дописује (20), ладно си рече (20), ћу се сморим (21), мрнџа месце (22), сморише нас (27), татко, давај кинту (33), тад си слажем фаце (37), разбуцаш ги (44), фаце искривили (52), весело ћаскаш (47), за тужну фацу (74), да се лако смориш (75).

By using numerous loanwords and jargon words which depict the contemporary Serbian language, the poet has refreshed the dialect and shown not only that it is used by the older generation of speakers, but also that it is an integral part of life of young people. These poems are one more way to show that a dialect is constantly changing and adapting to the novelties brought about by new living conditions, and that it is influenced by other events – technological, social and linguistic.

3. CONCLUSION

Taking into consideration all the elements of this collection of poems, from the dedication, the message, the prologue, the chapter titles, the poems themselves, to the lexicon, it can be concluded that the main focus of the poet's creative process was the language itself, i.e. the dialect in which these verses were written. The poet mostly relied on that dialect, on its effectiveness and therefore on the dialectal stylogenity. From a dialectological perspective, after comparing poetic dialectalisms with the descriptions of the vernacular of Niš, we demonstrated that versed dialectalisms only confirm the conclusions which have been reached in the present analyses. Therefore, it could be said that the vernacular of Niš is prominently marked by the following characteristics: analytical declension, the most common synthetic comparison, the present tense of third-person plural ending mostly in -*у*, the active verbal adjective of male gender in singular ending in -*о*, the Future I tense constructed as *enclitic + present* while *ће* is generalized, except for the first-person singular (*ћу*). On the other hand, the poetic language of this collection is enriched with dialectalisms which are not entirely present in the vernacular of Niš. This includes numerous lexical dialectalisms, but they also contain inflows from the contemporary language such as Anglicisms, jargon words, etc. Undoubtedly, it can be concluded that the collection of poems *Od malečko do golemo* mostly gives a truthful image of the vernacular of Niš, which involves different generations of speakers.

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NIŠKI VERNAKULAR U ZBIRCI PESAMA ZA DECU „OD MALEČKO DO GOLEMO"

U radu će biti analizirane dijalekatske odlike zbirke pesama za decu „Od malečko do golemo" autorke Slavke Vojinović Masončić. Zbirka je objavljena 2018. godine u Nišu i predstavlja jedan od retkih primera književnosti na dijalektu namenjene deci. Pažnju javnosti ova zbirka je izazvala preko društvenih mreža najpre zahvaljujući pesmi „Nole, tatko na tenis". Većina pesama je svojom tematikom okrenuto detinjstvu, dečijim radostima i vragolijama. Značajno interesovanje kod čitalaca pesme su privukle pre svega zbog prizrensko-južnomoravskog dijalekta. Cilj ovog rada je da se opišu fonetske, morfološke, sintaksičke i leksičke karakteristike pesama, da se utvrđena jezička slika uporedi sa dijalektološkim opisima govora grada Niša, te da se pesnički jezik poveže sa književnom tematikom, što bi trebalo da dovede do zaključaka o stilističkoj funkciji u književnom delu.

Ključne reči: *srpski jezik, književnost za decu, književnost na dijalektu, prizrensko-južnomoravski dijalekat, govor Niša*

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A CASE STUDY ON THE MORPHO-PHONOLOGICAL STATUS OF SERBIAN ADJECTIVAL DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES WITH INITIAL *J*

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Abstract. *The subject of this paper is the status of Serbian adjectival derivational suffixes with initial j in comparison to their variants with initial lj, nj, and also without an initial consonant. Azbučnik prideva u srpskoj prozi dvadesetog veka by Miroslav Josić Višnjić was used as a corpus. The most favourable possible scenario for adjectival derivational suffixes -jan, -j(a)n, -jav, -jast, -ji, -jiv, -jal(a)n, -jar(a)n, -jat, -jev, -jevit, -jikav, -jin, -jit, -juškast and their distribution were analysed regarding the phonological characteristics of the final consonant of a derivational base they are combined with. These derivational suffixes with initial j in Serbian are the most stable with n and l at the end of a base (n + j from a derivational suffix > the phoneme nj, l + j from a derivational suffix > the phoneme lj), but they are rarely visible on the surface structure of adjectives (cf. pasji). In word formation analyses, adjectives with derivational bases with final nj, lj and other palatal and palatalised consonants can be morpho-phonologically explained with derivational suffixes with an initial j, but some of them also with initial nj, lj or without initial consonant.*

Key words: *adjectives*, *derivation*, *palatalisation*, *palatalisation via j*, *morphemic boundary*

1. INTRODUCTION

There are different linguistic opinions regarding the status of derivational suffixes with initial *j* in Serbian. One group of linguists (e.g. Mrazović–Vukadinović, Stakić, Stevanović) considers most of derivational suffixes with initial *j* to be non-existent formants. Another group of linguists (e.g. Klajn, Petrović–Gudurić) does not explicitly mention all derivational suffixes with initial *j*, but they imply that this is the case. Some other linguists (e.g. Babić, Dragićević, Janić) explicitly refer to derivational suffixes with initial *j*.

From the morpho-phonological aspect, it is important to review the status of derivational adjectival suffixes with initial *j* in comparison to their variants with initial *lj*, *nj*, and also without initial consonant. Namely, from the synchronic point of view, in the cases where there are changes in the final consonant of a derivational base (palatalisation, in the broadest sense of the term) of *l*, *n*, *k* (and *c* which historically originates from *k*), *g* (and *z* which historically originates from *g*), *h*, *b*, *p*, *m*, *v*), as well as in the case of palatal consonants *nj* and *lj* as final consonants of a derivational base, more than one derivational suffix should be considered in word formation analyses. These possible scenarios – the most favourable ones – for adjectival derivational suffixes with initial *j* are considered in this paper, and all alternative derivational suffixes are also commented on. More precisely, derivational suffixes with initial palatal consonants such as *j*, *lj*, and *nj* (e.g. -*jast*, -*ljast*, -*njast*) are compared with each other, as well as with their variants which do not start with a consonant (e.g. -*ast*), with a consideration of their tendencies to combine with different final consonants of derivational bases and phonological changes of final consonants of derivational bases.

The aim of this paper is to analyse a) how stable the adjectival derivational suffixes with initial *j* are and what is their status in Serbian; b) which derivational suffixes are just phonological alternatives to derivational suffixes with initial *j* and which ones should be used in word formation analyses; and c) what is the connection between the end of a derivational base and adjectival derivational suffixes with initial *j* in Serbian.

The corpus used is *Azbučnik prideva u srpskoj prozi dvadesetog veka* by Miroslav Josić Višnjić, which includes adjectives from contemporary Serbian literature. This dictionary is chosen for the following reasons: a) it can show how much native speakers of Serbian are exposed to adjectives with derivational suffix with initial *j*, and b) with this case study we can describe the influence reading contemporary literature in Serbian has on the use, comprehension and analysis of adjectives derived with derivational suffixes with an initial *j*.

The structure of this paper is the following: in the second section we give the alphabetic list of adjectives from the corpus, as well as charts with the comments on a) the distribution of adjectival derivational suffixes -*jan*, -*j(a)n*, -*jav*, -*jast*, -*ji*,-*jiv*, -*jal(a)n*, -*jar(a)n*, -*jat*, -*jev*, -*jevit*, -*jikav*, -*jin*, -*jit*, -*juškast* in the corpus; b) the distribution of derivational base types which are combined with adjectival derivational suffixes with initial *j* in the corpus. The third section gives the theoretical base to the (non-)existence of adjectival suffixes with initial *j* and the methodology of the analysis is given in the fourth section. From section 5 to 11 the distribution of adjectival derivational suffixes -*jan*, -*j(a)n*, -*jav*, -*jast*, -*ji*, -*jiv*, -*jal(a)n*, -*jar(a)n*, -*jat*, -*jev*, -*jevit*, -*jikav*, -*jin*, -*jit*, -*juškast* and their other palatal (with initial *lj* and *nj*) and non-palatal variants (without initial consonant) are analysed in terms of phonological characteristics of the final consonant of the derivational base.
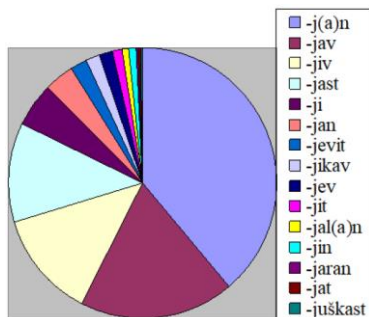
2. THE CORPUS

The sample analysed consists of 326 adjectives (8% of all of the adjectives in *Azbučnik prideva u srpskoj prozi dvadesetog veka /*Josić Višnjić 2007/), whose (possible) derivational suffix has initial *j*, such as -*jan*, -*j(a)n*, -*jav*, -*jast*, -*ji*,-*jiv*, -*jal(a)n*, -*jar(a)n*, -*jat*, -*jev*, -*jevit*, -*jikav*, -*jin*, -*jit*, -*juškast*. This list of derivational suffixes with initial *j* in Serbian is not final, but those derivational suffixes can be confirmed phonologically in the following adjectives:

akustičan, *beskrajan*, *bestijalan*, *bezbojan*, *bezbožan*, *bezbrojan*, *bezgraničan*, *bežični*, *bezobličan*, *bezosećajan*, *bezrazložan*, *bodljav*, *bodljikav*, *bogaljast*, *bojni*, *bračni*,

bradavičav, brašnjast, brbljiv, brižan, brljav, brojan, bubrežni, bubuljičav, bučan, bujan, buljav, buvlji, ciničan, cmoljav, crvljiv, čađav, čavrljav, čekinjast, čekinjav, čeličan, čežnjiv, čovečan, čovečji, čujan, čuljav, ćirilični, čunjast, debeljuškast, dečji, detaljan, detinjast, dimljiv, divljačan, dogmatičan, drčan, drobljiv, dronjav, dvojni, džandrljiv, džgoljav, džigljast, đavolji, egzotičan, električni, erotičan, familijaran, fanatičan, fantastičan, genijalan, gibljiv, gladnjikav, gnojan, gnojav, gojan, grabljiv, grgoljav, gromuljičav, grozničav, guljav, gušoboljan, hladnjikav, (h)rskavičav, igličast, iskričav, jajast, jajni, jamičast, jastučast, jektičav, jesenji, jezičast, jezičav, kaljav, kaljev, kapljičast, kestenjast, kijavičav, klasičan, klupčast, kolebljiv, kolonijalan, konjast, kritičan, krivičan, krkljav, krmeljiv, krnjav, krošnjav, kružan, krvopijast, kržljav, kudeljni, kuljav, kurčev, kurčevit, kužan, lajav, lančan, lelujav, lepljiv, letimičan, ličan, linijast, lisičji, lišajiv, logičan, lojav, mačji, maljav, mastiljav, matični, mesečast, metiljav, migoljast, migoljav, mišji, mlečan, mnogobrojan, mračan, mravlji, mrzovoljan, mrzovoljast, muljav, muljevit, munjevit, muvlji, nabojit, naučan, (ne)čujan,[1] (ne)dostižan, (ne)dostojan, (ne)hajan, (ne)objašnjiv, (ne)odoljiv, (ne)pojmljiv, (ne)pokolebljiv, (ne)ponovljiv, (ne)postojan, (ne)potkupljiv, (ne)razdvojan, (ne)spokojan, (ne)umoljiv, novčan, nožni, običajan, oblačan, očajan, odbojan, odličan, okružni, olujan, opipljiv, opojan, osojan, ospičav, ovčast, pačji, pahuljast, pamučan, paničan, paperjast, papričav, pasji, patuljast, pepeljast, pepeljav, peščan, pihtijast, pijan, pijavičav, pikljast, plastičan, plužni, pokojni, pokrajni, poprečni, poročan, porođajni, porodični, postižan, potajan, preduzimljiv, primamljiv, prisojan, pristojan, prljav, prosečan, pšenični, ptičji, ranjiv, razumljiv, rečni (the motivational noun is *reka*), *repičast, riblji, riđast, romantičan, ručni, rujan, rujav, runjav, rupičast, ružnjikav, sablažnjiv, sabljast, sadržajan, sanjiv, saobraćajni, sapunjav, simboličan, sipljiv, siromašan, sitničav, sjajan, sjajnodremljiv, slojevit, slučajan, slušni, snažan, snebivljiv, snežan, sočan, spoljni, srčan, sredovečan, steničav, stočan, stomačni, strašan, streličast, strpljiv, stručan, strujni, sumnjiv, sunčan, sunčev, surevnjiv, sušičav, svrabljiv, svrbljiv, šaljiv, šeprtljiv, šiljast, šiljat, škiljav, štrkljast, šupljikav, tajni, tankovijast, tankozvučan, temeljan, temeljit, težinjav, trboboljan, trbušast, trbušni, trešnjev, trešnjin, tričav, tršćan, tunjav, tužan, ubojit, ubojni, ulični, upotrebljiv, uspavljiv, uzročni, večan, vetrenjast, vilični, višnjev, vižljast, vižljav, vlažan, vlažnjikav, vodenični, vojni, voljan, vonjav, vrljav, vučji, zaljubljiv, zanimljiv, zavičajni, zavojit, zebnjiv, zečji, zejtinjav, zeljast, zemljan, zemljav, zemljevit, zemljin, zimljiv, zlaćan, zlojezičan, zlovoljan, zmijast, značajan, znojav, zujav, zvaničan, zvučan, žablji, žgoljav, željan, žičan, živčan, žuljav, žuljevit.*

Chart 1 represents the distribution of adjectival derivational suffixes with initial *j* in the sample. Those (phonologically possible) derivational suffixes whose frequency is below 10 in the sample we consider sporadic, such as -*jal(a)n*, -*jan*, -*jar(a)n*, -*jat*, -*jev*, -*jevit*, -*jikav*, -*jin*, -*jit*, -*juškast*. The four most frequent adjectival derivational suffixes in the corpus are -*j(a)n* (127 – 38.96%), -*jav* (60 – 18.4%), -*jiv* (42 – 12.88%), -*jast* (39 – 11.96%) (cf. Chart 1). On the other hand, the least frequent adjectival derivational suffixes are -*ji* (17 – 5.21%), -*jan* (12 – 3.68%), -*jevit* (6 – 1.84%), -*jikav* (6 – 1.84%), -*jev* (5 – 1.53%), -*jit* (4 – 1.23%), -*jal(a)n* (3 – 0.92%), -*jin* (2 – 0.61%), -*jar(a)n* (1 – 0.31%), -*jat* (1 – 0.31%), -*juškast* (1 – 0.31%).

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[1] The negative prefix *ne-* [NON] is given in brackets when a positive form was not confirmed in the sample. In other cases the positive forms are listed.

Chart 1 The distribution of adjectival derivational suffixes with initial *j* in the corpus

The distribution of different derivational base types[2] combined with derivational suffixes with initial *j* in the sample is given in Chart 2. The most frequent type of derivational base is the nominal one (219 – 67.18%) /e.g. *bubuljičav*, cf. *bubuljica*/, followed by a verbal base (73 – 22.39%) /e.g. *brbljiv*, cf. *brbljati*/, a compound base (20 – 6.13%) /e.g. *mrzovoljan*, cf. *mrzovolja*/, an adjectival base (10 – 3.07%) /e.g. *vlažnjikav*, cf. *vlažan*/, an adverbial base (3 – 0.92%) /*spoljni*, cf. *spolja*/, and a numeral base (1 – 0.31%) /e.g. *dvojni*, cf. *dvoje*/.
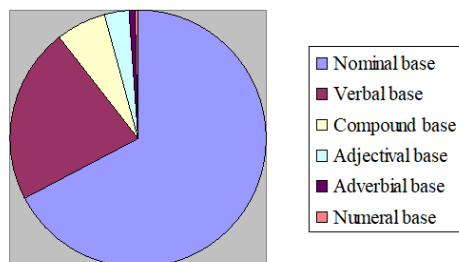
Chart 2   The distribution of derivational bases types which are combined with derivational suffixes with initial *j* in the corpus

3. (NON-)EXISTENCE OF ADJECTIVAL DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES WITH INITIAL *J* IN SERBIAN

There are three groups of linguistic approaches to derivational suffixes with initial *j* in Serbian.

From a diachronic point of view, Stakić (1985; 1988) mentions only the derivational suffix *-ji* with initial *j*. Mrazović and Vukadinović (2009, 307–311), Stevanović (1963; 1981), and Piper and Klajn (2013, 231–236), as well, mention just the derivational *-ji* with initial *j*, but they do not specify the reasons for that. Stakić (1991, 406–409) explains the palatalised *l* into *lj*, *n* into *nj*, *k*, *g*, *h* into *č*, *ž*, *š* at the end of a derivational base by generalisation and by semantic analogies, but it can seem as a vague argument to deny the existence of derivational suffixes with initial *j*.

The second group of linguists includes Klajn (2003, 253–291), who implies the existence of some derivational suffixes with initial *j*, such as *-jav*, *-jan(i)*, *-jast*, *-jat*, *-jaš(a)n*, when he makes a connection between them and their non-palatal variants *-av*,

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[2] In word formation analyses, the principle of compositionality (cf. Szabó 2017) is implemented.

-an(i), *-ast*, *-at*, *-aš(a)n* in the sense of word formation processes. Furthermore, in the word formation analyses of examples such as *sapunjav*, *zbunjiv*, *sićušan* palatalisation via *j* is mentioned, which indicates the morphological status of derivational suffixes such as *-jav*, *-jiv*, and *-jušan*. On the other hand, even Klajn (2003) explicitly mentions palatal derivational suffixes *-ji* (*ptičji*), *-jikav* (*hladnjikav*), *-ljav* (*mirišljav*), *-njiv* (*prašnjiv*), *-njast* (*kitnjast*), *-njikav* (*žutnjikav*), as well as Petrović and Gudurić (2010, 481) marking them as *-'ast*[3] (e.g. *pepeljast* /cf. *pepel-*/), *-'av* (*pepeljav* /cf. *pepel-*/). The most representative derived adjectives are given in brackets.

The group of linguists who are the most "tolerant" when assigning the status of a derivational suffix to those formants which have initial *j* includes Babić (1986, 335–446), who analyses adjectives derived by palatal suffixes *-ji* (*pasji*), *-j(a)n* (*rožan*), *-jan* (*končan*), *-jav* (*pepeljav*), *-jiv* (*sažaljiv*), *-jast* (*pepeljast*), *-jikav* (*mutnjikav*), *-jah(a)n* (*bljeđahan*), *-juš(a)n* (*kraćušan*), *-juškast* (*debeljuškast*), so these morphemes are explicitly considered derivational suffixes in the adjectives in brackets, as well as the following ones which have initial *lj* or *nj*: *-ljat* (*oštrljat*), *-ljav* (*mirišljav*), *-ljiv* (*istegljiv*), *-nji* (*gornji*), *-njav* (*blatnjav*), *-njiv* (*prašnjiv*), *-njikav* (*vodnjikav*). In the analysis of derived adjectives which denote human characteristics, Dragićević (2001) mostly agrees with the attitudes of Babić. Finally, more evidence about the morpho-phonological status of the derivational suffix *-jiv* in Serbian and nominal derivational suffixes *-ak/-njak/-jak/-ljak* in the Serbian jargon are given in Janić (2018) and Janić (2019). In those analyses the author confirmed a) the status of derivational suffixes for *-ak, -njak, -jak, -ljak*, with a remark that the first three are more frequent than the last one (Janić 2019, 229); b) that the derivational suffix *-ljiv* is today more productive than *-iv*, and *-jiv* behaves as a residual because it is undoubtedly combined with derivational bases with a final *n* (Janić 2018, 207–209). In this paper, there are no semantical differences in the analysed adjectives with different word formation analyses (on the semantical nuances of *-iv*, *-jiv*, and *-ljiv* cf. Šojat 1959; Šakić 1965; Janić 2016; Janić 2018).

