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CRITICAL INCIDENTS AS A MEANS OF DEVELOPING AND ASSESSING EFL MAJORS' INTERCULTURAL SENSITIVITY AND COMPETENCE

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Abstract. *Knowing and understanding the cultural values of one's native and target cultures enable individuals to establish and maintain successful intercultural communication. The aim of the paper is to identify the EFL university students' opinions and attitudes towards potentially controversial intercultural situations. For this purpose, a qualitative critical incident technique was used to explore whether (and to what extent) pre-service EFL student teachers possess intercultural sensitivity and competence to resolve controversial intercultural situations presented through so-called critical incidents. The survey was carried out among third and fourth-year students of English at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad. The research findings indicate that the respondents demonstrated a fair degree of intercultural perspective, intercultural sensitivity and competence. The findings offer practical support in favour of critical incidents as one of the many useful pedagogical tools for the development and assessment of intercultural sensitivity and competence of L2 learners. The pedagogical implications of this research point towards the necessity of introducing intercultural elements not only into L2 instruction but into general education as well.*

Key words: *EFL majors, intercultural sensitivity, intercultural competence, critical incidents, intercultural communication*

1. INTRODUCTION

Intercultural competence has always been part of human culture from early civilizations that thrived on trade to today's world of information and communication technologies where we can get in touch with anyone in a matter of seconds. No country or society in

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the world today is homogeneous regarding nationality, class, race, language, etc. It is *diversity* that lies at the core of human existence. Cultural differences imply different cultural and social norms, values, beliefs, attitudes. Therefore, it can be claimed that no culture is inherently greater than or superior to other cultures (Huitt 2020). Meeting, communicating and living with diverse cultural groups within and across countries only add to the mutual gains in all spheres of life.

Ever-increasing cultural diversity all over the globe calls for significant intercultural skills which enable us to live and work with people from different cultures. People may have either positive or negative attitudes towards cultural differences. Those who have negative attitudes towards otherness, i.e. people and cultures different from their own may develop stereotypes, prejudices, intolerance or even hostility. By contrast, people cultivating positive or constructive attitudes towards people different from themselves develop curiosity and openness, and show appreciation, tolerance and respect for them. It is understood that positive attitudes towards cultural differences unquestionably underlie successful intercultural encounters, and “all communication is to some degree intercultural” (Scollon, Scollon, and Jones 2012, 2, as cited in Paunović 2013, 48).

According to Chen and Starosta (1998, as cited in Samovar et al. 2013, 468) intercultural awareness is a cognitive perspective of intercultural communication. It embodies knowing and understanding the distinct cultural values (differences and similarities) of one’s own and other cultures, thereby helping individuals to overcome misunderstandings in intercultural encounters. However, in order for intercultural communication to be successful, intercultural awareness needs to be complemented by its affective counterpart – intercultural sensitivity. Intercultural sensitivity manifests itself in the feelings of emotional empathy, willingness to understand, respect, tolerate and accept cultural differences (Chen and Young 2012, as cited in Samovar et al. 2013, 468). According to Samovar et al. (2013, 469) intercultural sensitivity is “accepting differences through tolerance” and is considered crucial for the promotion of intercultural dialogue. Intercultural communicative competence represents an intersection of a whole range of culturally appropriate behaviour, knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that enable individuals to interact effectively and appropriately with people from different cultures (Bandura 2011; Bennett 2011; Byram 1997, 2000; Cushner 2015; Kiliańska-Przybyło 2017; Lazarević 2017; Paunović 2013; Petrović 2018). The acquisition of intercultural competence takes a lot of time, effort and care, and should be an indispensable part and/or outcome of overall education.

This paper aims at identifying the opinions and attitudes of EFL university students towards cultural misunderstandings and breakdowns. The EFL majors’ possession of emotional empathy and readiness to solve potentially controversial intercultural situations in a constructive fashion will demonstrate their intercultural perspective (or lack thereof), and the level of their intercultural sensitivity and competence. The respondents were third and fourth-year EFL majors from the Department of English Studies, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad. The respondents’ views on conflicting intercultural episodes (adapted from Lazarević 2013; 2017) were elicited by using a critical incident technique (CIT) – a widely used qualitative research method in the intercultural field. CIT was purposely used as it is adequate for both intercultural instruction and assessment, it is learner-friendly and is recognised by many researchers as an effective exploratory and investigative tool (Butterfield et al. 2005; Breunig & Christoffersen 2016; Cushner 2014; Cushner and Brislin 1996; Méndez García 2016; Spencer-Oatey & Harsch 2013).

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. Intercultural learning: significance and implications for stakeholders in education

In today's post-method era, foreign/second language (L2) instruction has been increasingly sensitive to the complex and dynamic issue of culture. The prevalent *intercultural approach* to language learning and *intercultural competence* as its desired outcome assume that culture is more of a process in which learners actively engage, rather than a closed set of cultural information that learners are required to passively acquire and recall (Ho 2009, 65; Liddicoat, Scarino 2013, 23). In the last three decades, intercultural L2 learning has become a crucial focus of modern L2 education. It reflects a greater awareness of the interrelatedness and inseparability of language and culture, and the urge to prepare L2 learners for intercultural communication in our increasingly diverse society. Intercultural competence, featuring as a goal of foreign language pedagogy, is widely being promoted as a way to develop the ability of individuals to interact appropriately and effectively with those from other cultural backgrounds (Ho 2009; Moeller and Nugent 2014; Sinicrope, Norris, and Watanabe 2007). Understanding culture hence becomes a constituent element of intercultural competence.

Developing intercultural competence facilitates mediation between languages and cultures and the identities that they frame. Furstenberg (2010, 329) rightfully claims that "culture is a highly complex, elusive, multilayered notion that encompasses many different and overlapping areas and that inherently defies easy categorization and classification". Just as culture is difficult to define, so is intercultural competence as it inevitably includes cultural elements. There are so many definitions and interpretations of intercultural competence, which depend on the areas explored by researchers (Lazarević 2013). Liddicoat and Scarino (2013, 23) explain that intercultural competence means: that one's practices are influenced by the cultures to which one belongs (both the speaker and the interlocutor), that there is no one 'correct' or 'fixed' way of doing things, that one should value one's own and other cultures, then use language to explore culture and use one's background cultural knowledge to deepen their understanding of new cultures, then find one's meaningful ways of participating in intercultural interaction and an idiosyncratic intercultural style and identity. According to Liddicoat and Scarino (2013, 24), interculturally competent learners are aware that cultures are relative, that all behaviours are culturally variable and that it is necessary for them to "build connections within and across interactions and experiences" and to develop a sensitivity to the culturally diverse world around them (Liddicoat and Scarino 2013, 81).

The best-known model of intercultural competence, upon which most definitions are based, is the one provided by Byram (1997). Byram's conceptualisation of intercultural communicative competence entitled *Multidimensional Model of Intercultural Competence* strongly influenced the definition of intercultural competence in the CEFR (2001, 2018), as well as in many national education standards and L2 curricula worldwide. Byram made it clear that the purpose of the model was to help L2 educators understand the concept of intercultural competence. Intercultural competence comprises three domains: the *affective* domain (attitudes), the *cognitive* domain (knowledge) and the *behavioural* domain (skills), all of which are necessary for one to interact successfully in intercultural situations. Attitudes are described in terms of curiosity, openness, empathy, cultural sensitivity, respect for otherness, and positive views towards other cultures (Byram 1996, as cited in Spencer-Oatey and Franklin 2009, 66; Lazarević 2013, 53). Attitudes also relate to the ability of individuals to

decentre from their own cultural perspective by questioning assumptions and prior knowledge about other cultures and their own as well. Knowledge, the cognitive dimension of intercultural competence, concerns “knowledge about social groups and their cultures in one’s own country, and similar knowledge of the interlocutor’s country” as well as “knowledge of the processes of interaction at individual and societal levels” (Byram 1997, 35). These types of knowledge include linguistic and cultural behaviour of the participants in intercultural communication, which help them cope effectively with potential cultural challenges. Finally, intercultural skills (the behavioural domain), refer to: (a) the set of skills involving interpreting and relating documents or events from another culture, explaining and linking them to those from one’s own culture, (b) the set of skills involving discovering and interacting, which underlie the learners’ metacognition and their ability to acquire new culture-general and culture-specific knowledge and use it in real-time communication and interaction (Spencer-Oatey and Franklin 2009, 66), (c) critical cultural awareness, which deals with the ability to critically evaluate practices and products in one’s own and other cultures and countries (Spencer-Oatey and Franklin 2009; Radić-Bojanić 2013, 2019). The aforementioned skills inevitably call for an active and responsible engagement of the participants in intercultural communication. Within the context of L2 instruction, all three dimensions of intercultural competence (*attitudes, knowledge, skills*) can be largely developed through education, experience and skillful instructional scaffolding.

Intercultural sensitivity is defined by some researchers as an attitude reflecting the degree of empathy, positivity and willingness to interact with people from different cultures, and is considered as a prerequisite for developing intercultural competence (Bennett 1993; Bennett and Bennett 2004; Bhawuk 1992; Bhawuk and Brislin 1992; Micó-Cebrián and Cava 2014; Chen 2010; Chen and Starosta 2004; Chen and Young 2012; Hammer, Bennett and Wiseman 2003; Hammer 2011; Ruiz-Bernardo, Ferrández-Berruenco and Sales-Ciges 2012). If learners have the will to establish intercultural communication with others, they are aware that they should first develop intercultural sensitivity and understanding and then successfully participate in a communicative act, by accepting and respecting culture within and across different languages (Radić-Bojanić 2019). The theoretical framework used by many researchers and practitioners to understand and work with intercultural sensitivity is the *Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity* (DMIS) developed by Milton Bennett (1993). Bennett views intercultural sensitivity as an ability to understand subtle differences between cultures. This is an indicator of increased cognitive sophistication and a deeper ability to discriminate and experience relevant cultural differences, which enable one to “think and act in interculturally appropriate ways” (Hammer, Bennett and Wiseman 2003, 422; Mahon 2006, 392). For Bennett (1998), intercultural learning involves the integration of the assumptions, values and beliefs of another culture into one’s own worldview (as cited in Lazarević 2013). An individual who is interculturally competent is likely to pass through six developmental stages in the process of their transformation from the ‘ethnocentric’ to the ‘ethnorelative’ stages (Radić-Bojanić 2019, 57). The ethnocentric perspective implies that one’s own culture is perceived as ‘central to reality’, and that the ways or experiences of one’s culture are seen as ‘the right ways’. The ethnorelative perspective is developed to remind us that our own beliefs and behaviours are but “one organization of reality among many viable options” (Bennett 2004, 63-74, as cited in Apedaile and Schill 2008, 10; Paunović 2013, 45; Radić-Bojanić 2019, 57). There are three ethnocentric stages and three ethnorelative stages. The ethnocentric stages range from: (1) disinterest and inability to notice cultural differences, with persons isolating or separating themselves into homogeneous groups (*Denial of*

cultural difference), (2) recognition of cultural differences accompanied with the feelings of threat, defensiveness and negative evaluation, and an “us-them” polarisation (*Defense against cultural difference*), and (3) recognition of commonality between people, meaning that all human beings are all the same... “just like me” (*Minimization of cultural difference*).

There are also three ethnorelative stages within which a paradigmatic shift occurs. In these stages individuals recognise that people live in culturally diverse contexts, that cultures must be understood in the context that they have developed so the individuals must search for ways to adapt to those differences. These ethnorelative stages of the continuum include: (1) the stage wherein learners recognise the possibility of different cultural norms, with one's culture seen as one of many (*Acceptance of cultural difference*), (2) the stage where learners shift a frame of reference, show empathy and behave according to other cultural norms and values (*Adaptation to cultural difference*), and (c) the stage in which individuals are capable of identifying and moving with ease in multiple cultures (*Integration of cultural difference into identity*). At this stage, learners successfully reconcile cultural differences and finally create a bicultural or multicultural identity. Progress from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism is not linear, meaning that a learner might advance and slightly regress along this developmental continuum, and that not all learners will grow interculturally at the same rate (Lazarević 2013, 79; Moeller and Nugent 2014, 5). Deardorff (2006) calls the open process of developing intercultural sensitivity and competence a never-ending journey during which the learner continuously learns, changes, evolves and hopefully becomes transformed.

Cushner (2015, 11) explains that it is important for L2 educators to assess where the learners lie on the continuum so that they could purposely organise more structured instruction and/or interventions, which would help the learners progress more smoothly and successfully towards more advanced stages. As researchers have noted, one of the most challenging and difficult components of preparing learners for intercultural competence is assessing and measuring this process of learning (Byram 1997; Deardorff 2006; Lazarević 2018; Moloney and Harbon 2010). Byram rightfully claims that “intercultural competence cannot be assessed, or encouraged, by psychometric objective testing” (Byram 1997, 90, as cited in Lazarević 2018, 474), but rather with formative tools or process-oriented assessments, whereby students demonstrate their preferences, critically reflect on conflicting situations, consider judgments, justify their linguistic and cultural choices, etc. (Scarino 2010). In this way, the correlation between the three domains, cognitive, affective and behavioural, is viable and visible. Although objective assessment is almost impossible (Atkinson 1999; Lazarević 2009; Sercu 2004) some performance-based assessment is still necessary in order to record student intercultural learning and growth. Through different forms of assessment, learners receive feedback on their progress in intercultural understanding. All the techniques which are used for intercultural teaching are also successfully used for assessment: culture assimilators and critical incidents, culture capsules and clusters, portfolios, report writing, role play, essay writing, peer assessment, simulations, self-evaluation, comparison-contrast method, cultural mini dramas, checklists, interviews in reflective formats, questionnaires, journals, etc. These tools exemplify best practices in intercultural instruction and are built upon the theoretical frameworks delineated in this study. These learning and teaching tasks assist learners and teachers in building interculturality within the context of the L2 classroom.

2.2 CRITICAL INCIDENTS AS INTERCULTURAL TRAINING AND ASSESSMENT TOOLS

Since their first use by Flanagan in 1954 to investigate effective and ineffective job behaviour, critical incidents have become an unavoidable tool in the professional intercultural development context to increase intercultural understanding and handling of cross-cultural situations. Many researchers and practitioners emphasise the usefulness of critical incidents in intercultural instruction, especially in understanding intercultural interactions (Apedaile and Schill 2008; Bhawuk 2001; Corbett 2003; Kiliańska-Przybyło 2017; Lazarević 2013; Spencer-Oatey 2013; Spencer-Oatey and Franklin 2009). Critical incidents are based on experiential-learning methodology and represent "...brief descriptions of situations in which a misunderstanding, problem or conflict arises as a result of the cultural differences of the interacting parties, or a problem of cross-cultural adaptation and communication" (Apedaile and Schill 2008, 7). Woods (2012, 1) defines them as: "...highly charged moments and episodes that have enormous consequences for personal change and development". Each incident or a story clearly and concisely sets the scene and describes what has happened, frequently revealing the feelings and reactions of those involved in it. The incident does not explain the cultural differences between the participants or culturally motivated values, norms and behaviours. The learners are invited to discuss the possible reasons of the misunderstanding. It is the absence of the interpretations to choose from that encourages the learners to suggest their own ways of handling the situation. Therefore, the incident is open to multiple interpretations and it represents "a rich vein for exploring the development of critical thinking and problem-solving skills" (McAllister et al. 2006, 371, as cited in Lazarević 2013, 107). Cross-cultural dialogues are in essence critical incidents in a dialogue form. When they are properly constructed and presented to L2 learners, they can be skillfully exploited to instill knowledge about cultures and help to develop openness, flexibility and empathy (Storti 1999). A technique similar to critical incidents is the "cultural assimilator", which is a programmed learning package consisting of a number of critical incidents (Cushner and Brislin 1996). Unlike a critical incident, a cultural assimilator describes an incident and is followed by four or five possible explanations (Triandis 1975, 1995). In a cultural assimilator, learners are expected to choose the "best" or the "most appropriate" or plausible explanation context-wise.

Both cultural assimilators and critical incidents are extensively researched, theoretically founded and based on the psychological principles to reinforce the learning process. What makes these critical scenarios or episodes *critical* is actually the significance of the incidents in the daily life of the individuals and the necessity of their implementation in cross-cultural training programmes (Bhawuk 2001, 143). For some other authors *criticality* refers to the informative content and the explanatory role of critical incidents (Webster and Mertova 2007; Woods 2012). Wight (1995, 128-129) clearly explained that the purpose of critical incidents was to confront the learners with conflicting, confusing or frustrating situations that they can expect to encounter while interacting with persons from another culture, or while adjusting to a new culture. Critical incidents have many values in the intercultural field, most of which have been insightfully identified by Wight (1995, 128). Through critical incidents L2 learners should: (a) increase awareness of their own and others' behaviour, attitudes and responses in potentially conflicting situations, (b) critically analyse various interpretations and perceptions of the participants, (c) clarify the cultural differences that might have provoked misunderstandings, problems or conflicts, (d) understand the diversity among

members of each culture being dealt with, (e) acquire understanding necessary to behave more appropriately and effectively in similar situations, (f) increase the participants' awareness of the things they need to learn and motivate them to continue learning, (g) provide a solid basis for engaging in role plays that will develop their skills to handle various cross-cultural situations (Wight 1995, 128-129). Critical incidents empower learners to derive meaning, to cultivate much-needed empathy and find commonalities with culturally different people, and that is why we have decided to exploit these intercultural training tools for the purposes of our research study.

3. METHODOLOGY

This research study was designed to explore the intercultural sensitivity and competence of EFL majors at the Department of English Studies of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad. It set out to prove the following hypothesis: EFL majors possess intercultural sensitivity and competence to resolve possibly controversial intercultural situations presented through critical incidents. It is hypothesised that the respondents will have an ethnocentric/intercultural perspective and will exhibit openness, emotional empathy and understanding of different cultural and behavioural patterns. They are expected to be aware of cultural differences and to be competent enough to find out the underlying motives of potentially conflicting situations, and ultimately solve them in a culturally appropriate manner.

3.1. Participants

The participants of this study were third and fourth-year English majors, and a total of 142 (N=142) respondents participated in this study. Of the whole sample, seventy-eight (N=78) were third-year, and sixty-four were fourth-year students (N=64). The sample of students included both female (third year: N=68; fourth year: N=56) and male students (third year: N=10; fourth year: N=8), which reflects the general gender distribution of this study group. The average age of third-year students was 21.46, and of fourth-year students, it was 22.44. Apart from the basic demographic data, some other background information was also gathered that could help contextualise the research results. Specifically, of the whole sample of respondents 128 informants (90.14%) spoke Serbian as their mother tongue, while the rest reported that they spoke Hungarian, Slovak, Ruthenian, Croatian, and Spanish (spoken by a Spanish Erasmus + fourth-year student).

Table 1 Participants' mother tongue

Mother tongue	3. year (%)	Mother tongue	4. year (%)
Serbian	72 (92.3%)	Serbian	56 (87.5%)
Hungarian	3 (3.8%)	Hungarian	5 (7.8%)
Slovak	2 (2.6)	Slovak	1 (1.6%)
Ruthenian	1 (1.3%)	Croatian	1 (1.6%)
		Spanish (Erasmus+)	1 (1.6%)

When asked what other foreign languages, apart from English, the students spoke, they claimed they had active or passive knowledge of at least one other foreign language (see Table 2 below):

Table 2 Other foreign languages spoken besides English

Other foreign languages spoken	3 rd year (%)	Other foreign languages spoken	4 th year (%)
No other foreign language	7 (9.00%)	No other foreign language	11 (17.2%)
One more foreign language	44 (56.4%)	One more foreign language	27 (42.2%)
Two more foreign languages	21 (26.9%)	Two more foreign languages	18 (28.1%)
Three more foreign languages	5 (6.4%)	Three more foreign languages	5 (7.8%)
Four more foreign languages	1 (1.3%)	Four more foreign languages	3 (4.7%)

Students are aware of the importance of proficiency in other languages other than English, which is in line with the requirements of modern language pedagogy and global citizenship. The languages the respondents speak include German, Spanish, Russian, Hungarian, Slovakian, Italian, Greek, French, Serbian, Dutch, Ukrainian, Chinese, Norwegian, Portuguese, Japanese, Korean, Hebrew, Romanian, Ruthenian, Czech, Finnish, and Turkish.

3.2. Instrument

The purposely designed open-ended questionnaire used in this research comprised two parts: the first part consisted of three general questions concerning demographic variables and personal background data, and the second part encompassed five critical incidents (CI). More precisely, out of five critical episodes, only three (CI: 3, 4, 5) were adapted from the cultural assimilator given in Lazarević (2013, 2017), who is one of the leading researchers in the intercultural field in Serbia. However, all the cultural scenarios never included attributions or solutions, just a short story or a dilemma situation, followed by questions to get the participants to imagine being part of these episodes. The intention of such a concept was primarily to enable the respondents to exhibit all the possible behavioural patterns or explanations for different culturally motivated values and norms. By using a qualitative content analysis, the core meanings or patterns of the students' beliefs were inductively identified and classified into corresponding themes or categories. Whenever it was possible and desirable, the frequency of code or category occurrence was measured. The questionnaire was anonymous, which only contributed to the validity of the study as students gave comprehensive and honest answers.

3.3. Procedure

The students were given a maximum of forty-five minutes to complete the questionnaire, which was administered within regular ELT Methodology practice classes in the third year and English Language Teaching Methodology – Teaching Practicum classes in the fourth year of English Studies, in May 2018 and 2019. All the students gave consent for the participation in the research. They were informed by the researcher that their responses would remain confidential and were instructed to be as clear and open as possible, which was essential to the validity and success of the research study. As was previously mentioned, qualitative data analysis was conducted in order to gain a deeper insight and a better understanding of the students' perspectives pertaining to intercultural issues. Wherever it was possible, the recurrent patterns or themes obtained from the qualitative data were supported by descriptive statistics.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The aim of the study is to explore whether the participants possess positive attitudes towards potentially conflicting cultural episodes, which will provide reasonable evidence that participants are interculturally sensitive and competent. In the *first*, general question, the participants were asked whether they had ever travelled abroad, how long and for what purpose. Of the entire sample, only four students (2.8%) had never travelled abroad, only one student (0.7%) had been living in Australia for nine years, and all the rest travelled all around the globe for various reasons: for tourist purposes/recreational purposes (getting to know more about specific countries and their cultures, as they stated; Work-and-Travel programmes, sports competitions, visiting relatives...), for instruction/educational reasons (intercultural exchanges of youth activists, International Youth Mathematician Euromath Conferences, Eastern Generative Grammar Summer Schools, summer and winter language schools, summer and winter camps on tolerance, Erasmus+ mobility exchange programmes, exchange programmes in secondary schools...), for work purposes (Work-and-Travel programmes, au-pair scheme, translating...). The length of their stays varied from a minimum of two weeks to a maximum of one year. The range of countries the participants reported they had visited for various reasons was impressive: Hungary, Slovenia, USA, Greece, Austria, Slovakia, Switzerland, Germany, Montenegro, Czech Republic, Portugal, France, Italy, UK, Turkey, Romania, Poland, Cyprus, Malta, Tunisia, Canada, Spain, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ukraine, Malaysia, Dominican Republic, Japan, China, Sweden, United Arab Emirates, Ireland, Bulgaria, Iceland, Albania, The Netherlands and Belgium.

When asked whether they had ever visited an English-speaking country, (Q2) 114 students (80.3%) reported they had not had an opportunity to visit any of them. The remaining 19.7% of the students had visited the USA, England, Northern Ireland, Wales, Canada and Australia, mostly for educational (summer language courses, exchange programmes...), tourist/recreational purposes and work purposes. Although a large number of students claimed to have travelled abroad, only a certain number of them had had the opportunity to visit English-speaking countries to practise their English and gain deeper cultural insights. One student honestly remarked (all the answers in the survey are cited verbatim):

S (student) 6: Unfortunately, I never had the chance to visit an English-speaking country, but it has always been one of my greatest desires to visit England.

In *Question 3*, “Do you have foreign friends abroad and do you keep in touch with them?” thirty-nine students (27.5%) admitted they did not have any foreign friends abroad, while the rest of the sample claimed to have had them in the following countries: Belarus, Lithuania, Kenya, Venezuela, Peru, Russia, Ukraine, Finland, Singapore, The Netherlands, Kyrgyzstan, Morocco, Jamaica, Cyprus, USA (Native Americans – Shawnee), Czech Republic, Australia, Italy, Spain, Poland, Sweden, Belgium, UK, Greece, Japan and Germany. The participants reported that they regularly talked to their friends in English via social networks and video calls: Skype, WhatsApp, Viber, Facebook, email... In the students' own words, modern technology makes their communication so much easier, so they can communicate with their foreign friends, help each other out with many issues, play video games and spend a lot of time with them when they come to Serbia. Indeed, these new technological tools facilitate and improve one-to-one, one-to-many and many-to-many communication and collaboration, and are undoubtedly a constituent part of people's lives.

The second part of the questionnaire comprises cultural episodes whose purpose was to investigate the participants' frames of reference regarding disconcerting or controversial occurrences. Hence, in *Question 4* (CI 1) students were asked to imagine themselves in a restaurant in London, and that the waiter had made a mistake with their order and so they were asked what they would say or do. After a detailed analysis of the students' responses, two broad categories were identified:

Table 3 Critical incident 1

Categories	No. of references (%)
a) Ss would politely apologise and ask for the right order.	99 (69.7%)
b) Ss would politely accept the wrong order without a word.	43 (30.3%)

As can be seen from the Table 3, the majority of students (69.7%) said that they would *politely* apologise for having to inconvenience the waiter and would clarify there had been a mix-up with their order, and consequently *politely* repeat the right order and thank him/her. The students' reactions were manifested through their careful phrasing and communicative signals/indicators that reflected their comprehension of the mistake, their sympathy, and good intentions. Therefore, students used words such as: *politely, kindly, tactfully, nicely, silently, calmly*, etc. to show their appreciation, and also verbal expressions such as: *Excuse me, Sir, ...; Sorry to trouble you...; Would you mind ... and thank you!; I beg your pardon, Sir, ...; Could you please...?* Respondents substantiated their answers by saying that: they would not cause any inconveniences as it is a natural occurrence in such a big niche as food service; they would politely ask for the right meal but would pay for both orders because everyone can make a mistake; they would definitely find an appropriate way to explain the mistake in their order especially if they got a more expensive meal, etc. Some of the answers were as follows:

S1: I would politely apologise and ask whether there has been a misunderstanding and then explain what I have ordered, and sincerely hope we would be able to resolve the issue.

S94: I would ask the waiter when I see that they are not busy with other customers, and I would politely point out that they had made a mistake. Then I would ask for my order to be replaced, something like: "Excuse me, but I think you have made a mistake in my order. I ordered XXX. Could you please replace it? Thank you!"

As for those 30.3% of respondents who would politely accept the wrong order without a word, they justified their answers by claiming that: they would not mind as long as they can eat it or drink it; they would pretend it did not happen; they would not do anything to humiliate the waiter; they would not mind much because everyone makes mistakes; mistakes happen and there is really no need to be mean about it; waiters can get into trouble when they make a mistake, so they would feel sorry for them especially if they are nice and pleasant; they love trying new things, etc. as can be seen in some of their comments:

S41: I would just settle for what was originally mistakenly given. I would not make a scene, start an argument, or ask to talk to the manager.

S47: I would not say anything unless I am really allergic to the food or strongly dislike it. Only in that case would I politely and calmly inform the waiter of the mistake. Otherwise, I would not make a big deal out of it.

Qualitative analysis of their answers leads us to the conclusion that there exists a high degree of open-mindedness, flexibility, empathy and respect for others in the target culture, which is supported by their actions and linguistic evidence in the form of formulaic speech and other communicative indicators characteristic of British courtesy (Fox 2014). In the same vein, with *Question 5* (CI 2) we wanted to find out what their attitudes and values were in the situation where had to imagine themselves studying at a British university and they were late for the exam. They were asked what they would say or do. Three categories of answers were identified.

Table 4 Critical incident 2

Categories	No. of references (%)
a) Ss would politely apologise telling the truth and hoping to be able to take the exam.	135 (95.1%)
b) Ss would not say anything but take their seat and do the exam.	2 (1.4%)
c) Ss would not dare take the exam.	5 (3.5%)

In the first category, there were 135 students (95.1%) who would politely apologise, tell the truth as to why they were late and hope to be allowed to take the exam. For them “being late is rude and irresponsible”, so if it happened there must have been a serious or valid reason for their being late. As they said, they would act as politely as possible, walking up to the professor as quietly as possible so as not to disturb their fellow students, and very politely and quietly apologise. If the professor allowed them to take the exam, they would thank him/her after the exam for the given opportunity; if not, they would leave the room and wait for the exam to finish and ask the professor for advice. All the students unanimously claimed they would never lie about the reasons for being late as “honesty is the best policy”, and moreover, they know that British professors are very strict when it comes to being on time, so they commented:

S38: I have never been late or very late for any exam during my studies but if it ever happened, I suppose there would have to be a valid reason for my being late. I would try to explain what happened using as few words as possible and ask the professor if I could take the exam. If s/he rejected my request, I would silently leave the room, feeling very humiliated because it was my fault.

S141: I have been told by several British people that they consider being late as a sign of disrespect and that the person being late always gets those horrible judgmental looks, so I would probably really nervously apologise like crazy hoping the professor accepts my apology.

Being on time for exams is a universally recognised academic convention. In Western countries, being late without a legitimate reason is considered bad manners. The British place a high value on punctuality, therefore being late for such an important occasion as an examination is unacceptable and may cause serious trouble. The respondents in this survey were well aware of this cultural expectation, so the language forms they used were

contextually appropriate, embodying the values and meanings the British people cherish. To illustrate, they used the following communication patterns: *Would it be possible for me to still take the exam? May I please take the exam? Excuse me, Sir, may I please take the exam? Is there any chance I could attend the exam?* and the like. They also claimed they would honestly / deeply / kindly / sincerely / politely / profusely / profoundly / quietly apologise or say they are terribly sorry, very sorry, really sorry, etc.

Of the total sample of respondents, 1.4% would not say anything in order not to disturb their colleagues, but would rather find the first empty seat and wait for the professor to give them the test. Only if the professor said something first, would they respond appropriately while managing a high level of stress and anxiety. And 3.5% of respondents admitted they would not have the audacity to be very late for the exam and would not even dare take it. In *Question 5*, (CI 3, adapted from Lazarević (2013, 283; 2017, 23) students were asked:

Marko from Serbia arrived at an American university and started going to classes. However, he was very disappointed to see the way students behaved in class. They would take off their shoes, put up their feet on the seat in front of them, would be laid back. What surprised Marko even more is the fact that teachers didn't mind this at all. There was one instance when a young man, sitting back, with his feet up, raised his hand and asked for a clarification, and the teacher calmly provided one. Marko couldn't understand this at all.

a) *What do you think led to the occurrence of this problem?*

b) *What advice would you give to Marko?*

As can be seen in the Table 5 below, the vast majority of students (73.2%) explained that Marko's shock was due to the mismatch between different cultural and behavioural patterns or expectations in an academic milieu. Respondents did not make any negative value judgments personally, nor did they depict this kind of behaviour in the negative light. They unambiguously pointed out that Marko comes from a different cultural background which is more traditionally oriented and where this kind of behaviour would be considered rude, or inappropriate, unacceptable or disrespectful. They notice that Marco is having a hard time getting used to the behaviour of his fellow students because he probably never saw students acting in this way in his native country. Therefore, not being exposed to and not knowing about other, different foreign cultures can easily lead to such problems and can cause a misunderstanding of what is socially and culturally (un)acceptable. However, they agree that they cannot judge a culture or cultural practice just because it is different from what they are used to. For them, Marko lacks knowledge about the American culture, that is to say he is not "culturally aware nor did he do any research about the culture or university". Some participants also noticed that Marko was not used to the absence of "large power distance", which is characteristic of societies whose members accept a hierarchical order to be respected (Lazarević 2017, 25). So, the respondents said:

S10: Marko was not used to such a laid-back atmosphere, since schools and universities in Serbia are much more formal and such behaviour would be considered very rude, which was obviously not the case here. By the way, I had a teacher in England who would take off her high heels and walk around the classroom barefoot. Thankfully, there were carpets in the classrooms ©.

S16: This is something one could rarely see at Serbian universities. Still, if the person sitting back with his feet up is not in any way disturbing the lecture, while being active and involved, how he is sitting should not matter.

S26: The different expectations regarding the students' behaviour – things are typically much more rigid in Serbia. Marko's shock is due to the fact that this sort of thing is considered incredibly disrespectful in his native country.

Table 5 Critical incident 3

Categories	No. of references (%)
a) cultural differences	104 (73.2%)
b) not a real problem	17 (12.0%)
c) lack of classroom management skills	21 (14.8%)

Of the total sample, 12% of respondents explicitly said that such a behaviour was not really a problem, that he was just confused because he does not know the customs and that he just needs to get used to the culture, to be assimilated:

S119: This is not a problem. Marko's "disappointment" is due to his own expectation that another culture should have the same standards of behaviour as his own. Such a laid-back attitude is common in America and neither the teachers nor the students perceive it as, nor intend it to be, disrespectful. If Marko "couldn't understand this at all", he needed only ask for clarification.

In addition, 14.8% of the surveyed students attributed such behaviour to the professor's lack of classroom management skills, claiming he did not have authority, strictness and good control over the class, and did not state any rules regarding discipline. Some stated that "the professor probably told the students to make themselves as comfortable as they like so that they could enjoy the class". When asked what advice they would give to Marko they responded that:

- Marko should immerse himself into their culture, embrace it without judging it,
- he should enjoy this cultural experience because it is invaluable,
- he should familiarise himself with the customs, people and their values; it is important to be open-minded, to bond with the American people, explore the world around him and try to be part of their culture,
- he should accept it as a simple cultural difference and understand that just because the environment is different, it does not mean it is bad or wrong; he should think about how this atmosphere could benefit the class; if he really feels uncomfortable he should talk to his classmates and understand why they act the way they do,
- he should observe the behaviour of American students and accept the social norm that is in place at that university...

S10: I would advise Marko to accept the fact that this is simply a cultural difference that exists between Serbia and the USA. However, he should not follow in the other students' footsteps just to fit in, if that makes him uncomfortable. As a matter of fact, coming from the more formal education system in Serbia, I was always considered to be very polite by my teachers, both in England and in Spain (e.g. I would use 'usted', the more formal

variant of the 2nd person pronoun, which most students don't use when talking to their teachers, but they seemed to appreciate it.)."

Overall, by objectively recognising different cultural patterns and practices the students seem to be at the far end of the ethnocentric stage (minimisation) and at the beginning of the ethnorelative stage (acceptance), whereby both Serbian and American cultures are appreciated as valid cultures.

In *Question 6* (CI 4, adapted from Lazarević (2013, 293; 2017, 98) students were given the following scenario to study and say how they felt and what they would do:

You, the only native Serbian speaker, are spending three weeks in a summer camp in Austria. Currently, you are on a lunch break talking to newly-met students, when a small group walks in, speaking a language you do not understand, and seems to be having fun. You look around and sure enough, within earshot, there is another group already seated and speaking yet another different language.

a) How do you feel?

b) What would your feelings be if you overheard your name in the middle of one of the conversations and would you react in any way?

Two broad categories of emotions were identified:

Table 6 Critical incident 4

Categories	No. of references (%)
a) Ss feel motivated and interested	87 (61.3%)
b) Ss feel uncomfortable and left out	55 (38.7%)

More than half of the respondents (61.3%) say they feel happy because they are in a multinational setting, "in such a diverse background, among so many different people" where they have the opportunity to hear and experience other languages and see them used authentically. They see this situation as an opportunity to tell the others in the camp something about their Serbian culture, to make new friends and find out which languages these are. They say they would feel excited and fascinated by all the variety around them and that they "...would find a way to communicate even if we do not speak the same language, it is not an obstacle as long as both sides are friendly and willing to communicate".

S83: I feel OK because it is normal for students who speak the same language to stick together at first. I'm sure that there will be numerous opportunities to meet all of them and get to know them.

The participants used a whole range of adjectives to describe their emotions: OK, special, great, excited, comfortable, cool, good, happy, motivated, curious, fascinated, delighted, normal, exhilarated, international, nice, amused, etc. Still, there were 38.7% of the participants who expressed feelings of discomfort and isolation in such an environment, and stated they would feel: confused, annoyed, uneasy, like an outsider, ashamed, lonely, excluded, insecure, isolated, unwanted, anxious, irritated, left out, discriminated against, homesick, awkward, indifferent, ignored, sad, disappointed, unwelcome, strange, rejected,

nervous, neglected, etc. However, most of the participants who expressed the presence of negative emotions stated clearly and firmly that they would do something about it.

S47: Probably a bit irritated if they all know English; speaking another language in front of a person who does not speak it is impolite.

S78: Probably left out but I can understand that people find it easier to talk to others who share the same language. I would approach one of the groups and ask to join them.

When asked: “What would your feelings be if you overheard your name in the middle of one of the conversations and would you react in any way?” they responded in the following way:

Table 7 Critical incident 4

Categories	No. of references (%)
a) Ss would not mind at all.	94 (66.2%)
b) Ss would feel uncomfortable just for a moment.	24 (16.9%)
c) Ss would feel very uncomfortable assuming something negative.	24 (16.9%)

The majority of respondents 66.2% claimed that they would not put much thought into it even if the groups were talking about them, because it does not mean it was necessarily bad; then they would presume that they were mentioned in a positive context; that they would be surprised and curious but would have no prejudices; some would wave to them, come over and introduce themselves – if the group seemed friendly; some students would just look in the direction to see if someone from the group might be calling for them, and if not they would continue doing their own thing...

S141: I would not do anything. I have been in situations like that before and from what I have learned, whenever you hear a language you do not know you almost automatically assume that you are the topic of their conversation and that is almost never the case. So, unless I am 100% sure they are talking about me specifically I would take no actions. Even if I find out they are talking about me, I don't think I would do anything.

The remaining 33.8 % of the students would feel uncomfortable just for a moment or very uncomfortable. They specified that they would be intrigued as to why their name was mentioned and would automatically assume it was used in a negative context. However, the respondents claimed they would not react at all, although “it would hurt their self-confidence”.

S103: I would feel uncomfortable because I would not understand why they were mentioning me. I would probably not react in any way at that moment, but if I thought they were making fun of me, I would ask the group about it later.

Indeed, these students' reactions were part of normal cognitive functioning because people tend to rely on what they think they know or what they have heard (which is not necessarily true) in order to pass judgment or reach a decision (Lazarević 2017, 99). This may be an easy route to forming stereotypes or misleading overgeneralisations, ultimately leading to miscommunication.

In the last *Question 7* (CI 5), the respondents were asked the following (Lazarević 2013, 292; 2017, 145):

Jane, an American, has been in Serbia for two months; she's in her 30s and has been working with a local NGO. She met a lot of people of different ages, occupations and social status. There is one thing that she finds strange, and that is when people keep asking her questions about her private life, salary and family. Jane feels uncomfortable because she's not used to such questions.

a) *How would you explain this to Jane?*

b) *What advice would you give to Jane?*

All the respondents unanimously agree that this is a matter of cultural differences. More precisely, they say that would explain to Jane: that this is part of the Serbian culture, our mentality or way of thinking; then that these kinds of culture-specific questions are not intended as an insult, but more like casual small-talk between people who were trying to connect with her on a more personal level; that the Serbs (as open and direct people) were not trying to be malicious, rude or disrespectful but friendly and accepting. There were observations that the Serbs are much more direct than Americans and do not have the same social boundaries or inhibitions about what is appropriate. The respondents were quite critical of their native culture claiming that Serbs are family-centric and nosy by nature, and asking about one's salary is actually "curiosity about the profession/niche, not her own personal finances". Some even remarked that it is the elderly people who tend to ask such personal questions, and that the young are far less likely to do so. The analysis of the responses point to the fact that although there were some "us" and "them" polarisations revealing the ethnocentric outlook, respondents predominantly distanced themselves from the Serbian cultural framework or their own cultural frame of reference:

S26: I would most likely fail at about 70% of it. While I'm generally fine with basic questions about family as a way of making conversation, those about private life and salary instantly tick me off. I find them exceedingly difficult to even borderline tolerate, and tend to slam those doors firmly shut for anyone not explicitly invited through them; so even though the Serbian culture is my native, Jane and I would be stuck in the same situation.