4. THE METHODOLOGY

Morphophonology is a phonological discipline of morphology, which considers variants of phonemes in derivational and flective morphemes, as well as alternations of consonants which occur in the contact of a base and a suffix (cf. Stakić 2003, 28). This aspect of analysis is the most adequate one for determining the status of a derivational suffix – its phonological possibility or its independent usage. We will not group alternations of consonants either into phonological and morphological or into synchronic and diachronic etc. (cf. Stakić 1991; Stakić 2000; Stakić 2007) because we want to analyse all possible scenarios for determining the status of adjectival derivational suffixes with initial *j*. Another reason is that derivational suffixes which are analysed are frequent, and phonological changes of final consonants of derivational bases still occur in new derived adjectives.

From a joint morphophonological, morphological and phonological perspective, in this paper the analysis included the most favourable scenarios for adjectival suffixes with initial *j*. Every possible analysed example from the corpus can have a word formation analysis with some derivational suffix with initial *j*. On the other hand, some of those lexemes can also suggest an analysis with variant suffixes which do not have initial *j*, or that have initial *lj* or *nj*.

In the tables given there are numbers of the bases with every possible final consonant of a base, which were grouped, based on their phonological characteristics and also their

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[3] The apostrophe represents a palatal element (here: *j*).

combinations with different variants of adjectival derivational suffixes (with initial *j*, vowel (without initial consonant), *lj*, and *nj*). For example, the following groups of consonants were considered: sonants, explosive consonants, affricative consonants, fricative consonants, as well as palatal consonants, dental consonants, labial consonants (bilabial and labio-dental), velar and alveolar consonants. Moreover, special attention is given to bases whose final consonant is a) *l* and *n* because of the palatalisation by *j* and because of double interpretation of derivational suffixes (with *j* and *lj*, or with *j* and *nj*); b) *b*, *p*, *m*, *v* because of the palatalisation by *j* and because of double interpretation of possible derivational suffixes (with *j* and *lj*); c) *k*, *g*, *h*, *c* because of palatalisation by *vowels* or by *j* and therefore double interpretation of possible derivational suffixes (with a non-consonant suffix or with a *j*-suffix); d) *nj* and *lj* because of the triple interpretation of possible derivational suffixes (*j*, *lj*, and a non-consonant initial phoneme or *j*, *nj*, and a non-consonant initial phoneme).

We will refer to *Azbučnik prideva u srpskoj prozi dvadesetog veka* in order to verify the existence of variants with visible *j*, *lj*, *nj* derivational suffix forms, which will also influence the final conclusion about the proposal for the precise word formation analysis in the future and for the implicit acquisition of adjectival derivational suffixes *-jan*, *-j(a)n*, *-jav*, *-jast*, *-jiv*, *-ji*, *-jal(a)n*, *-jar(a)n*, *-jat*, *-jev*, *-jevit*, *-jikav*, *-jin*, *-jit*, *-juškast* in Serbian.

5. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX *-J(A)N*

The alternative for the derivational suffix *-j(a)n* in 99.21% of the adjectives in the corpus is *-(a)n* and in 8.66% of the analysed adjectives *-lj(a)n* is the phonological alternative for *-j(a)n*. The derivational suffix *-nj(a)n* was not confirmed in the corpus as a phonological possibility because there were no adjectival bases with the final consonants *n* and *nj*. Moreover, the adjectives in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika* (in English: *Reverse Dictionary of Serbian*) show that *-lj(a)n* and *-nj(a)n* are not independent suffixes because they are not visible on the surface level. The endings *-lj(a)n* and *-nj(a)n* can be found in the adjectives whose bases have a final *lj* and *nj*[4] (e.g. *voljan* – motivated by the noun *volja*).

The existence of *-j(a)n* is implied by the palatalisation of *n* and *l* (there were no examples in the corpus[5]), which is only possible with *j*, not with vowels. On the other hand, palatalisation by a transitory vowel *a* or by *j* is phonologically possible for bases with a final consonant *k* (e.g. *bučan* /cf. *buka*/, *večan* /cf. *vek*/, *logičan* /cf. *logika*/, *mlečan* /cf. *mleko*/, *mračan* /cf. *mrak*/, *naučan* /cf. *nauka*/), *g* (e.g. *brižan* /cf. *briga*/, *vlažan* /cf. *vlaga*/, *kružan* /cf. *krug*/, *snažan* /cf. *snaga*/, *snežan* /cf. *sneg*/, *tužan* /cf. *tuga*/), *h* (e.g. *siromašan* /cf. *siromah*/, *strašan* /cf. *strah*/, *slušni/?slušan* /cf. *sluh*/, *trbušni/?trbušan*[6] /cf. *trbuh*/), *c* (e.g. *krivičan* /cf. *krivica*/, *letimičan* /cf. *letimice*/, *ličan* /cf. *lice*/, *vodenični/?vodeničan* /cf. *vodenica*/, *ulični/?uličan* /cf. *ulica*/, *pšenični/?pšeničan* /cf. *pšenica*/).

The derivational suffixes *-j(a)n* and *-(a)n* are interchangeable, except with bases with a final *n* and *l*, where only *-j(a)n* is a possible interpretation in a word formation analysis. Velar consonants (48.82%), explosive consonants (45.67%) and palatal consonants (40.94%) occur most frequently with the suffix *-j(a)n* and *-(a)n* (cf. tables 1 and 2).

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[4] There are no bases with final *nj* in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika*.
[5] For example, the motivational word for an adjective *trboboljan* is a noun *trbobolja*, in which case *lj* is a final consonant of a base and *-j(a)n* is a phonological possibility for a word formation analysis. This example is not motivated by a reduced nominal base *trb-*, the interfix *-o-* and a reduced verbal base *bol-* of *boleti* and a derivational suffix *-j(a)n*.
[6] In the last two pairs of examples only the definitive adjectival type is common.

Table 1 The distribution of derivational suffixes *-(a)n*, *-j(a)n*, *-lj(a)n* and *-nj(a)n* with different groups of final consonants (sonants, explosive consonants, affricative consonants, and fricative consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffix *-j(a)n*	The derivational suffix *-lj(a)n*	The derivational suffix *-nj(a)n*	The non-palatal derivational suffix *-(a)n*	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is *-(a)n*
Sonants j, r, v, l, lj, m, n, nj	j (41), lj (11)	lj (10)	/	j (41), lj (11)	j (41), lj (11)
Explosive consonants b, p, d, t, g, k	g (14), k (44)	/	/	g (14), k (44)	g (14), k (44)
Affricative consonants c, č, ć, dž, đ	c (13)	/	/	c (13)	c (13)
Fricative consonants z, s, ž, š, f, h	h (4)	/	/	h (4)	h (4)
The Total Number	127 (100%)	11 (8.66%)	0	126 (99.21%)	127

Table 2 The distribution of derivational suffixes *-(a)n*, *-j(a)n*, *-lj(a)n* and *-nj(a)n* with different groups of final consonants (palatal consonants, dental consonants, bilabial consonants, labio-dental consonants, velar consonants, and alveolar consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffix *-j(a)n*	The derivational suffix *-lj(a)n*	The derivational suffix *-nj(a)n*	The non-palatal derivational suffix *-(a)n*	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is *-(a)n*
Palatal consonants j, lj, nj, ć, đ, š, ž, č, dž	j (41), lj (11)	lj (11)	/	j (41), lj (11)	j (41), lj (11)
Dental consonants t, d, s, z, c	c (13)	/	/	c (13)	c (13)
Bilabial consonants b, p, m	/	/	/	/	0
Labio-dental consonants v, f	/	/	/	/	0
Velar consonants k, g, h	g (14), k (44), h (4)	/	/	g (14), k (44), h (4)	g (14), k (44), h (4)
Alveolar consonants l, r, n	/	/	/	/	0
The Total Number	127 (100%)	11 (8.66%)	0	126 (99.21%)	127

6. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX -*JAV*

The alternative for the derivational suffix -*jav* in 86.67% of the adjectives in the corpus is -*av*, in 43.33% of the analysed adjectives -*ljav* is the phonological alternative for -*jav*, and -*njav* in 16.67% of the analysed adjectives. Phonological possibilities for all four derivational suffixes were confirmed. Moreover, the adjectives in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika* show that -*ljav* is not an independent suffix because *lj* is contained at the end of bases on the surface level, but -*njav* is visible and independent in adjectives such as *blatnjav* /cf. *blato*/, *gašnjav* /cf. *gas*/, *kitnjav* /cf. *kititi*/, where *nj* is obviously not the part of the mentioned motivational words.

The existence of -*jav* is implied by the palatalisation of *l* (e.g. *guljav* /cf. *guliti*/, *mastiljav* /cf. *mastilo*/, *pepeljav* /cf. *pepel*- from *pepeo*/) and *n* (e.g. *sapunjav* /cf. *sapun*/, *težinjav* /cf. *težina*/, *zejtinjav* /cf. *zejtin*/), which is only possible by *j*, not by vowels. It could not be assumed that the suffix is -*ljav* in the examples whose base has a final *l* especially because -*ljav* was not confirmed as an independent derivational suffix in all the other examples, but the derivational suffix -*njav* can be considered a phonological option in the word formation analysis because its existence is confirmed in adjectives with bases which have different final consonants.

On the other hand, both the first palatalisation and the palatalisation by *j* are phonologically possible for bases with a final consonant *k* (e.g. *jezičav* /cf. *jezik*/, *jektičav* /cf. *jektika*/, *papričav* /cf. *paprika*/), *g* (there were no examples in the corpus, an example can be *kvržav* /cf. *kvrga*/), *h* (there were no examples either in the corpus, or in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika*), *c* (e.g. *bradavičav* /cf. *bradavica*/, *bubuljičav* /cf. *bubuljica*/, *grozničav* /cf. *groznica*/, *gromuljičav* /cf. *gromuljica*/, *ospičav* /cf. *ospica*/).

The derivational suffixes -*jav* and -*av* are interchangeable, except with bases with a final *n* and *l*, where only -*jav* is a possible interpretation in word formation analysis, as well as -*njav* with bases with a final *n*. Sonants (71.67%), palatal consonants (60%) and affricative consonants (23.33%) occur most frequently with the suffix -*jav* (cf. tables 3 and 4).

Table 3 The distribution of derivational suffixes -*av*, -*jav*, -*ljav,* and -*njav* with different groups of final consonants (sonants, explosive consonants, affricative consonants, and fricative consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffix -*jav*	The derivational suffix -*ljav*	The derivational suffix -*njav*	The non-palatal derivational suffix -*av*	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is -*av*
Sonants j, r, v, l, lj, m, n, nj	j (7), l (3), lj (23), n (5), nj (5)	l (3), lj (23)	n (5), nj (5)	j (7), lj (23), nj (5)	j (7), l (3), lj (23), n (5), nj (5)
Explosive consonants b, p, d, t, g, k	k (3)	/	/	k (3)	k (3)
Affricative consonants c, č, ć, dž, đ	c (13), đ (1)	/	/	đ (1), c (13)	c (13), đ (1)
Fricative z, s, ž, š, f, h	/	/	/	/	0
The Total Number	60 (100%)	26 (43.33%)	10 (16.67%)	52 (86.67%)	60

Table 4 The distribution of derivational suffixes -*av*, -*jav*, -*ljav*, and -*njav* with different groups of final consonants (palatal consonants, dental consonants, bilabial consonants, labio-dental consonants, velar consonants, and alveolar consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffix -*jav*	The derivational suffix -*ljav*	The derivational suffix -*njav*	The non-palatal derivational suffix -*av*	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is -*av*
Palatal consonants j, lj, nj, ć, đ, š, ž, č, dž	j (7), lj (23), nj (5), đ (1)	lj (23)	nj (5)	j (7), lj (23), nj (5), đ (1)	j (7), lj (23), nj (5), đ (1)
Dental t, d, s, z, c	c (13)	/	/	c (13)	c (13)
Bilabial b, p, m	/	/	/	/	0
Labio-dental v, f	/	/	/	/	0
Velar k, g, h	k (3)	/	/	k (3)	k (3)
Alveolar l, r, n	l (3), n (5)	l (3)	n (5)	/	l (3), n (5)
The Total Number	60 (100%)	26 (43.33%)	10 (16.67%)	52 (86.67%)	60

7. THE STATUS OF THE DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX -*JAST*

The alternative for the derivational suffix -*jast* in 89.74% of the adjectives in the corpus is -*ast*, in 30.77% of the analysed adjectives -*ljast* is the phonological alternative for -*jast*, and -*njast* is the phonological alternative for -*jast* in 17.95% of the analysed adjectives. Phonological possibilities for all four derivational suffixes were confirmed. Moreover, the adjectives in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika* show that -*ljast* is not an independent suffix because it is contained in the base on the surface level, but -*njast* is independent because it is visible in adjectives such as *kitnjast* /cf. *kititi*/, *krečnjast* /cf. *kreč*/, where *nj* is obviously not a part of these motivational words.

The existence of -*jast* is implied by the palatalisation of *l* (e.g. *pepeljast* /cf. *pepel-* from *pepeo*/) and *n* (e.g. *brašnjast* /cf. *brašno*/, *kestenjast* /cf. *kesten*/), which is only possible with *j*, not with vowels. We could not assume that the suffix is -*ljast* in examples whose base has a final *l* especially because -*ljast* was not confirmed as independent derivational suffix in all the other examples, but the derivational suffix -*njast* can be considered a phonological option in word formation analysis because its existence is confirmed in adjectives with bases which have different final consonants, such as those mentioned above.

On the other hand, palatalisation by a vowel or by *j* is phonologically possible for bases with a final consonant *k* (e.g. *jastučast* /cf. *jastuk*/, *jezičast* /cf. *jezik*/), *g* (there were no examples in the corpus, e.g. *rožast* /cf. *rog*/), *h* (e.g. *trbušast* /cf. *trbuh*/), *c* (e.g. *kapljičast* /cf. *kapljica*/, *mesečast* /cf. *mesec*/, *ovčast* /cf. *ovca*/).

The derivational suffixes -*jast* and -*ast* are interchangeable, except in cases with bases with a final *n* and *l*, where only -*jast* is a possible interpretation in word formation analysis, as well as -*njast* with bases with a final *n* and *nj*. Sonants (66.67%) and palatal consonants (58.97%) occur most frequently with the suffix -*jast* (cf. tables 5 and 6).

Table 5 The distribution of derivational suffixes *-ast*, *-jast*, *-ljast,* and *-njast* with different groups of final consonants (sonants, explosive consonants, affricative consonants, and fricative consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffix *-jast*	The derivational suffix *-ljast*	The derivational suffix *-njast*	The non-palatal derivational suffix *-ast*	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is *-ast*
Sonants j, r, v, l, lj, m, n, nj	j (7), l (1), lj (11), n (3), nj (4)	l (1), lj (11)	n (3), nj (4)	j (7), lj (11), nj (4)	j (7), l (1), lj (11), n (3), nj (4)
Explosive consonants b, p, d, t, g, k	k (3)	/	/	k (3)	k (3)
Affricative consonants c, č, ć, dž, đ	c (8), đ (1)	/	/	c (8), đ (1)	c (8), đ (1)
Fricative z, s, ž, š, f, h	h (1)	/	/	h (1)	h (1)
The Total Number	39 (100%)	12 (30.77%)	7 (17.95%)	35 (89.74%)	39

Table 6 The distribution of derivational suffixes *-ast*, *-jast*, *-ljast*, and *-njast* with different groups of final consonants (palatal consonants, dental consonants, bilabial consonants, labio-dental consonants, velar consonants, and alveolar consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffix *-jast*	The derivational suffix *-ljast*	The derivational suffix *-njast*	The non-palatal derivational suffix *-ast*	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is *-ast*
Palatal consonants j, lj, nj, ć, đ, š, ž, č, dž	j (7), lj (11), nj (4), đ (1)	lj (11)	nj (4)	j (7), lj (11), nj (4), đ (1)	j (7), lj (11), nj (4), đ (1)
Dental t, d, s, z, c	c (8)	/	/	c (8)	c (8)
Bilabial b, p, m	/	/	/	/	0
Labio-dental v, f	/	/	/	/	0
Velar k, g, h	k (3), h (1)	/	/	k (3), h (1)	k (3), h (1)
Alveolar l, r, n	l (1), n (3)	l (1)	n (3)	/	l (1), n (3)
The Total Number	39 (100%)	12 (30.77%)	7 (17.95%)	35 (89.74%)	39

8. THE STATUS OF THE DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX *-JIV*

The alternative for the derivational suffix *-jiv* in 78.57% of the adjectives in the corpus is *-ljiv*, in 19.05% of the analysed adjectives *-njiv* is the phonological alternative for *-jiv*, and *-iv* is the phonological alternative for *-jiv* in 16.67% of the analysed

adjectives. Phonological possibilities for all four derivational suffixes were confirmed. Moreover, the adjectives in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika* show that *-njiv* is not an independent suffix because it is contained in the base on the surface level, but *-ljiv* is visible in adjectives such as *barutljiv* /cf. *barut*/, *ćutljiv* /cf. *ćutati*/, *uništljiv* /cf. *uništiti*/, where *lj* is obviously not the part of the motivational words.

The existence of *-jiv* is implied by the palatalisation of *l* (e.g. *šaljiv* /cf. *šaliti se*/, *odoljiv* /cf. *odoleti*/) and *n* (e.g. *ranjiv* /cf. *raniti*/, *sanjiv* /cf. *san*/), which is only possible with *j*, not with vowels. We could not assume that the suffix is *-njiv* in the examples whose base has a final *n* and *nj* (e.g. *sumnjiv* /cf. *sumnjati*/) especially because *-njiv* was not confirmed as independent derivational suffix in all other examples, but the derivational suffix *-ljiv* (as well as *-jiv*) can be considered a phonological option in the word formation analysis of the mentioned adjectives with bases with a final *l*, as well as those with a final *lj* (e.g. *brbljiv* /cf. *brbljati*/), *p* (e.g. *lepljiv* /cf. *lepiti*/), *b* (e.g. *upotrebljiv* /cf. *upotrebiti*/), *m* (e.g. *razumljiv* /cf. *razumeti*/), *v* (e.g. *snebivljiv* /cf. *snebivati se*/) because the existence of *-ljiv* is confirmed in adjectives with bases which have different final consonants and the existence of *-jiv* is also confirmed by palatalisation via *j*.