When asked what advice they would give to Jane, only 11 students (7.7%) of the total sample responded that they would advise Jane to adapt to Serbian customs; keep an open mind and that she would soon get accustomed to the Serbian culture and not feel left out. They would also advise her to open up gradually, "go with the flow" as "telling someone a little bit of something about oneself can lead to new friendships;

S18: I'd tell her it is perfectly fine if she doesn't feel like answering these questions, but at the same time I'd advise her to try to blend in and get used to our people if she plans on staying here, since at the end of the day they mean no harm, they are simply curious.

The remaining 131 students (92.3%) empathise with Jane due to evident cultural differences. The respondents advise Jane that it is up to her whether to answer or not, and not to take it personally or give it much thought as these questions are not intended as an insult. They also advise her to tell her Serbian friends that she is not accustomed to being asked such questions and that she feels she honestly cannot share her personal life with others; that she can change

the topic of the conversation by mentioning the cultural differences and how interesting they are; that she can smile politely and avoid answering the questions...

S23: I would advise Jane to let go of feeling uncomfortable and try to understand that this kind of behavior is perfectly normal and understandable in a Serbian cultural setting. That being said, she must not feel forced into answering questions that seem too intimate or personal for her to discuss with others.

The respondents showed a heightened awareness of their own cultural values and objectively and honestly explained to Jane, an American, what she should do to overcome her discomfort and potential misunderstandings. By empathising with her, they actually paved the way to tolerance and patience, recognition and appreciation of cultural differences.

5. CONCLUSION

The research reported in this paper looked into issues concerning the intercultural awareness and sensitivity of EFL majors. The results obtained by using a qualitative critical incident technique confirmed the initial hypothesis: the respondents possess an intercultural perspective or ethnorelative worldview as they exhibited empathetic and positive attitudes, openness, respect, adaptability, flexibility and curiosity in potentially controversial intercultural encounters. They were appreciative and aware of different cultural practices, not once perceiving their native culture as better or superior. The respondents' demonstrated emotional empathy could have a positive impact on their intercultural sensitivity and competence. However, more definitive conclusions might be drawn from a longitudinal study or the triangulation of data. Mixed method research involving both qualitative (critical incident analysis and interviews) and quantitative research methodology (questionnaires) would undoubtedly give a deeper and better empirical insight into the complex issue of intercultural communicative competence.

A potential contribution of the study may be best recognised in the practical implications that follow from this critical incident analysis, which is a practically oriented and efficient research method used to identify potential causes of problems in intercultural encounters. Critical incidents represent one of the many pedagogical tools which engage participants in self-reflection, they develop the students' critical self-awareness and understanding, and assess the level of attained intercultural competence. Fine-tuned incidents can be successfully used at all stages of intercultural learning and with students of different ages and fields of study. The mere fact that this research study was undertaken with EFL university students makes it even more meaningful, because it is these students who will be future language educators or will work in areas demanding adequate linguistic and intercultural competence. In the end, we are left with the conclusion that the development of intercultural sensitivity and competence should be an integral part of general education, all for the purpose of educating students as global citizens – devoid of stereotypes and ethnocentrism.

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KRITIČNE SITUACIJE KAO SREDSTVO RAZVIJANJA I PROCENE INTERKULTURNE OSETLJIVOSTI I KOMPETENCIJE STUDENATA ANGLISTIKE

Poznavanje i razumevanje kulturnih vrednosti izvorne i ciljnih kultura omogućava uspostavljanje i održavanje uspešne interkulture komunikacije. Cilj ovog rada jeste da istraži mišljenja i stavove studenata anglistike prema potencijalno konfliktnim interkulturalnim situacijama. Za potrebe rada korišćena je kvalitativna tehnika analize kritičnih događaja kako bi se ustanovilo da li (i u kojoj meri) budući nastavnici engleskog kao stranog jezika poseduju interkulturalnu osetljivost i kompetenciju da reše konfliktne situacije predstavljene kroz tzv. kritične događaje. Istraživanje je sprovedeno među studentima treće i četvrtne godine anglistike na Filozofskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Novom Sadu. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da ispitanici imaju interkulturalnu perspektivu i visok nivo interkulture osetljivosti i kompetencije. Empirijski nalazi potvrđuju upotrebu kritičnih događaja kao jedne od mnogih korisnih pedagoških tehnika za razvijanje i procenu interkulture osetljivosti i kompetencije učenika/studenata stranog jezika. Pedagoške implikacije sprovedenog istraživanja ukazuju na neophodnost uvođenja interkulturalnih elemenata ne samo u nastavu stranih jezika, već i u opšte obrazovanje.

Ključne reči: studenti anglistike, interkulturalna osetljivost, interkulturalna kompetencija, kritične situacije, interkulturalna komunikacija.

ANNIE PROULX'S *BIRD CLOUD* AND 'LITERATURE OF HOPE'

UDC 821.111(73).09 Proulx A.

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Abstract. *The paper focuses on Annie Proulx's non-fiction work Bird Cloud and explores some of the ideas Proulx has postulated in her fiction, novels and short stories: a sense of place, home-ness, the history and archaeology of place, the sense of (non)-belonging, or conjunction and disjunction to use Slovic's terms. Travel and relocation, prominent features of Proulx's work, are what Barry Lopez describes as means of overcoming disjunction in remote locations and of cultivating intimacy with the landscape. Eventually they give rise to a fictional representation of landscape. We may conclude that for Proulx landscape writing becomes a "literature of hope" that stimulates the characters and the readers to "awareness" of place.*

Key words: *landscape, place, home-ness, literature of hope, Proulx*

1. INTRODUCTION

In many interviews about her novels and short story collections, including the 2006 interview to the Norwegian television channel NRK, or the 1999 interview about the book *Close Range*¹, Annie Proulx explains that she draws inspiration for her stories and novels from a place. The place she considers her writing place is Wyoming. In an interview to Michael Williams about her new book *Bird Cloud*, she says that it is a place that definitely triggers her into writing. She describes her creative process in the following way:

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¹ Apart from the cited interview in this passage, other interviews that I refer to include:

Proulx, Annie, interview (1999). Wheeler Centre/ Melbourne Writers Festival. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X1Tsj2IXESI>

Proulx, Annie in discussion with Wheeler Centre's Michael Williams, Melbourne Writers Festival. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2MM3rtGlaQ4>

Wyoming Library Roundup (WLR). (2005). "More Reader than Writer: A Conversation with Annie Proulx". Wyoming Library Roundup. 5-8.

When I'm doing research everything comes out of landscape. I spend a lot of time trying to understand the geology, the climate, the weather; the forces that shaped a particular area, how people made their living in the past, how they do it now. Once I understand those kinds of things the story more or less falls out of the place. (Proulx in an interview to NRK 2006)

Her 2011 non-fiction book, *Bird Cloud* reflects exactly the same idea she introduces in her interview mentioned above. The way humans and writers in particular write their stories onto the landscape reflects the way the same landscape shapes the history of the people who strive to influence, exploit, or inhabit it. In Proulx's stories, the landscape even defines the identity of her characters because, according to Proulx, everything that happens to a character comes out of a place.

2. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF PLACE WITH REFERENCE TO PROULX

Among many definitions of place, we would refer first to the meaning of place in Proulx's work and would say that it is a human artifact rather than a natural phenomenon. Even in the wilderness of Wyoming, place is "space that has been given meaning and borders, and so a location with a human-created ensemble of features" (Katz & Mahoney 2008, x). For Proulx, place is a home which carries with itself its own spirit, "the spirit of place", which in D. H. Lawrence's view springs from a sense of belonging and human attachment. In the first pages of *Bird Cloud*, Proulx gives an emotional background of her desire for a dream house. Her endeavors to build a house and have an estate are related to landscaping. The relationship to land and landscape can be explained in terms of land already being "ordered and shaped by human perceptions and action" (Katz & Mahoney 2008, x). This definition implies power that people assert over environment and a kind of a control over nature. To be aware of place means to know place which requires experience. Many naturalist writers (Thoreau, Lopez, and Proulx in *Bird Cloud*) deal with the direct and intimate experience with place. In her essay "Dangerous Ground: Landscape in American Fiction" Proulx explains that landscape is "geography, geology, archaeology, astrophysics, agronomy, agriculture, [...] climate, black squirrels and wild oats, folded rock, [...] landscape is rural, urban, suburban, semirural, small town, village; it is outports and bedroom communities; it is a remote ranch" (Proulx 2008, 10). For Proulx, landscape is both land and the creation of human mind and efforts.

In Proulx's sense of a word, place and landscape can be used interchangeably. Though the notion of place has attracted much attention in theory and cultural and postcolonial studies where it has been defined in a narrow sense "as the 'land' or the natural physical environment" (Keahey 1998, 4), when discussed in literature, we talk about the impact of the landscape on the mind. As Keahey suggests, "the land itself is assumed to be a preexistent reality that we have immediate access to, unmediated by language or the structures of human perception" (Keahey 1998, 5). Place is usually viewed and discussed in relation to the self and home as a central concern of self. The individuals' readings of the land or place may be burdened by their own cognitive structures and social, psychological, cultural, political and other relationships individuals establish towards particular landscapes or physical spaces. In that sense, place becomes created place and reimagined as a creation of the social, psychological and cultural relationships that people have to particular physical spaces or landscapes.

3. DISCUSSION

Proulx's approach to landscape resembles the approach of Barry Lopez, a great analyst and appreciator of nature. Nature writers heighten our awareness of a place in the natural world undercutting the relationship between the human mind and the natural world. According to Lopez, whom we will briefly refer to in the paper, there are two approaches to the natural landscape. Lopez calls the two complementary modes of "understanding" of natural places, the *mathematical* and especially the *particularized* or (experiential) mode, which are keys to mental elevation, or deeper awareness of the self and the place we live in. Nature writers insist on awareness which contributes to the author's awareness of the self and the non-self. By confronting the realm of nature, by becoming aware of the other, the author himself becomes aware of his own self, his own limitations, capacities, and the way he can put up with the unknown.

In the words of one of the most distinguished promoters of American eco-criticism, Scott Slovic, man's relationship to nature is defined as *conjunction*, a state of belonging within landscape, and *disjunction*, man's severance from land that is regarded as meaningless, absurd and destructive (Slovic 1992, 137). Proulx overcomes *disjunction* by cultivating intimacy with landscape and travel becomes a tool to connect with the chosen destination. Proulx and her characters travel physically, from city to rural region, or vice versa, but also mentally from one ideology to another. Proulx's move to Wyoming goes in line with the trend of the 1990s when a number of affluent property buyers moved into the remote rural areas and small towns in the West (Dorman 2012, 196). The trend was aided by the development of technology. Newer technologies (the Internet, cell phones, cable television, and fax machines) allowed wealthy people to live and work from far-away places. Most of the new technologies were installed at Bird Cloud along with stained concrete solar windows. Proulx's home Bird Cloud and her deep engagement with land in Wyoming has resulted in a fictional representation of landscape that feels alive to the reader as her memoir of place *Bird Cloud* is. The notion of home could be read in relation to place. It may entail the notion of belonging and it is possible not to be "at home" at home. There might be a disjunction between the real experienced home and the abstract idealized home. Such discrepancy between reality and ideal is not unusual to the idea of home. If a person is at home, does that refer to the ideal or the actual?

Why would Proulx leave the city and settle in the wilderness for a year or why would modern man turn his back to the life in big cities and settle in the far-flung locations? There may be numerous reasons. One of the reasons might be that most of the big American cities nowadays seem to look identical and that people lose a sense of community; they are neither interested in the history nor in the cultural background of the place they live in. The local distinctiveness of the American landscape has disappeared. This is especially the case of urban places although the rural ones are under the same threat as well. Another reason might be the lack of mobility and the phenomenon that many people think of other places in terms of visualizing images of landscape they know from television programs, magazine covers, advertisements, etc., without actually setting foot on a physical place. Barry Lopez uses the term *false geographies* to describe this phenomenon (Lopez 1990, 55). The commercial flat images of a place obstruct a reliable knowledge of it. On the other hand, apart from a direct experience with a distinctive landscape in the rural area, people know what they can expect, how to act and what their place is; they might not feel lost there anymore as they feel in big cities where life might

be pervaded with a sense of desperation and anxiety as well. For Proulx, life away from a big city simply meant an opportunity to carry out her dream as she describes in *Bird Cloud*. Moreover, in her fiction Wyoming is a great source of inspiration:

Everything comes from landscape. Every single thing I write, I start with the landscape. I start with the climate, the description. Only when that is done – the particular place that affects what people eat, how they make their livings and so forth – and the story rolls out of landscape. (Proulx 2005, 5-8).

With the firm belief that “geography, climate, and time dictate human culture” (Proulx 2008, 8), Proulx is convinced that human imagination pulls literature and mythologies “from the glassy cliffs and burning ground of the wilderness, the unknown territories” (Proulx 2008, 8).

The relocation from urban space to open rural landscape in Proulx’s work very often makes the beginning of ideological transformation. Proulx’s landscapes, Wyoming in particular in *Wyoming Stories: Close Range* (1998), *Bad Dirt* (2004), *Fine Just the Way It Is* (2008), are indifferent, adverse. The short story “People in Hell Just Want a Drink of Water” describes a Wyoming landscape as “dangerous and indifferent ground: against its fixed mass the tragedies of people count for nothing, although the signs of misadventure are everywhere” (Proulx 2000, 107). Proulx’s characters very often perceive landscape as inhospitable and adverse, and they often want to possess and own the land which is a means of conquering it. In “What Kind of Furniture Would Jesus Pick?”, Proulx describes her archetypal hero as a person whose “feeling for the land was the strongest emotions that had ever moved him, a strangling love tattooed on his heart. It was his. It was as if he had drunk from some magic goblet brimming with the elixir of ownership” (Proulx 2005, 72). The land is viewed as the object of possession which reflects the private-property mentality as part of the nation’s collective consciousness. The ideology that construes the land as property usually turns the beauty of the land into a property: “What he saw was the beautiful deep land and he saw it his, aimed to get as much of it as he could. He bought and stole half a hundred cows, and with pride in this three-up outfit, declared himself a rancher” (Proulx 2000, 109). That kind of mentality destroys the land, but Proulx’s world is not without hope. Hope is to be found in growing intimacy and loving the land. Hope is in the antidote to the disease of disjunction. In “People in Hell Just Want a Drink of Water”, the narrator says: “Only earth and sky matter. Only the endlessly repeated flood of morning light. You begin to see that God does not owe us much beyond that” (Proulx 2000, 108). It is earth and sky that God owes us, and nothing beyond that. Thus, hope is to be found within “earth and sky”, in nature.

Hope is evidently bound to nature and landscape and is an antidote to the sense of *disjunction*. The roles people assume within landscape in Proulx’s fiction fall into two different relationships. It depends how you come: as a pilgrim or as an improver, the terms Tredinnick uses for man’s relationship to nature in his essay². A pilgrim has a deep reverence for nature, while an improver manipulates and owns landscape and nature. A pilgrim achieves what Slovic calls *conjunction*, while an improver causes *disjunction*, i.e. an alienation and severance from nature. The ownership ideology transforms land into a production facility, which leads to the devastation of landscape and nature. In that sense,

² See Mark Tredinnick’s essay “The Edge of the Trees” in *The Land’s Wild Music: Encounters with Barry Lopez, Peter Matthiessen, Terry Tempest William, and James Galvin*, San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 2005.

many of Proulx's stories carry the message of hope which is to be found within an intimate sense of place and pilgrim mentality cultivated through the attention to details of landscape and story.

In his work, Lopez focuses on the connections between man or the self and the natural world and on the ways of coming to know a specific place intimately. He demonstrates and explains the process of achieving closeness with a landscape by emphasizing the need to see nature and things consciously, to become aware, or "watchful", in his terms, which underlines the role of literature in inspiring and guiding "awakening", (as Thoreau would say), in its readers. Watchfulness is enhanced by the process of writing. Writing makes both the writers and the readers "intimate and familiar" with a place. The growing sense of a place produces the deepening sense of attachment and an awareness that man belongs to a place and a deeper understanding of nature. Keeping a journal and an account of what a man saw or experienced brings nature closer for the reader, for example. In the interview to Kay Bonetti, Lopez explains that "the sorts of stories that I'm attracted to in a nonfiction way are those that try to bring some of the remote areas closer for the reader by establishing some kind of intimacy with the place, but also by drawing on the work of archaeologists and historians and biologists" (Lopez in an interview with Bonetti 1988, 59). In *Bird Cloud*, in a similar way, Proulx ventures into unknown, harsh, rarely experienced landscapes, describes terrain, flora, fauna, and human inhabitants, and reports to the readers in a detailed mode of storytelling.

Bird Cloud is a piece of land in Wyoming, a property of 640 acres of wetland and prairie, between west of Saratoga, between Elk Mountain and the North Platte River. That piece of land is something that Proulx simply loves and it suits the requirements of her soul. She describes her estate in the following manner:

The landscape was bold. Not only was the property on the North Platte River but the river ran through it, taking an east-west turn for a few miles in its course. The land was a section, 640 acres, a square mile of riparian shrubs and cottonwood, some wetland areas during June high water, sage flats and a lot of weedy overgrazed pasture. On the lower portion, about 120 acres, Jack Creek, an important spawning place for trout, came down from the Sierra Madre, thirty miles distant, and angled through the property to enter the North Platte. [...] Top and bottom the land was seriously overgrazed and neglected, yet the day I first saw it I also saw a small herd of mule deer, pelicans, bald eagles, great blue herons, waterfowl, ravens, scored of bluebirds, a harrier, a kestrel, and, glued to the cliff, thousands of swallows nests. I knew most of Wyoming's wildlife kept to the riparian areas, but this was astonishing. The place was already a diverse wildlife habitat. (Proulx 2011, 46-47).

This passage represents the richness and subtlety of words and the beauty of landscape combined. While language can never capture fully the essence of the ranch land, we fully rely on language for meaning. The landscape was bold and powerful, says Proulx. This description foreshadows our discovery of the beauty and power of nature. One feels calmness and tranquility of the superiority of landscape over man and language and the language which holds together the same landscape. It is Proulx's piece of construct of landscape which is both real and imagined.

The landscape of Wyoming is a place from which she knows and speaks her beliefs. Hope comes from a sense of home-ness she finds in the Centennial house, her first home – log house, and later her estate *Bird Cloud*, which may parallel Lopez's term *querencia*,

an expression which means “a place in which we know exactly who we are. The place from which we speak our deepest beliefs” (Lopez 1990, 39). Hope is bound to a sense of intimacy with the landscape, a sense of belonging. Proulx’s relocation to Wyoming seems to be a personal urge to perceive and experience that landscape and to realize her dream – to build a house with a library big enough tailored according to her desires and needs. The urge comes from what Lopez describes in “Landscape and Narrative” as a notion of “unimpeachable” nature (Lopez 2004: 8). Neither society nor civilization impels her to such a relocation, but her own drives and needs.

Proulx and her children became the owners of the Bird Cloud estate in December 2003, and in July 2004, she records: “Gerald and I signed a contract for the James Gang to build Bird Cloud” (Proulx 2011, 78). She hired the architect Harry Teague who made the first sketch for the house which “showed a long, dark building as lengthy as the old barn I fancied” (Proulx 2011, 55). Then she goes on describing the house:

There was no basement, a good idea as radon gas is a problem in this part of the world. The house was to be built on a slab with an interior ground floor of polished concrete. I had once mentioned to Harry that I was drawn to asymmetry in all things. So I was delighted to see the design was a long and narrow structure, but not a rectangle, incorporating interesting angles in its walls and the front and back entrances. The largest room, forty-eight feet long, was at the west end and destined to become the library. Moving toward the east was the dining-seating area with enormous windows facing the cliff. Then came the compact kitchen with very deep stone counters. A short hallway opened to the fishing room on the north and the front entry to the south and the two-vehicle garage at the end. (Proulx 2011, 55-56).

She decided with Deryl on the phone they would start construction the first Monday in August. Then she describes different phases of building the house. After laying the foundation, the work continued for six weeks.

On the 1st of November the forms came off concrete. [...] On Pearl Harbor Day, it was thirty below zero and clear; the floor package was delivered. [...] Gerald and crew put up walls all through December in fluctuating weather. [...] The framing continued through cold and windy January and every few weeks [...] In mid-February Gerald worked on the roof of the fishing room entryway in twenty-below-zero weather. [...] It was a builder’s nightmare, the owner moving in before the house was finished, but I had no choice. (Proulx 2011, 92, 95, 96, 100, 115).

For Proulx the building of the house is also an expression of the need to make a new start. The process of building the house and settling in reminds a lot of Thoreau’s building the house at Walden Pond. For Thoreau the cabin is built in accordance to the natural seasons, and each phase represents a phase of the narrator’s inner growth. As winter comes, Thoreau withdraws into the house, namely into the self, for contemplation and meditation. Proulx also feels the urge to move from Centennial to Bird Cloud at the end of the year and moves into the new house even before it was finished. Additionally, for her, the house is also an object of art and poetry. She thinks of it as a kind of wooden poem and when it was finished, she knew “it was a poem of landscape, architecture and fine craftsmanship when one of those yellow thunderstorms swept in near sunset with gold light spilling onto the ground and a rainbow” (Proulx 2011, 67-68). The house was a kind of shelter and protection against harsh weather and the wilderness threats:

From the big windows I watched as the cliff went saffron as a candle flame, thunder marched around and hot lightning slammed the cliff. Pods of wind burst against the house with a side dish of chattering rain. In the east the towering bulk of the storm was a sulky purple-blue the shade of new denim, but in the west the sky was opening, showing a tender blue like the lining of an antique Chinese robe. (Proulx 2011, 68).

This almost hyperrealist description of nature and landscape seen through the eyes of the narrator reveal humble relation to place and nature of an individual. Sheltered within a house, the narrator watches nature raging and threatening around. "The hyperrealist representations of place mark Proulx as a postmodern novelist" (Hunt 2009, 6), while her description of landscape reveals a sense of "psychic fragmentation" (Hunt 2009, 6). There are wild bursts of wind and thunder against the house and the cliff juxtaposed to the opening of the sky in the west, "showing a tender blue like the lining of an antique Chinese robe", the calmness of the sky and of tranquility which is yet to come. The comparison of the sky to the tender blue like the Chinese robe point to something oriental, exotic, mysterious, unknown, calm and peaceful among the roaring stormy rain that slams the house and the cliff.

4. CONCLUSION

Proulx's building the house in the West could be read as an illustration of the westward settlements in the American history. The American West has often been perceived more as an idea, or even a myth, than an actual place. The history of the U.S. has been considered "a succession of frontiers that differed in character" (Viehmann 2010, 395) and the development of American democracy has always embodied the spirit of American expansion, the American dream of individual opportunity, freedom and greatness. As such, the idea of the West has been explored in literature, film industry, and art in general. Frederick Jackson Turner's 1893 essay "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" set the foundations to the idea that the West is associated with certain values and that it has a deep significance for the nation. In that sense, Proulx's temporary relocation to the West can be a microcosmic project of what her forefathers did almost centuries ago. Her house, designed as a kind of *bibliothèque*, would symbolically stand for a place of conservancy of knowledge and science on which life should be based and which, besides the rise of the city and the westward movement, was one of the forces that helped create American society.

The focus of Proulx's text is the house project while all other aspects of the book are related to the landscape, Wyoming. The history of the land, the archaeological trips and excavations, dinosaur trackways, the ecological disaster of the largest insect infestation in North America, the descriptions of flora and fauna are related to the landscape; the facts and conclusions are drawn from the land Proulx inhabits. Her memoir is the memoir of place and she, as a shy person, reveals little of herself on the page. The house, which stands out in the Wyoming wilderness and defies its harshness and beauty, is the embodiment of human efforts to subdue the hinterland. The text itself, as human creation, with its decorative sentences and phrases like rare Wyoming wild flowers, springs also from the gorgeous land.

The place was so beautiful, the great slab of cliff so vivid with birdlife, the plants and weeds so intriguing because unfamiliar, the rare Penstemon gibbensii still to be located, the night sky so full of constellations and meteors that even satellites, long-distance jets and the orange horizon glow from Saratoga's 1970s mercury vapor lights could be ignored. (Proulx 2011, 66).

This passage and even the whole text *Bird Cloud* is Proulx's fascination with landscape and geography, her insistence that human culture must be understood as the achievement of interactions with place. Further, this text shows that, as we consider the issues of literature, culture, land, economies, human products, we must attend to and better understand the issue of place we inhabit.

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OBLAK PTICA ENI PROUL I 'KNJIŽEVNOST NADE'

Rad se bavi dokumentarnom fikcijom Oblak ptica američke spisateljice Eni Proul i istražuje neke od ideja koje je Prulova postavila u svojim romanima i kratkim pričama: osećaj za mesto, dom, istorija arheologije mesta, osećaj (ne)pripadnosti, ili osećaj saživljavanja (conjunction) i otudjenja (disjunction) po terminologiji Slovica. Putovanja i relokacija, istaknute osobine stvaralaštva Proulove, jesu način da se prevaziđe osećaj otudjenja u udaljenim mestima i da se izgradi prisnost sa prirodom kako ističe Bari Lopez. Autor ovog rada dolazi do zaključka da za Prulovu pisanje o prirodi postaje „književnost nade“, koja kod književnih likova i čitalaca razvija „svest“ o mestu življenja.

Ključne reči: *priroda, mesto, dom, književnost nade, Proul*

TESTING THE ACTIVATION OF SEMANTIC FRAMES IN A LEXICAL DECISION TASK AND A CATEGORIZATION TASK *

UDC 81'37

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Abstract. *Situated in the wider framework of frame semantics, the paper employs an experimental approach involving a reaction time study to test the activation of semantic frames via semantic priming. Experiment 1 deals with the frame of JOURNEY and employs a lexical decision task in a reaction time paradigm, while Experiment 2 deals with the frame of CONFLICT and uses a categorization task, also in a reaction time paradigm. Both experiments were designed in Open Sesame. Target stimuli were in Serbian, selected through a norming procedure involving prototypicality ratings on Likert scales. Additionally, identical filler items were included in both experiments. Priming was performed using lexical materials modified to facilitate the activation of the respective frames. The obtained results showed that there was no facilitation in the experimental group in Experiment 1 compared to the control group; however, in Experiment 2, we were able to identify facilitation in the experimental group in the main task, licensed by the initial priming. These results suggest that the lexical decision task has a reduced cognitive load compared to the categorization task, thereby overriding the priming condition. In effect, categorization task appears to be a more suitable procedure for testing semantic frame activation.*

Key words: *semantic frames, lexical decision, categorization, reaction times, priming, Open Sesame.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The paper explores possible methodological constraints in capturing the activation of semantic frames in an RT paradigm using lexical decision and categorization tasks. In line with the encyclopedic view of meaning, where semantic content should yield access to

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larger meaning structures, i.e. frames, related to the initial content (e.g. Fillmore 1982; 1985; Evans 2009), we hypothesized that the pre-task presentation of semantic content (i.e. semantic priming) would facilitate participants' RTs to targets semantically related to priming materials, in both lexical decision and categorization tasks in the two main experiments.

The paper deals with the frames of JOURNEY and CONFLICT. In Experiment 1, participants from the experimental group were first instructed to read a paragraph¹ designed to activate the frame of JOURNEY, after which they proceeded to the lexical decision task with targets from the JOURNEY frame. All targets had undergone an initial norming procedure and were then chosen based on their prototypicality ratings. The control group proceeded to the main task, without priming. Experiment 2 utilized a similar experimental setup, but it dealt with the frame of CONFLICT, and it involved a categorization task. All targets had also undergone initial norming. Priming materials were taken from literary texts, and were modified in order to yield the activation of each of the two target frames, respectively.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The enterprise of frame semantics, which encapsulates the notion of the encyclopedic view of meaning, stems from Charles Fillmore's work in the more formal domain dealing with the description of verb valence. Namely, Fillmore realized that a comprehensive description of verb 'behavior' would necessitate a schematic description of scenes and contexts in which they are used (Fillmore 1969). The traditional notion of a static, rigid, structuralist construct of a semantic field was replaced by a more flexible construct of a frame (Fillmore 1975). Moreover, the subsequent stages in the development of frame semantics attributed even greater significance to the notions of context, frame, and prototype. These involved the initial model of case frames (Fillmore 1968) and scene-and-frame model (Fillmore 1975), through the dynamic model of semantics of understanding (Fillmore 1985), to the construction of the FrameNet research program (Fillmore and Atkins 1992).

In his most cited article, Fillmore (1982, 111) defined frames as "any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits; when one of the things in such a structure is introduced into a text, or into a conversation, all of the others are automatically made available." In other words, frames can be understood as highly schematic, hierarchically organized structures with clear prototypicality effects (Fillmore 1976, 25), where the presence of one lexical element from a given frame yields the activation of the entire structure, which makes it more accessible for online processing compared to some other incongruent structures. Moreover, entire frame structures can show prototypicality effects (Fillmore 1982, 119), in the sense that certain framing may be more common and more prototypical under certain conditions (i.e. in various contexts of use). A distinction is also made between (i) evoked frames, triggered by the text content, and (ii) invoked frames, activated by the readers. Namely, individual lexical items are expected to afford access to specific frames. During online meaning construction, on the other hand, interlocutors activate frame-level structures, and the finer nuances of the activated content can differ between speakers (Croft and Cruse 2004, 8).

¹ All materials used in the study were in Serbian, in line with the main methodological guidelines (e.g. Kostić 2010) where, unless the research is dealing with language acquisition or foreign language learning, all stimuli should be represented in participants' mother tongue – in our case in Serbian.

Additionally, Fillmore (1982, 130) also brings together the ideas of framing and contextualization, insofar as the “general concept of ‘framing’ involves contextualizing or situating events in the broadest sense possible.” In the the present study, notions of framing and contextualization are closely related to the notion of semantic priming. Semantic priming entails “the improvement in speed or accuracy to respond to a stimulus, such as a word or a picture, when it is preceded by a semantically related stimulus (e.g., *cat-dog*) relative to when it is preceded by a semantically unrelated stimulus (e.g., *table-dog*)” (McNamara 2005, 3-4). In that sense, specific framings of events (i.e. specific semantic priming) should afford quicker access to elements congruent with the activated frame. Bearing in mind that some typical tasks involved in experiments with a semantic priming paradigm include lexical decision, naming (or pronunciation), and semantic categorization (McNamara 2005, 3-4), the present study will compare the efficacy of lexical decision and categorization tasks in capturing the level of activation of specific semantic frames.

Another important theoretical construct for the present research is categorization. Building on the notion of the probabilistic degree of category membership afforded by the fuzzy boundaries of categories (Lakoff 1973; Zadeh 1965), Rosch introduced the notions of basic level (e.g. Rosch et al. 1976) and family resemblances (e.g. Rosch and Mervis 1975). Family resemblances reflect the horizontal axis of categorization which “represents contrasting categories which are included in the next highest category” (Taylor 1995, 46). The basic level reflects the vertical axis and it is defined as “the most inclusive level [of categorization] at which there is a cluster of shared attributes” (Evans and Green 2006, 258). Moreover, basic level categories appear as “our earliest and most natural form of categorization” (Lakoff 1987, 49). In addition to common categories, Barsalou (Barsalou 1983, 211) introduced the notion of ad hoc categories which are “created spontaneously for use in specialized contexts.”

The present paper utilizes the notion of the central prototype, used in the two norming studies to select the target stimuli for the two main experiments. We feel that the selection of more central elements will facilitate the online construction of the link between the semantic frame, presumably activated in the priming procedure, and the salient targets selected for the main task.

3. PREVIOUS PSYCHOLINGUISTIC RESEARCH

Meyer and Ellis (1970) conducted a study which involved a lexical decision task and a categorization task. They also took into account the level of inclusiveness, i.e. category size, where the smaller target category was that of BUILDINGS, and the larger one that of STRUCTURES. As targets, the authors included congruent and incongruent words, and also pseudowords based on existing English words in which at least one vowel was replaced with a different vowel, or a consonant with another consonant. The dependent variables of interest were response latencies “measured from the onset of the test stimulus” (Meyer and Ellis 1970, 4), and response accuracy. Moreover, the data for yes/no responses were analyzed separately.

The obtained results showed that participants were faster in giving ‘yes’ responses compared to ‘no’ responses, and the mean RT increased “with semantic category size for both responses, although the category-size effect was somewhat less for yes responses” (Meyer and Ellis 1970, 4). Mean RTs recorded in the lexical decision task “fell between those of yes answers to the semantic questions” (Meyer and Ellis 1970, 4). The authors attributed the results to the

fact that a larger category size entails a larger number of possible search items, and that the categorization task and lexical decision task involve different underlying processes.

Meyer and Schvaneveldt (1971) conducted a study which explored the effects of meaning on RTs in a lexical decision task. Participants were presented with two strings of letters, one above the other. In the first experiment, they were asked to provide a “yes” response if they encountered a pair of words or a “no” response in all other cases. In the second experiment, participants were asked to respond as “same” if both strings were either words or nonwords, or “different” in all other cases. RTs were understood to reflect the degree of the associative link between the two given words, and the two experimental tasks were designed to investigate “the nature and the invariance of underlying retrieval operations” (Meyer and Schvaneveldt 1971, 229).

The first experiment showed that the degree of association between words poses as a much more powerful factor compared to the effects of homography analyzed in previous studies (Meyer and Schvaneveldt 1971: 229). Comparisons of RTs from the two experiments revealed the following findings: (i) “yes” responses in case of pairs of words were faster than “same” responses to the same combination of stimuli; (ii) “no” responses were faster than “different” responses for the same combinations of stimuli; (iii) the difference in the effect of association between “yes” and “same” responses for pairs of words did not reach significance; and (iv) the effect of word position for word/nonword pairs on RT showed significant interaction with the type of the task (Meyer and Schvaneveldt 1971, 229). Meyer and Schvaneveldt (1971, 233) discussed the potential relevance of the obtained data for some of the dominant processing models (spreading excitation, location shifting, comparison of meanings, and serial decision model), and concluded that “the effects of associations appear limited neither to semantic nor to same-different judgements.”

Higgins, Bargh and Lombardi (1985) explored the effects of priming on a subsequent categorization task. The subjects were asked to perform a categorization task after being primed by the target content which appeared either most frequently or most recently. The authors analyzed the obtained results in terms of the three competing models: the storage bin model, according to which the recent construct will be more prominent regardless of the delay period; the battery model, which states that “whichever construct has the advantage after a brief delay” (Higgins, Bargh and Lombardi 1985, 64) will preserve that advantage after longer delays as well; and the synapse model, according to which “the recent construct will have the advantage after a brief delay, but the frequent construct will have the advantage after a long delay” (Higgins, Bargh and Lombardi 1985, 64). Their results showed that if the target stimulus appears almost immediately after the final prime, participants tend to perform the categorization task as a function of the most recently primed element. On the other hand, if there is a longer delay between the final prime and the target stimulus, participants’ responses are directed by the frequently primed construct (Higgins, Bargh and Lombardi 1985, 66). The results support the synapse model, according to which “after a sufficient delay, the frequent construct will be at a higher level of action potential than the recent construct, given its slower rate of dissipation” (Higgins, Bargh and Lombardi 1985, 66). Finally, the authors concluded that even momentary or accidental contextual parameters can significantly affect participants’ decisions in a categorization task (Higgins, Bargh and Lombardi 1985, 68).

McNamara (1994) performed a series of 4 experiments involving a lexical decision task in order to test the effects of priming via associatively related words, unrelated words, neutral primes, and nonwords. The results indicated that semantic priming occurred in all experiments;

almost identical RTs and accuracy levels were recorded for priming with unrelated words, neutral words, and nonwords. Between-trials priming did not reveal stronger effects in conditions with non-word and neutral priming, compared to the condition that involved priming with unrelated-words (McNamara 1994: 514). In other words, priming with nonwords “did not inhibit responses, relative to unassociated word primes” (McNamara and Diwadkar 1996, 878), which in turn suggests that lexical decision is affected by the association that exists between the prime and target, rather than only by the prime itself.

Furthermore, the results were discussed in relation to spreading activation models, and non-spreading activation models, and they seem to be more consistent with spreading activation models. In short, with spreading activation models, retrieval from memory involves the activation of internal representations which then spread to related concepts, “and residual activation accumulating at concepts facilitates their retrieval” (McNamara 1994, 507). With non-spreading activation models “memory is searched with a cue that contains information about the target item and the context in which it occurs” (McNamara 1994, 507). If items contained in the cue are associated, the familiarity of the cue increases, and vice versa.

4. PRESENT RESEARCH

The present research included two experiments: (i) in the first experiment we tested the activation of the semantic frame of JOURNEY in a lexical decision task, while (ii) in the second experiment we tested the activation of the frame of CONFLICT in a categorization task. Both experiments included the initial stage in which participants were primed through lexical materials for one of the two frames, after which they proceeded to the main task which involved a response time (RT) study based on the two afore mentioned tasks, respectively. Both experiments were designed using Open Sesame (Mathôt, Schreij, and Theeuwes 2012).

4.1. Experiment 1

The first experiment was designed to test the activation of the semantic frame of JOURNEY through linguistic priming. The initial priming stage was followed by a lexical decision task which utilized an RT procedure. The study involved two experimental groups: (i) a control group which proceeded directly to the lexical decision task, and (ii) an experimental group which was first primed via lexical content, and then proceeded to the main lexical decision task. In a typical lexical decision task, participants are presented with a string of letters and asked to decide as quickly as possible whether the string represents a word or not. Stimuli typically include words and non-sensical combinations of letters – non-words. The main research question which the experiment was designed to answer was: Will lexical priming introduced in the experimental group facilitate participants’ RTs to target elements from the semantic frame of motion, compared to the control group?

4.1.1. Norming study

The initial part of the research included a norming study, in which we first compiled a list of 114 lexical elements (all nouns and verbal nouns) from the category of JOURNEY. Then we presented these target items to participants in a questionnaire where they were asked to rate how well each lexical element represented the category of JOURNEY. The

ratings were performed on 6-point Likert scales, with the higher rating corresponding to the higher degree of prototypicality. The norming study included 46 third-year students from the English Department, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš. There were 37 female and 9 male participants, with the average age of 21.72 (SD=0.81). All participants were native speakers of Serbian.

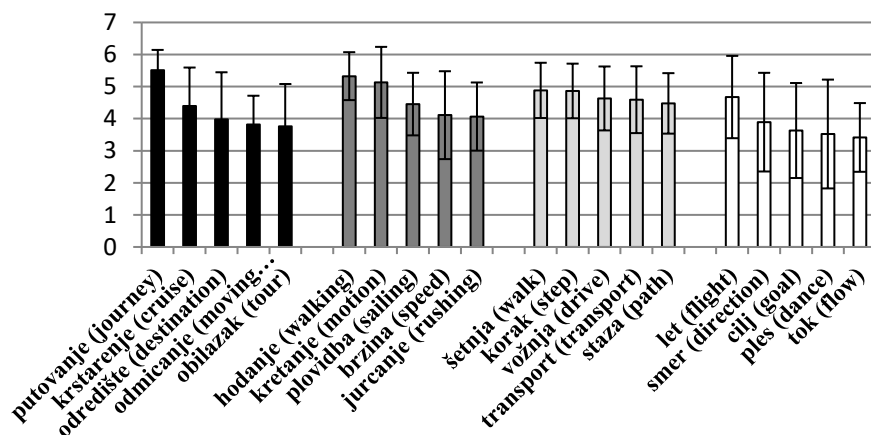


Fig. 1 Target items from the norming study (JOURNEY)

Table 1 Filler items (common categories)

Filler	Syllable No.	Category
pas (<i>dog</i>)	1	ANIMAL
mačka (<i>cat</i>)	2	
kornjača (<i>turtle</i>)	3	
alligator (<i>alligator</i>)	4	
nar (<i>pomegranate</i>)	1	FRUIT
limun (<i>lemon</i>)	2	
jabuka (<i>apple</i>)	3	
pomorandža (<i>orange</i>)	4	
sport (<i>sport</i>)	1	SPORT
fudbal (<i>football</i>)	2	
košarka (<i>basketball</i>)	3	
vaterpolo (<i>waterloo</i>)	4	
šal (<i>scarf</i>)	1	CLOTHES
šešir (<i>hat</i>)	2	
haljina (<i>dress</i>)	3	
pantalone (<i>pants</i>)	4	
stan (<i>apartment</i>)	1	BUILDING
kuća (<i>house</i>)	2	
koliba (<i>hut</i>)	3	
vikendica (<i>cottage</i>)	4	

For the selection of targets in the main experiment we bore in mind that what readers experience as psychologically real is the number of syllables in a word (Kostić 2010). Accordingly, we selected the five top rated targets containing one, two, three, and four syllables, respectively, which gave a total list of 20 target items (Figure 1). In addition to target items, the main experiment also included 20 filler items selected from 5 common, everyday categories (Table 1), and 28 filler items which included words and non-words. In sum, the main experiment included a total of 68 lexical items which appeared in random order.