On the other hand, palatalisation by a vowel or by *j* is phonologically possible for the bases with a final consonant *k*, *g*, *h*, *c*, but there were no such examples in the corpus, or in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika*), except for the example with *g* in a base *dostiživ* /cf. the verbal base *dostig-*/ in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika*.

The derivational suffix *-jiv* is interchangeable with *-iv* or *-ljiv* except with bases with a final *n*, where only *-jiv* is a possible interpretation in word formation analysis. Sonants (66.67%) and bilabial consonants (52.38%) occur most frequently with the suffix *-jiv* (cf. tables 7 and 8).

Table 7 The distribution of derivational suffixes *-iv*, *-jiv*, *-ljiv,* and *-njiv* with different groups of final consonants (sonants, explosive consonants, affricative consonants, and fricative consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffix *-jiv*	The derivational suffix *-ljiv*	The derivational suffix *-njiv*	The non-palatal derivational suffix *-iv*	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is *-iv*
Sonants j, r, v, l, lj, m, n, nj	j (1), v (4), l (3), lj (4), m (8), n (6), nj (2)	v (4), l (3), lj (4), m (8)	n (6), nj (2)	j (1), lj (4), nj (2)	j (1), v (4), l (3), lj (4), m (8), n (6), nj (2)
Explosive consonants b, p, d, t, g, k	b (9), p (5)	b (9), p (5)	/	/	b (9), p (5)
Affricative consonants c, č, ć, dž, đ	/	/	/	/	0
Fricative z, s, ž, š, f, h	/	/	/	/	0
The Total Number	42 (100%)	33 (78.57%)	8 (19.05%)	7 (16.67%)	42

Table 8 The distribution of derivational suffixes *-iv*, *-jiv*, *-ljiv,* and *-njiv* with different groups
of final consonants (palatal consonants, dental consonants, bilabial consonants,
labio-dental consonants, velar consonants, and alveolar consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffix *-jiv*	The derivational suffix *-ljiv*	The derivational suffix *-njiv*	The non-palatal derivational suffix *-iv*	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is *-iv*
Palatal consonants j, lj, nj, ć, đ, š, ž, č, dž	j (1), lj (4), nj (2)	lj (4)	nj (2)	j (1), lj (4), nj (2)	j (1), lj (4), nj (2)
Dental t, d, s, z, c	/	/	/	/	0
Bilabial b, p, m	b (9), m (8), p (5)	b (9), m (8), p (5)	/	/	b (9), m (8), p (5)
Labio-dental v, f	v (4)	v (4)	/	/	v (4)
Velar k, g, h	/	/	/	/	0
Alveolar l, r, n	l (3), n (6)	l (3)	n (6)	/	l (3), n (6)
The Total Number	42 (100%)	33 (78.57%)	8 (19.05%)	7 (16.67%)	42

9. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX *-JI*

The phonological alternative for the derivational suffix *-ji* in 29.41% of the adjectives
in the corpus is *-lji*, but regarding the examples both in the corpus and in *Obratni rečnik
srpskoga jezika*, the ending *-lji* exists just on the surface level. The derivational suffix *-i*
does not exist in Serbian, and the derivational suffix *-nji* is possible with bases with a
final *n*, because *-nji* exists as an independent derivational suffix (e.g. *maternji* /cf. *mater-*/,
bližnji /cf. *blizu*/).

The derivational suffix *-ji* is not as frequent in the corpus as the previous suffixes
mentioned in the paper. Palatalisation of a final *n* and *l* by *-ji* is visible in only 2 of the 17
examples: *jesenji* /cf. *jesen*/ and *đavolji* /cf. nominal base *đavol-*/, but it is more frequent
for *b* and *v* (5 examples): e.g. *riblji* /cf. *riba*/ and *mravlji* /cf. *mrav*/. The most frequent
final consonants of the derivational base with the derivational suffix *-ji* are affricative
consonants (35.29%), sonants (29.41%), and palatal consonants (17.65%) (cf. tables 9
and 10).

Table 9 The distribution of derivational suffixes *-i, -ji, -lji,* and *-nji* with different groups of final consonants (sonants, explosive consonants, affricative consonants, and fricative consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffix *-ji*	The derivational suffix *-lji*	The derivational suffix *-nji*	The non-palatal derivational suffix *-i*	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is *-i*
Sonants j, r, v, l, lj, m, n, nj	v (3), l (1), n (1)	v (3), l (1)	n (1)	/	v (3), l (1), n (1)
Explosive consonants b, p, d, t, g, k	b (2), k (2)	b (2)	/	/	b (2), k (2)
Affricative consonants c, č, ć, dž, đ	c (4), č (2)	/	/	/	c (4), č (2)
Fricative z, s, ž, š, f, h	s (1), š (1)	/	/	/	s (1), š (1)
The Total Number	17 (100%)	5 (29.41%)	1 (5.88%)	0	17

Table 10 The distribution of derivational suffixes *-i, -ji, -lji,* and *-nji* with different groups of final consonants (palatal consonants, dental consonants, bilabial consonants, labio-dental consonants, velar consonants, and alveolar consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffix *-ji*	The derivational suffix *-lji*	The derivational suffix *-nji*	The non-palatal derivational suffix *-i*	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is *-i*
Palatal consonants j, lj, nj, ć, đ, š, ž, č, dž	č (2), š (1)	/	/	/	č (2), š (1)
Dental t, d, s, z, c	s (1), c (4)	/	/	/	s (1), c (4)
Bilabial b, p, m	b (2)	b (2)	/	/	b (2)
Labio-dental v, f	v (3)	v (3)	/	/	v (3)
Velar k, g, h	k (2)	/	/	/	k (2)
Alveolar l, r, n	l (1), n (1)	l (1)	n (1)	/	l (1), n (1)
The Total Number	17 (100%)	5 (29.41%)	1 (5.88%)	0	17

10. Sporadic Derivational Suffixes *-jan*, *-jat*, *-jev*, *-jin*, *-jit*

The morphemes *-jan*, *-jat*, *-jev*, *-jin*, *-jit* are sporadic in the corpus. The derivational independence of the formant *-jan* is palatalisation by initial *j* from the derivational suffix in adjectives such as *zlaćan* /cf. *zlato*/. The formant *-jat* is a phonologically possible derivational formant in the corpus because the final consonant of the base is the palatal *lj*, but adjectives

like *domišljat* /cf. *domisliti*/ can be the argument for the status of the derivational suffix for -*jat*. The derivational suffix -*jev* is equally possible as -*ev* because of palatalisation (via *j* or via vowel *e*). The derivational status of -*jin* and -*jit* is a phonological possibility in the corpus because the bases have a final palatal sonant *j* (e.g. *zavojit* /cf. *zavoj*/), *lj* (e.g. *zemljin* /cf. *zemlja*/, *temeljit* /cf. *temelj*/), *nj* (e.g. *trešnjin* /cf. *trešnja*/) (cf. tables 11 and 12). The derivational suffixes -*ljan*, -*njan*, -*ljat*, -*njat*, -*ljev*, -*njev*, -*ljit* and -*njit* were not proven independent by the examples in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika*.

Table 11 The distribution of derivational suffixes -*jan*, -*jat*, -*jev*, -*jin*, -*jit* and their variants with different groups of final consonants (sonants, explosive consonants, affricative consonants, and fricative consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffixes -*jan*, -*jat*, -*jev*, -*jin*, -*jit*	The derivational suffixes -*ljan*, -*ljat*, -*ljev*, -*ljin*, -*ljit*	The derivational suffixes -*njan*, -*njat*, -*njev*, -*njin*, -*njit*	The non-palatal derivational suffixes -*an*, -*at*, -*ev*, -*in*, -*it*	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is -*an*, -*at*, -*ev*, -*in*, -*it*
Sonants j, r, v, l, lj, m, n, nj	j (2 -jan, 3 -jit), lj (1 -jan, 1 -jat, 1 -jev, 1 -jin, 1 -jit), nj (2 -jev, 1 -jin)	lj (1 -ljan, 1 -ljat, 1 -ljev, 1 -ljin, 1 -ljit)	nj (2 -njev, 1 -njin)	j (2 -an, 3 -it), lj (1 -an, 1 -at, 1 -ev, 1 -in, 1 -it), nj (2 -ev, 1 -in)	j (2 -an, 3 -it), lj (1 -an, 1 -at, 1 -ev, 1 -in, 1 -it), nj (2 -ev, 1 -in)
Explosive consonants b, p, d, t, g, k	k (2 -jan), t (1 -jan)	/	/	k (2 -an)	k (2 -an), t (1 -an)
Affricative consonants c, č, ć, dž, đ	c (6 -jan, 2 -jev)	/	/	c (6 -an, 2 -ev)	c (5 -an, 2 -ev)
Fricative z, s, ž, š, f, h	/	/	/	/	0
The Total Number	24 (100%)	5 (20.83%)	3 (12.5%)	23 (95.83%)	24

11. COMPLEX DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES -*JAL(A)N*, -*JAR(A)N*, -*JEVIT*, -*JIKAV*, -*JUŠKAST*

Derivational suffixes -*jal(a)n*, -*jar(a)n*, -*jevit*, -*jikav*, -*juškast* are indirectly visible in the corpus because of the palatalisation of the final consonant of a base (e.g. *debeljuškast* /cf. the adjectival base *debel-* of adjective *debeo*/, *vlažnjikav* /cf. *vlažan*/). In other cases, derivational suffixes -*jal(a)n*, -*jar(a)n*, -*jevit*, -*jikav*, -*juškast* are connected with the palatal sonant *j* (e.g. *slojevit* /cf. *sloj*/, *familijaran* /cf. *familija*/, *kolonijalan* /cf. *kolonija*/), *lj* (e.g. *šupljikav* /cf. *šupalj*/), *nj* (e.g. *munjevit* /cf. *munja*/), where they are phonologically equally possible as variants without a consonant, with initial *lj* or with initial *nj*: a) -*ar(a)n* and -*jar(a)n* (e.g. *familij-* + -*ar(a)n* or *familij-* + -*jar(a)n*), b) -*ljikav*, -*ikav*, and -*jikav* (e.g. *šuplj-* + -*ikav*/-*jikav*/-*ljikav*), c) -*njevit*, -*jevit*, and -*evit* (e.g. *munj-* + -*evit*/-*jevit*/-*njevit*).

Palatal consonants occur most frequently as the final phonemes of a derivational base (92.31%) – cf. tables 13 and 14.

Table 12 The distribution of derivational suffixes *-jan*, *-jat*, *-jev*, *-jin*, *-jit* and their variants with different groups of final consonants (palatal consonants, dental consonants, bilabial consonants, labio-dental consonants, velar consonants, and alveolar consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffixes *-jan*, *-jat*, *-jev*, *-jin*, *-jit*	The derivational suffixes *-ljan*, *-ljat*, *-ljev*, *-ljin*, *-ljit*	The derivational suffixes *-njan*, *-njat*, *-njev*, *-njin*, *-njit*	The non-palatal derivational suffixes *-an*, *-at*, *-ev*, *-in*, *-it*	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is *-an*, *-at*, *-ev*, *-in*, *-it*
Palatal consonants j, lj, nj, ć, đ, š, ž, č, dž	j (2 -jan, 3 -jit), lj (1 -jan, 1 -jat, 1 -jev, 1 -jin, 1 -jit), nj (2 -jev, 1 -jin)	lj (1 -ljan, 1 -ljat, 1 -ljev, 1 -ljin, 1 -ljit)	nj (2 -njev, 1 -njin)	j (2 -an, 3 -it), lj (1 -an, 1 -at, 1 -ev, 1 -in, 1 -it), nj (2 -jev, 1 -in)	j (2 -an, 3 -it), lj (1 -an, 1 -at, 1 -ev, 1 -in, 1 -it), nj (2 -ev, 1 -in)
Dental t, d, s, z, c	t (1 -jan), c (5 -jan, 2 -jev)	/	/	c (5 -an, 2 -ev)	t (1 -an), c (5 -an, 2 -ev)
Bilabial b, p, m	/	/	/	/	0
Labio-dental v, f	/	/	/	/	0
Velar k, g, h	k (2 -jan)	/	/	k (2 -an)	k (2 -an)
Alveolar l, r, n	/	/	/	/	0
The Total Number	24 (100%)	5 (20.83%)	3 (12.5%)	23 (95.83%)	24

Table 13 The distribution of derivational suffixes *-jal(a)n*, *-jar(a)n*, *-jevit*, *-jikav*, *-juškast* and their variants with different groups of final consonants (sonants, explosive consonants, affricative consonants, and fricative consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational Suffixes *-jal(a)n*, *-jar(a)n*, *-jevit*, *-jikav*, *-juškast*	The derivational Suffixes *-ljal(a)n*, *-ljar(a)n*, *-ljevit*, *-ljikav*, *-ljuškast*	The derivational Suffixes *-njal(a)n*, *-njar(a)n*, *-njevit*, *-njikav*, *-njuškast*	The non-palatal derivational Suffixes *-al(a)n*, *-ar(a)n*, *-evit*, *-ikav*, *-uškast*	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is *-al(a)n*, *-ar(a)n*, *-evit*, *-ikav*, *-uškast*
Sonants j, r, v, l, lj, m, n, nj	j (1 -jevit, 3 -jal(a)n, 1 -jar(a)n), l (1 -juškast), lj (3 -jevit, 2 -jikav), nj (1 -jevit)	l (1 -ljuškast), lj (3 -ljevit, 2 -ljikav)	nj (1 -njevit)	j (1 -evit, 3 -al(a)n, 1 -ar(a)n), lj (3 -evit, 2 -ikav), nj (1 -evit)	j (1 -evit, 3 -al(a)n, 1 -ar(a)n), l (1 -uškast), lj (3 -evit, 2 -ikav), nj (1 -evit)
Explosive consonants b, p, d, t, g, k	/	/	/	/	/
Affricative consonants c, č, ć, dž, đ	c (1 -jevit)	/	/	c (1 -evit)	c (1 -evit)
Fricative z, s, ž, š, f, h	/	/	/	/	/
The Total Number	13 (100%)	6 (46.15%)	1 (7.69%)	12 (92.31%)	13

Table 14 The distribution of derivational suffixes *-jal(a)n*, *-jar(a)n*, *-jevit*, *-jikav*, *-juškast* and their variants with different groups of final consonants (palatal consonants, dental consonants, bilabial consonants, labio-dental consonants, velar consonants, and alveolar consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational *-jal(a)n*, *-jar(a)n*, *-jevit*, *-jikav*, *-juškast*	The derivational Suffixes *-ljal(a)n*, *-ljar(a)n*, *-ljevit*, *-ljikav*, *-ljuškast*	The derivational Suffixes *-njal(a)n*, *-njar(a)n*, *-njevit*, *-njikav*, *-njuškast*	The non-palatal derivational Suffixes *-al(a)n*, *-ar(a)n*, *-evit*, *-ikav*, *-uškast*	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is *-al(a)n*, *-ar(a)n*, *-evit*, *-ikav*, *-uškast*
Palatal consonants j, lj, nj, ć, đ, š, ž, č, dž	j (1 -jevit, 3 -jal(a)n, 1 -jar(a)n), l (1 -juškast), lj (3 -jevit, 2 -jikav), nj (1 -jevit)	l (1 -ljuškast), lj (3 -ljevit, 2 -ljikav)	nj (1 -njevit)	j (1 -evit, 3 -al(a)n, 1 -ar(a)n), lj (3 -evit, 2 -ikav), nj (1 -evit)	j (1 -evit, 3 -al(a)n, 1 -ar(a)n), l (1 -uškast), lj (3 -evit, 2 -ikav), nj (1 -evit)
Dental t, d, s, z, c	c (1 -jevit)	/	/	c (1 -evit)	c (1 -evit)
Bilabial b, p, m	/	/	/	/	0
Labio-dental v, f	/	/	/	/	0
Velar k, g, h	/	/	/	/	0
Alveolar l, r, n	/	/	/	/	0
The Total Number	13 (100%)	6 (46.15%)	1 (7.69%)	12 (92.31%)	13

12. DISCUSSION

Palatalisation by *j* in adjectives whose bases have the final consonants *n* and *l* is an inevitable explanation for the morphological status of derivational suffixes with initial *j* (8.9% of the examples in the corpus /*Azbučnik prideva u srpskoj prozi dvadesetog veka* by Miroslav Josić Višnjić/). Phonological alternatives for derivational suffixes with bases which have a final consonant *n* and *l* are *nj-* or *lj-* suffix variants, but that kind of analysis is not uniform because *lj-* and *nj-* suffixes are not always proven independent in Serbian.

Derived adjectives with palatal consonants *j*, *đ*, *lj*, *nj* (43.56%) at the end of the base have a few word formation analysis variants.

Firstly, adjectives such as *zujav*, with a final *j* in the base, can be a combination of a reduced verbal base *zuj-* and the derivational suffix *-av* or *-jav*, and those adjectives such as *čađav*, with a final *đ* in the derivational base, can also be a combination of the nominal base *čađ-* and the derivational suffixes *-av* or *-jav*.

Secondly, adjectives with derivational bases which have a final *nj* and *lj* (22.7% of the examples of the analysed examples) can be phonologically explained in three ways: with

derivational suffixes which have initial *j*, *nj* or vowel (bases with a final *nj*) or with derivational suffixes which have initial *j*, *lj* or vowel (bases with a final *lj*). In word formation analyses we only considered the suffixes with initial *lj* and *nj* which were independently confirmed in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika*.

Thirdly, palatalisation of labials *b*, *v*, *m*, *p* by *j* from a derivational suffix was found in 9.51% of the analysed adjectives. The alternative are suffixes with initial *lj* (if they were confirmed in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika*). Therefore, the word formation analyses for examples such as *žablji, kolebljiv, mravlji, snebivljiv, razumljiv, opipljiv* should be: *žab- + -ji, koleb- + -jiv/-ljiv, mrav- + -ji, snebiv- + -jiv/-ljiv, razum- + -jiv/-ljiv, opip- + -jiv/-ljiv*.

Finally, the first palatalisation of *k*, *g*, *h*, *c* (35.58%) has the same phonological results as palatalisation via *j*. Therefore, the word formation analyses for examples such as *jastučast, jezičav, čeličan, brižan, siromašan, letimičan, bradavičav, srčan, igličast, sunčev* should be: *jastuk- + -ast/-jast, jezik- + -av/-jav, čelik- + -(a)n/-j(a)n, brig- + -(a)n/-j(a)n, siromah- + -(a)n/-j(a)n, letimic- + -(a)n/-j(a)n, bradavic- + -av/-jav, src- + -an/-jan, iglic- + -ast/-jast, sunc- + -ev/-jev*. There were no examples with final *z* that can alternate with *ž* (cf. *knez/kneže*).