4.1.2. Main experiment

Forty-seven fourth-year students from the English Department, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, volunteered to take part in the study

(average age 22.17, $SD=0.96$). Participants (31 female and 16 male) were randomly assigned to one of the two experimental conditions. 24 participants were assigned to the control group and 23 to the experimental group. Participants in the control group proceeded to the lexical decision task in which they were exposed to stimuli (words in Serbian written in small caps, in Latin alphabet) which appeared centered on the screen of a standard PC configuration, with a fixation point between the stimuli in the duration of 450 ms. The order of stimuli was randomized across participants.

4.1.3. Priming

The priming procedure was conducted according to the following guidelines: (i) the participants were first asked to read a paragraph in Serbian which described a person on a journey (Figure 2) and (ii) they were asked to identify and write down all lexical items which they believed were connected in any way to the concept of JOURNEY. Each correct lexical item they selected was given a positive score of “+1”, and each incorrect item was scored as “-1”. The total priming score was calculated as a sum of scores for each individual item.

Stigao sam u Prag vozom koji je juče ujutru krenuo iz Beograda i pošao da tražim prenoćište. Obišao sam najpre hotele koji su se nalazili oko železničke stanice, čiji su se natpisi mogli videti jedan sa praga drugog i u kojima sam uvek odsedao tokom prethodnih putovanja. Ali sobu nisam dobio, jer, kako su mi objasnili, sve je bilo rezervisano, pa sam morao poći dalje u grad, prema adresama koje su mi redom davali portiri pošto bi me odbili.

Bio je novembar i usled velike hladnoće ježio sam se svaki put kad bih izašao na ulicu da predem razmak do sledećeg hotela, ali sam sebe prisiljavao da nastavim potragu, znajući da ću u suprotnom noć morati da provedem u čekaonici železničke stanice.

Da ne bih mislio na hladnoću, prisećao sam se putovanja i svih prizora koje sam video kroz prozor voza koji je lagano klizio niz prugu: krivudave seoske putiće, rakersnice, mostove, a na njima ljude, kamione i automobile, od kojih su neki mileli, a neki jurili, svako svojim poslom. Sve je bilo u konstantom pokretu, kao i ja sada, dok sam tumarao nepoznatim ulicama grada u potrazi za bilo kakvim konačištem.

Fig. 2 Priming material (JOURNEY)²

4.1.4. Between-group comparisons: analysis and results

The results obtained from the two experimental groups were compared using independent samples t-tests (Table 2). Due to priming which was expected to afford the activation of the semantic frame of JOURNEY, we predicted that the experimental group would show faster RTs to target stimuli compared to the control group which did not receive any priming. Unfortunately, the obtained data did not support our hypothesis.

² English translation of the priming material is given in Appendix A.

Table 2 Between-group comparisons

Target	Exp.group	M	SD	t	df	p
Let (<i>flight</i>)	control	583.64	102.77	0.42	43	.679
	exp.	571.65	90.02			
Smer (<i>direction</i>)	control	571.64	81.57	-0.72	42	.476
	exp.	595.18	129.96			
Cilj (<i>goal</i>)	control	623.45	86.20	0.76	41	.451
	exp.	602.48	94.34			
Ples (<i>dance</i>)	control	529.42	61.88	-1.71	45	.096
	exp.	574.35	110.54			
Tok (<i>flow</i>)	control	621.91	107.45	-1.01	43	.316
	exp.	654.45	107.81			
Šetnja (<i>walk</i>)	control	578.88	87.44	1.45	43	.153
	exp.	540.62	88.67			
Korak (<i>step</i>)	control	564.66	71.36	0.51	43	.615
	exp.	551.61	100.67			
Vožnja (<i>drive</i>)	control	528.34	78.44	-2.01	41	.056
	exp.	629.40	212.16			
Transport (<i>transport</i>)	control	599.81	83.10	-0.38	41	.706
	exp.	610.90	107.37			
Staza (<i>path</i>)	control	559.73	69.38	-1.49	42	.144
	exp.	606.47	132.08			
Hodanje (<i>walking</i>)	control	602.59	71.30	-0.36	42	.721
	exp.	613.77	126.98			
Kretanje (<i>motion</i>)	control	582.91	92.72	0.56	42	.578
	exp.	567.23	92.68			
Plovidba (<i>sailing</i>)	control	739.39	214.50	2.42	40	.022
	exp.	618.52	97.43			
Brzina (<i>speed</i>)	control	557.81	102.88	-0.45	42	.655
	exp.	571.40	97.41			
Jurcanje (<i>rushing</i>)	control	702.54	172.22	0.30	40	.769
	exp.	685.65	198.22			
Putovanje (<i>journey</i>)	control	572.04	83.01	-.02	40	.982
	exp.	572.65	85.42			
Krstarenje (<i>cruise</i>)	control	625.78	84.92	-0.98	43	.336
	exp.	665.77	172.92			
Odredište (<i>destination</i>)	control	593.86	113.61	-1.12	44	.267
	exp.	636.91	144.48			
Odmicanje (<i>moving away</i>)	control	688.21	142.27	2.65	40	.012
	exp.	587.78	92.17			
Obilazak (<i>tour</i>)	control	609.86	90.96	0.09	42	.929
	exp.	607.31	96.56			

We subtracted the obtained mean RTs for targets recorded in the experimental group from those recorded in the control group. Positive values in Figure 2 show slower RTs in the control group, while negative values show slower RTs in the experimental group the experimental group recorded faster RTs to targets only in 8 cases, of which only two results

were significant (*plovidba*³ and *odmicanje*⁴). On the other hand, the control group showed faster RTs in all of the remaining cases, where only *vožnja*⁵ reached marginal significance.

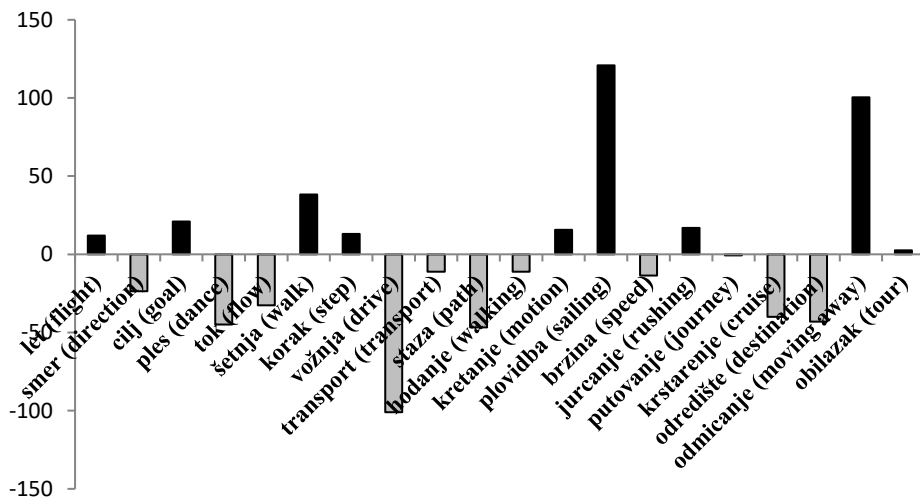


Fig. 2 [RT_{control group} - RT_{experimental group}]

Based on the obtained mean values for targets in the two experimental groups we also calculated the overall mean tendencies in each of the groups and ran repeated measures ANOVA. The result did not reach significance, and there was a negligible difference of 1.38 ms in favor of the control group ($F(1,19)=0.15$, Wilks's Lambda=.999, $p=.903$, multivariate partial eta squared=.001, $M_{exp}=603.21ms$, $SD_{exp}=38.07ms$, $M_{control}=601.83ms$, $SD_{control}=54.70ms$). Also, there were no significant differences in priming scores between the two experimental groups ($M_{exp}=10.39$, $SD_{exp}=2.59$, $M_{contr.}=10.42$, $SD_{contr.}=2.69$, $t=0.033$, $df=45$, $p=.974$).

4.1.5. Discussion

The obtained results suggest that lexical priming in the experimental group did not afford faster RTs to target stimuli compared to the control group. We offer two possible explanations for such findings.

Firstly, the highly entrenched nature of the JOURNEY frame which permeates everyday reality might override the semantic priming. Namely, bearing in mind that everyday interaction is unimaginable without at least some resort to motion, either literal or metaphorical, one possible explanation for the obtained results is that priming simply did not work. In other words, reading semantic content with lexical items describing motion, and subsequent identification of specific lexical items related to motion may not be enough to provide sufficient bias in the experimental group, which would license faster RTs in the lexical decision task, compared to the control group, which did not undergo such a procedure. Secondly, the lexical decision task

³ sailing

⁴ moving away

⁵ drive

may not be the best choice to test the activation of semantic frames. To be precise, the task itself may be too simple, thereby moving the focus from the primed semantic content onto an easier cognitive task. By reducing the cognitive load, the lexical decision task may, in fact, override the priming procedure.

Owing to the fact that the first experiment did not yield expected results, we designed a second experiment which involved new priming material related to the frame of CONFLICT, and a new main task which involved categorization of target items.

4.2. Experiment 2

The second experiment was designed to test the activation of the semantic frame of CONFLICT through semantic priming. The procedure was identical to the one used in the first experiment. The main research question which the second experiment was designed to answer was: Will lexical priming introduced in the experimental group facilitate participants' RTs to target elements from the CONFLICT frame, compared to the control group?

4.2.1. Norming study

In the initial stage, a norming study was performed in order to facilitate the selection of target stimuli. The norming study included thirty-six third-year students from the English Department, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš. There were 30 female and 6 male participants with the average age of 21.53 (SD=0.65). As in the first experiment above, we compiled a list of 109 nouns and verbal nouns related to the category of CONFLICT rated on 6-point Likert scales, with higher values corresponding to higher levels of prototypicality. The norming study yielded a list of 20 target items (Figure 3). The list of filler items was identical to those used in the first experiment.

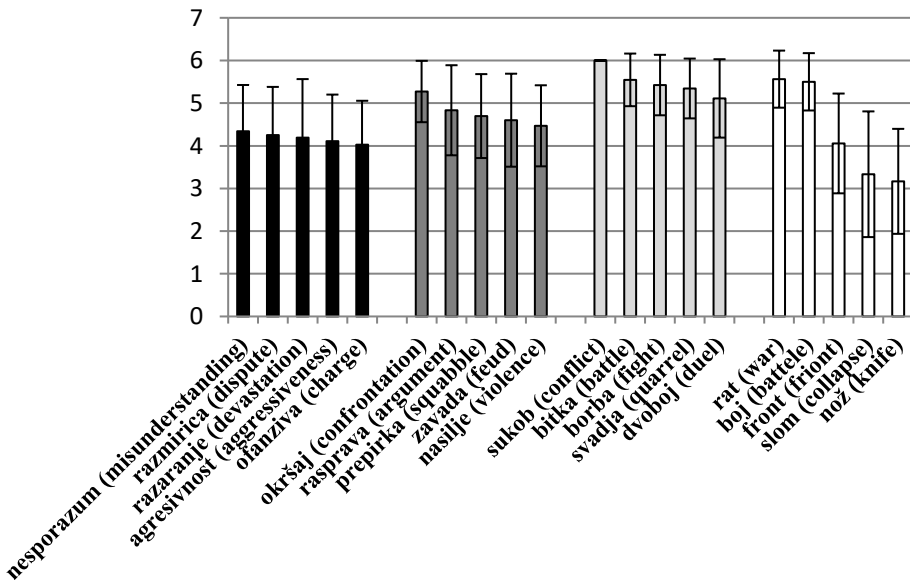


Fig. 3 Target items form the norming study (CONFLICT)

4.2.2. Main experiment

Sixty-eight second-year students from the English Department, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš volunteered to take part in the study. There were 50 female and 18 male participants, with the average age of 20.76 (SD=0.72). Participants were randomly assigned to one of the two experimental groups, with 35 participants in the experimental, and 33 in the control group.

The second experiment followed the same procedure used in the first experiment. The control group proceeded directly to the categorization task in which the participants were instructed to decide as quickly as possible whether the lexical element on the screen was a good representative of the category of CONFLICT or not. The experimental group was first primed for the semantic frame of CONFLICT (Figure 4), and then proceeded to the main categorization task. Stimuli (words in Serbian written in small caps, in Latin alphabet) were presented centered on the screen of a standard PC configuration, with a fixation point between the stimuli in the duration of 450 ms. The order of stimuli was randomized across participants. The relevant variable recorded in Open Sesame was participants' response time measured in milliseconds [ms].

4.2.3. Priming

The priming procedure was also conducted similarly to the first experiment: (i) the participants were first asked to read a paragraph in Serbian which contained a description of military organization (Figure 4), after which (ii) they were asked to identify and write down all lexical items which they believed were connected in any way to the concept of CONFLICT. The total priming score was calculated like in the first experiment.

Filip II, otac Aleksandra Velikog, posedovao je veliki dar za vojne poslove i za upravljanje države, pa mu nije bilo teško da reformiše politički i vojni sistem svoje zemlje. Od feudalne države sa rodovskim uređenjem stvorio je moćnu silu kojom je upravljao jedan čovek i koja je imala dobro uvežbanu i dobro snabdevenu vojsku. I zaista, najveću pažnju Filip je posvetio organizaciji i taktičkoj obuci makedonske armije. Svoju nadmoć je potom iskoristio za ujedinjenje polisa pod svojom upravom kako bi stvorio dovoljnu veliku vojsku za koju se nadao da će mu omogućiti da savlada svog velikog neprijatelja – Persiju.

Filip je stvorio falangu, odred pešaka naoružanih kopljima dugim oko pet metara, i čija udarna snaga nije imala sebi ravnog u tadašnjem svetu. Posebni deo pešadije činili su štitonoše, lakše naoružani od falangita pa su zato imali drugačiju ulogu u borbi. Osim njih, neizostavni deo vojske bila je i makedonska konjica, koja je bila veoma snažna i nju su činili plemići naoružani kopljima i mačevima, a postojao je i drugi rod konjice – kopljanici. U svom sastavu Filipova armija je takođe imala i strelce, lako naoružanu pešadiju i veliki broj grčkih najamnika.

Fig. 4 Priming material (CONFLICT)⁶

⁶ English translation of the priming material is given in Appendix B.

4.2.4. Between-group comparisons: analysis and results

Independent samples t-tests were used to compare mean RTs for targets recorded in the two experimental groups (Table 3). Although there was only one case which yielded significance (*nasilje*⁷), and one marginal significance (*agresivnost*⁸), both showing significantly faster RTs

Table 3 Between-group comparisons

Target	Exp. group	M	SD	t	df	p
Rat (<i>war</i>)	experimental control	630.15 675.25	106.73 162.29	-1.31	62	.194
Boj (<i>battle</i>)	experimental control	641.19 641.06	94.53 103.96	0.01	60	.996
Front (<i>front</i>)	experimental control	773.12 854.12	277.52 303.57	-1.12	63	.266
Slom (<i>collapse</i>)	experimental control	861.20 775.83	242.25 257.92	1.38	63	.174
Nož (<i>knife</i>)	experimental control	659.93 738.80	155.12 249.03	-1.51	62	.131
Sukob (<i>conflict</i>)	experimental control	632.18 661.78	129.22 115.38	-0.97	63	.334
Bitka (<i>combat</i>)	experimental control	598.30 642.34	94.71 102.09	-1.76	60	.084
Borba (<i>fight</i>)	experimental control	639.48 663.38	121.05 133.45	-0.75	62	.455
Svađa (<i>quarrel</i>)	experimental control	611.93 626.16	100.45 125.03	-0.49	59	.627
Dvoboj (<i>duel</i>)	experimental control	674.71 691.93	124.32 95.54	-0.62	62	.537
Okršaj (<i>confrontation</i>)	experimental control	667.90 697.03	84.16 124.29	-1.07	59	.290
Rasprava (<i>argument</i>)	experimental control	663.32 681.03	127.27 121.08	-0.58	64	.565
Prepirka (<i>squabble</i>)	experimental control	854.52 792.00	253.48 315.61	0.89	64	.377
Zavada (<i>feud</i>)	experimental control	806.85 779.21	232.83 262.47	0.46	66	.647
Nasilje (<i>violence</i>)	experimental control	621.84 721.62	108.58 157.07	-2.96	62	.004
Nesporazum (<i>misunderstanding</i>)	experimental control	695.30 742.90	132.02 166.50	-1.27	62	.208
Razmirica (<i>dispute</i>)	experimental control	967.38 1120.33	306.88 487.97	-1.51	62	.137
Razaranje (<i>devastation</i>)	experimental control	837.69 850.09	247.87 215.48	-0.21	62	.832
Agresivnost (<i>aggressiveness</i>)	experimental control	707.66 920.69	144.28 598.75	-1.99	64	.045
Ofanziva (<i>charge</i>)	experimental control	763.21 874.33	215.86 324.34	-1.64	64	.106

⁷ violence

⁸ aggressiveness

in the experimental group, an overview of mean values shows clear advantage in favor of the experimental group which showed consistently faster RTs to the majority of target stimuli. There were no differences in priming scores between the two experimental groups ($M_{\text{exp}}=19.23$, $SD_{\text{exp}}=3.50$, $M_{\text{contr}}=19.55$, $SD_{\text{contr}}=3.88$, $t=-0.355$, $df=66$, $p=.724$).

We again subtracted the mean RTs for targets recorded in the experimental group from those recorded in the control group. The results are presented in Figure 5. Positive values suggest faster reaction times in the experimental group, while negative values signal faster response times in the control group. It is obvious that in the case of a categorization task used in the second experiment the majority of target items showed the expected tendency. The experimental group showed faster reaction times for the majority of targets, compared to the control group. This suggests that the activation of the semantic frame of CONFLICT introduced through the semantic priming procedure licensed faster decision making in the categorization task.

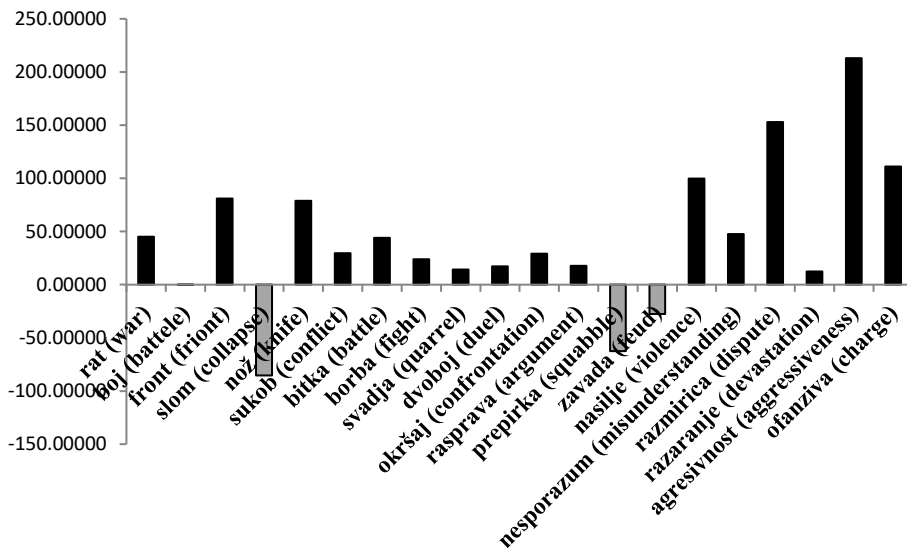


Fig. 5 [RT_{control group} – RT_{experimental group}]

Based on the mean values obtained for targets in the two experimental groups, the overall mean tendencies in each of the groups for the selected targets were compared using repeated measures ANOVA. The analysis revealed significantly faster RTs to target stimuli in the experimental group compared to the control group ($F(1,19)=7.49$, Wilks's Lambda=.72, $p=.013$, multivariate partial eta squared=.28, $M_{\text{exp}}=715.40\text{ms}$, $SD_{\text{exp}}=103.07\text{ms}$, $M_{\text{control}}=757.50\text{ms}$, $SD_{\text{control}}=120.60\text{ms}$).

The comparison of overall mean tendencies for filler items between the two groups did not yield significance ($F(1,19)=0.002$, $p=.961$), which suggests that the priming condition successfully biased participants' RTs only for target items from the semantic frame of CONFLICT.

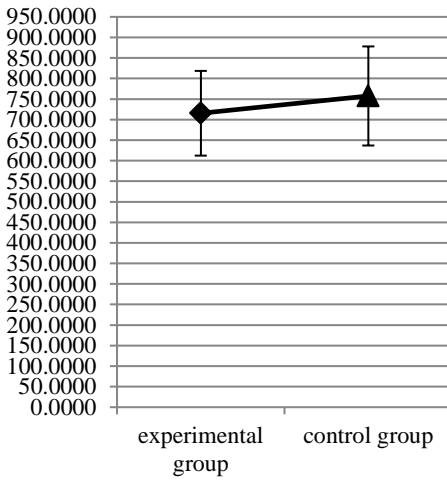


Fig. 6 Overall mean RTs

4.2.5. Discussion

The obtained results support the idea that semantic priming can afford the activation of a semantic frame, which was reflected in faster RTs to target stimuli recorded in the experimental group. In that sense, the categorization task seems to be a more suitable solution for testing semantic frame activation in an RT paradigm, compared to the lexical decision task used in the first experiment. However, despite the positive results recorded in the second experiment, some questions still remain unanswered. These will be addressed in the following sections.

5. COMPARISON OF EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS BETWEEN EXPERIMENTS 1 AND 2: FILLER ITEMS

Bearing in mind that the obtained results raise the question of suitability of the lexical decision task for testing the activation of a semantic frame via semantic priming in a subsequent RT paradigm, we decided to compare mean RTs recorded for filler items which occurred in both experiments, between the two experimental groups and between the two control groups from experiments 1 and 2. This was done in order to test the hypothesis that the lexical decision task was too simple and that it served as an override to the initial priming task. If this hypothesis is true, we expect that RTs recorded for filler items in the experimental group from Experiment 2 will be consistently longer compared to those recorded in the experimental group from Experiment 1. Also, we expect a similar result for the comparison of control groups from the two experiments. If lexical decision is indeed a simpler task with a reduced cognitive load compared to the categorization task, its effect should be evident for all items used in the experiment, not only for the main targets. If, on the other hand, our hypothesis is false, and there are no differences in difficulty between the lexical decision and categorization task, then there should not be any significant differences in RTs for filler items between the two experiments.

5.1. Comparison of experimental groups

Independent samples t-tests were used to compare mean RTs for filler items between experimental groups from the two experiments. The obtained results support our hypothesis, as the recorded means in the experimental group from Experiment 2 were consistently slower compared to the corresponding means recorded in the experimental group in Experiment 1. Moreover, apart from two items (*nar*⁹ and *limun*¹⁰), all of the remaining differences reached significance (Table 4).

⁹ pomegranate

¹⁰ lemon

Table 4 Filler items in experimental groups

Filler	Experimental group	M	SD	t	df	p
Pas (<i>dog</i>)	Exp. 2 exp. gr.	639.94	174.11	2.41	56	.019
	Exp. 1 exp. gr.	544.56	92.93			
Mačka (<i>cat</i>)	Exp. 2 exp. gr.	647.97	164.64	6.36	55	.001
	Exp. 1 exp. gr.	510.31	79.90			
Kornjača (<i>turtle</i>)	Exp. 2 exp. gr.	794.57	257.73	4.67	57	<.001
	Exp. 1 exp. gr.	576.58	81.70			
Alligator (<i>alligator</i>)	Exp. 2 exp. gr.	844.65	364.96	3.62	55	.001
	Exp. 1 exp. gr.	617.13	56.28			
Nar (<i>pomegranate</i>)	Exp. 2 exp. gr.	777.00	434.06	1.16	55	.251
	Exp. 1 exp. gr.	665.09	155.00			
Limun (<i>lemon</i>)	Exp. 2 exp. gr.	657.88	144.22	1.61	57	.113
	Exp. 1 exp. gr.	604.45	90.59			
Jabuka (<i>apple</i>)	Exp. 2 exp. gr.	628.00	111.20	4.93	55	<.001
	Exp. 1 exp. gr.	525.59	41.32			
Pomorandža (<i>orange</i>)	Exp. 2 exp. gr.	715.97	199.89	3.06	56	.003
	Exp. 1 exp. gr.	592.17	106.74			
Sport (<i>sport</i>)	Exp. 2 exp. gr.	756.65	286.41	4.25	57	<.001
	Exp. 1 exp. gr.	540.41	75.95			
Fudbal (<i>football</i>)	Exp. 2 exp. gr.	807.37	362.59	3.54	57	.001
	Exp. 1 exp. gr.	579.04	98.14			
Koškarka (<i>basketball</i>)	Exp. 2 exp. gr.	712.85	245.30	3.02	55	.004
	Exp. 1 exp. gr.	565.95	119.32			
Vaterpolo (<i>water polo</i>)	Exp. 2 exp. gr.	794.02	256.98	3.42	55	.001
	Exp. 1 exp. gr.	627.77	101.72			
Šal (<i>scarf</i>)	Exp. 2 exp. gr.	774.02	386.25	2.65	55	.012
	Exp. 1 exp. gr.	595.54	80.06			
Šešir (<i>hat</i>)	Exp. 2 exp. gr.	668.11	167.88	2.93	55	.005
	Exp. 1 exp. gr.	567.40	91.32			
Haljina (<i>dress</i>)	Exp. 2 exp. gr.	797.05	375.57	3.41	56	.002
	Exp. 1 exp. gr.	571.73	87.37			
Pantalone (<i>pants</i>)	Exp. 2 exp. gr.	776.80	342.60	3.29	57	.002
	Exp. 1 exp. gr.	578.87	80.90			
Stan (<i>apartment</i>)	Exp. 2 exp. gr.	725.08	173.78	3.63	57	.001
	Exp. 1 exp. gr.	580.12	107.37			
Kuća (<i>house</i>)	Exp. 2 exp. gr.	749.17	312.18	3.65	56	.0015
	Exp. 1 exp. gr.	544.91	90.28			
Koliba (<i>hut</i>)	Exp. 2 exp. gr.	884.60	300.21	5.48	57	<.001
	Exp. 1 exp. gr.	588.79	90.09			
Vikendica (<i>cottage</i>)	Exp. 2 exp. gr.	799.00	294.59	3.71	56	.001
	Exp. 1 exp. gr.	604.30	80.05			

We also calculated the overall mean tendencies for the first group of filler items in the two respective experimental groups. Repeated measures ANOVA also revealed significantly longer overall mean RTs in the experimental group from Experiment 2 ($F(1,19)=156.61$, Wilks's Lambda=.11, $p<.001$, multivariate partial eta squared=.89, $M_{exp_1}=579.04\text{ms}$, $SD_{exp_1}=36.16\text{ms}$, $M_{exp_2}=747.54\text{ms}$, $SD_{exp_2}=71.31\text{ms}$).

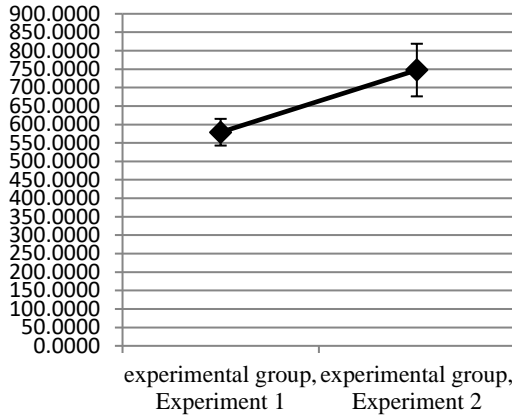


Fig. 7 Repeated measures ANOVA

5.2. Comparison of control groups

Independent samples t-tests were also used to compare mean RTs for filler items between control groups from the two experiments. The results supported our hypothesis since, apart from two items (*alligator*¹¹ and *nar*¹²), all of the remaining differences reached significance, with slower RTs recorded in the control group from the second experiment (Table 5).

The comparison of overall mean tendencies for filler items in the two control groups also showed significantly slower RTs recorded in the second experiment ($F(1,19)=156.50$, Wilks’s Lambda=.11, $p<.001$, multivariate partial eta squared=.89, $M_{exp1}=590.12ms$, $SD_{exp1}=53.89ms$, $M_{exp2}=748.21ms$, $SD_{exp2}=49.46ms$).

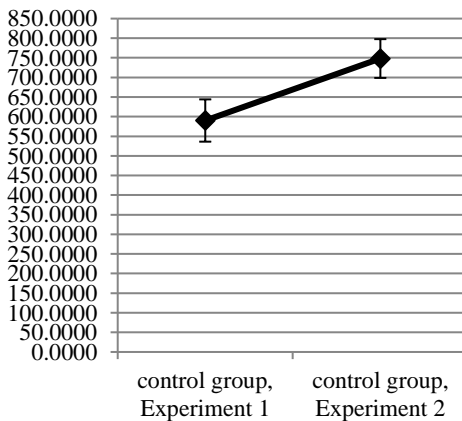


Fig. 8 Repeated measures ANOVA

¹¹ alligator
¹² pomegranate

Table 5 Filler items in control groups

Filler	Experimental group	M	SD	t	df	p
Pas (<i>dog</i>)	Exp. 2 contr. gr.	769.87	387.04	2.94	53	.006
	Exp. 1 contr. gr.	561.31	104.07			
Mačka (<i>cat</i>)	Exp. 2 contr. gr.	727.57	261.31	4.54	50	<.001
	Exp. 1 contr. gr.	511.00	63.44			
Kornjača (<i>turtle</i>)	Exp. 2 contr. gr.	849.63	451.20	3.39	51	.002
	Exp. 1 contr. gr.	570.00	113.39			
Alligator (<i>alligator</i>)	Exp. 2 contr. gr.	768.66	283.14	0.54	54	.591
	Exp. 1 contr. gr.	730.39	224.78			
Nar (<i>pomegranate</i>)	Exp. 2 contr. gr.	821.39	833.22	0.82	53	.416
	Exp. 1 contr. gr.	674.31	126.05			
Limun (<i>lemon</i>)	Exp. 2 contr. gr.	707.48	250.51	2.27	52	.028
	Exp. 1 contr. gr.	575.38	114.47			
Jabuka (<i>apple</i>)	Exp. 2 contr. gr.	646.48	148.35	2.42	54	.019
	Exp. 1 contr. gr.	559.78	104.14			
Pomorandža (<i>orange</i>)	Exp. 2 contr. gr.	738.54	246.54	2.37	52	.022
	Exp. 1 contr. gr.	616.42	131.27			
Sport (<i>sport</i>)	Exp. 2 contr. gr.	796.57	334.62	4.23	51	<.001
	Exp. 1 contr. gr.	540.00	76.34			
Fudbal (<i>football</i>)	Exp. 2 contr. gr.	736.18	251.17	2.99	53	.004
	Exp. 1 contr. gr.	564.09	119.75			
Košarka (<i>basketball</i>)	Exp. 2 contr. gr.	706.78	210.07	4.14	52	<.001
	Exp. 1 contr. gr.	534.09	91.58			
Vaterpolo (<i>water polo</i>)	Exp. 2 contr. gr.	794.09	252.80	2.21	52	.032
	Exp. 1 contr. gr.	675.09	142.12			
Šal (<i>scarf</i>)	Exp. 2 contr. gr.	761.12	199.81	4.00	52	<.001
	Exp. 1 contr. gr.	586.19	121.90			
Šešir (<i>hat</i>)	Exp. 2 contr. gr.	690.87	214.20	2.42	53	.019
	Exp. 1 contr. gr.	570.86	110.66			
Haljina (<i>dress</i>)	Exp. 2 contr. gr.	710.54	207.02	2.21	53	.031
	Exp. 1 contr. gr.	602.31	120.47			
Pantalone (<i>pants</i>)	Exp. 2 contr. gr.	714.66	153.28	4.08	51	<.001
	Exp. 1 contr. gr.	553.10	113.35			
Stan (<i>apartment</i>)	Exp. 2 contr. gr.	759.06	315.61	2.59	52	.013
	Exp. 1 contr. gr.	567.09	155.87			
Kuća (<i>house</i>)	Exp. 2 contr. gr.	699.18	207.91	2.81	53	.007
	Exp. 1 contr. gr.	564.04	105.75			
Koliba (<i>hut</i>)	Exp. 2 contr. gr.	793.30	297.21	2.58	53	.013
	Exp. 1 contr. gr.	613.27	167.90			
Vikendica (<i>cottage</i>)	Exp. 2 contr. gr.	772.12	203.77	3.34	52	.002
	Exp. 1 contr. gr.	633.52	98.42			

5.3. Discussion

Additional comparisons of mean RTs for filler items in experimental and control groups from Experiments 1 and 2 showed significantly higher RTs recorded in the second experiment. Both experimental groups from the two experiments were exposed to similar procedures which involved initial priming and a subsequent RT study. The only difference was the nature of the main task: Experiment 1 involved a lexical decision task while

Experiment 2 involved a categorization task. Consequently, the differences in RTs recorded in this section can be attributed to the nature of the task. Significantly faster RTs recorded in the first experiment show that the lexical decision task involves reduced cognitive load which overrides the priming condition, while slower RTs recorded in Experiment 2 suggest that categorization presents a more demanding task. This in turn also shows that the categorization task is more suitable for the detection of semantic frame activation through linguistic priming in an RT paradigm.

A similar tendency recorded in the two control groups is an even more obvious indicator of the differences in the difficulties of the main tasks in Experiments 1 and 2. Namely, control groups did not undergo any priming, but proceeded directly to the main task, under identical conditions. Therefore, the significantly slower RTs recorded in the second experiment again attest to the higher degree of difficulty attributable to the categorization task. In conclusion, the results obtained in this section offer important methodological implications for the design of future studies, since the lexical decision task clearly is not a suitable procedure for the detection of semantic frame activation via lexical priming in an RT paradigm.

6. GENERAL DISCUSSION

Experiments 1 and 2 were designed to test the activation of semantic frames of JOURNEY and CONFLICT, respectively, via semantic pre-task priming. After the priming procedure, the experimental group in Experiment 1 proceeded to the lexical decision task presented in an RT paradigm, whereas the experimental group in Experiment 2 proceeded to the categorization task, also in an RT paradigm. The expected facilitation in the experimental group in Experiment 1 did not occur; furthermore, the control group in this experiment showed faster RTs to most of the targets. In Experiment 2, on the other hand, the experimental group showed consistently faster RTs for the majority of target stimuli. The comparison of overall mean tendencies between the experimental and control group in Experiment 2 yielded significance, with faster RTs in the experimental group.

The comparisons of mean RTs for filler items between experimental and control groups from Experiments 1 and 2 showed significantly faster RTs recorded in the first experiment. Based on the discussion already outlined above, we concluded that the lexical decision task is not a suitable approach to test the semantic frame activation in our experimental setup. Such findings support the hypothesis that the lexical decision task reduces the cognitive load, thereby overriding the priming condition.

Although the categorization task presents itself as a more favorable approach for the exploration of semantic frame activation through linguistic priming in an RT paradigm, there is an additional issue which needs to be addressed. Namely, it remains unclear whether the inhibition recorded in the experimental group in the first experiment can be, at least in part, attributed to the highly entrenched nature of the JOURNEY frame. The results from Experiment 2 show a clear activation of the CONFLICT frame via appropriate semantic material; however, one could just as easily argue that the frame of CONFLICT is also highly entrenched, and very frequent both in its literal and metaphorical use. This argument raises an obvious question of whether the level of entrenchment has had any significant effect on the obtained results in the first experiment. An additional experiment similar to the design of the first experiment, and with the same set of stimuli from the first experiment, but based

on the categorization task would offer clear insight into whether the results in Experiment 1 were biased by the nature of the main task, or also by some additional covert factors, such as the level of frame entrenchment. However, this particular point remains to be addressed in future research.

7. CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Based on the results outlined above it can be concluded that the categorization task presents itself as a more favorable approach for testing semantic frame activation in an RT paradigm compared to the lexical decision task. Most likely, this is due to the reduced cognitive load associated with the latter task, as evidenced in the two experiments. In effect, future research should benefit from this finding and explore further the possibilities of testing semantic frame activation through categorization tasks. One obvious direction for future research should include online priming procedures, rather than pre-task priming. Namely, the more dynamic online priming should facilitate stronger and more stable activation of target frames, so that the activation level is preserved over longer periods of time. Another important direction of research could include testing the level of frame activation in participants' second language, which could, in turn, offer valuable insights into the mechanisms of categorization and the organization of knowledge in their second language, with possible implications for foreign language teaching.

APPENDIX A

I arrived in Prague by train which had departed from Belgrade yesterday, and went in search for an accommodation. First, I inquired in the nearby hotels located around the railway station, which were very close to one another, and in which I had always stayed during my previous visits. However, I could not get a room, since, as I was told, everything had been booked, so I was forced to dive further into the city, and inquire at other addresses that I had been given by porters after they denied me lodgings.

It was November, and due to the immense cold, I would shiver every time I went out into the street to get to the next hotel, but I also forced myself to proceed with the search aware that if I didn't find a place to spend the night, I would be forced to stay in the train station hall.

To distract myself from thinking about the cold, I remembered the journey and all other sights that I had witnessed from the window of the train that was gliding smoothly along the rail tracks: winding country roads, crossroads, bridges with people, trucks, and cars, some of which were crawling, others rushing, everyone about their business. Everything was in perpetual motion, like me now, while I was wandering along the unfamiliar city streets in search of any kind of shelter.

APPENDIX B

Philip II, the father of Alexander the Great, possessed an exceptional gift for military affairs and for governing the state, so it was not difficult for him to conduct a reform of the political and military system of his country. From a feudal state with a clan system, he created a powerful force ruled by one man and which had a well-trained and well-equipped army.

Indeed, Philip paid the greatest attention to the organization and tactical training of the Macedonian army. He then used his supremacy to unite everyone under his rule in order to create a large enough army that he hoped would enable him to defeat his great enemy - Persia.

Philip created the phalanx, a detachment of infantry armed with spears about five meters long, and whose striking power had no match in the world at that time. A special part of the infantry consisted of squires, more easily armed than phalanxes, so they had a different role in battle. Apart from them, an indispensable part of the army was the Macedonian cavalry, which was very powerful and consisted of noblemen armed with spears and swords, and there was also another part of cavalry - spearmen. Philip's army also included archers, lightly armed infantry and a large number of Greek mercenaries.

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ISPITIVANJE AKTIVACIJE SEMANTIČKIH OKVIRA U ZADATKU LEKSIČKE ODLUKE I ZADATKU KATEGORIZACIJE

Istraživanje smo sprovedeli u teorijskom okviru semantike okvira (Fillmore 1982) i koristimo eksperimentalni pristup zasnovan na merenju vremena reakcije kako bismo ispitali uticaj primovanja na aktivaciju semantičkih okvira. U prvom eksperimentu testirali smo okvir PUTOVANJA, kroz merenje vremena reakcije u zadatku leksičke odluke. U drugom eksperimentu testirali smo okvir KONFLIKTA, kroz merenje vremena reakcije u zadatku kategorizacije. Glavni stimuli odabrani su kroz postupak normiranja prema stepenu prototipičnosti na Likertovim skalama, a pored njih korišćeni su i „fileri“. Primovanje je sprovedeno upotrebom semantičkog materijala modifikovanog kako bi doveo do aktivacije svakog od dva ciljna okvira. Rezultati nisu pokazali očekivanu aktivaciju u eksperimentalnoj grupi u prvom eksperimentu, u odnosu na kontrolnu grupu, dok je u drugom eksperimentu zabeležena očekivana aktivacija. Ovo ukazuje da je zadatak leksičke odluke kognitivno lakši u poređenju sa zadatkom kategorizacije, zahvaljujući čemu u zadatku leksičke odluke dolazi do premošćavanja efekta primovanja. Prema tome, zadatak kategorizacije predstavlja pouzdaniju proceduru za testiranje aktivacije semantičkih okvira.

Ključne reči: *semantički okvir, leksička odluka, kategorizacija, vreme reakcije, primovanje, Open Sesame.*

THE SPACE OF TRANSCULTURATION IN THOMAS KING'S *GREEN GRASS, RUNNING WATER*

UDC 821.111(71).09 King T.

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Abstract. *This paper uses Thomas King's novel Green Grass, Running Water (1994) to examine the contact between two cultures in Canada; the culture of the Indigenous people and the culture of the white settlers. Taking postcolonial studies as its framework, this paper relies on works written by critics such as Stephen Slemon, Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, and others, in its analysis of the transcultural space which Thomas King creates in his novel. The four mythical stories in the novel offer a fruitful ground upon which contact between the two cultural, social and political spaces can be analyzed. We hope that the research conducted in this paper can serve as an explanation of the nature of transculturation, and in the words of Bhabha (1994, 25), offer a textual "space of hybridity".*

Key words: *Canada, First Nations, postcolonial studies, transculturation*

1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper we discuss Thomas King's novel *Green Grass, Running Water* as an illustration of the discursive nature of cultural norms and practices. The paper also examines the manner in which Thomas King presents the contact and encounter between the Indigenous people of Canada and the white settlers. The paper is an attempt to explain the nature of transculturation as illustrated in the novel, and as relevant in contemporary discourse, by considering transculturation figures in the novel not as a theoretical concept, but rather as a problematizing device.

The paper draws on four mythical stories in the novel as exemplary portrayals of the *contact zones*, i.e. the social and political spaces where two cultures come into contact. The narratives of the Blackfoot tribe members in *Green Grass, Running Water* go well beyond postmodern begrudged regurgitation of historically charged issues. These are narratives grounded in the present moment, indubitably haunted by the past. In line with James H.

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Cox's (2000, 231) perspective on the technical, formal, and symbolic importance of intertextuality in "All This Water Imagery Must Mean Something: Thomas King's Revisions of Narratives of Domination and Conquest in *Green Grass, Running Water*" that narratives "shift the colonial perspectives of the original texts and subsequently interrogate the cultural, political and ideological foundations of the cultures that informed their production," this paper investigates the concept of transculturation to highlight its problematizing potential in terms of socio-political and historical influences. The cosmological stories satirically reworked in the novel underscore the importance of the unvoiced perspective, and represent a postmodern deconstruction and interrogation of the values emanated in the institutionalized discourses of history and religion.

The theoretical framework is related to the field of postcolonial studies, and draws on the idea presented by Stephen Slemon in *The Scramble for Post-colonialism* (2003, 45-46) that colonialism is "an ideological or discursive formation," as well as "an economic and political structure of cross-cultural domination." These concepts provide a background for the main focus of the paper. We analyze the narratives told by the four Indians, as King terms them in the novel, Hawkeye, Ishmael, Robinson Crusoe and Lone Ranger, as crucial in examining the contact and encounter between the two different cultures at the grand-narrative level – the Bible and the characters' versions of Genesis – the institutionalized practices being represented by the Western Christian ethos, on the one hand, and King's subversive rewriting of specific parts of Genesis, and their satirical interpretation, as told by the Indians to uncover broader socio-political implications. This paper argues that *Green Grass, Running Water* investigates a subversive space of transculturation through the brilliantly humorous and satirical narratives of the four Indians, whose interaction with Western narratives, and their respective agents, exposes the wider and relevant context of colonialist ideology as a persistent discursive practice. In those terms, Wolfgang Welsch's concept of transculturation, as expounded in his article "Transculturality - the Puzzling Form of Cultures Today" (Nordin et al. 2015, 169), is introduced as an instrument for bringing two different groups into contact, culturally or in some other way, in order to discover, display or emphasize the presence of any difference.

2. THE INVISIBLE BLACKFOOT

A wider interpretation of the European concept of Orientalism, and its subsequent translation in the form of the narrative of the "Other," can be observed in the treatment of Indigenous peoples on the American continent. For Said (2003, xii), the divisive concepts of the "same" and the "Other" have no "ontological stability," and yet they are perpetuated in the cultural and political discourses produced to mobilize "fear, hatred, disgust and resurgent self-pride and arrogance" (Said 2003, xii). Furthermore, the concept behind Said's Orientalism, the idea of ideological and cultural definition against the backdrop of political and economic interests extends to the question of Indigenous peoples' initial dispossession as well as their continual struggles to maintain and reconfigure their identity as a group and as individuals. Moreover, in the process, the Indigenous are often found on the scale from a historically backward, mystified, and irretrievably lost position which renounces their heritage, to that in which they possess no historical sense and merge into the global capitalist society where individuality is substituted for neo-liberal, capitalist, consumer uniformity. Both positions marginalize the human being and disregard their historical presence. In *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992/2008),

Pratt (2008, 7) notices that “subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture”. Pratt further elaborates that “[while] subjugated peoples cannot readily control what the dominant culture visits upon them, they do determine to varying extents what they absorb into their own, how they use it, and what they make it mean”. Such an image, accruing layers of inscriptions throughout centuries, is essentially divisive on multiple levels. On the one hand, Indigenous space is limited to the private sphere, which implies isolation from the community, or enclosure in a limited community, such as the reserve. The Indigenous person is granted rights to engage in customary, traditional, religious and other cultural rituals and rites, in the area restricted to the reserves, as long as they are regulated by a governmental body. In *The Location of Culture*, Bhabha (1994, 9) notes “[The] recesses of the domestic space become sites of history’s most intricate invasions. In that displacement, the borders between home and world become confused, and, uncannily, the private and the public become part of each other, forcing upon us a vision that is as divided as it is disorienting.”

Observing the contact between two cultures from the perspective of the Indigenous people and the colonist reveals an incongruity pertaining to the “origin stories” which simply negate the existence of the Indigenous people before colonization, and therefore negate any territorial or other rights. As Lutz (2007, 1) suggests in *Myth and Memory: Rethinking Stories of Indigenous-European Contact*, for indigenous peoples, those stories are necessarily the “prologue to their world having been turned over”.

In the case of Canada, as Ashcroft (2007, 98) claims in *Post-colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*, the indigenous people are known as the First Nations people, a community officially recognized as an administrative unit by the federal government. The federal government in Canada, since its inception, has striven to maintain a “fiduciary” relationship with Indigenous people, which started with the creation of the Indian Act in 1876. This resulted in a discriminatory act, despite positive connotations, since it recognized women and children as dependents of men, and also excluded many tribes from the document, according to McMillan and Yellowhorn in *First Peoples in Canada* (2004, 4). In his book, *A Short History of Canada*, Morton comments very briefly on the unspecified or implied grievances of the First Nations peoples from the obvious perspective of the European colonists. According to Morton (1997, 26), “[in] the legend of *Canadien* survival, there was little room for sympathy with the Indians, caught between powerful European rivals and struggling with their own ingenuity and courage to defend their interests”. The irony is intensified further considering the fact that the short overview of Canadian colonial and postcolonial history deals with the issue of genocide, segregation and racial discrimination only in terms of their possible political and economic necessity. Morton, perhaps inadvertently, discusses the matter of Indigenous dispossession in his study as a matter belonging to the past, and refuses to elaborate on the nature of the colonial attitude towards the Indigenous people. This refusal to acknowledge the detrimental impact of the colonial atrocities which continue to affect the Indigenous people renders the matter of discussing them all the more relevant in contemporaneity.

The manner in which a historian like Morton deals with the disturbing legacy of colonial Canada relates to what Spivak (1999, 1), in *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason* (1999), describes as a perpetuation of colonialism in terms of the production and transmission of neocolonial knowledge by placing colonialism in the past. This neocolonial discourse locates purposefully whatever the dominant discourse considers problematic with regard to the colonized and dispossessed “Other” in the past, while it disregards the conditions of the present, or any vision of the future. The Indigenous people either hold a subordinate or passive position in the discourse of power, shaped by the political, economic and cultural circumstance of the

present moment. Thomas King brilliantly demonstrates that intertextuality is in itself a completely new level of transculturation because it creates a transcultural space and problematizes that space by weaving into it Western narratives through the perspective of the Indigenous people. This paper aims to illustrate how this tension between the dominant and subordinate, marginal discourses presents itself in *Green Grass, Running Water*.

Following this line of thought, a reference to Spivak (1999, 4) seems necessary. This author holds that the critic introduces the concept of the “foreclosed” “native informant,” an entity that is supposed to be merely unread, which is what King achieves to subvert in blending the space that the dominant culture occupies and interrogating it using intertextual references, but also examining those references through different focalizing positions. By interrogating the space that the dominant culture occupies using subversive intertextual references, King achieves a restoration of the position of the “native informant” in *Green Grass, Running Water*. The term “foreclosure”, borrowed from Lacan, or indirectly from Freud, is used by Spivak to describe the ethical core, balancing out the dominant colonial ideology, contained within the text even when the representation of the native informant is somehow rendered invisible by the narrative discourse. Spivak perceives the native informant as a voice which may be imperceptible at first, but which provides the ethical foundation of the text. Spivak (1999, 5) explains further this particular term as “a name that carries the inaugurating effect of being human”. In brief, Spivak’s (1999, 112) take on the ethnographic terminology, “the native informant,” is employed as “figure in literary representation.” The tension contained in the figure of the native informant reflects the colonizer as the subject, and the “other,” created in opposition to define the position of the informant as “the same” (Spivak 1999, 113).

In *Green Grass, Running Water*, the storytellers, four Indians, restore their identity by re-instating their original names in the mythical tales. The four Indians, as women, play the role of the native informant and examine the historically distorted religious and socio-political Western discourse. This involves vilification and negative representation of the Indigenous culture in mainstream discourse, or the distortion enforced by the imagery produced by history books, the media, popular culture, colonial and postcolonial, victim and native literatures, as highlighted in the rewritten and modified narratives of Genesis and colonial history in King’s novel.

3. THE TRANSCULTURAL CONTACT

The cosmological stories in *Green Grass, Running Water* can be interpreted as stories of contact, which reveal the artificiality of cultural and political practices. At the level of narration, this artificiality is exposed by a trickster deity as the focalizing subject, but also as a heterodiegetic, authorial voice, and through various focalizing characters’ voices, in a concoction problematizing Indigenous and Judeo-Christian mythology, Western pop-culture, and literary characters. Being witty and humorous, Thomas King’s introduction of the four Indians of indeterminate gender echoes the Biblical images of the four horsemen of the apocalypse, whose objective is to “fix the world,” which represents a trickster reversal which subversively establishes a counter-narrative. Brilliantly woven, the novel seamlessly transitions between cosmology, mythology and something amusing, but satirical rendition of the religious narratives the Western ethos is based on. In “The Bounded Text,” Kristeva sees the notion of such “permutation(s) of texts,” where, within the space of a “given text”, utterances are taken from other texts and intersected with one another, as *intertextuality* (1941, 36).

In that sense, the novel connects Western and Indigenous cultures, and respective literary artefacts, to the extent of blurring the lines which have been highlighted through history, and which have been utilized politically as the motive for the conflict between the two, thus creating a new contact zone. Ashcroft (2007, 48) defines "contact zone" as a social space in which distinct cultures clash and interact, but with asymmetrical distribution of dominance and subordination, as usually happens in the cases of colonialism, slavery or their aftermaths. In *The Location of Culture*, Bhabha (1994, 34) explanation of the concept of cultural difference as the problem of uncertainty of cultural authority also points to cultural supremacy in the context of the differentiation between two cultures and the unequal distribution of cultural authority.

King's *Green Grass, Running Water* abounds in aggressive vitality in the form of the four gender-ambiguous Indians, immortal or symbolically timeless, who attempt to fix the world by triggering a natural disaster. This destructive power exerted on the world threatened by the colonist allows the Indigenous not only to retrieve the land appropriated by the oppressor, but to re-establish a connection with their own heritage. The narrative situation in the novel is such that the Indigenous right to land and the community's means to survival are called into question. Additionally, the Indigenous are placed in a position where both affiliation with the colonial culture and the refusal to abide by the new rules pull them into the discourse of the oppressor led by "a single and monolithic originating intention within colonialism, the intention of colonialist power to possess the terrain of its Others" (Slemon 2003, 48). The title, *Green Grass, Running Water*, underscores territorial issues, but King manages to put those into a hybrid historical, ideological, and ecological perspective, on the one hand, and into a personal perspective, on the other. Actually, King, much like Fanon in *The Wretched of the Earth* (2004), draws on the idea that one's freedom must first be geographically tenable. For Fanon (2004, 9), land is the primary source of dignity and a prerequisite for the colonized to be able to overcome the violence and the arrogance of the colonizers. For King, and for his Indians, territorial issues are also a matter of sovereignty, dignity, and survival.

4. THE TRANSCULTURAL SPACE AS THE NATIVE SPACE

Green Grass, Running Water features the narratives of the four Indians as a series of cosmological stories retelling the Western and Christian story of Genesis, entangled with the novel's real-world narratives. The sensibility of the narrative, visibly postmodern and metafictional, focused on the liminal and ambivalent, relates a satirical rendition of totalizing narratives by relating ironically their unsustainability and inappropriateness in contemporaneity, by revealing the hypocrisy behind the narrative and its social and political practice, and most importantly, by exposing the artifice of narratives in general. The pastiche-like elements in the novel intensify the satirical effect which arises from the conflicts between traditions. They also complement the intertextual dimension emphasizing the complex relationship between these "opposed" narratives in the transcultural space.

The "origins" sections in the novel represent the narratives of four polymorphous Indians who relate their own versions of the narrative which in the Christian tradition has a single version. In its cyclical construction, the satirical cosmological takes on the story of Genesis told by the characters who appear in the novel's real-world. The Lone Ranger, Ishmael, Robinson Crusoe, and Hawkeye, are not only named after Western popular culture icons, but strongly suggest a colonial discourse in their popularized relationships with the Indians: Tonto, Queequeg, Friday, and Chingachgook, respectively; or First, Changing, Thought, and Old Woman, as characters who feature the Indigenous version of these cosmological

narratives. At the same time, they serve interchangeably with the popular culture manifestations in male form. Each of the female characters who appear in the narrated versions of the cosmological story encounter relevant characters from the Bible: Ahdamn, Noah, A. A. Gabriel, and Young Man Walking on Water, whose roles, however, are exposed straightforwardly in the transcultural space created by King's trickster narrators. It is in this satirical intertextuality which goes beyond mere pastiche that King manages to reconfigure an inclusive transcultural design, by exposing the problematic nature of totalizing narratives, the discursive nature of reality, and ultimately the issue of grand-narrative artifice. King's narrative is essentially metafictional, and allows the artifice of the narrative process to surface and to indicate its ties with the discourses preceding it. As for the historically fragmented and distorted Indigenous culture in the colonial discourse, this metafictional quality hybridizes the existing narratives' vital aspects exposing the problematic nature of such stories' institutionalization. Bhabha's (1994, 2) comment, in *The Location of Culture*, on cultural differences appropriated by the discourse to deprive minorities of their own space may support as he finds that the "representation of difference must not be hastily read as the reflection of *pre-given* ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition," but that "the social articulation of difference, from the minority perspective, is a complex, on-going negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation."

Thomas King's almost whimsical calamity which befalls the story-world, i.e. the novel real world, can be understood as a symbolic substitute for political transformation. Ironically, this catastrophe comes in the form of a flood, reminiscent of the Old Testament Biblical deluge staged with the purpose of purifying a corrupt world created by an apparently outraged Christian god. Moreover, the motif of water and its uncontrollable power features the cosmological version, establishing a contrast between the Christian conception of Genesis and the Indigenous myths, and the Christian institutionalized and internalized constructs in the mainstream discourse. The irony, of course, extends to Indigenous mythology, in which occurrences like natural disasters happen by mistake or due to the carelessness of Coyote, the trickster deity. Particularly subversive in the re-interpretation and re-working of Judeo-Christian myths in the form of Indigenous oral tradition is the uncovering of the nature of contrivance contained within these myths and in the Western ethos. This highlights the absurdity of the institutionalized grand narratives, which permeate the dominant discourse.

The very act of re-appropriating grand narratives which King's shape-shifting character-narrators attempt to achieve happens from a "less privileged cultural, ideological and narrative space" (Cox 2000, 223), in Spivak's terms, the position of the "native informant." This position is subversive precisely because it comes from both within and without the dominant culture and discourse. This re-appropriation represents an act of re-evaluation of both Indigenous and dominant culture; briefly, the creation of a transcultural and inclusive space. Such merging of cross-cultural spaces can be understood best in light of the concept called "transculturality," according to Welsch, who sees "transculturation" as a process by which the meeting of two different or opposing groups with a different cultural background may lead to the blurring of cultural boundaries (Nordin et al. 2015, 169). Welsch (1999, 202) does not see transculturality as an outcome which is essentially separatist, exclusive, or as leading to uniformity; rather, the transcultural is meant to raise our awareness of the Other, and to allow diversity to emerge. In addition, by obliterating the boundaries of cross-cultural myths with a satirical insistence on intertextuality, King unapologetically reveals the senselessness of the notion of a single, fixed grand narrative. By merging cultural spaces and their respective socio-political manifestations in the novel's real-world, King's irony engages the tension of intentionally paralleled figures

from the Judeo-Christian and Indigenous traditions and mythologies effortlessly, as well as from popular culture and literature, who play the game of telling the "right story."

It is the postmodern, self-reflexive and metafictional nature of the narration in the novel which almost imperceptibly allows for the introduction of the *I* entity in the story, which can be read as a thread connecting the two cultural spaces. This *I* entity, occupying the position of the omniscient, although heterodiegetic narrator, signals the postmodern, deconstructive approach to the concept of narrative itself. It allows for the interpretation of its very presence in the story as an indication of the discursive nature of the reality of the novel on both the cosmological and the real-world level. By extension, King's authorial and metafictional intrusion comments on the illusory nature of the institutionalization of such, or any other narratives. Additionally, the differences in narration at the formal level, i.e. the versions of Genesis in the form of oral literature as opposed to the novel's real-world narration following genre conventions, broaden the critique on the closure of grand narratives, or their fixedness. The transcultural "grand narrative architect" interpenetrates other narratives and resembles Spivak's foreclosed Indigenous informant. This voice, although not necessarily emphasized, serves both the purpose of counteracting the storytelling process itself and foregrounding the postmodern interrogative quality of the novel. Additionally, it is also a corrective voice. This *I*, as an omnipresent entity, may be considered another contact zone where many complex encounters regarding the narrative happen (Ashcroft 2007, 49). It serves another purpose, that of transculturality, enabling the creation of the space of hybridization: the point at which there is a cultural transfer, an exchange and blending of cultures (Nordin et al. 2015, 123).

5. THE SATIRE OF GENESIS

In *First Peoples in Canada* (2004), McMillan and Yellowhorn (2004, 3) suggest that "[e]very narrative benefits from the presence of intriguing characters whose actions move the story along". In those terms, King provides a series of intertextual interactions where the satirical nature of conflict, exposed in its incongruity and unsustainability, moves the "story of origins" beyond the institutionalized cultural space of the Western ethos. As Donaldson (1995, 34) explains in "Noah Meets Old Coyote, or Singing in the Rain: Intertextuality in Thomas King's *Green Grass, Running Water*," by "borrowing eclectically from many different traditions, King creates his own distinctly hybrid [...] intertextual vision". King's use of "travelling characters" does not "subjugate or obliterate," but rather "parodies and resists the way dominant Christian stories have too often been used" (Donaldson 1995, 34). In this manner, King does not only emphasize the constructedness of these intertextual references, but emphasizes their predilection to change. More specifically, by creating a space in which different traditions are set against each other, King allows for the Indigenous narratives to evolve into revised structures.

In the cosmological narrative featuring First Woman, the Lone Ranger in the in-between space and the novel real world, King re-examines the story of the Garden of Eden and Eve's Fall by introducing the character of Ahdamn, a brilliant pun on the Biblical message of the exodus, which promotes misogyny and exonerates Ahdamn. This particular story also features the character of the talking Tree that First Woman bumps into and who/which offers fruit to her. Adding to the humorous effect, the Judeo-Christian god resentfully comments on the blasphemous world Coyote has supposedly created:

So. There is that garden. And there is First Woman and Ahdamn. And there are the animals and the plants and all their relations. And there is all that food.

“Boy,” says Coyote, “that food certainly smells good.”

They can’t eat my stuff, says that GOD. And that one jumps into the garden.

Oh, oh, says First Woman when she sees that GOD land in her garden. Just when we were getting things organized. (King 1994, 41)

In the context of the European emigrants being aided by Indigenous North Americans in order to survive, and subsequently appropriating their land and forcing them into exile, King’s first version of Genesis unapologetically exposes the Christian insistence on the primacy of “GOD” as an episodic character. As Bailey (1999, 43) points out in “The Arbitrary Nature of the Story: Poking Fun at Oral and Written Authority in Thomas King’s *Green Grass, Running Water*,” the inherent belief in Christian myths is that “[...] its precepts are true, not only for members of its own faith but for all people, regardless of whether these people have been initiated to this truth or whether they accept it”. It is significant that in King’s version of Genesis, he subversively places GOD *after* the beginning of creation (Bailey 1999, 43). This part of the novel also explains that GOD was actually created when Coyote was dreaming, and one of those dreams got loose, and eventually proclaimed that it was “in charge of the world” (King 1994, 1). The juxtaposition of the characters belonging to cross-cultural myths allows for the voice of the foreclosed “native informant,” captured in the consciousness of the *I* entity, to self-consciously remind the characters, and itself, of the artifice of narration; “[that’s] what happens when you don’t pay attention to what you’re doing,” I says” (King 1994, 69).

The dialogue form, supported by the omniscient narrator’s eyes on the situation, and the implied author’s occasional intrusions, escapes any didactic or instructive tone, since it presents the situation in an unprocessed form. The reader is interpellated, required to give their own value judgment on the collision of myths in a historically and culturally imbued context. Much in the vein of Spivak’s elaboration of the role of the foreclosed Indigenous informant, the reader’s affect is reactivated by the satirical content:

What a stingy person, says First Woman, and that one packs her bags. Lots of nice places to live, she says to Ahdamn. No point in having a grouchy GOD for a neighbor.

And First Woman and Ahdamn leave the garden.

All the animals leave the garden.

Maybe I’ll leave a little later, says Old Coyote.

You can’t leave my garden, that GOD says to First Woman. You can’t leave because I’m kicking you out. (King 1994, 69)

The twist where First Woman decides to leave the garden, as opposed to being “kicked out,” leads the couple into situations which, charged with stereotypical representations of Indians in colonial discourse and popular culture, force First Woman to mask herself in order to save their lives. In her form of the Lone Ranger, with Ahdamn’s transformation into Tonto, the couple attains temporary freedom since the rangers gallop off, “looking for Indians and buffalo and poor people and other good things to kill” (King 1994, 71).

However, the deception which saves First Woman and Ahdamn from the rangers is soon found useless, for they are arrested by soldiers, charged with being Indian and taken

to Miami, Florida, on a train with “a bunch of Indians on that train with chains on their legs” (King 1994, 99). On the train, killing time as if it were an adventure, naïve Ahdamn starts drawing pictures of a buffalo, a horse, and a refrigerator, and becomes “famous” (King 1994, 100). The story echoes the scene from the very beginning of the novel when the character of Alberta Frank recounts the events of 1874, and the US Army “campaign of destruction aimed at forcing the southern Plains tribes onto reservations” (King 1994, 18), connecting the timeless cosmological narrative to the novel’s real-world. Alberta Frank, an Indian History university professor, recounts how seventy-two Natives were taken to Fort Marion for charges unknown except for their race and ethnicity, and for the possibility that they might be involved in the war against colonial forces. Imprisoned, and left to their own devices, some twenty-six of the Indians drew pictures collectively called the Plains Indian Ledger Art (King 1994, 19). The only female prisoner at Fort Marion, a wife of one of the prisoners, creates a direct link to the narrative of First Woman, an allegorical reference to the historical account. In the case of transcultural exchanges, Ahdamn is quite comfortable in the hybridized place, even though it is a prison, while First Woman refuses so, puts on a mask of the Lone Ranger, and walks to the front gate (King 1994, 100). This act creates another transcultural connection by appropriating a face that belongs to the culture of the oppressor in a dynamic and rebellious manner.

First Woman’s escape from Fort Marion forces Coyote and the *I* entity to urge Ishmael to tell the story of Changing Woman more carefully as the one who falls from the edge of the sky and lands on the soft Old Coyote. At this point, the *I*-narrating entity, or the implied author, becomes more involved in the dialogues and takes a stronger position in guiding the narrative. Changing Woman, much in the vein of the story told by the Lone Ranger, has an encounter with a Biblical figure, and this time it is Noah, or “a little man with a filthy beard” (King 1994, 145), in a canoe, surrounded by animals. He demands information on whether Changing Woman is related to Eve who sinned in any way. Colonialism did not only introduce cultural changes, but it also brought religious influences which spread together with the trade contacts (McMillan and Yellowhorn 2004, 52); this encounter with Noah serves also as a transcultural blending of two different traditions (Nordin et al. 2015, 123). Changing Woman’s liberal or unusual behavior in the form of communicating directly with Old Coyote invites Noah to establish authority and boundaries to teach her about patriarchy. This character is quick to explain that on his Christian ship animals do not talk, since there are rules (King 1994, 145). Incidentally, the mere presence of Changing Woman is understood by this version of the Biblical character as a gift he is to receive and possess.

In talking to the animals on Noah’s canoe, Changing Woman learns about Christian rules, and how Noah threw his wife and children into the water in order to save the animals. Eventually, Changing Woman manages to evade Noah’s comical sexual advances, made with the intention to procreate and populate. Noah and the animals leave, and Changing Woman is left stranded on an island until she finally hears the voice of Ahab, “a short little man with a wooden leg” (King 1994, 194). When Changing Woman introduces herself, Ahab sees her as a young man, and insists on calling her something other than Ishmael – the name she tells him. Changing Woman or Ishmael, after accepting the name Ahab insists on, i.e. Queequeg, finds herself on a whaling ship. As with First Woman’s narrative, Changing Woman shape-shifts from an Indigenous into a popular culture character; this time, however, it is she who becomes the subdued side-kick, a South-Sea islander, Queequeg, in the same manner in which Ahdamn becomes Tonto. In the events that follow, the two of them become an involuntary part of the crew seeking “the great male white

whale” (King 1994, 196). Changing Woman “interrupts the power of dominant cultures to enforce meaning” (Donaldson 1995, 38), by claiming that what they are actually after is a black lesbian whale, Moby-Jane and not Moby-Dick:

“She means Moby-Dick,” says Coyote. “I read the book. It’s Moby-Dick, the great white whale who destroys the Pequod.”

“You haven’t been reading your history,” I tell Coyote. “It’s English colonists who destroy the Pequots.” (King 1994, 196)

In a perfect example of pastiche creating grounds for hybridity, King’s Changing Woman exposes another aspect of the transcultural encounter (Nordin et al. 2015, 11), not only patriarchy deeply engraved in Christian Biblical stories, but their sinister manifestations in the form of racism and misogyny. The Changing Woman’s story features a black lesbian whale whose performative is bound by the Christian racial, ethnical, and gender norm. At the same time, King’s own interpretation of the performatives stands to contradict the established patriarchal norm, and at the level of the cosmological in the novel-real world, it allows for the fluidity, which the real-world, referential, mainstream discourse and other discourses related to it do not tolerate. The four Indians are both female and male; they are characters from popular culture and emanations of the enslaved Indians. By making use not only of the Biblical stories, but also of the Anglo-American literary works with their somewhat ambiguous representation of Indians, King creates a hybrid space which allows for the intertextual exchanges to take place. In this hybrid space, the four Indians represent everyone; they live in an intertextual, transcultural space where they encounter the literary representatives of the Western world, which further allows King’s authorial intrusions to uncover masterfully the racist legacy of the Western literary canon through their encounter. At the same time, King relates this to the extermination of Indigenous peoples by “borrowing” the metaphor of the whale-hunt from the novel *Moby-Dick* (1851) by Herman Melville, in which the animal stands for Nature, as something that has to be subjugated. Equally prominently, King manages to bring into focus one’s sexual orientation as a basis for marginalization and exclusion. The metaphor of Moby-Dick as a black lesbian, which normally has no place in the discourse, for she is politically, economically, and culturally invisible, becomes Moby-Jane, the black female whale who entices Ahab to sacrifice his entire crew. Just like First Woman, Changing Woman is taken to Florida, but before that Moby-Jane takes her “someplace warm” (King 1994, 197). In fact, Moby-Jane and Changing Woman spend weeks in what looks to be a romantic or sexual relationship. However, when they finally reach land and say their goodbyes, for Moby-Jane needs to go back and sink Ahab’s ship again, Changing Woman is distracted enough not to see soldiers coming, and is dragged to Fort Marion.

After the story of Changing Woman ends with her imprisonment, Robinson Crusoe takes his turn to tell the story, featuring Thought Woman. This time, she floats in the ocean for a long period of time, and floats ashore only to find a curious little man, A. A. Gabriel, a member of the Canadian Security and Intelligence Service, or Heavenly Host (King 1994, 269). Namely, Thought Woman encounters a representative of Canadian institutions whose business card sings not the national anthem, but evocative of the injustices against the Indigenous people. The sardonic undertone of the otherwise satirical dialogue between the Indian and the representative of the State exposes the responsibility of the Church apparatus in working with the colonial government, the religious narrative institutionalized and therefore manifest in the socio-political treatment of the marginalized, the enslaved and subdued. Another narrator, Coyote, sees the similarity between the national anthem of

Canada and the "Hasanna da" chant. Coyote, who is a trickster above all, seemingly naïve but perceptive, mixes the lyrics with the chant when singing the national anthem, which results in "our home on Native's land" (King 1994, 270). What Thought Woman experiences when reaching land resembles the procedure immigrants go through at customs: they ask for her Social Insurance Number, and ask some personal and intimate questions:

Virgin verification form, says A. A. Gabriel. Here's a map of the city. We're here, and this is where you'll have the baby.

Hosanna da, hosanna da, sings that Card. Hosanna da.

I'm not pregnant, says Thought Woman.

No problem, says A. A. Gabriel. Sign this paper.

As long as the grass is green and the waters run, says that White Paper in a nice, deep voice.

Oops, says A. A. Gabriel, and he shoves that White Paper back into the briefcase. Wrong paper, he says. That one is for later. (King 1994, 270-271)

Just as Thought Woman refuses to acknowledge the validity of bureaucratic matters when interrogated by A. A. Gabriel, she refuses to convert to Christianity, or to recognize the validity of the proposition by Heavenly Host – Gabriel. The name of the person in charge of her being admitted to Canada is suggestive of the strong relationship between Church and State, for this person has two functions, i.e. to initiate newcomers bureaucratically and to ensure that they adhere to a single religious apparatus. Furthermore, King's obviously feminist commentary on Coyote's and Gabriel's confusion at her refusal to abide by the rules reveals that general discourse does not grant women a choice: "So she really means yes, right?" Coyote asks the *I* entity. A. A. Gabriel asks Thought Woman the exact same question: "No, says Thought Woman" (King 1994, 271).

Besides being denied freedom of choice, Thought Woman is informed that noncompliance and disobedience equal social exclusion, that is they "can always find another one" since "there are lots of Marys in the world" (King 1994, 272). The echo of the name "Mary" adds to the irony of every woman's position, but also the hypocritical incongruity behind the cult of Mary in patriarchy. After running away from A. A. Gabriel, Heavenly Host, Thought Woman becomes stranded on an island where she meets the shipwrecked writer, Robinson Crusoe. King's allusions to Shakespeare's *The Tempest* become obvious when Coyote mentions Caliban. The satire gains momentum when Robinson Crusoe wants to call Friday Caliban. Humorously, Thought Woman and Robinson Crusoe, although doubles, react differently to the sight of the Indian. Robinson Crusoe "as a civilized white man" desires "[...] someone of color around whom [he] could educate and protect" (King 1994, 294). Thought Woman serves to expose the power relations which Robinson Crusoe establishes by offering to change roles: "Sure, says Thought Woman, I'll be Robinson Crusoe. You can be Friday" (King 1994, 295). The dialogue between the two is a parody of the discourse between an Indian and an entitled white male, i.e. the colonizer. Robinson Crusoe's "attempt to dominate in the name of a cultural supremacy," is something that Bhabha (1994, 34) perceives to come into being "only in the moment of differentiation". Finally, like First Woman and Changing Woman, Thought Woman is also captured by the soldiers in Florida.

As already mentioned, numerous figures from Western narrative, biblical or cultural, attempt to control women by invoking rules, convinced that the women will heed (Bailey 1999, 47). The Western literary narrative is imbued with stories from the Bible, and thus, in order to create a proper hybrid space in which the intertextual aspects of both the Indigenous and the Western cultures are included, King transculturates these myths as well. Hence, in Hawkeye's version of the story, Jesus Christ features as Old Woman's double, a Young Man Walking On Water, who immediately informs her of the Christian rules:

And the first rule is that no one can help me. The second rule is that no one can tell me anything. Third, no one is allowed to be in two places at once. Except me. (King 1994, 350)

Old Woman notices that Jesus is trying to help men, threatened by rising waves, stuck in a boat. However, following Christian rules, Jesus remains impotent in the face of the danger and refuses Old Woman's help. Uninvited, Old Woman sings songs to the waves, which eventually calms the waters down. However, the men cannot accept a woman as their savior, refuse to believe they have witnessed a miracle and decide it is "better to follow him around" (King 1994, 352). After floating for a while, Old Woman meets "a skinny guy" (King 1994, 392), Nathaniel Bumppo, the Post-Colonial Wilderness Guide and Outfitter, who calls her Chingachgook, another intertextual reference to *The Last of the Mohicans* by James Fenimore Cooper: "My friends call me Nasty, says Nathaniel Bumppo. Chingachgook is my friend. He's an Indian. But he is my friend anyway" (King 1994, 392). In a frivolous spur of racial profiling, Nasty offers a white man's perspective based on dehumanizing stereotypes, while aggrandizing the "cognitive" character of white man's 'gifts,' as well as generosity.

It is Nasty who gives Old Woman the name Hawkeye, "a name for a white person who wants to be Indian" (King 1994, 395), before dropping dead. Nasty Bumppo, a spin on the character of Natty Bumppo from James Fenimore Cooper's novels, finds Hawkeye a name appropriate to the stereotype of an Indian hunter. Hawkeye, a Marvel comic-book character, is an extraordinary marksman, but white. The significance of the naming-ritual, or naming-game, in the narratives told by the four Indians, draws yet another parallel between the juxtaposed Western and Indigenous ethos. Moreover, it exposes the mechanisms by which Indigenous cultures are devalued and denigrated on the basic level. By placing himself in a superior position, the colonist feels entitled to re-name that which already has emotional, cultural, political, or other value. Naming enables the colonist to appropriate and possess an object merely by assigning different values to it. By extension, the colonist transcribes the values maintained by his own tradition onto another culture, while rendering it inferior. In his article, "The Economy of Manichean Allegory," JanMohamed (2003, 23) notes that Europeans "denigrate" the Native in numerous ways, creating a fetishist representation of the Native's "moral inferiority," which in turn creates the space where Europeans are morally superior. In his moral superiority, then, the colonist enforces the Western ethos (King 1994, 392). As in the previous versions of the stories told by the Lone Ranger, Ishmael and Robinson Crusoe, with the help of Coyote and the *I* entity, or rather against their intrusions, Old Woman is arrested for attempting to impersonate a white person, and transferred to Fort Marion.

6. CONCLUSION

The stories of the four Indians – the Lone Ranger, Ishmael, Robinson Crusoe, and Hawkeye, or First Woman, Changing Woman, Thought Woman, and Old Woman – interpenetrate the narratives of the characters featuring the novel real-world of *Green Grass, Running Water*. More importantly, on their own, they expose the profound impact of institutionalized narratives as exercised and enforced at the social, political and cultural levels. More precisely, each of these female emanations, who have their male manifestations in the highbrow and pop-culture characters, are discounted and disregarded because of their race, gender, and ultimately, undesirable religious practice. Moreover, these elements of their dream-like narratives resurface in the real life of the characters so that the line between the fictional and factual is blurred in numerous ways.

The four Indians as the narrators of the stories of Creation still belong to the story-world, and their interaction with other characters is not provisional. On the surface level of the novel, at which the real-world characters operate, the four Indians or four Indian women, have limited but specific functions as they influence and guide other characters, in their quest to fix the world, even unknowingly. More specifically, at the level of the satirical cosmological mishmash, these characters provide the foundation for the process of change which should begin in the novel real-world. Here, they operate at the level of general and political discourse. On the one hand, they subversively expose the metalanguage of the colonist. On the other, their stories provide a symbolic corrective language since they alter or edit the core of Western grand narratives.

In *The Location of Culture*, Bhabha (1994, 25) argues that “[t]he language of critique is effective [...] to the extent to which it overcomes the given grounds of opposition and opens a space of translation: a space of hybridity”. In addition to retrieving and reclaiming Indigenous space, the language of King’s four “mystics” disintegrates the binary oppositions imposed by the Western tradition, and creates a transcultural space where the Indigenous informant assumes the role of the subject, rather than the object in the so-created narrative discourse. Such a position may not imply liberation from the discourse of power in itself, but it does allow for a re-evaluation of the balance of power within the discursive reality.

The novel’s circular and repetitive technique and formal structure confirm that Indigenous space is no longer possible to regard in isolation. The space envisioned in *Green Grass, Running Water* strives to dissolve the structures of power shaped through centuries of racial profiling and sustained by the twentieth century media and film industry which glorified aspects of colonial history. In order for political and cultural transformation to happen, the foundations of societal power must be re-examined. In addition, King’s novel demystifies and discredits the inflexible and ethically doubtful nature of the Judeo-Christian tradition and exposes them for the mythical constructedness used as the frame for political, economic, and other colonial aspirations. What the novel achieves is the creation of a transcultural space which emphasizes the artifice of stories as well as their discourse-producing and disseminating power. *Green Grass, Running Water* places characters shaped by the Judeo-Christian tradition alongside their Indigenous counterparts within a historically associative, whimsical and all-inclusive cosmologic narrative, to interrogate explicitly the authoritarian nature of narratives as assumed by discourse. At the same time, the novel provides a radical revision of narratives in the transcultural space.

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TRANSKULTURALNI PROSTOR U ROMANU SVE DOK JE TRAVA ZELENA I VODE TEKU TOMASA KINGA

U ovom radu kroz roman Sve dok je trava zelena i vode teku (1994) Tomasa Kinga ispitujemo kontakt između dve kulture u Kanadi, i to kulture domorodaca i kulture doseljenika. Analiza transkulturalnog prostora koji je Tomas King stvorio u svom romanu se oslanja na teorijski okvir koji predstavljaju postkolonijalne studije i dela kritičara poput Stivena Slemona, Edvarda Saida, Homi Babe, Gajatri Čakravorty Spivak, i drugih. Četiri mitološke priče u romanu predstavljaju plodno tle na kome se može analizirati kontakt između dva kulturološka, društvena i politička prostora. Svrha istraživanja u ovom radu je da pruži objašnjenje prirode transkulturacione, kao i da ponudi tekstualni "hibridni prostor" (Baba, 1994: 25).