Approximately 54.6% of the analysed adjectives can be explained by palatalisation in the broadest sense of that term and 98.31% of them have more phonological alternatives for derivational suffixes because of the existing palatal consonant at the end of the base (cf. Table 15).

Table 15 The frequency and percentage of different types of derivational suffixes

The last consonant of the base	The initial *j* in the derivational suffix	The initial *lj* in the derivational suffix	The initial *nj* in the derivational suffix	The non-palatal suffix	The Number of Adjectives
b	11	11	0	0	11
c	47	0	0	44	47
č	2	0	0	0	2
đ	2	0	0	2	2
g	14	0	0	14	14
h	5	0	0	5	5
j	66	0	0	66	66
k	54	0	0	53	54
l	9	9	0	0	9
lj	59	59	0	59	59
m	8	8	0	0	8
n	19	0	19	0	19
nj	15	0	15	15	15
p	5	5	0	0	5
s	1	0	0	0	1
š	1	0	0	0	1
t	1	0	0	0	1
v	7	7	0	0	7
The sum	326 (100%)	99 (30.37%)	34 (10.43%)	257 (78.83%)	326

The consonant *c* in front of the derivational suffix *-ji* can alternate with *č* (*dečji* /cf. *deca*/, *ptičji* /cf. *ptica*/), and *š* is also combined with *-ji* (*mišji* /cf. *miš*/). On the other hand, *s* is not palatalised via *j* in the corpus (*pasji* /cf. *pas*/), but *t* is (*zlaćan* /cf. *zlato*/), which is also the argument for the existence of *-ji* and *-jan* in the word formation structure, as well as the other derivational formants which cause palatalisation by the initial *j* from derivational suffixes.

13. CONCLUSION

The most important research question in this paper is what the status of derivational suffixes with initial *j* in Serbian is, and how often native speakers of Serbian are exposed to adjectives which are possibly derived with derivational suffixes with initial *j* in the contemporary literature. Native speakers do not do word formational analyses explicitly, but they are implicitly aware of derivational suffixes which exist in their native language, especially the ones they are frequently exposed to. These conclusions about adjectives with a possible interpretation of derivational suffixes with initial *j* can be a guide for understanding derivational processes in the future.

Derivational suffixes with initial *j* are equally morpho-phonologically possible as their non-palatal variants (without initial consonant) and those with initial *lj* and *nj*. Because of palatalisation alternations of consonants via *j*, derivational suffixes with initial *j* should be considered parallel with derivational suffixes with initial *lj*, initial *nj*, and without initial consonant. The most precise derivational analysis should include every possible morpho-phonological scenario, but should not include non-confirmed derivational suffixes. These analyses point to the independence of derivational suffixes with initial *lj* and *nj*, and those with initial *j* would be residuals.

The derivational suffixes *-j(a)n* and *-(a)n* are interchangeable in most cases where *-j(a)n* is a possible formant, except with the bases with a final *n* and *l*, where only *-j(a)n* is a possible interpretation in word formation analysis. The formants *-lj(a)n* and *-nj(a)n* are not independent suffixes, but only phonological possibilities.

The existence of *-jav* is implied by the palatalisation of *l* (e.g. *mastiljav* /cf. *mastilo*/) and *n* (e.g. *težinjav* /cf. *težina*/), which is only possible with *j*, not with vowels. The alternative for the derivational suffix *-jav* in 86.67% of the adjectives in the corpus is *-av*; *-ljav* is the phonological alternative for *-jav* in 43.33% of the analysed adjectives; and *-njav* in 16.67% of the analysed adjectives. The formant *-ljav* is not an independent suffix because it is contained only in the base on the surface level, but *-njav* is visible in adjectives such as *kitnjav* /cf. *kititi*/, where *nj* is obviously not a part of the derivational base.

The alternative for the derivational suffix *-jast* in 89.74% of the adjectives in the corpus is *-ast*; *-ljast* is the phonological alternative for *-jast* in 30.77% of the analysed adjectives; and *-njast* in 17.95% of the analysed adjectives. Phonological possibilities for all four derivational suffixes were confirmed, but *-ljast* is not an independent suffix because it is contained in the base on the surface level. On the other hand, the formant *-njast* is visible in adjectives such as *kitnjast* /cf. *kititi*/, where *nj* is obviously not a part of the base, so it has the status of an independent derivational suffix.

The alternative for the derivational suffix *-jiv* in 78.57% of the adjectives in the corpus is *-ljiv*; *-njiv* is the phonological alternative for *-jiv* in 19.05% of the analysed adjectives; and *-iv* in 16.67% of the analysed adjectives. Phonological possibilities for all four derivational suffixes were confirmed. Moreover, the adjectives in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika* show that *-njiv* is not an independent suffix because *nj* is contained in the base on the surface level, but *-ljiv* is visible in adjectives such as *barutljiv* /cf. *barut*/, where *lj* is obviously not a part of these bases, which is the argument for *-ljiv* being an independent derivational suffix.

The phonological alternative for the derivational suffix *-ji* in 29.41% of the adjectives in the corpus is *-lji*, but in the examples both in the corpus and in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika* the ending *-lji* exist on the surface level. The derivational suffix *-i* does not exist in

Serbian, and the derivational suffix *-nji* should be considered in word formation analyses of adjectives with bases which end in *n*, because *-nji* exists as an independent derivational suffix (e.g. *maternji* /cf. *mater-*/).

The morphemes *-jan*, *-jat*, *-jev*, *-jin*, *-jit* are sporadic in the corpus. The derivational independence of the formant *-jan* is visible through the process of palatalisation by an initial *j* of the derivational suffix in adjectives such as *zlaćan* /cf. *zlato*/. The formant *-jat* is a phonologically possible derivational formant in the corpus because the final consonant of the base is the palatal *lj*, but adjectives like *domišljat* /cf. *domisliti*/ can be an argument in favor of *-jat* being a derivational suffix. The derivational suffix *-jev* is equally possible as *-ev* because of palatalisation (via *j* or via vowel *e*). The derivational status of *-jin* and *-jit* is a phonological possibility in the corpus because the bases have a final palatal sonant *j* (e.g. *zavojit* /cf. *zavoj*/), *lj* (e.g. *zemljin* /cf. *zemlja*/, *temeljit* /cf. *temelj*/), *nj* (e.g. *trešnjin* /cf. *trešnja*/). The derivational suffixes *-ljan*, *-njan*, *-ljat*, *-njat*, *-ljev*, *-njev*, *-ljit* and *-njit* were not proven independent by the examples in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika*.

The derivational suffixes *-jal(a)n*, *-jar(a)n*, *-jevit*, *-jikav*, *-juškast* are indirectly visible in the corpus because of the palatalisation of the final consonant of a base (e.g. *debeljuškast* /cf. the adjectival base *debel-* of adjective *debeo*/, *vlažnjikav* /cf. *vlažan*/). In other cases, derivational suffixes *-jal(a)n*, *-jar(a)n*, *-jevit*, *-jikav*, *-juškast* are connected with the palatal sonant *j* (e.g. *slojevit* /cf. *sloj*/, *familijaran* /cf. *familija*/, *kolonijalan* /cf. *kolonija*/), *lj* (e.g. *šupljikav* /cf. *šupalj*/), *nj* (e.g. *munjevit* /cf. *munja*/), where they are phonologically equally possible as variants without a consonant, with initial *lj* or with initial *nj*: a) as *-ar(a)n* (e.g. *familij-* + *-ar(a)n* or *familij-* + *-jar(a)n*), b) as *-ljikav* or *-ikav* (e.g. *šuplj-* + *-ikav/-jikav/-ljikav*), c) as *-njevit* or *-evit* (e.g. *munj-* + *-evit/-jevit/-njevit*).

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STUDIJA SLUČAJA O MORFOLOŠKO-FONOLOŠKOM STATUSU SRPSKIH PRIDEVSKIH SUFIKSA SA INICIJALNIM *J*

Predmet ovog rada je ispitivanje morfološko-fonološkog statusa pridevskih sufiksa sa inicijalnim j u srpskom jeziku, kao što su -jan, -j(a)n, -jav, -jast, -ji, -jiv, -jal(a)n, -jar(a)n, -jat, -jev, -jevit, -jikav, -jin, -jit, - juškast, u poređenju sa njihovim sufiksalnim varijantama sa inicijalnim lj i nj, kao i bez inicijalnog konsonanta. Građa je ekscerpirana iz „Azbučnika prideva u srpskoj prozi dvadesetog veka" Miroslava Josića Višnjića. Analiziran je fonološki najpovoljniji mogući scenario za navedene pridevske sufikse sa inicijalnim j i njihova distribucija s obzirom na fonološke karakteristike finalnog konsonanta iz tvorbenih osnova sa kojim se kombinuju. Sufiksi sa inicijalnim j u srpskom su najstabilniji kada jotuju n i l na kraju tvorbene osnove i retko su vidljivi na površinskoj strukturi prideva (up. pasji). Pridevi sa završnim konsonantom tvorbene osnove k (i c istorijski nastalo od k), g (i z istorijski nastalo od g), h – fonološki mogu biti objašnjeni palatalizacijom ili jotovanjem kada nastanu č, ž, š, a suglasničke grupe blj, plj, mlj, vlj mogu biti objašnjene jotovanjem b, p, m, v ili sufiksom sa inicijalnim lj. Sufiksi sa inicijalnim j u srpskom su podjednako mogući kao njihove nepalatalne varijante (bez inicijalnog j) i palatalni sufiksi sa inicijalnim lj i nj. Zbog posledica jotovanja u izvedenim pridevima, što dokazuje postojanje sufiksa sa inicijalnim j, sufiksi sa inicijalnim j trebalo bi da u tvorbenoj analizi budu posmatrani paralelno sa onima koji imaju inicijalno lj i nj i u slučajevima kada nema jotovanja, odnosno kada se osnova završava palatalnim konsonantom. Pokazuje se težnja ka samostalnoj upotrebi sufiksa sa inicijalnim lj i nj, a sufiksi sa inicijalnim j su rezidualni i javljaju se u ograničenim fonološkim kontekstima.

Ključne reči: *pridevi, sufiksacija, palatalizacija, jotovanje, morfemska granica*.

VERB AGREEMENT WITH PREVERBAL (NON) SYNCRETIC COORDINATED SUBJECTS [*]

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Abstract. *This paper examines the effects which contribute to the agreement of the verb with only one of the conjuncts of different values for gender and number as opposed to resolved agreement. Bošković (2009) claims that resolved agreement is the only available pattern of agreement. New experimental research on a Slovenian sample (Marušič, Nevins, and Badecker 2015) confirms that a verb can agree with the plural conjunct as well. These authors, as well as Willer Gold et al. (2016) attest that agreement occurs in phonological form in Slovenian and Serbian. This study is based on an elicited production experiment and acceptability judgments experiments to verify what happens when a verb is in agreement with pre-verbal (non)syncretic coordinated conjuncts of different values for gender and number. The results indicate that resolved agreement is far less frequently used when the verb is in agreement with a syncretic coordinated subject than with a non-syncretic one, as well as that agreement with the last plural conjunct is a stable and available agreement pattern whether or not a verb is in agreement with a (non)syncretic coordinated subject. The results support the hypothesis that agreement occurs in phonological form.*

Key words: *agreement, coordinated subject, grammatical gender and grammatical number, syncretism, linear proximity*

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the effects which influence the choice between resolved agreement and the agreement with only one of the conjuncts of the pre-verbal (non)syncretic coordinated subject with a first neutral gender singular conjunct and the last feminine gender plural conjunct. Previous research (Maretić 1899, Corbett 1983) lists resolved agreement – agreement in masculine gender, plural form – as the most frequently used pattern of agreement when a verb agrees with a coordinated subject consisting of conjuncts of different gender and number values. Bošković (2009) claims that agreement with one of the conjuncts of a coordinated subject with different gender and number values is not possible in the Serbian language for syntactic reasons. Recent experimental research on Slovenian language (Marušič, Nevins, and Badecker 2015) confirms that a verb can agree with a plural conjunct as well. What these authors have not examined, which is the objective of this study, is what occurs when a verb agrees with a pre-verbal (non)syncretic coordinated subject consisting of a first neutral gender singular conjunct and the last feminine gender plural conjunct.

Previous literature discusses at least two approaches to agreement. According to one, agreement is a purely syntactical mechanism which cannot be influenced by morphosyntactic and morphophonological factors (Bošković 2009). According to the approach advocated by Marušič, Nevins, and Badecker (2015) and Willer-Gold et al. (2016), linear proximity affects the choice of the last conjunct as the agreement controller, which is why, according to these authors, agreement occurs in the phonological form as well. If we take into account the fact that agreement is influenced by factors such as the linear order of elements and that the process of agreement occurs in phonological form, it is assumed that the process of agreement will be influenced by other phonological factors such as syncretism, which will be discussed in this paper. Our goal is to determine the effect of morphophonological factors on the level of mental processes of the speakers of Serbian and to contribute to the existing knowledge and theories about agreement in Serbian through the application of contemporary methods.

The paper is organised as follows: the second section will briefly show the results of previous research and the relevant theoretical claims and define the methodology; the third section will contain the design, the results and the discussion of the elicited production experiment which tests the effects of the presence / the absence of syncretism on agreement; and the fourth section will discuss the design, the results and the experiments; the fifth chapter contains the conclusion.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Previous corpus research (Maretić 1899; Corbett 1983) acknowledges resolved agreement as the most frequent pattern of agreement when a verb agrees with a pre-verbal coordinated subject consisting of conjuncts of different gender and number values. However, Bošković (2009), whose research is based on the introspective method, i.e. the author's own estimation, views resolved agreement as the only available pattern of agreement in the case of verb agreement with these kinds of coordinated conjuncts. He claims that agreement with one of the conjuncts of a coordinated subject with a first neutral gender singular conjunct and the last feminine gender plural conjunct is not possible for syntactic reasons. Namely, according to this author, agreement is a purely syntactic mechanism which consists of operations such as Probe, Match and Value and depends on the

representation of features: interpretable and non-interpretable, valued and non-valued. As Bošković (2009) states, unless a verb agrees in terms of gender upon the first search which serves to find the agreement controller, a second search is bound to occur only if there are conditions for it. When a verb is in agreement with the coordinated subject consisting of conjuncts of different gender and number values, the conjunctional phrase which has a plural value and the first conjunct of the coordinated subject, which is in singular form, have different number values; thus, there is no gender agreement with the first conjunct upon the first search. Since the number marker of the first conjunct cannot be deleted because the number is interpretable, it is not possible to apply another operation which would enable agreement with the last conjunct. Accordingly, resolved agreement is the only available option. The question which will be examined in this paper is what occurs when a verb agrees with coordinated non-syncretic conjuncts of different gender and number values.

According to the approach by Marušič, Nevins, and Badecker (2015), agreement can be explained through an Agree-Copy and Agree-Link process, where linking occurs in syntax and copying in syntax and postsyntax. According to these authors, agreement with one of the conjuncts occurs due to separate searches for gender and number values, whereby the coordinated phrase with which the verb agrees is able to calculate the number value, but not the gender value. There are two possibilities when deciding on the gender controller: agreement in relation to hierarchical locality and agreement in relation to linear locality. According to these authors, the Consistency Principle is applied when appointing the controller for number and gender. According to this principle, the verb agrees only with one of the conjuncts of mixed gender which has the same number value as the number controller (Marušič, Nevins, and Badecker 2015, 25). If a verb agrees with a coordinated subject whose first conjunct is singular and the last one plural, the agreement with the first conjunct will not be possible due to the application of the Consistency Principle; the possible agreement patterns are then resolved agreement and agreement with the last plural conjunct – linear proximity enables agreement with this conjunct. Since these results suggest that agreement occurs in phonological form as well, the question whether the patterns of agreement will be influenced by other phonological factors such as syncretism is examined in this study.

2.1. Questions, hypothesis, goals

In this paper, we start with the fact that resolved agreement is a failed agreement and that it occurs when a verb fails to agree in gender with one of the conjuncts. Even though Bošković (2009) claims that agreement is not a morphosyntactical process and does not take into account the effects of morphosyntactical and morphophonological factors on agreement, we rely on the claim made by Marušič, Nevins, and Badecker (2015) about Slovenian, as well as that of Willer-Gold et al. (2016) about Serbian and Slovenian, which is that agreement is influenced by factors such as the linear order of elements. We assume that agreement will be influenced by other factors, such as syncretism. As the plural form of nominative case feminine gender nouns (škol-*e*) and the singular form of nominative case neutral gender nouns (polj-*e*) are syncretic, we assume that syncretism between conjuncts can affect gender agreement by decreasing the possibility of resolved agreement and increasing the possibility of the verb agreeing in gender with one of the conjuncts. The question is whether the presence of syncretism is able to increase the possibility of agreement with the plural conjunct (in our case the last conjunct) in relation

to agreement with the non-syncretic subject. The hypothesis and the prediction of our research paper are the following:

Hypothesis 1: Agreement occurs in phonological form, i.e. the liner proximity of the last conjunct to the verb determines the last conjunct as the agreement controller.

Prediction: apart from linearity, other phonological factors such as syncretism affect the pattern of agreement by increasing the possibility of agreement with one of the conjuncts while decreasing the possibility of resolved agreement.

In order to test whether agreement is influenced by factors such as syncretism, we will compare agreement with syncretic and non-syncretic conjuncts presented in the order of the first conjunct being of neutral gender, singular and the last conjunct of feminine gender, plural. Hypothesis 1 and its prediction are tested by an elicited production experiment and acceptability judgment experiments. The same examples were used in both the elicited production experiment and the acceptability judgment experiments and neither of the experiments included the same participants. We conducted acceptability judgment experiments in order to verify the possible influence of choosing production as an experimental technique in the elicited production experiment.

Our goal is to answer the questions about a) whether agreement occurs in phonological form, and b) whether syncretism affects the choice between resolved agreement and agreement with the last plural conjunct.

3. THE ELICITED PRODUCTION EXPERIMENT WHICH TESTS THE EFFECT OF THE PRESENCE OF SYNCRETISM ON GENDER AGREEMENT

In this section we will first state the design, and then the results and the discussion of the elicited production experiment which tests the effect of syncretism on agreement. The experiment which tests the effect of the presence of syncretism on gender agreement is designed according to the methodology used by Willer-Gold et al. (2016) and was performed via the online portal *Ibex Farm*. The experiment is designed to verify the prediction for hypothesis (1), which states that the presence of syncretism decreases the possibility of resolved agreement, while the absence of syncretism increases it.