Ključne reči: Kanada, postkolonijalne studije, Prvi narodi, transkulturacione

MOTION VERBS IN PERSIAN AND ENGLISH: A FRAMENET-BASED CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

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Abstract. *The current research aims at exploring and comparing the semantic frames of motion verbs in English and Persian. In pursuit of this goal, the novel Animal farm by G. Orwell (1945) was selected and compared with its Persian translation, Qale heyvanat (Atefi, 2010). The sentences including motion verbs were primarily extracted from the novel and then a comparison was made between each English sentence and its Persian counterpart. Afterwards, the semantic frames of the English and Persian motion verbs were obtained from the FrameNet database. It should be noted that when the motion verbs in English had an equivalent which could be interpreted in a different way in Persian, the Persian verb was searched for in one of the most reliable Persian to English dictionaries—Persian to English Dictionary (Aryanpur and Aryanpur, 2007). We searched for its English equivalent and then the newly obtained English verb was searched in FrameNet for the semantic frame. When comparing the semantic frames of the motion verbs in the two languages examined, we concluded that motion events in English and Persian were expressed through miscellaneous motion verbs each of which involves a semantic frame peculiar to it. Likewise, the frames may be similar or different cross-linguistically in case of semantic differences, or they might be pragmatically similar.*

Key words: *FrameNet, motion verbs, Persian, English, semantic frame.*

1. INTRODUCTION

FrameNet¹ (FN) is a project developed by the International Computer Science Institute (ICSI) and the Linguistics Department at the University of Berkeley. The project aims to describe the frame semantics of a large number of English words (Baker et al. 1998). FN is defined as a project for collecting a linguistic corpus of words, which connects lexical elements and semantic frames (Fillmore et al. 2004).

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¹ <http://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu>

Within the framework of Frame Semantics (Fillmore 1977, Fillmore 1982, Fillmore 1985), the study of Persian motion verbs has not yet been initiated. Frame Semantics Theory (FST) is the building block of FN, a research project in computational lexicography, a valuable lexical resource for the contemporary English language. It also provides users with both semantically and syntactically annotated sentences from which some useful information in relation to the valency of each word is extractable. FN analyzes LUs, so that their valencies are described. For instance, a frame such as Motion refers to a situation where *theme* moves from *source*, paves the *path* and finally arrives at *goal* (Petruck 1997). Example (1) shows an LU within the Motion frame in Persian:

(1) [*tup*_{theme}] [*az dāst-e bačē*_{source}] [*pāš az obur az baqčē*_{path}] [*be godal*_{goal}] ***oftad***

ball from hand of child after from passing of garden to hole fell 3RD pr. sing.

‘The ball fell into the hole from the child’s hand after passing through the garden’.

In (1), the bolded word *oftad* (meaning *fell*) is regarded as an LU in the Motion frame. The subscripts *theme*, *source*, *path*, and *goal* are called Frame Elements (FEs), the components of which are represented in brackets. Additional explanations about FEs are provided in section 1.1.

1.1 Frame Elements (FEs)

As for FEs, it should be noted that in FrameNet they are classified into two groups: a) Core Elements (CE) and b) Non-Core Elements (NCE) (FN Database). Table 1 represents the two classifications of Motion frame:

Table 1 Core and Non-Core Frame Elements of Motion frame

Core Elements = CE	Non-Core Elements = NCE
Direction	Carrier
Distance	Containing-event
Goal	Degree
Path	Directive
Source	Duration
Area	Frequency
Theme	Iterations
-----	Manner
-----	Path-shape
-----	Place
-----	Purpose
-----	Result
-----	Speed
-----	Time

According to the table above, there are seven components or elements in Motion frame which are considered *core* since each is an indispensable part of a motion process. The number of NCEs is much larger than that. However, this is not always the case. Namely, there are some concepts in the frames whose number of NCEs is fewer than or equal to that of the CEs.

In FN, in front of some FEs, there is a sentence the underlined part of which is relevant to the element itself. For instance, in Motion frame, and in front of Goal, which is one of the FEs, there is the following sentence:

(2) *The car **MOVED** into the slow lane.*

In this sentence, the underlined part *into the slow lane* is marked as Goal in FN. This FE, by definition, is the *location the Theme ends up in*. Therefore, the noun phrase *the car* is the Theme and the prepositional phrase *into the slow lane* is the Goal. In FN, the verbs in each sentence relevant to FEs are marked by small capitals, as the verb *MOVED* in (2).

1.2. Motion Event and Motion Verbs

Verbs belong to one of the grammatical categories considered the building blocks of sentences. These linguistic elements have been examined by linguists and grammarians in various approaches. Motion verbs have also been widely studied. Before we describe what motion verbs are and how they are classified in FrameNet, we should first describe the motion event and its relevant components.

Motion is considered one of the fundamental concepts of cognition. Talmy (2000a: 8) defines *motion events* as follows: “an event of motion or location - together with a ‘Co-event’ that relates to it as its Manner or Cause, all within a larger ‘Motion situation’”. He believes that *motion event* consists of four major components:

- a) Figure: the object which is considered as moving or located with respect to another object.
- b) Motion: the moving or located state which one object is considered to be in with respect to another object.
- c) Path: the respect with which one object is considered as moving or located to another object.
- d) Ground: the object with respect to which the figure is considered as moving or located.

The following example illustrates the aforementioned components (Talmy 2000b):

(3) *The bottle moved into the cove.*

[Figure] [Motion] [Path] [Ground]

The presence of an event as a cognitive structure and its specific conceptual structure can be regarded as a universal linguistic property. However, it seems that languages belong to a binary category based on a pattern in which the conceptual structure of the event is syntactically realized. This typology consists of a *core schema* which is expressed either by the main verb or by a satellite. The satellite is a grammatical category of any structure, except for the nominal complement or the prepositional phrase, which is the sister of the verb. This satellite, which can be a bound affix or a free word, may contain all the following grammatical forms: verb particles, verbal prefixes, verbal complements, incorporated nouns, as well as polysynthetic affixes. The languages that form the core schema on the verb are known as verb-framed languages, these include the Romance, Semitic, Japanese, Tamil, Polynesian, Bantu, and some varieties of the Mayan languages. By contrast, languages which encode the core schema on the satellite are named satellite-framed languages, among which the Indo-European languages can be found, with the exception of the Roman languages, as well as the Finno-Ugric, Chinese, Ojibwa, and Warlpiri languages. Although the core schema in satellite-framed languages is largely expressed by the satellite element itself, it is often also

expressed by the satellite along with a preposition, or sometimes merely by the preposition. Such a preposition consists of an adpositional system and nominative inflection, and sometimes consists of a structure which includes a *locative noun* (Talmy 2000b: 221-222).

In Persian and other languages, Motion verbs have been examined from different perspectives. In Persian, relevant research is found in Eslamipour and Sharafzadeh (2018), Rezaei and Diyanati (2017), Shahhoseini et al. (2017), Akhavan et al. (2017), Zeddari (2016), Mesgarkhoeei (2014), Hamedei Shirvan and Sharifi (2013), Azkia (2012), Feizabadi and Pado (2012), Babai (2011), Golfam et al. (2012) and Amouzadeh and Soltani (2011). In other languages, Verkerk (2015), Abdulrahim (2013), Lindesey (2011), Maalej (2011), Cifuentes-Ferez (2010) and Berthele (2004) are among the most outstanding works on motion verbs. However, none of the abovementioned studies in Persian has investigated motion verbs within FN.

The significance of this study is to concentrate on finding the answers to the following questions:

- 1) Which frames express motion events in Persian and English?
- 2) Are those frames the same or different cross-linguistically?

The method employed in the present research involves extracting sentences composed of motion verbs from the story *Animal farm* (Orwell, 1945) and making comparison between the verb in each sentence with its Persian counterparts in the translation *Qale Heyvanat* by Atefi (2010). It should also be noted that from the sentences with identical motion verbs, only one sentence was chosen for comparison with its Persian equivalent. At last, we obtained 50 sentences with multiple motion verbs, out of which we chose 20 to discuss in this paper. Furthermore, the motion verbs of each sentence were looked up in the FrameNet for its semantic frame. Ultimately, the semantic frame of each English motion verb was compared to that of the Persian equivalent.

3. DISCUSSION

In this section, we present some of the sentences randomly selected from among the whole data. We shall also discuss our findings and analyze the results:

- 1) *He is too weak to **pull** the plough.*
- 2) *He cannot **run** fast enough to catch rabbit.*
- 3) *Every drop of it **has gone down** the throats of our enemies.*
- 4) *He **lurched** across the yard.*
- 5) *He **kicked off** his boots at the back door.*
- 6) *He **drew** himself a last glass of bear.*
- 7) *He **made** his way **up** to bed.*
- 8) *Before long, the other animals **began to arrive**.*
- 9) *The pigeons **fluttered up** to the rafters.*
- 10) *They **came in** together, **walking** very slowly.*
- 11) *God had given him a tail to **keep** the flies **off**.*
- 12) *Our usefulness **has come** to an end.*
- 13) *But no animal **escapes** the cruel knife in the end.*
- 14) *So that future generations shall **carry on** the struggle.*
- 15) *No argument must lead you **astray**.*
- 16) *Four large rats **had crept** out of their holes.*
- 17) *No animal must ever **wear** clothes.*

Before elaborating on the data collected, some points need to be observed. Since in each of the verbs cited above the motion components are contained explicitly or implicitly, they have been purposefully extracted from the main body of the text. The verbs *kick off* in (5) and *wear* in (17) can be distinguished as two examples where motion components are explicitly or implicitly stated. In (5), the Figure is the boot, the way through which the boot is put at the back of the door is the Path, the act of kicking is the Motion and the back door itself is the Ground. In (17), the Figure refers to the clothes which are not going to be worn. The Path is the way passed by the clothes from the outside of the body to the surface of it. The Ground is the body and the Motion refers to the act of wearing.

As can be seen, sentences (1) through (17) have motion verbs, but no two sentences have identical verbs. Furthermore, in some sentences, the motion verb is in the form of the infinitive, whereas in some others, it is finite. As an example, sentence (8) can be described as the one in which the motion verb is a verb preceded by the main verb, whereas in (9) the motion verb is the main verb. In addition, the number of such constituents is so large that we could select only one token. In what follows, we present Persian equivalents of each of the English sentences above:

1. ضعیف تر از آن است که گاو آهن بکشد.
2. سر عتش در دوییدن به حدی نیست که خرگوش بگیرد.
3. هر قطره آن از حلقوم دشمنان ما پایین رفت.
4. طول حیاط را پیمود.
5. کفشش را پشت در از پا بیرون انداخت.
6. آخرین جام آب جو را پر کرد.
7. افتان و خیزان به سمت اتاق خواب رفت.
8. دیری نپایید که سایر حیوانات به تدریج آمدند.
9. کیوترها بال زنان بر تیرهای سقف جای گرفتند.
10. باهم آهسته وارد شدند.
11. خدا به او دم داده تا مگس ها را براند.
12. تا آخرین رمق به کار گمارده می شویم.
13. هیچ حیوانی نیست که بالاخره از لیه تیغ رهایی پیدا کند.
14. تا نسل های آینده به تلاش ادامه دهند.
15. هیچ استدلالی نباید شما را از هدف اصلیتان دور کند.
16. چهار موش صحرايي از سوراخ های خود بیرون خزیده بودند.
17. هیچ حیوانی نباید لباس بپوشد.

The Persian sentences from 1 to 17 are the equivalents of the English sentences cited above. In Table 2, each English motion verb alongside its Persian equivalent will be provided; in Table 3, the semantic frame of the motion verbs in English will be tabulated. Afterwards, we will discuss the comparison and argumentations. It should be noted that the English motion verbs as well as their Persian counterparts are in their infinitive forms for the sake of citation form.

Table 2 English motion verbs and their Persian equivalents

English Motion Verbs	Persian Equivalents	Phonetic forms
Pull	کشیدن	keʃidæn
Run	دویدن	dævidæn
Go	رفتن	ræftæn
Lurch	پیمودن	pejmudæn
Kick off	بیرون انداختن	birun ændaxtæn
Draw	پر کردن	por kærdæn
Make up	رفتن	ræftæn
Arrive	آمدن	amædæn
Flutter up	جای گرفتن	dʒaj gereftæn
Come/Walk	وارد شدن	værd ʃodæn
Keep off	راندن	randæn
Come to an end	گمارده شدن	gomarde ʃodæn
Escape	رهایی پیدا کردن	ræhaji pejda kærdæn
Carry on	ادامه دادن	edame dadæn
Astray	دور کردن	dur kærdæn
Creep	خزیدن	xæzidæn
Wear	پوشیدن	puʃidæn

Table 3 Semantic frames of English motion verbs

English Motion Verbs	Semantic Frames
Pull	Cause-motion
Run	Cause-motion; Self-motion; Fluidic-motion
Go	Motion
Lurch	Self-motion
Kick off	Undressing
Draw	Cause-motion
Make up	-----
Arrive	Arriving
Flutter up	Body-movement
Come	Motion
Walk	Self-motion
Keep off	-----
Come to an end	Process-end
Escape	Escaping; Avoiding; Departing
Carry on	Activity-ongoing
Astray	-----
Creep	Self-motion
Wear	Wearing

First, it ought to be mentioned that the Persian equivalents presented in Table 2 are taken from the translation text used as the sample. In other words, they are not the exact equivalents of the English verbs, which may be found in English to Persian dictionaries. For instance, sentence (8) is the example of the translation of the expression *began to arrive* into *be tædridʒ amædæn* ('*gradually they came*'), in which the headword in Persian is *amædænd* and the expression *be tædridʒ* is an adverb; however, the verb *amædænd* has been taken as the equivalent of *arrive*. The similar case is in (10), in which there are two verbs in sequence, i.e. *came in* and *walking* in the Persian translation: *vared fodænd* (=they entered). In fact, the translator attempted to provide a verb such as *vared fodæn* (=to enter) along with an adverb like *aheste* (=slowly) for the expressions *came in* and *walking very slowly*.

The analysis of 17 sentences presented above indicates that there are five sentences (7, 8, 10, 11, and 13) the translations of which are different from the literal meaning of the English versions. In such cases, what made the translator choose such equivalents most probably is in line with her point of view, which is concerned with cultural and conceptual differences between the speakers of the two languages. Finally, it should be determined whether the semantic frames the verbs in such cases evoke are also different or not.

Taking the content of Table 3 into consideration, it is evident that there are three verbs for which no semantic frame was defined: *make up*, *keep off* and *lead astray*. Moreover, for some verbs, there is more than one frame, such as for *run* and *escape*. Another point to be noted, excluding the five verbs mentioned above, the other verbs, in English and Persian, signify the same semantic frame. More precisely, the semantic frame which the verb *run*, for example, evokes is the same as the one the verb *dævidæn* evokes in Persian. Therefore, what should be explored here is relevant to the investigation of those five verbs, which are not the exact synonyms of each other.

We should explore whether there is any association between the semantic frames of the equivalents selected by the translator on the one hand and those of the English versions on the other hand. As for those verbs with no semantic frames, their synonyms could be taken into account. For instance, for *lead astray* there are multiple verbs for which FrameNet specifies semantic frames, as presented in Table 4. The same applies to other verbs, i.e. *to make up* and *keep off*, as illustrated in Tables 5 and 6 respectively. In what follows, we will present the three aforementioned verbs alongside their synonyms and semantic frames:

Table 4 Synonyms and semantic frames for '*lead astray*'

Verb	Synonyms	Semantic Frames
<i>lead astray</i>	Off the right track	-----
	Off the mark	-----
	Off the subject	-----
	Amiss	-----
	Lost	-----
	Adrift	-----

Table 5 Synonyms and semantic frames for *make up*

Verb	Synonyms	Semantic Frames
<i>Make up</i>	Form	Coming-to-be; Reshaping; Creating
	Compose	Text-creation; Behind-the-scenes; Activity-prepare
	Comprise	-----
	Constitute	Being-in-category
	Invent	Coming-up-with; Achieving-first
	Coin	Achieving-first
	Concoct	Cooking-creation
	Construct	Building
	Create	Intentionally-create; Cause-to-start; Creating
	Devise	Coming-up-with
	Dream up	-----
	Formulate	Coming-up-with
	Frame	Encoding
	Originate	Achieving-first; Origin
Call it quit	-----	

Table 6 Synonyms and semantic frames for *keep off*

Verb	Synonyms	Semantic Frames
<i>Keep off</i>	Hold off	Holding-off-on
	Stave off	Preventing-or-letting
	Ward off	-----
	Rebuff	Respond-to-proposal
	Repel	Repel; Stimulate-emotion
	Repulse	-----
	Rebut	-----
	Fend	-----

As illustrated in Tables 4 to 6, the distribution of semantic frames among the verbs is noteworthy. Surprisingly, it is noticeable that no semantic frame has been defined even for the synonyms of the verb *lead astray*. Indeed, no Lexical Units such as the expressions in Table 4 exist in the FrameNet database. As a result, no semantic frame was defined. It should also be noted that the FrameNet rarely specifies any semantic frame for phrasal verbs and idiomatic constructions.

As for *make up*, it ought to be said that for the synonyms of the verb, the maximum number of semantic frames has been determined by the database, as the number of the synonyms as Lexical Units is larger than that of the two other verbs.

Excluding the items *comprise* and *call it quit*, other synonyms of *make up* evoke at least one semantic frame and at most three semantic frames, as shown in Table 5.

Finally, the verb *keep off* have synonyms which are both lexical and phrasal verbs. Nevertheless, it is interesting that despite the fact that the FrameNet hardly provides any semantic frame for phrasal verbs, as already mentioned, for the phrasal verbs considered the synonyms of *keep off*, two semantic frames are defined for *hold off* and *stave off*, but no frame for *rebut* and *repulse*.

Comparing the frames the three verbs discussed above evoke with the frames evoked by their Persian equivalents, it becomes obvious that the verbs in the two languages can be pragmatically interpreted in similar ways despite their difference in relevant Lexical Units or as semantic frames. In addition, it is worth noting that although there were no Lexical Units or semantic frames for verbs *lead astray*, *make up* and *keep off* in the FrameNet, it does not mean that these verbs fail to evoke any semantic frame. It is rather a limitation in the FrameNet, which can probably be solved in the future. Furthermore, if these three verbs lacked semantic frames, the translator would not have been able to interpret them or to choose any equivalent for them. The translator's capability in choosing the verbs or any linguistic expression for all the motion verbs especially the three verbs confirms that even the verbs *lead astray*, *make up* and *keep off* evoke semantic frames even though they are not specified in the FrameNet.

4. CONCLUSION

After contrasting the English novel *Animal farm* to its Persian translation *Qale heyvanat* in search for the semantic frames evoked by the motion verbs in the two languages, we can conclude that lexical motion verbs, phrasal verbs and idiomatic expressions with motion verbs can evoke the same semantic frames, since they can be semantically and pragmatically interpreted even if they are not equivalent. Additionally, through such a contrastive analysis, it can be clarified that the FrameNet database has a certain kind of limitation since semantic frames for some lexical and phrasal verbs are not defined. In conclusion, the two questions we posed in this study reveal that motion events in English and Persian may be expressed through diverse motion verbs with distinct semantic frames.

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GLAGOLI KRETANJA U PERSIJSKOM I ENGLESKOM JEZIKU: KONTRASTIVNA ANALIZA ZASNOVANA NA *FRAMENET*

*Ovo istraživanje ima za cilj da uporedi semantičke okvire glagola kretanja u engleskom i persijskom. Za uzorak smo odabrali roman *Animal farm* G. Orwella (1945) i uporedili ga sa prevodom na persijski, tako što smo izdvojili rečenice sa glagolima kretanja iz engleskog originala i uporedili ih sa ekvivalentima iz persijskog prevoda. Potom, semantički okviri engleskih i persijskih glagola su dobijeni iz baze *FrameNet*. Treba napomenuti da onda kada je engleski glagol imao drugačiji semantički ekvivalent, persijski glagol smo pretražili u persijsko-engleskom rečniku *Persian to English Dictionary* (Aryanpur i Aryanpur, 2007), da bismo našli engleski ekvivalent, a onda smo ekvivalent pretražili u bazi *FrameNet* radi utvrđivanja okvira. Kada smo poredili glagole kretanja u dva pomenuta jezika, uvideli smo da se kretanje u engleskom i persijskom iskazuje raznorodnim glagolima kretanja koji imaju sebi svojstvene okvire. Takođe, i sami okviri mogu biti različiti, a onda kada se radi o semantičkim razlikama, mogu postojati pragmatičke sličnosti.*

Ključne reči: *FrameNet*, glagoli kretanja, persijski, engleski, semantički okvir.

DIE ERZÄHLVERFAHREN IN DIE LINKSHÄNDIGE FRAU

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Abstract. *Die linkshändige Frau ist eine Erzählung von Peter Handke, die zugleich die zweite Phase in der Entwicklung der Poetik des Autors abschließt. Während man in den ersten Werken traditionelle narrative Formen dekonstruierte und nach neuen Verfahren suchte, um authentische Erlebnisse zu vermitteln, ist für die Werke der zweiten Phase kennzeichnend, dass sie privaten Geschichten Eingang in die Literatur verschaffen, und zwar durch einen neugewonnenen narrativen Umgang. Dieser spiegelt sich auch in der Linkshändigen Frau wider. Ferner weist diese Erzählung, die 1976 veröffentlicht wurde, eine filmische Struktur auf, was auf die ursprüngliche Form eines Drehbuches zurückzuführen ist. Die Erzählung wurde 1978 unter Mitarbeit von Wim Wenders verfilmt. Durch den Synkretismus mit der filmischen Technik nimmt diese Erzählung eine Sonderstellung in Handkes narrativem Opus der 70er-Jahre ein. Im vorliegenden Beitrag wird eine Analyse der Erzählverfahren im Werk durchgeführt. Sie wird anhand von Genettes Modell auf der Ebene der Geschichte und der Ebene des Diskurses veranschaulicht. Die Ebene der Geschichte soll den thematischen Rahmen, der in den 70er-Jahren vorherrschend war, zum Ausdruck bringen, und die Ebene des Diskurses den Einfluss des Films. Dadurch werden die intermedialen Bezüge verdeutlicht. Schließlich wird versucht, die Stellung dieser Erzählung im Gesamtwerk des Autors näher zu erläutern.*

Schlüsselwörter: *Narration, Peter Handke, Erzählung, Film, Synkretismus, Intermedialität.*

1. DIE ELEMENTE DER GESCHICHTE

Da als eine Erzählung verfasst, ist die Handlung in *Die linkshändige Frau* auf wenige Figuren und Ereignisse reduziert. Das Thema kreist um die Trennung der 30-jährigen Marianne von ihrem Ehemann Bruno, mit dem sie den achtjährigen Sohn Stefan hat. Dabei werden die Zustände der Hauptfigur verfolgt, ohne sie aber näher zu begründen. Die sich daraus ergebende handlungsarme Geschichte würde dem folgenden linearen

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Schema entsprechen: Trennung – Aufarbeitung in der Einsamkeit – ein Sichöffnen gegenüber der Welt. Da diese Stationen ohne nähere Deutung aneinandergereiht werden, ist die ganze Geschichte in eine geheimnisvolle Aura gehüllt. Der Anfang, der *in medias res* die Problematik der Trennung eröffnet, lässt viele Fragen ungeklärt. Bruno, Verkaufsleiter einer Porzellanfirma und Mariannes Ehemann, kommt von einer Geschäftsreise aus Finnland zurück und erfährt dabei, dass sich Marianne von ihm trennen möchte. Eine Einführungsgeschichte über ihre Vergangenheit wird elliptisch ausgelassen, so auch die Gründe dafür, warum sich die Ehepartner auseinandergelebt haben. Die Vorgeschichte, da nicht explizit genannt, ist aus Andeutungen zu erschließen, vor allem aus den Gesprächen zwischen Bruno und Marianne. Auch der weitere Verlauf der Geschichte – Mariannes Suche nach einem neuen Zusammenhang (Bartmann 1984: 222) – wird durch den Verzicht auf Kommentare und Deutungen vor der Folie des Rätselhaften und Unausgesprochenen entfaltet. Ein offenes Ende unterstreicht abschließend die Absicht, die Geschichte nicht durch kausale Zusammenhänge zu vermitteln. Der Leser ist mit einer Abfolge von selbstständigen Sequenzen konfrontiert, in denen vor allem die Gespräche und das Verhalten der Hauptfigur registriert werden. Hinter diesen handlungsarmen Abschnitten wird ein leidvoller Prozess der Selbstverwirklichung angedeutet, begrifflich aber nicht definiert. Auf das Fehlen der kausalen Zusammenhänge zwischen einzelnen Sequenzen und ihre Funktion verweisen auch Nägele und Voris (1978: 68, 69) in ihrem Beitrag zur Analyse der Erzählung: „Indem auf Motivation verzichtet wird, sollen mechanisch und zwanghaft gebildete Zusammenhänge in Frage gestellt werden [...] Daraus folgt die zweite Funktion: indem der Text Kausalzusammenhänge verweigert, behauptet er das Recht der einzelnen Figur auf ein Sein für sich [...].“

In der Geschichte gibt es keine logischen Verknüpfungen und keine eindeutige Auflösung, was nach Manfred Mixner eine Hermetik des Textes zur Folge hat. Die vorherrschenden Motive, die bearbeitet werden, sind Liebesbeziehung, Trennung, Einsamkeit, Wahrnehmung, Schauen und Identität. Sie kreisen um den thematischen Schwerpunkt der Suche nach Selbstverwirklichung. Eine besondere Stellung gebührt dabei dem Motiv der Einsamkeit. Das Motiv der Einsamkeit, in der Geschichte mehrmals variiert, wird als ein Zustand des Für-sich-Seins zur Voraussetzung dafür, die eigene Identität zu erfassen. Marianne wählt diesen Zustand und entpuppt sich dadurch als oppositionelle Figur zu den restlichen Figuren, die diesen Zustand meiden. Nach der Trennung von Bruno stellt ihre Freundin Franziska die Frage: „*Was willst du tun allein?*“ (Handke 2002: 21). Und an einer weiteren Stelle: „*Hast du allein gelebt?*“ (Handke 2002: 22). Franziska flüchtet vor diesem Zustand und verharret lieber in falschen Liebesbeziehungen, um nicht allein zu sein. Sie vermeidet dadurch die Auseinandersetzung mit der eigenen Identität und versteckt sich hinter einer feministischen Weltsicht, die ihr eine vordefinierte Identität gewährt. Auch die restlichen Figuren zeigen eine oppositionelle Haltung durch ihre negative Beurteilung der Einsamkeit. Von Bruno heißt es, dass er in einen regressiven Zustand zurückfällt, sobald er allein ist: „*Franziska: [...] Auch Bruno hält es allein nicht aus. Er fällt dabei sofort in die alten Kinderunarten zurück, sagt er.*“ (Handke 2002: 34). Der Verleger, der Marianne eine Übersetzungsarbeit verschafft und sich um eine Liebesbeziehung mit ihr bemüht, droht Marianne mit der Einsamkeit: „*Der Verleger, nach einer Pause: 'Nun beginnt die lange Zeit Ihrer Einsamkeit, Marianne.' Die Frau: 'Seit kurzem drohen mir alle.' Zum Fahrer, der daneben stand: 'Und Sie, drohen Sie mir auch?' Der Fahrer lächelte verwirrt.*“ (Handke 2002: 43).

Bruno prophezeit ihr aus Rache ein fürchterliches Ende in Einsamkeit:

Du läßt es dir also gutgehen, allein mit DEINEM Sohn, in einem schönen warmen Haus mit Garten und Garage, in der guten Luft! Wie alt bist du eigentlich? Bald wirst du einen faltigen Hals haben, und aus deinen Leberflecken werden Haare wachsen. Dünne Froschbeine, und der Körper darüber ein Plundersack. Älter und älter wirst du werden und sagen, daß dir das nichts ausmacht, und eines Tages wirst du dich aufhängen. Du wirst so unbeleckt ins Grab abstinken, wie du gelebt hast. Wie vergeht dir denn die Zeit bis dahin? Wahrscheinlich sitzt du herum und beißt an den Fingernägeln, nicht wahr? (Handke 2002: 57, 58).

Das Motiv der Einsamkeit wird im Falle des Schauspielers zugespitzt, der, im Unterschied zu anderen Figuren, die durch verlogene Beziehungen die Einsamkeit meiden, wegen seiner Ungeschicktheit, eine Rolle zu spielen, in der äußersten Einsamkeit verloren verharrt. Marianne dagegen setzt die Einsamkeit in einen produktiven Zustand um, in dem sie zu einer eigenen Identität und zu einem neuen Verhältnis zwischen Ich und sozialem Umfeld findet, das ihr Selbst nicht mehr bedroht.

Ebenso begleitet das Motiv der Wahrnehmung die Suche nach der eigenen Identität. Marianne perzipiert das private und soziale Umfeld als einen ihr auferlegten Umstand und entwickelt durch ihren Rückzug in die Einsamkeit eine Wahrnehmung, die nicht auf dem Vordefinierten und Eingespielten basiert, sondern auf einem persönlichen aufmerksamen Verhältnis zwischen dem Ich und den Einzelheiten der äußeren Welt. Diese Wandlung wird zum Schluss in der Zeichenszene zum Ausdruck gebracht (Handke 2002: 99). Keine eingespielte, sondern eine spontane und authentische Kommunikation mit der Umwelt wird zu einem neuen Zusammenhang.

Das Motiv der Wahrnehmung ist ferner mit dem Motiv des Schauens eng verknüpft. Nägele und Voris (1978: 68) verweisen auf das motivische Oppositionspaar Schauen/Starren, wobei das Schauen für die Offenheit gegenüber der Welt steht, das Starren jedoch für die Verschlossenheit und gesellschaftliche Machtausübung. Die Starre löst sich am Ende in Bewegung auf (ebenda). Diese Wandlung, durch das Motiv des Schauens entwickelt, verweist auf einen bewussten und offenen Umgang mit der Umwelt, was die letzte Szene signalisiert: „Am hellen Tag saß sie auf der Terrasse im Schaukelstuhl. Die Fichtenkronen bewegten sich hinter ihr in der spiegelnden Fensterscheibe. Sie begann zu schaukeln; hob die Arme. Sie war leicht angezogen, ohne Decke auf den Knien.“ (Handke 2002: 99).

Marianne erweist sich als eine Figur, die die Umwelt in ihrer Verlogenheit durchschaut und aus dem Spiel dieser Machtstrukturen scheiden möchte. Die überlegene Stellung wird durch das Strahlen ihrer Augen unterstrichen (Pütz 1982: 90; Thornton 1983: 83). Sie verweisen auf das Geheimnisvolle und Tiefsinnige ihrer Natur. Das Leuchten der Augen als ein authentisches Merkmal ihres Wesens verbindet Renner (1985: 106) in seiner Analyse mit einem geheimnisvollen Geschehen, das sich jeder Beschreibung wie Erklärung entzieht. Das unaussprechbare Anderssein, durch das Leuchten der Augen veranschaulicht, verleiht der Figur der Marianne geheimnisvolle, ja mystische Züge (Durzak 1982: 137).

Die Figurenkonstellation, wie oben erwähnt, fußt auf einer oppositionellen Stellung zwischen der Hauptfigur und den restlichen Figuren. Die einzige Figur, die Marianne als einen selbstverständlichen Teil ihres Lebens akzeptiert, ist ihr Kind, das sein Bewusstsein und seine Identität erst zu entwickeln hat.

Das Motiv der Identität enthüllt alle Widersprüche zwischen Marianne und den restlichen Figuren. Sowohl ihr Ehemann Bruno als auch der Verleger als potenzieller Liebhaber finden keinen Zugang zu Marianne, da sie ihre Existenz vor dem gesellschaftlich Vorprogrammierten entwickeln, das vor allem auf eingespielten Machtstrukturen beruht. So versteht Bruno die Ehe als ein Rollenspiel, das zugleich alle Sphären seines Lebens bestimmt. Er bevorzugt diese Determination als eine historisch bedingte und positive, während sich Marianne diesem Spiel entzieht:

Bruno aß nicht nur seinen Teller leer, sondern wischte ihn auch noch mit einem Stück Weißbrot ganz sauber. Nachher sagte er, indem er ein Glas Calvados, das in dem Licht der Deckenlüster leuchtete, in der Hand hielt und es betrachtete: 'Heute hatte ich es nötig, so bedient zu werden. Welch eine Geborgenheit! Welch eine kleine Ewigkeit' [...] 'Im Flugzeug habe ich einen englischen Roman gelesen. Da gibt es eine Szene mit einem Diener, an dessen würdevoller Dienstbereitschaft der Held des Buches die reife Schönheit jahrhundertealten Feudaldienstes bewundert. Das Objekt dieser stolzen, respektvollen Dienearbeit zu sein, das bedeutet ihm, wenn auch nur für die kurze Stunde des Teetrinkens, nicht allein die Versöhnung mit sich selber, sondern, auf eine seltsame Weise, auch die Versöhnung mit der gesamten menschlichen Rasse.' Die Frau wendete sich ab; [...] (Handke 2002: 16).

Bruno rechtfertigt die historisch bedingten Machtstrukturen, während die Frau durch ihr Verhalten ihren Protest demonstriert. Sie wendet sich ab. In diesem Zusammenhang wird zum Beispiel im Beitrag von Gudrun Brokoph-Mauch (1989: 71) festgehalten, dass Mariannes Erleuchtung, sich von Bruno zu trennen, als eine Befreiung vom „jahrhundertealten Feudaldienst der Frau am Mann“ betrachtet werden könnte.

Marianne durchschaut Brunos Selbstfixiertheit, die er durch den gesellschaftlichen Rollenmechanismus als einen natürlichen Zustand rechtfertigt. Dieser kommt in der Szene zum Ausdruck, in der er nach seiner Reise seine Frau erneut in die Schranken ihrer Rolle als Geliebte weisen möchte:

Im Wohnraum, während die Frau und Bruno gemeinsam die verstreuten Kindersachen von den verschiedenen Spielen des Tages aufräumten, richtete Bruno sich auf und sagte: 'Mir summen noch die Ohren von dem Flugzeug. Laß uns ganz feierlich essen gehen. Mir ist es heute abend zu privat hier, zu – verwünschen. Zieh dir das Kleid mit dem Ausschnitt an, bitte.' Die Frau, die noch hockte und weiter aufräumte, fragte: 'Und was ziehst du an?' Bruno: 'Ich gehe, wie ich bin; das war doch immer so [...] (Handke 2002: 15).

Marianne stört die Kommunikation, in der sie als Person gar nicht wahrgenommen wird. Auch nach der Trennung wird sie Bruno darauf aufmerksam machen, dass sie seine Selbstfixiertheit nicht akzeptieren will:

Er spuckte zur Seite: 'Du und dein neues Leben! Ich habe noch nie eine Frau gesehen, die ihr Leben auf die Dauer geändert hat. Nichts als Seitensprünge – danach wieder die alte Leier. Weißt du was? Das, was du jetzt tust, wirst du später als vergilbte Zeitungsausschnitte durchblättern, als einziges Ereignis in deinem Leben! Und dabei wird dir klar werden, daß du nur der Mode nachgelaufen bist: Mariannes Wintermode!' Die Frau: 'Das hast du dir vorher ausgedacht, nicht wahr? Du willst gar nicht mit mir reden, gar nicht mit mir sein.' Bruno schrie: 'Lieber spräche ich mit einem Gespenst!' Die Frau: 'Du siehst furchtbar traurig aus, Bruno.' (Handke 2002: 58, 59).

Da Bruno in seiner vorgetäuschten Identität eingekapselt ist, kann er auch nach der Trennung die überlegene Wahrnehmung seiner Frau nicht verstehen. Die vorgetäuschte Identität, die nur ein Schauspiel ist, demonstriert Bruno noch einmal in seinem Büro:

Bruno sagte zu dem Kind: 'Stefan, ich werde dir jetzt zeigen, wie ich die Leute einschüchtere, die zu mir ins Büro kommen.' [...] 'Erst einmal zwänge ich mein Opfer mit seinem Stuhl auf einen sehr engen Raum, wo es sich machtlos fühlt. Ich spreche ganz nah vor seinem Gesicht [...] und das wichtigste dabei ist das Einschüchterungsgesicht.' Er setzte sich vor die Frau hin und fing zu starren an; [...] 'Ich habe mir auch eine bestimmte Salbe aus Amerika kommen lassen: die tue ich mir um die Augen, sie hindert mich am Blinzeln; oder um den Mund, da verhindert sie ein Mundzucken.' Er rieb sich tatsächlich eine Salbe um die Augen: 'Und das ist nun also mein Macht-Starren, mit dem ich hoffe, bald Vorstandsmitglied zu sein.' (Handke 2002: 47, 48).

Marianne ist fest entschlossen, sich seinem rollengesteuerten Umfeld zu entziehen, wenn sie sich auch dessen bewusst ist, dass die Alternative bleibt, sich einer ungewissen Einsamkeit auszuliefern. Sie lässt nicht mehr zu, ihre Person von anderen bestimmen zu lassen. So sagt sie vor dem Spiegel: „Meint, was ihr wollt. Je mehr ihr glaubt, über mich sagen zu können, desto freier werde ich von euch.“ (Handke 2002: 29). Sie will ihre authentische Persönlichkeit kennenlernen, die sie gegen alle Sprachfallen mit Deutungsspielraum scharf verteidigt. Deswegen geht sie auch mit der Sprache anders um, da sie die Sprache der Umgebung als einen Zwangsmechanismus und als Bedrohung der persönlichen Artikulation erlebt (vgl. Blattner 1982: 73). Das oppositionelle Verhältnis zur Sprache wird an der Figur der Franziska veranschaulicht. Franziska löst alle Lebensfragen durch feministische Begriffe, während das Leben selbst an ihr vorbeigeht. Im Kommentar zu ihrer Persönlichkeit wird deutlich, dass sie sich in ihrem tiefsten Inneren dessen bewusst ist, das pure Menschliche nie erreichen zu können, so wie sie es in Mariannes Umgang mit dem Kind erlebt hat: „(Manchmal passierte es Franziska, daß sie plötzlich, über gar nichts Bestimmtes, in eine sprachlose Gerührtheit ausbrach, wobei ihr Gesicht in der Entspannung eine Ähnlichkeit mit vielen anderen, und sehr verschiedenen, Gesichtern bekam – als entdeckte sie in dieser unbestimmten Rührung sich selber.)“ (Handke 2002: 23).

Franziska lebt nach dem Motto der vordefinierten Vorstellungen, statt nach einer authentischen Erfahrung und den Vorstellungen aus persönlicher Überzeugtheit, wie es ihre Erfahrung mit dem Krämerladen belegt (Handke 2002: 33) oder ihre Einstellung zu Kindern, die sie als Last und Bedrohung erlebt.

Im Verhältnis zu anderen Figuren ist in Bezug auf Mariannes Sprache symptomatisch, dass alle nach dem Muster des Vorbestimmten die Gründe für ihre Trennung und ihre neue Zukunft nennen, nur sie selbst nicht. Während die anderen vortäuschen, ihr Leben im Griff zu haben, ist Marianne die einzige Figur, die sich selbst offen gesteht, dass sie auf der Suche nach ihrer wahren Identität herumirrt und ihre Selbstverwirklichung erst zu erkämpfen hat. Die Sprachverlogenheit und Sprachstarre der restlichen Figuren zeigen, wie die Sprache ein mächtiges Instrument dafür wird, ein Schauspiel von Identität für die wahre Identität auszugeben. Dies kommt in zahlreichen Dialogen zum Ausdruck, in denen Marianne im Umgang mit den Gesprächspartnern anders erscheint, da sie auf alle Fragen spontane und ehrliche Antworten bietet. So antwortet sie immer ehrlich auf die Fragen von Bruno, obwohl sie zerstritten sind, sie spielt also nichts vor. Im Gespräch mit dem Verleger beantwortet sie seine eindringlichen Fragen offen und schafft damit eine

unüberbrückbare Kluft zwischen ihrem spontanen menschlichen Umgang und seiner eingespielten Überlegenheit:

Der Verleger: 'Sind sie allein?' Die Frau: 'Das Kind ist bei mir, wie immer. Es schläft.'
Der Verleger: 'Ich bin auch allein. Es ist eine klare Nacht heute. Ich sehe bis zu den Hügeln hinauf, wo sie wohnen.'
Die Frau: 'Ich würde sie gern am hellen Tag sehen.'
Der Verleger: 'Sind sie auch fleißig, Marianne? Oder sitzen sie nur herum, da draußen in der Einöde?' Die Frau: 'Ich bin mit Stefan heute in der Stadt gewesen. Er versteht mich nicht: die Bankhochhäuser, die Tankstellen, die U-Bahnstationen findet er nämlich wunderbar.'
Der Verleger: 'Vielleicht gibt es da wirklich eine neue Schönheit, die wir nur noch nicht sehen können. Ich liebe die Stadt auch. Von der Dachterrasse des Verlagshauses sehe ich bis zum Flughafen hin, wo in der Ferne die Flugzeuge landen und aufsteigen, ohne daß man sie hört. Das gibt ein zartes Bild, das mich im Innersten belebt.'
Und nach einer Pause: 'Und was werden sie jetzt tun?'
Die Frau: 'Mich schön anziehen.'
Der Verleger: 'Also wollen wir uns doch treffen?'
Die Frau: 'Ich werde mich schön anziehen zum Weiterarbeiten. Ich habe plötzlich Lust dazu.'
Der Verleger: 'Nehmen Sie Tabletten?'
Die Frau: 'Manchmal – um wach zu bleiben.' (Handke 2002: 52, 53).