The experiment includes neutral gender singular nouns with the affix *-e* (jaj-*e*) and affix *-o* (pism-*o*), and feminine gender plural nouns with the affix *-e* (map-*e*). We examined whether the examples containing neutral gender singular nouns with the affix *-e*, with the same phonological form as feminine gender plural nouns, produce a greater percentage of the appearance of *-e* on the verb along with the agreement with the last conjunct than the examples containing neutral gender nouns ending in *-o*.[1]

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[1] Considering that the conjuncts are syncretic and end in *-e*, the question is how one can know whether the verb ending *-e* implies agreement with the last plural conjunct. As our previous research has shown, the evidence which supports the claim that the verb ending *-e* is a definite result of plural conjunct agreement is the fact that the presence of syncretism in the Serbian language leans toward plural interpretation.

3.1. The elicited production experiment testing the effect of the presence of syncretism on gender agreement: design

In this paper we comment on the two conditions (as in examples 1 and 2 below) from the experiment which tests the effect of the presence of syncretism on agreement.[2] Every condition is tested with 6 examples, thus making the total number of critical examples 12.[3] Substitute subjects were disyllabic inanimate nouns of approximately equal frequent use in contemporary Serbian language, excerpted from *the Serbian Language Dictionary* (SLD 2007), the *Reverse Index Dictionary of the Serbian Language* (Nikolić 2000) and from the *Lexical frequency corpus of contemporary Serbian language* (Arsenijević 2015).

All the model sentences, substitute subjects and targeted expressions were equable in the number of characters, so as to neutralise the effect the length of the example could have on the choice of the pattern of agreement (the average number of characters for every condition is listed, see examples 1 and 2).

1. The condition with the presence of syncretism in the coordinated subject with a first neutral gender, singular conjunct, ending in *-e*, and a second feminine gender, plural conjunct, ending in *-e* (model sentence: 21; coordinated subject: 11; targeted expression: 28,5);

Model sentence: *Ručak   je   pojeden   na brzinu.* (22)
          lunch.MSg   Aux.Sg   eaten.MSg   in rush
          'The lunch was eaten in a rush'.

Coordinated subject: *Jaje   i   šljive* (10)
                egg.NSg   and   plums.FPl
Targeted expression: *Jaje   i   šljive   su   pojedeni/ pojedene/*
                egg.NSg   and   plums.FPl   Aux.Pl   eaten.MPl/FPl

          je   pojedeno   na brzinu (28).
          Aux.Sg   eaten.NSg   on rush.

          'The egg and the plums were eaten in a rush'.

2. The condition without the presence of syncretism in the coordinated subject with a first neutral gender, singular conjunct, ending in *-o*, and a second feminine gender, plural conjunct, ending in *-e* (model sentence: 21; coordinated subject: 11; targeted expression: 28,3);

Model sentence: *Dokaz   je   ukraden   iz torbe* (21)
          evidence.MPl   Aux.Sg   stolen.Msg   from bag.
          'The evidence was stolen from the bag'.

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[3] There is an equal number of critical examples and fillers in the experiment. Fillers are implemented to avoid the possibility of a) the participants realising what the experiment is about and b) the participants becoming tired of only one type of task in the experiment.

Coordinated subject: *Pismo*   *i*   *mape* (10)
                             letter.NSg   and   maps. FPl

Targeted expression: *Pismo*   *i*   *mape*   *su*   *ukradeni/ ukradene/*
                             letter.NSg   and   maps.FPl   Aux.Pl   stolen.MPl/FPl

              je   *ukradeno*   *iz torbe* (27).
              Aux.Sg   stolen.NSg   from bag

         'The letter and the maps were stolen from the bag'.

    The experiment contains one independent variable with two levels – level one is the absence of syncretism, level two is the presence of syncretism – and one dependent variable. The dependent variable in this experiment is the pattern of agreement – agreement with the first conjunct (FCA), agreement with the last conjunct (LCA) and resolved agreement (RES). Our goal is to determine whether a greater percentage of a verb ending in the affix -*e* occurs with the presence or absence of syncretism. These results will be compared with the answers containing resolved agreement.
    The procedure for the elicited production experiment is as follows: the participants first see the model sentence on the computer screen and read it out loud (as in example 3). Every model sentence contains a masculine gender noun with which the verb agrees and which is displayed in bold font. The model sentence disappears from the screen by pressing the zero key, after which a substitute subject is displayed (as in example 4). The participants' task is to replace the bold part from the model sentence with the substitute subject, then to adapt the verb from the model sentence to the substitute subject and read the new sentence (as in example 5 where the possible answers are listed). All answers were recorded in the audio recording program *Audacity* (in wav. format) and then coded as RES (resolved agreement), LIN (gender agreement with the last conjunct of the pre-verbal coordinated subject), and FCA (gender agreement with the first conjunct of the pre-verbal coordinated subject). These abbreviations will be used in the paper. The experiment included 36 participants.

    3.   Model sentence: ***Dokaz***   *je*   *ukraden*   *iz torbe*.
                          evidence.MSg   Aux.Sg   stolen.MSg   from bag

         'The evidence was stolen from the bag'.

    4.   Substitute subject: *Pismo*   *i*   *mape*
                             letter.NSg   and   maps.FPl

    5.   Targeted expression: *Pismo*   *i*   *mape*   *su*   *ukradeni/*
                             letter.NSg and   maps.FPl   Aux.Pl   stolen.MPl

         /ukradene   */je*   *ukradeno*   *iz torbe*.
         stolen.FPl   Aux.Sg   stolen.NPl   from bag

         'The letter and the maps were stolen from the bag'.

3.2. The elicited production experiment which tests the effect of the presence of syncretism on gender agreement: results

As the results show, resolved agreement is the most frequently used pattern of agreement in this experiment (for condition NSg(o)FPl RES = 80,5%, for condition NSg(e)FPl RES=63%). The last conjunct agreement, the so-called linear agreement, is a documented and stable pattern of agreement (for condition NSg(e)FPl LIN=36%, and for condition NSg(o)FPl LIN= 15%). The experiment does not confirm the pattern in which the verb agrees with the first conjunct.

In order to establish whether there is a significant statistical difference in the use of the patterns of agreement in relation to the tested conditions, we implemented a χ^2 test. The χ^2 test shows the existence of a statistically significant difference when it comes to the mode in which the presence of syncretism affects the use of the patterns of agreement $\chi2(2, N = 421) = 22,79$, $p<0,00001$. Resolved agreement is significantly less frequently produced with the absence of syncretism, whereas the pattern in which the verb agrees with the last conjunct is more frequent when syncretism is present.

We also implemented a *z-test*, results of which will be briefly shown here and addressed in detail in the Discussion. The comparison of the percentage number for the last conjunct agreement in the 'presence of syncretism' subsample and the percentage number for this pattern in the 'absence of syncretism' subsample shows a statistically significant difference ($p<0,001$, $Z=4,5$). There is also a statistically significant difference when we compare the percentage number for resolved agreement in the 'presence of syncretism' subsample and the percentage number for resolved agreement in the 'absence of syncretism' subsample ($p<0,03$, a $Z= -2,2$).

3.3. The elicited production experiment which tests the effect of the presence of syncretism on gender agreement: discussion

Through the implementation of the elicited production experiment we verified the validity of hypothesis (1) which states that agreement occurs in the phonological form as well. This hypothesis is verified through the prediction which states that the presence of syncretism decreases the possibility of resolved agreement and increases the possibility of the last conjunct agreement, while the absence of syncretism has the reverse effect. As the results indicate, the last conjunct agreement is more frequently used when syncretism is present, which is in supports the hypothesis (1) prediction (LIN=36% for condition NSg(e)FPl, and 15% for NSg(o)FPl, $p<0,001$, $Z=4,5$). Resolved agreement is significantly less frequently used with the presence of syncretism, which confirms the prediction of hypothesis (1) (NSg(e)FPl=80,5%, and for NSg(o)FPl=63%, the *z test* confirmed a significant difference, $p<0,03$).

4. ACCEPTABILITY JUDGMENT EXPERIMENTS WHOSE CONDITIONS CORRESPOND WITH THE ELICITED PRODUCTION EXPERIMENT

The acceptability judgment experiments the conditions of which correspond to the previously mentioned elicited production experiment test the prediction of hypothesis (1) which states that the presence of syncretism decreases the degree of acceptability of resolved agreement and increases the degree of acceptability of the last conjunct agreement, while the absence of syncretism has the reverse effect.

4.1. Acceptability judgment experiments whose conditions correspond with the elicited production experiment: design

Acceptability judgment experiments the conditions of which correspond to the elicited production experiment contain 2 conditions (as in examples 6–7a)[4]. Since the examples are organised into 6 lists for the sake of balance, and two examples for each of the conditions within these 6 lists were seen by 8 participants, there are 96 observations for each acceptability judgment condition. The first two examples for every condition in the elicited production experiment were incorporated in the acceptability judgment experiment by having the verb agree with the first conjunct. The second two examples for every condition in the elicited production experiment were incorporated in the acceptability judgment experiment so that the verb agreed with the conjunctional phrase, and the third pair of examples for every condition in the elicited production experiment were incorporated in the acceptability judgment experiment so that the verb agreed with the last conjunct (as in examples 6 and 7a). The critical stimuli in the acceptability judgment experiments tested the acceptability of agreement patterns of the verb with coordinated subjects in pre-verbal conditions.[5]

6. NSg(e)FPl FCA/RES/LIN

    6a *Dugme*   *i*   *perle*   *je*   *kupljeno*$_{judgment1}$/
       button.NSg   and   peals.FPl   Aux.Sg   bought.NSg $_{judgment1}$ /

    su   *kupljeni*$_{judgment3}$/   *kupljene*/$_{judgment5}$ *u šivari.*
    Aux.Pl   bought.MPl   bought.FPl   at the tailor's

    'The button and the peals were bought at the tailor's'.

7. NSg(o)FPl FCA/RES/LIN

    7a *Pismo*   *i*   *mape*   *je*   *ukradeno*$_{judgment1}$/
       letter.NSg   and   maps.FPl   Aux.Sg   stolen.NSg

       su   *ukradeni*$_{judgment3}$/   *ukradene*/$_{judgment5}$ *iz torbe.*
       Aux.Pl   stolen.MPl $_{judgment3}$/   stolen.FPl $_{judgment5}$ from bag

       'The letter and the maps were stolen from the bag'.

The examples are randomised and the randomisation was completed through the online portal *Ibex Farm*. The procedure for the acceptability judgment experiment is as follows: the participant first sees the example (as in example 8), clicks the zero key, and then the rating numbers from 1 to 5 appear on the screen (as in example 9). The participants' task is to rate the acceptability of the examples on a 5-point Likert Scale (1 absolutely unnatural

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[4] The label: judgment 1/2/3/4/5/6/ is put after each pattern of agreement within every example to signify the acceptability judgment experiment for which the degree of acceptability of the example in relation to said pattern of agreement was tested.
[5] The acceptability judgment experiment contains an equal number of critical stimuli and fillers. A detailed design of the fillers and critical examples is given in the link http://filum.kg.ac.rs/dokumenta/arhiva/Doktorska_ disertacija_Ivane_Mitic.pdf.

and unacceptable, 5 absolutely natural and acceptable). The response time is limited to 3500ms, after which time the example disappears from the screen. The participant is instructed to proceed to the next example and is told that the experiment is finished when the words "Results successfully sent to the server" appear on the screen.

Forty eight participants completed the acceptability judgment experiments. All of the participants are native speakers of Serbian, and students at the University in Niš. They had not had any explicit linguistic education before the experiment and had not participated in the elicited production experiment previously mentioned.

8. *Dugme   i   perle   su   kupljeni*_{judgment3}/   *u šivari.*
   button.NSg   and   pearls.FPl   Aux.Pl   bought.MPl   at tailor's

   'The button and the pearls were bought _{judgment 3/} at the tailor's'.

9. 1   2   3   4   5

The acceptability judgment experiments contain the following independent variables:
1) The pattern of agreement (three levels: first conjunct agreement, last conjunct agreement and resolved agreement);
2) The presence and absence of syncretism.
The dependent variable is the degree of acceptability (from 1 to 5).

4.2. Acceptability judgment experiments whose conditions correspond with the elicited production experiment: results

Based on the degree of acceptability with which the native speakers of the Serbian rated the tested examples, we calculated the mean, which is explained further in the text. First conjunct agreement was rated with the lowest number, regardless of the presence NSg(e)FPl=1,6, or absence of syncretism NSg(o)FPl=1,7. The degree for resolved agreement is lower for the condition NSg(e)FPlRES=3,3 that the degree for the condition NSg(o)FPlRES=3,9. The last conjunct agreement was rated to a similar degree for both conditions NSg(o)FPlLIN=3,2 and NSg(e)FPlLIN=3,1.

With the implementation of a two-way ANOVA with replication we examined the interaction between the tested conditions and the degrees of acceptability of the patterns of agreement. We compared two factors with two levels respectively (Table 1). The first level of the first factor is the presence of syncretism, and the second the absence of syncretism (NSg(e)FPl and NSg(o)FPl). The second factor is the pattern of agreement, which included three combinations: 1) level one is the pattern of resolved agreement, and level two is the pattern of first conjunct agreement; 2) level one is the pattern of resolved agreement, level two is the pattern of last conjunct agreement; 3) level one is the pattern of first conjunct agreement, and level two is the pattern of last conjunct agreement. Table 1 (1) shows the difference between NSg(o)FPl and NSg(e)FPl; (2) between resolved and hierarchical (RES:FCA), resolved and linear (RES:LIN) and linear and hierarchical agreement (LIN:FCA), and (3) shows whether there is interaction. The results will be discussed in the Discussion.

Table 1 The Results of the *two-way ANOVA with replication* for the conditions
corresponding with the elicited production experiment

	NSg(o)FP1:NSg(e)FP1
RES : FCA	1. p<0,03, F=4,8
	2. p<0,0001, a F=220
	3. p<0,04, F=4,04
RES : LIN	1. p<0,04, F=4,04
	2. p<0,005, a F=8
	3. No interaction
FCA : LIN	1. No difference
	2. p<0,001, a F=129;
	3. No interaction

4.3. Acceptability judgment experiments whose conditions correspond with the elicited production experiment: discussion

The acceptability judgment experiments whose conditions correspond to the elicited production experiment described above were conducted in order to test hypothesis (1), which states that agreement occurs in the phonological form. The prediction of this hypothesis is that the presence of syncretism will increase the degree of acceptability of last conjunct agreement, and decrease the degree of acceptability of resolved agreement, while the absence of syncretism will have the reverse effect. Our results show that the degree of acceptability for resolved agreement is higher than the degree of acceptability for linear agreement for both conditions (Table 1 shows that the difference is confirmed statistically). Additionally, the results point out that the presence of syncretism has a degrading effect on the frequency of resolved agreement, which confirms the prediction of hypothesis (1) (comp. NSg(e)FPlRES=3,3 and NSg(o)FPlRES=3,9; see Table 1 which shows the existence of a significant difference). As for last conjunct agreement, this pattern was rated to a similarly high degree both in the presence (NSg(e)FPl=3,1) and the absence (NSg(o)FPl=3,2) of syncretism. The first conjunct agreement received low rates, regardless of the presence or absence of syncretism (NSg(e)FPl=1,6 and NSg(o)FPl=1,7). Since there is a significant difference between the degree of acceptability for first conjunct agreement and the degree of acceptability for last conjunct agreement, we assume that syncretism leans toward plural interpretation (Table 1 shows that the difference is statistically significant). This confirms hypothesis (1).

5. CONCLUSION

In the present study, by conducting an elicited production experiment and the acceptability judgment experiments, we have tested the prediction of hypothesis (1), which states that agreement occurs in the phonological form as well. As evident from our results, the sequence of the patterns of agreement in the elicited production experiment and acceptability judgment experiments shows the same image: resolved agreement is the pattern of agreement rated to the highest degree in the acceptability judgment experiment and it is the one most frequently used in the elicited production experiment; and agreement with the last plural conjunct was rated as a completely acceptable form of agreement in the acceptability judgment experiment and a solid percentage number was

documented in the production experiment. The results of both the acceptability judgment experiments and the elicited production experiment confirm hypothesis (1) that the acceptability of resolved agreement will be rated to a low degree and that this pattern will have been documented with a lower percentage number when there is syncretism, than when there is none. Considering that last conjunct agreement has received similar ratings in the acceptability judgment experiments and that its production is twice reduced in the absence of syncretism, we assume that there is a difference between the production and the perception of this pattern, which would mean that a part of the image in the production depends on production performance. The results of both experiments confirm our prediction that agreement occurs in the phonological form as well.

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SLAGANJE GLAGOLA SA PREVERBALNIM KOORDINIRANIM (NE)SINKRETIČNIM SUBJEKTOM

U ovom radu se ispituju efekti koji doprinose da se glagol složi sa samo jednim od koordiniranih članova različitog roda i broja nasuprot razrešenom slaganju. Dosadašnja istraživanja na materijalu korpusa (Maretić 1899, Corbett 1983) pokazuju da je razrešeno slaganje najfrekventniji obrazac slaganja kada se glagol slaže sa preverbalnim koordiniranim članovima različitog roda i broja. Bošković (2009) pak tvrdi da je razrešeno slaganje jedini dostupan obrazac slaganja, te da se glagol ne može složiti sa samo jednim od članova mešovitog koordiniranog subjekta iz sintaksičkih razloga. Novija eksperimentalna istraživanja na materijalu slovenačkog jezika (Marušič, Nevins, and Badecker 2015) potvrđuju da se glagol može složiti i sa članom koji je u množini. Ovi autori za slovenački i Willer Gold i dr. (2016) između ostalog i za srpski jezik pokazuju da se slaganje dešava i na interfejsu sa fonologijom. U ovom radu, produkcijskim eksperimentom i eksperimentima sa sudovima gramatičnosti provereno je šta se dešava kada se glagol slaže sa preverbalnim koordiniranim (ne)sinkretičnim konjunktima različitog roda i broja. Rezultati pokazuju da je razrešeno slaganje statistički značajno manje upotrebljeno kada se glagol slaže sa koordiniranim sinkretičnim nego sa nesinkretičnim subjektom, kao i da je slaganje sa poslednjim množinskim članom dostupan i validan obrazac slaganja bez obzira na to da li su članovi (ne)sinkretični. Rezultati idu u prilog hipotezi da se slaganje vrši i na interfejsu sa fonologijom.