Aus dieser anders gesteuerten Kommunikation ziehen sowohl Bruno als auch der Verleger den Schluss, dass Marianne anders ist (Handke 2002: 14, 38), sind aber nicht in der Lage, dieses Anderssein zu formulieren. Der Verleger, der sich hinter seinem sprachlichen Machtmechanismus versteckt, wird von Marianne immer wieder durchschaut. Sein unmenschlicher Umgang mit dem Fahrer oder dem jungen Mädchen zeigen, wie das Schauspiel von Überlegenheit und Macht dem Menschlichen entgegengestellt wird. Die Erniedrigung von anderen oder die Aggressivität entpuppen sich als eine Ohnmacht des vorgetäuschten Ichs. Ähnlich verhält es sich bei Bruno, der aufgrund von regressiven Angstanfällen Marianne gegenüber aggressiv wird. Dabei geht Marianne im Gegensatz zu anderen Figuren sehr behutsam mit der Sprache um. Während die anderen alles auf den Punkt zu bringen versuchen, wie Bruno, Franziska oder der Verleger, wird bei Marianne deutlich, dass sie jede vordefinierte sprachliche Formulierung a priori ablehnt, und die Autonomie der Persönlichkeit hoch schätzt. Die Persönlichkeit als Phänomen, das durch Sprache nicht zu erfassen ist, kommt in ihrem Dialog mit der Verkäuferin zum Ausdruck:

Die Verkäuferin deutete auf die leere Kasse, und die Frau sagte in dem gleichen leisen Ton, sie würde wegen des Wechselgeldes morgen vorbeikommen. 'Oder besuchen Sie mich. Ja, besuchen Sie mich!'
Sie schrieb schnell ihre Adresse auf. 'Sie sind doch allein mit dem Säugling, nicht wahr? Es tut gut, in einer Boutique einmal jemand andern als ein geschminktes Gespenst zu sehen. Verzeihen Sie, daß ich von Ihnen rede, als dürfte ich das; als könnte ich das.' (Handke 2002: 83, 84).

Das Ich und sein Verhältnis zur Welt bleiben für Marianne keine vorbestimmten Phänomene. Ihre sprachliche Artikulation soll auf authentischen Erlebnissen und Überzeugungen, die sinnlich erfahrbar sind, fußen, und deswegen nicht als selbstverständlich hingenommen werden. Diese Einstellung wird im Fall des schweigenden Schriftstellers noch einmal zugespitzt, der von dem auf eingespielte Kommunikation ausgerichteten Verleger scharf kritisiert wird. Macht und Geld als gesellschaftliche Normen bestimmen auch den Sprachschatz, der keine authentische menschliche Artikulation außerhalb dieses Rahmens duldet. Der Schriftsteller ist gleichzeitig auch Mariannes Vater, der aus demselben Grund – die durch Normen verseuchte Sprache – keine großen Werke mehr schreibt. Die authentische Schöpfung als ein von der Gesellschaft abgetanes anachrones Übel steht im scharfen

Gegensatz zu montierten literarischen Werken, die sich im gesellschaftlich vorbestimmten Sprachduktus erschöpfen.

Marianne besteht auf ihrer Suche nach der eigenen Identität, trotz aller sprachlichen Zergliederungen ihrer Lage. Diese Suche wird immer wieder durch die zitierten Texte reflektiert. Ihre Übersetzungstexte widerspiegeln die eigene Lebenssituation. Das Zitieren des Schulaufsatzes hat die gleiche Funktion, nämlich die Sehnsucht nach einer neuen Welt zu artikulieren. Der Text der Single-Platte, der die Symbolik des Titels aufgreift, reflektiert ihre unerkannte Stellung in der Umgebung, und die Sehnsucht nach einem anderen Raum, wo sich ihre Authentizität offen wahrnehmen ließe. So wird die Schrift zu einem Spiegel und einer Veräußerlichung der Innerlichkeit – eine programmatische Schlussfolgerung, welche die Umsetzung der persönlichen Erfahrung in die Schrift als möglich propagiert.

Das Besondere, das schon im Titel als Linkshändigkeit angedeutet wird, ist ein Leitfaden, der die Autonomie und Einmaligkeit der Figur der Marianne durch die unaussprechbaren inneren Wandlungen zu bewahren versucht.

2. DAS VERHÄLTNIS VON DISKURS UND GESCHICHTE

Das Unaussprechbare und das Geheimnisvolle als Attribute der Innerlichkeit werden durch den Diskurs und den sich daraus ergebenden narrativen Umgang mit der Geschichte bis zum Ende bewahrt. Der Erzähler ist ein distanzierter Betrachter, ein heterodiegetischer Erzähler, der die externe Fokalisierung die ganze Geschichte hindurch beibehält. Durch die Distanz des Erzählers wird erreicht, dass das Innere außerhalb des sprachlich Definierten konsequent bleibt. Er verzichtet auf Erläuterungen und Kommentare, mit wenigen Ausnahmen, wie es die Charakterisierungen der Figur der Franziska und der Figur des Verlegers zeigen. Er lässt die Figuren sprechen, ohne die Gespräche zusätzlich zu begründen. So herrscht der dramatische Modus vor, der die Dialog-Passagen nur festhält. Der Bericht, der als Begleiter der zahlreichen Dialoge auftritt, registriert nur die Handlungen, ohne in das Innere der Figuren vorzudringen. Eine solche Erzählstrategie, wie aus der Äußerung von Peter Handke hervorgeht, war vorgeplante Absicht des Autors:

[...] nach einigen Büchern, in denen das 'Er dachte', 'er fühlte', 'er empfand' viele Sätze eingeleitet hatte, wollte ich eine Prosa ausprobieren, in der das Denken und Fühlen der Figuren nie beschrieben würde: wo also statt: 'Sie hatte Angst'stünde: 'Sie ging', 'sie schaute aus dem Fenster', 'sie legte sich neben das Bett des Kindes' usw. – Und diese Art Beschränkung empfand ich, was meine literarische Arbeit betrifft, als befreiend (zit. nach Thornton 1983: 76).

Durch die bloßen Registrierungen der Gespräche und Handlungen gewinnen die einzelnen Sequenzen an Selbstständigkeit und entziehen sich jeglichem kausalen Zusammenhang. Ein solches narratives Verfahren distanziert diese Erzählung von den vorigen Werken, in denen, obwohl sie mit der Trennung vom Lebenspartner eine thematische Gemeinsamkeit aufweisen, der Erzähler das Innere der Figuren beleuchtet, wie im *Kurzen Brief zum langen Abschied* oder in der *Stunde der wahren Empfindung*. In *Wunschloses Unglück* ist auch eine distanzierte Erzählweise präsent, da man nicht in das Innere der Hauptfigur eindringt. Dies aber wird in dieser Erzählung durch viele Kommentare und Begründungen im Bericht kompensiert. In diesem Sinne ist die *Linkshändige Frau* eine

Zuspitzung der distanzierten Haltung, da sich der Erzähler wie ein Objektiv bewegt, das die äußeren Vorkommnisse lediglich registriert. Bartmann (1984: 220) bezeichnet eine solche Strategie als asketische Außensicht. Durch dieses Verfahren wird die Innerlichkeit der Figur der Marianne bis zum Ende im Geheimnisvollen bewahrt. Ihre wenigen Selbstgespräche, die als Monologe vermittelt werden, registrieren nur die ausgesprochenen Gedanken, ohne sie näher zu kommentieren. Das Geheimnisvolle an der Figur der Marianne wird auch dadurch bewahrt, dass sie, im Gegensatz zu anderen Figuren, vom Erzähler konsequent als „die Frau“ angesprochen wird, was signalisiert, dass sie durch eine namentliche Nennung als bekannt und definiert erscheinen würde. Nicht zuletzt wird dieses geheimnisvolle Element auch durch Gespräche aufrechterhalten. Alle Figuren bieten Begründungen an, während Marianne nichts erklärt und nur die äußeren Tatsachen festhält. Dem Erzähler gelingt es ferner, durch die Beibehaltung der externen Fokalisierung die Handlungen der Frau zu verfolgen. Dadurch werden aber die inneren Wandlungen, wenn auch nicht explizit dargestellt, so doch angedeutet. In der Analyse von Manfred Mixner (1977: 229) wird dieser Punkt zum Ausdruck gebracht:

Der Erzähler weiß nicht, was seine Figuren denken, er hält nur fest, was sie sprechen, was sie erleben (d.h. was ihnen widerfährt), was sie sehen, wie sie sich in bestimmten Situationen verhalten, aber er beschreibt nicht explizit ihre Empfindungen, Gefühle, Gedanken. Diese Distanz ist jedoch nur eine scheinbare. Sieht man den Text genau an, erkennt man, daß die Beschreibung wiederum 'nur' eine Projektion von Bewusstseinszuständen ist, eine Veräußerlichung von extremer Innerlichkeit, erfahrbar gemacht in einem poetischen Akt.

Die innere Verfassung nach der Trennung von Bruno wird beispielsweise durch Tanzen und Hüpfen veranschaulicht:

Die Frau antwortete ohne Boshaftigkeit, eher fürsorglich: 'Für die ersten Tage kannst du sicher zu Franziska ziehen. Ihr Lehrerkollege hat sie gerade verlassen.' Bruno: 'Ich werde es mir beim Kaffee überlegen.' Er ging zum Hotel zurück, und sie verließ den Park. In der langen Allee, die zu der Siedlung hinausführte, machte sie einen Hüpfschritt; fing auf einmal zu laufen an. Zuhause zog sie die Vorhänge auf, schaltete den Plattenspieler an und bewegte sich wie tanzend, bevor noch die Musik einsetzte (Handke 2002: 19).

Ihre Nervosität in der Wohnung wird durch aggressives Verhalten gegenüber dem Kind dargestellt:

Das dasitzende Kind schaute zu, wie sie sich ruckhaft um es herumbewegte. Sie bürstete den Sessel ab, auf dem es saß, und bedeutete ihm stumm, aufzustehen. Kaum aufgestanden wurde es von ihr mit dem Ellbogen weggestoßen, wobei sie schon seinen Sitz säuberte, der gar nicht schmutzig war. Das Kind zog sich ein wenig zurück und blieb still, wo es war. Plötzlich warf sie mit aller Kraft die Bürste nach ihm, traf aber nur ein Glas, das zerbrach. Sie ging mit geballten Fäusten auf das Kind zu, das nur schaute (Handke 2002: 54).

Ihre Ängste widerspiegeln die äußeren Vorkommnisse in der Stadt, die für eine alleinerziehende Mutter als bedrohlich erscheint:

Zwei Burschen gingen ganz nah an ihr vorbei und rülpsten ihr ins Gesicht. Sie gingen in eine öffentliche Toilette am Fluß, wo sie mit dem Kind, das sich nicht allein hineinwagte, in das Männerpissoir mußte. Sie schlossen sich in eine Kabine ein; die Frau machte die Augen zu und lehnte sich mit dem Rücken an die Tür. Über der Trennwand zur Nachbarkabine – die Wand reichte nicht bis zur Decke – erschien plötzlich der Kopf eines Mannes, der nebenan hochsprang; dann noch einmal. Dann zeigte sich das grinsende Gesicht des Mannes zu ihren Füßen, da die Trennungswand auch nicht ganz zum Boden ging. Sie flüchtete mit dem Kind aus der Toilette und rannte weg, stolpernd wegen des kaputten Schuhs [...] (Handke 2002: 50).

An keiner Stelle aber werden diese Zustände aus der Sicht von Marianne begründet oder aus der Sicht des Erzählers kommentiert und beurteilt. So wird die Erzählstrategie, wie in der Analyse von Pompe (2009: 168) verdeutlicht wird, ein „montierendes Zeigen statt vermittelndes Deuten, Aufzählen und Beschreiben, statt Erklären und Erläutern“.

Dass die ganze Geschichte auf Bestandsaufnahmen von zusammenhanglosen einzelnen Sequenzen basiert, beeinflusst ferner auch die Gestaltung der Zeit, da eine lineare Abfolge von selbstständigen Bildern ohne Analepsen und Prolepsen vor sich herschreitet. Winkelmann (1990: 163) erläutert eine solche Zeitstrategie auf folgende Weise: „Wir sehen oder hören nichts von ihren Gedanken, wir erfahren nichts von ihrer Vergangenheit oder ihrer Zukunft: jedes Bild strahlt fast absolute Gegenwärtigkeit aus [...] Es ´geschieht´ kaum etwas, die Zeit tröpfelt, die Dinge nehmen nur langsam ihren (eigenen) Lauf.“

Aus der Gestaltung der Zeit ergeben sich selbstständige zeitliche Sequenzen, in denen in erster Linie eine Deckung zwischen Erzählzeit und erzählter Zeit zu beobachten ist. Die Deckung ergibt sich vor allem aus zahlreichen Dialogen, die der Geschichte eine dramatische Struktur verleihen. In den Berichtspassagen sind außerdem Raffungen und elliptische Stellen präsent. Da es immer wieder zu Schnittsequenzen kommt, sind die Ellipsen eine natürliche Konsequenz einer solchen Verfahrensweise. Die folgende Stelle ist ein Beispiel für diese Zeitstrategie:

Allein, hockte die Frau in der Küche vor dem offenen Fach, in dem der Abfalleimer stand, den nicht leergegessenen Teller des Kindes in der Hand, den Fuß schon auf den Tritt des Eimers gestellt, so daß der Deckel aufstand [...]

In der Nacht, auf dem Rücken im Bett liegend, öffnete die Frau einmal ganz weit die Augen. Völlige Geräuschlosigkeit; sie lief zum Fenster und machte es auf; aber die Stille wich nur einem leisen Geraune. Sie ging ins Zimmer des Kindes, ihre Decke im Arm, und legte sich neben dessen Bett auf den Boden.

An einem folgenden Morgen saß die Frau im Wohnraum tippend vor einer Schreibmaschine (Handke 2002: 26, 27).

Die Übergänge zwischen Schnittsequenzen als elliptische Punkte führen dazu, dass sich daraus ein monotoner Duktus ergibt, der die einzelnen Zeitsequenzen bloß festhält, ohne sie miteinander in Bezug zu setzen. Die parataktischen Sätze, die an solchen Stellen dominieren, verstärken zusätzlich den Eindruck von bloßen Registrierungen der Außenwelt. Einen solchen Umgang mit der Zeit deutet Thornton (1983: 82) als Zerstörung des Zeitkontinuums zwischen einzelnen Satzgliedern. Sie würde die Kontinuität auf Einzelmomente reduzieren.

Die Zeit wird in der Erzählung auch thematisch aufgegriffen. Ein oppositionelles Verhältnis in der Auffassung der Zeit zwischen Marianne und den restlichen Figuren ist eindeutig. Während die anderen Figuren ein Zerfließen der physischen Zeit bei alltäglichen

Tätigkeiten ohne Reflexion als selbstverständlich hinnehmen, besteht Marianne auf einem Innehalten und Durchdenken der Zeit. Sie verinnerlicht die Zeit als eine geistige Größe, indem sie außerhalb der äußerlichen Abläufe eine Kontemplation in der Gegenwart anstrebt. Ein Gegenpol ist beispielsweise der Verleger, der Zeit mit Leistung gleichsetzt und seinen Fahrer skrupellos stundenlang im Auto sitzen lässt. Die Problematik des gesellschaftlich determinierten Umgangs mit der Zeit, die auf ein pures Erleiden der Menschen im physischen Zerfließen reduziert wird, wird am Beispiel der Schule zu einem Höhepunkt gebracht:

Beim Essen erzählte das Kind: 'Es gibt was Neues in der Schule. Unsere Klasse braucht jetzt nur noch vier Minuten, um Mäntel und Schuhe auszuziehen – Pantoffel und Schulkittel anzuziehen. Der Direktor hat heute die Zeit gestoppt, mit einer echten Stoppuhr. Und am Anfang des Schuljahrs waren wir noch bei zehn Minuten! Der Direktor sagte, bis zum Schuljahrsende könnten wir leicht den Rekord auf drei Minuten drücken. Wir wären auch heute schon so schnell gewesen, wenn nicht der dicke Jürgen sich mit den Mantelknöpfen so verheddert hätte. Und dann hat er den ganzen Vormittag geweint [...] Weißt du, wie wir die drei Minuten schaffen werden? Wir fangen gleich im Treppenhaus zu laufen an und ziehen uns schon im Laufen alles aus!' (Handke 2002: 31).

Marianne dagegen besteht auf einer Verinnerlichung der Zeit, in der sie jede Einzelheit durch einen bewussten Kontakt vergegenwärtigen kann, ohne Anspruch auf den physischen Ablauf und die veräußerlichte Leistung. Sie verharrt in einer verinnerlichten Zeit, in welcher jeder Moment aufmerksam durchdacht wird. Aus diesem Grunde erscheinen die einzelnen Sequenzen nach Bartmann als stehende Bilder. Bartmann (1984: 222) notiert dazu: „Durch die Bewegungslosigkeit des Bildes wird die Alltäglichkeit aus der sozialen Zeit herausgehoben und ästhetisch-kontemplativer Zeit übergeben“. Der innere Umgang mit der Zeit wird paradoxerweise durch die Registrierungen des Äußeren veranschaulicht. Dies zeigt aber, wie die Zeichenszene verdeutlicht, dass sich die quantitative und qualitative Zeit nicht ausschließen, sondern in ein produktives Verhältnis umgesetzt werden. Marianne hält inne und zeichnet ihre neue Lebensform, in der jede Einzelheit des Äußeren in ihrem Inneren eine Reflexion verursacht. Signifikant dabei bleibt, dass sich dieser Austausch durch Bilder, nicht aber durch sprachliche Begriffe präsentieren lässt.

3. FILMISCHE ELEMENTE IN *DIE LINKSHÄNDIGE FRAU*

Die linkshändige Frau wurde 1975 zunächst in Form eines Drehbuches verfasst, ein Jahr später jedoch zu einer Erzählung umgearbeitet. Sie wurde 1978 unter Regie von Peter Handke und Produktion von Wim Wenders verfilmt. Die Entstehungsgeschichte verdeutlicht die filmische Struktur, die das Werk aufweist (vgl. <https://handkeonline.onb.ac.at>).

Die Erzählung wird, wie in der Analyse hervorgehoben, aus Dialogen und Berichtspassagen konstruiert. Allein die zahlreichen Dialoge verweisen auf die filmische Struktur. Hinzu kommt, dass viele Berichtspassagen als Regieanweisungen präsentiert werden:

Sie stieg zuerst ins Auto und öffnete ihm die Tür zum Nebensitz. Er blieb noch draußen stehen, schaute vor sich hin. Er schlug sich mit der Faust an die Stirn; hielt sich dann mit den Fingern die Nase zu und blies sich die Luft aus den Ohren, als seien ihm diese von dem langen Flug noch verstopft (Handke 2002: 11).

Ebenso an einer weiteren Stelle: „*Franziska hob ihr leeres Glas zum Mund; machte daran Trinkbewegungen. Sie setzte das Glas ab und schaute zwischen der Frau und dem Kind hin und her, wobei ihr Gesicht allmählich weich wurde*“ (Handke 2002: 23).

Auch die Stimme und die Fokalisierung in der Geschichte sind der filmischen Technik angepasst. Der Erzähler registriert nur die äußeren Vorkommnisse, die Gedanken und Gefühle der Figuren werden dabei ausgespart. Diese „objektive“ Art der Vermittlung von Wirklichkeit ähnelt einem camera-eye. Die externe Sicht entspricht der filmischen Technik.

Da die kausalen Zusammenhänge ausgefallen sind, wird der Leser mit selbstständig „stehenden Bildern“ (Bartmann 1984: 219) konfrontiert. So wechseln die Bilder, indem sie sich handlungsarm beispielsweise in der Wohnung, im Büro oder anderswo abspielen. Durzak (1982: 139) bezeichnet die einzelnen Sequenzen als „stationäre Situationen“. In Bezug auf diese Bilderfolge verweist Bleicher (1982: 124) auf die mediale Vermittlung des Lebens. Er bezeichnet *Die linkshändige Frau* als einen neuen Literaturtyp, nämlich als filmische Literatur. Außer der Bilderfolge zählt er weitere Textkonstituenten für die neue Gattung auf, wie die Reduktion des Sprechens, die Kraft des Imaginierten oder den Realitätsrekurs.

Die für die filmische Technik typischen parallelen Szenen kommen auch in der Erzählung vor:

Die Verkäuferin löste sich vom Verleger und beugte sich herab, um mitzuwürfeln [...] Der Verleger und Franziska, ihre gefüllten Gläser in der Hand, gingen im Kreis umeinander herum. Bruno schnitt dem Kind im Badezimmer die Fußnägel. Der Verleger und Franziska gingen im Flur lächelnd langsam aneinander vorbei. Bruno stand neben dem Kind, das im Bett lag (Handke 2002: 89, 90).

Die oft vorkommenden Schnittsequenzen, durch Ellipse und Raffung gekennzeichnet, ähneln filmischen Schnitten. Durzak (1982: 140) bezeichnet diese Stellen als Montage von einzelnen Textblöcken. Sie trennen die einzelnen Bilder und rafften dabei die erzählte Zeit, wobei die Übergänge als elliptische Punkte immer wieder die Handlung unterbrechen. Die filmischen Elemente in der Erzählung behandelte auch Pompe (2009: 166, 167) in ihrer Monografie, in der sie auf die Bedeutung der Zeit verweist, deren Gestaltung filmische Merkmale aufweist:

Im Vordergrund des diskursstrukturell bedeutsamen Elements der *Zeitgestaltung* steht dagegen das Verhältnis von Erzählzeit und erzählter Zeit, wobei neben der filmtypischen Form des zeitdeckenden Erzählens und des elliptischen Übergangs zwischen einzelnen Szenen nicht nur die technischen Tricks der Zeitlupe und des Zeitruffers realisiert werden, sondern auch die Erscheinung der filmspezifischen Rückblende [...] Wird der verlangsamte Zeitfluss hier wie dort durch die Konzentration auf belanglose aktionsarme Augenblicke hervorgerufen, manifestiert sich das zeitraffende Erzählen in Aussparungen oder Zeitsprüngen, die die Erzählzeit gegenüber der erzählten Zeit verkürzen und aufeinander folgende Momentaufnahmen trennen, Filmschnitte mithin nachahmen.

Die linkshändige Frau lässt sich somit als eine Erzählung lesen, die sich durch Anpassung der Zeit, des Modus und der Erzählinstanz den filmischen Techniken angenähert hat. Die Überschneidung und Annäherung von verschiedenen Medien machte es möglich, sie als „einen neuen Literaturtyp“ (Bleicher 1982: 124) auch verfilmen zu können.

4. SCHLUSSFOLGERUNG

Die linkshändige Frau nimmt mit ihren spezifischen Erzählverfahren eine Sonderstellung im Gesamtwerk des Autors ein. Sie verweist auf drei wichtige Aspekte in Handkes Leben und literarischem Schaffen.

Der erste Aspekt enthüllt Handkes Vorliebe für das Medium Film. Anfang der 1960er-Jahre, während seiner Studienzeit, war Handke ein begeisterter Kinogeher. Um der Enge und Kälte seiner schmalen Studentenstube zu entkommen, hat er das Kino sogar mehrmals am Tag besucht. Wie Handkes Biograf Malte Herwig (vgl. Herwig 2010: 113) festhält, hat Handke seinen eigenen Aussagen nach jeden Vorgang im Kino klarer und deutlicher erlebt. Stundenlang beobachtete er verschiedene Filmtechniken, studierte Filmsequenzen und Regiearbeit. In dieser Zeit der Begeisterung fürs Kino liegen die Ursprünge für die spätere Filmarbeit. Seinen ersten zehnminütigen Film *Drei amerikanische LPs* drehte er 1969 mit Wim Wenders, mit dem ihn eine langjährige Zusammenarbeit und Freundschaft verband. 1971 schrieb Handke sein Drehbuch *Chronik der laufenden Ereignisse*, 1972 folgte die Verfilmung der Erzählung *Die Angst des Tormanns beim Elfmeter*. Das Drehbuch für diesen Film schrieb Handke mit Wim Wenders, der Regie führte. Die Erzählung *Wunschloses Unglück* erschien 1974 als Film. 1975 folgte das Drehbuch *Falsche Bewegung* (1975 verfilmt) und ein Jahr danach *Die linkshändige Frau*, in ihrer ersten Fassung auch als Drehbuch konzipiert. *Die linkshändige Frau* wurde 1977 unter Handkes Regie und mit Edith Clever in der Rolle der Marianne verfilmt. Die Uraufführung fand 1978 in Cannes beim *Film Festival Cannes* statt. 1978 wurde auch die Erzählung *Ein kurzer Brief zum langen Abschied* verfilmt. Die 1970er-Jahre zeigen sich somit als sehr fruchtbare Jahre im Kontext einer intensiven Auseinandersetzung mit der Filmarbeit. Die Erfahrung aus den 1970er-Jahren war prägend für Handkes spätere Film- und Regiearbeit, so zum Beispiel für *Das Mal des Todes* (1986), der Film, für den Handke das Drehbuch verfasste und Regie führte, Wim Wenders erfolgreicher Film *Der Himmel über Berlin* (1987), für den Handke Teile des Drehbuches schrieb, oder das 2016 verfilmte Stück *Die schönen Tage von Aranjuez*.

Der zweite Aspekt bezieht sich auf Handkes programmatische Vorsätze, die seine spätere Poetik wesentlich bestimmt haben. Handkes anfängliche Position in den 1960er-Jahren fußt auf der Ablehnung von fiktiven Geschichten und verbrauchten Schreibmanieren, mittels deren das Fiktive entworfen wird. Diese Position brachte er in seinem programmatischen Essay *Ich bin ein Bewohner des Elfenbeinturms* (Handke 1972: 23) deutlich zum Ausdruck. Er besteht auf der Vermittlung von authentischen Erfahrungen und versucht in den 1960er-Jahren zu passenden Erzählmodellen zu finden, die eine solche wirklichkeitsgetreue Geschichte abbilden könnten. Am Anfang der 1970er-Jahre ist eine Wende in Handkes Poetik zu beobachten. Er entfernt sich von der bloßen Dekonstruktion der formellen Erzählformen und präsentiert dem Leser autobiografische Geschichten, die durch einen neugewonnenen narrativen Umgang erzählt werden. Die Werke aus den 1970er-Jahren sind in diesem Kontext ausnahmslos autobiografisch gefärbt, so auch *Die linkshändige Frau*, die diese Phase abschließt. Der autobiografische Hintergrund basiert in den 1970er-Jahren auf einer wesentlichen Einsicht, die literarisch verarbeitet wird – die Trennung des Individuums von dem ihm auferlegten Rollenmechanismus ist die Voraussetzung für die Suche nach der eigenen Identität. Die Trennung ist durch zwei thematische Fäden zu verfolgen: den Ehebruch und die Trennung von der Kindheit. Sowohl die Erzählung *Der kurze Brief zum langen Abschied* (1972) als auch die Werke *Die Stunde der wahren Empfindung* (1975) und *Die linkshändige Frau* (1976) folgen diesem Schema.

Die Erzählung *Wunschloses Unglück* (1972) ist die Kehrseite dieses thematischen Fokus, die belegt, dass die Unfähigkeit, sich von dem vorbestimmten Rollenleben zu trennen, zu einer fatalen Vernichtung des Individuums führe (vgl. Krstanović 2020: 89). Lebensgeschichtlich betrachtet sind die 1970er-Jahre für Handke die Jahre der großen Versuchungen. Er trennt sich Anfang der 1970er-Jahre von seiner Ehefrau, der Schauspielerin Libgart Schwarz, seine Mutter Maria begeht nach jahrelangen Depressionen 1971 Selbstmord und er setzt sich mit der Vaterrolle auseinander, nachdem er mit der Betreuung seiner Tochter Amina (1969 geboren) auf sich allein gestellt war. Die Erzählung *Wunschloses Unglück* thematisiert das Leben seiner Mutter Maria, ihre Ehe mit Handkes Stiefvater Bruno und fatale gesellschaftliche Zwangsmechanismen, die zur Vernichtung des Frauenlebens führen. Diese Geschichte wird in *Die linkshändige Frau* in eine positive umgewandelt – Marianne trennt sich von ihrem Ehemann Bruno und es gelingt ihr, ihr Leben selbstständig weiterzuführen. Nicht zuletzt tragen auch die Namen Marianne und Bruno eine symbolische Bedeutung.

Die Suche nach der eigenen Identität bzw. die Selbstentwicklung, die auf einem authentischen Bezug zur Welt fußt, wird in den 1970er-Jahren mit der *Linkshändigen Frau* abschließend apostrophiert und bleibt prägend auch für Handkes spätere Werke.

So entfaltet sich dieses autobiografische Moment zu einem andauernden Thema, das durch die Anpassung von Erzählstrategien eine philosophisch-ästhetische Universalisierung erfährt. Die Ansätze dieses dritten Aspekts, nämlich dass Handke durch die Universalisierung des Autobiografischen eine grundsätzliche und maßgebliche poetologische Position in Bezug auf das Authentische bezieht, sind in den 1970er-Jahren, und somit auch in der angewandten Erzählstrategie in *Die linkshändige Frau*, erkennbar.

Der thematische Fokus, der um die Selbstentwicklung kreist, deutet auf die Verlegung der Handlung auf die Bewusstseinszustände hin. Die neugewonnenen Lebenseinsichten werden durch die Öffnung der Sinne und eine aufmerksame Wahrnehmung im Hier und Jetzt erlangt und sind sprachlich annähernd artikulierbar. Dabei wird auf jegliche Psychologisierung verzichtet. Die Auslassung von Erläuterungen, Kommentaren und essayistischen Passagen unterstreicht noch einmal die Unantastbarkeit der Individualität. Eine authentische Positionierung in der Welt, so wie sie in der *Linkshändigen Frau* entfaltet wird, ist ferner mit der Wahrnehmung der Zeit und des Raumes eng verknüpft. Ein anderer Raum und eine andere Zeit werden als qualitative Größen erfasst, sie werden verinnerlicht und sie bedeuten, innezuhalten und aufmerksam gegenüber der Umwelt zu werden. Schließlich wird die Selbstentwicklung als ein andauernder Prozess markiert, was durch das offene Ende der Geschichte signalisiert wird.

Diese sowohl in der *Linkshändigen Frau* als auch in anderen Erzählungen aus den 1970er-Jahren fest verankerten Lebens- und Erzählpositionen werden in Handkes späteren Werken stets präsent gehalten, sie werden zugleich variiert und universalisiert. In der nach der *Linkshändigen Frau* folgenden Tetralogie wird Sorger in der Erzählung *Langsame Heimkehr* eine neue Bewusstseinsperspektive entwickeln, die die chronologische Zeit abwirft, und vor den aufmerksamen Wahrnehmungen der ursprünglichen Natur in einer ewigen Gegenwart eine neue Positionierung des Ichs gewinnen. Die Rolle der Natur als Vorbild und das Ermahnende wird von diesem Werk an immer deutlicher. In der *Kindergeschichte* wird ein kreatives, an der Natur orientiertes Tätigsein noch einmal unterstrichen. Die Figur des Erwachsenen findet in dieser Erzählung zugleich eine Balance zwischen Ich und Welt. Eine solche Positionierung, die auch in der *Linkshändigen Frau* apostrophiert wird, verweist darauf, dass der Prozess der Selbstentwicklung als ein Prozess innerhalb des sozialen Umfelds

begriffen wird, der nicht die Lösung oder gar Entfremdung von der Umwelt anstrebt, sondern die Behauptung der neugewonnenen Lebensform in der dargegebenen Umwelt. Die neugewonnenen Einsichten treiben die Selbstentwicklung voran und sie werden durch eine ästhetische Form artikuliert. Die Selbstgespräche in der *Linkshändigen Frau* sind in diesem Sinne als Vorwegnahme einer ästhetisch geformten Sprache zu erfassen, die die Veräußerlichung der wesentlichen Erkenntnisse als das ästhetisch Umformte artikuliert. Die Erzählung *Die Lehre der Sainte-Victoire* stellt gerade diese ästhetische Form in den thematischen Fokus, bzw. wird die erzählende Vermittlung von Lebenseinsichten als ein Schlüsselerlebnis apostrophiert.

Durch die Verlegung der Handlung in die Bewusstseinsvorgänge behalten Handkes Werke, so die Tetralogie, *Der Chinese des Schmerzes*, *Der Bildverlust*, *Die Morawische Nacht* oder *Die Obstdiebin*, um nur einige zu nennen, eine statische Struktur. Die Handlung wird als chronologischer Ablauf von Bewusstseinszuständen präsentiert, die sich in episodenhaften reflexiven Stillständen entfalten und auf der Ebene des Diskurses eine extreme Dehnung der Erzählzeit verursachen. Handkes Protagonisten sind immer in einem Selbstentwicklungsprozess begriffen. In der *Langsamen Heimkehr* ist dies der Protagonist Sorger, in *Der Chinese des Schmerzes* Loser, in *Mein Jahr in der Niemandsbucht* bemüht sich der Ich-Erzähler, ein Schriftsteller, um seine authentische Positionierung in der Welt, in *Der Bildverlust* spielt diese Rolle die Bankfrau, in *Die Obstdiebin* die junge Tochter, die die Trennung vom Elternhaus initiiert, um einem Selbstentwicklungsprozess zu verfallen, usf. Alle Protagonisten sind auf der Suche nach der wahren Identität und die Progression der Geschichte basiert auf der Entwicklung ihrer Bewusstseinsvorgänge. Diese wird durch eine konzentrierte aufmerksame Wahrnehmung und Sinnesöffnung erreicht. Trotz der Statik der äußeren Handlung zeigen sich die Protagonisten als dynamische Figuren, die entwicklungsfähig sind. Sie führen parallele Existenzen, befreit von den Zwangsmechanismen der Gesellschaft. Ihre Suche nach der wahren Identität und deren Bewahrung wird dadurch ergänzt, dass sie auch eine Balance zwischen Ich und Welt zu erhalten versuchen. Dieser Umgang mit der Umwelt wird allmählich zu einem spontanen und flexiblen Wechselbezug zwischen der Welt und dem Ich, das der Leserschaft als autobiografisches Ich stets die ursprünglichen Naturformen als archaischen, aber authentischen und wahren Wegweiser präsentiert. Durch eine solche Erzählstrategie, die sich im ganzen Opus bewahrt hat, vermittelt Handke die Botschaft einer anderen potenziellen Möglichkeit des Daseins, das auf Freiheit, Traum, Einbildungskraft, Bewusstseinsöffnung und Authentizität fußt. Er will dem Leser „eine noch nicht gedachte, noch nicht bewußte Möglichkeit der Wirklichkeit bewußt“ (Handke 1972: 19) machen.

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INTERNET-QUELLE

<https://handkeonline.onb.ac.at>

PRIPOVIJEDNI POSTUPCI U LJEVORUKOJ ŽENI

Pripovijetka Petera Handkea Ljevoruka žena objavljena je 1976. godine. U radu su analizirani narativni postupci u djelu. U središtu analize je tematski fokus napuštanja partnera kao inicijalnog momenta oslobađanja od društveno normiranog života i potrage za vlastitim identitetom, čime završava tematski kompleks 70-ih godina. Potom, u radu se analizira i specifičnost diskursa u odnosu na primijenjene filmske tehnike. U okviru cjelokupnog književnog opusa pisca Ljevoruka žena zauzima zasebno mjesto po svojoj filmskoj strukturi. Handke se 60-ih godina intenzivno zanima za film, proučava primijenjene tehnike i režiju, te 70-ih godina piše scenarije i snima prve filmove. Ljevoruka žena je prvobitno napisana u formi scenarija a ekranizovana je 1978. godine. Filmska iskustva iz prve dvije decenije umjetničkog stasavanja Petera Handkea pokazuju interesovanje pisca za medij filma i biće od presudnog značaja za njegove kasnije filmske projekte. Drugo, Ljevoruka žena kao posljednja u nizu pripovijedaka iz 70-ih godina sa istom tematskom strukturom, potvrđuje programsko načelo da su samo autentična iskustva vrijedna literarne obrade, što istovremeno isključuje fikciju. Literarizacija autentičnog obilježice nadalje cjelokupni opus pisca. Konačno, programskim utemeljenjem autentičnog kao ključne komponente književnog djela, ova pripovijetka kao dio ciklusa iz 70-ih godina otvoriće put ka filozofsko-estetskoj univerzalizaciji autobiografskog u Handkeovim kasnijim djelima.

Ključne riječi: *naracija, Peter Handke, pripovijetka, film, sinkretizam, intermedijalnost.*

BECOMING THE POSTHUMAN: THE DESTABILISATION OF THE SUBJECT IN THOMAS GLAVINIC'S *NIGHT WORK*

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Abstract. *The paper provides an insight into the destabilisation of the subject and the emergence of the posthuman condition in the novel Night Work (Die Arbeit der Nacht, 2006) by Austrian writer Thomas Glavinic. The first part briefly discusses previous analyses of the novel and the definitions of posthumanism as an umbrella term for a heterogeneous theory dedicated to the questions of what follows after the re-consideration of the humanist ideals and after decentring the human. The posthuman is interpreted as non-fixed, in the state of constant reconstruction as opposed to the humanist subject's fixedness and integrity. The analysis examines the 'uncanny' setting of the novel and the power of survival in the face of death, which becomes the protagonist's point of demise and divergence from consciousness and rationality. The urban environment devoid of all organic life replaces the Other applied traditionally to other humans. The Sleeper as the nightly doppelgänger and the filming of the environment further add to the transgression of the boundaries between material and immaterial, the living and the non-living, the real and the dreamlike/artificial, and ultimately determine the protagonist's posthuman existence in the state of 'becoming' rather than 'being'.*

Key words: *Austrian literature, horror, the uncanny, posthumanism, subjectivity, Thomas Glavinic*

1. INTRODUCTION

Within recent scientific and popular discussions about the Anthropocene, a term popularized by the Dutch chemist Paul J. Crutzen, both new and old strands of thought which oppose the humanist and anthropocentric tradition have been brought to attention. The Anthropocene refers to the age in which human impact on the environment has reached a point that it threatens to destroy both the environment and humans themselves (cf. Pearce 2007, 44). Haraway (2016b, 35) argues that the times of Anthropocene are “the times of

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multispecies, including human, urgency: [...] of unprecedented looking away”. The discussions are consequently marked by an equally strong sense of urgency and willingness to re-examine the perspectives taken on the position of the rational subject and its dynamic relationship to the organic and non-organic environment alike. The humanist tradition and the techno-scientific progress have significantly influenced the shaping of humans, who have been deemed the measure of all things, as well as the shaping of the natural world. The starting point of the new posthumanist theoretical stances is the idea that a postanthropocentric worldview and the decentring have become a necessity, in addition to a re-examination of the prospects of our future in light of numerous crises caused by humans. Haraway (1997, 44) asserts that our current time “churns out expectations of nuclear catastrophe, global economic collapse, planetary pandemics, ecosystem destruction, the end of nurturing families, private ownership of the commons of the human genome, and many other kinds of silent springs”. The crisis, therefore, belongs to one of the key discourses of the late 20th and early 21st century and is found in contemporary art and literature, which represent the current state of affairs, and participate in the formation of public opinion. Hayles (1999, 21), for instance, points out that literary texts are not merely “passive conduits. They actively shape what the technologies mean and what the scientific theories signify in cultural contexts” and in the context of crisis, they often stand for the idea that “stability is a desirable social goal”.