Ključne reči: *kongruencija, koordinirani subjekat, gramatički rod i gramatički broj, sinkretizam, linearna bliskost.*

AN ANALYSIS OF PHONETIC-PHONOLOGICAL AND ORTHOGRAPHIC ERRORS WHEN LEARNING SERBIAN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

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Abstract. *From the perspective of applied linguistics, this paper deals with the acquisition of Serbian as a foreign language by learners whose mother tongues are Lithuanian, Japanese, English and Bulgarian, and who spent one semester at the Centre for Serbian as a Foreign and Second Language at the Faculty of Philosophy in Niš. Working with a specific sample and using the analytical and error analysis method, we aim to identify the most common errors the speakers make at the phonetic-phonological and orthographic level,., the identified linguistic errors are classified into (a) errors occurring under the influence of the mother tongue; (b) errors as the result of the strict rules of the Serbian language system itself – interlingual errors; (c) errors arising from knowledge of another second language; and (d), errors resulting from the insecurity and insufficient acquisition of the Serbian language. By analyzing the sample, we conclude that the greatest number of errors at the phonetic-phonological and orthographic level occurred under the influence of their mother tongue (L1) on Serbian (L2).*

Key words: *error analysis, phonetic-phonological level, orthographic level, Serbian as a foreign language (L2)*

1. INTRODUCTION

In the past ten years, the development of student mobility programs has influenced the increase in the number of foreigners interested in learning Serbian. An increasing number of foreigners from different countries of the world have visited university centers where this type of teaching is offered. The principles of foreign language teaching show that the methodology of work and teaching must be adapted to each learner since there are

differences between one's mother tongue and the language learned. As teaching Serbian as a foreign language is still in its infancy, it is necessary to conduct research which will show the specific aspects of working with students from certain language communities. So far, the literature has sporadically addressed the issue of errors foreigners make when learning Serbian (cf. Babić 2016; Milošević 2016; Perišić and Arsić 2016; Đorđević 2017; Sudimac 2019), and has suggested that there are common errors, but also errors which occur as a consequence of the interference of the learner's mother tongue and the Serbian language. The literature has described the acquisition of phonological systems of foreign languages, and the existence of different models of foreign language acquisition, explaining them in relation to the phonological system of their mother tongue. The influence of the mother tongue (L1) on the acquisition of a foreign language (L2) is explained by the fact that the phonemes which are different will sooner be acquired than similar ones which exist in both languages (Flege 1993, 1995), i.e. two sounds which exist in a foreign language will merge into one which exists in the mother tongue and adapt to the vowel space of the mother tongue (Best 1995).

The practice of Serbian as a foreign language shows that foreigners who learn Serbian have difficulty in learning phonetics and phonology, although in theory the situation should be reversed because of the existence of the so-called phonetic principle (each letter corresponds to one phoneme and vice versa) in Serbian. At the same time, it has been observed that the interference of the mother tongue either helps or makes things difficult for foreigners in acquiring the phonological system of the Serbian language. For this reason, we will attempt to draw some conclusions from the research conducted, which would help teachers of Serbian as a foreign language organize their classes. The subject of this paper is the analysis of errors at the phonetic-phonological and orthographic level made by students when learning Serbian who spent one semester at the Faculty of Philosophy in Niš, whose native language is Lithuanian, Japanese, English or Bulgarian.

2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

We formulated the following research questions:
1. To what degree is the Serbian language acquired at the phonetic-phonological level after seventy classes?
2. How successful are the learners in mastering the orthographic rules of standard Serbian?
3. What errors can be noted in each learner and how can they be explained?

Therefore, the main task of this paper is to identify errors which exist in learning Serbian as a foreign language, and then to describe and explain them as well as to perform a typological classification using analytical, qualitative and error analysis methods.

The research was conducted in January, 2020 at the Centre for Serbian as a Foreign and Second Language at the Faculty of Philosophy in Niš. The participants in this research were four female students, from the USA, Japan, Lithuania and Bulgaria, who successfully passed the beginner Serbian language course (A1 level), which they attended from October 7, 2019 to January 20, 2020. The learners had classes five times a week in the classrooms of the Centre for Serbian as a Foreign and Second Language. During the course, the textbook[1]

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[1] For more information on the quality of the used textbook and workbook, see Novaković (2018; 2019).

Reč po reč (2015) was used. In addition to the textbook, we also used the workbook *Reč po reč* (2015), which the learners used to do homework (in addition to the tasks we created for the learners), as well as listen to the audio material.

For the purpose of this research, a specially designed questionnaire was used as an instrument to examine the reading and writing skills of the learners: primarily, the acquisition of the consonant system of standard Serbian was studied. There were five questions in total: the first two exercises evaluated the orthographic level of language proficiency – the first exercise required transcribing a text from Latin to Cyrillic, and in the second, learners wrote down words which we read out to them. The third exercise tested the knowledge of the meaning of words – pairs, in which a consonant or a vowel phoneme bears a distinction in semantic terms. The last two questions checked the production of primary consonant units of standard Serbian – learners read words or a shorter paragraph. Each candidate took the test under the same conditions, i.e. individually, at different time intervals and in the presence of their teacher. The results obtained were analyzed by qualitative data processing methods, and are presented below.

Learners make errors due to the exposure to different input, and in order to explain the errors observed in our sample we must consider all the possible impacts which potentially affect learners (Krashen 1985). The literature has treated the role of input in foreign language learning (L2) differently: Ellis (1994) believed that all SLA theories attached different importance to the role of input in the language acquisition process, but basically acknowledged the need for language input. In many theories, SLA is considered an extremely important factor, while in other theories it is given a marginal role.

input	intake	output (interlanguage)
⬇	⬇	⬇
mother tongue - Lithuanian - Japanese - English - Bulgarian standard Serbian language dialect (urban variety of Niš)	knowledge of a second language	language the learners speak

Fig. 1 Language material of students learning Serbian as L2[2]

Figure 1 shows that possible influences in the creation of the interlanguage are of threefold nature, i.e. that students are influenced by the following: (a) the knowledge of their mother tongue – Lithuanian, Japanese, English or Bulgarian; (b) learning standard Serbian in an institutionalized settings – the classes they attended at the Centre for Serbian as a Foreign and Second Language; and (c) the Niš urban dialect spoken by young people in Niš, with whom the students spent hours and socialized in their free time. The middle

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[2] The figure was created in accordance with the theoretical concepts of the *input*, *intake* and *output* described by Krashen (1985); such a methodology was also used in Sudimac (2019).

column refers to the intake – it represents that part of the material which the learners successfully process and use to build their own internal understanding of a foreign language (VanPatten 1996). It may be the use of knowledge of another language which helps them or presents an obstacle in learning a foreign language (L2). The last column represents the final product of the combined action of the factors in the first and second column, which is the interlanguage (Ellis 1985) – the language spoken by the learners.

Since this paper deals with the analysis of errors at the phonetic-phonological and orthographic level of learning Serbian, all identified errors are classified as those resulting from (a) negative linguistic transfer and the impact of the mother tongue (L1) on learning a foreign language – Serbian (L2); (b) the complexity of the orthographic and phonological system of the Serbian language (so-called interlingual errors); (c) the uncertainty and insufficient mastery of the Serbian language; (d) the knowledge of some other language. Serbian consonants are represented by symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA 1999).

3. QUALITATIVE ERROR ANALYSIS

3.1. Affricates

Given the structure of the phonological system of the Lithuanian language, the results are not surprising: the Lithuanian language, which has 11 vowels and 45 consonants (Mathiasen 1996, 21–31), includes all five affricates which also exist in standard Serbian, noting that the affricate /dʒ/ is a part of their standard language phonological system. The reflexes of each affricate unit in the domain of production are given below, showing that this learner has all five phonemes in her repertoire:

/dʒ/ = /dʒ/ *Džordžija, džezva, džak, džep, odžak, odžačar, adžija, pendžer, odžepariti, bedž, Tadž Mahal, Skrudž*;

/tʃ/ = /tʃ/ *čarape, čašica, čekati, čin, čanče, čekić, pčela, pečat, zvečka, ščepati, sačekati, kvidič, Beč, reč, meč, tač-daun, bič, grč, mač*;

/dz/ = /dz/ *Đorđe, đumbir, đak, đavo, đuskati, grožđe, gospođa, rđav, vođa, gvožđe, ubeđivati, Buđanovci, buđenje, buđa, smuđa, čađa, riđa*;

/tɕ/ = /tɕ/ *ćilim, ćurka, ćošak, ćelav, ćup. mećava, šećer, kuća, pomoć, čekić, peć, noć, moć, Kać*;

/ts/ = /ts/ *cigla, cipele, crep, crevo, cverna, ocrniti, sncokret, potkovica, nec, mamac, vic, šlic, srce*.

There were several misread examples where the learner pronounced the affricate /dz/ instead of the affricate /ts/: *lanadz, otadz, šhlidz* only in words in which it occupies the final position. This error occurred as a consequence of the influence of the mother tongue, in this case Lithuanian (negative linguistic interference), which recognizes the affricate /dz/, which is not part of the standard phonological system of the Serbian language.

Unlike the phonemic system of the Lithuanian language, which has more consonants, the Japanese language has five pure vowels and fifteen consonant units, four of which are affricates: /t͡s/, /d͡z/, /t͡ɕ/, /d͡ʑ/ (Ohata 2004, 5−6). A greater number of errors was observed in the Japanese learner, and the production of each affricate had several different realizations:

/dʒ/ ≈ /dʒ/ *Džordžija, adžija, pendžar, Skrudž*;

/dʒ/ ≈ /dz/ *đezva, đak, đep, ođepariti, beđ, Tađi Mahal*;

/dʒ/ = /d/+/dʒ/ *oddžak, oddžačar*.

These examples show that the level of acquisition of the affricate /dʒ/ is the lowest since this learner read it in three different ways: (a) similar to the affricate /dʒ/ from standard Serbian; (b) similar to the affricate /dz/ or the soft /dʒ'/ which is the consequence of not being able to distinguish between two affricate pairs; or (c) as a combination of two separate units: the one being the plosive /d/ and the other being the affricate /dʒ/. On the phonological level, the learner should acquire the phoneme /dʒ/ which she does not have in her mother tongue. The examples in the first line show that it exists, but there are often cases in which the learner pronounces it as a softened /dʒ'/, that is /dz/.

/tʃ/ ≈ /tʃ/ *čarape, čašica, čekati, čanče, čekić, pčela, svečka, sčepati, sačekati, kvidič, tač-daun, bič, grč, mač*;

/tʃ/ ≈ /tɕ/ *ćin, ćekić, reć, meć, pećat.*

The affricate /tʃ/ is pronounced as (a) /tʃ/ and (b) /tɕ/. In this case, too, the learner has the task to acquire the phoneme /tʃ/ which does not exist in te Japanese and distinguish between /tʃ/ and /tɕ/, which are two different phonemes in the Serbian language.

/dz/ = /dz/ *Đorđe, đumbir, đak, đavo, đuskati, grožđe, gospođa, rđav, vođa, gvožđe, ubeđivati, Buđanovci, buđenje, buđ, smuđ, čađ, riđ.*

/tɕ/ = /tɕ/ *ćilim, ćurka, ćošak, ćelav, ćup, mećava, šećer, kuća, pomoć, čekić, peć, noć, moć, Kać*;

/ts/ = /ts/ *cigla, cipele, crevo, crvena, ocrniti, sncokret, potkovica, nec, lanac, mamac, vic, šlic, otac.*

These examples show that the learner managed to acquire the affricates /dz/, /tɕ/ and /ts/ and that she did not make any errors in this domain.

Bearing in mind the presented structure of the phonological system of the Japanese language, we see that the errors in the production of the affricates /dʒ/ and /tʃ/ were due to their non-existence in the Japanese language, and the learner was trying to find a number of differential substituents for their realization; the satisfactory acquisition of affricates /dz/, /tɕ/ and /ts/ is a consequence of their existence in the Japanese language.

The last example /ts/ = /k/ *krep* illustrates the use of mechanism and rules for reading from a language which the learner knows, in this case English, where the sequence *cr* at the beginning of a word should be read as *kr*.

The English language has 24 consonant units which differ from each other based on the place and manner of articulation. Of the total number of consonant units, two are phonemes which are classified as affricates – the voiced /dʒ/ and voiceless /tʃ/. In the English language, these phonemes have palato-alveolar (postalveolar) articulation. On the other hand, the Serbian language has five phonemic units – affricates, and the articulation is dental /ts/, that is, alveolar /tš, dž/ and post-dental /tj, dj/, indicating a somewhat more complex picture in relation to the English language (Petrović, Gudurić 2010, 260–276). The analysis of the examples in our paper indicates that there are two problems on two levels regarding the learner whose mother tongue is English: (a) on the phonological level, where there is one phoneme /dʒ/ in the mother tongue, and in the foreign language there are two /dʒ, dz/, that is, /tʃ/, and in Serbian /tʃ, tɕ/, so the learner must decompose one phoneme into two and acquire them as separate phonemic units; and (b) the influence of the mother tongue is also reflected at the phonetic level because the interference is reflected in the transfer of the place of articulation from the English language. All of the examples listed below confirm that the influence of the mother tongue is also reflected on the phonological level where the learner retained the phoneme from English, but it is also reflected on the phonetic level – in cases where she produced a phoneme similar to Serbian, she did so with a place of articulation peculiar to her mother tongue.

/dʒ/ ≈ /dʒ/ *Džordžija, bedž, Tadž Mahal, Skrudž*;

/dʒ/ ≈ /dʒ'/ *đevđa, đak, đep, ođak, ođaćar, ađija, ođepariti, penđer*;

/tʃ/ ≈ /tɕ/ *ćarape, ćašica, ćekati, ćanće, ćekić, pćela, pećat, svećka, sćepati, saćekati, kvidić, reć, meć, tać-daun, bić, grć, mać.*

A particularly interesting situation was noted during the production of the affricate /ts/. In some examples it was successfully produced (*ocrniti, potkovica, nec, lanac, mamac, vic, šlic, otac*); whereas in other cases, instead of /ts/ the plosive /k/ was pronounced, in the position in front of the sonant /r/. This error was made under the influence of the mother tongue because in it the sequence cr should be read /kr/: *krep, krevo, sunkokre*t; the third recorded situation is due to the effect of the generalization of the rule according to which the consonant /c/ in front of the vowel /e/ should be read as /s/: thus, the learner read the word *centar* as *sentar* and applied the same rule in the following examples: *sigla, sipele, srvena, osrniti, srn, srven, srsi.*

Finally, the results are given for the female learner whose mother tongue is Bulgarian, which belongs to the Slavic language group, so we expected the number of errors to be smaller. The results of the production of affricates are presented in the following paragraphs:

/dʒ/ = /dʒ/ *odžak, odžačar, adžija, pendžer, Skrudž*;

/dʒ/ = /dz/ *Đorđija, đak, đezva, đep.*

The first examples illustrate the existence of errors as a result of insufficient knowledge of the Serbian language: the example *Đorđija* could have also originated through analogy with the name Đorđe.

/tʃ/ = /tʃ/ *čarape, čašica, čekati, čin, čanče, čekić, pčela, pečat, zvečka, ščepati, sačekati, kvidič, Beč, reč, meč, tač-daun, bič, grč, mač*;

/dz/ = /dz/ *Đorđe, đak, đavo, đuškati, grožđe, gospođa, ubeđivati, Buđanovci, buđenje.*

The example /dz/ = /tɕ/ *smuć* indicates the devoicing of the final voiced consonant /dz/, which represents a common occurrence which applies to most speeches.

On the other hand, no errors were observed in the production of the affricates /tɕ/ and /ts/:

/tɕ/ = /tɕ/ *ćilim, ćurka, ćošak, ćelav, ćup, mećava, šećer, pomoć, čekić, peć, noć, moć, Kać*;

/ts/ = /ts/ *cigla, cipele, crep, crevo, crvena, ocrniti, sncokre*t, *potkovica, nec, lanac, mamac, vic, šlic, srce, otac.*

Based on the analyzed errors, we can conclude that the majority of errors in the production of affricates were due to the influence of the mother tongue on Serbian or the lack of acquisition of standard Serbian at the time when the research was conducted. The smallest number of errors were of the interlingual type where the analogy mechanism was used.

3.2. Other errors occurring under the influence of the mother tongue

It is noticeable that the learner whose mother tongue is Lithuanian was unable to produce a word which contains a four-member consonant group: she read *ostro* (VCCCV) instead of *ostrvo* (VCCCCV). So, we noted the mechanism of losing the sonant /v/: the learner creates a three-member consonant group which she is able to pronounce, and the reason is that in Lithuanian the largest number of consonants within one syllable is three (CCC). At the orthographic level, the Lithuanian learner made two errors which occurred as a result of negative language interference and the influence of her mother tongue on the acquisition of a foreign language: (a) instead of <u> the learner used the grapheme <y> in

examples where the vowel had a long accent: *Syma*, *zyd*, *Šyd*. In the Lithuanian language at the orthographic level there are special graphemes for the short and long <u>, and precisely the grapheme <y> is used to denote long accent quantity; (b) the second error involved writing the consonant <h> where the digraph <ch> was used: *chol*, *chrana*, *chleb*.

Having in mind the open syllable rule in Japanese[3], it was observed that the learner from Japan tried to obey the rule in her native language when speaking, breaking up two or three members of the Serbian consonant group by using a semivowel: *p - ə - čela*; *g - ə - vož - ə - đe*; *s - ə - muđ - ə*; *Bu – đa – nov - ə - ci*; *š - ə - lic - ə*; *ćur - ə - ka*. She also applied this rule at the orthographic level by adding an additional element to one-syllable words ending in a consonant, thus creating an open syllable: *nožu*, *pužu*, *mužu*, *dužu*.

Another error which occurred as a result of the negative language interference was the inability to differentiate between the sonorants /r/ and /l/, which was manifested on the orthographic level: in every case in which a word with the grapheme <l> should have been written, the learner wrote <r>: *prinu* (plin), *nariti* (naliti), *orovka* (olovka). This happened because there are two separate phonemes in the Serbian language /r/ and /l/, which is not the case in Japanese: there is only the phoneme /r/, whereas /l/ is one of the allophone realizations of this phoneme. The influence of the Japanese language in this respect was also manifested in the production of the phoneme /r/. At the orthographic level, instead of the consonant <f>, the learner wrote the consonant <h>: *breh* (blef), *tleh* (tref). The occurrence of this error was caused by the absence of the grapheme <f> in Japanese.

Finally, a phenomenon related to the quality of the closed (low) vowel /u/ was also observed. In Serbian, the primary point of articulation of this sound is the posterior palate, and the secondary are the lips, meaning that /u/ in Serbian is rounded, while in Japanese there is an unrounded vowel [ɯ]. That is why the learner read all the examples with this vocal closed, without using her lips as an auxiliary place of articulation: *ćup*, *ćurka*, *kuća*, *suncokret*. Therefore, the analyzed examples indicate the interference of the mother tongue at the phonetic level: the learner has the phoneme /u/, but its phonetic realization is the same as in the mother tongue – this, however, needs to be confirmed experimentally. Another example has to do with the phonotactic constraints which are transmitted from the Japanese language to the foreign language: the group /st/ is not allowed in Japanese, so the learner read the examples *stajati* and *rastajati* as *spajati* and raspajati. When pronouncing the constituent *euro* in the name of the bank Eurobanka, in the spirit of her mother tongue, the student produced: *Jurobanka*.

The analysis of the examples shows that during the production of the sonant /r/ there is an interference on the phonetic level: in Serbian it is an alveolar vibrant (Petrović, Gudurić 2010), and in English[4] a retroflex postalveolar approximant from her mother tongue. The learner transferred both the place and the manner of articulation, which was manifested in the pronunciation of the following examples: /prst/, /dobro/, /strah/, /srce/.

The data analysis we used to check the acquisition of the sonant r (vocalic r) indicated that the learner pronounced a number of examples with a semivowel: the influence of the mother tongue was reflected in the examples read with the vowel schwa which exists in Bulgarian as a phoneme (at the orthographic level <Ъ>) in the following examples: *Sərbija*, *Sərbin*, *pərst*, *kərst*, *gərčki*, *smərt*, *tərn*, *dərvo*, *pərvi*, *sərce*. In the examples *trg*,

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[3] A syllable must end in a vowel or nasalized sound /m/, /n/ or /ng/ (Ohata 2004).
[4] Ladefoged 2006, 15 describes the sound /r/ as an alveolar approximant. It is also characterized by secondary articulation – labialization and velarization (Odgen 2009, 91).

rđav, *trgnuti se*, *crn*, *crven*, *crv*, *žanr*, *grb*, which are different in her mother tongue, the vowel schwa was not pronounced. The learner from Lithuania read all analyzed examples in which the production of vocalic *r* was checked without making an error: *Srbija, Srbin, trg, prst, krst, rđav, rt, smrt, trgnuti se, crn, trn, crven, crv, žanr, grb, grćki, prvi, srce*

The learner from Bulgaria read the example *pomoć* as *pomoš*: the example also points out the impact of the mother tongue because the lexeme *pomoć* has the same form in Bulgarian: *помощ* /pomošt/. In some examples, there is a devoicing of final voiced consonants: *smuć*, *blev*, *trev*, *grp*. This a general phenomenon which is characteristic of many languages. On the orthographic level, the influence of Bulgarian was reflected in the use of the grapheme <й> instead of the grapheme <j>, in the examples in which this grapheme occupied the medial or final position: *брой, твой, бойица, војйник, Бойник*.

3.3. Interlingual errors

At the orthographic level, the learner whose native language is English made the most errors by mixing graphemes from two different scripts, where the learner knows two systems exist, but errors occur due to insufficient acquisition and the mixing of sounds which have different orthographic values[5]: instead of *selo* the learner writes *celo*, and instead of *Sima* the learner writes *Cima*. This means that the graphemes <s> and <c> were mixed.

In all learners we noted the mixing of affricates <џ, ч, ђ, ћ, ц> when transcribing the text from Cyrillic to Latin script: *ćistih, osuđeno, ćudo, ćuđenje*. In the learner whose mother tongue is English, at the orthographic level, we noticed the mixing of the fricatives <ž> and <z>, so we have the following examples: *žid, pažiti, paznja, vož*. In the learner whose mother tongue is Japanese, at the orthographic level, we noted the mixing of the palatal consonants <lj> and <nj>: *divnjenje, ljuška, nevidnjivo*.

Most errors of the interlingual type were observed in the third exercise which tested the knowledge of semantics of given lexemes in which a consonant or a vowel phoneme bears a distinction in semantic terms. All of the learners made mistakes, mostly in the pairs *Beč – Bedž*, *trag – vrag* and *naš – vaš*. When testing the content of the given lexemes in isolation, the learners did not make mistakes – because these were lexemes which had been analyzed in class previously and could be found in the Dictionary at the end of the textbook they used. When the same lexemes were in different conditions, mistakes were made, which means that the abovementioned context made the task more difficult.

4. CONCLUSION

Knowing that one of the goals of foreign language teaching is its successful use in everyday communication, it is expected that students will master the content from all language levels of the target language (L2). Therefore, one of the main tasks is to master the phonological system and the orthography of standard Serbian. Practice shows that due to the complexity of these systems, learners make errors when pronouncing basic phonemes as well as writing them.

Based on the analysis of the sample, we can draw several concluding observations and remarks. First, although the rules for the orthographic level are simpler in Serbian (L2) than the rules in the native languages of the learners (L1), errors were due to the existence of two

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[5] In Serbian, the phoneme */s/* is written in grapheme <*c*> in Cyrillic and in grapheme <*s*> in Latin script.

scripts, indicating the fact that such errors occur as a consequence of the complexity of the system within a language. Second, errors at the orthographic level were also influenced by superdifferentiation, that is, by the influence of the mother tongue, indicated in replacing the grapheme values of one unit with values from the mother tongue (for example, <и> = <y>, <h> = <ch>). On the phonetic-phonological level, most errors were due to the influence of the mother tongue on the L2, which is expected given that most elements from the mother tongue are transferred to the phonological system of the foreign language, while at the higher language levels (morphological, syntactic) errors of another type were recorded (see Sudimac 2019, 451).

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ANALIZA GREŠAKA NA FONETSKO-FONOLOŠKOM I ORTOGRAFSKOM PLANU KOD UČENJA SRPSKOG JEZIKA KAO STRANOG

U radu se iz ugla primenjene lingvistike govori o usvajanju srpskog jezika kao stranog kod studenata kojima su maternji jezici litvanski, japanski, engleski i bugarski, a koji su jedan semestar proveli u Centru za srpski jezik kao strani i nematernji na Filozofskom fakultetu u Nišu. Cilj rada je da se na konkretnom korpusu, pomoću analitičke i metode analize grešaka, identifikuju najčešće greške na fonetsko-fonološkom i ortografskom planu, zatim da se izvrši njihova deskripcija i eksplanacija. Takođe, identifikovane jezičke greške razvrstane su prema tipu na one: (a) koje su nastale pod uticajem maternjeg jezika; (b) koje su posledica težine samog sistema srpskog jezika – unutarjezičke greške; (c) koje proističu zbog poznavanja drugog jezika i (d) i na kraju, na one koje su posledica nesigurnosti i nedovoljne usvojenosti srpskog jezika. Analizom korpusa zaključujemo da je najveći broj grešaka na fonetsko-fonološkom i ortografskom planu nastao zbog uticaja maternjeg jezika (L1) na srpski (L2).

Ključne reči: *analiza grešaka*, *fonetsko-fonološki nivo*, *ortografski nivo*, *srpski kao strani* (*L2*)

THE DOUBLINGS IN A SHORT STORY COLLECTION
STARI DANI BY BORISAV STANKOVIĆ

UDC 821.163.41.09-32 Stanković B.

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Abstract. *In this paper we discuss the doubling of characters' identities in Borisav Stanković's short story collection* Stari dani *(1902), and a conscious or unconscious selection of another protagonist as an alternative for performing a particular protagonist's activity the doubling of the actual narrative world through counter-narrative, simulated narrative, comparison and narrative negation will be analyzed. We will try to show how the patriarchal context determines this otherness of worlds and protagonists, and what the cause-effect relations has to do with the psychologization of Stanković's protagonists and the development of the story in nine short stories of the aforementioned collection.*

Key words: *Borisav Stanković, identity doubling, replacement of the protagonists, virtual narrative, Stari dani*

1. INTRODUCTION

The short story collection by Borisav Stanković *Stari dani* (1902) is entirely in dualities and otherness, which are reflected in the protagonists and the narrative plan. In the patriarchal environment, described by Bora Stanković, an individual is always in a silent conflict with the collective, therefore his inner world is in opposition to the outer one, in which he exists. In order to make a protagonist's behavior socially acceptable, it becomes a type of simulation, an alternative to what that protagonist feels or what he wants to do. Such an atmosphere, in which "story [...] is developing from the inside to the outside, from the close to the open space" (Deretić 2007, 1001), results in doubling of narrative worlds, as well as in doubling of identities of the characters. In terms of the literary character, doubling takes place by giving one protagonist another identity in the eyes of the environment or by replacing one protagonist with another. With this artistic process, a literary protagonist gets

his doppelganger in himself or in another person, while doubling on the narrative terms implies an existence of virtual narratives as parallel, alternative worlds. With these narrative processes, the short story collection *Stari dani*, and other works of prose by Borisav Stanković lead to the layering or disintegration of realism (cf. Ivanić 1996, 70-73). Thereby, short stories *Đurđev-dan* (*Saint George's Day*) and *U vinogradima* (*In the Vineyards*) are closer to realistic short story, while the other seven: *U noći* (*In the Night*), *Stanoja* (*Stanoja*), *Nuška* (*Nuška*), *Naš Božić* (*Our Christmas*), *Stari dani* (*The Old Days*), *Oni* (*They*) and *Pokojnikova žena* (*The Deceased's Wife*) largely announce Serbian modernism through their narrative technique and thematic-motive layer.

2. THE DOUBLING OF CHARACTERS

While the poetics of realism is characterized by a mimetic portrayal of characters, their doubling in Stanković's narrative texts brings destruction to that mimetic conception, which is motivated by the psychological states of the protagonists or the patriarchal context in which they exist. Accordingly, one protagonist may have two identities, or he may replace his position with the position of another protagonist, so we are talking about doubling the identity of the protagonist or about the protagonist as the alternative to another protagonist.

2.1. Doubling of protagonist's identity

The protagonist of the short story *Pokojnikova žena* Mita exists in two mental spaces, and therefore he has two identities: in the past – as alive, and in the present – as the deceased. Between two possibilities, Anica chooses the second one, which is motivated by the patriarchal code of conduct of a widow: *Toliko mu je već izlazila, a i sada izlazi na grob, da ga je kao živoga gotovo zaboravila i pamti ga samo po grobu* (Stanković 1980, 228). The space in which, in the present moment, this protagonist exists is the only memory of widow Anica and her environment, as the mental space in which the deceased takes an inviolable position, and which cannot be violated in any way. The environment treats Anica carefully, fearing that inappropriate visits or conversations would violate respect for the deceased and his peace, as his presence was still felt in the silence of the empty and physically altered house. If they visited Anica they would only talk about the deceased, and this always reminded Anica that Mita was not truly dead, but alive, by talking about him and equating the private space of their family house with his own space: *Bilo u bašti, kući, svuda, svuda je bio on; sve je bilo njegovo* (Stanković 1980, 254).

There is the doubling of Anica's identity as well. The first one is the one she truly poses, i.e. Anica, and the other one is the one which is generally accepted, the identity she has in the eyes of those around her – the wife of deceased. A girl in a patriarchal society develops her identity only by marriage as the initiation. Anica felt gratitude towards the late Mita for he let her into his house bringing order into it. Therefore, she was his, and nobody could think about her badly if only she looked at him, which would not have been the case when she was a girl. Marriage changes the status of a woman in society, changing her identity. Gratitude for that makes Anica consider herself his even after her husband's death. This is also the reason why she rejects Ita's marriage proposal, her first love. Anica does not see in herself a woman worthy of such ideal love because she is no longer herself, but someone else's - and not Ita's, but the deceased's. *I kako će ona da ga primi, zagrli, kao njegova?*

Možda bi uvek osećao kako mu nije došla čista, kad je grli, ljubi, već je drugoga, pokojnikova... jednom već grljena, milovana (Stanković 1980, 260–261). Her purity belongs to the past, to the girlhood, to the original identity of Anica, which she renounced when she married Mita, by choosing, as an alternative, the identity of being his wife. Even when she was a girl she could not simply be Anica in the social setting, but again her identity was determined by the male members of the family: *A ona, Anica, jedino se po toj svojoj braći i znala. Niko nju nije zvao njenim imenom već "sestra na Ribinčiki"* (Stanković 1980, 236). This alternative is again chosen by the society, not by herself. That indicates an utterly devastating and inferior position of a woman in a patriarchal society, she can never be what she really is, but always gets her identity by others.

The only time Anica choose her identity in relation to someone else is when during her wedding celebration she is left alone with Ita; concealing the pain from the inability to accomplish their love, she makes an effort to *da se pokaže samo kao sestra, snajka, a ne drugo* (Stanković 1980, 245). Although this alternative is for the first time her choice, again it is indirectly the choice of the patriarchal community: the brothers chose Anica to marry another person, and Ita to be only a brother-in-law instead of the groom. Thereby, Anica becomes his sister and sister-in-law instead of Ita's wife. When she later gets the opportunity to accomplish her original desire, she refuses because she already has had the identity of the deceased's wife, which is a direct obstacle to achieving the goal.

In the short story *Naš Božić*, the topos of the holiday was motivated by the doubling of the identity of the character-storyteller. Having lost his father early, this boy lives with his mother in bad material conditions. Nevertheless, the happiest Christian holiday will make the boy become someone else, at least on that day. On that day, his mother and the guests will address him as *the host*, so they will treat him with greater respect, as the older, that is, the male head of the family. His mother will even lose herself in that joy, and she almost kisses his hand, instead of him kissing her hand. The new shoes and formal clothes, which the boy eagerly tries on before Christmas are the symbol of the child's desire to grow up as soon as possible and become someone else, an adult and a host. Christmas is different from any other day, and so is the status of the boy in the family: *Sada me i majka već ne grdi, ako štogod slomim, a kamo li da me bije, jer "loš" je pred Božić. Čak me drukše nekako i gleda. Ne kao majka, već nekako drukčije, ponizno, kao starijeg od sebe* (Stanković 1980, 172). That otherness, diversity, motivated by a person's religious feeling, brings a new identity to the boy. The chronotope of Christmas determines the boy's new identity, because the character himself is "always essentially chronotopic" (Bahtin 1989, 194), defined by the time and space in which he exists.

In the short story *Oni*, doubling of the identity of the patient Mita is psychologically motivated. From an excessive desire to be healthy as before, Mita's parents see in Mita's best friend Ariton his doppelganger:

> *Čudo, kako su se Aritonu svi pokoravali, slušali ga. Ali moglo se videti, da to oni čine zbog toga, što misle da što god im on kaže, zapovedi im, da to njihov Mita hoće, da kroz njega on govori. Ariton je to znao, pa je zato bio slobodan, osoran. Sve ih je kao grdio, što ga toliko čuvaju, strepe i time mu slute neko zlo. A to je baš njima i godilo, i zato su ga slušali* (Stanković 1980, 218).

Ariton is the same age as their son, so in his health and authoritative behavior, Mita's parents see a copy, a doubling of their son as they would love to be able to see him, instead of a weak person on his deathbed. On the other hand, Ariton is a young man

without parents, so it is not difficult to recognize his psychological need for the position of the son of someone else's parents and the satisfaction he feels during that alternation.

2.2. Protagonist as an alternative to another protagonist

While the process of replacing one protagonist with another in comic discourse, *qui pro quo* and *error in persona* (cf. Lešić 1981, 194–203), leads to a humorous effect, in Stanković's prose it is a consequence of the protagonist's inability to freely accomplish a process related to one protagonist, so he directs his original intention towards someone else. An individual is always in a conflict with the patriarchal community and emerges from that conflict defeated; replacing the protagonist with his alternative takes on the outlines of tragedy, sometimes irony, or is simply a sign of his weakness and inability to express his emotions and desires.

Thus, Ita, in *Pokojnikova žena,* instead of giving food to Anica out of compassion and love, he allegedly sends it to her child as on orphan without father, in order not to call in question Anica's honor of a young widow with his attention. Due to the feeling of unworthiness of great and ideal love, as well as due to the guilt she feels towards memory of the deceased, Anica chose Nedeljko over Ita, though he was a worse choice for two reasons: she did not love him, and he was also a poor widower with three children. Neither psychological nor social barriers prevented her from choosing an alternative that no one could find the reason for. Ita proposed to her, and she consciously relinquished happiness by turning to another protagonist as his alternative. This replacement of protagonists led to tragedy in Anica's destiny of a woman defeated by the patriarchal society in which she lived.

Renouncing her luck with Ita, in some sort of insanity Anica cries and mourns Ita as if he were dead, not Mita. Now the deceased gets his alternative in Mita: *Ito, Ito moj… – I kao da je mrtav, počne da kuka, oplakuje ga* (Stanković 1980, 260). Ita is one possible alternative for the deceased, and the other one is Anica herself. She mourns the deceased out loud, but not so much because she really grieves him, but punishing herself for not feeling much sad, contrary to expected. *Ono njeno ''lele, Mito!'' ko zna zašto je bilo. Da li je taj plač bio za njega ili za nju, samu sebe* (Stanković 1980, 250). Therefore, Anica by mourning the deceased, actually mourns herself, so that in this action of hers we recognize the substitution of one protagonist for another.

Her child, going with mother to father's grave, take on her pattern of behavior, imitates her in terrible sobbing and crying, which Anica interrupts with an order to her little son not to cry, as the two of them are not the same: *Ne gledaj ti nanu, čedo… Zar zato što vidiš da nana plače, pa i ti da plačeš. Ne gledaj ti nanu. Drugo je nana…Nemoj. Loše će mi ti je* (Stanković 1980, 230). In the statement "drugo je nana" Anica's readiness to accept her own grief instead of the child is recognized: she is the one who is expected to grieve and cry, and not the child. She wants to protect the child by choosing herself as the victim. Patriarchally raised, the protagonist chooses and puts herself out as the carrier of the tribulation and suffering, and in the case of Mita, as the cause of grieve as well – she grieves herself.

The protagonist of the short story *Stanoja* is secretly in love with Kata, to whose husband he is a servant. When he hears the husband is beating her, Stanoja without thinking breaks into the house to defend her, and on that occasion the perpetrator hurts his head instead of the woman's. Stanoja's acceptance of the position of an alternative protagonist is also motivated by love, even when he takes care of her children instead of sick Kata. He brings her fruits with the greatest care, even though he is a poor man, so when she accepts

this gift, Stanoja hugs and kisses her children out of a joy. Now the collective character of the children becomes an alternative for Kata: all the love that Stanoja cannot show towards her, in the collective image of the children he gets an alternative recipient.

When she cannot accomplish her love with *gazda*[1] Stojan, with whom she fell in love when she was a child, Cveta in the short story *U noći* autoerotically conveys passion to herself as an object of desire: *I ne mogući da izdrži više, besno, mahnito ljubljaše i ugrizaše prsa, gojne mišice na ruci, gurajući pesnicu u usta, kao da bi sprečila ono što iz nje izbijaše i svu je obuzimaše* (Stanković 1980, 142). Autoerotization connects Cveta with the protagonist of *Nečista krv*, Sofka, who also transmits passion to herself in the absence of the ideal man, but this alterity of protagonists can be subsumed under doubling of identity, and not under the replacement of protagonists: Sofka recognizes in herself some other self, the duality of her being, because she only daydreams about hypothetical, ideal man, while Cveta loves one particular man. Cveta's self-destructive directing of passion towards herself is close to the self-destruction or destruction of Ćorović's protagonists of oriental tales who, due to *karasevdah*[2], inflict harm on themselves (*Latinka/ A Catholic*), the object of desire (*Sa nenom/ With aunt*) or her rival (*Osman-begova šargija/ Osman-beg's shargia*), because in all mentioned texts "Eros, as unused positive energy, is turned into a complete destructive mare" (Maksimović 2014, 236).