It is precisely in the literary visions of posthuman future that one often finds the destabilisation of the existing relations and the birth of new kinds of hybridity and/or forms of life, based on the deconstruction of the long-established dichotomies. The novel *Night Work* by Austrian writer Thomas Glavinic presents a vivid episode in the life of its protagonist Jonas and the disintegration of his personality in contemporary Vienna. This city has mysteriously become desolate and has inexplicably transformed itself into a place inhabited by a sole survivor of an unknown catastrophic event. The causes of the extinction of all life have remained unclear. It is unknown whether it is all indeed a reality or just a dream, a hallucination, or maybe even life after death. Previous studies have investigated this aspect of the novel. Landau (2016) points out that there are multiple ways to interpret Jonas’ situation. For instance, it could be understood as a) a nightmare or a dream, especially owing to a frequent motif of falling; b) madness, ascribed to numerous pills, lack of sleep, and the protagonist’s paranoia; c) a drug-induced hallucination; or d) as being in or in front of the entrance to Hell after dying.

Whatever the circumstances of the eradication of all organic life and the formation of the posthuman world in the novel may be, Jonas spends his time keenly exploring and desperately mapping its empty spaces in the time without/after humans. At the same time, he is seeking closure for his deeply personal relationships which failed and the solution to the issues of his crumbling sense of identity and to the horror of everyday life with no one else beside him in the Viennese post-apocalyptic world. Because of common, anthropocentric endeavours, not only does the surrounding world change, but the (last) human himself suffers from a disintegrative process as well, which ultimately threatens to transform the characteristics which make him human.

Night Work was first published in 2006, and although it is relatively new, it has already been the subject of several studies. The studies follow a variety of approaches. They have taken into account Jonas’ sense of time and reality, loneliness, and isolation, but have also devoted attention to the aspects of the novel similar to dystopias and the robinsonade. Boeckl (2015, 126–127) defines *Night Work* as a “secular apocalyptic narrative” and a

“modern robinsonade”, which takes place in Vienna, instead of emphasising the relationship between the natural and cultural space. It elevates the idea of survival to a level of cosmic solitude and the search for its meaning. Stoiser (2013, 17) argues that the postapocalyptic setting of the novel implies giving new structure to the world; it imagines the formation of different kinds of existence and order, but not necessarily the end of the world itself. She compares the text to other similar literary works of the German-speaking world, in order to show which aspects of *Night Work* established the connection to the previous tradition and/or deviated from it (Stoiser 2013, 19–25). The texts she compares Glavinic’s *Night Work* to include *Black Mirrors* (*Schwarze Spiegel*, 1951) by Arno Schmidt, *The Wall* (*Die Wand*, 1963) by Marlen Haushofer, *Grand Solo for Anton* (*Großes Solo für Anton*, 1976) by Herbert Rosendorfer, and *World Under* (*Welt unter*, 2002) by Yorck Kronenberg. Glavinic’s novel is not unique in terms of its primary plot idea, as it builds on the existing tradition of writing about existential fears and solitude as an “anthropological diagnosis”, despite which one must still seek answers (Bartl 2014, 14, as cited in Standke 2014, 21). Based on these previous interpretations of the novel *Night Work* and the contemporary theories of the posthuman, we examine the disintegration of the wholeness of a rational subject in the context of re-structuring the world. Our aim is to show that the “cracks” in the human, represented by Jonas in the novel, result in a development which starts from the postmodern fragmentation of the subject and goes towards the emergence of a posthuman identity.

2. DEFINING THE POSTHUMAN

The fact that there is a range of different theoretical positions taken by contemporary posthumanist thinkers makes it difficult for one to form a single definition of this term. However, although the theory is heterogeneous, it is noticeable that posthumanist thought has definitely been gaining importance in recent years¹. Throughout the phases of its development, several key terms have been emphasised, from Donna Haraway’s cyborg, prostheses and body upgrades, cognitive turn, and artificial intelligence, all the way to biopolitics, new materialisms, and ecocriticism (cf. Herbrechter 2016b, 62). As an interdisciplinary school of thought and an umbrella term, posthumanism generally implies the liberation from the chains of humanism by its re-interpretation (cf. Herbrechter 2016a, 13) and the re-examination of human central position in relation to the non-human. It is possible to describe it as a philosophical thinking about the future after humanity, both chronologically and figuratively, in terms of what comes after the dominance of humanism and anthropocentrism. The theoreticians of posthumanism ask the question about the future of the new species of humans or of a world in which the humans have been overcome or gone extinct, but most importantly, they highlight the discussion about “what has been omitted from an anthropocentric worldview” (Miah 2008, 77). While transhumanism, sometimes used as a partial synonym, builds its premises around the faith in progress and the possibilities of upgrading the human being, posthumanism nurtures a more sceptical attitude. It often warns of the dangers of irresponsible treatment of technology and environment and aims to discard “the dogma of human exceptionalism – an exceptionalism

¹ Stefan Herbrechter has analysed the number of search results in the central database of MLA for the term *posthuman** and has concluded that until 1990s there were merely five results, but since 2010 already over 700 (cf. Herbrechter 2016b, 61).

which is connected to various forms of mastery, including of gender, species, and matters” (Iovino 2016, 13).

In her study *How we became posthuman*, Hayles (1999, 3) defines the posthuman “as an amalgam, a collection of heterogeneous components, a material-informational entity whose boundaries undergo continuous construction and reconstruction”. She indicates that there is a tendency to give privilege to information rather than the material and to attempt to overcome the human nature – from the natural acts of birth and dying to the embodiment. Whereas the human(ist) subject is a fixed and clearly defined entity, the posthuman one is “decentred, ontologically confusing and in a state of transition” (Campbell and Saren 2010, 162). The posthuman condition is therefore to be interpreted as a “post-subject” position, which relies upon the transgression of the gap between the human and the non-human Other. The human has come to be interpreted as a bio-historical construct (Brajdoti 2016, 52–53) and the non-human Other is not only the Other in the human sense of a different class, race, or gender, but also “someone or something of a different species and organic status” (Domanska 2010, 124).

The connection between the posthumanist position and science fiction is particularly prominent, since, similar to satire, posthumanist narratives and art analyse contemporary issues in society, dislocating them both temporally and spatially. Therefore, it is not necessarily a visionary prophesying of the future, but a reaction to current events. The transgression of the boundaries between animal and human, animal-human and machine, and organic and non-organic, which was highlighted by Haraway (cf. 2016a) in *A Cyborg Manifesto*, had long been a matter of fantasy, but is nothing unusual in contemporary, real-life scientific discourse. The human wholeness falls apart in such an ‘uncanny’ reality, so the literary representations of the posthuman contain elements of horror as well, as “posthumanism is not concerned simply with the ‘future human’, but with deconstructing the human as an ancient concept” (Campbell and Saren 2010, 159). The novel *Night Work* contains the elements of both science fiction and horror. The theme of the last man on Earth is one of science fiction conventions, as it could depict a certain moment in the future or an alternate reality. Yet, at the same time, it is dominated by the atmosphere of terror, the primal fear of change and death and the destruction of human unity.

3. THE DESTABILISATION OF THE HUMAN SUBJECT

The introduction to the novel’s setting occurs through the protagonist’s awakening in an already familiar environment. At first, he remains unaware that it has become desolate and sends text messages to his love interest Marie (cf. Glavinic 2008, 1). The first pages of the novel already make it possible to detect Freud’s ‘uncanny’, defined as “that class of the terrifying which leads back to something long known to us, once very familiar” (Freud 2004, 76). Freud developed this concept by analysing the classic Romantic novella *The Sandman* by E. T. A. Hoffmann, to which there are numerous references in *Night Work*. They depict the alienation and irrationalism of the protagonist which stem from the seemingly known. The space that Jonas inhabits is familiar and remains so throughout the whole plot of the novel; yet, one extraordinary detail such as the disappearance of all other life makes it terrifying. In a similar way, clarifying the term ‘unheimlich’, that is, ‘uncanny’, Freud (2004, 79) points out its double nature. On the one hand, it is something “familiar and congenial” and, on the other hand, “concealed and kept out of sight”.

Similarly, Vienna, where Jonas awakes, consists both of the usually observed streets, buildings, apartments, and famous sights and of the hidden nature of its existence *beyond* the existence of life itself. Jonas notices several times that it is not only humans who have disappeared, but the animals as well: "Something suddenly struck him: there wasn't even a bird to be seen" (Glavinic 2008, 5). Later, while wandering, he attempts again to determine, whether he is indeed alone: "He checked all the rooms. Not a living soul. No dog, no canary, not even a fly" (Glavinic 2008, 25). It turns out that he is not merely the last living member of his species, but that he also represents the last living being on Earth. Therefore, he ends up exploring the remnants of civilization.

In such a scenario, he could have felt like a powerful subject in the face of death of all other life, which he somehow managed to withstand; however, he slowly develops into the exact opposite. Canetti (1981, 227), in his study *Crowds and Power (Masse und Macht, 1960)*, examined the birth of power in the moment of an individual's meeting with death: "Horror at the sight of death turns into satisfaction that it is someone else who is dead. The dead man lies on the ground while the survivor stands". In a similar fashion, Jonas is at first depicted as powerful, demonstrated by his reveries about victory and survival: "Jonas had always wanted to brave some public peril. To win the laurels of one who had undergone some great ordeal. To be a survivor. To be a member of the elect. Now he was" (Glavinic 2008, 87). His wishes have come true mysteriously, but being the ultimate winner in a world without people is not much of a victory if there is no one there to observe it. He slowly begins to doubt if his thoughts and behaviour are at all the result of his own work, wishes, and free will. Namely, he starts to question the rationality of the last living representative of the thinking subject. Jonas asks himself the question: "What had impelled him to come up here? The view? Memories of Marie? Or hadn't he come of his own free will at all? Was he like a hamster on a treadmill? Were his actions determined by someone else?" (Glavinic 2008, 57). Yet, these questions seem outside the reality, in which there seems to be no other being who could influence or determine his actions.

Because of his rising doubts, Jonas eventually embarks on a mission consciously to leave traces of his existence behind, even though it seems more than obvious that it is a futile endeavour. The fears that haunt him can ultimately be traced to the state of being upset about one's own psyche (cf. Landau 2016). Jonas' psyche is falling apart and he attempts to leave "signs/traces as semiotically relevant damage" to houses and objects (Müller-Funk, 2011, 189, as cited in Krämer 2015, 56). These signs and marks represent the ultimate attempt to preserve his central position in the context of his surroundings: "Anxious to leave traces of his presence behind, he loaded a handcart with props and trundled them onto the stage of the Burgtheater" (Glavinic 2008, 50). Leaving traces behind is not an act of power; it is precisely an act of powerlessness and of the fear of the inevitable disappearance of Jonas himself as the last actor on the stage of human history. Jonas' existence can no longer be qualified as being, but rather as becoming – becoming unstable and becoming the last subject in the world in which the Other has turned into the ruins of a former civilisation. Müller-Funk (2010, 25, as cited in Stobbe 2016, 157) writes that Glavinic's novel evidently misses the Other, so that the places where one usually accesses the open are being closed and their boundaries lost. The Other consists of the non-organic world, with which Jonas is confronted, as the unique remnant of the organic life and the last instance of an anthropocentric perspective. This perspective fades despite his mapping the space of the previous order of things, and the boundaries indeed become unclear. Jonas observes the world and, unlike before when his view was distanced, now it is precise.

Krämer (2015, 54) interprets this as a demonstration of insecurity. His precise look emphasises the gap between the last subject and the world which does not care, whose existence remains permanent in spite of centuries of anthropocentrism. In the same way that the human subject became the central part of research in the 18th century, it can as easily disappear (cf. Foucault 1974, 462) and its position reveals itself as fragile and not particularly powerful in the higher order of existence.

The disintegration of the rational subject is followed by a changed relationship to one's own body. The dualism of mind and embodiment as well as the privilege given to the intellectual aspect of one's existence are deconstructed and lost in a renewed interest and discovery of the body. After cutting himself with a knife, Jonas discovers the materiality of his body and ponders:

He'd lived with this finger for thirty-five years without ever knowing what it looked like inside. He had no idea what his heart looked like, or his spleen. Not that he'd have been particularly interested in their appearance, far from it. But this bare bone was unquestionably a part of him. A part he'd never seen until now. (Glavinic 2008, 2)

The inner parts of his body, which he had never actually considered before, become a focus of his attention as the boundaries of the subject's cognizance and integrity become blurred. Moreover, this moment foreshadows the inevitably tragic outcome of Jonas' existence in a posthuman world. Instead of enjoying the power of survival bestowed upon him, it merely ends up prolonging his everlasting anxiety, and ultimately challenges his very existence as his physical and conscious self confronts a technologically mediated one.

4. THE EMERGENCE OF THE POSTHUMAN SUBJECT: DEATH, TECHNOLOGY, AND METAMORPHOSIS

The atmosphere of being trapped develops into a feeling of being haunted by a nightly doppelgänger. One morning, Jonas finds an image "tucked between the bread bin and the coffee grinder. It showed him asleep" (Glavinic 2008, 62). The Sleeper haunts him and at the same time, as his uncontrollable doppelgänger, intrigues him, although he is aware that it is, in fact, the same person. The dialogue of "self and the double" has come to represent in contemporary fiction "a desire to be reunited with a lost centre of personality" and it determines "the situation of the self in relation to the dominant notion of 'reality' and 'human identity'" (Živković 2000, 120; 124). Freud (2004, 86) spoke of the doppelgänger as of an insurance against the destruction of identity, the denial of the power of death and the fight against extermination. The Sleeper is known to the self, yet he is also out of its control and thus appalling, as he points to the state in which one's self has paradoxically become the Other in relation to itself. Jonas has fear of death and of the things that precede him. His identity does not crumble in the sense that it entirely ceases to exist as human. He is rather an example of a haunted subject, "haunted by what comes after it just as much as by what comes 'before' it, [it] can never be fully present to itself. It always has someone or something else, an other, coming after it, in the punned senses in that phrase of succession and pursuit" (Callus & Herbrechter 2012, 246; cf. Derrida 2008). Jonas' existence is caught in an empty space between the past and the future and it shows an interposition, a hybridisation of existence within blurred boundaries. According to Kristeva (1982, 3), the horror and abjection arise in the process of facing as well as distancing one's self from its

surroundings, but especially in the contact with death: "There, I am at the border of my condition as a living being. My body extricates itself, as being alive, from that border" and "it is thus not lack of cleanliness or health that causes abjection but what disturbs identity, system, order. What does not respect borders, positions, rules. The in-between, the ambiguous, the composite" (Kristeva 1982, 4).

Jonas is the ambiguous one, whereas the primal fear of death awaits and observes him from the other side of the camera: "The Sleeper was sitting there like a dead man. Little by little, as if in slow motion, he raised his right arm. Extended his forefinger. Pointed at the camera. Froze" (Glavinic 2008, 160). This flirtation with death beyond his power of control, which is part of what he calls the "night work", is what Jonas finds the most disturbing. The Sleeper takes a knife and threatens to transgress the line between the living and the non-living: "The only thing Jonas didn't care for was the way he brandished the knife near his throat. Having nodded as though in confirmation of something, the Sleeper moved out of shot" (Glavinic 2008, 227). Using video recordings, the Sleeper provides signals showing the loss of boundaries between different aspects of the psyche, but also of new forms of organic and non-organic existence.

The loss of identity in the context of the dehumanized environment, with no living beings other than the one increasingly interpreted through the medium of technology, reveals both the conditions of existence in contemporary society and the abysses of the postmodern subject (cf. Standke 2014, 21). As an outcome of the development of technoscience, the blurred boundaries between the technological and the human, the living and the non-living, the natural and the artificial, the 'born' and the 'made', destabilise the traditional concept of interdependence and conditionality of body and mind as the fundamental bases of identity (Živković 2012, 36). The human memory, in this case, becomes externalised and stored onto a computer memory. Jonas notes that a "recording had been made by a machine with no human witnesses around" (Glavinic 2008, 213). The information stems from a seemingly non-anthropocentric, technological position and the video recordings serve as a confirmation of his own existence and the existence of an objective and rational reality (cf. Forsbach 2014).

The cameras follow him to point to the fact that he is the centre of power, but are rather to be interpreted as a method of control and domination (cf. Foucault 1995, 191). Instead of making Jonas aware of what remains unobservable to the human eye and or an objective phenomenon, it rather seems that the technology further emphasises the combination of the external, non-human, disinterested gaze with a deeply human or even pre-human subconscious fear of the changing boundaries. Benjamin (2008, 37) writes that "clearly, it is another nature which speaks to the camera as compared to the eye. 'Other' above all in the sense that a space informed by human consciousness gives way to a space informed by the unconscious". As Jonas rewinds the recordings of the city and the Sleeper, a different perspective emerges. He observes the same and different his own self, so the recordings and the photographs become an ideal example of [post-]subjectivity as hybrid fragments, which can be re-arranged and altered. He ponders whether he should re-examine the objects related to the Sleeper's odd behaviour (Glavinic 2008, 113), but he only finds that: "this was where what he'd seen on the tape had occurred, so it belonged to the place. But the place had sloughed it off – no vestige of the past clung to it. [...] Just a memory. A void" (Glavinic 2008, 204). The memory belongs to the immaterial world of the Sleeper and thus dematerialises the existing spaces, transforms them into an empty sign in a world without humans who used to determine the meaning.

Stobbe (2016, 159) also asks whether one should interpret the Sleeper as ‘a surrogate of the Other’, which replaces the missing people and opens new horizons/boundaries as a reaction to the ‘day work’ falling apart. When the doppelgänger appears, the boundaries between dream and reality, insanity and lucidity are lost, and the subjectivity is questioned in terms of the perception of the outside world. He leads conversations with himself, which become real in the temporal gap between what used to be and what allegedly is: “He had spoken those words an hour ago, and now they were happening, happening again. At this moment they were becoming something that was happening, that was having an actual effect on the present” (Glavinic 2008, 109). Different moments merge and grow apart and Jonas’ existence becomes determined by the camera’s memory, decentred and dispersed, but constantly fluid, especially in his dreams.

What if the world without humans may be a dream; perhaps his dreams, actually, refer to reality in some way. His dream about an animal metamorphosis begins with joy because he finally saw another living being – a bird, but the bird is miserable and angry “as if Jonas were to blame for all that was happening to it” (Glavinic 2008, 247) so it changes into:

a hedgehog’s head on the body of a millipede one and a half metres long. The millipede curled up and scratched its face, which metamorphosed into that of a man. The human millipede gasped, its tongue protruding as if it were being throttled. Its countless little legs were flailing madly, and pink foam oozed from its nostrils (Glavinic 2008, 247).

The ways in which Jonas was to blame for what had happened to the bird are more than one: the bird could have been literally affected by human behaviour, if analysed from an ecocritical perspective; more broadly, it could also stand for the future of humankind and the destruction of organic life per se. Finally, it could be read as the representation of Jonas’ strivings stripped down to the level of nothingness, devoid of future and of any hope. The subsequent forms – an eagle and a dog – also demonstrate the nature of man and his relationship with the environment; yet, that is not the end of the metamorphosis. He meets both of them eye to eye and concludes that they have known each other for a long time. The eagle, as the authority and power, and the dog, a human companion, obedient to human masters, remind the last human representative under what dire consequences the stance of his species had brought the world. As the world around him changes, he and his humanity change with it as well and are inseparably tied together in the evolutionary chain. The second instance of the metamorphosis appears again in his sleep, in which he observes the changes happening to his face and head:

He acquired a different creature’s head every second. One moment he would be standing there with a bear’s head, the next with the head of a vulture, a dog, a pig, a stag, a housefly, a bull, a rat. Each metamorphosis took only the blink of an eye to complete. Head followed head in swift succession (Glavinic 2008, 302).

Through metamorphosis, his life is a constant becoming and one can notice in this line of succession what comes before, but also what is yet to come after humans (cf. Campbell and Saren 2010, 152) since he ontologically becomes non-human and eventually posthuman in the continuous state of fluidity.

An encounter with his changing identity as well as with his double implies that he might be observing himself outside of his own living body and outside of the status of a living subject. As he is seemingly the only living character in the novel, it appears that Jonas’ status is determined in advance; but; as the novel progresses, his character grows rather

smaller and more frightened (cf. McLary 2015, 21) until he finally faces the possibility of his own death as anticipated through many references to dying. In the end, he voluntarily plunges from the tower of Vienna's cathedral, the Stephansdom, which represents a scene that has been compared to E. T. A. Hoffmann's novella *The Sandman* (cf. Landau 2016). The words from a musical box, which Jonas reminiscence as "La-le-ly, only the man in the moon's watching you" (Glavinic 2008, 152), are also an allusion to the sandman. In Hoffmann's story, he stands for a wicked creature who throws sand into the eyes of children and then carries them away to the moon to feed them to his own children. Whereas the posthuman in Hoffmann's novella is to be identified through the character of the human machine Olympia, Jonas' path to insanity does not involve an automaton hidden in plain sight; the automaton is replaced through a camera and a vivid dream mode.

Apart from the metamorphosis, Jonas dreams of his family as though they were his own age, "his dead young grandmother had patted his cheek and muttered 'UMIROM, UMIROM, UMIROM' – at least, that was what it had sounded like to him" (Glavinic 2008, 45). It turns out that 'umirome' is an "effective remedy for sleeping sickness" (Glavinic 2008, 332), but the word is actually quite reminiscent of death in many ways, that is, it bears certain resemblance to the (Serbo-)Croatian verb *umiremo* – 'we are dying'. Some of his other dreams include more explicit visions of death and of skeletons, as in the following: "A bound skeleton lay on its back on the ground. Both feet in a single oversized leather boot. It was being slowly dragged across a field by a lasso tied to the saddle of a horse whose head could not be seen. Only the rider's legs were visible" (Glavinic 2008, 124). As though it constantly foreshadows his downfall and suicide, death is a pervasive leitmotif of the novel and a result of the "existential crisis, for which there is no answer other than erasure" (McLary 2015, 22). Suicide essentially reads as the inevitable consequence of Jonas, while the Sleeper constantly diverges and merges as both the killer and the victim within the split self of the posthuman existence.

5. CONCLUSION

The novel *Night Work* by Thomas Glavinic presents a seemingly familiar vision of a postapocalyptic future. Nonetheless, it poses numerous questions. In accordance with contemporary thoughts of posthumanist scholars and the arising need to re-examine the status of the humanist subject along with the 'cracks' within it in times of changing and increasingly blurry boundaries, Glavinic shows an utterly personal as well as a universal transgression of the oppositions which create feelings of horror in the contemporary subject.

We may conclude that, above all, the protagonist's sense of reality in the moment of facing death is lost at the same time as his sense of personal and human identity. If he is unaware of the fact that it is he – the representative of the human – who died or is bound to die, then his lack of knowledge points to an alienation from reality and to the creeping crisis of identity, and, ultimately, death.

Jonas' identity breaks down at several levels and becomes hybrid: in his relationship with technology, with the surrounding organic and inorganic world, and in his dreams, especially in relation to the animal world once again it questions the human position within a wider context of organic existence. It is technology which accentuates this alienation, as the recordings make it increasingly difficult to distinguish between different realities as non-human, post-life realities and the so-called objective reality. The postanthropocentric

perspective subsequently emerges and forms a new hierarchical alternative to the human world, but not necessarily its end – rather a transformation and a search for new values.

Apart from the collapsing oppositions of matter and information, the organic and inorganic, human and non-human, Jonas' existence is primarily determined by the idea of death as one of the most unsurpassable aspects of materiality and fragility of human life. Death and the will to survive are the primeval driving forces of progress and of the human strivings to postpone the end. Jonas ends up being the example of the inevitability of an escape. His life which extends beyond the death of all other life forms seems to be a new beginning, although it is sombre. However, his death is eventually the proof of his (and by extension, our) inability to face the consequences of personal and deeply human acts in a time when it is of crucial importance to re-examine human behaviour and the position of the human in the world.

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POSTAJANJE POSTHUMANIM: DESTABILIZACIJA SUBJEKTA U ROMANU *RAD NOĆI* TOMASA GLAVINIĆA

U radu pružamo uvid u destabilizaciju subjekta i rađanje posthumanog stanja u romanu Rad noći (Die Arbeit der Nacht, 2006) austrijskog pisca Tomasa Glavinica. U prvome delu ukazujemo na prethodna tumačenja romana, ali i na definicije posthumanizma kao opšteg termina koji obuhvata više heterogenih teorijskih pozicija posvećenih pitanju: Šta će uslediti nakon preispitivanja humanističkih ideala i nakon decentriranja čoveka? Posthumano se u ovome kontekstu stoga tumači kao nestabilno i hibridno, a posthumani identitet je pri tome u stanju konstantne rekonstrukcije i tranzicije za razliku od određenosti/ograničenosti i celovitosti humanističkog subjekta. Međutim, posthumano je ujedno i rezultat prevazilaženja granica između ljudskog i neljudskog i postajanja postantropocentričnim. Analizu fokusiramo najpre na ‘začudnu’ atmosferu romana i na moć preživljavanja u susretu sa smrću, koja ubrzo doprinosi udaljavanju protagoniste od svesti i racionalnosti. Urbana sredina lišena organskog života zamenjuje Drugo u odnosu na poslednjeg predstavnika živih bića. Spavač kao noćni dvojniki i snimci grada dodatno naglašavaju prevazilaženje granica između materijalnog i nematerijalnog, živog i neživog, stvarnog i nestvarnog/veštačkog i određuju, naposljetku, protagonistin posthumani identitet i egzistenciju kao ‘postajanje’ pre nego kao ‘biće’.

Ključne reči: austrijska književnost, horor, posthumanizam, subjektivnost, Tomas Glavinic

ACOUSTIC ANALYSIS OF PITCH ACCENT AS A REGIONAL FORENSIC MARKER IN SERBIAN

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Abstract. *The current research compares the acoustic correlates of pitch accent of two urban dialects of spoken Serbian, urban Niš and Novi Sad. We analyzed spontaneous speech of nineteen native speakers of Serbian with regard to vowel duration and fundamental frequency ratios. It was shown that the tone between the stressed and post-stressed vowel is generally falling in the speech of Niš, while in the speech of Novi Sad it reflects the tone of the expected pitch accent in that particular word. The same is true of the interval between the end of the stressed and the beginning of the post-stressed vowel, which is always rising in the speech of Niš. In Niš, speakers tend to produce vowels in words with falling accents as longer than in words with rising accents. On average, vowels are longer in the speech of Novi Sad. Bearing in mind that regional variations provide important forensic markers (Kašić and Đorđević 2009), this research aims to contribute to the discipline of forensic phonetics, in particular to speaker profiling. Its significance also lies in the fact that it examines spontaneous speech, and is thus relevant for forensic casework (Rose 2002; Nolan, de Jong, and McDougall 2006).*

Key words: *forensic phonetics, speaker profiling, regional markers, pitch accent, fundamental frequency*

1. INTRODUCTION

Standard Serbian belongs to the class of languages with hybrid prosodic systems, those that manipulate both stress and tone (Lehiste and Ivić 1986; Zec and Zsiga 2009). Its prosodic system has two pitch accents, falling and rising. Each accent is defined by a characteristic pitch shape, as well as by stress, whose correlate is an increase in duration (Zec and Zsiga 2009; Subotić, Sredojević, and Bjelaković 2012; Sredojević 2017). The four realizations of Serbian pitch accent are conventionally transcribed with the following symbols above the vowel: short falling [˘], short rising [ˆ], long falling, [ˑ] and long

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rising [ˈ]. In addition, the prosodic system of standard Serbian is said to have two more prosodemes: a post-stressed syllable length [ː] and shortness [˘] (Zec and Zsiga 2009; Subotić, Sredojević, and Bjelaković 2012; Sredojević 2017).

Pitch accent of standard Serbian is based on the prosodic system of New Shtokavian dialects. The classification of Shtokavian speech communities was performed by relying on accentuation and the “yat” reflex (Ivić 1956; Petrović 2009). According to Ivić (1956), Shtokavian speech communities can be divided into those in which progressive (younger) dialects with the new accentuation system are spoken, such as Šumadija-Vojvodina, Eastern Herzegovinian and Younger Ikavian dialect, and archaic (older) dialects with an old accentuation system, such as Kosovo-Resava and Zeta-Sjenica dialect (Ivić 1956; Petrović 2009). In his first classification, Ivić (1956) did not define Balkanized speech of Prizren-Timok as a dialect; instead, he considered it to be an entirely different variety, since speech communities of this region are quite distinct from the rest of Shtokavian speech communities. The distinction is observed both on the structural and on the prosodic level (Ivić 1956). For instance, as opposed to new Shtokavian dialects, in the Prizren-Timok area, there is no pitch accent as such – there is only an expiratory stress, which is the result of the elimination of all quantitative and qualitative differences (Ivić 1956). It was not until later that Prizren-Timok was recognized as a full-fledged Shtokavian dialectological region (Ivić 1988, 68-72, as cited in Petrović 2009, 12).

When speakers from different dialectological backgrounds adopt the standard orthoepy, they tend to realize some linguistic features in a novel way; however, the vestiges of their original articulation base may still be present in their pronunciation. The varieties of language that come into existence in this way are known as urban varieties or urban dialects, and these have different characteristics across regions (Kašić and Đorđević 2009). The reluctance to adapt the prescriptive rules of standard Serbian to language in use often results in discrepancies between the prescribed norm and actual realization of certain linguistic features. For instance, recent research indicates that certain aspects of the standard language, such as post-stressed vowel length, have been reduced or have disappeared entirely (Subotić, Sredojević, and Belaković 2012; Sredojević 2017). Furthermore, the realization of the four pitch accents may vary significantly across regions (Kašić and Đorđević 2009; Lončar Raičević and Sudimac 2017a).

Pronunciation differences which exist across regions are important in forensic linguistic practice (Kašić and Đorđević 2009; Lončar Raičević and Sudimac 2017a). Namely, regional markers are seen as effective discriminants in cases of speaker profiling and language analysis for determination of origin. When dealing with proper representatives of a certain dialect, especially from rural areas, auditory analysis may be enough for successful determination of origin. However, it is not always obvious how speakers from different dialectological regions acquire standard pronunciation, or how their language changes in contact with speakers of other dialects. As Kašić and Đorđević (2009) and Lončar Raičević and Sudimac (2017) point out, the area provides fruitful ground for research into acoustic description of different urban varieties of the Serbian language.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Forensic Phonetics and Speaker Profiling

Forensic phonetics is a discipline which employs knowledge and methodology of phonetics to legal and forensic purposes. A forensic linguist is usually hired when there is a voice recording of a perpetrator, and their tasks may range from transcription or authentication of recordings, compiling of voice lineups for speaker identification by ear witnesses, to speaker profiling and speaker comparison (Rose 2002; Hollien 2002; 2012; Jessen 2010; French 2017). Speaker profiling refers to a set of procedures performed in forensic cases when there is a recording of a voice but no suspect. Commonly requested by the police during an investigation, it implies the determination of age, sex, region, socio-economic status and foreign language background of the recorded speaker (Rose 2002; Jessen 2010). In Serbian, forensic linguists often rely on regional markers to determine the speaker's origin and areas where they have lived; these include segmental (vowel and consonant quality), as well as prosodic features (pitch accent, tempo, loudness and intonation patterns) (Kašić and Đorđević 2009).

2.2. Previous Acoustic Research on Serbian Accents

Ivić and Lehiste (2002) made the first attempts at acoustic measurements of Shtokavian dialect characteristics, and they published their results in a series of papers from 1963 to 1984. However, research of the prosodic characteristics of modern urban dialects appeared much later.

The most comprehensive study of pitch accent in the urban speech of Novi Sad was conducted by Sredojević (2017), who examined the fundamental frequency movement in the four pitch accent types relative to the position in the intonation phrase (Sredojević 2017). Sredojević confirms that the speakers from Novi Sad use duration (long and short) and tone movement (rising and falling) distinctively. He notes, however, that, in some cases, the realization of rising accents in the urban speech of Novi Sad is different from that described in previous research for standard Serbian (Sredojević 2017, 71). Sredojević (2017, 199, 221) emphasizes that pitch accent in Serbian is realized over the entire syllable and that the pitch movement between the end of the stressed and beginning of the post-stressed vowel is the most indicative of accent type. Bjelaković and Marković (2009) and Dragin (2009) examined the post-stressed vowel length, concluding that the given prosodeme has been significantly reduced in some contexts, while in others it has entirely disappeared (Bjelaković and Marković 2009; Dragin 2009). Both studies provide very few examples where the post-accented syllable length can be observed in the modern language. Similarly, Sredojević (2017) claims that there is no significant difference between the length of vowels in post-stressed length and post-stressed shortness (Sredojević 2017, 154).

As far as the Prizren-Timok dialect is concerned, the first accounts in the literature were based on the auditory analysis (see Belić 1905; Ivić 1956). The pitch accent of the Prizren-Timok dialect was described as lacking any distinction in duration and tone, with the prominence produced using only respiratory effort, which is why this distinction is referred to as the 'expiratory accent' (Ivić 1985, as cited in Lončar Raičević and Sudimac 2017a, 210), or stress (Lehiste 1970). Recently, in a series of research papers, Lončar Raičević and Sudimac (2017a; 2017b; 2018; 2019) have provided acoustic description of the speech of five urban centers of the Prizren-Timok dialectological area. The authors

measured duration, intensity and fundamental frequency of stressed and post-stressed vowels in disyllabic words in the urban speech of Niš, Leskovac, and Vranje (Lončar Raičević and Sudimac 2017a), Svrlijig (2017b) and Pirot (2018), concluding that the general tonal movement in realization of all four accent types is falling in all cities (Lončar Raičević and Sudimac 2019, 211). The speech of Niš, Leskovac, Vranje and Pirot is characterized by a slight rising interval between the end of the stressed and beginning of the post-stressed syllable, resembling the short rising accent in standard Serbian (Lončar Raičević and Sudimac 2017a). On the other hand, the speech of Svrlijig is characterized by a slight fall in f_0 at this point, which is similar to the short falling accent in the standard language (Lončar Raičević and Sudimac 2017b). The rising interval that appears in the speech of Prizren-Timok urban dialects can be described as region-specific since there is a significant difference in the values of tonal movement between the cities (Lončar Raičević and Sudimac 2017a, 223). As far as the vowel duration is concerned, these authors note that speakers from Niš on average produce longer stressed vowels than speakers from other cities they examined (Lončar Raičević and Sudimac 2018, 435)

To our knowledge, research on pitch accents in Serbian has so far mostly been performed on tokens in frame sentences (see Sredojević 2017; Ivić and Lehiste 2002; Lončar Raičević and Sudimac 2017a; 2017b; 2018) or individual words (Marković and Bjelaković 2009). Bearing in mind that most of the forensic casework involves the analysis of spontaneous speech, there is a growing tendency of using spontaneous speech corpora in forensic phonetic experiments (Rose 2002; Nolan, de Jong, and McDougall 2006). With this in mind, the current research aims to present the pitch accent realization in the given dialects from a new perspective.

3. RESEARCH AIMS AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Research Aims

In their paper on speaker articulation base, Kašić and Đorđević (2009) explain that through education, migration and language contact, speakers of a certain dialect start acquiring standard pronunciation. However, depending on their articulation base, some segmental or prosodic features may be pronounced in a different, novel way. The varieties which come into existence during the adoption of standard pronunciation are known as urban varieties. Kašić and Đorđević (2009) point out that one can easily be misled regarding the origin of a native speaker of Serbian, especially if the speaker has adopted standard accentuation; therefore, they encourage further research on acoustic patterns of realization of the four pitch accents in various urban dialects of Serbia (Kašić and Đorđević 2009).

The goal of the current research is to compare the acoustic correlates of pitch accent of native speakers of two Serbian urban dialects, i.e. of Niš and Novi Sad, and to explore their differences. We will examine the duration and fundamental frequency ratios of stressed and post-stressed vowels in disyllabic words in spontaneous speech. We will test the following hypotheses¹ by performing acoustic and statistical analyses:

¹ The hypotheses presented here are alternative hypotheses (H_1), bearing in mind that the statistical tests performed below are designed in such a way that the null hypothesis (H_0) assumes no difference between the sets of data.

- (1) Speakers from Niš distinctively pronounce all four accent types.
- (2) Speakers from Niš distinctively pronounce long and short accents.
- (3) Speakers from Niš distinctively pronounce rising and falling accents.
- (4) Speakers from Novi Sad distinctively pronounce all four accent types.
- (5) Speakers from Novi Sad distinctively pronounce long and short accents.
- (6) Speakers from Novi Sad distinctively pronounce rising and falling accents.
- (7) Speakers from Niš and Novi Sad realize the four pitch accents in Serbian in a different way.

3.2 Participants

The sample for the current research was based on the recordings of spontaneous speech of ten female native speakers of Serbian from Niš and nine from Novi Sad. The speakers have lived in these cities since their birth or a very young age. All of them were either undergraduate students or graduates, aged between 20 and 23 (Niš), and 21 and 28 (Novi Sad) at the time of recording². The average age of speakers from Niš was 21.2 with SD of 1.32, while the average age of those from Novi Sad was 24.78 with SD of 3.23. T-test for two independent means with the score of -3.22421 and p-value of .004981 indicate that there is a significant age difference between the two groups of speakers. Since fundamental frequency of female voice tends to lower with aging (Russel, Penny, and Pemberton 1995; Nishio and Niimi 2008; Eichhorn et al. 2018), it would be methodologically incorrect to compare the absolute values of fundamental frequency of these speakers. Therefore, in this research, we will only compare fundamental frequency ratios and frequency movement expressed in semitones.

3.3. The sample

To elicit spontaneous speech, we created two custom maps that contained 55 unique token words in Serbian, selected from *Dictionary of Serbian language* (Vujanić et al. 2017) in such a way as to ensure the presence of all four pitch accents. The speakers were instructed to give directions on the map and mention as many landmarks as they can on the way. Even though the participants were primed before the experiment, not all of the tokens appeared in the corpus, and some were encountered more than once. Only disyllabic words that appeared in phrase-medial positions were selected for the analysis, which resulted in the total of 314 words, 16.53 per speaker (SD 2.93). Token words in phrase-initial or phrase-final positions were disregarded in our research since the tone of the stressed and unstressed syllable largely depends on the location in the intonation unit (Ivić and Lehiste 2002, 202-20; Sredojević 2017, 46-9, 220).

While it is known that the voicing of flanking consonants may affect the length of the vowels (Lehiste 1970: 19; Sovilj-Nikić 2010: 602; Sredojević 2017: 134), as well as the fundamental frequency in vowels (Ohde 1984; Hanson 2009), in our research, the consonant environment in the token words was not controlled for voicing. Namely, pitch accent in Serbian is a suprasegmental feature realized over a syllable or several syllables; thus, it is supposed to override the intrinsic length of the segments. In addition, as the current research is interested in the dynamics of pitch movement rather than raw f_0 values of the given vowels at given points, it was not considered necessary to control the voicing parameter.

² The recording of the corpus was conducted in April and May 2017.

The recording process was performed in an acoustically treated room using *Audacity*, audio software, and *Rode NT-USB* cardioid condenser microphone with a pop-filter. It lasted about 5 minutes per speaker, which resulted in approximately 90 minutes of spontaneous speech. Auditory analysis of the recorded material was performed to select the relevant tokens. Portions of speech pronounced with laughter or hesitation were not taken into consideration.

3.4. Acoustic Analysis

The following variables were measured in the stressed and the post-stressed vowel of each token word using *Wavesurfer* (Sjölander and Beskow 2000):

- Duration (milliseconds)
- Fundamental frequency (f_0) (Hz) at the beginning and the end of the vowel
- Peak f_0 (Hz)
- f_0 peak location (percent)

The measurements of the fundamental frequency were taken into six points in each token word: a) at the beginning of the stressed vowel (A), b) at the peak f_0 of the stressed vowel (B), c) at the end of the stressed vowel (C), d) at the beginning of the post-stressed vowel (D), e) at the peak f_0 of the post stressed vowel (E), and f) at the end of the post stressed vowel (F). The points that mark the beginning and the end of the vowel were chosen to be places where the waveform starts vibrating and the voicing begins. If any distortions were noted at the onset/end of the vowel, the measurements were taken at the next/previous point where the pitch contour is stable.

Table 1 below shows the summary of the parameters derived and compared across the two dialects.

Table 1 The parameters tested

Parameter	Explanation
Vowel duration, str	duration of the stressed vowel
Start-end R str	the ratio of f_0 at the starting and ending point in the stressed vowel
Peak-end R str	the ratio of f_0 at the peak and the ending point in the stressed vowel
Peak f_0 % str	the location of peak f_0 in the stressed syllable in percentage
Vowel duration, p-s	duration of the post-stressed vowel
Start-end R p-s	the ratio of f_0 at the starting and ending point in the post-stressed vowel
Peak-end R p-s	the ratio of f_0 at the peak and the ending point in the post-stressed vowel
Peak f_0 %, p-s	the location of peak f_0 in the post-stressed vowel in percentage
Vowel duration R (%)	the ratio of the post-stressed and the stressed vowel expressed in percentage
f_0 ratio – peaks	the ratio of f_0 at the peak in the stressed and the peak in the post-stressed vowel
f_0 R end (str)-start (p-s)	the ratio of f_0 at the ending point of the stressed and the starting point of the post-stressed vowel
f_0 ratio – starts	the ratio of f_0 at the starting point in the stressed and post-stressed vowel
f_0 ratio – ends	the ratio of f_0 at the ending point in the stressed and post-stressed vowel
Word tone – start-end	the ratio of f_0 at the starting point in the stressed and the ending point in the post-stressed vowel
Peak (str) – end (p-s)	the ratio of f_0 at peak in the stressed and the ending point in the post-stressed vowel
Word pitch range	the ratio of the highest f_0 point and the lowest f_0 point in the word

3.5. Statistical Analysis and Graphical Representation

We performed the statistical analysis in *Microsoft Excel* and *iNZight*, a free data analysis software developed by the Department of Statistics at the University of Auckland (Elliott and Kuper 2017). The statistical significance of the difference in means between the four pitch accents (within one dialect) is measured using One Way ANOVA (F test), while the difference in means between the two dialects is measured with Welch's two-sided t-test, an adaptation of Student's t-test that is more reliable when the samples have unequal variances and unequal sample sizes (Welch 1938).

For the purposes of clear graphical representation and a better understanding of pitch movement in the stressed and post-stressed vowel for every accent type, the distances between the six measured points were expressed in semitones. A semitone (ST) is a twelfth part of an octave, which is a minimal possible distance between two tones and it represents a subjective feeling of difference in pitch height (Jovičić 1999: 248; Sredojević 2017: 33). Namely, even though a listener can perceive the pitch of one sound as "higher" than that of the other, the distance between two frequencies is not always perceived in the same manner. For instance, to a listener, frequency movement from 100Hz to 200Hz is perceived as greater than that from 250Hz to 350Hz (Sredojević 2017: 33). Expressing pitch movement into semitones is a common part of pitch accent research methodology (cf. Sredojević 2017; Lončar Raičević and Sudimac 2017a) as it normalizes f_0 differences between speakers ('t Hart, Collier and Cohen 2006: 24).

4. THE RESULTS

In the first two parts of this section, we examine the selected variables in the urban Niš and urban Novi Sad speech, respectively, for each pitch accent type. It is important to note, however, that, throughout the paper, we do not claim each pitch accent type was actually realized in either of the dialects. In fact, the values we provide below are *actual realizations* of dynamic accent for *expected* accent types. The results are presented in tables with group means, statistical test scores and p-values. In addition, there are graphs presenting pitch movement for each expected pitch accent type, expressed in semitones. In the third part of the section, we compare the relevant parameters and pitch movement across the two dialects.

4.1. Pitch Accent Realization in Niš

In Table 2 below, we can observe the mean values of urban Niš speakers for the selected parameters in four expected pitch accents: long falling (L-F), long rising (L-R), short falling (S-F) and short rising (S-R), while Table 3 lists the statistical test results for differences in parameters between long and short and falling and rising accents, respectively. The p-values marked in bold indicate that there is a statistically significant difference in the realization of the expected accent types.

Table 2 Mean values of acoustic parameters of pitch accent for urban Niš speakers with ANOVA (F test), $p < 0.05$

Variable	L-F	L-R	S-F	S-R	F-test	p-value
Vowel duration, str.	0.0982	0.08467	0.09226	0.08461	5.5043	.001
f_0 start, str.	232.8	233.6	241.5	228.9	1.1813	.318
f_0 end, str.	215.5	222.4	227.8	217.9	1.2142	.306
f_0 peak, str.	236	242.2	249.3	232.7	1.9856	.117
Peak f_0 %, str	20.88	34.6	28.15	27.43	1.3772	.251
Start-end R (tone), str.	1.084	1.059	1.068	1.057	1.0561	.369
Peak-end R, str.	1.098	1.093	1.098	1.072	1.263	.288
Vowel duration, p-s	0.05887	0.05452	0.04974	0.05384	2.5466	.057
f_0 start, p-s	221.5	239.6	236.4	230.6	2.5441	.057
f_0 end, p-s	203.8	218.3	217.1	207.4	2.4111	.068
f_0 peak, p-s	222.8	241.9	237.1	232.2	2.7683	.043
Start-end R p-s	1.088	1.097	1.090	1.115	1.1991	.311
Peak-end R, p-s	1.094	1.108	1.093	1.124	1.7639	.155
Peak f_0 %, p-s	8.95	10.46	7.58	12.49	0.4694	.704
Vowel duration R (%)	60.91	65.91	56.91	66.8	2.2761	.081
f_0 ratio – peaks	1.063	1.012	1.057	1.018	3.9038	.009
f_0 R end (str.)-start (p-s)	0.977	0.9366	0.9672	0.9528	2.2152	.088
f_0 ratio - starts	1.0559	0.9924	1.0323	1.0068	3.3514	.020
f_0 ratio - ends	1.062	1.026	1.054	1.061	1.3084	.273
Word tone – start - end	1.148	1.085	1.124	1.121	2.2266	.086
Peak (str.) – end (p-s)	1.163	1.120	1.155	1.137	1.3659	.254
Word pitch range	1.176	1.133	1.122	1.139	0.39686	.755

In Tables 2 and 3, we may observe that there is a significant difference in the duration of stressed vowels for speakers from Niš. Namely, vowels in words where falling accents are expected are longer than the ones in words with expected rising accents. However, there is no difference in duration of stressed vowels between the words with expected long and short accents. These words, on the other hand, exhibit the difference in duration of post-stressed vowels, which are longer in words where long accents are expected, $t = 2.852$ (Table 3).

For each expected accent type, the speakers from Niš also exhibit differences in values of peak f_0 in the post-stressed vowel, $F = 2.7683$ (Table 2) as well in the ratios between starting points, $F = 3.3514$, and f_0 peaks, $F = 3.9038$, of the stressed and post-stressed vowel (Table 2). The Words in which the long rising accent is expected have the highest f_0 peak (241.9 Hz), while those with a long falling accent have the lowest f_0 peak in the post-stressed syllable (222.8 Hz). The ratio of the two peaks in falling accents is higher than the ratio of the two peaks in the rising accents, which can also be observed in Figures 1 and 2 below (almost 1 ST distance in falling and close to OST distance in rising accents).

Table 3 Difference between words with expected long and short and falling and rising accents, respectively; urban Niš speakers; Welch's t-test, $p < 0.05$

Variable	long - short		falling - rising	
	t-test	p-value	t-test	p-value
Vowel duration, str.	1.3523	.178	3.8345	.000
f_0 start, str.	-0.33035	.741	0.97459	.331
f_0 end, str.	-0.80707	.421	-0.18279	.855
f_0 peak, str.	-0.31288	.755	0.488	.626
Peak f_0 %, str	-0.1816	.856	-1.5444	.124
Start-end R (tone), str.	0.85329	.395	1.5697	.118
Peak-end R, str.	1.176	.241	1.3302	.185
Vowel duration, p-s	2.1852	.030	0.71152	.478
f_0 start, p-s	-0.68121	.497	-1.6706	.097
f_0 end, p-s	-0.33724	.736	-1.0913	.277
f_0 peak, p-s	-0.59846	.551	-1.8477	.066
Start-end R p-s	-1.0536	.294	-1.5258	.129
Peak-end R, p-s	-0.88846	.376	-2.0469	.042
Peak f_0 %, p-s	-0.24087	.810	-1.0189	.310
Vowel duration R (%)	-0.77268	.441	2.6057	.008
f_0 ratio – peaks	0.58261	.561	3.3971	.001
f_0 R end (str.)-start (p-s)	0.02926	.977	2.369	.019
f_0 ratio - starts	0.60833	.544	2.9333	.004
f_0 ratio - ends	-0.74101	.460	1.1626	.247
Word tone – start - end	-0.06045	.952	2.0579	.041
Peak (str.) – end (p-s)	-0.01792	.986	1.8875	.061
Word pitch range	0.30711	.759	0.533	.595

As presented in Table 3, apart from the difference in duration of the post-stressed vowel, the words for which long accents are expected do not differ from the words for which we expect realization of short accents. However, there are significant differences between the words in which we expect falling and rising accents, and these are:

- the ratio of the peak f_0 and f_0 at the end of the post-stressed vowel, which is higher in words with rising accents;
- the stressed and post-stressed vowel duration ratio, higher in words with falling accents;
- f_0 ratios of peaks and starting points of the stressed and post-stressed vowel, both of which are higher in words where falling accents are expected;
- the overall word tone, also higher in words with falling accents.

Similarly as in previous research (Lončar Raičević and Sudimac 2017a), words under all four expected accent types exhibit a rising interval between the end of the stressed and beginning of the post-stressed syllable. However, the interval in words with expected falling accents is significantly lower (0.5ST and 0.6ST) than in words with rising accents (1.2ST and 0.9ST) (see Table 3 and Figure 1 and 2).

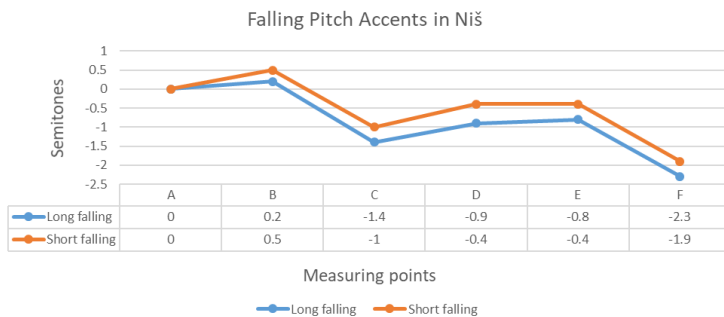


Fig. 1 Realization of falling accents in the urban Niš speech, with pitch movement expressed in semitones

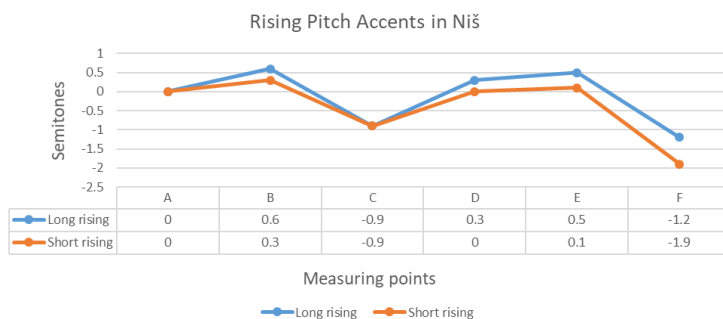


Fig. 2 Realization of rising accents in the urban Niš speech, with pitch movement expressed in semitones

Observing Figures 1 and 2 above, we may note that in Niš, the stressed syllable always has the falling tone (point C is negative relative to the reference point A). The figures also indicate that, in words with rising pitch accents, the post-stressed vowel starts at approximately the same tone as the stressed vowel, while, in falling accents, it always starts slightly lower.

4.2. Pitch Accent Realization in Novi Sad

Table 4 contains the mean values of urban Novi Sad speakers for the selected parameters in four expected pitch accents: long falling (L-F), long rising (L-R), short falling (S-F) and short rising (S-R), while Table 5 encloses the statistical test results for differences in means between long and short and falling and rising accents, respectively. The p-values marked in bold indicate a statistically significant difference.

Table 4 Mean values of acoustic parameters of pitch accent for urban Novi Sad speakers with ANOVA (F test), $p < 0.05$

Variable	L-F	L-R	S-F	S-R	F-test	p-value
Vowel duration, str.	0.1105	0.10524	0.10579	0.09971	1.1467	.332
f_0 start, str.	220.9	190.5	226.5	203	9.1756	.000
f_0 end, str.	193.7	180.8	252.0	192.5	23.502	.000
f_0 peak, str.	226.6	194.4	270.4	208.4	26.602	.000
Peak f_0 %, str	16.49	34.86	59.88	36.57	9.7821	.000
Start-end R (tone), str.	1.1553	1.0540	0.9305	1.0611	15.081	.000
Peak-end R, str.	1.179	1.075	1.087	1.087	8.8996	.000
Vowel duration, p-s	0.05577	0.0616	0.06218	0.05667	1.0479	.373
f_0 start, p-s	186.5	217.6	236.0	224.0	12.91	.000
f_0 end, p-s	163.9	192.6	193.3	203.0	13.144	.000
f_0 peak, p-s	188.3	220.5	236.5	229.0	12.716	.000
Start-end R p-s	1.136	1.132	1.229	1.111	4.8952	.002
Peak-end R, p-s	1.147	1.148	1.232	1.131	4.1912	.007
Peak f_0 %, p-s	12.1	20.32	5.17	16.52	2.6486	.052
Vowel duration R (%)	51.03	59.15	60.74	58.53	2.849	.040
f_0 ratio – peaks	1.2314	0.8955	1.1622	0.9228	29.489	.000
f_0 R end (str.)-start (p-s)	1.0603	0.8458	1.0731	0.8674	18.271	.000
f_0 ratio - starts	1.2160	0.8922	0.9943	0.9150	22.901	.000
f_0 ratio - ends	1.2047	0.9481	1.3188	0.9644	19.917	.000
Word tone – start - end	1.3762	0.9996	1.2060	1.0166	23.227	.000
Peak (str.) – end (p-s)	1.409	1.018	1.430	1.043	28.966	.000
Word pitch range	1.410	1.162	1.445	1.155	15.086	.000

As opposed to the speakers from Niš, who do not exhibit any difference across the four pitch accents in the great majority of the tested parameters, the speakers from Novi Sad vary fundamental frequency patterns across pitch accents significantly. However, surprisingly enough, in Novi Sad, there does not seem to be a significant difference in duration of stressed and post-stressed vowels in short and long pitch accents. Bearing in mind that the quality of the vowel may affect its length (Marković and Bjelaković 2009; Sredojević 2017), we performed the duration comparison for the five vowels in Serbian /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/, respectively, obtaining the same results.

Words with long and short accents exhibit the difference in the following parameters:

- f_0 of the peak and ending point of the stressed vowel, namely, short vowels have higher average f_0 ;
- Location of the peak f_0 in percentage, which is further from the beginning for short accents;
- f_0 of the start, peak, and ending point of the post-stressed vowel, which is on average higher in short accents;
- Frequency ratios of the stressed vowel, from the beginning to the end and from the peak f_0 to the end, as well as the ratio between the beginnings of the stressed and post-stressed vowel are higher for the words in which long accents are expected;
- Overall word tone, which is sharper in words with long accents.

Table 5 Difference between words with expected long and short and falling and rising accents, respectively; urban Novi Sad speakers; Welch's t-test, $p < 0.05$

Variable	long - short		falling - rising	
	t-test	p-value	t-test	p-value
Vowel duration, str.	1.2863	.202	1.4408	.153
f_0 start, str.	-0.74709	.457	5.2074	.000
f_0 end, str.	-4.483	.000	4.1532	.000
f_0 peak, str.	-3.3577	.001	6.6665	.000
Peak f_0 %, str	-3.9641	.000	-0.6655	.507
Start-end R (tone), str.	4.6349	.000	0.9279	.355
Peak-end R, str.	3.1492	.002	3.9954	.000
Vowel duration, p-s	-0.612	.542	-0.3787	.706
f_0 start, p-s	-4.9043	.000	-2.5438	.012
f_0 end, p-s	-4.4096	.000	-4.245	.000
f_0 peak, p-s	-4.8765	.000	-2.8449	.005
Start-end R p-s	-1.5862	.116	2.0798	.040
Peak-end R, p-s	-1.6423	.104	1.8253	.070
Peak f_0 %, p-s	1.1555	.250	-2.1142	.038
Vowel duration R (%)	1.8303	.070	2.3403	.021
f_0 ratio – peaks	1.9789	.049	10.217	.000
f_0 R end (str.)-start (p-s)	0.50775	.613	8.08	.000
f_0 ratio - starts	4.1637	.000	7.2477	.000
f_0 ratio - ends	-0.63419	.527	8.4143	.000
Word tone – start - end	3.1083	.002	8.6679	.000
Peak (str.) – end (p-s)	0.69602	.488	10.883	.000
Word pitch range	0.48514	.629	8.2682	.000

Words in which falling and rising accents are expected exhibit differences in almost all of the examined parameters, as follows:

- In the stressed vowel, f_0 is higher at the beginning, peak and at the end in falling accents, and the frequency ratio of the peak f_0 and vowel end is more prominent.
- In the post-stressed vowel, f_0 at the beginning, peak and end in falling accents is lower than in rising accents.
- Falling accents have higher frequency ratios in the stressed vowel than rising accents.
- In rising accents, the peak f_0 of the post-stressed vowel is further from the beginning than in the falling accents
- The interval between the end of the stressed and the start of the post-stressed vowel is falling in words with falling accents and rising in words with rising accents. The same applies to the intervals between the beginnings, peaks and ends of the stressed and post-stressed vowel.
- Vowel duration ratio of the stressed and post-stressed vowel is higher in words with falling accents.

Figures 3 and 4 below illustrate the relationship between the pitch movement of short and long accents in urban Novi Sad speakers expressed in semitones.

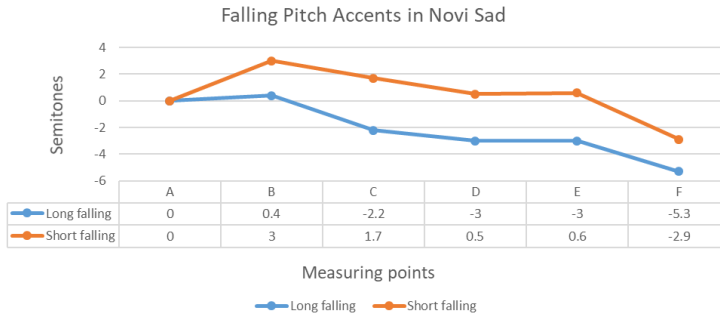


Fig. 3 Realization of falling accents in the urban Novi Sad speech, with pitch movement expressed in semitones

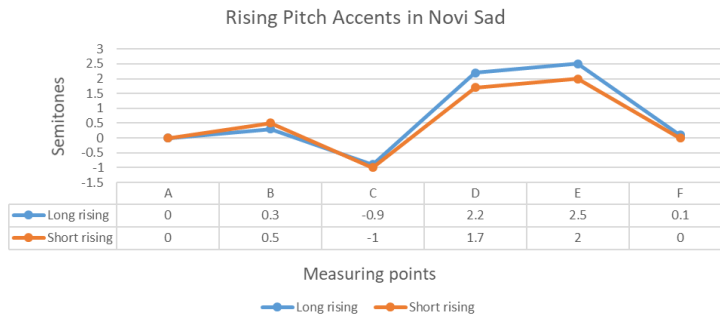


Fig. 4 Realization of rising accents in the urban Novi Sad speech, with pitch movement expressed in semitones

Observing the values in Tables 4 and 5, we may note that falling accents in the speech of Novi Sad start with a higher fundamental frequency than rising accents. The word f_0 peak is in the stressed syllables for words with falling accents, while for words with rising accents, it is in the post-stressed syllable. Words under falling accents exhibit a prominent fall between the two peaks (-3.4ST and -3.6ST), while words with rising accents exhibit a significant rise (2.2ST and 1.5ST). Finally, while long and short falling accent have remarkably different pitch shapes, the greatest difference being in the peak f_0 (0.4ST in the long falling and 3ST in the short falling accent), the contours of rising accents appear to be quite similar. We performed a statistical comparison of the means of all of the acoustic parameters tested above in words with expected long rising and short rising accent in the speech of Novi Sad sample. However, none of the parameters exhibited a statistical difference. This leads us to the conclusion that our speakers did not realize both rising pitch accents as described in the literature.

4.3. Comparing Pitch Accent Realizations in Niš and Novi Sad

We compared the duration of vowels in each expected accent type, and confirmed that the stressed vowel is significantly longer in Novi Sad than in Niš (Figure 5), while the difference in the post-stressed vowel is notable only in words for which the short falling accent is expected (Figure 6). In Novi Sad, the post-stressed vowel in the long falling accent is twice as short as the stressed vowel (51.03%), while its duration in Niš is 60.91% of the stressed vowel. Stressed – post-stressed vowel ratios in other pitch accents do not differ significantly between Niš and Novi Sad.

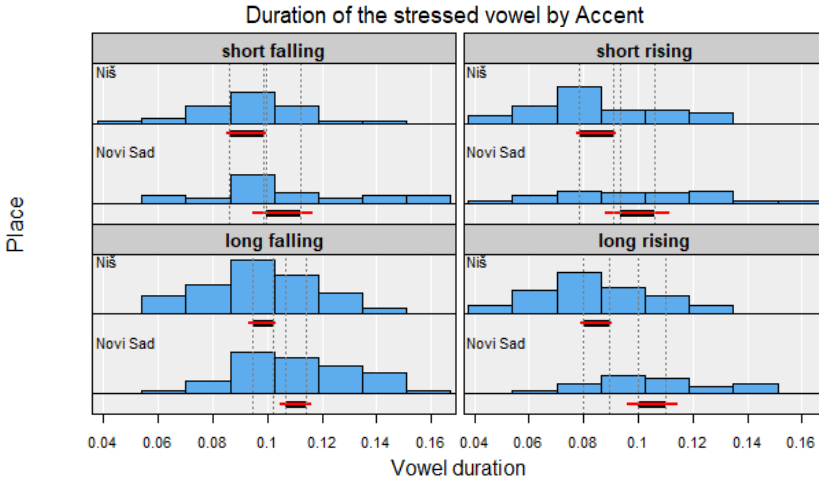


Fig. 5 Duration of the stressed vowel in four expected pitch accents in Niš and Novi Sad

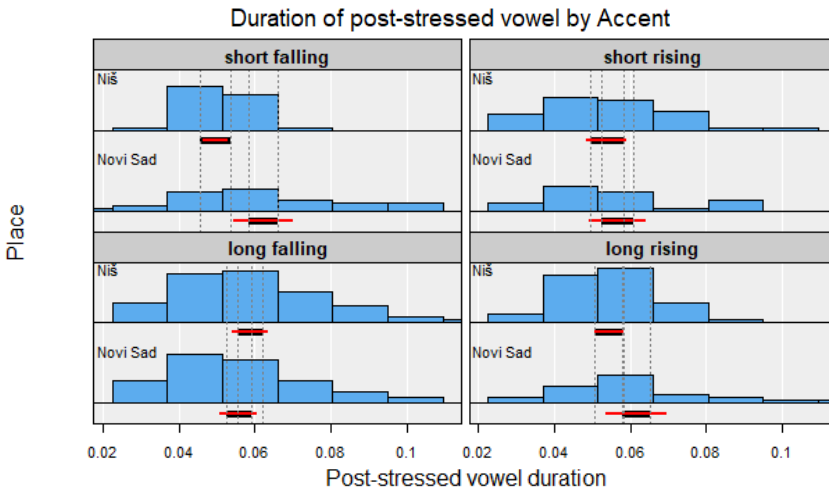


Fig. 6 Duration of the post-stressed vowel in four pitch accents in Niš and Novi Sad

Table 6 below summarizes Welch's t-test scores for the difference in means between the speakers of Niš and Novi Sad (NS) urban dialects in the four expected pitch accents. The p-values marked in bold indicate that the difference between the means is statistically significant. It should be noted, however, that due to the established age difference in the two samples, the absolute fundamental frequency values of the two groups of speakers were not compared.

Table 6 Welch's t-test scores for difference in means between the speakers from Niš and Novi Sad, significant for $p < 0.05$

Variables	Long-falling		Short-falling		Long-rising		Short-rising	
	t-test	p	t-test	p	t-test	p	t-test	p
Vowel duration, str.	-3.2218	.001	-2.1083	.040	-3.8733	.000	-2.2479	.030
Start-end R, str.	-3.1643	.002	3.173	.002	0.2296	.819	-0.2080	.836
Peak-end R, str.	-4.3898	.000	0.3962	.693	1.037	.304	-0.9965	.324
Vowel duration, p-s	0.9145	.362	-3.0047	.004	-1.641	.109	-0.6213	.537
Start-end R, p-s	-2.8859	.004	-4.0904	.000	-1.3503	.184	0.1735	.863
Peak-end R, p-s	-3.2015	.001	-4.1457	.000	-1.7044	.096	-0.3465	.730
Vowel duration R (%)	3.3043	.001	-0.8562	.395	1.7478	.086	1.4906	.141
f_0 ratio – peaks	-5.332	.000	-3.1684	.003	3.6992	.000	2.8816	.006
f_0 R end (str)-start (p-s)	-2.9145	.004	-4.4367	.000	3.287	.002	2.9181	.006
f_0 ratio - starts	-4.8687	.000	0.8232	.415	2.8342	.006	3.1667	.002
f_0 ratio - ends	-3.8772	.000	-5.6062	.000	3.0844	.003	2.488	.018
Word tone – start-end	-5.9465	.000	-1.5533	.128	2.5977	.012	2.7597	.008
Peak (str.) – end (p-s)	-6.5034	.000	-4.8991	.000	3.333	.001	2.5001	.016
Word pitch range	-6.3053	.000	-5.2781	.000	-0.145	.885	0.5308	.598

The results indicate that the two dialects exhibit the greatest difference in the realization of the long falling accent, followed by the short falling accent. Long rising and short rising accent differ in the same parameters in the two groups of speakers, which is expected because the recorded group of speakers from Novi Sad did not exhibit any difference in production of long rising and short rising pitch accent.

Figures 7, 8, 9 and 10³ below compare the pitch movement for every accent type in the two cities.

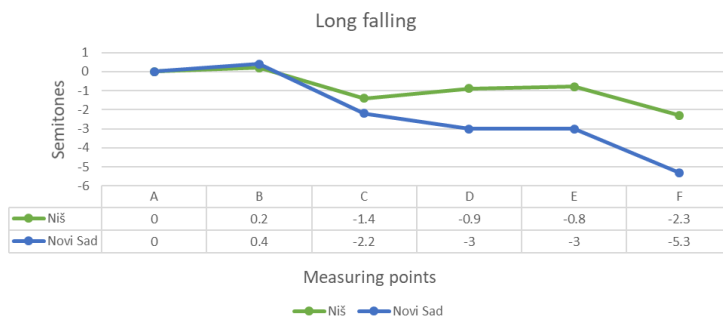


Fig. 7 Pitch movement in long falling pitch accent in the urban Niš and urban Novi Sad speech expressed in semitones

³ NB The displays below are the same as those in Figures 1 – 4, with differently grouped data.

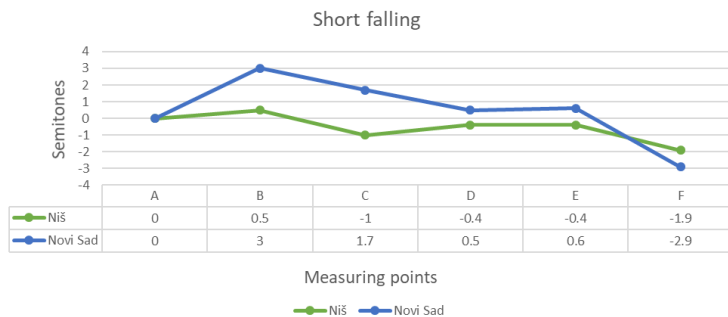


Fig. 8 Pitch movement in short falling pitch accent in the urban Niš and urban Novi Sad speech expressed in semitones

In the long falling accent in Novi Sad, the falling trend between the stressed vowel's starting and ending point as well as that of the peak f_0 and ending point is much more prominent than in Niš (-2.2ST as opposed to -1.4ST). The same is true of the post-stressed vowel (see Figure 7). Moreover, word pitch range is wider in Novi Sad than in Niš (5.7ST vs. 2.5ST).

In words with the expected short falling accent, in Novi Sad, there is a rise of 3 ST in the stressed vowel, while, in Niš, the increase in pitch in the short accent is less than 1ST and it does not differ significantly compared to its long counterpart. Moreover, even though, the tone starts to fall before the end of the stressed vowel in the spoken language of both urban areas, the ending point of the stressed vowel in Novi Sad is on average 1.7ST higher than the onset, while in Niš, it is one semitone lower than the reference point.



Fig. 9 Pitch movement in long rising pitch accent in the urban Niš and urban Novi Sad speech expressed in semitones

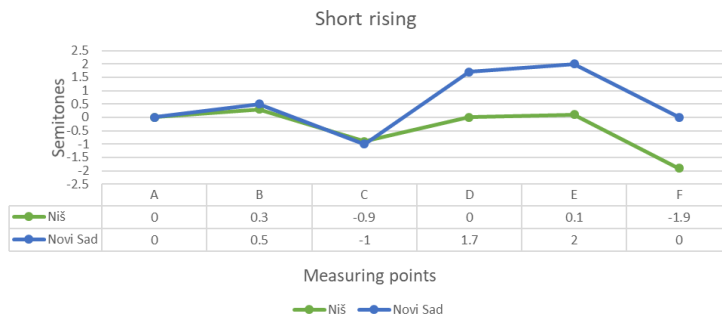


Fig. 10 Pitch movement in short rising pitch accent in the urban Niš and urban Novi Sad speech expressed in semitones

In the long rising accent in Niš, the two peaks are at approximately the same height, while in Novi Sad, there is a rise of 2.2ST. The most notable difference is in the rising interval between the stressed and the post-stressed vowel, which is 1.2ST in the speech of Niš and 3.1ST in the speech of Novi Sad. The word peak is 2.5ST higher than the stressed vowel onset in the speech of Novi Sad, while in Niš, the difference in pitch between these two points is only 0.5ST.

Finally, the pitch movement in the short rising pitch accent is very similar to the movement in the long rising accent. The speakers from Novi Sad produce a sharp rise in the interval between the stressed and the post-stressed syllable (2.7ST) in comparison to the speakers from Niš (0.9ST). For these speakers, the ending point of the post-stressed vowel occurs higher than in the stressed vowel, while speakers from Niš produce a falling tone between these two points.

5. DISCUSSION

Comparing the results from sections 4.1 4.2 and 4.3, we may summarize the differences between the two groups of speakers with regard to production of Serbian pitch accents. Stressed vowels are typically longer in the speech of Novi Sad (106.57 ms, SD 2.45) than in Niš (90.74, SD 2.11), regardless of the expected accent type. When the duration of post-stressed vowels is concerned, the two groups of speakers differ only in words in which the short falling accent is expected. Furthermore, the speakers from Niš produce the stressed vowel in falling accents as longer than in rising, while the speakers from Novi Sad do not make such a distinction. In both cities, the duration ratio of the stressed and post-stressed vowel is higher in falling than in rising accents. In rising accents in Niš, the ratio of the peak f_0 and end of the post-stressed vowel is higher than in falling accents, while, in Novi Sad, both rising and falling accents have a similar frequency ratio of these two points. Most importantly, in Niš, the interval between the beginnings, peaks and ending points of the stressed and post-stressed vowel is falling regardless of which accent type is anticipated for that word; on the other hand, in Novi Sad, words under rising accents have a rising interval, while words under falling accents have a falling interval between these points. Similarly, speakers from Novi Sad produce a rising interval in words with rising accents and a falling interval in words with falling

accents between the ending point of the stressed and starting point of the post-stressed vowel, whereas, the speakers from Niš always produce the rising interval here. It should be noted, however, that there is a significant difference in the frequency ratios between the two points depending on the expected accent tone.

The results that we obtained for speakers of Prizren-Timok dialect from the urban area of Niš confirm some of the previous findings related to production of pitch accents in this city. In their series of studies, Lončar Raičević and Sudimac (2017a, 223; 2018, 434) recorded the rising interval that appears between the ending point of the stressed and the starting point of the post-stressed vowel in all four pitch accent patterns. These authors refer to this interval as parameter R and conclude that it is region specific as it is present in the speech of Niš, Leskovac, Vranje and Pirot, urban centers of the Prizren-Timok dialectological area (Lončar Raičević and Sudimac 2019, 211). In addition, they point out that there is a significant difference in the realization of this interval between the four groups of speakers, as well as that the rising tone is not recorded in the speech of Svrljig, a city that also belongs to the Prizren-Timok dialectological area (Lončar Raičević and Sudimac 2017a, 224; 2018, 434). With regard to vowel duration of the speakers from Niš, in our research, the average value is 90.74 ms (SD 2.11), while the mean length of vowels in the corpus of Lončar Raičević and Sudimac (2017a, 215) is 110 milliseconds. The discrepancy may be attributed to the difference in the nature of corpora used for the quoted research. Namely, the current study is performed on the sample of spontaneous speech while the aforementioned analysis of pitch accents was conducted on tokens in carrier sentences.

When the speakers of Šumadija-Vojvodina dialect from the urban area of Novi Sad are concerned, we confirmed that they produce a distinctive word tone depending on the expected accent type. There is a falling interval between the ending point of the stressed and starting point of the post-stressed vowel in words in which a falling accent is expected, while the words in which a rising accent is expected exhibit a rising interval between these two points (Ivić and Lehiste 2002, 90-104; Sredojević 2017: 223). The same is true of the tone between the starting points, peaks and ends of the stressed and post-stressed vowel. With regard to vowel duration, earlier studies of standard Serbian (Ivić and Lehiste, 2002, 31, 36) and the speech of Novi Sad (Marković and Bjelaković 2009, 152; Sredojević 2017, 139) clearly suggest a difference between the duration of stressed vowels in words with expected long and words with expected short accents. In the current research, however, such distinction was not confirmed. As mentioned before, the difference in the results may stem from the difference in the corpus (spontaneous speech versus individual words or carrier sentences) or the nature of the task itself (giving directions on the map). Bearing in mind that it was already shown that vowel duration is the only parameter that distinguishes long rising and short rising accents while all of the acoustic parameters remain quite similar (Sredojević 2017, 68-69), the lack of quantitative contrast renders all of the rising accents produced by our speakers as the same. It is noteworthy, however, that these speakers do produce a proper rising accent, as it is described in previous literature, with word f_0 peak in the second syllable (Sredojević 2017, 63-66)

6. CONCLUSION

In this paper, we compared the acoustic correlates of pitch accent in spontaneous speech in the urban centers of two Serbian dialectological areas: Prizren-Timok and Šumadija-Vojvodina. The purpose of the research was to investigate the realization of four pitch accents in spontaneous speech and establish acoustic parameters which differ across dialects, and could be used as regional markers in forensic speaker profiling.

The results have shown that the speakers from Niš do not produce the four pitch accent types as they are described in standard Serbian, which confirmed the null hypotheses in (1) and (2). Nevertheless, this group of speaker does include a qualitative difference in tone between words in which a falling accent and words in which a rising accent is expected, which provides evidence for the alternative hypothesis in (3). Speakers from Novi Sad, on the other hand, produce long falling, short falling and rising accents distinctively. Namely, since the two rising accents in the speech of Novi Sad differ only in the quantitative component (Sredojević 2017, 68-9), the absence of this component in our results implies that words in which the long rising and words in which the short rising pitch accent is expected are produced in the same manner. This implies that the alternative hypotheses in (4) and (5) were not confirmed.

On the other hand, there is a lot of evidence to confirm the alternative hypothesis in (7). The most prominent difference between the two urban varieties is reflected in the tone between the stressed and post-stressed vowel, which is generally falling in the speech of Niš, while in the speech of Novi Sad it reflects the tone of the expected pitch accent in that particular word. In addition, even though there is a significant difference in realization of falling and rising accents, speakers from Niš always produce a rising interval between the end of the stressed and beginning of the post-stressed vowel, while speakers from Novi Sad produce a falling interval in words in which the falling accent is expected. Vowels are on average produced as longer in the speech of Novi Sad and speakers from Niš tend to produce vowels in words in which falling accents are expected as longer than vowels in words in which rising accents are expected, which is not the case for the speakers from Novi Sad. Such specificities of pronunciation may be termed region-specific and could be of use in forensic linguistic investigations.

This research presents the basis for the future study that is going to deal with cross-language accent analysis, that is, determination of native dialect when the speakers are using English as a foreign language. Further research should also focus on comparison of pitch accent realization in three-syllabic and four-syllabic words in spontaneous speech for the given urban dialects. In addition, the robustness of the current parameters needs to be tested under various circumstances and with speakers of different social backgrounds and from different dialectological areas. When dealing with regional differences, another important aspect is how they are perceived by naïve listeners. Therefore, future research should also include perception experiments that would test whether naïve listeners can infer the dialectological background of the given speakers based on their pitch accent realization. Such research would require careful planning to avoid the influence of overall intonation, vowel quality, choice of vocabulary and other linguistic aspects.

As for the current paper, it can be said that the results we obtained present a possible realization of Serbian pitch accent by young educated speakers from major urban centers of two different dialectological areas. However, it is important to note some limitations of this study. Namely, bearing in mind the number of participants, it would be presumptuous

to form any generalizations. In addition, even though the fundamental frequency at the onset of vowels could be affected by microprosodic perturbations due to the consonant environment under all pitch accents (Sredojević 2017: 218), the current paper did not take the voicing of the flanking consonants into consideration. It is also worth mentioning that none of the dialectological areas in Serbia are homogenous and that representatives from other cities may have different realizations of pitch accents (Lončar Raičević and Sudimac 2017a; 2019). Using the corpus of spontaneous speech offered a new perspective on what was known to be a staple in pronunciation of speakers from Šumadija-Vojvodina dialectological area - the quantitative component in vowels. For instance, relying only on vowel duration in the speech in our corpus, someone could be led to believe that the speakers may originally be from a different dialectological area, one in which the quantitative distinction between vowels is usually not realized and that the lack of this distinction is a vestige of their original articulation base. However, what contributed to these results may well be the nature of spontaneous speech, the speaking task the participants were exposed to or even some extralinguistic parameters such as anxiety and insecurity due to participation in the experiment. This reminds us that no forensic linguistic analysis, including speaker profiling, can be conducted by relying on a single variable. Instead, the combination of parameters is required in order to provide a clear picture of someone's origin.

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AKUSTIČKA ANALIZA TONSKOG AKCENTA KAO REGIONALNI FORENZIČKI MARKER U SRPSKOM

U ovom istraživanju upoređuju se akustički korelati tonskog akcenta dva urbana dijalekta u srpskom jeziku, i to urbanog govora Niša i Novog Sada. Devetnaest izvornih govornica srpskog snimljeno je u spontanom govoru i analizirani su trajanje vokala u naglašenom i nenaglašenom slogu, kao i odnosi frekvencija osnovnog tona. Pokazali smo da je ton između naglašenog i nenaglašenog vokala uvek u opadanju u govoru Niša, dok u govoru Novog Sada ovaj ton odslikava ton očekivanog akcenta u toj reči. Isto važi i za interval između kraja naglašenog i početka nenaglašenog vokala koji je uvek uzlazan kod govornica iz Niša. U Nišu se naglašeni vokali u rečima gde se očekuje silazni akcentat izgovaraju kao duži u odnosu na reči gde se očekuje uzlazni akcentat. U proseku, naglašeni vokali su duži u govoru Novog Sada. Imajući u vidu da regionalne varijacije u govoru mogu biti važni forenzički markeri (Kašić i Đorđević 2009), ovo istraživanje može da doprinese disciplini kao što je forenzička fonetika, naročito forenzičkom profilisanju govornika. Značaj ovog istraživanja ogleda se i u tome što ispituje akcenatski ton u srpskom na korpusu spontanog govora. Kao takvo, može biti od važnosti za istrage i pravne postupke gde je potrebna pomoć forenzičara lingviste.

Ključne reči: forenzička fonetika, profilisanje govornika, regionalni markeri, tonski akcentat, frekvencija osnovnog tona

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