Alternatively, the protagonist of the short story *U noći* in her youthwas married to Jovan without her knowledge, and then Stojan was married to another girl. That alterity of the protagonists is motivated by social difference – Stojan was the master, and Cveta was a servant in his house. The rift between desire and reality made Stojan unhappy, thereby he didnot look at the unwanted woman at all. His father first threatens to kill him in anger, and a moment later he changes the roles of the killer and the victim, in desperation he subverts himself as an alternative protagonist[3], whom now Stojan has to kill. With this replacement of the protagonists' positions Stojan will see all the weight of his father's position and shame, for which he is to blame. For that reason, he will change his behavior towards his wife and stop wandering. Therefore, the procedure of replacing the protagonist with another in this case gained importance in the further course of events, while in Cveta's case it has a static function and is important only for the sake of her psychologization.

The motif of a forced marriage with an unloved is a common place in Stanković's prose. Instead with the beloved girl, Mita, the protagonist of the short story *Oni*, is forced to marry another girl by his parents. At the time of the story, Mita is dying of some mysterious illness, so Petković (2009, 165) points out the confirmation of the mystery of Mita's illness, not only through silence, but also through the behavior of his parents and wife: "as if they were all hiding something, and as if some vague guilt was floating in the air". Marriage to an alternative protagonist opens the possibility of further doubling of the worlds, because in addition to one possible cause, some organic disease, there is another possibility – a silent death of protagonists for love, as a common place in Stanković's prose, where protagonists are dying physically or spiritually due to *karasevdah* and the prohibition of love by the patriarchal society.

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[1] Serbian *gazda* is a title next to the name of a wealthy man; master, patron, host, sahib.
[2] *Karasevdah* is a Turkish word for great love desire, mental suffering, sadness, depression over unfulfilled love.
[3] This scene has its counterpart in the scene from the novel *Nečista krv*, in which efendi Mita kneels before Sofka, thus pointing out to her the ultimate humiliation of his, and inevitability of her marriage to Tomča. Once again, the father, as the head of the family, kneels before his child, humiliated, and begs for help.

The inability to express strong love feelings in *Nuška* leads to the double replacement of the beloved being with a character-storyteller, who is still a child at the time of the story. In love with the proud Nuška, Mladen does not let any girl dance beside him in *kolo*[4], except for a small character-storyteller, in which he finds an alternative for Nuška. He tries to get close to Nuška through the affection for this child, by replacing him with her: *I da joj, valjda, pokaže kako je voli, on kad kolo povede, ne pušta nijednu devojku do sebe, već uzme mene, njenog rođaka… kao da sam ja nešto ona! A Nuška se na to samo osmehne, prevuče očima i – ne gleda ga! ...* (Stanković 1980, 165). Blushing and excited, Nuška hugs her little cousin instead of Mladen, which, due to the patriarchal restrictions, projects the ability of expressing passion towards the beloved young man on to the innocent embracing and kissing of a child (cf. Milosavljević Milić 2013, 52–53). When unable to attend the wedding and dance, Nuška indulges in dancing at home, making the chronotope of the home an alternative to wedding joy, and Nuška's sensual dance becomes a simulacrum, a kind of dual or alternative mini-world over the primary one, in which the wedding is really taking place.

3. ALTERNATIVE WORLDS

Appearance of doubling of narrative worlds in Stanković's short story collection *Stari dani* is motivated by the rich psychologization of the characters and the conflict of the individual with the patriarchal environment, and the limited knowledge of the protagonists when it comes to focalized narration. Milosavljević Milić (2016: 53) distinguishes several types of virtual narrations: peripheral possible story (and within the counter-narrative and hypothetical focalization), narrative negations, comparisons and simulated narratives. All of them are characterized by major or minor deviations from the current story and greater or smaller possibility of realization.

3.1. Simulated narrative

Due to different expectations of the social environment, Stanković's protagonists are forced to behave in a way that substantially deviates from what they feel inside. Therefore, they start to play different roles, to simulate, or to pretend. Then doubling of that inner world of the protagonist – his awareness of something or his desires - proves to be the outness that is significantly different from the inner world of the protagonist or even completely opposite to it.

Unhappy in marriage with Mita, Anica, the protagonist of *Pokojnikova žena*, alternatively devotes herself to obsessively cleaning the house to hide the drama that is playing out in her soul. Mita notices her pretense, *da se ona zato silom unosi u posao, da bi se time zanela, kao otresla, odvojila od nečega drugog...* (Stanković 1980, 249), but cannot read her mind. When Mita says shortly: *De, de...*, forcing her to stop in her zealous work, a kind of pseudo-dialog, something unspoken and silent takes place between them, in which the protagonist knows not as much as than the omniscient storyteller (Richardson, 2014), but he infallible suspect that Anica is hiding something by doing this. After Mita's death Anica is forced to sit at *sofra*[5]

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[4] In Southeastern Europe, the South Slavic people traditionally dance the circle dance, known as *kolo*, named after the circle formed by the dancers.
[5] *Sofra* is a Turkish word for table, dining table.

with mother and son, even if she does not eat, because that is the custom, then to sit with Ita in front of the house and not inside, so that the neighbors would not suspect something bad, to look down when returning from the cemetery, even though she feels anxiety in her chest and narrowness of her clothes – in one word, always to muffle what she really wants to do and to simulate the behavior of the exemplary young widow in accordance with the moral expectations of the patriarchal environment. Vukićević (2011, 17) rightly notes: "The "program" of social behavior is not only imposed on the protagonists, it is built into them in the form of self-censorship. Even in extreme situations (death of a dear person for example) the protagonists are under "surveillance" of the environment. And for their behavior to be in line with that surveillance and expectations, they need to simulate certain actions".

And for the protagonists of the short story *U noći*, it is typical to simulate the behavior contrary to what they would really like to do. For this short story Vučković (2014, 249) says that it is typical Stanković's position of lovers: "they consciously refuse one another, and subconsciously their souls fly to each other". Due to the inability to accomplish love, unhappy protagonists choose to run away from each other, which is a general pattern of behavior of Stanković's protagonists. In the retrospective segment about the youth of Stojan and Cveta, the escape is motivated by patriarchal shame and strong feelings that drive the protagonists in love to occasionally spite each other.[6] While working in the fields, they tease each other, so at the end they "supposedly angry" go their own way. *Ona, u tesnom jelečetu, povezana šamijom, s nestašnim i prkosnim osmehom na rujnim joj ustima, gleda ga krišom, vidi: kako se on češe, vrpolji, gleda u nju i hoće nešto da joj kaže, a ona mu tada okreće leđa i čini se nevešta* (Stanković 1980, 135–136). By diversity of social position the prohibition of their love is motivated, so now Cveta must again conceal love in her behavior because she is someone else's wife. She simulates austerity and hatred towards Stojan, while she herself barely manages to control her love and passion for him.

Unhappy love is the main motif of the short story *Oni*. As an obedient and flawless son, young Mita, cannot tell his parents about his love for the poor gardener's daughter Mara due to patriarchal shame: *On je hteo da oni, otac mu i majka, sami pogode koju on voli, i tu da mu uzmu za ženu. I mati mu je, istina, za to dočula, saznala, ali se činila tome nevešta, i pokatkad izdaleka nagoveštavala mu, kako mu je već otac izabrao drugu, ovu istu Mariku* [...] (Stanković 1980, 214). His mother pretense that she does not know about Mita's love for Mara is socially motivated. Since Mita's parents struggled to get rich when they got married, the possibility of their son now marrying a poor girl was out of the question. Throughout his childhood, Mita was longing for parental warmth, because they pretended, simulated austerity, fearing that the outbursts of tenderness would not spoil his rigorous upbringing. The entire behavior of the parents was a simulation of a way of living that they thought it should be practiced. Therefore, in the end, their son tragically dies, his life was missed, and Mita's neglect conditioned by his parents' simulated behavior is indicated by the title of the story *Oni*. Although, all the time he is talking about Mita as the protagonist, about his illness and death, his youth, he is actually in the shadow of his parents all the time.[7]

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[6] This kind of behavior in retrospective segment about the youth connects these protagonists with young protagonists in love in Stankovic's short stories *Đurđev-dan* and *U vinogradima.*

[7] The position of the protagonist in relation to the patriarchal context is similar in Stanković's short story *Stari dani*, where the entire first part of the text is dedicated to showing the collective character of people, by turning

In the short story *Naš Božić*, the simulated narratives are motivated by a silent melancholy due to death of the father of the character-storyteller, so in certain situations his mother pretends that her child is older than he is, the host and head of the family, which is why he wears his father's much bigger clothes. And their relatives treat them carefully because of the social circumstances: *Što je dolazilo, to došlo izjutra, na rakiju, kao da nas štede, jer znaju da nemamo, i zato su dolazili ujutru na rakiju, pošto se tada ne zaseda i ne pije tako mnogo* (Stanković 1980, 182). There is a noticeable pretense in the behavior of both mother and the relatives: the mother acts as if her son has already grown up, and the relatives seem to be fine with this material situation despite the death of the head of the family, knowing that the truth is different, they strive not to endanger further their material condition. The arrival of Jovan, the father's brother and friend, greatly rejoiced the boy and his mother. The unspoken, inner mother's joy through tears that someone came to them on the holiday, the character-storyteller sees as the simulated narrative: *[...] pa kao da mi veli: – Božić, sine. Vidiš li?* (Stanković 1980, 185). In order not to encourage both the child's and her grief, even by a word of consolation in the statement mentioned, the mother keeps many things silent through the text, which the character – storyteller still recognizes based on her body language and gestures.

3.2. Counter-narrative

The protagonists of Stanković's prose, due to a limited knowledge in focalized narration, an emotional and psychological need for a better life or being defeated by the collective, run to a virtual world, which seems "superior in every aspect: psychological, ideological, aesthetic" (Milosavljević Milić 2016, 73). These are usually plans for the future, which are all the more distant from the current world of the story because they are uncertain and as such will never actually be accomplished. Such is an example of a counter-narrative in the short story *Oni*, where through internal focalization the plans of Mita's parents are presented when they live better and more comfortably: *A to njihovo "ima kad" trebalo je da bude: kad još nekoliko njiva i vinograda kupe, kad im on, sin, Mita, poraste, pa ožene ga, i on decu izrodi, te se kuća razgrana, učvrsti… tada* (Stanković 1980, 211). The counter-narrative here includes a whole catalog of events that should take place in the future, so that Mita's parents can finally feel relief yet, through further prospection it is realized that this will not happen.

By protagonist's amorousness in the short story *U vinogradima* the motivated counter-narrative is also bound to the future time, which will remain unaccomplished:

Jer je znala, sigurna je bila da ćemo se ovde, u vinogradu, pomiriti. Da ćemo, kao i lanjske godine, s jednog čokota zajedno brati grožđe, da ću da mećem u njenu kotaricu, služim se njenim kosirčetom, pa posle, kad počnemo zrna da skupljamo, da ću navlaš gurati moju ruku u njenu, a tada će prsti da nam se prepleću i glave, lica, kose dodiruju. I, naposletku, da ćemo iz mojih usta da "zobamo" zrno, ali tako da jedna polovina zrna ostane u mojim, a druga u njenim ustima... (Stanković 1980, 158)

the storyteller from stumbled people of the new to honest people of the old time. It is only in the second part that an individual in that collective will get his place, an individual from the social margin. Tomča, as a loner who drinks and wanders at night, with such a way of life, but also with the physical appearance of a torn and carelessly dressed man, deviates from the environment in which he lives. Everyone looks at him with some hidden pride and contempt, except for Pasa, whose life he once saved, and is now secretly in love with her. Such characterization of the protagonist is directly motivated by Tomča's missed life and unrealized love, which connects Tomča with Stanoja from Stanković's short story by the same name.

Considering the events from the previous year, even though this counter-narrative has the potential for realization in the present time of the story, it will not happen due to the defiant character of the character-storyteller. This feature of his will be pointed out by the supporting character of the Gypsy woman, who at the end of the story tells fortune from the palm of his hand, revealing his difficult character, but the protagonist interrupts her, not wanting to listen further more. The counter-narrative mentioned signifies paralepsy (cf. Genet 1995, 83) because the character-storyteller is an intra-diegetic storyteller, and yet he penetrates the consciousness of another literary character, by expressing the expectations of this girl in love in the future.

A better, alternative world into which Cveta, the protagonist of the short story *U noći*, runs through her imagination, is a counter-narrative about running away with Stojan somewhere far away: *A njoj tada dođe – sačuvaj Bože, kao neka napast! – da i ona, kao što se u pričama kazuje, poleti, sedne do njega na konja, obgrli ga, i da oboje, zagrljeni, na mesečini, preko polja i gora pobegnu daleko, daleko!* ... (Stanković 1980, 140) The comment of the protagonist: "sačuvaj Bože, kao neka napast!" is of a moralizing character and belongs to the border sphere between the current and the virtual world. Formally, it belongs to the counter-narrative, but semantically it is a part of the current patriarchal world, in which the protagonist exists. In such a current world, it is not allowed to be ashamed and sinful or to think about another man, let alone run away with him, while in the virtual world, the protagonist is happy precisely thanks to the realization of this intention. That is why the mentioned comment of the protagonist is aimed at Cveta's attempt to distract herself from such thoughts, which she knows are sinful, which is supported by her prayers a moment later, and a warning of punishment for such a sin in the other world.

The protagonist of *Pokojnikova žena* Anica is close to Cveta in her escape to alternative world, in which she would accomplish her love with Ita: *Nije da ga ne voli! Ah, samo jednom da ga oseti, pa da... Ali kako će? Kako će ona njega, Itu, da pogleda, da mu se nasmeje, od radosti da se zaplače kad ga zagrli, kad bi se odmah, ama odmah, isprečio on, pokojnik* (Stanković 1980, 260). In the experienced speech, Anica just allows herself the thought of happiness, for guilty conscience she introduces the character of the deceased, so this counter-narrative expresses Anica's philosophy of a young widow in a patriarchal society and also motivates her action of rejecting Ita's proposal. Just as Cveta starts dreaming about happiness and love, and obsessively prays and worships God, so Anica immediately turns to asking the deceased to forgive her for daring to think about another, better life. Remarrying the unloved one, Nedeljko instead of Ita, was Anica's "redemption to the deceased, a kind of catharsis, for her the only possible one, to get rid of the heavy obsession with "the sin" that brought her to the brink of insanity" (Najdanović 2010, 346).

3.3. Comparison

As a subtype of virtual narrative, comparison is the process of comparing a feature or an action of a protagonist, but also other entities in the actual world of the story, to someone more familiar and closer to the protagonist or storyteller. During the hyperbolized comparison, there is a greater distance between the virtual and the actual world, which is the case in the short story *Naš Božić*, in which the information is presented by the child as a storyteller and focalizer. As such narration is extremely subjective, the descriptions are often colored by the infantilism of the child. The enthusiasm of the child-storyteller with the appearance of the church on Christmas makes him see lighted candles as bright stars and still

personifies them: *Sproću se sjaji ikonostas, po njemu žmirkaju zapaljena kandila, a više svega, kao zvezde trepću i prodiru ozgo upaljene sveće oko Raspeća* (Stanković 1980, 176).

The characteristics of the protagonists of the short story *Stanoja* in the actual world of the story are doubled in the virtual world as comparisons in order to be better presented and emphasized. Kata [...] *beše i radenica ko krtica* (Stanković 1980, 147), Stanoja [...] *radi kao crv* (Stanković 1980, 145), and when Kata falls ill, he will be compared to a woman in his devotion to her children (Stanković 1980, 146). The term from the virtual narrative becomes a parameter according to which a characteristic of the protagonist from the actual world of the story qualifies. The use of comparisons in *Stari dani*: *I kao da puče nešto* (Stanković 1980, 194) aims to show effectively the festive atmosphere on Saint Michael's day. By comparison, as a type of virtual narrative, not only objects and people from the current world of the story, but also its immaterialized entities can be brought closer to the reader.

3.4. Narrative negation

The narrative negation is a form of virtual narrative in which an alternative world is presented, which for some reason could not exist as a parallel to the actual one, but its introduction is still important for pointing to a phenomenon in the actual world of the story. In Stanković's short story *U vinogradima,* narrative negation is present in order to show the crowds made by horses and people during the harvest: *Pa kad sve to počne da se tiska, gura, pretiče jedno drugo, onda ni kokoš ne bi mogla da prođe s jedne na drugu stranu, a kamoli čovek* (Stanković 1980, 152). This narrative negation introduces a hypothetical narrative situation which, in its negative nature, aims to emphasize liveliness during the vineyard harvest, but also to describe the narrow streets of Vranje that led to the vineyards.

This form of virtual narrative is in the service of the description of Pasa, the protagonist of Stanković's short story of the idyllic tone *Đurđev-dan*. Pasa is idealized for her girlish chastity and shyness, which are emphasized by her physical features while the character-storyteller runs after her: "Iz zažarenih obraza tek što krv nije kanula", he will say, emphasizing her cheeks blushing with shame. Narrative negation is related to the future tense near after the moment of speech and is expressed by a relatively used verb form in the perfect while in the given example from the short story *U vinogradima* narrative negation is expressed by a modal form of the verb negation as a hypothesis of what could not be accomplished in an alternative world.

4. CONCLUSION

The collection of modern short stories by Borisav Stanković *Stari dani* occupies an important place in the history of Serbian literature. On the borderline between realism and modernity, Stanković brings new narrative procedures and a different image of an individual in society. The protagonist acquires his second identity: in addition to the primary one, there is also the other one, which is attributed to him by the social environment. When the patriarchal environment prevents the accomplishing of a protagonist's intention or a goal, he then directs it towards another protagonist as an alternative. This structural procedure of replacing one protagonist with another has two functions: a) psychologization as a static function (*Stanoja, Naš Božić, Nuška, Oni*) and b) a dynamic function – in a development of a plot (*U noći, Pokojnikova žena*). In

addition to the alternatives in terms of the literary protagonist, the important narrative procedure is doubling of narrative worlds, when we talk about four types of virtual narrative: simulated narrative, counter-narrative, comparison and narrative negation. They can be motivated by the psychological states of the characters or their position in the patriarchal society from the end of the 19th century. Thus, the realistic tradition is enriched with modern artistic procedures, which makes Borisav Stanković's prose a turning point in the transition from realism to modernism.

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UDVAJANJA U ZBIRCI PRIPOVEDAKA *STARI DANI* BORISAVA STANKOVIĆA

U radu će biti sagledano udvajanje identiteta likova u zbirci pripovedaka Borisava Stankovića Stari dani *(1902), kao i svesno ili nesvesno biranje nekog drugog junaka kao alternative za izvršenje određene junakove aktivnosti. Zatim će biti analizirano udvajanje aktuelnog narativnog sveta kroz kontrapripovest, simulirani narativ, poređenje i narativnu negaciju. Pokušaćemo i da odgovorimo na pitanja na koji način patrijarhalni kontekst uslovljava ovaj alteritet svetova i junaka i kakve to uzročno-posledične veze ima sa psihologizacijom Stankovićevih junaka i razvojem radnje u devet pripovedaka pomenute zbirke.*

Ključne reči: *Borisav Stanković, udvajanje identiteta, zamena junaka, virtuelni narativ, Stari dani*

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